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Protests grow against apartheid



Socialist Action/Asher Hare

By GEORGE CRANSTON

A wave of protest against the apartheid regime in South Africa is sweeping the United States. The protests come at a time when a new upsurge in the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa is shaking the Botha government.

Between Nov. 2 and Nov. 10, there were successful anti-apartheid conferences at Yale University in New Haven, Conn., at Wayne State University in Detroit, and in Atlanta.

Then, on Nov. 21, Secret Service agents arrested Walter Fauntroy, the District of Columbia's non-voting Congressional delegate; Mary Berry, a member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission; and Randall Robinson, a prominent Black lobbyist on African affairs, all of whom had refused to leave the South African Embassy in Washington. They had intended to meet with the South African ambassador to demand the release of 12 Black South African unionists jailed after a Nov. 5 general strike in the Transvaal region.

The sit-in by the three Black leaders sparked a nationwide protest movement. Similar direct actions against pro-apartheid targets occurred in Boston, New York, and other cities. Over 300

(continued on page 11)



Meatpackers mobilize to save plant

By JAKE COOPER

AUSTIN, Minn.—Meatpackers here have begun a drive to counter the attempt of the George A. Hormel company to cut their wages 23 percent. On Oct. 8, after workers refused to give in to proposed concessions, the company invoked a clause in the contract that it said allowed it to lower wages to the levels paid by competitors. Wages were reduced from \$10.69 to \$8.25 an hour.

Hormel had threatened to close down the Austin plant in 1980, charging that it was outmoded and inefficient. The workers, however, chipped in \$20 million in wage concessions and cost-of-living bonuses in order to build the present ultra-modern plant—where productivity is among the highest in the country.

Officials of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCWU) charge that Hormel is making a hefty profit at its new "flagship" facility in Austin. The plant brought in \$28 million in profits last year. The local leaders argue that the concession contract agreed to between the UFCWU international leadership and the Hormel chain does not apply to them because of the 1980 wage cuts that they had already granted to the company.

Union members believe that they have been doublecrossed after the sacrifices that they made to build the new

More labor news.
See pp. 4-5

plant. Their bitterness brought 3000 to a boisterous protest rally on Dec. 9, and could lead to a showdown with the company when the contract expires next fall. For the present, however, the meatpackers are working at lower wages while the case is brought to an arbiter.

(continued on page 5)

Jake Cooper is a former meatpacker and was a leader of the Minneapolis Teamster strikes of 1934.

Labor-backed S.F. coalition pushes mass April 20 action

By LARRY COOPERMAN and CARL FINAMORE

SAN FRANCISCO—A dramatic step forward for the Bay Area antiwar movement took place Dec. 20. Representatives of two parallel coalitions that had formed to build an April 20 antiwar demonstration met and agreed to form a single, united coalition. The agreement was reached following the decision taken by each of the groups, at separate Dec. 18 planning meetings, to strive to attain unity.

The purpose of the two Dec. 18 meetings was to organize for a massive spring demonstration against U.S. policy in Central America and South Africa; against the continuing arms race; and for "Jobs and Justice, Not War."

A joint unity statement had been worked out in advance of the scheduled meetings by Eugene "Gus" Newport, mayor of Berkeley, and Al Lannon, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6. Newport and Lannon initiated the respective coalitions.

The unity statement noted that "We could focus on that division—albeit a temporary one—but we more rightfully choose to point out that between the two meetings is represented a potential

majority position...New forces from labor, church, and the community are stepping forward to help build a movement which can shape national policy even under Reagan."

Both meetings were well-attended,

reflecting a revival of interest in organizing mass demonstrations against the U.S. government's policies in Central America and South Africa.

Mayor Newport's meeting was

(continued on page 6)



Building the antiwar movement.
A discussion with:

- Dave Dellinger, longtime peace leader
- Al Lannon, president, ILWU Local 6
- Joe Lindenmuth, president, USWA Local 2265
- Phil Wheaton, director, EPICA
- Sidney Lens, author and antiwar leader

See FORUM pp. 7-10

India disaster/Ethiopia famine.

See page 16.

Fight back!

White House Grinch steals Christmas

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

Children sent hundreds of letters to Santa Claus at Christmas that revealed desperate loneliness and poverty. "We are still getting the perennial toy-request lists, but so many of the letters this season show need—real hardship," said Millie Lee, a spokeswoman for New York's General Post Office.

One child—Angel in Manhattan—wrote, "I got nothing last Christmas. I asked my grandmother, the only person who worried about me, what happened. Why didn't Santa come? She said, 'Santa is with Reaganomics.'"

President Reagan's budget plan came just in time for Christmas. In keeping with his kindly Christian nature, nearly one-fifth of his proposed \$34 billion cut in next year's domestic budget was to be taken from the dinner table of the poor.

Studies from the December 1984 *Scientific American* report that children make up the largest portion of the poor in this country. In 1970, 16 percent of those under 14 lived in poverty. By 1982, 23 percent of our children were living below the poverty line.



ARNOLD ROTH

Well, the Grinch in the White House brought a special surprise for children! Child nutrition programs, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps, aid for handicapped and disadvantaged education, parts of the school lunch program, funds to elementary and secondary schools and libraries—and much, much more will be taken away from them.

We all laughed when we heard Reagan urge a 10 percent cut in the high salaries of congressmen and cabinet members. He even hinted that he himself might take a cut—to show how democratic he is about the budget. But 10 percent from a millionaire still leaves a few dollars to play with. Nancy could still afford Gucci bags.

Ten percent, or 5 percent, or 3 percent from a single parent who receives perhaps \$450 per month for herself and her children cuts very close to the bone. It means less food, clothing, and necessities. Imposing "workfare" rules on a mother living on welfare will leave her children unattended at home. But those are the plans for the future of the poor that the real-life Grinch is hatching up.

Parents will go deep into debt at Christmastime to provide the toys, trees, and presents that mean so much to their children. And these things mean even more to parents who want to give their children a better life than they had. The dream of all parents is that their children will grow up in a happier, safer world. There's no better reason to fight for a socialist future—for our children.



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Coming in next issue:

Labor theory of value . . . by Ralph Forsyth
Women in Nicaragua . . . by Margaret Mora
Coors boycott An interview
Brazil elections On the scene report
The Fortune 500 . . . by Ralph Schoenman
Dutch peace movement . . . by Thomas Van Duin

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

Budget cuts kick off Reagan's 2nd term

President Reagan's inauguration on Jan. 21 will surpass even the Super Bowl in lavishness. The solemnities of office will be preceded by a cheerleading extravaganza lasting four days. Non-stop parades, fireworks, rallies, concerts, and white-tie balls (by invitation only) will carry the theme: "We the People—An American Celebration."

Unfortunately, most of the American people will be unable to join the merriment. Reagan's second term has presented them with an unpredictable economy and a governmental assault on their standard of living that is unprecedented since Nixon's 1971 wage freeze.

Immediately after Reagan's election victory, Budget Director David Stockman reported that the budget deficit for 1986 would approximate \$206 billion, instead of the \$174 billion his office had forecast several weeks earlier. The difference between the two sums is close to the \$34 billion that the administration is trying to slice out of its domestic funding programs for next year.

"I am willing to lead the charge—to go to the American people," Reagan proclaimed, as he resolved to do without a tenth of his \$200,000 annual salary. In the same breath, the millionaire president asked 2.1 million government workers to follow his example and accept a 5 percent cut in their wages. An alternative plan would eliminate 125,000 government jobs.

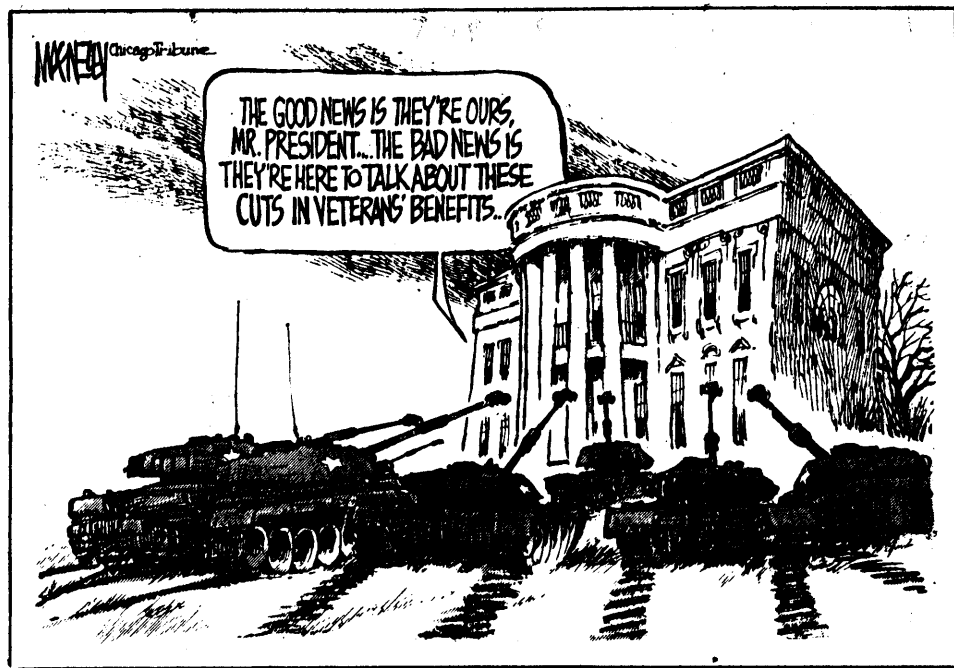
Probable tax hikes

Reagan swore that taxes would be increased "over his dead body."

But his administration has raised the specter of a plan that would begin to tax unemployment and veteran benefits and company-financed pensions, meals, day care, education, and health benefits.

This ploy will make inroads into recently negotiated union contracts in which workers were forced to give up wages in favor of fringe packages. In addition, working people may expect to pay higher local taxes, fees, tolls, and bus fares to make up for proposed cuts in federal grants to cities and states and in expenditures for mass transportation and other public works.

Reagan affirmed that the only major budget items off-limits to this year's



cuts are Social Security and interest on the national debt—which will be delivered on time to the bankers. Likewise, although Reagan did not admit it, the Pentagon's swollen money supply will continue to increase by some 6 percent.

In fact, in the five years since Reagan first took office, military spending has risen an average of 14 percent a year—for a total increase of over \$1 trillion. The military now accounts for a third of the entire federal budget.

The administration is still testing the extent of possible opposition to its cut-backs. But it is clear already that the Democratic Party is willing to join Reagan in wiping out numerous projects introduced as part of their own Great Society, New Frontier, and New Deal schemes. This attitude was evident in Mondale's Reagan-like campaign calls for cuts in federal spending—with the addition of higher taxes.

"New wave" Democrats

Most of the politicians who are scrambling for the leadership of the Democratic Party are even more forth-

right than Mondale in advocating policies that favor Big Business.

The "new wave" is typified by Rep. Richard Gephardt of Missouri—who co-authored a "tax simplification" bill that is similar to Reagan's proposal. Gephardt calls for pared-down social programs and opposes abortion and busing for desegregation. He believes that these policies will make necessary a "blurring of the lines" between his party and the Republicans.

Gephardt's point of view coincides with that of the top financiers of the Democratic Party, who recently told the *Washington Post* that they are stepping out from behind the scenes in order "to move the party toward their business-oriented, centrist viewpoints."

But the Democratic Party's "money caucus" still faces a tug-of-war with the peace, environmental, and minority groups that remain in the Democratic Party under the illusion that the party can work for social progress.

In the words of Democratic national committee member Sharon Pratt Dixon, the party must stress "economic wel-

fare" as opposed to "social welfare."

And to do this, Jesse Jackson and other reformist leaders must be roped in still closer toward the mainstream. "Special interest" groups within the national committee must be muzzled or eliminated.

Labor's lack of protest

In response, John Perkins, who heads the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, can only whine that the labor movement is "not going to be stamped into anything."

The lack of any other protest against the bipartisan attacks indicates that union leaders are willing to accommodate themselves still further to the wealthy overlords of the Democratic Party—if only they are given enough time to persuade union members to compromise.

The high command of the two ruling-class parties may look to one fact to underpin their calculations: Working people have not yet built a party of their own. For years, the Democratic Party feted the leaders of the working class as "labor statesmen," endowed them as partners in the Democratic "coalition," and sent them home with a doggy bag of concessions for their memberships.

Now, in a failing economy, the labor bureaucrats—and like-minded overseers of the womens', Black, and other movements of the oppressed—have been left holding an empty bag before an increasingly restive rank and file.

Despite the ballyhoo of the Mondale campaign—into which many organizations threw their memberships and treasuries—several militant trade union battles and numerous local antiwar demonstrations took place in 1984. This year will bring new struggles by meat-packers, rubber workers, and teamsters—and massive antiwar rallies in April.

The working class will not bow easily to the weight of leaders who are tied to the Democratic Party. But the anger and inevitable struggles that lie ahead must be organized. For this it will be essential that the trade unions and all organizations of the oppressed break with the Democratic Party and launch a labor party with a fighting program in opposition to the bipartisan policies of cut-backs and austerity.

By HAYDEN PERRY

On Nov. 13, the Rev. Douglas Roth, pastor of the Trinity Lutheran Church in Clairton, Pa., was arrested and sentenced to a 90-day jail term and fined \$1200 for refusing to obey a judge's order to vacate his church. Roth is being ousted by Bishop Kenneth May because of the militant actions of Roth and other ministers on behalf of the unemployed in the Monongahela Valley.

Roth is a member of the Denominational Ministry Strategy (DMS), a militant grouping of primarily Lutheran and Episcopal ministers in the Pittsburgh area, organized to fight against unemployment and plant closings.

Becky Fosbrink, treasurer of the Trinity Lutheran Church, explained what was behind the confrontation to *Socialist Action* reporters Paul Le Blanc and Tom Twiss.

Fosbrink said that the church council had been ordered to turn over the deed, keys, and records of the church to the bishop, who would appoint a new pastor. But the council refused because many unemployed steel-worker parishioners need the support that the Rev. Roth and the church have been giving them. "We are going to keep the church open even if the council has to go to jail," Fosbrink said.

The background to the confrontation is the deep depression that has settled in this steel-making valley in Pennsylvania. U.S. Steel has laid off 3000 workers, and other plants have shut down, leaving a 25 percent unemployment rate in the valley.

This is as bad as the Great Depression. Layoffs at the steel mills hit the workers particularly hard. Fosbrink pointed out that steel workers who generally made as much as \$13 an hour must now subsist on unemployment compensation or jobs that pay as little as \$3.50 an hour.

"The church has always been a place where people can turn for comfort," Fosbrink noted. "But we said, let's not just comfort these people. Let's help them any way we can."

When the Rev. Roth and other pastors in the valley joined the DMS, the initial purpose was to study the economic problems of the area. When DMS went beyond academic fact-gathering to criticism of the power structure, the Lutheran hierarchy, under Bishop May, withdrew their support. When DMS joined 15 unions to form the Network to Save the Mon/Ohio Valley, Bishop May became further alarmed.

Skunk oil

The Network found that it had to confront the big corporations that dominate the Valley—specifically U.S. Steel and the Mellon Bank. The Mellon Bank has drained money out of the steel towns to invest in steel plants in Brazil and other low-wage areas.

Polite requests to Mellon officers for conferences to discuss these problems were ignored, so the Network decided to employ other tactics. "The Rev. Roth led workers in non-violent protest actions such as putting skunk oil in deposit boxes and throwing pennies on the bank floor," Fosbrink said.

While some Network members did not approve of these tactics, the media took note of it and spread the story of the Valley and the moribund steel industry far and wide.



Pastor jailed for aiding unemployed steelworkers



Socialist Action/Joe Ryan
Changes/Jim West

U.S. Steel mill in Homestead, Pa., in the Monongahela Valley near Clairton, Pa.

After some of Roth's parishioners filed a protest to Bishop May, the fighting clergyman was fired and proceedings begun to defrock him as a Lutheran minister. "They have stolen our church and made a union hall out of it," said one of Roth's parishioners.

