

A Socialist ACTION

South Africa. See p. 20



NOVEMBER 1985



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50 CENTS

Trade unionists say no to war and austerity

Minn. labor reflects new militancy

The U.S. warmakers and their supporters in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy are finding it difficult these days to win working-class support for their policies.

Antiwar sentiment and opposition to corporate austerity policies run deep among millions of working people. Unlike the Vietnam-War era, workers today are challenging not only the foreign policy of the warmakers but their domestic policies as well.

That is why the basis exists for large-scale mobilizations against war and racism—and for jobs and human rights.

This was confirmed at the recent 28th Constitutional Convention of the Minnesota State Federation (AFL-CIO), the statewide body representing most of Minnesota's organized labor movement.

There were two important struggles at this convention (see article on pp. 10-11). The first was fueled by the presence of 300 striking Hormel Co. packinghouse workers, who, despite resistance from top statewide union officials, won the convention's backing for their militant struggle against a strike-breaking company.

The same convention witnessed another blow to the government and its supporters in the labor movement. Led by a delegation straight from the national AFL-CIO leadership, the convention's resolution committee presented a Cold War, anti-Nicaragua resolution that would have put the Minnesota AFL-CIO solidly in the government's interventionist camp.

The assembled delegates had another view. They rejected the prowar resolution. Instead they affirmed a policy of non-intervention in Central America—

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Supporters from Hormel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa, at Oct. 19 rally in Austin, Minn. Labor solidarity with striking packinghouse workers has extended to neighboring states. See story page 9.

Steel strikers stood firm but lost at table

By MARIE WEIGAND

As we go to press, a tentative agreement is being studied and voted on by the 8200 locked-out steelworkers of the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. The agreement includes cuts in wages and benefits, layoffs, and worsened work rules.

Bad as it is, most observers predict it will be overwhelmingly approved.

Many steelworkers feel that since wage and benefit cuts are much less than those the company initially imposed, and since the union was not broken—with total amnesty proposed for all walkout related activities—this is the best they can do at this time.

The members no longer feel confident that further concessions can be extracted from the company. They recognize that the strength and determina-

Chrysler settlement. See page 8.

tion they showed on the picket line was not met by the top-level negotiators.

That strength and determination revealed itself time and again during the course of the strike. That was what forced Chairman and Chief Executive Officer David Carney and five other company directors to resign on July 21.

The members knew that when principal stockholder Allen Paulson appointed himself chairman and brought in George Ferris, a retired vice president of Ford Motor Co., to take charge of daily operations, it was an admission that all the bosses' attempts to hire scabs or intimidate the steelworkers back to work had failed.

When the Wheeling-Pittsburgh bosses tore up the labor agreement with the United Steel Workers of America (USWA), they assured their customers that there were sufficient stockpiles of steel to meet their orders. The steelworkers saw to it that the company was unable to move this steel.

In Martins Ferry, Ohio, the company tried to move steel by rail. The workers refused to allow the train to leave the mill until local union officers were able to examine it to make sure it was empty. Railroad executives announced they would not be involved in any more attempts to move steel since they felt

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What's behind the Farrakhan furor?

By NAT WEINSTEIN

Louis Farrakhan, the most prominent representative of the Nation of Islam today, has evoked a small storm in the capitalist media in the course of his recent national speaking tour.

Reporters and commentators—with Democrats and pro-Zionist groups and politicians leading the pack—have focussed on Farrakhan's allegation that "Judaism is a gutter religion," to the exclusion of his main anti-racist and anti-imperialist message.

At his most recent speech before 30,000 Black supporters at New York's

Madison Square Garden, Farrakhan sharply rejected the charge of anti-Semitism leveled at him by the apologists for U.S. imperialism.

However, Farrakhan fails to separate his justified political criticisms of Zionism and the racist Israeli government from his repeated statements about "the Jewish lobby." He falsely claims that this lobby is responsible for the U.S. government's imperialist, pro-Zionist policy in the Middle East.

This is a mistake that serves to cover up for the U.S. capitalist class and its government, which is the prime mover of imperialist policy in the Middle East

and racism at home.

But it is not the false note of anti-Semitism struck by Farrakhan that disturbs the capitalist rulers and their mouthpieces. It is the Black nationalist leader's potent critique of the domestic and foreign policy of the U.S. government that they fear. They seek to divert attention from his main message and, at the same time, discredit him.

A potent critique

For instance: Speaking before a Black audience of over 10,000 in Washington, D.C., on July 22, Farrakhan

(continued on page 7)

AFL-CIO targets antiwar unions. See inside

Fight back!



N.Y. NOW gears up for women's rights

By DIANE PHILLIPS

NEW YORK—Since the 1985 national convention of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the New York City chapter has increased its activism on many issues. As the largest NOW chapter, it played a major role at the convention in developing the national strategy. Most noticeably, it proposed three resolutions that overwhelmingly passed the hearings and plenary session.

As one of two chapters with a special committee on older women's issues, the chapter has played a leading role in fighting ageism. New York NOW successfully championed the resolution that demanded an end to sexism in the Social Security system. NOW recommended credit for unpaid housework and increased benefits for all the elderly.

Another resolution urged NOW to have greater consciousness of older women's concerns. Since women over 65 have a poverty rate 60 percent higher than older men, these problems affect millions of women. After the convention, the chapter held a forum that addressed the pressing needs of older minority women.

The anti-intervention resolution orig-

Diane Phillips is an activist in the New York City chapter of NOW and an independent socialist.

inated in the chapter's Task Force on Minority Women's Issues and Combating Racism and was endorsed by the board representing the chapter. New York NOW members and Central American women eloquently motivated this position.

Antiwar resolution

National NOW finally opposed U.S. intervention in Central America. NOW's position stems from its admiration of Nicaragua's feminist advances (i.e. inexpensive childcare and child-support laws).

NOW members are also aware that women are common victims of murder and rape by the Salvadoran government and the *contras*. Additionally, NOW realizes that the Pentagon budget represents an obstacle to domestic social programs for women such as childcare, job development, and food stamps. NOW's resolution does not include implementation proposals.

Due to the small amount of time allotted, discussion was rather perfunctory. However, NOW's open-ended policy allows national NOW, or any subunit, to act on this question.

New York NOW has not yet fully discussed how the chapter can proceed on this issue. Some members are concerned that other issues will suffer. Most believe that although NOW's primary focus must be women's rights, it cannot

afford to ignore the antiwar movement (and vice versa).

The board's endorsement of the Navyport referendum is evidence of the chapter's antiwar sentiment. This referendum would forbid New York City from allowing the stationing of nuclear weapons on its territory. A "yes" vote would weaken Navy attempts to intervene in Central America. Passage of the referendum would be a gain for women.

Mass action

Perhaps the most publicized result of the convention was the call for mass actions. While this call was originally seen by supporters of former NOW President Judy Goldsmith as a "Smeal issue," the convention ended on a unified note. Some local NOW leaders have counterposed building local actions to national mass actions.

However, both candidates' delegates voted for a national march for reproductive rights in 1986 in Washington, D.C., and on the West Coast. This action has the potential to mobilize tens of thousands. With increased outrage over right-wing attacks and NOW's orientation toward the campuses, the outlook is brighter than before.

Many New York NOW members favor a national coalition around reproductive rights for this action. Eleanor Smeal, the president of NOW, is considered less likely than her predecessor to become involved in coalitions. However, with encouragement from NOW members, a coalition could be formed.

Sharing responsibilities would allay the fears that NOW can't invest money or time in large demonstrations. (If publicized adequately, mass actions increase activism and funds, including transportation subsidies.) New York City has a responsibility to send a sizeable contingent.

The chapter has recently held several reproductive rights events. A forum discussed the obstacles poor and minority women face by the lack of prenatal

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care. The chapter picketed TV stations that refused to air contraceptive commercials aimed at teenagers. It participated in national October abortion actions and a national petition drive.

The chapter also organizes around other issues, including lesbian rights, affirmative action and pay equity, as well as its electoral diversions. New York NOW plans to hold activities for the Civil Rights Restoration Act at the New York City Marathon.

