

LANSING TENT CITY: The unemployed organize

On June 7, the jobless, the hungry and the homeless throughout Michigan will converge on the state capitol and stay there until they win emergency relief. What are the conditions which have prompted this struggle? What issues are they raising? What implications does this fightback hold nationwide for those in need?

Centerfold



WORKERS WORLD

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Noticias en español vea página 12

1988

Vol. 30, No. 23

50¢

Native people expose Reagan's summit maneuvers

By Mahtowin

MORE ON THE SUMMIT 3

Among millions of poor and oppressed people in the United States—in homeless shelters, prisons, overcrowded and overpriced slums, in minimum-wage sweatshops and communities devastated by plant closings—there was no cheering this week for the grandstand performance of Ronald “Human Rights” Reagan in Moscow.

Even as Reagan was lecturing his hosts about the great freedoms that exist only in America (like the “freedom to live on the streets”—yes, he actually said that), a delegation of Native people was in the Soviet Union to confront Reagan at the summit conference and expose the impoverished living conditions of oppressed peoples here as well as consistent U.S. violations of the rights of Native nations.

Leonard Peltier, U.S. political prisoner

The delegation included Tony Gonzalez of the International Indian Treaty Council and Russ Redner, head of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee. Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement, has been imprisoned in the U.S. for more than 12 years. He was convicted of killing two FBI agents in 1975, even though the FBI's own ballistic reports indicate that Peltier could not have been responsible.

Peltier has widespread support among Native people throughout the Western Hemisphere. His case is known around the world, particularly in the Soviet Union, which has agreed to his request for political asylum. The U.S. government, however, refuses to release him or recognize his status as a political prisoner.

The delegation hopes to take advantage of Reagan's posturing about human rights to make it known that there are many prisoners held in U.S. jails whose real crime is their struggle on behalf of oppressed people.

Before leaving for Moscow, the delegation held a press conference at the United Nations

where Tony Gonzalez gave examples of current struggles in which the U.S. government is using military equipment to clear Native houses off the land in the same style as the tactics used by the Israeli government against the Palestinian people.

Reagan was unable to ignore the presence of the Native delegation, which also raised the issues of Central American refugees refused amnesty by the U.S., the plight of prisoners, and racism against Black people.

When asked by a Moscow University student at a press conference if he planned to meet with the Native delegation, the “Great White Father” from Washington, D.C., managed to expose the depth of his racism. He simplistically dismissed the bloody history of genocide, land theft and slavery that began the day capitalism arrived on these shores.

Here is “how the West was won,” according to Reagan. The Native nations, he said, “from the beginning, announced that they wanted to maintain their way of life. . . . And we set up these reservations so they could, and have a Bureau of Indian Affairs to help take care of them. And they're free also to leave the reservation and be American citizens among the rest of us, and many do.”

Native people, of course, see this history quite differently. The reservation system was not established to allow Native people to maintain their traditions. After Native nations were slaughtered to facilitate wholesale theft of land, the U.S. government herded the survivors onto lands that were considered uninhabitable and worthless, much like South Africa's Bantustans.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) is a
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WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

PEOPLE'S POWER IN WEST BANK, GAZA

The Palestinian uprising against Israeli rule has given birth to a historic and revolutionary development—an independent people's authority.

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IMMIGRANT WORKERS

Washington's amnesty plan for undocumented workers has been hailed by the media. A closer look, however, reveals a program which penalizes the foreign born, gives the green light for racism in hiring, and is meant to undermine solidarity among working people.

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ANGOLA

The Angolan government has revealed that Washington is setting up a second front for UNITA's anti-Angolan contras in Zaire.

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SOVIET REFORMS This week Sam Marcy examines the views of the 'conservative' opponents of perestroika.

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San Francisco budget ax meets community protest

By Bruce Bagiski
San Francisco

communities.

When Muni spokesperson Peter Strauss used the euphemism "combining bus lines" in place of saying that entire lines would be eliminated, and remaining lines even more overloaded, he was shouted down by people who demanded that he tell the truth.

About 75 people attended this poorly-publicized hearing, many because they saw a leaflet distributed by the Committee Against Budget Cuts (CABC) of the All-Peoples Congress. The hearing was picketed before it started by several CABC members and supporters. CABC members

pointed out that poor and working people are taking the brunt of the city budget cuts.

Fight against library closings

The corporations which reap hundreds of millions in profits each year from San Francisco are being asked to pay only \$7 million for a \$179 million Muni deficit. CABC representative Dick Becker said it will take an independent fightback of the victims of the cuts to force City Hall to back down, to cheers from the audience. Virtually everyone signed the CABC petition against any cuts or layoffs.

On another front of the struggle against the cuts, petition drives have begun to save four neighborhood libraries slated to be eliminated. One of them, the Oceanview Branch, is one of only two libraries serving Black neighborhoods.

All are urged to attend a rally at Oceanview Playground, located at Plymouth and Montana Streets, on Monday, June 6, at 8 p.m. to protest the closing of this library. Mayor Art "The Ax" Agnos will be present to defend his budget plans.

Call CABC/APC at 821-6545 for more information or to get involved in the struggle against the budget cuts.

Lesbian and gay students in Fresno, California, fight funding veto

By Barbara Cooper and Angela Welton
Students, Cal. State Univ.
Fresno, Calif.

May 27 — The Gay and Lesbian Student Alliance (GLSA) at California State University at Fresno, whose booth was burned last year in a violent act of prejudice, has again fallen victim to homophobia.

In an unprecedented act of discrimination, the right-wing student body president, Mark A. Stone, vetoed the entire GLSA budget as approved by the Student Senate this week. He stated, "I and society as a whole have not yet accepted this type of behavior as worthy of such public recognition,

and I cannot allow access to funds for the group until society deems it proper."

GLSA has been highly visible since its formation in October 1987. It is the only campus group distributing educational information about AIDS. It has survived verbal and written threats and harassment, the short-lived "Anti-GLSA Student Organization," and the burning of the GLSA information booth on Nov. 30, 1987.

A special meeting of the Student Senate was called to provide an opportunity for an override of the veto. While there were not enough senators in attendance for a quorum, GLSA was strongly supported by other student groups, including the Women's

Alliance, MeCHA, Latin American Support Committee, Rainbow Coalition, Students for Jesse Jackson, Disabled Students Association and some faculty members.

"We won't be driven away," a spokesperson for the GLSA stated. "We're doing a good job bringing awareness to the campus and community," she continued. "We've been asked to speak in classes at both Fresno State and Fresno City College. We even have been asked to address high school classes."

The group is currently conferring with the ACLU about possible legal measures. They welcome any statements of support. Send them to: GLSA, SPO Box 142, California State University, Fresno, CA 93740.



The fight for lesbian and gay rights is part of the working-class struggle.

Workers World Party (WWP) fights on all issues that face the working class and oppressed peoples in this capitalist society.

All work together in this organization — Black and white, Latino, Asian, Arab and Native peoples, women and men, young and old, lesbian and gay, disabled, working, unemployed and students.

If you would like to know more about WWP, or if you would like to join us in these struggles, contact the branch nearest you.

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CALENDAR

NEW YORK
Sat., June 4: Major regional demonstration to show solidarity with Palestinian people and to mark the 21st year of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Gather at 12 noon at Times Square in Manhattan. Called by Palestine Solidarity Committee. Call (212) 557-5410.
Sat., June 18: "How can we put an end to racism, war, unemployment, bigotry?" Workers World Party Forum on socialism. Featuring panel presentations and discussion. 7 p.m. Wheelchair accessible. Refreshments. At 146 W. 25 St., Manhattan. Call (212) 255-0352.

ROCHESTER, N.Y.
Sat., June 4: Workers World Party campaign rally and community speakout. 7:30 p.m. At New Bethel Church, 270 Scio St. Call (716) 342-5707.
SAN FRANCISCO
Fri., June 3: Evening in Solidarity With the People of Palestine. Featuring Abu Lughod, Palestine National Council member. Speakers. Music. Palestinian Dance. Sponsored by the Coalition to Support the Palestinian Uprising. 7:30 p.m. \$3-\$5 donation. At First Unitarian Church, 1187

Franklin at Geary. Call (415) 861-1552.
Sat., June 4: National Day of Protest to End Israeli Occupation. March and rally. 11:30 a.m., gather at UN Plaza (Civic Center BART). 1 p.m., rally at Union Square. Call Palestine Solidarity Committee, (415) 861-1552.
Sun., June 5: The Paperworkers strike in Jay, Maine. Featuring Liza Green, with report and slide show. Workers World Party meeting. 6 p.m. At 2489 Mission St., No. 30. Call (415) 826-4828.

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46 W. 21 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10010	Editorial: (212) 206-8222
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Vol. 30, No.23/June 9, 1988	Closing news date: June 1, 1988

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 Workers World (ISSN-0043-809X) is published weekly by WW Publishers, 46 W. 21 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10010. Business office (212) 255-0352. Editorial office: (212) 206-8222. Subscriptions: One year: \$10; six months: \$6. All letters received by Workers World become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Back issues and individual articles are available on microfilm and/or Xerox from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Workers World, 46 W. 21 St., New York, N.Y. 10010.
 Bundle rates available on request.

Reagan puts obstacles in way of arms reductions

Uses summit spotlight to demand concessions

By John Catalinotto

May 31 — If Nixon's diplomacy in China can be enshrined in an opera, it can be expected that "The Reagans in Moscow" will someday be a Hollywood musical comedy.

Like the U.S. media's coverage of this week's summit, this film will be stuffed full of confusing scenes. Perhaps some will show the contradictions, like the 1947 Reagan testifying at the House Un-American Committee against his Hollywood colleagues, while the 1988 Reagan lectures Soviet dissidents on the meaning of free expression.

But billions of people around the world want to remove the threat of nuclear war. They want to see substance and not spectacle at the summit. What's needed to understand Reagan's role is a clearer class view of the negotiations between the leading powers of the capitalist and socialist sectors of the world.

This summit's declared purpose, af-

ter all, was to celebrate the INF arms treaty just ratified by the U.S. Senate and to move toward further strategic arms reductions.

From the point of view of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world, that's about the most that can be expected from a summit: a reduction of overkill. No one reasonable expects the summit to usher in an era of universal peace.

In essence, Reagan should admit that seven years of unprecedented Pentagon buildup has failed to gain for the U.S. the military superiority over the USSR for which he had hoped. The U.S. government is now \$3 trillion in debt, the economy in trouble and the budget could use a breather.

Washington keeps up the aggression

But despite Washington's need for an arms pact, the administration is aggressively making demands on the Soviet Union that have nothing to do with slowing the arms race.

The U.S. diplomats are demanding of the Soviet Union that Ethiopia open its country to imperialist penetration in the North. They want the USSR to get involved in removing Cuban troops from Angola, troops that helped the Angolans drive out the racist South African army. They want the Soviet Union to halt arms shipments to embattled Nicaragua.

In other words, the U.S. government is using the summit as a forum to demand concessions from the Soviet Union regarding the rights of oppressed peoples and nations to defend themselves. If they could find a way, the Reaganites would probably demand that Moscow help get Noriega out of Panama.

At the same time, it was just this month that Washington passed another \$300 billion arms budget. While the summit proceeds, the Pentagon is projecting a new three-stage missile for outer space.

And then, instead of concentrating on arms control, Reagan moves

around Moscow saluting anti-Soviet dissidents and attacking the Soviet Union on religious freedom and human rights. And each pose is a picture opportunity.

But the substance of the summit is that even as Washington negotiates an arms accord, it lays land mines in the road to an agreement.