Roth has resisted and held onto his church with the support of the majority of his parishioners. Forty percent, however, mostly older retired workers, do not approve of their young activist pas-

tor. "He was bucking a brick wall at the very beginning because the old people were afraid of change," Fosbrink said.

The Network, the unemployed, and the working people of Clairton and the Valley support the Rev. Roth and the cause he stands for. "In the community itself there is more support. At first people were a little leary, but now they think it is great," Fosbrink noted.

Fosbrink said that Roth and his sup-

porters have gotten solidarity letters from all over the world. She also noted that the struggles of working people in Poland, Britain, and other countries were having an effect on the Clairton movement. "You read in the newspapers and see on the news that workers in other countries are having these problems. You say, 'Gee, that's too bad, but it would never happen here.' Well now it is here. It's hit home and people are very much more aware."

N.Y. antiwar forum urges unity in action

NEW YORK CITY—The stakes in Central America and the challenge confronting antiwar forces to halt the intensified U.S. aggression against the people of that region was the theme of a meeting held here on Nov. 18.

Reflecting the growing involvement of students in this movement, three campus groups, the Central America Solidarity Committee of Hunter College, the Latin American Student Organization of the New School for Social Research, and the New York University Central America Solidarity Committee cosponsored the event.

More than 100 participants heard Dianne Feeley, a Socialist Action member who worked with the Marvin Jose Lopez International Brigade in Nicaragua; Francisco Acosta, a representative of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers—a labor umbrella comprised of 23 trade unions; James Haughton, director of Harlem Fightback; and veteran activist Dave Dellinger, who had observed the Nicaraguan elections with the Center for Constitutional Rights and toured behind the front lines.

Jim Lafferty, a regional coordinator of the Emergency National Conference—unable to participate because of illness—sent a message stressing the urgency of unity in the antiwar movement. This appeal to link the multitude of groups opposing U.S. intervention was a prominent feature of all the presentations. I have asked Socialist Action to reprint excerpts from the statements of some of the speakers.—BERTA LANGSTON

James Haughton hits twin parties

[Racism] takes its toll in the inability of the American people to get their act together. . . . It is insidious and powerfully divisive. . . . It lays us bare before a ruling class more vicious, more violent, more predatory than ever before.

It seems to me that we have to develop some political alternative to the established political parties. . . . As long as we are locked into that kind of political structure, we are not going to be able to extricate ourselves from these enormous problems, both international and domestic. It would seem indicated, therefore, that there is a need for a political party based on the working people of this country that is not tied to the Democratic or Republican parties.

[To that end we must build] a mass movement with millions of people demanding that the government build houses for people who are desperately in need of them. This ties into the attack that we all should be constantly waging

against the military budget. Take it out of the military. Put it into meeting human needs.

Such a mass movement, with vast demonstrations demanding that this country keep its hands off Nicaragua and that it permit the people of El Salvador and other countries in Central America to resolve their own domestic problems, will stay the hand of the U.S. government. As long as masses of people are putting forth this demand it is difficult for the government to sneak in and do the kind of dirty work that it did in Grenada.

There is going to be a big action in April. It will help our brothers and sisters in Central America fulfill their historic tasks.

Francisco Acosta points to labor

Our federation believes that it is very important that people in the United States become more and more involved in the solidarity movement with the

Central American and Caribbean people. There are 23 million people living in Central America. If there is a U.S. invasion, many people would die.

Is there still time to avoid this? . . . More than 50 percent of the possibilities for changing this situation depend on the United States—depend on you. That means that an important task is to approach new sectors of the population.

We especially need to work with the union movement. Why the union movement? Because people have to understand the links through labor issues, through the multinational companies.

Unfortunately there are big problems in the union movement in the United States. To approach the union leaders here is not easy. Our federation is not conservative. We have nothing to conserve. But we are very firm that our goal is to change the economic and political structure and to create a new society.

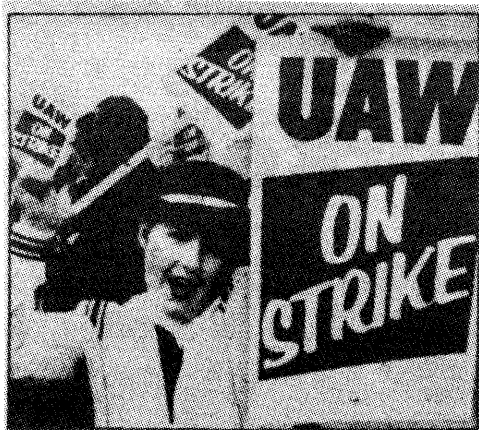
Jim Lafferty: "All out—April 20"

Everyone I talked with in Nicaragua expressed the sentiment that there seemed to be so many Americans engaged in antiwar work but so little unity among them. They were puzzled over this lack of unity.

I was pleased to be able to report that representatives of various national peace and social justice groups were now putting together a united movement—a movement of peace, antinuclear, and social justice aggregates—that would enable us in 1985 to stage the most powerful protest to date against U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The response to my report was always the same: That is just what is needed; we'll be watching for this great moment with hope in our hearts.

And so the main message I would have tried to convey this evening is that we must all immediately accept the task of building the spring mobilization. Let us build all over this land citywide coalitions open to all who share our common goal.



By NAT WEINSTEIN

Leaders of 120,000 Canadian auto workers have threatened to break from the U.S.-based United Auto Workers union. The Canadian workers account for more than 10 percent of the UAW's membership.

Robert White, director of the UAW in Canada, announced his intention to split the giant international union on Dec. 10 after the union's 25-member International Executive Board failed to approve White's demands for autonomy for Canadian auto workers.

Two months earlier, the Canadian union struck for 23 days to force contract terms better than those adopted in a settlement between the parent union and General Motors in the United States. Canadian auto workers will get 25 cents per hour in each of the three years of the new contract while U.S. workers get 15 cents the first year and lump-sum payments of \$700 for the last two years of the contract.

While the total wage increases appear to be not far apart (\$700 a year is equal

Canadian split weakens auto workers union

to around 30 cents an hour), the lump-sum payment in place of an hourly increase is not just another name for the same thing. It means that whereas regular per-hour wage increases are *cumulative* (the second year of the Canadian GM contract is really a 50-cent-per-hour increase and the third year, 75 cents per hour), the lump-sum payments are not.

The refusal of the Canadian auto

workers to go along with the giveaway contract negotiated by the Owen Bieber-led parent union is entirely progressive. The strike against the Canadian division of General Motors, which resulted in a significantly better wage package, proved that the U.S. settlement was less than the relationship of forces dictated.

But the move toward splitting the union is a horse of another color. The

Canadian auto workers were able to win a better contract because they put up a more vigorous fight—not because they acted independently of the international union.

Had GM workers on both sides of the border struck together they could have forced even more from the giant corporation. And had the 1 million-strong auto union in both countries struck together against the whole auto industry, that fact alone would have immensely multiplied their economic pressure. This alone marks the move toward an organizational split in the ranks of the auto workers as a step backward.

It would be wrong, too, to assume that Canadian workers are intrinsically more militant than their counterparts below the border. While different traditions play a role (Canadian workers, for example, have their own political party—the New Democratic Party), there is no discernible difference in the capacity for struggle.

Even if it could be argued that Canadian auto workers were more combative, it would still be wrong to separate them from the main body of UAW members in the United States. Militant auto workers in Canada should stay in the UAW and fight for a policy that can advance the interests of workers on both sides of the border. ■



UAW negotiators (includes president Owen Bieber, with glasses) announce pact with General Motors last fall. Top of page is Canadian UAW striker.

FBI condones bombings at abortion clinics

By ANN MENASCHE

With the complicity of the FBI and the Reagan administration, foes of a woman's right to choose abortion have been conducting a campaign of violence, terror, and intimidation directed against abortion clinics and the women who use their services.

Officials of Planned Parenthood report that in 1984 there were 24 fires or explosions at abortion facilities compared to four in 1983. These attacks include three firebombings in less than one year at the Feminist Women's Health Center in Everett, Wash., forcing them to close their doors.

In November the Metropolitan Medical and Women's Clinic and Planned Parenthood offices in Wheaton, Md., were also victims of firebombings, and there were explosions last July at the National Abortion Federation headquarters. It is simply happenstance that no one has yet been killed or injured.

In response, FBI director William Webster declared on Dec. 4 that the bombings of abortion clinics did not constitute "terrorism" and would thus get a lower priority in investigation than, for example, politically motivated bank bombings. This administration policy is reflected in the fact that out of the 24 bombing incidents, only five peo-

ple have been arrested.

One of the most notorious incidents to date was the kidnapping of Dr. Hector Levallos, director of the Hope Clinic for Women in Granite City, Ill., and his wife, Jean, for eight days in 1982. They were threatened with death if they did not denounce abortion.

The fact that they were finally released unharmed was seen by anti-abortion groups as evidence that "real" anti-abortionists could not have been involved. Mark Drogan of Catholics United for Life told *The St. Louis Dispatch* that if an anti-abortion group had done the kidnapping, "he might have been released without a hand or something."

The Levallos are not alone. Countless other staff members and administrators of abortion clinics have had their tires slashed, their homes vandalized, and threats of violence made against them. Supreme Court Justice Black-

man, who wrote the historic Jan. 22, 1973, Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, has also received such threats.

Women entering abortion clinics have been accosted by so-called "sidewalk counselors" screaming "murderer" at them; thrusting anti-abortion pamphlets and blown-up pictures of bloody mangled fetuses in their faces. The anti-abortionists often attempt to block the doorway, physically stopping people from entering.

"Evidence of involvement"

The deeply sexist attitudes of these groups is painfully apparent in their literature. A pamphlet from a group called "Women Exploited by Abortion" states that "an inability to think" is a normal part of early pregnancy.

Though the more "mainstream" right-to-life groups have denied any connection to the bombings of the clinics, there is evidence pointing to their involvement. As Barbara Radford, executive director of the National Abortion Federation, observed, "We have noted a change in picketing patterns shortly before violent acts. In three bombings this year, the pattern has been

that picketers who have been coming for months don't show up for a week or two, and then an arsonist attacks."

In any event, their sympathy for such extreme tactics is clear. John Cavanaugh O'Keefe, co-founder of the Pro-Life Non-Violent Action Project, while claiming that his group opposes violence, added, "Any pro-lifer that does not feel the urge to respond to the violence of abortion with violence has lost all feeling for anything."

The desperation of the "right-to-life" movement is a result both of their failure to win passage of the Human Life Amendment in Congress, and of the continuing widespread support of the general public for the right of women to make this fundamental decision about their own lives. Latest studies indicate that 75 percent of the American people support some form of legalized abortion.

It is time for abortion rights supporters to mobilize to defend the abortion clinics against attack and to demand that the government give top priority to the investigation and prosecution of those responsible. ■

Pro-abortion medics arrested in Canada

By ANNE BRUNELLE

TORONTO—On Dec. 20, 500 angry, chanting women and men demonstrated at the provincial legislature to protest the arrests of Drs. Henry Morgenthaler and Robert Scott. The two physicians were charged with "conspiracy to procure a miscarriage," the same charges from which they, along with Dr. Lesley Smolning, had been acquitted on Nov. 8.

In Canada, abortion is only legal under very restricted conditions. The abortion must be done in a hospital and the woman must prove that her health or life is in danger.

In their earlier trial, while the doctors freely admitted that they had performed abortions outside this law, they based their defense on the plea of necessity.

In the course of the trial it was made clear that the current system does not serve the majority of women (most hospitals in Canada do not do abortions). And even when a woman's abortion is approved, there is often a six to eight week delay that raises the risk factor substantially. Many women are forced to go either to the United States or to Quebec, where the provincial

government allows clinics to perform abortions.

The new arrests reflect renewed pressure from the forces opposed to women having reproductive choice. Every day in front of the Morgenthaler Clinic, which reopened on Dec. 10 in Toronto, 10 to 20 anti-choice fanatics picket, hoping to stop women from entering the clinic and to force the clinic to close. They are demanding that the provincial Conservative government call in the police to raid the clinic.

The police have also been eager for a raid. Women leaving the clinic are followed and stopped by undercover policewomen who ask questions about the clinic's procedure. So far the police have received no answers. The women's movement has organized an escort service to aid patients entering the clinic and to assist them in avoiding police harassment.

Meanwhile, despite the new charges brought against the doctors, the Toronto abortion clinic remains open to provide women with referrals to Dr. Morgenthaler's Montreal clinic. Demonstrators have collected funds to establish a travel pool to aid women who will need to make the 500-kilometer journey. ■

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On the picket line

Local 2 strikers return weaker

By CARL PETERSON

SAN FRANCISCO—The two-and-a-half month strike of 2000 restaurant workers ended on Dec. 1 with a concessionary agreement ratified by an 80 percent vote of the workers.

The new contract between Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union and the Golden Gate Restaurant Association (GGRA) is essentially the last proposal of the employers prior to the strike and the proposal that was again voted down in October.

The new contract has a two-tier wage scale for new hires. It includes changes that work to the detriment of the union in seniority, overtime pay, sick pay, craft rules, and combination work whereby people work at all classifications for the same pay. It also allows the scabs to keep working. To sweeten the deal more the union has agreed to give the GGRA up to \$100,000 to help with problems of "overstaffing" due to strikers and scabs working side by side.

The restaurant employers demonstrated that they were prepared for war with the 19,000-member union. In August, prior to the strike, articles appeared in *The San Francisco Chronicle* about corruption in the Restaurant Workers union. Alongside of these articles were one-quarter page advertisements placed by the employers calling for Local 2 members to ratify the GGRA's final offer. The ads announced that permanent replacements would be hired if the union went on strike.

Local 2, on the other hand, did the bare minimum to prepare the membership for a strike. There were token efforts to involve the membership. But steps which would have demonstrated the power of the union—establishing strong stewards systems, shop-by-shop explanations of the likelihood of a strike, and preparations to close all of

the restaurants in the city—were not taken. The leadership was hoping for peace with the employers.

The strike itself, when called, was designed to be minimally effective. Only a few of the union restaurants in the city were struck. Injunctions placed on the right to picket were enforced by the police and at some restaurants by newly hired employees. And, though a few small token protests were quietly called, the San Francisco trade union movement refused to organize any official demonstrations to defend the right to picket.

The negotiations were basically carried out by the international and the union leadership, not by the elected rank-and-file negotiators.

On Nov. 20, Local 2 unanimously voted to call upon the San Francisco labor movement to call a one-day general strike after the GGRA announced that it would not rehire 200 striking workers.

Although it had done nothing to effectively defend the striking workers, the San Francisco Labor Council suddenly considered the possibility of a general strike. The California Federation of Labor leader, John Henning, organized a meeting of about 50 labor leaders for a "council of war."

The purpose of this "war council," however, was to pressure Mayor Dianne Feinstein and the Democratic Party politicians to secure a peace with the employers. When the employers agreed to rehire the striking workers, the labor leaders claimed it was a result of the strike threat. Their stance, though, enabled the employers to sell their concessionary contract.

With the general lack of leadership, the pressure of the international union, and the demoralizing effect of selective strikes, the membership voted to ratify the agreement.

As of this writing the Montobbio group of restaurants (an offshoot of the GGRA that includes 17 of San Francisco's most famous restaurants) is still on strike. ■

Rail co. unleashes sniffer dogs

By ANNE ZUKOWSKI

MINNEAPOLIS—Last summer two trains on the Burlington Northern Railroad in Minnesota crashed head-on, killing the engineer, the fireman, and a third man. The two trains were routed in opposite directions on the same track. The engineer was powerless to avert the crash.

Despite this, Burlington management attempted to put the responsibility for the accident on the engineer and fireman. They said that autopsies indicated a high level of alcohol in their bodies. Burlington used an incomplete and preliminary coroner's report to proclaim that the two men were drunk on duty. They brushed aside protests by the men's families and friends that the men never drank. The men were drunk and contributed to the accident, management asserted in widely circulated newspaper stories.