On Nov. 14 there will be a program on "How Unions Can Combat Racism and Sexism" at NOW's Manhattan headquarters. These activities are the result of a deepening discussion within NOW. ■

Think socially—and contribute now!

We're in the final month of Socialist Action's twin building drives. We are out to obtain 225 new subscriptions by Nov. 10 and \$10,000 for our publishing fund by Dec. 2.

Socialist Action, the organization and the newspaper, took a big part in building the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice last April 20. Since then, we've campaigned actively for the movement to come together again to mobilize mass street demonstrations against U.S. war policies and for jobs and justice at home.

This fall we've helped organize a

broad antiwar conference with national significance on Nov. 2 at San Francisco State University. In next month's "FORUM" section of *Socialist Action*, we'll feature in-depth coverage and interviews from the conference.

If you subscribe now here are other articles you can expect to see in next month's *Socialist Action*:

- "After the Earthquake," exclusive interviews with Mexican revolutionaries;
- Documents from the struggle in South Africa (previously unpublished in the United States);
- Poland in the wake of the Oct. 13 elections;
- The Nicaraguan revolution today;
- Results of the AFL-CIO national convention.

We plan to continue our first-hand analysis by participants in important strikes and struggles. Wherever people are fighting injustice, we want to be there and bring their story to you—our readers.

If you appreciate coverage that's both fair and committed to promoting the movement for social justice and for socialism, then we hope you'll subscribe and spread the word.

Our fund drive, by which we hope to raise \$10,000, aims to finance improved equipment. We'd like to expand the paper and be in the position of publishing a regular pamphlet series on all the big political issues of the day.

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But what we want most of all is for you to join us. If the ideas of revolutionary socialism contained in these pages strike you as a realistic road out of the destructive tyranny of capitalism, you belong in Socialist Action. Help us and help yourself. Join! ■



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Judge helps Navy

LAST MINUTE: As we go to press, a New York State Supreme Court justice has ordered off the Nov. 5 ballot a referendum that would prohibit the New York City government from cooperating in any way in the construction of a Navy base for nuclear-armed warships. The justice, Charles A. Kuffner Jr., ruled that the referendum would "hinder national security."

In defiance of the 102,624 valid signatures collected to put the referendum on the ballot, the ruling class decided to trample on the most basic democratic right of the people of New York—the right to have their say.

Tom DeLuca, one of the coordinators of the referendum campaign, rightly blasted the court ruling. "City Hall is desperate to keep this off the ballot because they know that it will win," he said.

All defenders of democratic rights must protest this grotesque ruling-class attack. An immense public outcry must be raised to overturn this ruling and to keep New York City free of nuclear weapons—**The editors.** ■

Cleveland community, unions assail apartheid

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

CLEVELAND—On Oct. 11, more than 800 people crowded into the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 880 hall here. They carried signs distributed by the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) demanding an end to apartheid, freedom for political prisoners, and a free South Africa.

The rally was endorsed by the Cleveland Federation of Labor, many local unions, and top area labor officials. Community organizations and churches actively participated in building the rally.

The Cleveland City Council and Cuyahoga County Commissioners both passed resolutions declaring Oct. 11 Anti-Apartheid Day. Endorsements also came in from many public officials, including both U.S. senators and all area congressmen.

Three large banners expressed the theme of the rally: End All United States Ties to Apartheid; Free Nelson Mandela and All South African Political Prisoners; and Labor Solidarity Has No Borders.

The UAW organized marshalls for the event. Mike Murphy, SEIU Local 47 business representative, and Ione Biggs, coordinator of the Peace Action Coalition of Northeast Ohio and vice president of Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice, co-chaired the rally.

"Bring down evil system"

UAW Region 2 Director Warren Davis pointed to the tremendous growth of South African trade unions in the last few years. He said there are many ways trade-union members in other countries can help, pointing with pride to the expulsion of the racist South African "unions" from all world labor federations and of the union organizers that have been sent in to help the South African workers.

Davis said, "the United States trade union movement is committed for the duration to bring down the evil, inhuman system of apartheid." He added, "We can't appeal to the American corporate mind, because it only has one track—how to make the most profit; we can't appeal to the American corporate heart, because there is none. We must reach lower in the anatomy, grab hold, and squeeze very hard. I'm talking about their wallets."

Davis read from a UAW position paper calling for withdrawal of all landing rights to South African airplanes in the United States and Canada, enforcement of United Nations sanctions against South Africa, enforcement of the ban on nuclear technol-

ogy to South Africa, reimposing the ban on sales to the South African police, a ban on all public and private loans to South Africa, and total divestment.

Davis announced plans to develop a labor union steering committee composed of area labor leaders to cripple the greater Cleveland money supply to South Africa.

Miners' leader speaks

Nomonde Ngubo, a co-founder of the South African National Union of Mineworkers, and an international staff representative of the United Mine Workers (UMW), brought home the meaning of the facts and figures the other speakers had presented by giving a moving personal account of what it was like to grow up Black in South Africa. She described a police raid on her house when she was four years old, the effects of a Bantu education, and the job discrimination she encountered.

Ngubo described the UMW's strike against A.T. Massey, adding that the multinational corporations

that own A.T. Massey have large investments in South Africa. She explained that apartheid hurts workers in the United States as well as South Africa.

She said, "Until we stop injustice in South Africa, we'll have injustice in America. Companies are trying to drag down the standard of living of the American workers. Elementary solidarity requires that we help the workers on the bottom. The only thing these corporations understand is economic pressure. We must stop the importation of coal and all other products produced under slave labor."

UFCW International Vice President Willie Baker emphasized that South Africa has the most repressive government on the face of the earth. Baker said, "Apartheid reminds us of what life would be like in a state penitentiary except in South Africa every sentence is for life."

Other speakers were Joe Madzelonka, president of UFCW Local 880; Mylion Waite, associate director of the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council and director of the Cleveland Free South Africa Coalition; Shuping Coapoge, member of the African National Congress United Nations Mission; Pauline Tarver, executive director of the Cleveland NAACP; Stanley Tolliver, member of the Cleveland Board of Education; Don Morris, executive assistant of the Cleveland Urban League; and Diane Underwood, president of the Cleveland National Organization for Women.

Berkeley students protest



Two thousand students say no to apartheid at U.C. Berkeley rally on Oct. 11. Similar actions took place on campuses nationwide.

Nationwide protests flay S. Africa terror

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

Responding to the United Nations designation of Oct. 11 as a day of solidarity with South African political prisoners, campus protests, community marches, and rallies against apartheid were held in many cities across the United States and Canada on Oct. 11 and Oct. 12.

In Los Angeles several thousand people participated in a march and rally organized by the Free South Africa Movement. Rally speakers included Rep. Howard Wolte (D-Mich.); Pat Russell and Maxine Walker of the Los Angeles City Council; and Jim Brown, the ex-football star.

In Toronto, approximately 400 people rallied at a downtown bank that has investments in South Africa. From there they marched to city hall. Speakers included a SWAPO member who had been jailed for 18 years; Michael Lyons, president of the Labor Council of Metropolitan Toronto; and Richard Gilbert, a New Democratic Party (NDP) member of the City Council.

In Cincinnati, approximately 200 students participated in an indoor and outdoor rally at the University of Cincinnati.

A march and rally at Cincinnati's downtown Fountain Square drew over 300 people. Mayor Charlie Luken read proclamations from the mayors of both Covington, Ky., and Cincinnati declaring National Anti-Apartheid Day.

Other speakers included Solly Sime-lane, African National Congress; long-time civil rights activist Fred Shuttlesworth; Henry Nicholas, national president of Hospital Workers 1199; Daniel Radford, executive secretary-treasurer Cincinnati AFL-CIO Central Labor Council; and Leonard Ball, special assistant to the president of AFSCME.

In New York, approximately 1500 people participated in a rally and march. The Rev. Jesse Jackson was the keynote speaker. Although this rally received the nominal support of the broader citywide coalition, it was primarily viewed as a student event.