Socialist and capitalist rights

In the overabundance of media coverage, some elements of truth about socialism in the USSR do get through. In an article on rights in the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the May 31 Washington Post printed the following:

"Soviet Communist leaders, however, define the most important civil rights as universal employment, inexpensive housing and easy access to food, and they seek to guarantee these to their citizenry."

It'll be interesting to see how that concept gets worked into the musical comedy.

Jackson forces in West mobilize the most oppressed

Campaign reflects workers emerging as political force

By Gloria La Riva
San Francisco

May 30 — Jesse Jackson's numerous campaign stops in California and New Mexico before the June 7 primary have generated great enthusiasm, drawing rallies in the thousands.

As important as the size of the outstanding crowds is the character of Jackson's base of support — overwhelmingly multinational and working class. The big business media's emphasis of Dukakis' recent primary wins belies the true significance of the Jackson movement.

In the West, as throughout the country, Jackson's backing comes from the most oppressed and dynamic sectors of the U.S.: Black home care workers and undocumented workers in Los Angeles, lesbians and gay men in San Francisco, the Native nations in New Mexico.

In addition, a shift in consciousness among many white workers, especially those in labor struggles, is reflected in the doubling and tripling of Jackson's 1984 vote percentages. In Oregon, for instance, the 1984 vote of 9% for Jackson more than quadrupled to 38% in the May 1988 primary.

Millions of workers and oppressed people not only reject eight years of Reaganism; they display little enthusiasm for Democratic Party-backed Dukakis or Republican Bush. Black leaders issued a public statement this week criticizing the Dukakis campaign for ignoring the Black community.

In Los Angeles on May 21 Jackson spoke to 1,000 home care workers, nearly all Black, who make only \$3.70 an hour. The crowd cheered as Jackson told them he understood their situation, while relating his life growing up in poverty.

An L.A. Times reporter wrote that many in the audience were moved to tears. Some 4,000 people came to Stanford University, including many from the nearby predominantly Black city of East Palo Alto. Again the crowd was stirred to thundering applause.

Jackson is the only major candidate to visit Latina women cannery workers in their 11-month strike against United Foods, Inc., in Salinas. On May 22, he stayed overnight in McFarland, a Chicano town of 6,200 near Bakersfield, Calif., where an extremely high percentage of children

have contracted cancer from pesticides.

Undocumented workers are also part of the Jackson movement, even though they are denied the right to vote. In San Francisco's Cinco de Mayo parade, thousands of undocumented workers came to cheer Jackson.

Gay community

Dukakis continues to insult the gay community by defending his denial of parental adoption rights for lesbians and gay men in Massachusetts. He refuses to commit himself to issue an executive order, if president, banning anti-lesbian/gay discrimination. Dukakis also supports mandatory HIV testing of all prisoners and immigrants.

In marked contrast, Jackson's strong stand for gay rights has won him wide support. Virtually every lesbian and gay organization and newspaper in San Francisco has endorsed his candidacy. On May 8, 8,000 supporters of lesbian/gay rights waited three hours in a driving rain to cheer Jackson's speech at a statewide rally on the Capitol steps in Sacramento.

Support for Jackson is strong in the growing Asian communities of California. On May 29, over 700 people turned out for a fundraising dinner at the Ocean City restaurant in San Francisco.

Art Song, a Korean-American leader in Los Angeles, pointed out that Jackson "expressed not only in words but in actions his support and concern about issues confronting Asians."

New Mexico

New Mexico, which also will hold its primary on June 7, is usually ignored or given minimal treatment by presidential candidates. But in Albuquerque on May 19, several thousand packed a Jackson rally at the predominantly Chicano Rio Grande High School. The candidate also met with the All-Indian Pueblo Council in Albuquerque.

Whatever the outcome of the primary, the Democratic convention or the November presidential election, the needs and aspirations of workers and oppressed peoples will not recede only to resurface in four years. The class struggle, between rich and poor, as reflected in the Jackson movement, is becoming ever more apparent in the U.S.



Jackson in Jersey City

WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

Jesse Jackson gets warm reception in Jersey City

By G. Dunkel
Jersey City, N.J.

To build his support for the June 7 New Jersey primary, on Memorial Day Jesse Jackson spoke to 1,000 people assembled in an abandoned railroad station located in Liberty State Park.

New Jersey is converting the park into a tourist attraction and a recreational facility for the gentry whom \$10 billion of new condominiums and apartments are expected to draw to this area just across the Hudson River from Wall Street.

But the gentry didn't come to this rally. The people who came were the working and poor people of Jersey City and Hudson County, many of whom can't find work at decent wages because their old jobs have moved away. They were mainly Black, with numbers of Latinos, Asians and whites, tightly packing this hot, humid hall.

Jackson raised Central America, where the United States has spent "\$10 billion chasing 3 million Sandinistas." He also raised the Middle East and South Africa and pointed out how Cold War expenses have put 3-to-5 million people on the streets. The main local issue he raised was pollution, including acid rain and toxic dumps.

Rachel Duell, a leading member of the All-Peoples Congress also spoke, pointing out that Jackson has "supported workers from Maine to Wisconsin to California, from Palestine to South Africa, just like people from all walks of life support Jesse Jackson."

John Jones, an independent candidate for the 14th Congressional District and a member of the APC, which helped build the rally, issued a statement supporting Jackson. "The Jesse Jackson campaign has become a vehicle for the expression of working class discontent."

Panama hullabaloo — a falling out among Washington's thieves

Bickering opens as U.S. fails to overthrow Noriega

By Deirdre Griswold

"The best-laid plans of mice and men oft go astray," wrote the Scottish poet Robert Burns. What went wrong with the State Department's well-laid plans to reshape the Panamanian government more to their liking?

There can be no question anymore that the whole hullabaloo over the drug-trafficking indictment by a U.S. court against General Manuel Noriega was part of an orchestrated plan to destabilize the government of Panama.

That plan is now being described in the capitalist media as a "fiasco." On the eve of Reagan's departure for the Moscow summit, Secretary of State George Shultz had to acknowledge that U.S. attempts to pressure Noriega to resign and leave Panama in exchange for dropping the indictment had failed.

Now the various U.S. agencies involved are blaming each other. A prime target for criticism is the notorious Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Elliott Abrams, who went public with predictions of when Noriega would be forced

out. Abrams, of course, has also been a major architect of U.S. policy in Central America, and now must chew his thumbs while watching the Nicaraguan contras negotiate with the Sandinista government.

What Washington fears the most

What has happened in Panama may be just what the State Department was most afraid of when, last October, they circulated an internal memo entitled, "Thoughts on a Panamanian Political Solution" (made public by the WBAI/Contragate program). That document, meant to be a blueprint for the ouster of Noriega, replied to the worries of some U.S. strategists who said that "Noriega is better than what might succeed him."

"If Noriega tries to hold on to power for too much longer," said the document, "he will have to become exactly what we now fear most."

Panama Canal the real issue

Clearly, this has nothing to do with drug trafficking. This is a reference to the political situation in Panama, which has been fighting to regain sovereignty over the U.S.-controlled former Canal Zone since the 1960s. After massive demonstrations and street

fighting, that struggle was taken up by a progressive nationalist grouping in the armed forces led by Col. Omar Torrijos.

Torrijos died in a suspicious plane crash and Noriega became head of the armed forces. However, before he died, Torrijos had negotiated two treaties with Jimmy Carter guaranteeing full Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal by 1999.

Opposition to these treaties ran very high in U.S. right-wing circles. After Reagan came in, there was a rising momentum to try and modify the treaties so as to keep U.S. de facto control over the Canal. But clearly there would have to be a change in the Panamanian government first.

Every effort has been made to induce and pressure Panamanian politicians to play ball with Washington. Several prominent political figures who come from the ranks of the white, rich oligarchy that controls the economy have joined this U.S.-inspired "opposition"; they are now operating out of Miami and D.C.

However, the U.S. has not been able to dictate to the Panamanian military. And, as the State Department document says, Noriega "is not the only or

the main problem." It refers to other leaders of the Panamanian Defense Forces as "the gang of six."

What Washington "fears the most" is a deepening anti-U.S., anti-imperialist shift within the military and the masses. And it seems that this is exactly what all the political, economic and military pressure of the last few months has achieved.

The Panamanian people know that the U.S. government, banks and corporations, along with collaborators from the oligarchy, have tried to starve them into submission by freezing Panama's assets and blocking the payment of fees for use of the Canal. Workers, most of them black and doubly oppressed, have flocked into the new militia units established since the U.S. started threatening military action.

So, for a time, the Reagan administration has had to reverse itself and abandon the October 1987 plan. This is not a struggle that is going to go away, however. There will be new efforts to establish a stooge regime in Panama, especially as the time for the treaties to go into effect draws closer. The anti-war and anti-interventionist movement here must remain vigilant.

New immigration law okays racism in hiring

A hidden aspect to the 'reform'

By Teresa Gutierrez

On June 1, implementation of the second major provision of the Immigration and Reform Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 will begin. It is known as the employer's sanction. It follows the May 5 deadline of the greatly heralded amnesty provision, whereby undocumented workers could apply for amnesty and therefore for legalization.

During the amnesty period, both the ruling class and the bourgeois media

worked hard to cultivate the image that the much-hated Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was now "pro-immigrant," and "people and service-orientated." But a closer look at both the amnesty process and the employer's sanction provision reveals that just the reverse is true.

While the legalization offered to less than one-third of the estimated six million undocumented in this country should be considered a tremendous gain for all workers, the amnesty program has been greatly over-played by the ruling class. From the inception of this program, the INS placed obstacle after obstacle in the path of applicants for amnesty and sowed mass confusion with unclear regulations. Literature was even distributed by the INS with non-existent telephone numbers and addresses listed as places to apply for amnesty.

The ultimate insult was that the amnesty application itself was in English. Applicants now must learn English and U.S. history as part of the legalization requirements. One worker called it "ironic that we must learn U.S. history when so many of us have not even had the opportunity to learn the history of our own countries."

Employer's sanction really aimed at workers

The employer's sanction provision has historically been opposed by progressives. The provision claims to fine the bosses from \$250 to \$10,000 for "knowingly" hiring the undocumented. While on the surface it appears to "punish" the employer, employer's sanction serves mainly to harass and oppress the worker.

Progressives accurately point out that employer's sanction gives a green light for bosses to discriminate against any "foreign looking" worker by firing them or refusing to hire them. Hard hit will be Latino, Black, Arab, Asian, and Native workers.

Immigrant rights advocates are calling for a nationwide struggle to demand the repeal of this provision. While appealing to the very body that passed IRCA, this emerging movement will attempt to document the dis-

criminatory nature of the employer's sanction through the General Accounting Office (GAO) and call for its repeal in Congress.

However, the GAO, the financial investigative arm of Congress, is far from impartial on this issue. Two months ago this same body scapegoated undocumented workers for the anti-labor offensive launched by the corporations. The GAO actually stated that the immigrant worker depressed wages and living conditions for all workers in this country!

While the press and the government are pushing the new "humanitarian" image of INS, employer's sanction lays this lie to rest. Now, the enforcement arm of INS, the U.S. Border Patrol (known to the undocumented as the hated "la migra"), has its turn. One of the greatly down-played provisions of IRCA will beef up the Border Patrol.

The government obtained a significant amount of money from undocumented workers just to apply for amnesty. This money will now go to the Border Patrol. Congress as well has legislated money for the Border Patrol. Much of the money will be used to buy more of the higher velocity arms that the Border Patrol is now using. Border Patrol offices are to be opened up where there were no such offices before, in Houston and Dallas, for example.