Then came the coroner's complete report. The alcohol in the men's bodies was due to decomposition. There was no alcohol in their urine, proving that the victims were absolutely sober while running the train. Severe damage has been done to the workers' reputations. Thousands have seen the story about the drunk engineer who wrecked a train. Far fewer will read the follow-up that exonerated two innocent railroad workers.

This attempt to blame workers for management's mistakes has boomeranged. But Burlington Northern is still

trying. They claim that railroad workers sniff cocaine, smoke pot, and operate the trains while spaced out. To make the public believe railroad workers are a bunch of drunks and hopheads, management has rented a pair of dogs to sniff out dope in the workers' cars.

On the dogs' first tour of the company parking lot they sniffed suspiciously at eight cars. When six of the cars were searched, no dope was found in any of them. So much for the reliability of the sniffer dogs! The owners of the other two cars refused to submit to the illegal search. They were suspended on the spot.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers invoked the Railroad Labor Act, pointing out that the sniffer dog program constituted a "major change in conditions of employment."



Socialist Action/Anne Zukowski

...Meatpackers

(continued from page 1)

Local union officials have decided against a walkout to protest the company's takeaways. The UFCW international leadership has refused to support the Austin workers. Local union leaders and members know that the interna-

Such changes are subject to the entire collective-bargaining process, up to and including strike action if needed.

The sniffer dog issue made the local papers, with two cartoons ridiculing the role of the dogs in sniffing nonexistent pot. Someone pointed out that there is plenty of pot for the dogs to sniff growing wild along the right of way of Burlington Northern.

A more decisive blow was struck at the sniffer dogs when the union filed suit in federal court. On Oct. 5, U.S. District Judge Paul G. Hatfield granted a preliminary injunction forbidding management to search employees' cars, lockers, or other property. So far now Burlington management's campaign of intimidation has been halted, but they are certain to try again. ■

Memorial set for slain oil worker



Socialist Action/Joe Ryan

Mourning OCAW strikers lay black armbands on company fence last January in honor of Greg Goobic, who was killed by a scab truck driver.

RODEO, Calif.—The officers and membership of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 1-326 and the Contra Costa Central Labor Council (AFL-CIO) have announced plans for a memorial march and rally to commemorate the death of Greg Goobic. The 20-year-old, Local 1-326 member was run down by a scab-driven truck while on picket duty at the Union Oil Refinery here last Jan. 19.

"We think it's important that workers in the Bay Area not forget the sacrifice that Greg made so that we could have a decent contract," said Hank Miller, president of Local 1-326. "And we also think it's important that Union Oil see that we haven't forgotten their responsibility for Greg's murder."

On Saturday, Jan. 19, at 1 p.m., the march will start from the headquarters of Local 1-326 and will proceed to the site of Goobic's murder, where a wreath will be laid and memorial services will be conducted.

Speakers at the subsequent rally include Jack Henning, secretary-treasurer, California Labor Federation; James Herman, international president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; and Joseph M. Misbrenner, international president, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. Other speakers will be announced later.

Rally organizers are asking all union members to bring banners and wear their jackets to the march. In addition, church and peace groups have been invited to help build and attend the event.

—JOE RYAN

tional would strongly oppose a strike.

Instead, Jim Guyette, the president of Local P-9, told the Dec. 9 rally that the union would begin a "corporate campaign," which would have as its centerpiece the threat to withdraw funds from banks that lend money to the Hormel company. Ray Rogers, a well-heeled attorney who was hired by the union, announced that a 1000-car caravan protest would be formed in April when the Minneapolis-based First Bank System, Inc. has its annual meeting.

Meatpackers have a proud history

The proposed boycott, which the local union leaders have felt compelled to adopt to try to beat back the company's attacks, is in contrast to tactics that Local P-9 used earlier in its proud history. The local organized the Hormel plant in 1933 during one of the first sit-down strikes in the country. Strikers picked up Mr. Hormel bodily, set him down in the street, and refused to let him back into the plant until he agreed to recognize their union.

The union was able to use the strength of the workers to close the plant down, cut off their profits, and force them to settle. They were able to gather support from the Teamsters and other unions and returned that support during the 1934 Teamster strike that shook Minneapolis. Militant unionists from Local P-9 were the main leaders in the international union for many years.

In sorry contrast, the present international leadership of the Food and Commercial Workers Union has gone so far as to convince union leaders at six other Hormel plants to refuse any aid to their sister local, although workers at those plants had their wages similarly lowered to \$9 an hour.

But support for the packinghouse workers remains high in Austin. Practically everything in town is unionized, largely as a result of the meatpackers' organizing drive in the 1930s. Local businessmen, shopkeepers, and even the mayor—who works as a steam engineer at the plant—have protested Hormel's plan to lower the standard of living of the workers and to gut their community. ■



Central Americans bring war home to N.Y. audience

By PAUL SIEGEL

NEW YORK CITY—About 700 people attended a Dec. 8 meeting at Hunter College to protest U.S. intervention in Central America. Sponsored by a coalition, New Yorkers for Peace in Central America, the program featured speeches by representatives of Salvadoran, Guatemalan, and Nicaraguan opponents of U.S. intervention.

Romeo Poseda, representing the FMLN-FDR of El Salvador, reported that there have been more than 200 bombings directed by U.S. spy flights since Duarte took power. Since El Salvador has a population density of 345 persons per square mile in an area the size of Massachusetts, the number of persons killed by these bombings is great.

The situation in Guatemala was described by Rigoberta Menchu, a member of the United Guatemalan Front. One million peasants have been displaced from their land and homes, she said.

Menchu, who has herself lost father, mother, and brother—all killed in the struggle—returned to Guatemala in secret recently to investigate conditions there. She found a climate of terror in which peasants are herded into concentration camps and forced to participate in civilian patrol units. The policy of the government is to annihilate popular support of the guerrillas by massacres and terror, hoping in that way to destroy the guerrilla movement.

She emphasized, however, that the guerrilla forces have not been defeated and the popular organizations remain intact.

Magda Enriquez, general secretary of Foundation Augusto Cesar Sandino and national representative of AMLAE, the Nicaraguan women's organization, vividly evoked Nicaragua's 15 months of suffering under the attacks of the U.S.-backed *contras*. Eight thousand are dead—proportionately more than three times as many as the Americans killed in the entire Vietnam War. Damage amounting to \$300 million has struck a cruel blow to the economy of the struggling country.

But, Enriquez asserted, Nicaragua has survived thanks to international solidarity. Its people have learned to differentiate between the government of the United States and its people. Now all opponents of intervention in the United States must mobilize further.

Her eloquent words roused the audience and called forth a standing ovation that expressed the resolve of the assemblage to fight U.S. intervention. ■

...S.F. coalition

(continued from page 1)

attended by CISPES, the Nicaragua Information Center, San Francisco Peace Council, and other organizations and activists. Approximately 60 people were present.

That same evening, 120 others, mostly unionists, crowded into the ILWU Local 6 hall. That meeting, initiated by Al Lannon [see interview in this issue], was endorsed by some 100 individuals and organizations representing the labor movement, the religious community, the gay community, students, and minorities. Over half of the participants were elected union officials or union staff representatives.

The number of union leaders in attendance at this antiwar meeting was unprecedented. James Herman, international president of the ILWU, was applauded vigorously as he gave greetings. Likewise, Richard Groulx was warmly received as he promised the support of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, which he represents. Walter Johnson, president of the Retail Clerks and Department Store Employees Union, also spoke in support of the coalition that was forming.

This support was backed by financial contributions, including two pledges of \$500 by unions, to help build the April action. In addition, Vivian Hallinan pledged \$500 on behalf of Project National Interest.

The meeting also heard greetings from Harry Britt, member of San Francisco's Board of Supervisors and a prominent gay rights activist; Charlene



Socialist Action/Joel Ryan

Dec. 18 meeting at longshoremen's hall in San Francisco launches antiwar coalition. From left to right on the speakers' platform: Matthew Hallinan, Project National Interest; Charlene Tschirhart, San Francisco Freeze Campaign; Howard Wallace, Lesbian/Gay Labor Alliance; Al Lannon, president ILWU Local 6; and David Aroner, executive director, SEIU 535.

Tschirhart, executive director of the San Francisco Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and a member of the coalition's interim coordinating committee; and Bob Hernandez, representing the League of United Latin American Citizens.

United coalition provides example

The Dec. 20 unity meeting, which brought together elected representatives of the two antiwar groups, issued a statement which "recognized the urgency of uniting to build the largest and broadest possible coalition."

It announced that "one single coalition exists in the Bay Area, with one single purpose—to build for a massive turnout on April 20."

The formation of a united antiwar coalition with a strong labor component reflects the growth of opposition to

U.S. intervention in Central America. And, with the rapid healing of the rift in the antiwar movement, the Bay Area April 20 protest could be one of the most effective demonstrations in recent years.

With the formation of a unified and authoritative coalition, the antiwar movement has registered an important gain. Moreover, union leaders have stepped forward as never before to take responsibility for the success of an antiwar mobilization.

Five months before the April 20 action, working committees are already in place and coalition organizers are calling for a mass meeting on Thursday, Jan. 24, 7:30 p.m., at the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco. They expect 300-400 activists to participate in that important next step in building the April 20 demonstration. ■

Canadians form antiwar coalition in Toronto

By BARRY WEISLEDER

TORONTO—Over 130 activists met here on Dec. 8 to found the Toronto Anti-Intervention Coalition (TAIC). The turnout exceeded all expectations and laid the basis for an extensive, multifaceted campaign against U.S. military and economic intervention—and Canadian complicity—in Central America and the Caribbean.

The over 40 solidarity, antiwar, and church organizations represented at the conference, along with the numerous unaffiliated activists present, including feminists and labor militants, voted enthusiastically to build a broad, democratic, mass-action-oriented coalition.

Despite the fact that it was a Toronto-based conference, participants came from Montreal, Ottawa, Hamilton, Guelph, and other centers across southern Ontario. A representative of the U.S. anti-intervention movement (Emergency National Conference) brought greetings to the gathering.

By the end of the full day of keynote speakers, workshops, and plenary-session debate, a clear, principled, political basis of unity and a three-pronged plan of action had been adopted.

In addition to demanding that the United States get out of Central America and the Caribbean, the coalition called for an end to Canadian weapons testing and production for the U.S. military and the diversion of military spending to the creation of jobs and social services to meet human needs.

The major action projected by the TAIC is a "Week Against Intervention," culminating in a mass demonstration to be held in Toronto on April 20, 1985. The date was chosen to coincide with plans for mass protests across the United States.

Different social constituencies (e.g. churches, unions, students, and women's organizations) will be invited to initiate educational and protest events on particular days in the "Week Against

Intervention"—and to come together on the Saturday for a huge united march that will pass by symbols of the Canadian government, Canadian corporations that profit from militarism, and the U.S. government.

The conference also made plans for an emergency mass-action response to any major escalation of U.S. military intervention in the region such as an invasion of Nicaragua. Ongoing educational initiatives, including a possible teach-in for March 1985, a speakers' bureau, and the publication of anti-intervention literature, round out the ambitious program of the new coalition.

A non-exclusive, but representative, 30-member continuations committee was ratified by the conference and mandated to issue a call to action for April 20 to all anti-intervention groups across English Canada and Quebec. ■

L.A. march against war

By SOPHIE MASTOR

LOS ANGELES—On Dec. 8, approximately 600 demonstrators from the Los Angeles Coalition for Peace and Justice in Central America and the Caribbean marched in the Fairfax district, an area of the city previously ignored by the Coalition.

Don White, one of the organizers of the march and a member of the Echo Park chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), told *Socialist Action*, "I believe there is a groundswell of opposition to the administration's policy on Central America. In order to mobilize support for grass-roots efforts to reverse this policy, we are planning to broaden our operation to encompass all sections of the greater Los Angeles area." ■

Helping to build the April 20 antiwar actions



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Prospects for the antiwar movement

This month's issue of *FORUM* is devoted to a discussion on the perspectives for building the antiwar movement in this country.

The need for an all-inclusive, united opposition to the U.S. war drive in Central America is becoming evermore urgent as the U.S. government continues to escalate its attacks against Nicaragua and the FMLN in El Salvador.

Important steps are being taken nationally to begin to build an antiwar movement that can tap the sentiment of the millions of people in this country who are opposed to the war drive. Mobilizing this antiwar majority in the streets is crucial to an effective opposition to the bipartisan war policy of the government.

With this in mind, *Socialist Action* is devoting this *FORUM* to a discussion of the prospects for building this movement in 1985 and beyond. We have invited leaders from unions and antiwar and religious organizations to express their views.

Dave Dellinger:

The movement has to go back to organizing protests in the streets

Socialist Action: How do you view the significance of Reagan's reelection?

Dave Dellinger: Elections are always overvalued in this country. When Reagan was elected the first time, it was interpreted widely in the press—and unfortunately in the movement—that the country had made a big shift to the right.

He had been elected by approximately 26 percent of the electorate and large numbers of people were voting against Carter and the status quo as much as they were voting for Reagan.

Also Reagan had the kind of "homey" TV personality that attracts votes from those who mistakenly think that presidential elections make a major difference in how the country operates. But not nearly as many people had moved to the right as was claimed.

Perhaps most important, electoral campaigns become a substitute for realistic teach-ins, genuine mass demonstrations, and direct action. Before the 1964 campaign, Martin Luther King and others signed a disastrous six-month moratorium on demonstrations so that Goldwater wouldn't get elected. Instead we got LBJ.

A candidate who wishes to be "viable" must appeal to the money people who control the media and the resources that make a successful electoral campaign possible.

What Mondale did in 1984 is typical of what so-called progressive Democrats have done over and over again. It's customary to say "Well, everyone moves to the center."

But Mondale began a little to the right of center and moved further to the right.

S.A.: What was your opinion of the Jackson campaign?

Dellinger: I was not one who urged "Run, Jesse, Run," because I don't think that, in the long run, anything can be accomplished through the Democratic Party. But he came to Vermont and urged people to go into the streets to "Bring the Boys Home"—from Lebanon and Honduras.

He drew his strength from Black anger and from the gains the movement for basic change has made in the last two decades. Without these he would have been nothing. And most of the time he knew it and opened himself to input from these two sources. So I

worked some with the Rainbow Coalition.

The danger in doing that was that you might give people the illusion that something significant can happen within the Democratic Party. To me the aim is more to keep in touch with some of the people who are within the Democratic Party but who don't belong there—in particular the Black forces that supported Jackson because he gave public voice to their concerns.

I mentioned Black anger. I think that there has to be more than anger; there has to be hope. The coming together of the Rainbow Coalition and some of the things Jesse said and did, such as going to Syria, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Cuba, gave hope and stirred people's imaginations. The way the Democrats reacted showed that there is no hope within the Democratic Party, but the emotions stirred won't go away.

James Baldwin said something perceptive that I can only paraphrase, something like this: "What Jesse has done is reach the man in the street; the man on death row; and their children, relatives, and friends. And it ain't going to go away, baby."

I know Jesse well enough so that I was able to do what one has to do in principled politics. When I met with him, I told him where I admired his stands and where I thought he was wrong, including his hope of reforming the Democratic party. He's going to need a lot of criticism—and a strong, independent movement—to keep him from going the way of most politicians. And even so, it may not save him or the "official" Rainbow Coalition.

But there is an important dialectic in process. For example, Jesse's electoral campaign helped prepare for the current civil-disobedience actions against South Africa, and those actions bring a healthy pressure on him to go beyond electoral politics.

S.A.: During the election campaign, we saw all sorts of left activists involved in the Rainbow Coalition, or later, the Mondale campaign. As a result of this, we saw a decrease of activity directed toward visible mass protests. Now that Reagan has been reelected where do you see the movement going?

Dellinger: I wouldn't say that there was a decrease of such activity in the

(continued on page 8)

Our goal in this section is to encourage a wide-ranging discussion on subjects of interest to those active in the labor, antiwar, Black, women's, and other social movements.