In Toledo, a morning rally at the University of Toledo and an evening march and rally downtown each drew 150 to 200 people. The evening rally included speakers from several trade unions, the National Organization for Women, and community groups.

In Minneapolis, University of Minnesota regents recently voted for full

divestment. A demonstration at the university and downtown rally each drew about 200 people.

In Boston, a late-afternoon rally drew approximately 300 students. Harvard University sent the largest contingent.

In Chicago, 250 to 300 people participated in a march and rally. Chicago area campuses were among the many campuses nationwide holding anti-apartheid rallies that day.

In Detroit, despite rain, approximately 150 people participated in a demonstration the previous weekend led by local NAACP leader Rev. Charles Adams of the Hartford Avenue Baptist Church. A Michigan rally against apart-

heid is planned for Oct. 26 at the UAW Local 600 hall.

In Oakland, 500 people took part in an anti-apartheid protest.

Baltimore rallies

By LINDA THOMPSON

BALTIMORE—A broad coalition, including the Catholic Archdiocese, the AFL-CIO, and local Black ministers held a full day of anti-apartheid activities here on Oct. 11.

Over 200 people attended a morning prayer breakfast sponsored by the Catholic Archdiocese and the Black United Methodist Ministers.

That afternoon, community groups rallied at Hopkins Plaza and marched to city hall. Rally speakers included, Henry Koellein, president of the Metro Council AFL-CIO, and Eileen Fair from the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

That evening a Labor Unity Rally in Support of the Rights of Black Labor to Organize in South Africa and Namibia was held at the Hospital Workers 1199E hall. About 200 people attended.

Speakers included Thembatemba Vilcazi, vice-chair of the executive board of the U.S. African National Congress; Dave Wilson, director USWA District 8; Ron Hollie, president Hospital Workers 1199E; and others from the labor movement.



Three hundred people join anti-apartheid march on Oct. 12 in Cincinnati.

State-terrorism: An American tradition

By KWAME M. A. SOMBURU

Official, state-sanctioned terrorism has been a major component of U.S. domestic and foreign policy since this government's inception.

It was a vital component in the campaigns to exterminate, pacify, and jail (on reservations) the aboriginal inhabitants of the Americas.

Africans, both slave and free, were kept in a subordinate status through the use of brutal and murderous terror that equals and even surpasses the present actions of the South African government.

The American labor movement, too, has been a continual victim of U.S. government-sponsored terrorism throughout its history.

American history records numerous examples of such atrocities by federal, state, and local government forces, along with those committed by groups such as the Ku Klux Klan.

U.S. terrorism was a major factor in the bloody invasions and conquest of

This state-sanctioned terrorism is a continuing factor in the policy of the American ruling class. I recently met and interviewed Samuel C. Martin, a retired Marine, who witnessed and participated in atrocities against the Vietnamese people in the 1960s.

A Marine speaks

Martin was a master sergeant for 14 of his 21 years in the Marines. He was both a drill instructor at Parris Island, S.C., and a trainer-platoon leader in Vietnam and Cambodia during the 1960s. He was a skilled martial-arts expert prior to joining the Marines. He told me he joined because "I wanted to serve my country."

"I came to the Marine Corps with knowledge of how to kill with my bare hands. That's why they made me a drill instructor." Martin said that the only thing they did for him was enhance his killing abilities by giving him "the time and the purpose."

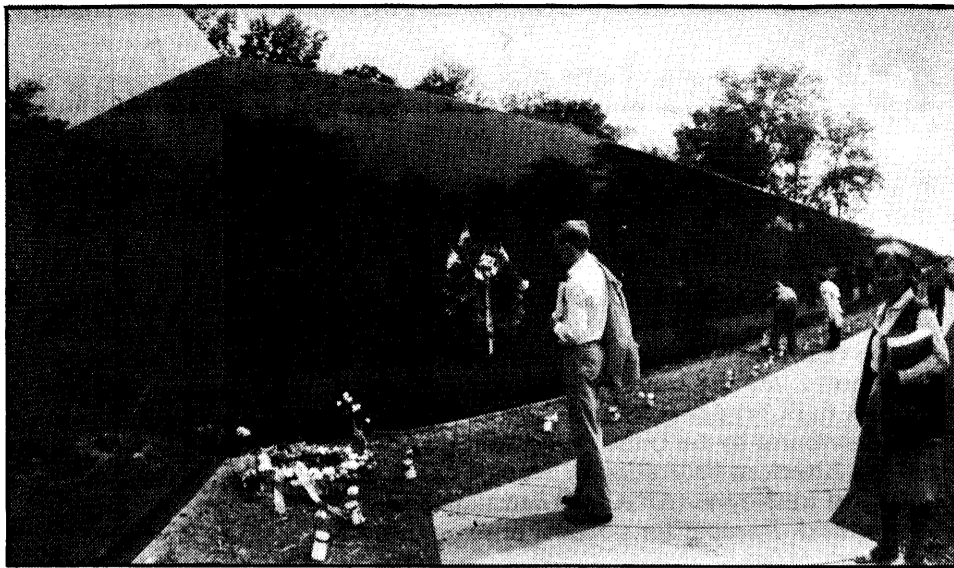
He said that the inner peace he had acquired with his martial-arts training was changed by the Marine Corps. They substituted the peacefulness that "I had in my head and they put in there the desire to do nothing but kill."

Martin taught survival skills, killing with bare hands, weapons, and use of explosives for killing and mass destruction.

In response to my question about Lt. Calley and the My Lai massacre, he said that Calley was a scapegoat. Massacres like that were a common occurrence.

He and other Marines were often given "orders to go into villages, just like Calley, with orders like, 'Sergeant, I want you to kill every fucking thing breathing! And that meant babies, children, mothers, daddies, all livestock, everything. They would say, 'it's a possible Cong [Vietnamese Communists] connection.'"

"You killed everything," said Martin, "everything. And I've done that probably over a hundred times, to villages..." At that moment he asked me to stop the interview because the flashbacks were too painful to remember. ■



Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C.

War's dark toll caught in veterans' memorial

By KATHY SETIAN

At a recent concert, Bruce Springsteen urged his fans to go to Washington, D.C., visit the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and read the names of the soldiers who died in that war. And then, the Boss told them, imagine *your* names on the next memorial, because you're the ones who will be dying in Central America if the U.S. government wages another war.

Springsteen's comments were sensational enough to be carried on the front pages of newspapers around the country. And they rang true enough to inspire me to pay a visit to the Memorial on a recent trip to Washington.

Although it was completed in late 1982, the Memorial endures as a moving reminder to us and to coming generations of the unbearably high price that the Vietnam War extracted.

The setting itself is historic. Located in Constitution Gardens near the Lincoln Memorial, the site of so many anti-Vietnam War demonstrations, it reminded me of our persevering movement to "bring the boys home." But more than 58,000 boys never came home alive, and their names are engraved on the walls of the Memorial.

With its two walls pointing toward the Lincoln Memorial and the Washing-

ton Monument, the Vietnam Memorial symbolically binds the war into our nation's history and consciousness.

In comparison to the days when hundreds of thousands of antiwar demonstrators rallied here, the Gardens seemed now so peaceful. But that peace was shattered as I stepped into the environment of the Memorial. Encountering first one name, then two and three and four, I was soon enveloped by a cascade of names of the dead. The descending paths of the Memorial lead its visitors into a dark confrontation with the toll of the war.

For the visitor who comes to locate the names of friends or loved ones, the Memorial invites participation. Did you know a war victim? What was his name? When did he die? Nearby are two large books that cross-reference the names by date of death, the order in which they are engraved on the panels.

Because the official guidelines stipulated that it was to make no political statement about the war, the Memorial does not preach. Instead, we are left to draw our own conclusions from the overwhelming statement of fact.

I came away from the Memorial moved and recommitted: No more cannon fodder for the war machine! No more Vietnam Wars! ■



the Philippines (1898-1946) and Haiti (1915-1933). The insidious role of the U.S. government in foreign lands was exposed during the 1930s by Major Gen. Smedley D. Butler, who was a high-ranking Marine Corps officer for 27 years.