The U.S. Border Patrol is the arm of the INS most hated by the undocumented worker. While appearing to be a mere "guard of the border" its real status is like that of the police. It serves to repress, harass and beat down the working class, in this case the sector of the working class with no documents.

Throughout its history it has killed many undocumented workers. Just this year, a 16-year-old immigrant was repeatedly thrown against the pavement and had his skull crushed by the "migra." This Gestapo-like agency is entrusted with enforcing the employer's sanction.

Phase Two of IRCA should be opposed by all who defend the rights of workers, or who struggle to organize

Continued on page 5



Under the new law the repressive Border Patrol will be strengthened.

Nicaragua unionists on U.S. tour tell of gains made

By Veronica Golos
New York

The April-May visit of three Nicaraguan union leaders was a unique opportunity for trade union activists to hear about the gains workers have made in Nicaragua in the face of U.S.-sponsored aggression and blockade.

The three are Alba Palacios Benavides of the Association of Farm Workers (ATC), Juan Gonzales Rojas of the Sandinista Workers Confederation (CST) and Marvin Cortez Estrada of the National Union of Public Employees (UNE).

On May 14, the three spoke here at Local 1199's union hall. Marvin Cortez Estrada of the UNE was the main speaker. Cortez, now 28 years old, has been a union activist since the age of 16 when he helped organize the Meatcutters Union. At the same age, he was also participating in the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship.

Cortez emphasized the gains won by the workers since the 1979 Sandinista Revolution. "We had no rights under Somoza," he said. "Work was hard to find, organizing was difficult. Now we have the right to work, to health care, to education, to civil and human rights. We have day care.

"Our union has a chance to develop," he stressed, "and we are active in defense of our movement — against

the return of Somocistas, against war."

Accusing Reagan of trying to continue the war against Nicaragua, Cortez said, "We workers support the peace agreements. First, because we never want war. Second, because war is dangerous — we have 45,000 victims.

"The money used to fight us," he added to loud applause, "should be used to help your United Paper International Union."

Commenting about his country, Cortez told the audience that "Our multiracial, multinational ethnicity is our greatness. The revolution has meant to us the right to live and to organize. That is why we defend our rights."

Of the tour, Cortez said, "Our aims were to report on the reality of our situation, to tighten our relationship with the North American trade unions and to fight against misinformation by the U.S. media, and, finally, to ask for aid. Reagan thinks he can beat us with hunger, but we will win!"

The tour was endorsed by a number of international union presidents, including Kenneth Blaylock, AFGE; Cesar Chavez, UFW; James Herman, ILW; John Hovis, UE; Henry Nicholas, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Workers; and William Winpisinger, IAM.

Cops beat striking janitors in San Francisco

Union answers with militant marches

By Ron Holladay
San Francisco

According to the union, management has hired the largest union-busting law firm in the country to represent them. One of the partners in the firm of Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather and Geraldson, Michael Grybicki, was quoted in a published interview saying he was "from the bomb-them-into-submission school of labor relations."

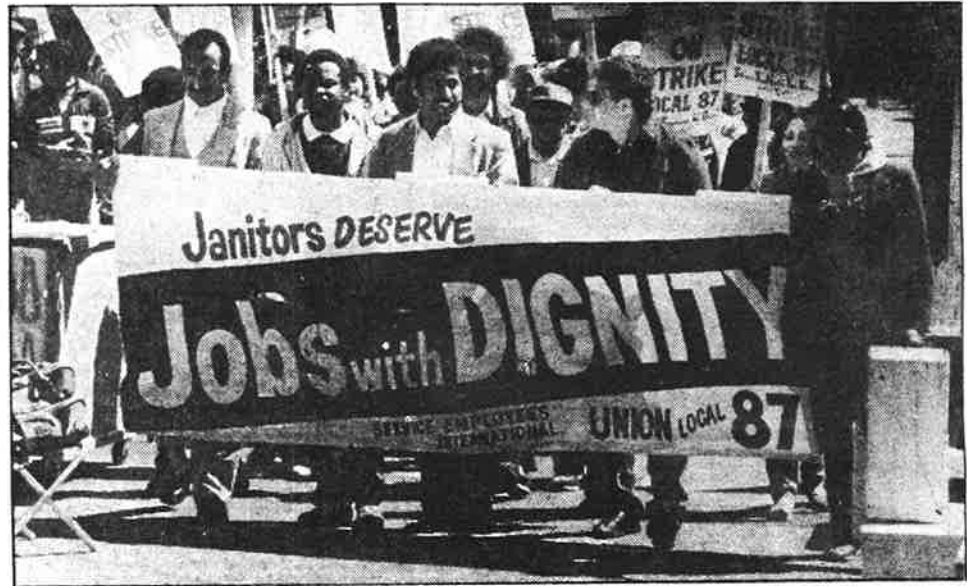
Cutbacks are the issue

Local 87 released figures showing that the cash flow for downtown buildings has more than doubled in the last five years while cleaning costs have only gone up 1%. Yet, management is demanding wage cuts, permanent two-tier systems for new hiring, elimination of the hiring hall and other cuts. The union points out that each worker is expected to clean 30,000 square feet per night which is equivalent to cleaning 19 houses!

The union has personalized the struggle by releasing biographies of typical union workers such as Amin Algaheim who is from Yemen, lives in the low-income Tenderloin district and sends most of his earnings to his family in Yemen.

His wife, Halmih, and his three children live in Badan, a small village. He gets to see them only every few years because of the high costs of air fares and would find it hard to visit at all if unpaid leaves of absence are eliminated.

Local 87, which has represented cleaning workers for more than 50 years, has a membership that comes from all over the world. The Union is 40% Latino, 30% Asian, 10% Black, 10% Arab and 10% white.



Members of Local 87 march through downtown business district.

The first week of a strike by the 1,700 janitors who clean San Francisco's biggest downtown buildings ended with increasing solidarity and support from other unions. This support came despite a concerted effort by the two daily papers, both of whom own downtown office buildings, to violence bait the strikers.

On the first day of the strike, two union picketers, including one woman over 50, were beaten by scabs while police stood by. The cops, however, were quick to arrest nine picketers after a union picket line briefly occupied one of the struck downtown buildings.

On the second day of the strike, the Teamsters, security guards, Operating Engineers, elevator service persons and other unions announced they would honor Service Employees International Union Local 87's picket lines. Earlier the San Francisco Board of Supervisors unanimously voted a resolution of support.

The strike has been marked by militant marches through the downtown business district behind a huge banner calling for "Jobs With Dignity." Strong picketing by the multinational workers has turned away scabs at many work sites.

Local 87 Secretary-Treasurer Eric Hall told this reporter that although technically they were negotiating with the Maintenance Contractors Association, in reality "the building owners are calling the shots." The union has filed an anti-trust suit against the building owners.

20 Paperworkers Union locals declare solidarity with IP strikers

By Phil Wilayto

Local union officials from 20 International Paper Co. (IP) facilities met May 22-24 in Memphis, Tenn., to discuss the year-long IP strike/lockout of 3,500 paperworkers.

Local presidents of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU), together representing 12,000 of the 20,000 workers in the IP system, unanimously passed a resolution to be sent to John Georges, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of IP.

The resolution declared that the locals were united in their opposition to the company's attempts to impose concessionary contracts on their members saying that, "At a time of record profits, we see no reason why we must accept a decrease in our standard of living."

Further, affirming that, "Our strength lies in unity," the local officials stated that, "We find the treatment of these 3,500 workers intolerable... There can be no harmonious relations anywhere in the IP system until all members are reinstated."

Specifically, the officers demanded

high-level joint meetings between IP and the four affected locals, reinstatement of all 3,500 union members and a just resolution of the contract dispute. Until there is such a settlement, the locals pledged not to "participate in any program not legally and contractually required."

Among the locals represented at the Memphis meeting were Locals 5 and 447, representing 1,100 workers at the Ticonderoga, N.Y., mill, whose contract with IP expires May 31. IP is now running the mills at Jay, Maine, Lock Haven, Penn., Mobile, Ala., and DePere, Wisc., with scab labor.

Though financial analysts are expressing doubts that the company could successfully operate other mills in the same way, IP is demanding that the Ticonderoga workers agree to a concessionary contract similar to the one it tried to impose on the mills already out.

Other mills represented at the Memphis meeting included Vicksburg, Miss., and Texarkana, Texas, both of whose contracts expire this year.

News from Indian Country

David Sohappy, Sr. released.

"The struggle will continue as long as I'm alive," David Sohappy, Sr., told Workers World shortly after his release from federal prison on May 17. His son, David Sohappy, Jr., was released on May 18.

David Sohappy, Sr., a Yakima elder from Washington, served 17 months of a five-year sentence for selling 317 fish caught from the waters of the Columbia River, the Che Wana (big river) where his people have always fished. Sohappy and eight other Native fishermen were convicted in 1983 under the federal Black Bass-Lacey Act for "poaching" salmon. These convictions were the result of a massive federal attack against the fishing rights of the Native nations along the Columbia River. Sohappy, a leader in the Indian fishing rights struggle all of his adult life, was specifically targeted for prosecution by the federal and state governments. Two fishermen, Wilbur Slockish, Jr., and Leroy Yocash, remain in prison.

The Washington State Department of Fisheries, which Sohappy's attorney

Tom Keefe termed "the most extreme white supremacist organization in the state," continues to hand out citations to Native fishermen for fishing illegally. At the same time the state and federal governments are quick to protect the rights of sports fishermen and corporations that abuse the natural resources of Che Wana.

Sohappy and the traditional people of the Columbia River fish not only to provide sustenance for themselves. "This land is sacred to us. This water is sacred to us. I need to fish in order to practice my religion freely. I'm going to keep on going — I'll fish when the season comes," Sohappy vowed. "All of our ground is religious ground, sacred ground. The government doesn't want to recognize that. They want to ride all over the Indian people's sacred ground."

The government offered numerous times to release Sohappy if he would promise not to fish. But Sohappy never negotiated, never wavered. He has been an inspiration to all Indians struggling for their right to fish and hunt on their own lands.



Lesbian, gay conference.

The first national conference of Native lesbians, gays and berdaches will be held June 18-19 in Minneapolis, Minn. The conference was organized as a result of a consensus decision of Native people who participated in the Oct. 11 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Those invited to attend are Native lesbians and gays, their partners and service providers. The conference is an historic event for both the Native and lesbian and gay movements.

— Immigration

Continued from page 4

unions and win better working conditions. The movement to repeal the employer's sanction should be supported by all, documented and undocumented, organized and unorganized.

The employer's sanction is really just one more attack against the entire working class. What is needed instead is jobs and full rights for all workers, documented or undocumented.

Racist police killing sparks community protest in Rochester, N.Y.

By Chris Becker
Rochester, N.Y.

Calvin Green, a 30-year-old Black man, was shot and killed here on May 24 by Gary Smith, a white Rochester policeman. Green, who was being sought by police to appear for sentencing in a robbery incident, was hiding unarmed in an upstairs crawlspace.

Eight officers had already occupied the house Green was in and the canine unit had been called. Instead of waiting for non-lethal methods to get Green out, Smith fired five times into the crawlspace with all shots hitting Green. The police waited as Green bled to death. For three hours following the shooting George Green, Calvin's father, was told nothing by the cops.

At a May 26 press conference called by a coalition of local Black community leaders, four immediate demands were made. Rev. Raymond L. Graves, president of the United Church Ministries, called for the appointment of a special prosecutor by Governor Mario Cuomo, the initiation of an independent federal investigation into the violation of Calvin Green's civil rights, the immediate dismissal of Gary Smith, and criminal prosecution of Smith for murder.