In this issue of *FORUM* we are presenting the views of the following five people: (1) Dave Dellinger, longtime national peace leader; (2) Al Lannon, president, Local 6, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; (3) Sid Lens, senior editor of the *Progressive* and nationally known antiwar leader; (4) the Rev. Phil Wheaton, director of the Ecumenical Program for Interamerican Communication and Action (EPICA); and (5) Joe Lindenmuth, president, Local 2265, United Steelworkers of America.

The interviews with the participants in this month's *FORUM* were conducted by Alan Benjamin, Larry Cooperman, and Shirley Pasholk.—THE EDITORS



A marine waits at landing strip for flight out of Khe Sanh. Mass antiwar movement brought the GI's home from Vietnam.

Al Lannon:

Labor must take a stand before U.S. troops move into combat.

Socialist Action: What was your impression of the results of the Nov. 6 presidential elections? Does Ronald Reagan have a mandate to carry out his policies?

Al Lannon: First of all, San Francisco and Alameda Counties were carried by Mondale. It is unfortunate that the rest of the country did not follow our leadership. Mondale would have given us some breathing space and perhaps some let-up in what has become four years of relentless attacks on the labor movement. Those attacks, with Reagan's reelection, are going to continue. His first domestic attack was to call for pay cuts. We expect to hear that from every employer we deal with in negotiations.

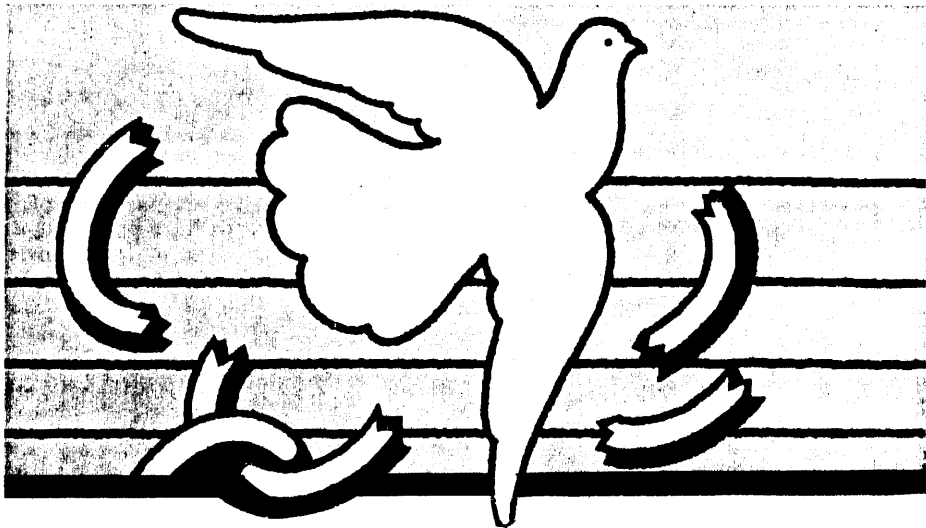
One of the things that I think the

election showed was that it was not incorrect for the labor movement to jump into the Mondale campaign with both feet. I think the fact that Reagan was elected but could not transform Congress was perhaps a tribute to his personal charisma and popularity rather than an endorsement of a right-wing program.

S.A.: How do you see a movement building to stop the Reagan administration's policies—particularly its policies toward Central America?

Lannon: Well, there is a very real move toward direct intervention in Central America by the United States. Now, it is historically true that after we elect people to office, the American people

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Joe Lindenmuth:

We must unite all groups opposed to the war drive.

Socialist Action: Did the recent elections represent a mandate for Reagan's policies?

Joe Lindenmuth: President Reagan would like to think this was a mandate. However, since there were no appreciable changes in the Senate or House, I think that what the American people generally did was vote for the Great Communicator, while keeping the make-up of Congress pretty much the same as an insurance policy.

I don't think the American people were too confident of his policies, but they weren't too confident of Mondale either. So, they decided to continue with what they had.

S.A.: How do you view the low voter turn-out?

Lindenmuth: It was a vote against both candidates. Organized labor felt Mondale would make a difference, but others didn't feel as strongly.

S.A.: Do you think Mondale's election would have made a difference?

Lindenmuth: I don't think so, because I believe that the major problem facing America today is the loss of jobs to Third World nations ruled by oppressive, fascist dictators who attract transnational corporations with low wages and inhuman working conditions.

Both Democratic and Republican administrations have consistently supported this foreign policy for the past 20 years. In the long run, if American workers are going to maintain their standard of living, this policy must be completely reversed.

S.A.: How does this policy affect workers in Third World countries?

Lindenmuth: They have no alternative but to rebel and try to eliminate their misery by getting rid of the dictator who is oppressing them. As a result of this, the American worker pays higher taxes to pay for the military aid necessary to put down these rebellions.

If military aid doesn't resolve the problem, it becomes incumbent upon the American worker to send his kids into these Third World countries. Sons of American carpenters, miners, and steelworkers then end up being killed by and killing sons of Central American carpenters, miners, and steelworkers. If the uprising is put down, the end result is that the fascist dictator is maintained in his role of oppressor of his people.

S.A.: Referendums opposing U.S. intervention in Central America were on the ballot in a number of areas. Why do you think these passed at the same time that Reagan was receiving his so-called landslide victory?

Lindenmuth: As I mentioned before, the people voted for Reagan as the so-called Great Communicator. Although the Grenada situation didn't create much reaction among people, they have become somewhat more sophisticated as a result of the Vietnam experience.

What they learned from Vietnam is that we went to war not for the protec-

tion of democracy, but for the sole purpose of maintaining a dictatorship that would assure a low-wage labor force that was acceptable to the transnational corporations.

S.A.: Why are you actively engaged in this issue?

Lindenmuth: The American worker is getting his teeth kicked out by concession bargaining, plant closings, job elimination, two-tiered wage systems, and a general lowering of his standard of living.

All this is directly related to the simple fact that corporations can transfer jobs at will from the United States to Third World countries in search of

"It is important that a lot of people turn out on April 20."

higher profits gained through lower wages at the expense of workers both in the United States and in the underdeveloped countries. Until the American labor movement wakes up to this fact, the American worker will continue to be assaulted.

Ten years ago, approximately 55 percent of the people in this country owned a home. Today, less than 30 percent do. This year officials in some cities discussed whether to accept such residences as the heating grate at 53rd and Main Street as voting addresses.

We distributed surplus government cheese at the Steelworkers hall today. Just think about it, people are so desperate that they'll come out in all kinds of weather and stand in line for hours for a 5-pound loaf of cheese.

It's about time the American worker gets pissed off about being ripped off. Every time an American soldier goes

...Dave Dellinger

(continued from page 7)

state of Vermont. For example, we had a very important sit-in in the Vermont office of Republican Sen. Robert Stafford, who had been supporting the Reagan program in Central America.

We took the case against the government into our trial with a necessity defense—like arguing that it is necessary to break into a burning building to save

overseas, so do 10 American jobs. If workers don't do anything about it now, in a very short time they'll find themselves in welfare lines being recipients of those hand-outs they despise so much.

S.A.: Do you feel the interests of U.S. workers and those in other countries are interconnected?

Lindenmuth: At the Steelworkers convention I tried to make this point. I explained that if a steelworker strikes Phelps Dodge in Arizona, everyone says it's a good fight. If he strikes in South Africa, everyone denounces the injustice of apartheid. However, if he strikes in Central America to try to obtain a decent standard of living for his family, everyone starts screaming "the commies are coming."

S.A.: Concretely, what do you think working people can do to prevent U.S. intervention in Central America?

Lindenmuth: One of the factors curtailing open military involvement by the Reagan administration is the reaction that may occur from the American population because of the Vietnam experience. What's most important for the American worker at this point is to become educated as to what is occurring.

S.A.: What do you think of the action proposal that came out of the Emergency National Conference that took place in Cleveland?

Lindenmuth: I endorsed and participated in that conference. I was hopeful that it would unite all groups opposed to military intervention—regardless of political affiliations, economic ideology, religious belief, and social philosophies—to establish a just and sane planet.

I think that the action proposal was a major step in the right direction. Since its adoption, the conference continuations committee has joined with others, and proposals have been put forth that will call for an immediate response should this country intervene militarily in Central America. It has also shed more light on the issue and caused greater debate.

It is important that a lot of people participate in the April 20 demonstration. Otherwise, you can rest assured that President Reagan will recognize a small turnout as an endorsement of his perceived mandate to continue his foreign policy as he has in the past. ■

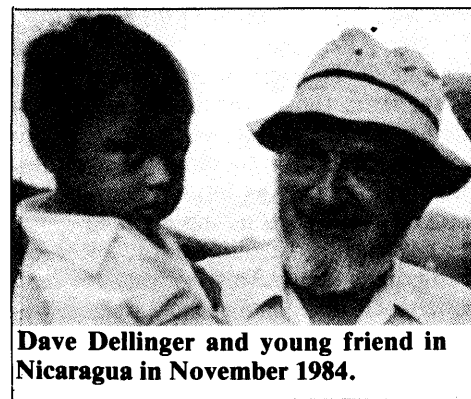
the inhabitants. We brought in Salvadoran refugees, ex-CIA agents, and people who testified about *contra* attacks in Nicaragua and other violations of international law and decency. We won an acquittal from a "normal" middle-class jury. Of course, one can't base one's actions on what the courts will decide is legal. That would limit us to capitalist legality.

We have to continue teach-ins and a range of publications. We must educate and arouse people and give them hope. A lot of things start with emotions—including moral outrage, feelings of solidarity, and yearnings to live cooperatively and usefully. We should encourage such emotions. But we must also encourage basic analyses of the society and the system.

Central America has aroused the emotions and raised the consciousness of the American people, although they haven't quite crystallized yet or fully been utilized by people like us. It's commonplace to say that TV brought the Vietnam war into our living rooms and made possible the antiwar movement. Up to a point it's true.

Now the proximity of Central America and the flood of refugees with real-life stories to tell is playing a similar role. It has concretized the situation and made it human to people. The large number of visitors in and out of Nicaragua means that thousands of people have been to a church meeting, a political meeting, teach-in, or forum and have been moved by one or more of these people.

If Mondale's loyalties had not been to the transnational corporations and the status quo, he would have made Central America an issue, Grenada an issue, Lebanon and the senseless sacrifice of the Marines an issue. Imagine letting Reagan and the Pentagon get away with keeping the press out and making Grenada appear to be a bloodless triumph that could make some Americans feel strong rather than ashamed—a brutal victory over 125,000



Dave Dellinger and young friend in Nicaragua in November 1984.

people, a savage and blatantly illegal assault on the Cubans.

S.A.: What can you tell us about the national demonstrations planned for the spring?

Dellinger: There will be a mass demonstration in Washington on April 20. It is very important that the policy of non-exclusion be followed; that it not be a bunch of cautious peace bureaucrats who run it, but a coalition embracing all our varied tendencies; important that the message not be tamed down in the way that the Freeze has tamed down the message of nuclear arms, trying to keep it separate from Central America, the Middle East, and South Africa, from racism, sexism, and a private-profit economy.

I would urge that the massive demonstration in Washington be one in which the cautious people can be assured of its strictly legal character, but not exclusively of a watered-down message like that of the Freeze. And I would announce at that rally a day of national "no business as usual" for those who are ready to take part in it. We need both mass legal demonstrations and militant nonviolent direct actions, nationally as well as locally, with larger and larger numbers of people participating. ■



Panel of speakers addressing Emergency National Conference in Cleveland on Sept. 14. From left to right are Joe Lindenmuth, president USWA Local 2265; Ione Biggs, vice-president Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice; Jerry Gordon, international representative UFCW and one of the conference coordinators; and Norma Hannah, a representative from Cleveland CISPES.

Phil Wheaton:

We have to hit Reagan in the face with mass protest

Socialist Action: What is your assessment of the Reagan reelection?

The Rev. Phil Wheaton: I would say that we're faced with a more complex situation today. It's a situation in which the American public is much more serious at the local level and in terms of issues and did not find in the Mondale camp any kind of serious challenge to the Reagan vision of society—the East-West vision, the “Make-America-Strong” vision, and so forth.

And I think the reason for this is that Reagan has presented a vision of the society which many of us see is demonic in nature, but which is a holistic presentation that Mondale is basically attempting to chip away at with the facts.

“The dislike of Reagan positions has not coalesced into an alternative vision.”

In my view you do not attack the kind of diabolical, reactionary, and profascist positions of a person like Reagan except in one of two ways: You either hit him in the face—because they understand that kind of language—or you present a serious alternative vision of where this society should be going.

Mondale did not do that. I think we are therefore facing a situation in which the people at the local level can still be educated, won back over, challenged, and convinced that the Reagan position is incorrect. But that's going to take some serious alternative action and ideological kind of education. The so-called reformist, moderate, chipping-away position of the Democratic Party is not going to work.

S.A.: And what will this mean for Central America?

Wheaton: I think that we have to understand the American people as many people in the center without a position—confused, and so forth. Their ideological position, their alternative vision, is not clear. That's a weakness.

But if you start talking to them about issues, they can already begin to understand contradictions in the Reagan position. They know there is something fundamentally wrong with a covert war in Nicaragua. So the question of raising these specific issues to the American public has to be tied into what Reagan is overall attempting to sell us.

Many of us feel that this means building a stronger ideological, visionary, or in a religious sense, a theological perspective that makes it very clear where the Reagan administration is going and what this country has been about in terms of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

For most Americans the dislike of Reagan's positions has not coalesced into an alternative vision. That has to be done, and I think that the big battle over the next four years is going to be to challenge the whole mythology of the Reagan administration.

But at the same time, it is also necessary to hit Reagan in the face. That means all sorts of organizing at the base, mass protests, different forms of calling him what he is—a liar. It means challenging his positions up-front and saying, “All right, let's fight. We can't be gentlemen any more.”

S.A.: Many of us feel that we have an opportunity this spring to bring together hundreds of thousands of people against U.S. intervention in Central America. A national coalition is forming to this end. What do you think the tasks ahead are for building this movement?

Wheaton: The coalition for the spring mobilization is fairly broad, fairly pluralistic in its representation. It has some strengths in the sense that it has attempted to build a stronger coalition with some minority groups and with some of the anti-nuclear forces.

It is weak in the area of its linkages to the labor movement. It is strong in relationship to church, antiwar, and a lot of the traditional groups that have been challenging the Reagan policies. It is still a little skittish in terms of its relations with certain political organizations such as PAM [People's Antiwar Mobilization], which was almost excluded from that coalition.

It is also skittish in its relations with the labor coalition represented by the Cleveland conference [Emergency National Conference] and with some of the people from the West Coast, labor representatives, who were at the last coordinating committee of the national coalition. So there are some weaknesses and some strengths.

Overall, I would say that today we have a more consistent continuum before, during, and after the antiwar marches than we did during the Vietnam war. This is one of our strengths today. It's an important difference from Vietnam. We would have 500,000 on the streets, and we didn't know where they were the next day, except for a handful

...Al Lannon

(continued from page 7)

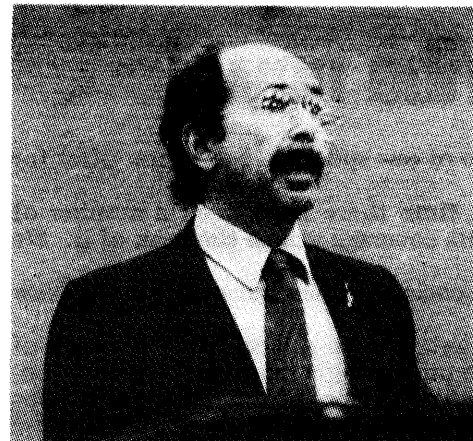
sometimes become disenchanted with the policies that are followed.

People taking to the streets to demonstrate their displeasure in peaceful legal protest has in fact set in motion the deposing of two presidents, Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson.

There is no question that substantial gains were made as a result of those struggles. Similarly, the movement against the war in Vietnam played a very crucial role in helping to bring enough pressure on the U.S. government to bring that war to a conclusion.