Butler stated that he "was a racketeer for capitalism" and served the interests of major corporations such as United Fruit, Standard Oil, and the National City Bank during his tours of duty in the Caribbean, Latin America, and China.

... Editorial

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with no aid to the dictatorship in El Salvador.

These two incidents are closely connected.

U.S. workers are beginning to learn that the fight against concessions is directly tied to the fight against war. The unions cannot effectively challenge employers here while supporting a war that aims to destroy unions in El Salvador, or anywhere else.

The union bureaucrats would like to short-circuit this budding antiwar sentiment. They would like to sever its logical connection to the fight against concessions.

They propose their "Buy America" campaigns in place of a fight against the bosses. They propose red-baiting the 24 international union presidents in the Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, who oppose U.S. intervention, in place of promoting solidarity with workers in Central America.

The U.S. working class has battled some powerful enemies in recent weeks and months. Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp., the nation's seventh-largest steel producer, has met with strong resistance from workers in the Northeast.

The Hormel packinghouse workers, too, are proving that labor hasn't lost its punch. And now, the Chrysler workers have also hit the bricks. They have learned that the concessions of the past won them nothing.

Naomi Tutu-Seavers speaks



Naomi Tutu-Seavers and father, Nobel Laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu. Tutu-Seavers will be one of featured speakers at Nov. 2 antiwar conference in San Francisco.

The workers have no common ground with the bosses. They have no interest in reducing their standard of living to make the company more profitable. That is the case in every instance.

That is why thousands of working people, organized in union contingents, demanded "Jobs not War" when they marched in antiwar demonstrations on April 20, 1985.

The antiwar movement is today dis-

cussing key questions of strategy in the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America and against U.S. support to the South African apartheid regime.

Unfortunately, the U.S. anti-intervention movement suffers from a great dispersion of energy and focus. The Oct. 11-12 anti-apartheid protests, while important contributions to the anti-apartheid struggle, were nevertheless narrowly conceived and therefore incap-

able of involving large numbers of working people.

The Nov. 2 San Francisco antiwar conference organized by the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, on the other hand, has opened an important discussion on the key role U.S. unions can play in building peace, jobs, and justice coalitions.

While the AFL-CIO bureaucracy attacks all those who oppose their pro-war policies, a number of key international and local union officials, along with prominent religious and community figures, will speak at the San Francisco conference against the policies of war and austerity.

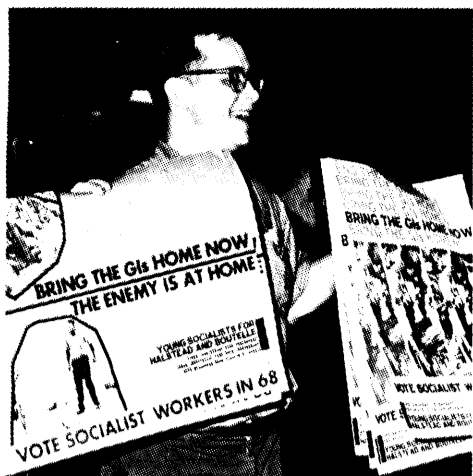
In this sense, the San Francisco conference will serve as a repudiation of the top AFL-CIO leadership's attempt to impose a monolithic prowar stance upon the labor movement.

The organization of similar conferences and speakouts in cities across the country can serve as a launching pad for mass antiwar demonstrations in the spring.

The labor movement and its allies can play an essential role in convincing millions of people that the Reagan administration's war against the people of Central America, and its support for the employers anti-union drive here, are two sides of the same coin.

Forging this link remains a central strategic objective of the antiwar and labor movements. It will be the best guarantee that both those who fight for justice here and abroad will be victorious—The editors. ■

Can the antiwar movement defeat U.S. war drive?



By SEAN FLYNN

Socialists played a major role building the movement against the Vietnam war. Today, the lessons from that chapter in the struggle against war and militarism are being discussed and debated in the movement against U.S. military intervention in Central America.

An unfortunate aspect of the debate in the anti-intervention movement is the fact that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a leader of the Vietnam antiwar movement, is today carrying out a policy at odds with its previous stand.

Instead, the SWP, once the major proponent of independent mass action (demonstrations and marches), now tailends those forces in the movement which oppose a strategy of mass action to counter the escalating U.S. terror against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran peoples.

The SWP, during the Vietnam war, was the principal advocate of the policy of the united front—a policy which dates back to the early Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.

The tactic of the united front is based on the recognition that revolutionists are a small minority seeking to galvanize the majority of the people into action as well as to spread revolutionary ideas.

By proposing joint actions to the leaderships of larger organizations and social forces, the common goal of all participants can be furthered because larger, more effective actions become possible.

The April 20 antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and other cities were true examples of the united front. Revolutionists sought to broaden the mobilizations by drawing in organized labor and the oppressed nationalities alongside the traditional peace and solidarity activists.

The transitional method

During the Vietnam war the SWP made exemplary use of the transitional method in organizing antiwar actions. The transitional method consists in approaching the general populace at its level of consciousness with ideas and proposals leading to action. Through mass mobilizations—independent of the capitalist parties—the social and political consciousness of the workers and oppressed is increased.

In the Vietnam period the SWP promoted the idea that GIs were not the enemy of the antiwar students, but were also victims of the war. "Bring our Boys Home" was a slogan that made it clear that ending the war with a U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam was in the interests of the American soldiers and their relatives at home. Of course, the withdrawal of U.S. troops and materiel was a prerequisite for the Vietnamese to obtain their self-determination.

The SWP's leadership role was such that it was able to convince the entire movement to adopt this slogan as the main theme for most of the larger actions. Use of the transitional method by revolutionaries in the antiwar movement not only helped mobilize massive numbers of people in action against the war but caused many to question the whole nature of the U.S. government and society for the first time.

Today, the slogan of "no intervention" is widely accepted. But what is

missing is the understanding that mass mobilizations are the most effective instrument for spreading the antiwar message and staying Washington's hand. Street mobilizations, moreover, crystallize the independence of the mass movement from the political machinery dominated by the two capitalist parties.

Program no longer intact

Before their expulsion in 1983, oppositionists in the SWP criticized the party leadership for failing to take a more active role in the movement against U.S. intervention in Central America. They warned that the leadership had begun to discard the transitional method and the tactic of the united front. The result was the self-isolation of the SWP from the movement.

The SWP has sought recently to end its self-imposed isolation. But it has not re-entered the movement with its revolutionary program intact.

business to maintain its political and economic hold over Central America.

Yet the SWP has failed in its avowed role of leading the effort to create a movement on this basis. Hence its resolution—ostensibly a guide for political intervention over the next two years—offers no more than vague generalities in place of concrete suggestions for creating and building an antiwar united front. It fails, for example, to analyze the potential for union involvement in the anti-intervention movement.

Pessimism of SWP leaders

The reason, verified by its practice, is that until April 20, the SWP pessimistically believed that nothing could be done in the short run to curb Washington's aggression.

Prior to the April 20 actions, the SWP on the whole turned its back to the existing anti-intervention and solidarity movement, which were said to be

youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), correctly called for "nationally coordinated local actions in the fall" which "would again provide a focus for new and existing antiwar forces to concentrate their forces."

The YSA pledged to call on the April Actions Coalitions to organize such demonstrations. The SWP supported the call for nationally coordinated mass fall actions at the May 30 national meeting of the April Actions Coalition.

Some results on action proposal

Unfortunately this shift was merely a flash in the pan. By the time of the June 29 meeting of the National Steering Committee of the April Actions Coalition in New York, the SWP had somersaulted, backing a proposal by the Administrative Committee to endorse the events of other groups without itself calling a fall demonstration.

The decision of the April Actions leadership to forego fall demonstrations reflected the desires of some of its major components to concentrate on lobbying and waiting to see if new life could be breathed into the Rainbow Coalition.

Yet the lesson of the Vietnam antiwar movement was that only mass mobilizations in the streets, independent of the capitalist political apparatus, could bring decisive pressure to bear on the warmakers.