"We don't know of any whites who have been gunned down by white policemen in Rochester," Graves said. He pointed out that police take all day to negotiate a surrender when a white man is barricaded inside a house, but use their weapons when dealing with Black people. "This is a pattern, and naturally police will try to cover it up as long as they can... If it takes twenty years, we're going to get this cop off the force."

Some 50 people, including family, friends and supporters, attended the press conference, including the All-Peoples Congress, which issued a statement condemning the racist police murder and supporting the demands set forth.

On May 27, sensing the anger in the Black community, Gordon Urlacher, the new chief of police, suspended Smith without pay until the investigation is complete. The coalition's response was that it will continue to raise the demands until justice is done. A public meeting has been called for May 31 to update strategy.

Green's funeral on May 28 was attended by 200 people. Green is the fourth person killed by police in recent years. All were Black or Latin.

'When someone lies and steals from you, you fight!'

Interview with laid-off auto worker leading struggle for jobs

By Debra Field
Detroit

The following is a WW interview with Job Is a Right and Tent City activist Joyce Crutchfield. A single mother of four teenagers, she was laid off a year ago as GM shut down the Fleetwood plant where she had worked for over two years. Crutchfield had come to the auto plant after a series of underpaid and minimum wage jobs and five years of welfare as she tried to provide a home for her family. Here she tells why she got involved in the struggle for jobs and what the Tent City campaign means to her family and others like them:

"When I hired in at Fleetwood, there was a big sign in the plant that said something like, 'Keeping jobs alive through 1989.' I didn't believe they would lie to you. I really expected to be working at least till then. I did everything I was supposed to . . .

"But, GM didn't sit me down and ask me my plans. They just stole it all back! When somebody lies to you and steals from you, you fight them."

This is how Joyce Crutchfield explains the active role she is playing in the struggle for jobs that has been gaining momentum in Detroit and elsewhere in Michigan. The first picket line Crutchfield ever walked was when H. Ross Perot and Roger Smith were at Cobo Hall in Detroit. "I just couldn't understand it," she explained. "If they could give one man \$750 million, why can't I, a single mother, keep my job?"

Crutchfield became an organizer for the Job Is a Right Campaign after joining the Stop Plant Closing Committee and the Coalition Caucus at Local 15. "But I couldn't do it at the union hall," she said. "There were no leadership roles for women."

Meanwhile, "Everywhere we went, Job Is a Right was out doing leafletting, giving talks, putting together rallies," and after doing "a little investigating," Crutchfield found "there was no bias or prejudice against women. In fact, instead of hearing, 'You can't, you can't,' Job Is a Right people were encouraging and said, 'You can, you can!'"

Origins of Tent City

Explaining how Tent City got started, Crutchfield said, "Last May 9 [1987 rally of unemployed autoworkers — DF], there was the Flint rally which brought out a lot of people to our first event. Then there was Traverse City in July [Job Is a Right confronted the National Convention of Governors with a large demonstration of angry unemployed workers — DF] and this year the demonstration at the State of the State address in Lansing. With each action, more and more people came out. Each action was unique and in every one, it seemed there was a different and higher level of consciousness about 'This is a fight, a struggle that won't go away.'"

Crutchfield related that at first, she found, talking with people and on radio talk shows, that people actually felt entitled to welfare but not to a job. "It was like it was too much to ask and it came a little harder, slower. . .," she said. "But in Lansing, we couldn't even make speeches for the outcry of 'We want jobs. We want jobs!'"

And now the campaign has really taken off, Crutchfield emphasized. "When some of the organizers asked, 'Can we get 100 to stay over?' I asked, 'Are we prepared to handle the numbers that will come out?'"

Jobless left no choice but struggle

"Look at the levels of unemployment — Benton Harbor is 24%, Flint 20%, Detroit is 20% and rising. Watching the official figures, the graph they put up, I was shocked we went from 8% to 3% one time. I still didn't have a job and nobody else I know had found one. But I was no longer receiving MESC benefits. I was the invisible digit, no longer counted!

"More and more of the unemployed are losing everything. They're coming out — realizing that if they want to hold on to anything, they have to struggle. There are 90,000 homeless in Michigan and 23% of those are working — minimum wage employees."

Crutchfield pointed out that she herself gets only \$788 per month with no food stamps or medical coverage. "That's less than I'd get on welfare, but it disqualifies me from getting ADC," she explained. "I can't feed and clothe and house four teenagers on that. We run out of food before the next check every time. I could become



Joyce Crutchfield

WW PHOTO

homeless a lot quicker than I could get welfare right now."

'Outcry will have to be heard!'

Tent City is expected to draw many who have been in Crutchfield's predicament. "I talked to one shelter on Detroit's east side yesterday," she said. "They have 32 kids and their parents in one 16-bed unit. They'll be in Lansing!"

The Job Is a Right and Tent City activist said she expects the protest to have an impact. "It will make Blanchard and the legislature and even Reagan and the national government realize we are not invisible people," she stressed. "Just being able to set Tent City up since we've been denied will be an accomplishment. The most important thing is that the outcry of the people will have to be heard."

Plan offered to end 'unequal' education

By K. Paulich
Detroit

The June 7 action will raise a call for justice on many fronts. One of these is education. Funding for schools is grossly unequal in Michigan. As a result, schools in poor and working class communities are inadequately funded — especially in predominantly Black and Latin districts.

Michigan schools are largely financed by property taxes collected in each district. The result is "separate and unequal" schools — 34 years after the civil rights struggle won the Supreme Court decision outlawing such arrangements. Wealthy districts here, like Birmingham, boast an annual expenditure of \$6,000 per student. Detroit can afford only \$3,400 per child.

The inequality in Michigan education, however, is based on class as well as race. All lower-income communities are affected. Working class suburbs like Lincoln Park are able to spend only \$2,500 per year per student. Plant closings in industrial cities like Pontiac, Flint and Benton Harbor have left these communities unable to support their schools. Rural districts, where there is a small tax base, have always struggled under this system of school finance.

Karen Mossberger, a coordinator for the education focus of the Coordination Council, explained that "Governor Blanchard recently proposed a plan to raise the state sales tax to finance education. But this plan does not answer the need to improve education NOW. Under this proposal, it will take ten to fifteen years to equalize education throughout the state. In reality, Blanchard's plan, as well as the Republican bill, was conceived mostly as a property tax break for business.

"More money IS needed for education, but it is not necessary to tax homeowners or consumers to provide it. GM is asking for a \$5 million property tax abatement for its Poletown plant." This plant was built with public funds and has meant an overall loss of jobs due to the closing of two other plants. Why can't it be taxed?

There is sufficient wealth in Michigan to provide an excellent education for everyone if the corporations are taxed and the distribution of funds equalized. The state has a constitutional responsibility to provide education for all Michigan children. The message that will be carried to the steps of the capitol on June 7 is that EVERY child has an equal right to a quality education!

'Homeless be damned!'

Sen. Plushbottom lives high

State legislators in Lansing, Mich., have been too busy to pass any legislation for the 90,000 homeless in the state. Never mind that tens of thousands of autoworkers have exhausted all benefits and are trying to get onto welfare, while welfare rolls are being cut and benefits have declined in value over the past ten years.

Of course, there is always time for the "important" things. The state Senate committee waiting room had to be refurbished. Plastic just wouldn't do. The posteriors of the politicians needed to rest in authentic replicas of the original Victorian chairs. And each one was a steal at

\$3,881, so the so-called representatives of the people of Michigan bought ten. Then they got a bargain for inside the committee room. They got 150 chairs for only \$95,700!

Work on the fourth floor cost the state, which cries poverty when it comes to the homeless, a cool \$2 million, and indications are that the whole Capitol restoration job might run as high as \$120 million.

According to the Detroit Free Press of May 16, the "driving force" behind the project is William Kandler, Governor James Blanchard's legislative liaison. Questioned about the price tag, Kandler replied, "There's always a tendency to nit-pick."



Women nationwide are playing a key role in the conditions and workers' rights.

Why women play a leading

By Cheryl LaBash
Detroit

Women in Michigan have much to gain from the June 7 "Tent City" on the capitol lawn. That is why so many women are leading this drive to put poor and working people's needs at the top of Michigan's political agenda.

Who are these women? They are unorganized workers, union workers, disabled and able-bodied, seniors and youth, lesbian and straight. Some are homeless. Some are mothers. Some are laid off from the auto factories. Some, who are still working, know they too are a step away from the unemployment lines, welfare lines, cheese lines or temporary shelter.

They are all strongly determined to be heard. According to the 1980 census, women comprise nearly half the labor force. Fifty-one percent are working mothers. Many, both young and seniors, are single heads of household. Over half of Michigan's households headed by single women barely exist on incomes below the pov-

erty level. Even in 1980, more of these families were falling below the poverty level — at a rate faster than the national average.

These statistics of course do not adequately reflect the wave of Chrysler plant closings and the massive GM shutdowns. Nor do these statistics show the grim reality of Michigan's major cities, whose majority population is Black and have double digit unemployment.

Economic gains, made when women re-entered industrial jobs during the 1970s, have largely been wiped out in Michigan by the big business drive to institute high technology at the expense of the workers. New low-paid, high-tech jobs, old low-paid service and clerical jobs, high unemployment and poverty have been the price charged to the working class, disproportionately on women and Black, Latin, Asian and Arab workers.

But the real cost is even higher and far reaching. Some Detroit neighborhoods have Black infant death rates consistently higher than poor Central

Lansing Tent City: A rights' struggle for the '80s

By Debra Field
Detroit

This year marks the 20th anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s historic Resurrection City in Washington D.C. Yet today, despite increasing poverty and unemployment nationwide, social programs continue to be slashed and government callousness toward the workers and poor is the rule.

The bold effort of the Coordinating Council for the Stay in Lansing to launch a Tent City in Michigan's Capitol starting June 7 has national significance. The Council has brought together laid off workers from UAW locals in Flint, Saginaw, and Detroit with homeless organizations, welfare rights groups, civil rights leaders and peace and social justice activists. This attempt to "Stay in Lansing" to win emergency economic relief signals a new era of fightback.

Despite the efforts of the national media to cover up its significance, the Jesse Jackson movement has shown the potential for united struggle. Just recently Jackson captured 38% of the vote in Oregon, a state with a 2% Black population. Across the U.S., a new coalition is emerging, uniting Black, Latin, Native, Arab, Asian and many white workers as well.

The so-called "American dream" has turned into a nightmare of layoffs,

low wage jobs, no medical care and homelessness as a result of corporate greed and the "high tech revolution."

Nowhere is this more evident than in Michigan. Industrial jobs, with their union wages and benefits, are being wiped out by the tens of thousands. Some 50,000 auto jobs will be eliminated in Detroit, Flint and Pontiac by 1990, resulting in a net loss of 200,000 auto-related jobs in those cities. GM has announced plans for a whole new round of cutbacks, eliminating another 100,000 jobs nationwide.

A depression already exists in Detroit, Flint, Benton Harbor, Pontiac and Saginaw with official unemployment rates of 15 to 24%. Despite many demonstrations and protests, the state government has yet to pass one bill to benefit the laid-off workers.

Fewer workers receive unemployment benefits than at any time in Michigan's history. Welfare benefits have been reduced 50% in the last ten years, and 20,000 are homeless in Detroit alone.

Despite these appalling statistics, Governor Blanchard has the audacity to travel the country proclaiming Michigan as the "comeback state." To the politicians who represent only big business, the unemployed are a nuisance to be ignored while they are proclaiming and extolling the "new and better climate for business."