The labor movement was late getting into the movement against the war in Vietnam. Again, the Bay Area was a bit ahead of the rest of the country. I worked in helping to organize National Labor for Peace. I think the first newspaper ad signed by prominent unionists against the war was in San Francisco. Washington was the second one.

There is clearly a need for labor to get involved earlier, before the body bags come back. I think this is happening now. The labor movement had gotten away from forming alliances with the community. As a result, it has found itself cut off from the kind of community support that it once had. Those coalitions and alliances cannot be



Al Lannon, president of ILWU Local 6, speaking at antiwar teach-in at San Francisco State University on Nov. 28.



Newly trained Salvadoran troops returning from Fort Bragg, N.C.

of them. I think that we are more consistently in touch with the 100,000 or 200,000 that may come out next spring than we were with the larger numbers at that time. We are in a stronger, steadier kind of coalition.

So I think we must understand the spring mobilization as only one part of a much more complex and creative kind of challenge to the Reagan administration, i.e. including the sanctuary movement, “brigadistas” going to Nicaragua, etc. This march must be understood in relation to other ongoing events.

S.A.: Is there anything else you would like to add?

Wheaton: I would just like to add that we've just received a significant amount of direct information on the elections in Nicaragua. This is very important. It has permitted us to respond to all the media lies and distortions.

rebuilt solely on the basis that “you help labor,” when labor does not do anything for you.

To regain that support, labor has to be out in front on issues that concern a wider constituency; issues that go beyond the bread-and-butter issues. The rank and file of the labor movement are not pro-war.

The fact that a number of international union presidents are on the Labor Committee for Human Rights and Democracy in El Salvador is also very important. The trade unions have sent people to Central America. Project National Interest sent an alternative [to Kissinger's] commission that included Diane Burneo [executive director, SEIU Local 616], who has reported back on human rights abuses there.

S.A.: So, today, we have a much greater involvement of the labor movement...

Lannon: Part of it is that a lot of the emerging labor leaders are veterans of the struggles of the 60s and the 70s that helped change national policies. They have not forgotten the tragic lessons of Vietnam. They see, after the MiG scare of Nicaragua, the possibility of a Gulf of Tonkin. [The alleged sinking of a U.S. ship in the Gulf of Tonkin by North Vietnam was the pretext used by Lyndon Johnson to begin the massive escalation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam—S.A.]

Vietnam has left an impact on this country that is still unspoken and undealt with. I heard a statistic a few weeks ago that over 50 percent of the homeless in San Francisco are Vietnam veterans. That is very frightening.

We don't need another generation of soldiers to come back in body bags. One of the things that has moved me is that I have a son who just turned 18. I don't want him to go to Central America to fight. It's that simple.

S.A.: You attended the Emergency National Conference in Cleveland last September. What were your impressions?

Lannon: I was impressed with what I saw in Cleveland in a couple of respects. One area was the democratic function-

A few years ago, some weeks or months would pass before we would come up with our answer to the Reagan myth or lies. Serious groups are now on top of things. There is only a lag time of a few days before a serious rebuttal comes out. I think it is very important that we do not allow the extreme amount of time that we allowed them in the past to get away with distortions before they are at least challenged among those who are reading more serious publications.

As an example, we let the Misquito Indian thing go on for too long before it was challenged. So they got away with it. Most Americans now believe—incorrectly—that the Nicaraguans have been killing Misquito Indians. That was not challenged fast enough, and the lie entered into the subconscious as a reality. I think that we have got to keep the challenge as close to the media event as possible.

ing of the conference. And I was impressed that about a quarter of the 600-plus people in attendance were trade unionists.

There were local presidents like Joe Lindenmuth of the Steelworkers and others who do not come from the antiwar movement but who feel directly concerned about the dangers in Central America. So it told me that the sentiment is there.

I think the conference basically dealt with demands that can serve as a unifying factor; that can be the basis for a majority coalition in the United States.

S.A.: How has this affected the work here in San Francisco? How can that majority coalition be built here?

Lannon: A number of people, primarily trade unionists, have formed a temporary coordinating committee based on constituency organizations such as the unions and the churches. If you get the unions and the churches together in this country, you have a majority position. There was a lot of enthusiasm for the labor movement to take that kind of lead and initiative.

We had a coalition founding meeting last night [Dec. 18]. Approximately 120 people representing dozens of unions, community groups, the lesbian and gay community, politicians, the Hispanic community—very broadly based—attended an enthusiastic meeting.

There was an unfortunate situation where there were two separate coalitions holding founding meetings on the same night [see article on formation of unified coalition on page 1]. A unity statement was adopted by Mayor Newport of Berkeley and me and read to both meetings. We are going to be moving forward in a unified fashion.

Between the two groups, we have the potential for putting together the largest demonstration that has ever happened in the Bay Area. There is no question in my mind about that.

What I saw at our meeting last night is that a great many unions in the Bay Area are going to take the lead. Hopefully we can set the tone for the rest of the country. I think we can put together, despite the difficulties, a model coalition.

Sidney Lens:

The nuclear freeze must lead to total disarmament

Socialist Action: How do you view the significance of Reagan's reelection?

Sidney Lens: I think it showed that you can't fight something with nothing. There was no difference between the two parties on the question of the arms race except the insignificant difference that one party was for a 4 percent increase in the military budget and the other was for 7 percent.

They both agreed on quarantining the Nicaraguans, although the Democrats' position was a little softer. But there was not enough of a difference to give the American people a real choice between the two parties on the most important issue of the day.

No major problem in America will be solved unless and until you solve the problem of the arms race; not the feminist problem, not the problem of jobs, not the problem of security or a higher standard of living, not the problems of racism or sexism. None of those problems will be solved unless you can solve the problem of the arms race.

Given the fact that you had two candidates who were essentially similar on the arms race question, the American people really had no option. So you had the anomalous situation where 75 or 80 percent of the American people were in favor of the Freeze, but they voted for the candidate who was against the Freeze and against the candidate who was for the Freeze.

That happened because the issue was never presented to them. On the other questions—the economic questions, the question of the Supreme Court—there are differences between Mondale and Reagan, but there are none sufficient to outweigh the fact that we are in a momentary improvement in economic health. The man who initiated the recession of 1981-82 took credit for having gotten us out of it. The American people did not see the contradiction in that.

Where do we go from here? I think

we have to go back to some basic things. There really is a Tweedledee-Tweedledum aspect to the Democratic and Republican parties. Progress for social change has to be made outside of those parties because they both oppose any important and basic social change. The movement has to go back to the things that we have always done: protests in the street, lobbying, organizing at the grass-roots level, and so on.

S.A.: How do you see the future of the Freeze movement in the United States?

Lens: The Freeze movement made an enormous impact on America. I think it made a basic mistake in incorporating the words "mutual verification" in its position. The idea of "verification" is the excuse the American government has used for 35 years to avoid an agreement with the Russians.

I think they should have incorporated a perspective for general and total disarmament with the Freeze issue. They should have left out the word

"The movement has to repair its situation with the youth. We've lost their support."

"verification," because "verification" conjures up the idea that you can't trust the Russians, and "You can't trust the Russians" is the central theme around which the arms race is built.

The Freeze campaign took millions of Americans—tens of millions—and it elevated their sights to think in terms of a nuclear freeze. But that was only a small step. They never introduced the



idea of disarmament into it; that the Freeze is the first step toward disarmament. They never won over a sizable segment of the youth because of that. The Freeze alone is not sufficient to galvanize American youth. It doesn't give them a sense of enormous change, of basic change. Disarmament, I think, would.

You have to remember that when we started the fight against the Vietnam War, the group of us that eventually became the leadership of the anti-Vietnam War movement began with the idea that the United States had to withdraw from Vietnam because it had no right to be there to begin with.

That was an idealistic concept. The majority of the people in the movement were talking about negotiations. But there was nothing to negotiate, and young people saw that contradiction immediately.

The same relationship exists between the conceptions of "Freeze" and "abolish nuclear weapons."

So when you ask "What do we do now?" I think we have to continue to

use the Freeze slogan as an objective but tie it to the question of complete and total disarmament.

S.A.: We've been pointing out the danger of direct U.S. intervention in Central America for some time. Now, with the MiG scare raised by Reagan, the possibility of such an intervention seems even closer. How do you see a movement developing to counter that threat?

Lens: I am impressed by the Witness-for-Peace movement. It is well-conceived. It works with the churches, setting up telephone trees all over the country and projecting the idea of sitting-in in congressional offices if anything untoward happens. I think that's a big step forward.

The impending intervention in Nicaragua and the state of the antiwar movement now cannot be compared with the situation in 1964-65. I think the Reagan administration makes a fundamental mistake if it thinks that it is going to solve the "problem" of Nicaragua merely on the military level. There's going to be a response from the American people and from the people of Latin America.

S.A.: Do you think the planned April 20 protests will draw significant participation from the American people?

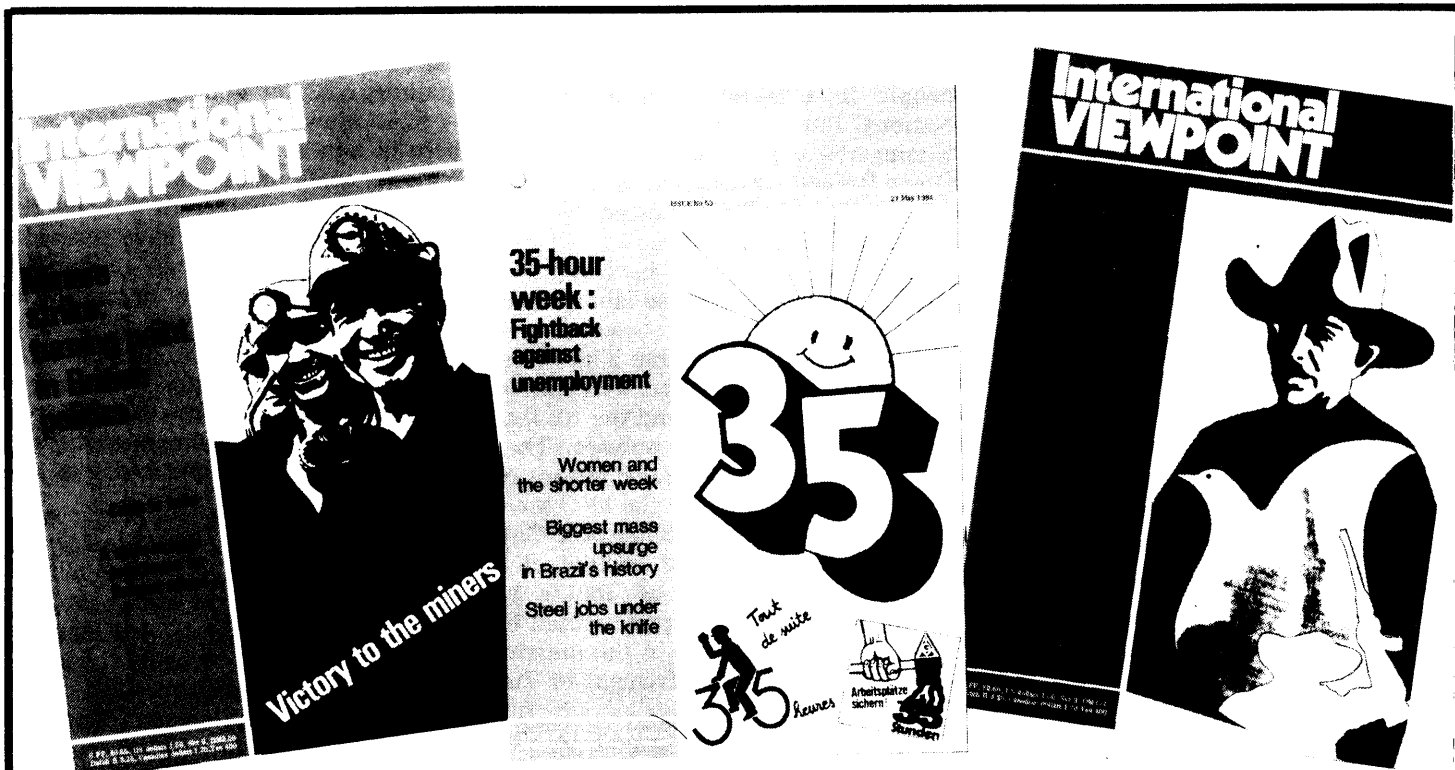
Lens: I certainly hope so, but I don't think so. I think the American people will give Schultz and Gromyko the benefit of the doubt and wait for them to come up with something. I think there is a sense of relief on the part of many people who voted for Mondale and who were petrified by the idea of Reagan being reelected that, at least, Schultz and Gromyko are meeting.

S.A.: And how would the situation in Nicaragua affect the protests?

Lens: It depends on what happens. If there is an invasion of Nicaragua, there will be a big demonstration. If there isn't, there won't be. My feeling is that the chances are that there won't be [an invasion of Nicaragua] so long as Schultz and Gromyko are dealing with the broader question, although it is not ruled out. The United States did escalate the war in Vietnam, after all, even while Nixon was meeting with the Russians.

I think the main thing that the movement has to do is repair its situation with the youth. We have lost the support of the youth. The youth have made a complete about-face. It is amazing the amount of support that Reagan got at the university level.

It is really a manifestation of nihilism. You saw young people interviewed one after the other and each one saying, "Well, I disagree completely with Reagan, but at least he is a leader," as if leadership in the wrong direction is the most important criterion for your vote. I think that the first thing we have to do is organize a large wave of teach-ins at the university level.



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Duarte promises reform but terror continues

By LARRY COOPERMAN

The election of Jose Napoleon Duarte has been presented in the U.S. media as a turning point in the history of El Salvador. Duarte is credited with restraining the far right, improving the human rights situation, and creating the conditions for a true "democracy" in that war-scarred country.

In an article in the Nov. 30 *Christian Science Monitor* entitled "Salvador peace talks help Duarte to 'ace out opposition,'" for example, Duarte is portrayed as having "scored a political coup over his opponents on both the left and the right by establishing himself as a 'man of peace.'"

"By making the negotiating offer," the *Monitor* continues, "Duarte has presented himself to the public as the only statesman and peacemaker who has come along on the Salvadoran scene in a long time."

Even the president of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt, declared that Duarte's election was a "victory for democratic ideas."

Behind the image

In contrast to this public relations image, the five months of the Duarte presidency demonstrate that there has been an increase in repression, the far right remains entrenched in power, and no policies benefiting the Salvadoran working classes have been carried out.

Last Aug. 30, according to Monsignor Arturo Rivera y Damas, archbishop of San Salvador, the Salvadoran army opened fire on 300 peasants whom they had encircled on the banks of the Gualsinga river. The Catholic Church buried 34 peasants, but the total number of deaths is undoubtedly far higher. The perpetrators of this massacre were members of the famous Atlacatl Brigade, an elite force trained by the U.S. government.

As far as the far right is concerned, its power and influence remain undiminished. After 21 months in

voluntary exile in Washington, D.C., Commander Ochoa, known for his ties to the death squads, was recalled to take command of the El Paraiso garrison. Furthermore, two ultrarightists were elected to the posts of attorney general and president of the Supreme Court.



It is no accident that the investigations into the murder of the four American churchwomen have stopped short of indicting the architects of these crimes—such as current Defense Minister Vides Casanova.

"A cruel joke"

Despite Duarte's promises of land reform, no program of land redistribution has been carried out. One leader of the People's Democratic Union

(UDP), an organization of small peasants, which had supported Duarte in the elections, complained that "for the small peasants, it [Duarte's election] is a cruel joke."

The demands of the 70,000 workers who have struck in El Salvador this year, as well as those of the 40 percent of the population that is unemployed, have gone unanswered.

Above all, the practice of systematic bombing of regions of the country under the control of the FMLN has elevated the casualty level well above that attained at the height of the wave of death-squad killings. In the month of May alone, there were 138 air attacks. The Salvadoran army plans to purchase several AC-47s, which are capable of 18,000 shots a minute, and which were used extensively in Vietnam.