The shift in line was hinted in a May 27, 1985, editorial in the SWP magazine *Intercontinental Press*. The editorial gave the impression that a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua was inevitable. This implied that no matter what is done here to oppose U.S. intervention, the U.S. rulers could not be stopped. Thus, in New York, the SWP decided to endorse the hesitant course of the New York April Actions leadership.

The irony of tailending a leadership the party had previously denounced as "petty-bourgeois" passed without notice as the SWP abdicated its responsibility to lead in defending the Central American revolution in deed as well as word.

A belated self-criticism

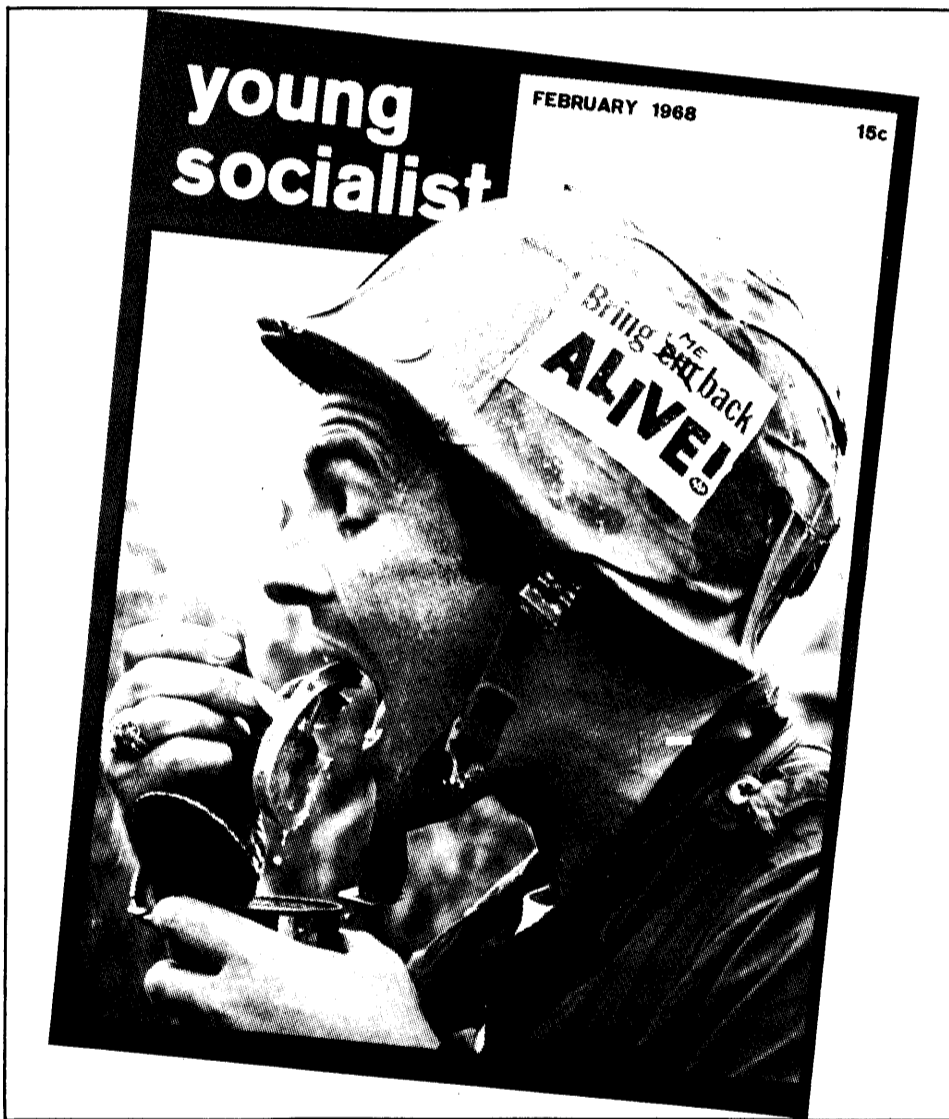
In a public self-criticism published in the July 22, 1985, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, the SWP now says that it was wrong in believing that a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua is inevitable. It belatedly states that "what we do can and will make a difference." Unfortunately, the damage is already done in terms of helping to unify the whole movement in coordinated fall actions.

The SWP's erratic shift from sectarian abstention to tailending the April Actions' leaders has revealed the Achilles' heel of its leadership. It has no confidence in its ability to decisively influence the movement.

With this attitude, the SWP finds itself led by whatever political forces seem to dominate a particular conjuncture. They no longer have an independent orientation of trying to influence events to meet the objective needs of the Central American people and the North American workers.

A revolutionary leadership would have attempted to broaden the pro-demonstration forces, particularly by drawing in organized labor, and led these forces in putting pressure on the more recalcitrant elements in the anti-intervention movement to bring about fall actions.

Fortunately, the SWP supports the call for antiwar actions in the spring of 1986—like the other components of the April Actions Network. The earlier the movement unifies around the building of this action the better. ■



Cover of February 1968 *Young Socialist* magazine published by the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth organization in political solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party.

Of course, the political resolution recently adopted by the SWP (published in the Spring 1985 *New Internationalist* magazine) continues to defend the Cuban and Central American revolutions. And, to its credit, the SWP refused to be sucked into Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, which many radicals saw as a "realistic" vehicle for halting U.S. intervention in Central America.

The resolution rightly analyzes the drift of many of the leaders of the anti-intervention movement toward lobbying and backing the Jackson and Mondale campaigns as a reflection of their inability to see the U.S. working class (allied with women and the oppressed minorities) as a social force capable of turning back the capitalist offensive.

The resolution correctly points out that the SWP's strategic aim in the anti-intervention movement is to draw the labor movement—the organized expression of one of the two fundamental class forces in capitalist society—into the struggle to thwart the efforts of big

"petty-bourgeois." It didn't attempt to involve the organized labor movement.

Instead, the SWP counterposed the self-isolating "strategy" of "talking to co-workers." Since a mass movement could not presently be built, the party leaders reasoned, they should set their sights on smaller targets—individual sympathizers.

The SWP thus pooh-poohed the first Emergency National Conference on Central America—which began to draw in organized labor behind a call for an anti-intervention April 20 action—as merely a coalition of bureaucrats and left sects.

The response of numerous organizations to the April 20 call took the SWP by surprise. But after significant social forces, including a section of organized labor, joined the movement toward coordinated national demonstrations, the SWP began to participate in the united-front coalitions which sprang up.

In the aftermath of April 20, the SWP began to correct its earlier analysis. At its May convention, the SWP's

The following is an interview with Eric Auchard, a recent graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and a leader of the campus Campaign Against Apartheid. The interview was conducted in late September by Millie Gonzalez.

How students ignited apartheid protests

Socialist Action: What is the background of the anti-apartheid movement at Berkeley?

Eric Auchard: The boycott of the South African elections in August 1984 and the protests in South Africa over the past year made us think that now was the time to try to force the university to divest its \$2.4 billion of staff and faculty pension funds from companies that do business in that country.

At the start of spring semester, the University of California Divestment Coalition was formed, which drew in the labor unions on campus, graduate student groups, and student political groups. The coalition began petitioning to demand that the university divest.

Events moved fast, and a series of demonstrations took place last spring, one of which was an evening march that ended with a sit-in in front of the undergraduate library.

The police drove a car into the middle of the sit-in, forcing people out of the way. They came in with clubs and started attacking everyone. Undergraduates who had been studying in the library were hit.

Meanwhile, violence in South Africa had increased noticeably. On April 4, students at Columbia University in New York staged a sit-in.

A rally was held here on April 10 in support of the Columbia students. That led to another student sit-in at Biko Plaza [Sproul Hall], which grew to about 200 students. This wasn't organized by any particular group.

At first the administration said the sit-in was legal and gave us a paternalistic pat on the back. But within a week they grew disenchanted with it and decided to make arrests. They did this in the early hours of the morning, with a



Socialist Action/ Joe Ryan

massive police presence in riot gear.

First, they arrested the students at the sit-in. Then they proceeded to arrest a majority of the student government, who sat-in at the administration hall later in the day.