Members of the Coordinating Council for the Stay in Lansing point to the outcome of a rally held one month ago by 6,000 seniors at the Capitol as one example why Tent City must be set up in Lansing and why the "people's lobby" must remain.

Governor Blanchard and the legislature had promised at the time of the rally to pass a bill for a prescription drug program. Last week, with the seniors back home and out of the way, however, Blanchard vetoed the bill, claiming a "lack of funds." This is in the state where GM and Ford pay virtually no taxes at all.

Starting June 7, the workers and poor will be sending a message to the Governor and legislature. They will no longer be invisible, uncounted, and unheard. They intend to stay in Lansing until their demands are met.

Jobs or a decent income now is the goal. A moratorium on plant closings and layoffs, extended unemployment

benefits, increased welfare payments, a raise in the minimum wage — these are just a few of the issues being raised.

Every benefit ever won for poor and working people was a product of the struggle. It was the marches, rallies, strikes and demonstrations in the 1930's that won social security and union recognition.

The June 7 Tent City shows that this independent fighting spirit of the workers and the poor is reasserting itself. Whatever the outcome of this particular action, there is no question that this re-emergence of working class struggle is the only answer to the economic war being waged by big business and the government.

Workers' right to jobs, health care, goal of June 7 people's lobby

Today, 37 million people in this country have no health insurance, and 60% of these are employed. With the elimination of industrial jobs in Michigan, the crisis in health care in the state will intensify.

Michigan has the highest Black infant mortality rate in the country, yet funding to combat infant mortality is being slashed. The governor just vetoed a bill to subsidize prescription drugs for seniors.

The AIDS epidemic is growing in Michigan, especially in oppressed communities where lack of health care is most glaring. Some 40% of people with AIDS are Black and other oppressed peoples. It was only the efforts of the lesbian and gay community, not the legislature, that led to the passage of a Michigan Public Health Initiative which has appropriated \$9 million for AIDS education.

Demand for guaranteed health care

A united struggle for the right of all to decent health care is clearly a top priority for working people in Michigan. Therefore, the June 7 people's lobby will demand that the governor and state legislature exercise their constitutional authority to guarantee jobs, health care and a decent income for all Michigan's workers and unemployed.

Article IV Section 51 of the Mich-

igan constitution states, "The health and general welfare of the people of the state are hereby declared to be matters of primary public concern." Act 302 gives the governor power to declare a State of Emergency during times of great public crisis and broad powers to deal with the crisis.

Ten states have already raised the minimum wage. The Coordinating Council will be demanding a raise to \$6 an hour effective immediately. It will be supporting SB 710 and HB 5631 providing for 13 weeks additional unemployment benefits as a step toward restoring the 65 weeks in benefits which existed in 1975.

Legislative proposals are also being drafted on taxing the corporations and rich, on guaranteeing health care, and on providing equal funding for education. The Full Employment Act of 1946 is being cited, as is the demand for a moratorium on all plant and office closings and layoffs. Support for the referendum on preserving Medicaid abortions is being raised.

All working class organizations are being encouraged to bring resolutions to the people's assembly. Organizers have stressed that maintaining the Tent City as a focus for struggle will be the essential ingredient in winning any progressive legislation.



the struggle for decent living PHOTO: MARTA GALLEGOS

role in Tent City struggle

American countries. Young women see no future but early motherhood. The school system in working class, inner city and rural areas is so deteriorated that students have no books while rich areas have lavishly supplied schools paid for through unequal educational funding.

Women hold lowest paying jobs

Women, youth, and increasingly seniors, hold many of the lowest paid jobs. The pre-tax weekly pay at the \$3.35 minimum wage totals \$134. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census 1984-85, childcare costs generally run from \$20 to \$60 a week per child depending on whether the arrangement is in a center, in home with non-relatives or with a relative. Clearly, this is unaffordable for minimum wage workers.

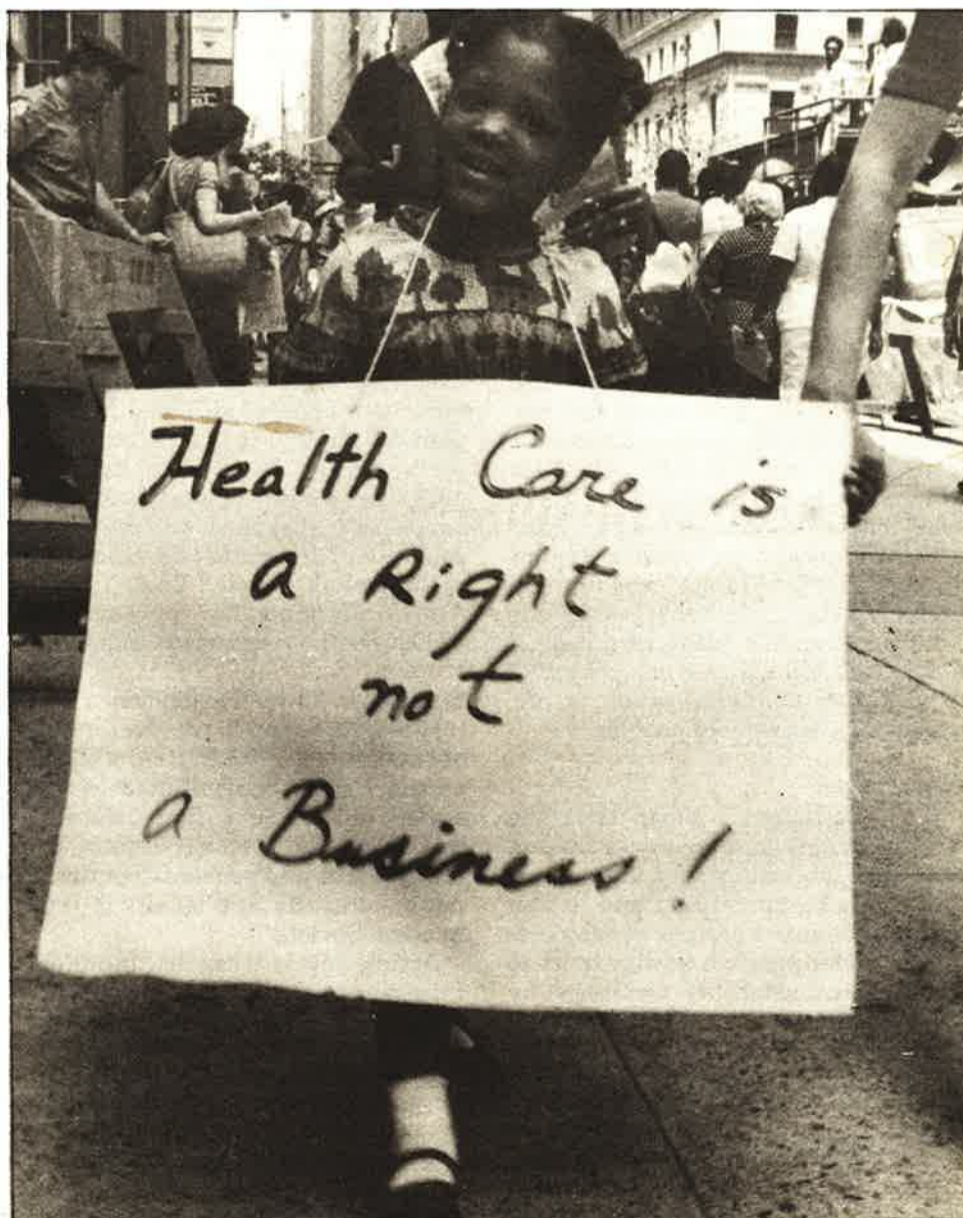
Raising the minimum wage, expanding employment, establishing affordable, quality, conveniently located childcare and providing effective, affordable healthcare and medicine for all would be major steps to-

ward helping women to raise their children.

But women also must have the right to decide when and how many children they want to have. Access to legal abortions as well as safe, effective birth control methods, is essential.

The right to choose an abortion is under attack in Michigan, focused on prohibiting state Medicaid funding for this medical procedure. Denied this legal medical treatment, many poor women may be forced to turn to permanent sterilization, a fully Medicaid-covered procedure. This important struggle to continue Medicaid funding for abortion will be decided in the November Michigan election ballot.

With a majority of the work force now women, Black, Latin, and other nationally oppressed people, and white workers whose living standard has been rolled back by the bosses, unity is more possible than ever. With so much to gain, women will be in the front lines. That's why women are going to Lansing June 7!



WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

The conservative opposition

By Sam Marcy

On March 13, the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* carried a long letter which has since been characterized by the proponents of the Soviet reforms as a platform of the conservative opposition to restructuring.

The letter is written in the first person by Nina Andreyeva, a teacher at the Leningrad Soviet Technological Institute, and purports to give merely her personal views regarding the current political situation in the country. It touches on a variety of subjects — patriotism, pacifism, peaceful coexistence, the class struggle and other related matters.

However, it is basically a defense of Stalin and his historical role in the USSR. It is also basically opposed to the democratization process now well underway.

If that were all there was to it, it would scarcely make waves in the USSR in the struggle over the reforms. But it also raises some basic political questions regarding the perspective of socialism which have to be answered independently of the author's promotion and defense of Stalin.

Pravda's reply to Andreyeva letter

The article created such a stir that Pravda felt obligated on April 5 to present a full-page refutation of the allegations made by Andreyeva. Pravda's reply is a well-known recapitulation of the crimes of Stalin in the difficult period of his rule and of the terror that was employed which resulted in the deaths of many hundreds of thousands, if not millions, including most of the political opposition within the Party.

However, the reply in Pravda does not deal with the other questions that the Andreyeva article raises.

But first, here is how Andreyeva defends Stalin:

"Take the question of the place of J. V. Stalin in our country's history. It is with his name that the entire obsession with critical attacks is associated, an obsession that, in my opinion, has to do not so much with the historical personality itself as with the whole extremely complex transitional era — an era linked with the unparalleled exploits of an entire generation of Soviet people who today are gradually retiring from active labor, political and public activity. Industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution, which brought our country into the ranks of the great world powers, are being forcibly squeezed into the 'personality cult' formula. All these things are being questioned. Things have reached a point at which insistent demands for 'repentance' are being made on 'Stalinists' (and one can assign to their number whoever one wishes). Praise is being lavished on novels and films that lynch the era of tempestuous changes, which is presented as a 'tragedy of peoples.'"

Role of Stalin

It is sufficiently clear that the writer, if she is not for the revival of Stalinism, is certainly for the restoration of his historical role and is also against the entire process of democratization. Her position with respect to Stalin is considerably weakened by her own affirmation of Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress in 1956, which virtually demolished the role of Stalin and exposed his criminal role in the successive purges of the Party.

It is also weakened by her present affirmation of the decision of the 27th Congress and Gorbachev's report,

which is a continuation of Khrushchev's assault on and exposure of Stalin's role. Again, if that was all there was to the conservative opposition, it would not in our opinion be of any significance politically in the current debate over restructuring.

It is now 32 years since the 20th Congress. Several generations have grown up since then. Each succeeding congress, if it didn't specifically confirm the results and findings on the Stalin era of repression, certainly did nothing to disturb them. In fact, there continue to this day to be investigations by the Soviet judiciary of the purges, followed by the rehabilitation of important figures who had been imprisoned, exiled or shot.

For example, on Feb. 26, 1988, there were more findings on the commission of illegal acts during the purges. The Supreme Court and the CPSU Central Committee rehabilitated and absolved the well-known military leaders M. N. Tukhachevsky, A. I. Kork, I. E. Yakir, I. P. Uborevich, V. K. Putna, R. P. Eideman, V. M. Primakov and B. M. Feldman.