Finally, according to the archbishop of San Salvador, the practice of political assassination has been stepped up recently.

It is no wonder, then, that even an enemy of the FMLN such as Minister of Foreign Affairs Morales of Venezuela had to observe, in the Swiss newspaper *Berner Zeitung*, that "In El Salvador, the Duarte Government seems to be leaning toward a military solution of the civil war."

La Palma round 2

The second round of negotiations, concluded this past Nov. 30, offered fresh evidence that Duarte at this point views a military solution as the only realistic alternative short of the FMLN/FDR acceptance of his three conditions. Duarte has stated that in order to achieve "peace," the FMLN must lay down its arms, accept the Salvadoran constitution, and participate in El Salvador's rigged elections.

In fact, Duarte refused to even attend the second set of talks on the basis that they were only "technical" in nature. Instead, the day after the negotiations were concluded, he went on national television to denounce the peace proposal submitted by the FMLN/FDR.

One official in the Duarte Government who participated in the Nov. 30 talks remarked that "We haven't weakened them [the FMLN/FDR] enough. This proposal means they're still strong."

Another of Duarte's close advisers glumly said, "My feeling is that there are no longer objective conditions for a dialogue."

...Apartheid

(continued from page 1)

people protested outside the South Africa consulate in Chicago on Dec. 6.

In San Francisco, a court order was necessary to circumvent the action of members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10, who had refused to unload South African cargo from a ship. Several picket lines and rallies were organized in San Francisco and Oakland, Calif., in support of the longshoremen.

The national coalition formed to organize April 20 antiwar demonstrations includes the issue of apartheid as one of its central demands. And a coalition led by Mobilization for Survival has called for a series of coordinated protests against apartheid from March 21 to April 6, 1985.

U.S. corporations under pressure

The widening protests are making the South African government, the U.S.

government, and U.S. corporations that do business in South Africa increasingly nervous. Although Prime Minister Botha of South Africa declared defiantly that the apartheid system would continue, a group of U.S. companies announced that they would seek the repeal of apartheid laws.

The U.S. corporations, in fact, are under pressure from Blacks and others in this country to withdraw completely from South Africa. Their assurances that they will seek the reform of the apartheid regime are no more persuasive than Reagan's own declarations of opposition to apartheid.

The economy of South Africa depends on attracting foreign investment. To do that, it must have a large supply of cheap labor. It is through the mechanism of apartheid laws which permit, among other things, the wholesale deportation of all Black workers involved in labor protests that the South African government has sought to permanently maintain labor discipline.

South African class struggle heats up

The wave of protest in the United States coincides with the growth of the movement against apartheid in South Africa. The successful Nov. 5 general strike in the Transvaal region demonstrated the growing organization and power of the Black working class.

The Black unions, which have grown dramatically in recent years, successfully disrupted daily life in the Johannesburg area. The two-day strike, which shut down factories and left service stations without gasoline, involved 800,000 workers.

The platform of demands issued by the strike committee called for a cancellation of the increases in rents and utilities, the rehiring of fired workers, and freedom for those arrested. It also solidarized with the demands of Black and Coloured [persons of mixed descent] students who were on strike in the high schools and universities.

The current protests by both trade

unionists and students converged with generalized discontent over the enactment of a new South African constitution last summer. The constitution allows some representatives of the Coloured and Indian population to participate in a new powerless chamber of parliament, while continuing to exclude Blacks from citizenship rights. The Black unions participated in the campaign to boycott the elections for the parliament, which culminated in a massive abstention by Coloureds and Indians.

As a result of the explosion of Black anger in South Africa, numerous Black municipal officials in charge of administering the impoverished Black townships have been forced to resign.

On Oct. 22, some 7,000 soldiers went into Sebokeng township, south of Johannesburg, to quell the unrest in that community. Police sweeps of Black communities during the last few months have left 100 Blacks dead. Over 1,000 have been arrested. In early December, South Africa's Roman Catholic bishops issued a report accusing the police of indiscriminate arrests and beatings.

Debates over strategy

During the August protests against the new constitution, two new organizations developed: the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum (NF). The UDF argues for the necessity of a broad anti-apartheid front, which would include white liberals and sectors of the Church. In a statement published by the *Cape Action League News*, it explicitly rejects a working-class orientation: "The UDF is not a class organization. It does not claim to work in the interests of the working class, the capitalist class or the peasantry. It is an alliance amongst these classes."

The UDF was the most important organization responsible for organizing the boycott of the elections last summer. The forces in the UDF generally look

toward the banned African National Congress (ANC) as the armed vanguard of the national liberation struggle.

The National Forum adheres to an anticapitalist program. Its manifesto declares that "the struggle against apartheid is no more than the point of departure for our liberation efforts. Apartheid will be eradicated with the system of racial capitalism. The Black working class, inspired by revolutionary consciousness, is the driving force of our struggle."

The Black unions, which have grown dramatically in the past four years, have tended to stay outside of the two existing fronts, sometimes for differing reasons. Many of them criticize the policy of multiclass alliances of the UDF.

In the current wave of protests against apartheid, it is the unions that have been at the forefront. Generally speaking, because South Africa is a country dependent on foreign investments in manufacturing and on its gold exports, the Black working class will necessarily play the central role in a combined fight to bring down the apartheid regime and to meet the pressing social and political needs of the Black majority.

In the aftermath of the November general strike, only 6,000 workers were dismissed and deported to the Black "homelands."

The South African capitalists were prevented from unilaterally dismissing the vast bulk of Blacks involved in strike action because of the breadth of the general strike itself.

The *Levy report*, issued by a Johannesburg firm of consultants, warned that "Failure to leaven the right blend of firmness with tact and sensitivity will only accelerate what are already disturbing signs."

However, neither firmness, tact, nor sensitivity will be enough to stabilize the racist South African regime, as Black workers and Black youth mobilize to defend their interests.



Socialist Action/Asher Harer

Arafat re-elected despite discord

By ROD ESTVAN

The 17th session of the Palestine National Council (PNC) came to an end on Nov. 29, the anniversary of the United Nations' 1947 Palestine Partition Plan. The 17th PNC achieved very little in terms of solidifying the Palestine Liberation Organization. It did, however, force the U.S. media to cover the PLO as a serious organization in its own right.

The PLO has been deeply divided since its military defeat in Beirut in 1982. This became most apparent in December 1983, when open warfare between Yasser Arafat's supporters in Fatah and the faction led by Colonel Abu Musa, a member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council, took place.

The Syrian government of Hafez al-Assad played a critical role in the revolt against PLO Chairman Arafat. The Assad regime expelled Arafat from territory it controlled in June 1983.

But it would be wrong to lay the blame for the revolt in Fatah solely on Syrian intrigue. The Fatah opposition condemned the corruption of PLO officials who controlled funds coming in from the Arab League. They also denounced Arafat for his decision to withdraw from Beirut.

Arafat visited Cairo in December 1983, becoming the first leader in the Arab world to visit the Egyptian capital since the Camp David Accords were signed. He also held talks in Amman, Jordan, with King Hussein, who, in September 1970, brutally drove the PLO out of Jordan. During that "Black September," 3400 Palestinians were killed by Jordanian troops. Arafat at the time had described it as "an attempt at genocide against the Palestinian population as a whole."

Arafat's diplomatic maneuvers with the Egyptian and Jordanian leaders failed to produce any gains for the Palestinian movement. The maneuvers did, however, cause 86 members of the PNC to ask for Arafat's resignation as chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

Arafat—the bone of contention

The PLO became divided into three blocks known as the National Alliance; the Democratic Alliance, which included left currents; and the supporters of Arafat.

In June a series of talks between the Democratic Alliance and representatives of the Fatah Central Committee were held in the city of Aden, in the Republic of Democratic Yemen. A set of accords, some implicitly critical of Arafat, were adopted. These accords laid the basis for convening the 17th PNC.

Abu Musa, representing the National Alliance, rejected the Aden agreements. He said that the Alliance would not attend the PNC unless agreement was reached on "the need to terminate Yasser Arafat's membership in PLO institutions."

What motivated the decision of Abu Musa and Syria to oppose the convening of the 17th PNC? The Assad regime had begun to fear the formation of what could be called a PLO-Jordanian-Egyptian axis for negotiations with the Israeli state. By its very nature such an axis would exclude Syria from the negotiations. And Syria rejects any solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that does not include the return of the Golan Heights to Syrian control.

The meeting was finally held in Amman. This brought closer the axis that Assad feared. There never was any doubt that Fatah would be able to put together a quorum of delegates to hold the PNC. Fatah has firm control of the mass organizations.

The delegates to the PNC were



greeted with banners hung about the hall reading "No Tutelage," a reference to Syria. Yet one of the first speakers at the opening session was Jordan's King Hussein.

Hussein backed United Nations Resolution 242, which was adopted by the U.N. Security Council in December 1967. This resolution called for an Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories, but at the same time failed to mention the plight of the Palestinians or their right to national self-determination. Acceptance of that resolution implies recognition of Israel as a legitimate state and the denial of Palestinian self-determination.

In the days that followed, many PNC members gave speeches rejecting Resolution 242 as a basis for joint PLO-Jordanian initiatives. Salah Khalaf, an important leader of Fatah, was quoted in *The Jordan Times* as saying, "We are

ready to accept the principle of land in exchange for peace, provided that our acceptance will lead to an independent Palestinian state."

Salah Khalaf also talked in an almost ritualistic manner about increased armed struggle against the Zionist state. But one delegate who followed was quoted as stating, "What armed struggle are we talking about? Tell us how you think it can be carried on."

A serious question for which there were no answers.

Farouk al-Kaddoumi gave a report in which he outlined some type of confederation between Jordan and a future Palestinian mini-state. Kaddoumi left the door open to resumption of relations between the PLO and Syria based on "non-interference in each others' internal affairs."

While Arafat was consolidating his control over the PLO, thousands of

Palestinians on the West Bank and the Gaza strip watched the proceedings live on Jordanian television.

The Israeli military was, to say the least, unhappy about having Arafat appear uncensored on television. The Israeli border patrol opened fire on a political rally in support of the PNC held at Bir Zeit University, killing one student and wounding eight others.

A negative balance sheet

The balance sheet of the 17th PNC is negative. The PNC failed to condemn Arafat's trip to Cairo and did not take any organizational measures to control Arafat's future actions. Moreover, Arafat and the PLO Executive Committee, which is more pro-Arafat than the outgoing one, were given power to carry out joint initiatives with Jordan on the basis of Hussein's proposals.

So although U.N. Resolution 242 was formally rejected, the growing entente with Hussein risks leading the PLO toward a break with its 1968 founding charter, which explicitly called for the establishment of a free and democratic Palestinian state.

Nor did the PNC put forward a clear strategy for Palestinians in the occupied territories. Debate on strategy in the homeland becomes superfluous if the PLO looks in the direction of great-power negotiations to create a Palestinian state.

It was no doubt an error for the left to boycott the PNC. But this error is based on a more fundamental mistake, which is a "tactical" alliance with the Syrian state carried out by all left currents in the PLO. This is the same government that massacred 10,000 of its own people in the city of Hama only two years ago and openly attacked the PLO as a whole in the Lebanese civil war in 1976.

Just as dangerous is the post-PNC rumor that the PLO will move its central offices to Amman, where no PLO members are allowed to carry arms. Both Arafat's bloc with Jordan and the opposition's varying links with the Syrian state are real dangers for the Palestinian revolution. ■

...Famine

(continued from page 16)

icy or other interests of the United States government are served."

Donation of a water pump for a Vietnamese orphanage was deemed "not in the interest of the United States" and was blocked, according to an article in *In These Times*.

Applying these criteria, the Reagan administration decided that saving the lives of starving Ethiopians was not in the national interest. The Ethiopian government declares itself to be Marxist. Even more reprehensible in the State Department's view, Ethiopia is accepting Soviet aid and influence in the strategic Horn of Africa.

The present Ethiopian government was formed in 1974 when a group of army officers overthrew the aging and nearly senile Emperor Haile Selassie. Famine in the countryside and inept feudal rule left the emperor with no supporters. The committee of army officers, which became known as the Derg, did not head a mass movement of workers or peasants.

The army simply staged a coup that put them at the head of the government and all its agencies of repression. Like the officer corps in Egypt and other Third World countries, the Derg represented the newly educated petty bourgeoisie that developed as western technology spread to Ethiopian cities. They wanted to break out of the stifling confines of the emperor's autocracy.

Nasser and his fellow officers declared themselves to be socialists without understanding the true meaning of the word. The Derg went further, declaring themselves to be Marxist-Leninists. At first they became Maoists in hopes that China would come through with some much-needed aid. When

those prospects fell through they changed their colors slightly to conform to Soviet politics. The workers and peasants played no independent role in these policy shifts. A student group that called for genuine democracy was brutally repressed.

The starving of Eritrea

In their domestic policies the Derg is the very opposite of Marxist. A Marxist regime would have freed the province of Eritrea, which was never part of Ethiopia but was annexed to the empire in 1961 against the wishes of the people.

The Eritreans have waged a 20-year battle for their independence. Their freedom fighters control 80 percent of the countryside. But much of the area is laid waste by drought. One-third of the Eritrean population is in danger of starvation. Together with neighboring Tigre

into surrender by blocking all food shipments to the region.

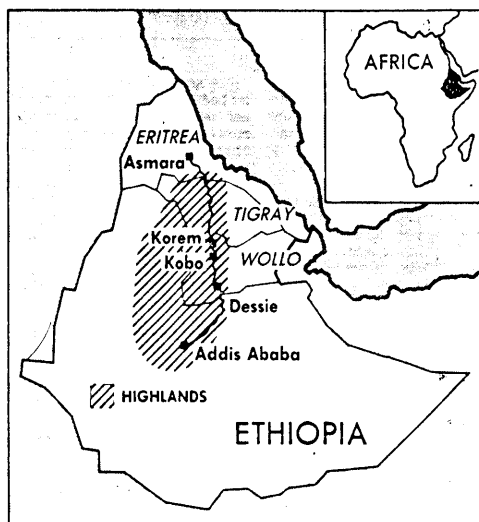
A number of private relief organizations have gone along with the Derg's policy of starving children in the interest of politics. A section of the Catholic Relief Agency says the Ethiopian government would be very upset if the agency worked directly with the Eritreans. Another relief agency, World Vision, refused a direct request from Eritreans for aid. They did not want to anger the government in Addis Ababa. The anger of starving people counts for nothing when politics overwhelms humanitarianism.

Even now, when television has brought the starving Africans into living rooms on five continents, politics is foremost in the minds of governments extending famine relief. The Soviet leaders, who were slow to send adequate help, are competing with the United States in incurring the starving people's gratitude. The United States thinks it might be able to pull the Ethiopians out of the Soviet orbit if they utilize their aid in the right way.

The Derg has put political advantage ahead of the lives of the starving. Early this year the officers downplayed the famine while they spent \$100 million on the 10th anniversary of their coup. How many lives could that \$100 million have saved? They are as callous and unfeeling toward their starving citizens as the emperor they deposed.

Now that the spotlight of worldwide publicity is focused on the starving Africans, some lives will be saved. While the crisis of the present famine may be overcome, nothing is being done to prevent the recurrence of famines in Africa and other parts of the Third World.

Another article will explore this aspect of the problem. ■



province they constitute half of the famine victims in Ethiopia.

The "Marxist" Derg has responded to starvation in its rebellious provinces just as Reagan has. They saw it as a great opportunity to starve the rebels

Poland: Three years after martial law

Church-state deal founders as Solidarity leads protest

By NANCY GRUBER

The balancing act attempted by the Polish Roman Catholic primate Cardinal Glemp in an effort to reconcile the opposing forces of the Jaruzelski regime and the Polish masses grows more and more difficult. The latest frazzling of his tightrope occurred with the assassination in October of the worker priest Jerzy Popieluszko, chaplain of the huge Huta Warszawa steel mill in Warsaw and uncompromising champion of Solidarity.