The week prior to the national anti-war demonstrations on April 20, smaller demonstrations took place all across the country. There were mass protests at Berkeley on April 16, the day we were arrested. An evening rally attracted 2000 to 3000 people.

The next day a large number of students stayed away from classes and went to a mass rally. On April 18 there was a student-labor rally where a host

of Bay Area labor leaders turned out, as well as 500 members of the longshore union. [The national convention of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, which was meeting in San Francisco, adjourned to attend the rally.] That was quite a day.

Within a week we started calling around to other campuses and together a national day of action was called for April 24 against apartheid and in support of protests at Berkeley, Columbia, and Cornell universities. About 100 schools took part.

S.A.: What's the present state of the anti-apartheid movement at U.C.

Berkeley?

Auchard: Now with the state of emergency in South Africa there is greater pressure to divest. Columbia University is in the process of divesting. We're going to force divestment back on the agenda. Demonstrations are being organized leading up to the next Board of Regents meeting in San Francisco.

S.A.: There are nine students, including yourself, who are currently on trial for anti-apartheid activities at Berkeley. Can you give us an update on the situation?

Auchard: There were over 600 people arrested during the demonstrations last year. But a lot of the charges were later dropped. Numerous trials occurred over the summer that ended in acquittals.

Student organizations had been petitioning for months, asking to meet with [University President] Gardner. It was obvious that he was trying to hide on the issue. So we went in to talk to him, but since he wouldn't speak to us we decided to sit down and wait.

The university was in no mood to have student activists sitting in at the president's office and they arrested us very quickly. In addition to being charged with trespassing, two of us were charged (myself included) with battery on a secretary. It is a trumped-up charge.

This sets an ugly tone to our trial. We are trying to get the charges dropped but the university and the district attorney seem unwilling to do so. They want to make an example of us. They are trying to criminalize political protests here on the campus.

S.A.: What's the future for the anti-apartheid movement at U.C. Berkeley?

Auchard: U.S. involvement in South Africa has never been so clearly revealed as it is now. I think protests will continue at Berkeley, both because of the ongoing terror in South Africa and because of the illegitimacy of the university's attempt to deny free speech on the campus. ■

Cannery workers hurl defiance at company

By HECTOR TOBAR

WATSONVILLE, Calif.—More than 3000 people from across Northern California marched on Oct. 7 in support of cannery workers involved in a bitter and violent strike here. It was the largest and most militant demonstration of labor solidarity this small agricultural community has ever seen.

Most of the 2000 workers on strike are Hispanic women, half of whom speak little or no English. They constitute a vital part of California's agricultural industry. More frozen food is produced in Watsonville than anywhere else in the United States.

The strike began on Sept. 9. The members of Teamster Local 912 rejected wage and benefit cuts announced by both Watsonville Canning and Richard Shaw Inc. Under the contract proposed by Shaw, new workers could earn as little as \$2.43 an hour.

The march on Oct. 7 included students from University of California campuses at Santa Cruz and Berkeley, members of the United Farm Workers (UFW), and members of Teamster locals from throughout Northern California. But by far the largest presence was that of the Hispanic working people of Watsonville, who turned out in large numbers to show their support for the strikers.

After a rally at downtown Callaghan Park, the demonstrators marched through Watsonville's working-class neighborhoods to the facilities of Watsonville Canning, one of two firms involved in the strike.

As marchers approached the plant gate, their chanting reached a fever

pitch, and there were tense moments when some attempted to surge forward through police lines. March organizers, however, decided not to confront the police, who were dressed in full riot gear—including four-foot long clubs.

Strikers defy court order

The march was seen as a setback to the attempts of management and the police to intimidate the strikers and isolate them from community support. One week after the strike broke out, the company had obtained a court order limiting the number of pickets to 4 per gate and prohibiting any public gathering within 100 yards of the plant.

One goal of the Oct. 7 march was to defy the court order, which was seen as a violation of the strikers' First Amend-

ment right to free assembly. Despite the large display of support, however, the harassment of individual strikers has increased in recent weeks.

At a meeting with students at the University of California at Santa Cruz, one striker recounted how she was given a citation for speaking to a fellow worker on the picket line. She had apparently violated a court injunction requiring pickets to keep a distance of 20 feet between each other.

The strikers have also spoken of their complete unwillingness to accept the 28 percent to 56 percent wage cuts proposed by the cannery owners. Guillermina Ramirez, in an interview with *City on a Hill Press*, described the \$4.25 an hour she would receive under the proposed contract as "miserable pay."

"It's not enough to live on," she added. My rent alone is \$400 a month, and if medical benefits are cut, I won't be able to pay my doctor bills."

Chavelo Moreno, who has worked at Watsonville Canning for 23 years, said, "if we let the *patrones* do what they

want to do, they'll lower everyone else's wages. It's important to get the word out to everyone that it's not worth it to work for so little money."

The strike got off the ground despite the early inactivity of local Teamster officials. They approved the strike only two months after the workers voted 475-15 at Shaw and 545-6 at Watsonville Canning to authorize a walkout.

Ranks take initiative

Most of the initiative in this strike has, in fact, come from the rank and file. As one striker, Chavelo Martinez put it, "in this strike we've learned to organize ourselves."

Violence surrounding the strike increased recently when fires were set at two food processing plants and a cafe frequented by local business executives and police. The fires have received extensive coverage in the Northern California media—which have attributed them to the "frustration" of the strikers.

The companies have used the incidents as an excuse to break off negotiations with the union. It is highly doubtful, however, that any strikers are involved in setting the fires.

As one Teamster official told a local newspaper, "Our people are watched so closely by the police there is no way it could be us."

A worker on the picket line at Watsonville Canning added, "I don't believe a striker set the fire. We don't want any violence. Why would we hurt the plant's equipment? We want to go back to work and we know the company will need the equipment to employ us when it's over."

The need is critical to bring the full strength of organized labor behind the cannery workers. To this end, continued marches and actions are being planned by the strikers. Committees in support of the strikers have also been formed at various campuses and cities throughout Northern California. ■



Supporters of striking cannery workers rally in Watsonville, Calif., on Oct. 7.

Socialist Action/ Millie Gonzalez

... Farrakhan

(continued from page 1)

argued that U.S. foreign policy is an extension of its racist domestic policy. "However America treats people within," he said, "that is the way she treats people outside because her foreign policy is an extension of her own philosophy, values, and cultural upbringing."

Farrakhan continued, "America's foreign policy toward Central America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America is a reflection of its own wickedness toward these peoples." Farrakhan has been an outspoken critic of Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" in South Africa.

In the same speech Farrakhan defied the FBI to arrest him as he agitated against Blacks joining the U.S. Armed Forces or "responding to the draft." He argued, "America is the number one enemy of freedom-loving peoples on earth. What business do you have fighting for such wickedness?"

This is Farrakhan's main message against the racism and imperialism of capitalist America that has inspired the media barrage against him, not his lapses into anti-Semitic generalizations.

Anti-Semites for Israel

There is, of course, real cause for concern that anti-Semitism will again serve the interests of "another Hitler," this time in our own country.

But if there are any among the anti-Farrakhan chorus who are genuinely concerned over a new rise of anti-Semitism, they are looking in the wrong direction. The real anti-Semites, of the most virulent variety, are to be found today among the lily-white friends of the racist Israeli state.

It is an open secret that the militant, mass-based, right-wing movements are both pro-Israel and anti-Jewish. It is the likes of the Jerry Falwells, who say things like "the Jews can't get into heaven," who constitute the fertile soil for a mass fascist movement.

Unlike Farrakhan, who for whatever reasons wrongly amalgamates Zionism and people of Jewish descent, the



Falwells clearly distinguish between Zionists and Jews. They love Israel and hate Jews. And, unlike Farrakhan, they also hate Blacks, Catholics, unions, and of course, communists and socialists of any variety.

It is, of course, true that Jews in their great majority support Zionism. It is also true that most politicians who are Jewish seek to wield their influence among Jews and others to back up the pro-Israeli policy of the U.S. government. But this only *seems* to support the notion voiced by Farrakhan that a "powerful Jewish lobby" determines governmental policy in the Middle East.