Of course, the most prominent victim of the purges, the Old Bolshevik Nikolai Bukharin, had been rehabilitated earlier.

The concept of the class struggle

The substance of the matter raised by the Andreyeva letter, however, is not directly related to Stalin's role.

"Recently," writes Andreyeva, "one of my students startled me with the revelation that the class struggle is supposedly an obsolete concept, as is the leading role of the proletariat. It would be all right if she were the only one maintaining such a thing." But such is not the case, says the author.

Without in any way addressing the issue of the leading role of the proletariat or what is meant by the obsolescence of the class struggle, Andreyeva raises the question to a theoretical position, while at the same time pointing an accusatory finger at the proponents of reform. Pravda's reply doesn't address itself to this question, nor does Andreyeva elaborate on the subject. It is well known, however, that in the USSR, as in other areas of the world and particularly in the imperialist countries, this question is frequently discussed.

Andreyeva doesn't say or even intimate whether the class struggle has any application in the USSR, or whether the leading role of the proletariat is a concept still held in Soviet political theory. It is now and again perfunctorily mentioned, but since under the Stalin regime classes were supposedly abolished, and the state itself under Khrushchev became a state of "the whole people," doesn't that in itself undermine the concept of the proletariat having the leading role?

Changes in Soviet Constitution

It is interesting to see the evolution of this concept. The first Constitution of the USSR, promulgated in 1918, stated in Article 1 that "Russia is hereby proclaimed a Republic of workers, soldiers, and peasant deputies. All power centrally and locally is vested in these Soviets."

Article 3 stated that the "fundamental aim is to abolish all exploitation of man by man and to completely eliminate the division of society into classes, to mercilessly crush the resistance of the exploiters, to establish a socialist order of society and to achieve the victory of socialism in all countries."

The 1936 Constitution under Stalin modified this and pointedly elimi-

nated the "victory of socialism in all countries."

The current Constitution of the USSR as amended in 1977 states (Article 1): "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the working people of all the nations and nationalities of the country."

Constitutions are merely legal documents. To compare them as evidence of social changes is absolutely wrong from a Marxist point of view, and is to take an altogether unhistorical and anti-dialectical view of social development. Nevertheless, the alterations are worthy of note, not as a reflection of social processes but of certain political developments which have made their mark on the succeeding constitutions of the USSR.

Role of working class in 'state of the whole people'

The 1977 Constitution is noteworthy for the phrase "a socialist state of the whole people." This is not merely a semantic change, since it for the first time mentions the intelligentsia along with the workers and peasants.

The language of the Constitution has been increasingly moderated. First the internationalist role was left out, then the intelligentsia were added.

During the early period of the Revolution, the proletariat was not even a majority of the people. From a formal point of view, it was a minority. But as the key to socialist development and the agent for the overthrow of the exploiting classes, the proletariat was the most significant class sociologically.

— Native people

Continued from page 1

corrupt agency set up by the U.S. government, much like the puppet regimes the U.S. maintains around the world.

As far as citizenship goes, the original inhabitants of this land were only granted U.S. citizenship in 1924 — and that was an attempt to negate their status as sovereign nations.

AIM leader charges 'racist frontier mentality'

Reagan admitted some mistakes were made along the way. Was he apologizing for the massacres, for the broken treaties, for the theft of Native children? No, his words were, "Maybe we should not have humored them in that — wanting to stay in that kind of primitive lifestyle."

The "primitive lifestyle" to which he referred was one in which everyone worked communally to provide food and shelter for all. In Native societies, women and gay people were accorded respect, as were children and elders. Police brutality, prisons, wars for profit, racism and poverty, the desecration of Mother Earth — these have been the gifts of capitalist "civilization."

Commenting on Reagan's remarks, Bill Means, national director of the American Indian Movement (AIM), told *Workers World*, "He didn't have to humor us when the U.S. killed over 10 million Indian people, when the U.S. gave us smallpox-infected blankets to kill us off. He doesn't have to humor us because we have the lowest per-capita income in the U.S. and have 80% unemployment on our reservations."

Means added, "We feel this comment not only exposed his racist frontier

The truth of the matter is that at that time the intelligentsia were numerically pretty formidable in relation to the proletariat. The proletariat had to rely almost wholly on the intelligentsia to administer the state.

Today, the proletariat is an overwhelming majority in the USSR and the intelligentsia's role as a social stratum should not be that significant. Moreover, a great number of the intelligentsia now are drawn from the ranks of the proletariat. So there's no real basis for making the intelligentsia a social pillar of the socialist state.

Attack on the intelligentsia

Without in so many words saying all this, the writer Andreyeva furtively attacks the intelligentsia, since it is the carrier of democratization. And Pravda, in its reply, devotes several paragraphs to the accomplishments of "our intelligentsia" which has "done a good deal to prepare public consciousness for understanding the need for deep and fundamental change. It itself has become actively involved in restructuring. It is arming itself with the best traditions created by its predecessors, appealing to conscience, morality and decency and upholding humanistic principles and socialist norms of life."

"A great many words," says Pravda, "have been said and written about the intelligentsia's unity with the working class and the collective farm peasantry. What new light has been shed on these truths now at this time of nationwide support for restructuring on the part of the broad masses of working people?"

Why all this sudden praise for the intelligentsia? Because the conservatives intimate that it is undermining

mentality in regards to Indian people, but it also underscores a Hollywood stereotype image as to our history."

Indian Rockefellers?

At the same press conference, Reagan managed in a few short sentences to completely obscure the economic devastation which Native people face daily.

"You'd be surprised," Reagan said. "Some of them [Native people] became very wealthy because some of those reservations were overlaying great pools of oil. And you can get very rich pumping oil. And so, I don't know what their complaint might be."

Think of wealthy oil barons. Do the names Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull come to mind, or Rockefeller and Getty?

Bill Means noted, "The U.S. government has been a co-conspirator along with corporations in robbing Indian people of billions of dollars in terms of natural resources. U.S. multinational corporations have siphoned off 75-80% of profits made from exploitation of oil and natural gas on Indian lands."

It's ironic that Reagan once played the role of General Custer in a grade-B movie. More than 100 years ago Custer, who made a military career out of the massacre of Indians, rode into the Black Hills as a hit man for those who sought profit from gold. Custer was defeated at the battle of Greasy Grass (Custer's Last Stand) by Native nations who banded together.

Today, a banding together of all oppressed and exploited peoples will ensure the final defeat of the profit system that Custer and Reagan both represent.

to the Soviet reforms

the leading role of the proletariat in the Soviet economy with its restructuring plans.

Hence, the allegation about the obsolescence of the class struggle. But the Andreyeva article doesn't say whether the class struggle refers to existing relations in the USSR or the class struggle outside the USSR.

Revolutionary role for proletariat?

The role of the proletariat, especially in the Western capitalist countries, has again and again been subjected to reevaluations.

For example, a number of significant defeats, such as in Germany in 1933, Spain in 1936-39 and Portugal in 1975, have been interpreted as evidence that the proletariat is no longer capable of taking power.

Others bring up that the opportunity for overturning the capitalist system in Europe existed immediately after the Second World War, when the workers' parties were armed in both France and Italy, but that they surrendered their arms and contented themselves with being an opposition in bourgeois democratic regimes.

However, the CPSU itself, under the leadership of Stalin, was the principal supporter and promoter of a peaceful transition from war to peace in Western Europe on the basis of the existence of democratic regimes. This was preceded by the dissolution of the Comintern, which was a signal for the abandonment of the revolutionary struggle and a continuation of the so-called collective security arrangement, which under Stalin was a cardinal precept of peaceful relations between the USSR and the "democratic" imperialist countries.

High-tech revolution in USSR

The term obsolescence of the class struggle also has reference to the changed role of the proletariat as a result of the recent wave of industrial rationalizations. The scientific and technological revolution has undermined the more privileged strata, the

more highly skilled, in the heavy industries of the capitalist countries, and brought about the phenomenon of low wages (see ad for *High Tech, Low Pay*).

This phenomenon is a constant source of discussion in the Soviet Union. The restructuring, or perestroika, aims above all at modernizing industry, heavy industry in particular, so as to shift the scientific-technological revolution into high gear. But does that necessarily negate the role of the proletariat as such? And does it mean that the social significance of the working class is thereby superseded by the technocrats and the intelligentsia?

Of course, from the viewpoint of communism, of the abolition of all social stratification and inequality, of making all administrators merely employees of the workers' state whose wages are equivalent to what an ordinary worker gets (as Marx put it in his *Critique of the Gotha Program* and Lenin elaborated in *State and Revolution*) — from that point of view the scientific-technological revolution is a tremendous boon. The increase of skilled workers, of a more educated working class, dispenses with the need for a bourgeois intelligentsia, let alone a monstrous bureaucracy, and is in fact an indispensable element to further the development of the productive forces.

This is just the opposite of what the working class in the capitalist countries is subjected to because of the scientific-technological revolution. There the character of capitalist accumulation, the chase for superprofits, ultimately leads to the lowering of the standard of living.

However, instead of posing correctly the question of the role of the proletariat in the epoch of the scientific-technological revolution, and drawing a sharp line between its consequences in the capitalist countries vs. what the beneficial effects ought to be in a socialist country, the writer merely raises suspicions about the role of the intelligentsia as bourgeois and intimates that the bureaucracy is responsible for liquidating the leading role of the proletariat in favor of bourgeois strata, in particular the literary elements who are now subjecting the Stalin era to review in history, novels, the theater and the cinema.

Gorbachev and Reagan: different class camps?

Further developing her thesis, Andreyeva gives an example of a "respected" but unnamed academician who asserted that "the present relations between states of the two different social and economic systems are devoid of class content." The same academician, she says, had earlier "written the exact opposite — that peaceful coexistence is nothing other than a form of class struggle in the international arena. It turns out that the philosopher has now repudiated that notion."

Here again the Pravda article does not bother to answer this or refer to it in any way. It is content to go on with its demolition of Stalin, his purges, and so on, which in and of itself is of course correct. But it is also necessary to address these questions.

At this writing, when President Reagan is in Moscow attending a summit meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev on the occasion of the signing of the INF Treaty, the ceremony, pomp and atmosphere of conviviality do lend themselves to the illusion that "the present relations between [the two states] are devoid of



The conservatives are against the process of democratization. While making left criticisms of the reforms, they have no economic program. They leave unanswered the question of improving the living standards of the workers and their families, like these future chemical engineers at Samarkand University.

class content." But that's the most dangerous of dangerous delusions.

A scarce two days before President Reagan left for his trip to Moscow along with a tremendous entourage of specialists on all sorts of problems, ranging from arms control to the environment, the U.S. Congress dutifully passed a Pentagon budget of \$300 billion. Huge chunks of it are targeted on the further refinement and development of nuclear weapons. And right in Moscow, Reagan reaffirmed his desire to go on with the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars).

As if that were not enough, the Pentagon then announced a project for a three-stage rocket to launch weapons into outer space.

The question of peaceful coexistence

Of course, the issue of peaceful coexistence has been a subject of controversy over decades. It was not introduced by the Gorbachev administration, but dates back to the Stalin period itself, which first raised the idea of collective security, of uniting the imperialist democracies against the Axis powers and of making peaceful coexistence a cardinal programmatic point, not just of Soviet diplomacy but of the program of the Communist Parties internationally as an instrument to combat fascism.

However, the imperialist democracies were in no way attached to the concept when in 1938 they agreed to the Munich Pact with Hitler and gave him the green light to attack the USSR.