Glemp hopes to extend the roots of the church, especially in rural areas where its influence has always been stronger than among the urban workers. To do this, however, he has offered to help the regime maintain its control in exchange for the regime's cooperation.

On Jan. 5, 1984, Glemp and General Wojciech Jaruzelski, in their third meeting since Dec. 13, 1981, arrived at terms for an accord between the church hierarchy and the Polish government. In March, returning from a pastoral tour of Latin America, Glemp revealed the intent of the church-state accommodation in two European publications. The *Geneva Tribune* (March 3, 1984) quoted his explanation to the Brazilian newspaper *O Estado do Sao Paulo* that the Polish church was not being persecuted by the authorities "who are doing everything possible not to create a new enemy."

On March 16, he told the West German weekly *Die Zeit*: "Today by any means necessary we must begin peaceful coexistence... The ideological gap [between church and state] is deep, but dialogue is necessary for the continued existence of the regime. Dialogue can lead to at least a minimum of trust between the regime and the citizens."

In exchange for playing a role in keeping the working class under the thumb of the regime, the church, according to *Die Zeit*, has demanded an agreement that would give legal status to dioceses, parishes, seminaries, and certain religious organizations.

Glemp vs. Solidarity

The Catholic hierarchy is hoping to make Solidarity the major victim of this campaign of accommodation. On March 5, Glemp told the Italian publication *Il Giornale* that "Solidarity no longer represents the working class."

One prong in the attack on Solidarity has been the attempt to separate the masses from the influence of the worker priests such as Popieluszko and the Rev. Henryk Jankowski of Gdansk, Lech Walesa's pastor. These priests and others less well-known have continued—in veiled language—to criticize the government and to support the underground union from their pulpits.

Last February Glemp transferred one such priest, Father Nowak, from his parish that included the 18,000 workers of the Ursus plant to a rural area. Massive protests by Nowak's parishioners did not succeed in reversing Glemp's decision.

The dispute that has occurred during the last few months over the hanging of crucifixes in public schools illustrates Glemp's dilemma. The latest incident, reported in the Dec. 9 *New York Times*, involves 100 students and two priests who staged a sit-in at a Warsaw high school to protest the removal of the crosses from the classroom walls. While the cardinal has intervened in favor of the right to display religious symbols in the schools, he is very careful not to go so far as to support the young demonstrators who seize upon this prohibition to express their opposition to the regime.

The murder of Popieluszko has

underlined the contradictions in Glemp's position. This crime committed by agents of the government—now thought to have been inspired by harder-line factions within the ruling Polish Workers Party (POUP)—might have brought Solidarity and the Catholic hierarchy closer together and thus reinforced the latter's hold over the masses. But this has not happened.

Civil rights defense committees

The prestige of Cardinal Glemp has never been as low as during the days that followed the priest's abduction. The ecclesiastical bureaucracy has done everything possible to avoid damaging its political entente with the dictatorship. Glemp's call to "love your neighbor"—when their "neighbors" include the secret police and the assassins of Popieluszko—has enraged the Polish believers.

On the other hand, the bonds



Edmund Baluka, one of the leaders of the 1970 Szczecin strikes, had been on various hunger strikes before his release from prison last October.

between the masses and the worker priests who support Solidarity and who contest more and more openly Glemp's politics in their actions, have been reinforced. And the crime has inspired the setting up of several civil rights defense committees to monitor allegations of police violence.

One of these, the Szczecin Committee for the Defense of Law and Order, was formed on Nov. 23 by Edmund Baluka and Jan Kostecki. The Polish government announced an inquiry into the activities of the two men at the same

time that it released two Solidarity activists, Bogdan Lis and Piotr Mierzewski. Lis and Mierzewski had been exempted from the amnesty declared last July and kept in prison.

Baluka and Kostecki, according to the Polish press agency, had refused to stop their activities despite an official ban on such committees. According to the Dec. 9 *New York Times*, "the agency said the two men had distributed 'leaflets of a libelous and slanderous character.'"

British miners leader retracts charges against Solidarity

At the annual Trade Unions Congress (TUC) in September 1983, Arthur Scargill, leader of the British National Union of Miners, attacked Polish Solidarity, characterizing it as "antisocialist" and thereby legitimizing the repression against the banned trade union.

Last June, at a meeting in Manchester, Scargill retracted this statement and said he owed an apology to Lech Walesa. With the continued shipments of coal from the Jaruzelski regime to Great Britain, on the one hand, and the support offered the British miners by Solidarity, on the other, Scargill was merely expressing the appreciation of thousands of striking miners to their Polish brothers and sisters in Solidarity.

At a recent rally for miners in Sheffield, Yorkshire, Scargill denounced the Polish authorities for continuing to export coal. In a letter to the official Polish trade-union federation, he stated, "My advice to you is to stop behaving hypocritically and in a way that can only be described as anti-socialist. The Polish government has dramatically increased the amount of coal imported. And you've ignored repeated requests to stop exporting coal..."

In contrast to the Polish authorities, Solidarity has been unwaveringly on the side of the striking miners. The August 24 issue of *Front Robotniczy*, an underground Polish bulletin, expressed this support in the clearest of terms. The following are a few quotes from this article.

"In Great Britain miners are being killed by police serving a conservative government; miners just like the ones killed not long ago in Poland. Would we have the right to expect the help we need so much from them if we remained indifferent today to the tragedy they are suffering?"

"Unless we go beyond statements of support, which are necessary but in themselves have no practical effect, will these not be just empty courtesies? The political bosses of the British monopoly

Such independent activity as this can succeed only if it is supported by a large mobilization of workers. In Wroclaw, two Solidarity leaders of Lower Silesia, Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk and Jozef Piniur, who have just finished serving a new two-month term in prison, called upon the workers to fight the repressive apparatus. And Lech Walesa has reminded Solidarity that it must maintain its independence from both bureaucracies—church and state—which support the repression. ■

bourgeoisie and the Polish totalitarian bureaucracy—the Thatcher and Jaruzelski governments—have rediscovered the antiworking-class language that is traditionally common to ruling groups...

"Internationalism—international workers' solidarity—will remain only a slogan, and with it our freedom will remain only a slogan, as long as we cannot build a practical bridge connecting our common struggles, connecting the various national detachments of the working class. If we want to really help the striking British miners, we can do so effectively in only one way—by stopping or at least reducing the deliveries of Polish coal to Great Britain for as long as the miners' strike goes on." ■

Solidarity takes to the streets

Solidarity leaders were once again in the forefront of a Dec. 15 demonstration of 3000 people in Gdansk, Poland. The march, called to commemorate the Poles killed while protesting food price increases 14 years ago, was savagely attacked by Polish police using tear gas, riot sticks, and smoke bombs.

Bogdan Lis, who was released from prison only on Dec. 8—months after the 600 other political prisoners were freed by a general amnesty—took part in the march. When he had not returned home after the police attack, relatives expressed the fear that he had again been detained.

At least 12 other people were reported detained after the Gdansk march, including prominent Solidarity leaders Andrzej Gwiazda and Grzegorz Palka. Both men had been arrested after the declaration of martial law in December 1981 but, unlike Lis, had been released in the general amnesty last July. ■

Polish 'Inprekor'

Since the Polish *Inprekor* was first published in October 1981 twelve issues have appeared.

Inprekor is published every two months as a journal reflecting the point of view of the Fourth International. It addresses itself to the debates that are going on in the Polish workers movement.

Inprekor also reports on the mass struggles in other countries—Salvador, Turkey, Bolivia, Brazil, the anti-war movement in Europe—with particular attention to the activities of the democratic and workers opposition in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, as well as to solidarity with *Solidarnosc* activities. *Inprekor* also gives space to other political currents and to fraternal debate with them. There have been articles from Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Josef Piniur, Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk, Zbigniew Romaszewski, Zbigniew Bujak and the organisation 'Fighting Solidarnosc'.

To make sure that *Inprekor* can appear regularly, to increase its distribution in Poland, we need your help. You can take a supporters subscription, or simply make a donation as an act of international solidarity.

A subscription for one year (6 issues) is 75 French francs, 12 US dollars or £8 sterling. Make cheques payable to PEC (Polish *Inprekor*) and send to *Inprekor*, Polish edition, 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93100 Montreuil, France. For bank transfers, etc. proceed as for *International Viewpoint*, but always with the addition 'Polish *Inprekor*'.



SWP defaults on referendum

By JOE AUCIELLO

BOSTON—Despite the election of Ronald Reagan, the antiwar movement here won an important victory when voters decisively rejected Reagan's war policy in Central America. The support for Referendum no.1, reported in last month's *Socialist Action*, clearly showed that Boston-area voters have little interest in funding the *contras* against the government of Nicaragua or aiding the military in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala.

Unfortunately the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) failed to support the referendum campaign. They did not attend its meetings. Their newspaper, *The Militant*, did not report its events. Anyone relying solely on *The Militant* for information would not even know the referendum had won.

The SWP has, however, attempted to explain its position. In its Oct. 26 issue, *The Militant* printed an article by Jon Hillson entitled, "Boston 'peace' rally speakers support Democrats."

This article, which correctly criticizes the pro-Mondale tone of a demonstration held the previous month, attacks the referendum on four points.

Hillson says the SWP "adopted a voting stance of abstention" because: 1) the referendum is "endorsed by numerous Democratic politicians"; 2) "the referendum and literature backing it omit any reference to Democratic support for U.S. war policy"; 3) "the referendum's main function is to give antiwar cover and win votes for the Democrats"; and 4) it "is clearly a diversion from organizing against the war."

A broad principled coalition

The SWP's abstention was wrong and its criticism's were unwarranted. The referendum deserved support from everyone opposed to U.S. interference in Central America.

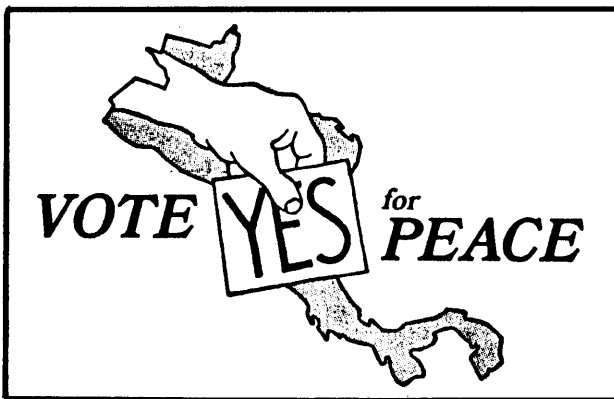
The Militant neglects to mention an important fact: The Central America Referendum Campaign did not at any time endorse anyone for any office. Since the campaign was a broad coalition, the different organizations and individuals within it held conflicting views on the presidential election.

Certainly some referendum activists voted for Walter Mondale, some abstained, others supported socialist tickets. Members of Socialist Action working in referendum committees voted for Mel Mason, presidential candidate of the SWP. But the referendum was not built around any candidate or party. It was built by activists united against U.S. intervention in Central America.

It is true that the referendum did not blame the Democrats for U.S. policy. Neither did it blame the Republicans. Or Ronald Reagan. Nor was there any mention of capitalism and imperialism. In short, no one was required to accept a specific analysis in order to vote for peace in Central America. The referendum simply gave Massachusetts citizens a chance to make their voices heard and to show that the majority of people do not want war.

Why, then, call for a "voting stance of abstention"? Does the SWP believe that over 260,000 people should not have been allowed to vote against U.S. aggression until they first came to recognize the class nature of the capitalist parties?

The Militant does not explain why it is a "diversion" to work with hundreds of activists who effectively reached out to thousands of others on the



basis of a principled anti-intervention policy. Far from any diversion, the referendum was the most significant antiwar activity in New England this year.

A broad anti-intervention movement cannot be based on a socialist program. Such an approach ignores the thousands who are increasingly disenchanted with the U.S. government, but who are not yet ready to seek its replacement. A revolutionary party should combine the struggle for socialism with active support for an antiwar movement, and build the two simultaneously.

This is precisely where the SWP excelled throughout the 1960s and 1970s. In election campaigns SWP candidates supported the mass movements at every opportunity, using their access to the media to promote conferences, teach-ins, demonstrations, and, yes, referendums. Although *The Militant* neglects to say so, abstention from antiwar referendums is a new practice for the SWP and a sorry departure from its record of militant opposition to imperialist war.

A break with the past

The SWP's history provides the most telling reply to its present course of abstention. The party's approach to referendums has been guided by the Transitional Program, a document written by Leon Trotsky and adopted by the SWP in 1938.

One section of the Transitional Program includes support for a referendum prior to the declaration of war. Trotsky explains that revolutionaries should promote "every, even if insufficient demand, if it can draw the masses to a certain extent into active politics."

In the past the SWP never missed a chance to put these ideas into practice. One of the first referendums of the Vietnam war was held in San Francisco in 1967. Fred Halstead, in *Out Now—A Partici-*

pant's Account of the American Antiwar Movement, writes that this referendum was "initiated by members of the Pacific Democrats, a dissident Democratic Party group."

These people formed a coalition called "Citizens for a Vote on Vietnam," which, according to Halstead, "included some reform Democrats, many of the moderate antiwar groups, the SWP, and some other radicals."

Not surprisingly, this coalition did not "blame the Democrats" for the war and might even have given some of them an "antiwar cover."

Nevertheless, the SWP supported its call for "immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam."

Though the referendum did not win, its importance lay in revealing "a very substantial and growing minority flatly opposed to U.S. intervention."

Reverse this course

In Massachusetts the SWP became the principal leader of Vietnam Referendum '70. Organized around the slogan, "Let the People Vote on War," this campaign was endorsed by a number of prominent Democrats, including Senator Edward Kennedy, Boston Mayor Kevin White, and State Senate president Maurice A. Donohue.

The coordinator of Referendum '70, SWP member John McCann, explained its educational value in *The Militant* (June 26, 1970): "The referendum's greatest significance lies in the fact that people are beginning to realize that decisions of war and peace are their prerogatives and not the prerogative of politicians... By the time this campaign is over, we anticipate millions of people will realize that they should have the right to decide the questions of war."

That year SWP candidates for public office included the referendum as part of their platform.

This activism is a far cry from the apologies for abstention which *The Militant* offers today. The SWP should be building a strong antiwar movement—as it did in the past.

In Boston, the SWP has defaulted on every count. By failing to participate in activities like the Central America Referendum Campaign, the SWP, against its proclaimed intentions, makes itself increasingly irrelevant in the struggle to defend the revolutions in Central America. This course must be reversed by the party ranks before it is too late. ■

Errata:

In the December issue of *Socialist Action* two mistakes were made.

The article by Sylvia Weinstein, "Wicket, Grimlin, and Reagan's mandate," should read: " 'You can't fool all the people all the time,' does not apply to our 'leaders.' Evidently the capitalist class can fool them all the time and does."

The article by Ralph Schoenman, "The unfinished Chinese revolution," should read: "The U.S. rulers answered Mao within eight months with the Korean war, in which over 1 million Chinese soldiers died."

...Union Carbide

(continued from page 16)

M.I.T.'s Center for Policy Alternatives, concludes that "The environmental safety regulations in American-owned plants abroad may be no worse than those now taken within the United States because of the outrageous disregard for health and safety concerns by the Reagan administration."

Cause for alarm at Institute

For the residents of Institute, W.Va., there is special cause for alarm. In a report to the state pollution control offices in West Virginia in 1981, Union Carbide admitted that the company routinely vents MIC into the atmosphere at their Institute plant, a fact they had previously denied.

Union Carbide also annually dis-

charges at least 168 tons of other chemicals considered equally as dangerous as MIC, including phosgene, which was used as a nerve gas in World War I. Is it any wonder that Kanawha County, where the Union Carbide plant resides along with 11 other chemical plants, has a cancer rate 21 percent higher than the national average?

The "smell of jobs," as some residents have described the ever-present stench in the air from the plant, undoubtedly is beginning to reek more of death after the catastrophe in India.