A closer look at the facts proves the contrary. It was only after U.S. imperialism—with the support of every major power, including the Stalinist government of the Soviet Union—decided at the end of World War II to carve out a Jewish state in Palestine, that mass sen-

timent was generated for Zionism.

Before that time, the predominant tendency among Jews in capitalist countries like the United States was to look to the labor movement as their ally in the struggle against oppression. And the vanguard of Jewish workers looked to socialist revolution for a final abolition of racial and national oppression.

Israel was created, financed, and armed to the teeth for one purpose: to suppress the simmering Arab revolution and maintain imperialist domination and super-exploitation of the Middle East. A settler state, completely dependent for its existence upon U.S. imperialism and destined to be a virtual nation of mercenaries in the service of U.S. foreign policy, was set up in Palestine against the will of the indigenous population.

This is when and why mass support for Zionism was manufactured by the

American capitalist class—not the "Jewish lobby." The capitalist monopoly on the machinery of opinion-molding was set into motion in a massive propaganda offensive to sell the racist/Zionist Jewish settler state to the American people.

The holocaust, in which 6 million Jews were exterminated, was used as a justification for imperialist violations of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. It was also a club wielded to silence anyone with an instinct for international class solidarity and simple justice.

People who might inquire as to the rights of the Palestinians were portrayed as indifferent to the historic persecution of the Jewish people, if not themselves anti-Semites.

"Jewish capitalist" scapegoat

The labor bureaucracy played a particularly reprehensible role, dragooning the unions into an unprecedented campaign to sell Zionism to workers in this country.

This betrayal by the labor bureaucracy effectively stifled opposition within the labor movement to U.S. imperialist policy. It also contributed to the victory of reactionary, pro-capitalist Zionism over the proud, proletarian-internationalist heritage of Jewish workers.

But this "victory" by the labor bureaucrats only serves to fuel the anti-Semitic bomb that ticks away in the heart of capitalist America.

"Anti-Semitism is the socialism [the anti-capitalism] of idiots," Lenin once said. And just as Hitler diverted the middle class of Germany from a growing anti-capitalist consciousness, so too will the fascist saviors of capitalism seek to divert Americans toward venting their anti-capitalism against a "Jewish capitalist" scapegoat in America.

Farrakhan—based in the oppressed Black community, which has no objective interest in the capitalist system—cannot play this role. Actually, he may well be compelled to guard against amalgamating the Zionists with the Jewish people. But the longer he persists in such errors, the more disservice he does to himself, to the cause of Black nationalism, and to the general struggle against racism and imperialism. ■

Strikers blast General Dynamics

By HENRY AUSTIN

DETROIT—Five thousand members of Local 1200 of the United Auto Workers workers struck the General Dynamics Corp. on Sept. 18, rejecting the arms manufacturer's second contract offer this year.

The strike involves workers at the company's tank-building Land Systems Division, which was purchased from the Chrysler Corp. as part of the federal government's 1982 bailout of the auto giant. Plants in Warren, Mich., Lima, Ohio, and at three other parts plants are affected by the strike.

The issues in the strike are clear. The workers want parity with Chrysler workers in hourly earnings. The average Chrysler worker makes \$13.23 per hour, while wages at General Dynamics range from \$7.49 to \$11.50 per hour.

Significantly, the strike is also over the two-tiered wage system, under which new workers are receiving only 60 percent of the prevailing wage for three years—the life of the contract!

Another issue is the deplorable safety conditions that the workers have had to put up with under the UAW's concession-motivated 1982 contract. For example, freon was introduced as a cleaning agent in the tanks. This was a short cut designed to reduce cleaning from three hours to 30 minutes. Only after two workers died from freon fumes did the company discontinue this practice. The union members are demanding the right to strike over safety issues.

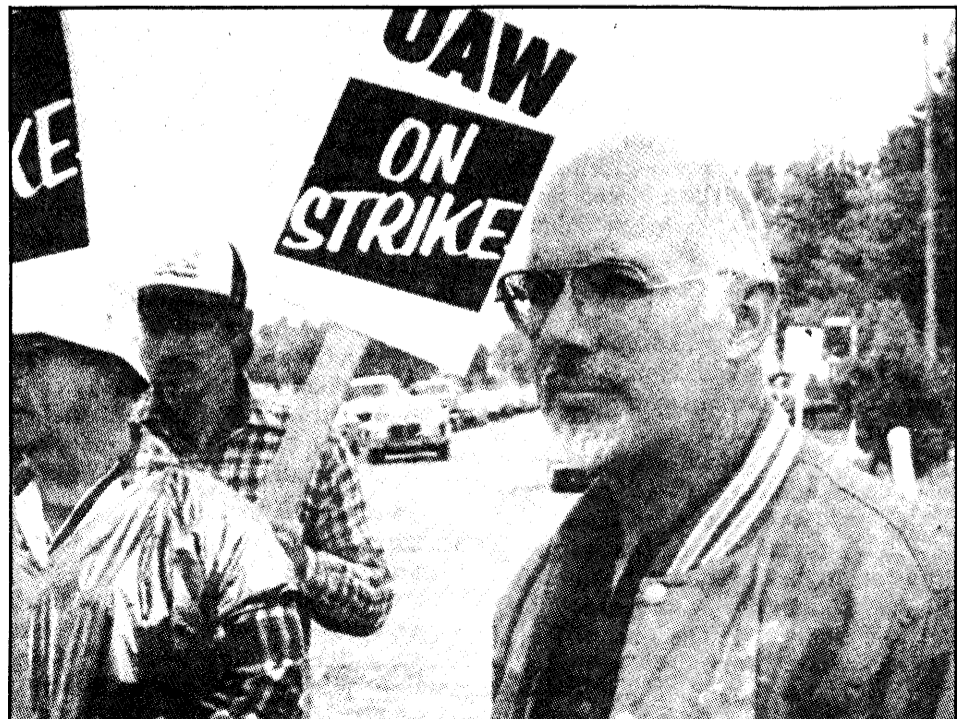
Local 1200's president, Jim Coakley,

says, "We know what we're involved in. These people have a right to go out there and strike for the best damn agreement they can get—and who's to tell them what's good for them and what's not."

Coakley has criticized the lack of support for the strike on the part of the UAW's top leadership. "Now for the first time [when] we're faced with a confrontation, they tell you to pull in your horns...because this is General

Dynamics and it don't count. Baloney, it don't count. We know what we're involved in."

Local 1200 is making no bones about the issues. Together with those striking against the Chrysler Corp., the Hormel Packing Co. in Austin, Minn., and the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, they are demonstrating a new-found confidence that union workers can fight back. ■



Jim Coakley, president of UAW Local 1200, at picket line in front of General Dynamics plant in Warren, Mich.

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(signed)
 Don Mahoney
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Chrysler, UAW reach settlement



By NAT WEINSTEIN

Owen F. Bieber, president of the United Auto Workers, jubilantly announced the settlement of the week-old strike of 70,000 Chrysler employees on Oct. 23.

In claiming that all the union's bargaining goals were achieved, Bieber is deceiving auto workers. What the union got from Chrysler may have, indeed, been the UAW head bureaucrat's goal. But it was hardly the victory that he claimed.

Chrysler workers will get a 2.25 percent raise the first year—less than the expected inflation rate.

In the second year workers will get another 2.25 percent raise—but in a lump sum.

In the third year the raise will be 3 percent.

The cold facts of this wage accord, however, are sugar-coated with a provision for immediate bonuses

of \$2000 per worker and \$1000 for each retired worker as partial compensation for the many-times higher wages lost since the big giveaway to save Chrysler from bankruptcy in 1979.

But this is not the worst part of the deal cut between Chrysler and the UAW bureaucracy.

Two-tier wage scale

The contract includes a two-tier wage scale: New workers will start at 85 percent of the pay rates of the existing workforce. Also, Chrysler won a contract that will extend until Sept. 14, 1988, a year past the expiration of the current agreements at G.M. and Ford and the recently concluded pact between the Canadian UAW and Chrysler's subsidiary there.