Khrushchev raised it anew in the early sixties, with such vigor and confidence as to almost make it a dogma. Fortunately, the Cuban Revolution upset this and showed to what lengths imperialism would go. This once again confirmed the hostile, antagonistic character of imperialism not only to the existing socialist states but to the peoples oppressed by imperialism and capitalism.

Once again, Andreyeva merely raises the question but does not actually come out for or against peaceful coexistence, or describe what its limitations are and how it has differed in each historical period since the October Revolution.

Lenin too favored peace with the

imperialists. At the same time he was the initiator of the Communist International whose program was that of world revolution.

"Which class or stratum of society is the guiding and mobilizing force of restructuring?" asks Andreyeva. By posing it this way, which class or stratum of society is guiding it, the author by implication identifies the present regime as representing a stratum of society rather than a class, the working class. Just merely putting it this way supplies the answer, that the Gorbachev regime represents a social stratum, to wit, the bourgeois intelligentsia, and not the proletariat.

Otherwise, the author would not divide the current debate into two ideological currents, both of them in favor of restructuring but who "agree on exterminating socialist values." One current she calls "left-liberal dilettantish socialism" that is an "exponent of humanism." The other is "against proletarian collectivism" and adheres to "God-seeking tendencies, technocratic idols, the preaching of the 'democratic' charms of present-day capitalism and fawning over its achievements, real and imagined."

In a sense, therefore, the conservatives, that is, the pro-Stalin elements, have taken the position of leftist critics of the Gorbachev regime. While most of their fire is directed against the bourgeois critics, it is hard to know where their arrows are really aimed — at the Gorbachev leadership or at the neobourgeois critics — since both of them, according to the author, are trying to destroy "socialist values."

Conservatives avoid discussing economic content of reforms

This leftist criticism of the political struggle in the USSR might have value in and of itself were it not solely devoted to criticizing some of the bourgeois political manifestations of the reforms. However, when it comes to the content of the economic reforms, the conservative attack falls down completely. It does not even mention them.

In fact, it does not direct itself to the existing economic situation or the problems of the working class in the face of the restructuring tasks. It is totally devoid of any content with respect to the living condition of the workers.

As the Pravda article states, "We have made real efforts to start solving the most paramount and urgent problems — housing, food and provision of goods and services for the population." These are the issues! But the conservative manifesto, as Andreyeva's article is called, is devoid of anything like that.

Pravda, in its reply, says that "Some people maintain 'we're heading in the direction of petty-bourgeois socialism based on commodity-money relations.'"

That is a central question.

Are the reforms heading in the direction of a revival of commodity-money relations of the type that existed during the NEP period, which is what the bourgeois opposition as expressed by economist Shmelyov (see last week's article) is clamoring for? It is precisely this issue that the conservatives don't address, and hence their thesis could be dismissed as nothing but an apologia for the Stalin regime.

It remains to be seen whether the conservative opposition, if it really exists as a significant force, can make itself felt at the forthcoming Party conference.

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EDITORIALS

Senator Moneybags

Members of the U.S. Senate like to boast that they belong to "the most exclusive club in the world."

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All the big dynasties are represented, directly or indirectly: Senator John Danforth from the Ralston-Purina family, Senator Heinz from the ketchup monopoly, Senator John Warner representing the Mellon family's oil, banking and aluminum interests, Senator Lowell Weicker of the Squibb pharmaceutical fortune, Senator Lloyd Bentsen from the biggest land-owning family in the Rio Grande valley, Senator John D. Rockefeller 4th of the oil and banking family, Senator Edward Kennedy with his vast real-estate holdings, Senator Rudy Boschwitz, the lumber king.

The big-business press admits that at least 36 of the 100 senators are millionaires. Many believe the actual number is higher.

Most people in this country are not millionaires and multimillionaires. Why then should the most powerful legislative body in Washington be packed with these types? Aren't they the ones, Republicans and Democrats alike, who pushed through all the budget cuts for social programs needed by working people and

the poor, while giving away the store to the Pentagon? But the millionaires in the Senate don't have to worry about paying for health-care.

And aren't they the same legislators who cut taxes for the rich by 50%, while millions of people roam the streets homeless and more millions lose their jobs to high-tech layoffs?

The U.S. Senate is a body of millionaires ruling in the interest of millionaires and billionaires. It is, in fact, a sort of House of Lords, perfectly expressing the fraudulent character of a so-called "democratic system," which in reality operates on behalf of an economic oligarchy.

The Times shows its hatred for Africa

There is no depth to which U.S. imperialism will not sink to slander the socialist countries. A recent editorial in the New York Times (May 26) is an expression of such arrogance.

Entitled "Banquets can feed Ethiopians," the editorial attacks the Mengistu government for hosting the annual meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), where, they say, there will be "banquets and gala receptions" at a time when there is terrible famine in parts of the country.

The fact that there is terrible poverty, homelessness and hunger amidst the most obscene display of wealth and privilege in New York City doesn't seem to faze the editorial writers at the Times. They would rather attack so-

cialist Ethiopia even though that country continues to do everything possible despite its limited resources to bring relief to the victims of drought and famine. In fact it has been the U.S., the CIA and the reactionary counter-insurgency in the Tigre and Eritrean provinces which have thwarted every effort to bring relief to those who need it and who have tried to use food aid as a military weapon against the socialist government.

What the imperialists are doing is not only attacking Ethiopia, they are showing their racist hostility to the OAU as well. The OAU is a body of 31 African countries established in 1963 in the midst of great revolutionary upheavals on the African continent against centuries-old European colonialism. Such a body would not have been conceivable 50 years ago during the epoch of capitalist expansion. The OAU conference of developing countries has excluded the racist apartheid regime of South Africa and is generally anti-imperialist in character, to the dismay of the imperialist powers. For example, this current session of the OAU passed a resolution supporting the Angolan government and denouncing the counterrevolutionary UNITA forces as puppets of South Africa. This is the kind of resolution that U.S. imperialism does not want to see passed.

The fact that the OAU meeting is taking place in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia and the site of the organization's founding, further irks the imperialists and shows that despite the enormous problems it faces, the Ethiopian Revolution is strong and an anti-imperialist beacon on the African continent.

U.S. opens covert war on Angola through Zaire

By Monica Moorehead

May 30 — The revolutionary leadership of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA) has revealed startling evidence that U.S. imperialism has set up neighboring Zaire as a major training ground for the counter-revolutionary forces of UNITA.

The Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) is an anti-communist renegade group, led by Jonas Savimbi, that has been conducting an all-out terrorist civil war against the PRA in the interests of their masters, South Africa and the Reaganites.

Angolan military spokespersons have stated that in order for these mercenaries to establish a second front (in addition to the one in southern Angola) the Zairean government had to make an agreement with its Washington backers to allow UNITA access to six military bases in the southern part of that country.

One Angolan commander charged that U.S. troops deliberately left behind arms and equipment for UNITA following U.S.-Zairean joint maneuvers known as Flintlock 88 carried out by the U.S. European command on May 12.

The U.S. and South Africa hope that Zaire will be transformed into "UNITA's American front" to help bolster their contra forces. The U.S. government has utilized Honduras in a similar way by providing the major base set up there for the contras to harass and terrorize the Nicaraguan revolution.

This latest revelation comes at a time when talks have been underway to bring about a peace settlement in southern Africa. Official representatives from the PRA, Cuba, the Soviet Union, the U.S. and South Africa are scheduled to resume negotiations to plan simultaneous withdrawals of

Cuban troops from Angola and for apartheid occupying forces to leave Namibia.

These withdrawals would supposedly lead to the independence of Namibia, a mineral-rich country illegally dominated since the end of World War I by heinous apartheid policies of super-exploitation and racist oppression. UNITA along with the South African Defense Forces have been attempting to crush SWAPO, the heroic guerilla movement in Namibia, which maintains a strategic operating base inside Angola.

The Zairean government, headed by the brutal dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko, has been one of the staunchest pro-U.S. puppets since the 1960s following the decimation of the revolutionary people's movement led by Patrice Lumumba in what was then the Belgian Congo. Lumumba and other Congolese revolutionaries were murdered during a CIA-orchestrated coup in 1961.

Whether these peace talks prove to be successful or not remains to be seen. What is clear is that the role Zaire is playing in providing sanctuary for the ruthless, discredited UNITA puppets could very well lay the basis for a widening of a war that is between the repressive, fascist apartheid regime, its U.S. imperialist allies and lackeys on one side and the anti-apartheid revolutionary government of Angola and its allies, i.e., SWAPO and ANC, on the other side.

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People's power emerges in occupied West Bank, Gaza

Palestinian 'self-sufficiency' a revolutionary development

By Joyce Chediac

A historic development is taking place in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza strip as the uprising there reaches its seventh month: the emergence of dual power.

Unarmed, on sheer force of will, the Palestinian people are locked in a struggle with Israel to transfer governing power to the people. Their ultimate goal is to assert full Palestinian sovereignty in the occupied territories. The catchword among Palestinians is "self-sufficiency."

Workers form the backbone of this revolutionary development. Women are in a key role as activists and also have assumed new leadership positions in popular committees. The entire population is politicized and involved. The new governing institutions that they are building are based not on coercion, but on the voluntary will of the people.

This phase of the uprising is also a study in the reciprocal relationship between the revolutionary leadership and the masses whom they lead. The uprising is directed by the underground National Unified Leadership comprised of the major groups in the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Islamic Jihad in Gaza. Through a series of mass leaflets, these leaders provide political clarity and provide guidelines for strategy and tactics.

"This phase of the uprising is also a study in the reciprocal relationship between the revolutionary leadership and the masses whom they lead. The uprising is directed by the underground National Unified Leadership comprised of the major groups in the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Islamic Jihad in Gaza. Through a series of mass leaflets, these leaders provide political clarity and provide guidelines for strategy and tactics."

"The basis of these alternative institutions is the popular committees. There are now 45,000 of them in the occupied territories, according to Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, a Palestinian researcher.

These committees do everything from defending villages against settler attack to organizing clinics to distributing food to strikers. When Israel closed the school system, the committees developed a vast network of underground schools. Popular committees are now running Nablus, the largest city on the West Bank.

According to the March issue of Democratic Palestine, a publication of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, these popular committees "provide the infrastructure for the population's sustenance, while serving as a popular alternative authority to the occupation authority."

The following are some of the forms

that this alternative authority has taken:

Providing basic necessities for strikers. The many general strikes have formed the core of the uprising. Democratic Palestine estimates that "the strike cost the Israeli economy \$2 billion in the initial period." Some workers are on strike to this day. More often, as a matter of survival, family members rotate going to work in Israel. Popular committees have stepped in to provide a support network to meet the needs of strikers when there are no salaries coming in.

Sada Alwatan (Feb.20-26 issue), a Detroit Arab community newspaper, describes "a very sophisticated state of organization devised to ascertain the needs of the community to include all the camps, towns, neighborhoods. They are literally taking census of individual household needs."

Due to the work of the popular committees, rents of striking workers and merchants have been "forgiven" by many Palestinian landlords. And Hussein Khalil, a Palestinian worker from the Kalandia refugee camp near the West Bank city of Ramallah, explains, "During the last ceasefire each day I would find at my door a bag containing powdered milk for the baby, sardines, chunks of meat, sugar and tea. I am sure that the local people's committee was behind this aid." (Le Monde Diplomatique, April 1.)

The committees are also stocking canned goods and cultivating yard lot vegetable gardens in preparation for emergencies.

Defending the population from soldiers and settlers. Many Palestinian police have resigned from Israeli-appointed town governments, and the popular committees have established their own police.



All layers of the population are politicized.

WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

The youth seen on TV throwing stones at Israeli soldiers are part of a "striking force" organized in every village, camp and town neighborhood. "Round the clock people prepare roadblocks, guard their areas and collect stones," says Democratic Palestine.