Dr. Irving Selikoff, director of the Environmental Sciences Laboratory at the Mount Sinai School of Medicine, told the *New York Times* how the chemical industry allows plants to deteriorate rather than maintain technology that may be replaced in a few years. "The

people in the chemical industry are knowledgeable and capable," Dr. Selikoff remarks, "but they must operate within profit constraints."

Whether corporations allow needed repairs to slide by on equipment they plan to junk a few years down the road, or circumvent "costly" environmental regulations by moving their operations abroad, it all adds up to the same thing: Operating industries that do not kill human beings is expedient only if it does not override the "profit constraints" that motivate every corporate decision.

The tragedy in Bhopal is further confirmation that the dichotomy between the interests of profit-hungry corporations and the needs of society, mirrored in the faces of the dead, dying, blinded people of Bhopal, is separated by an unbridgeable gulf. ■



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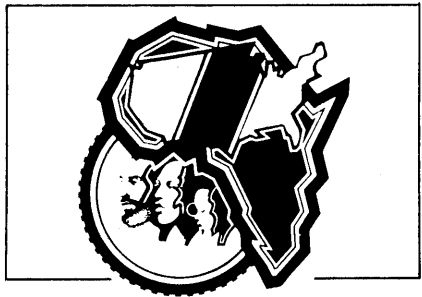
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WHERE TO FIND US:

"Free world"

By KWAME M.A. SOMBURU

The Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" toward the apartheid government—which was exposed by the courageous and principled stand of Bishop Desmond Tutu—can be contrasted with its bloody efforts to overthrow the Sandinista government of Nicaragua.



National Black Independent Political Party symbol

South Africa is placed in the "Free World" because of the huge profits that the multinational corporations get through exploitation of low-paid Black labor there. The zero profits from Cuba, however, and the endangered profits from Nicaragua, open those countries to attack.

The apartheid system was in place in South Africa long before Reagan was elected to office. For years, both Democratic and Republican Party administrations have gotten along amicably with South Africa's policies toward its Black subjects. It has only been in recent decades (because of massive protests and world opinion) that the U.S. ruling class developed less inhumane practices toward its own Black population.

Can we expect a government that has ruled over Black workers in this country and around the world to somehow pressure the South African government to end its policies? Only the victims can end their oppression. Black Americans—and groups like the National Black Independent Political Party—can play a vital role in raising awareness in this country about apartheid and the economic system that fosters it.

The initiators of the current actions against apartheid should begin a second phase of mobilizing masses of people in opposition to apartheid and the related oppression of Blacks in the United States. We cannot hold back in favor of Black leaders who prefer to put pressure on the Democratic Party. Now is the time to organize teach-ins, rallies, and democratic planning conferences that can build mass demonstrations against apartheid involving thousands of people.

Inside out...

Richard not guilty

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

News makers — Richard III has been acquitted of murdering his two little nephews. The former monarch, depicted by Shakespeare as a cringing villain, and thought by many to be the prototype of Richard Nixon, was found not guilty in a jury trial broadcast by London Weekend Television.



Richard's supporters had protested that Sir Thomas More, his chief accuser, was simply a mouthpiece for Tudor propaganda. Since More was unavailable to give testimony, the jury cleared Richard for lack of evidence, proving once again that the System works, and so on.

Nobel Peace Prize laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu might be able to join Johannesburg's all-white Rand Club next month—and not just to shine shoes. The club traditionally allows the city's Anglican bishop upstairs with the gold barons and wealthy businessmen, but they've never had to take tea with a Black bishop before. The club's general manager notes that a final decision has not been made, since they've never received a membership application from Bishop Tutu.

Stock market tip: AIG International reports a 30 percent growth in its "political risk" insurance department. Another insurance company, Cigna Corp., says it will collect \$22 million in 1984 alone from policies that insure corporations against expropriations and foreign exchange shortages.

Meanwhile, the Overseas Private Investment Corp., a quasi-governmental agency, says that it nearly tripled its volume over the past three years insuring U.S. companies against Third World turmoil. The most popular of OPIC's policies was its "war, revolution, and insurrection" coverage.

Aborted human fetuses are not ground up into facial cosmetics. At least not in the U.S.A. That's the word from the federal Food and Drug Administration in response to charges published by a Vatican newspaper. So, you really don't have to say a hundred Hail Mary's before the mirror every morning.

Letters to editor

Enjoys paper

Dear editor,

Since I first purchased a copy of your newspaper last winter, I have increasingly appreciated the value of *Socialist Action*, despite all the limitations that the monthly publication schedule must impose.

Especially the contributions by Ralph Schoenman, Stephanie Coontz, and the reprinting of internal documents are a breeze of spring air compared to the stale ossification of *The Militant* and the agonizing attempts of *The Guardian* to grope with the question of whether or not it is correct to criticize the Soviet Union.

Hopefully your announcement of a theoretical journal will become a reality before the winter is over.

A reader,
Minneapolis

Howard Packer

Dear editor,

Howard Packer, a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party, died Dec. 12. He was 68 years old.

A lifelong resident of Chicago, Howard devoted 46 years of revolutionary activity to the Chicago branch of the SWP. Even in the darkest days of reaction, when socialists in Chicago were reduced to a handful, Howard stood steadfast, imbued with revolutionary optimism.

In the last year of his life, Howard became disturbed by

the distortion of Trotskyism espoused by the SWP leadership. He wrote a polemic in the 1984 SWP pre-convention discussion bulletin defending Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution, answering the Barnes leadership, which has dropped this basic tenet of revolutionary socialism.

Howard's death leaves a serious gap in the ranks of veteran American Trotskyists.

Asher Harer,
San Francisco

SWP dishonesty

Dear editor,

(I'd like you to reprint this letter, which was also sent to *The Militant*.)

Several months before his death on Nov. 16, 1984, Larry Stewart was refused entrance to a public campaign rally of the Socialist Workers Party. This disgraceful incident provides some contrast to the belated tribute to Stewart that was written by Barry Sheppard in the Dec. 14 *Militant*!

But Sheppard's article contains a glaring inaccuracy. Sheppard writes, "In early 1983 Stewart left the SWP as part of a split over organizational and political differences."

In fact, Stewart was unjustly, undemocratically, and unwillingly expelled from the SWP as part of a purge of members who refused to repudiate other party members in California.

The author of this article should know since he was one of the people who brought

charges against Stewart—and then tossed him out without a trial.

What Sheppard omits is Stewart's last, and perhaps most important, struggle: His work to defend the revolutionary program of the SWP against the present course of Sheppard and the SWP leadership.

Roland Sheppard,
San Francisco

Turkish friend

Dear editor,

I am writing to you as a friend sharing the same ideas and goals in another part of the world. Yes, I am writing from Turkey.

Last year I was in the United States as an exchange student, and at that time it was a good relief to learn about your presence. In a country where capitalism has shaped all human relations, where people are afraid of words more than nukes, and where there is a president with the most conservative ideas, it was good to know that there were some people who were trying to make changes.

I walked in as many revolutionary marches as I could, and I read every issue of your newspaper while I was in the United States.

Since I believe in cooperation between all the socialists of the world, I want to keep in touch with you. And I would really like to have the latest issues of *Socialist Action* sent to my address here.

B.E.,
Ankara, Turkey

Our literary heritage

Native Son still raises the right questions

By ALAN WALD

Native Son, by Richard Wright. Harper and Row, New York, \$1.95.

Richard Wright's 1940 novel depicts a Black youth from Chicago's South Side ghetto who kills two women and is tried in an atmosphere of racist hysteria. Wright was a disgruntled member of the Communist Party when he wrote "Native Son," which has become almost the only book by a Marxist-oriented Afro-American accepted into the official "canon" of United States literature. However, its full potential for raising political questions among friends, co-workers, and students is not generally recognized by radicals.

For example, the startling frankness of Wright's prose and the inherent drama of the plot will engross people who do not usually read 400-page books. Many have told me that "Native Son" is the first "serious" novel that they have ever enjoyed. Among the many provocative questions raised by the book is: Who is ultimately responsible for the two murders—Bigger Thomas, the protagonist, or the society that conditioned him to kill when he experiences fear? Trying to resolve this question leads to a highly political discussion that naturally elicits a consideration of the Marxist method of social analysis.

"Native Son" also provokes debate

about matters such as the function of mass media, movies, and religion in shaping the consciousness of the oppressed in capitalist society; the nature of business enterprises such as urban housing projects (particularly through the centrality of the South Side Real Estate Company in all aspects of the plot structure); and the existence of interrelated but also semiautonomous Euro-American and Afro-American cultures in the United States.

Students of literary theory will find "Native Son" to be a useful vehicle for exploring the difficulty of integrating the subtleties of political thought into imaginative literature. Other readers may want to explore parallels between the experience of oppressed people who live under "domestic colonialism," such as Afro-Americans, and those who live in the external colonies of imperialism, such as Africans.

Paul N. Siegel does this at the conclusion of his excellent chapter on Wright in "Revolution and the 20th Century Novel" (Pathfinder, 1979). He demonstrates that Fanon's thesis—that the violence of the oppressed may be part of a psychological struggle against dehumanization—is anticipated in Wright's view that Bigger Thomas is not a criminal but a victim driven to the only form of rebellion and self-affirmation available to him.

Profits spell death in India disaster

By MARK HARRIS

It was the worst industrial accident in history. While the residents slept, the poison drifted into the night air of Bhopal, India. The slums surrounding the Union Carbide plant were soon blanketed in a white shroud of methyl isocyanate (MIC), a lethal chemical used in the production of pesticides. Many people never awoke. For others the noxious fumes quickly turned the night's calm into a frenzy of terror and death.

The poisonous chemical, which belongs to a family of toxins for which there is no known antidote, claimed 2500 victims. Another 1000 people can be expected to die. The critically injured number 3000. As many as 100,000 people may be left with permanent disabilities by a chemical considered so dangerous that toxicologists are reluctant to even study it in the lab.

There is no official explanation yet of what caused the disaster, but the culpability of Union Carbide's owners for the deaths and injuries is apparent. Indian scientists from the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research have confirmed that the storage tank was defective. The tank had not been tapped since October, allowing the pressure to build to a dangerous level.

"The faces of the dead, dying, blinded people of Bhopal mirror the dichotomy between the corporations and society's needs."

The cooling system was not supplied with the Freon gas necessary to keep the pressure from rising. As the temperature rose the chemical, which is stored in liquid form, turned to gas and escaped through a safety valve.

The scrubber mechanism designed to neutralize the gas by treating it with caustic soda was under repair and did not work. The flare tower, designed to burn off the fumes, was not lit. A critical panel in the control room had been removed, preventing the leak from showing up on monitors. There were no engineers on duty as required. And to add to the litany of irregularities, the alarm system did not go off until two hours and four minutes after the leak began.

"There seems to have been a total ignorance on the part of the factory management," said Professor J.M. Dave, a well-known environmental authority, "as to the seriousness of the substances they dealt with."

This was the fifth reported gas leak at the plant since 1978. After a poison-gas accident killed one worker in 1981, the main labor union at the Bhopal plant began a campaign to upgrade safety conditions. For the last four years *Danik Bhaskar*, the largest newspaper in the area, has charged that the plant's safety and maintenance were sloppy and that employees received inadequate training.

Members of the state assembly had also raised similar concerns but were ignored by the state's Congress Party government, whose close ties to Union Carbide, as labor leaders and environmental groups in Bhopal have charged, led them to turn a deaf ear to warnings of unsafe conditions.

There are no laws in India regulating storage of toxic chemicals. And there is no restriction on building chemical plants in urban areas, although a proposed law would bar hazardous-chemical plants within 15 miles of any city.



There were 170,000 people living in Bhopal within the 25 square miles that the gas covered, many right next to the plant. Yet as inherently unsafe as this was, there were no evacuation plans in the event of an accident. When the warning sirens belatedly sounded the alarm, many residents actually ran toward the plant, thinking it was on fire.

A Union Carbide inspector who toured the Bhopal plant in 1982 admitted that the plant was not "up to American standards."

The Bhopal plant was furnished with

only one manual back-up alarm system instead of the four-stage computerized alarm system at the Union Carbide plant at Institute, W. Va.

It can't happen here?

The Bhopal tragedy has renewed attention to the practice of U.S. corporations exporting products, such as prescribed drugs or sub-standard technology, to countries lacking even the inadequate regulatory mechanism existing in the United States.

"Companies often fail to maintain high environmental standards in nations

without strict rules or enforcement," reports Stuart Diamond in the *New York Times*. "In a Union Carbide battery plant in Jakarta, Indonesia, more than half the 750 workers had kidney damage from mercury exposure. In an asbestos-cement factory partly owned by the Manville Corporation 200 miles west of Bhopal, workers in 1981 were routinely covered with asbestos dust, a practice that would never be tolerated here."

But reassurances that it can't happen here are not worth much. "We have nothing to be comforted by just because we're living in an advanced industrial society," Anthony Mazzocchi of the Workers' Policy Project told *Newsweek*. "On the contrary, we are at greater risk because we have more toxic plants here."

There are 6000 plants producing hazardous chemicals in this country. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) says that only 10 percent of the 90 million pounds of toxic wastes produced each year are disposed of properly. The Natural Resources Defense Council estimates that there are as many as 50,000 toxic waste dumps around the country. At least 14,000 of these sites are or soon could be dangerous.

The EPA was only last month given authority to regulate underground storage tanks such as the one that leaked in Bhopal. The EPA doesn't even know how many such tanks there are, let alone what is in them.

As it stands there are no federal regulations governing storage of toxic materials or monitoring leakage. Moreover, federal regulations do not even classify carbamates—the type of pesticides that use MIC—as hazardous waste. One hazardous-waste expert for the EPA observes that "we've got no regulations and no enforcement. The only reason we haven't had a release with the same disastrous effect is that we've been lucky."

The Reagan administration, rest assured, is doing everything possible to gut what laws do exist. One of Reagan's first acts in office was to revoke an executive order issued by President Jimmy Carter that would have imposed somewhat stricter controls on the export of "extremely hazardous" substances and required that all toxic chemicals in the workplace be identified.

Nicholas A. Ashford, director of

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Governments play politics while African children starve

By HAYDEN PERRY

Thanks to the modern marvels of satellites and television, people can sit down to dinner and watch an African child dying of starvation in its mother's arms. Even the flies crawling on the face of the starving child are clearly visible in vivid color. In this way the drought and famine in the remotest part of Africa have been brought to the attention of the affluent West. People are shocked. They want to do something about it.

No television screen is large enough to encompass the vast extent of hunger and death in Africa. Twenty-five out of 42 African countries are suffering abnormal food shortages. Since 1970, it is estimated, 300,000 have died of starvation. Another half million may die before the end of 1985. Millions of those who survive will suffer serious mental or physical impairment.

Nature brings us droughts, but famine today is the work of man alone. Three years of little or no rain have devastated crops in a great belt across Africa south of the Sahara. Areas of drought extend southward into Kenya, Mozambique, and parts of South Africa. Here croplands become dust-bowls and nothing will grow.

Drought is a recurring theme in Africa's history. If the government cannot or will not bring in surplus food from other areas, famine will follow. In earlier times slow travel and transportation often made famine relief impossible.

Today there is enough surplus food in the world to save every starving person. The United States can fly a division of 15,000 men and their equipment almost over night to any "trouble spot" in the world. A single airlift of some of the surplus food lying in American warehouses could save hundreds of lives.

The Ethiopians have been dying of hunger for at least two years. Their government has been calling for help, but the Reagan administration turned a deaf ear—until pictures of the starving children filled our TV screens.

Surplus food—a weapon

The American ruling class looks on its stock of surplus food as a weapon in its drive for world domination. President Carter imposed a grain embargo on the Soviet Union in retaliation for the invasion of Afghanistan.

Reagan spelled out administration policy in a State Department guideline issued Jan. 30, 1981. Referring at that time to relief projects in Vietnam, the directive stated, "Donations made to these countries will generally not be approved except where the foreign pol-

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