The "guardian committees" stand watch mostly at night at the entrances to camps and neighborhoods and sound the alarm at the approach of armed Israeli settlers or soldiers, drawing on other villages for support.

Replacing municipal governments. The uprising is moving to purge municipal administrations of Israeli and Jordanian influence and to assert Palestinian sovereignty. Due to mass pressure, the Israeli-appointed mayor of Nablus has resigned, and this city of 120,000 is now run by a network of popular committees.

The people's organizations are pressuring other Israeli-connected town administrations by refusing to pay taxes and by usurping their function — collecting trash and performing other municipal duties. In Bethlehem, for example, the rents, property taxes and business fees that supply an annual \$2 million operating budget have dried up to 10-15% of normal.

"The popular committees are functioning with no other appointments from anyone but the people," said a participant in the uprising (Christian Science Monitor, April 21).

Liberated zones. Some remote villages have even declared themselves "liberated zones" or "autonomous Palestinian areas." Many have barricaded the entrances to their villages to make it difficult for troops to enter. They fly the outlawed Palestinian flag and conduct all public functions themselves.

How did this happen? According to Nashashibi, "They have won through struggle the right to live in their villages free of troop presence."

While certainly a massive troop presence could destroy their unarmed defense, these villages have been so militant in their resistance to Israeli soldiers, says Nashashibi, "that the soldiers have decided to stay away, that it is not worth it to go there."

Price regulation, boycott of Israeli goods. Merchant committees organize commercial strikes, provide for limited openings so that the population can get food, enforce price control and strive to get Palestinian goods sold rather than those from Israel. In response to a call from the underground leadership, merchants are limiting business hours to 9 a.m. to 12 noon in order to, according to one merchant, "show the Israelis that we refuse them."

All of this has been accomplished under the most repressive of conditions. More than 200 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli soldiers, 8,000 are in jail and 1,700 more are being held in administrative deten-



Determined Palestinian woman stops Israeli soldier from beating a youth.

tion. Hundreds of thousands of people have been held under 24-hour curfew for weeks on end, there have been mass beatings and deportations. Israeli terrorists even assassinated PLO leader Abu Jihad in an attempt to stop the uprising.

But so far, in this atmosphere of confidence in the might of mass action, each obstacle put in their path by the Israeli oppressor has unleashed the creative energies of the Palestinian people, who have striven to overcome the restrictions.

For example, four months ago in an attempt to quell the uprising, Tel Aviv closed the schools, calling them "breeding grounds for conspiracy." However, the uprising responded with a vast network of underground schools — 80 alone in Nablus — in private homes, mosques and churches. These underground schools not only teach the three Rs; they also teach Palestinian history and current events, topics forbidden in the Israel schools.

Now, in an attempt to thwart this underground school movement, which has raised the political level of the youth, the Israeli government has announced that the schools will be reopened.

This historic mass mobilization brings with it a whole change in social relations. This change can be seen most clearly in the participation of large numbers of women who set up and now lead many of the popular committees.

According to a Palestinian woman interviewed on National Public Radio on May 21, the long curfews pushed women into this new role. "When they let people out for one hour, the Israelis announced 'only the women can go out and shop,'" she said. "It didn't take long for the women to organize and become the leaders of the street."

Rita Giacomen, a community health expert at Beir Zeit University, points out that "the men are in prison or deported. Women fit right in and have filled the political vacuum."

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Desarrollo histórico en la lucha del pueblo palestino

Por Joyce Chediac

Un desarrollo histórico en la lucha palestina está tomando lugar en los territorios ocupados por Israel, de Gaza y la Ribera Occidental y es el resurgimiento de un mando dual como resultado de los levantamientos que ya lleva siete meses.

Armados solamente de una gran voluntad, el pueblo palestino está enfrascado en una lucha por el poder de su tierra con Israel. Su objetivo primordial es el de aseverar la soberanía palestina en los territorios ocupados. La palabra clave entre los palestinos es "autosuficiencia".

Los trabajadores forman la columna vertebral en este desarrollo revolucionario y las mujeres juegan un papel decisivo como activistas y han asumido una posición de liderazgo en los diferentes comités de acción. Al mismo tiempo que la población en su totalidad ha tomado conciencia y se ha involucrado en la lucha. Las nuevas instituciones de gobierno no se forman en base de coerción sino por el deseo del mismo pueblo.

La dinámica de esta nueva fase en la lucha es un estudio en la relación que existe entre el liderazgo revolucionario y las masas que ellos dirigen. El levantamiento está dirigido por el clandestino Liderato Unificado Nacional compuesto por los principales grupos dentro de la Organización para la Liberación de Palestina y el Jihad Islámico de Gaza. Por medio de una masiva difusión, estos líderes han proporcionado claridad política y han fijado los parámetros para la estrategia y la táctica a seguir.

"Es el pueblo el que va a forjar su propio destino", explico Rana Nashashibi, un activista palestino del West Bank quien se encontraba en una gira por Estados Unidos. "El pueblo ha empezado a darse cuenta de que ellos mismos pueden dirigir su propio destino. Ellos han podido medir su fuerza en el levantamiento, y por ende han formado los instrumentos de organización necesarios para mantenerlo".

La base de estas instituciones de alternativa son los comités populares, existen 45.000 de estos comités en los territorios ocupados según el Dr. Mahdi Adul Hadi, reconocido historiador

Convocan paro nacional en Ecuador

La crisis política que vive Ecuador se ha agudizado en forma creciente y la clase obrera en estos momentos se encuentra movilizada, en demanda de mejores salarios. Estos movimientos huelguísticos comenzaron hace 13 días, plegándose a estos movimientos todos los estratos populares de la nación ecuatoriana.

Fausto Durán dirigente del frente obrero declaró: el país será paralizado en contra de la política económica de Febres Cordero. Los paros huelguísticos han sido reprimidos en forma violenta y dejaron un saldo de 150 detenidos y cerca de una decena de heridos, especialmente en la ciudad de Quito donde se produjeron las más combativas manifestaciones en contra del gobierno.

palestino.

Estos comités hacen de todo, desde la defensa de las aldeas hasta la organización de la distribución de comida a los huelguistas. Ellos han desarrollado un sistema de enseñanza clandestina cuando Israel clausura el sistema escolar. Los comités populares en estos momentos están administrando la ciudad mas grande de la Ribera Occidental.

De acuerdo con la edición de marzo de la revista Palestina Democrática, publicación del Frente Popular para la Liberación de Palestina, los comités populares "proveen la infraestructura para el sostenimiento de la población, al mismo tiempo que sirven como una alternativa de poder popular al poder de ocupación".

Esta histórica movilización de las masas trae consigo cambios fundamentales en las relaciones sociales, esto se puede claramente notar en la participación de un gran número de mujeres quienes han creado y ahora dirigen muchos comités populares. Rita Giacomini, una experta en el estado de las comunidades de la universidad Bier Zeit, señala "los hombres son encarcelados o deportados y las mujeres han llenado este vacío político". Todo esto ha sido logrado bajo las mas represivas condiciones.

Manifestación en apoyo al pueblo palestino en Nueva York

El sábado 4 de junio se ha convocado una manifestación en apoyo al pueblo palestino denominada "Día Nacional de Protesta para Poner fin a la Ocupación Israelí".

Esta manifestación tiene como propósito el denunciar las matanzas, los encarcelamientos y las deportaciones

¡Abajo con la Migra!

Por Teresa Gutierrez

El 1ro de Junio va a entrar en vigor la segunda etapa de la Immigration and Reform Control Act (IRCA) de 1986, ley que establece sanciones de empleo en contra de los patrones que ocupan personas indocumentadas, la multa para los que transgredan esta ley será de \$250 hasta \$10.000 pero en el fondo esta es una ley que reprime al obrero aun más. Esta segunda etapa de la ley continuará después de la célebre provisión de amnistía.

Durante este período, la clase dominante y sus medios masivos de comunicación trabajaron en forma intensiva para crear una falsa ilusión de que la odiada "migra" se había vuelto pro-emigrante y "al servicio del pueblo". Pero al ver el programa y sus leyes, nos quedamos convencidos que es nada más que una farsa.

A pesar de sólo la tercera parte de los seis millones de personas indocumentadas que viven en este país tuvieron la oportunidad de aplicar para la "amnistía", debemos de considerarlo como un avance de gran importancia para todo obrero. Desde el principio del programa, el Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización (MIGRA) ha obstaculi-



Reciente manifestación en apoyo al pueblo palestino en el 20 aniversario de la ocupación israelita. San Francisco mayo del 88.

FOTO: JANE CUTTER

masivas de palestinos perpetrados por el ejército de ocupación israelita en Gaza y en la Ribera Occidental. Lo mismo que el de denunciar el financiamiento estadounidense del represivo ejército invasor.

La convocatoria se ha hecho para las 12 del día, frente de la estación de reclutamiento del ejército de E.U., localizada en la calle 43 y Broadway. Se marchará hasta el parque Union Square,

zado y creado confusión, con leyes totalmente contradictorias. El material informativo distribuido por la migra carecía de las informaciones más básicas, tales como direcciones claras o números telefónicos correctos.

Se puede decir que esta parte de la ley facilita que los patrones racistas discriminen en contra de aquellos que se ven "forasteros", y los que más sufren son los latinos, árabes, asiáticos y negros, siendo estos los que ejecutan los peores trabajos y los que reciben el maltrato patronal.

Es en contra de esta parte de la ley, que aquellos que luchan por los derechos de los indocumentados se han organizado y embarcado en una campaña que demanda derogar esta ley racista y anti obrera. Mientras que el esfuerzo está concentrado hacia la misma administración que desarrolló esta ley, se intentará documentar lo racista de esta ley con la Organización Contadora General (GAO) y así poder abolir esta ley maldita.

Pero la GAO, parte investigadora del congreso, no mantiene una posición imparcial. Hace dos meses que esta misma organización tomó el lado ofensivo de las corporaciones anti obreras, diciendo que eran los indocumentados los culpables de la baja de salarios y del estandar de vida de este país.

Mientras que la prensa y el gobierno siguen empujando la falsa imagen "humanitaria" de la migra, más dólares han sido asignados para armamento y vigilancia de las fronteras. Y como tam-

bién la apertura de varias oficinas nuevas de la migra en ciudades como Houston y Dallas. Esos mismos dólares son los que se les demandó por la aplicación de "amnistía".

Para el indocumentado la migra no sólo representa a los que vigilan las fronteras, sino que representa la policía que existe para reprimir la clase trabajadora y en este caso la clase trabajadora sin documentos.

Con el paso de los años, la migra ha causado terror y muerte, matando indocumentados sin clemencia. El año pasado un niño de 16 años fué capturado por la migra y sin motivo alguno lo tiraron contra el cemento hasta causarle su muerte. Y son estos los que vigilan las fronteras, es por eso que los indocumentados prefieren morir afixados dentro de los camiones o vagones del tren que los transportan, antes que morir en manos de la migra.

Esta segunda etapa de la ley IRCA, tiene que ser rechazada por todos. Tanto por aquellos que defienden los derechos de todo obrero, o los que organizan al trabajador en sindicatos para demandar mejores sueldos y condiciones de trabajo para todos, con o sin documentos, en sindicatos o no.

Esta ley de sanciones no es más que un nuevo ataque a la clase obrera que lucha día a día contra el patron. Lo que necesitamos es que toda aquella persona capacitada tenga el derecho al empleo, y que se respeten los derechos a todos los trabajadores sean estos indocumentados o no. ¡Raza Si, Migra No!