The two-tier pay scale now completes the demoralizing institution of lower pay for new workers in the Big Three of America's auto makers. And the setting of an expiration date one year later in the case of the Chrysler workers will work to the auto capitalists' further advantage in future bargaining.

The contract contains many other clauses whose final form workers normally do not see until months after a contract has been approved. Typically the one affecting Chrysler's ability to further transfer work to "outside sources" (a euphemism for companies with lower wage scales) is called an "understanding." Such "understandings" usually end up with two opposed interpretations.

A so-called "security fund" (certain to provide no security) will also be established for "displaced" workers resulting from "outsourcing" as well as new labor-saving technology and speedup. Another clause covers "profit-sharing," but is admittedly even stingier than the one rejected by Chrysler workers in 1982.

Sops of \$600 to spouses of deceased workers and \$200 more to all retired workers and surviving spouses are slated to be tossed in the second year of the contract.



Owen Bieber, president of UAW

That's right, it's Christmas buying time once again! So, what is the Neiman-Marcus catalog offering this season, you ask? How about a special "his" and "hers" gift—two finished South African diamonds cut from a single rough!

They're just that little something for those twin bank vaults you've been wanting to decorate—yours for \$2 million post-paid—and you should count yourself lucky that apartheid makes diamonds so cheap.

... Steelworkers

(continued from page 1)

lucky to get their train back undamaged.

Attempts to move steel by truck were equally unsuccessful as hundreds of steelworkers and their supporters swelled picket lines whenever such attempts were made.

The local community support won by steelworkers forced the states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia to agree that Wheeling-Pittsburgh's action constituted a lock-out and honor steelworkers' claims for unemployment compensation.

Recognizing this as a dress rehearsal for next year's basic steel negotiations, steelworkers around the country dug into their pockets to make the financial contributions that would enable the Wheeling-Pittsburgh workers to continue their determined stand.

Fears are justified

The initial relief that they had forced the company back to the bargaining table was gradually replaced by feelings of fear and helplessness as company and union officials engaged in top-secret negotiations.

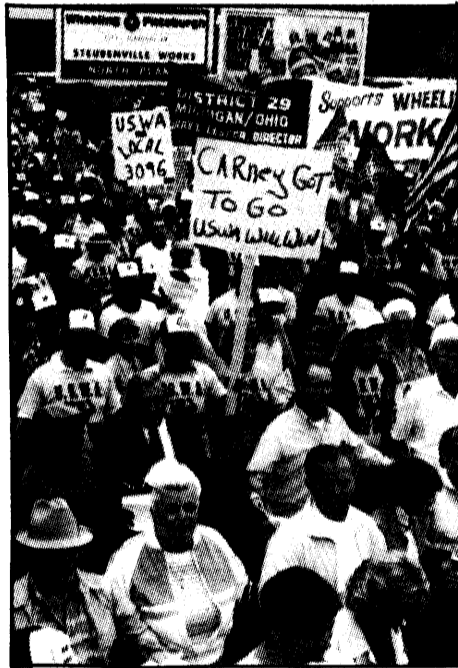
The tentative settlement was reached on Oct. 15. As steelworkers began to study this proposed agreement, they saw that their fears were justified.

Under this new agreement, Wheeling-Pittsburgh steelworkers, who were already making less than their counterparts who work for other basic steel companies, will suffer another direct pay cut.

The average wage will drop to \$10.05 per hour, with an additional \$1.09-per-hour average incentive bonus. The agreement also calls for a "Price Escalation Bonus Plan," which will allow for a possible additional \$1.00-per-hour payment based on steel price increases.

Sunday premium pay, cost-of-living adjustments, and vacation bonuses for taking vacations during undesirable periods are eliminated. The shift differential for working afternoons or nights is 20 cents less per hour than at other basic steel companies.

Wheeling-Pittsburgh workers will have only half as many paid holidays



compared to other basic steel plants. Ten-years seniority will be required for two weeks vacation, 17-years seniority for three weeks, and 25-years seniority for four weeks.

Pension plan, work rules attacked

Prior to the announcement of this settlement offer, the banks mounted a serious attack on the pension plan.

Since this plan is now in default by approximately \$400 million, due to the company's failure to make any payments since July 21, the banks that hold Wheeling-Pittsburgh loans have petitioned Judge Warren Bentz to remove the pension plan from the union contract. At the same time ex-chairman and CEO Carney was guaranteed over \$1 million in severance pay.

The tentative agreement provides for a \$1.05 per-hour-worked company contribution into a "Pensioners' Relief Program Fund" in case the current pension fund is terminated.

While the cuts in wages and benefits are bad, the more serious attacks are on work rules.

In an attempt to appear cooperative and concerned about the needs of the company, the union agrees to job combination and elimination. The agreement says:

"In the negotiations that preceded the signing of this Agree-

ment, the Company stressed its need to reduce the costs of producing steel if it is to reorganize, become competitive in the steel industry, and remain as a source of employment for USWA employees. The Union recognizes that certain job combinations and job restructuring can be achieved by the Company."

A buy-out provision is introduced in exchange for these lost jobs. For each job lost, one employee will be allowed to buy out of the company for a payment of \$967 per month over a 24-month period.

Although 4700 Wheeling-Pittsburgh workers had signed petitions demanding that labor-management participation teams be eliminated from the new agreement, the new "cooperative" program is mandatory. The USWA will also recommend one person to sit on the company's board of directors.

A myth exposed

Although most contract language remains the same, one change in the grievance procedure will definitely allow the company to run roughshod over workers' rights on the shop floor.

Non-monetary grievances, for example, removal of a disciplinary warning


from someone's record or improper scheduling of next year's vacation, will be handled as before. However, any monetary award must go to the federal bankruptcy judge to decide if, when, and how much the grievant will be paid.

Thus, if an arbitrator rules a worker was unjustly discharged six months ago, this worker will be brought back to work with no loss of seniority. However, Judge Bentz will decide when and if the worker receives his wages for the six months he was out of work.

The agreement states:

"The new management of Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel and the USWA jointly recognize that in order for the company to meet the immediate challenge of survival and the long-range need for prosperity, growth, and secure employment, that both parties must more closely work together in a joint partnership that extends from the shop floor to the board room to solve problems in a quicker and more cooperative manner."

The entire agreement is based on the USWA leadership's belief that what's good for the company is good for the workers. The proposed contract, however, will not do much to keep that myth alive.



The resolutions adopted by the 12th World Congress of the Fourth International are now available in a special issue of *International Viewpoint*. Copies of this issue can be purchased for only \$6.00 from Socialist Action. This price includes postal fees.

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Hormel strike arouses labor

By JAKE COOPER and MIKE ZUKOWSKI

AUSTIN, Minn.—An estimated 2000 people rallied here on Oct. 19 in support of the ongoing strike by packinghouse workers at the Hormel Packing Co.

The rally was preceded by a 500-vehicle caravan, led by a semi-trailer packed with food, that delivered as much as 80,000 lbs. of food to the strikers and their families. The caravan stretched for several miles.

Donations came from the Minnesota Central Labor Council; St. Paul Trades and Labor Association; Minnesota AFL-CIO; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; American Federation of Teachers; Minnesota Education Association; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union; United Auto Workers, and others. The contributions also included sizeable individual and group donations collected at various work sites.

The strike by Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) began on Aug. 14, when the workers rejected Hormel's union-busting proposal to cut wages, benefits, and impose a two-tier wage system.

The rally and caravan on Oct. 19 included contingents from 36 union locals in Region 13 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), which is Local P-9's district. Region 13 contingents came from throughout a six-state area.

Rally speakers included Local P-9 President Jim Guyette, Jake Cooper from the Strike Support Committee, and Joe Hansen, head of Region 13. At

the rally, Hansen pledged all-out support from the region for the strikers.

The labor movement in Minnesota is taking the union's fight as its own. This solidarity exists because of the widespread sympathy of the rank-and-file union members throughout the state. This solidarity hasn't been taken for granted, however.

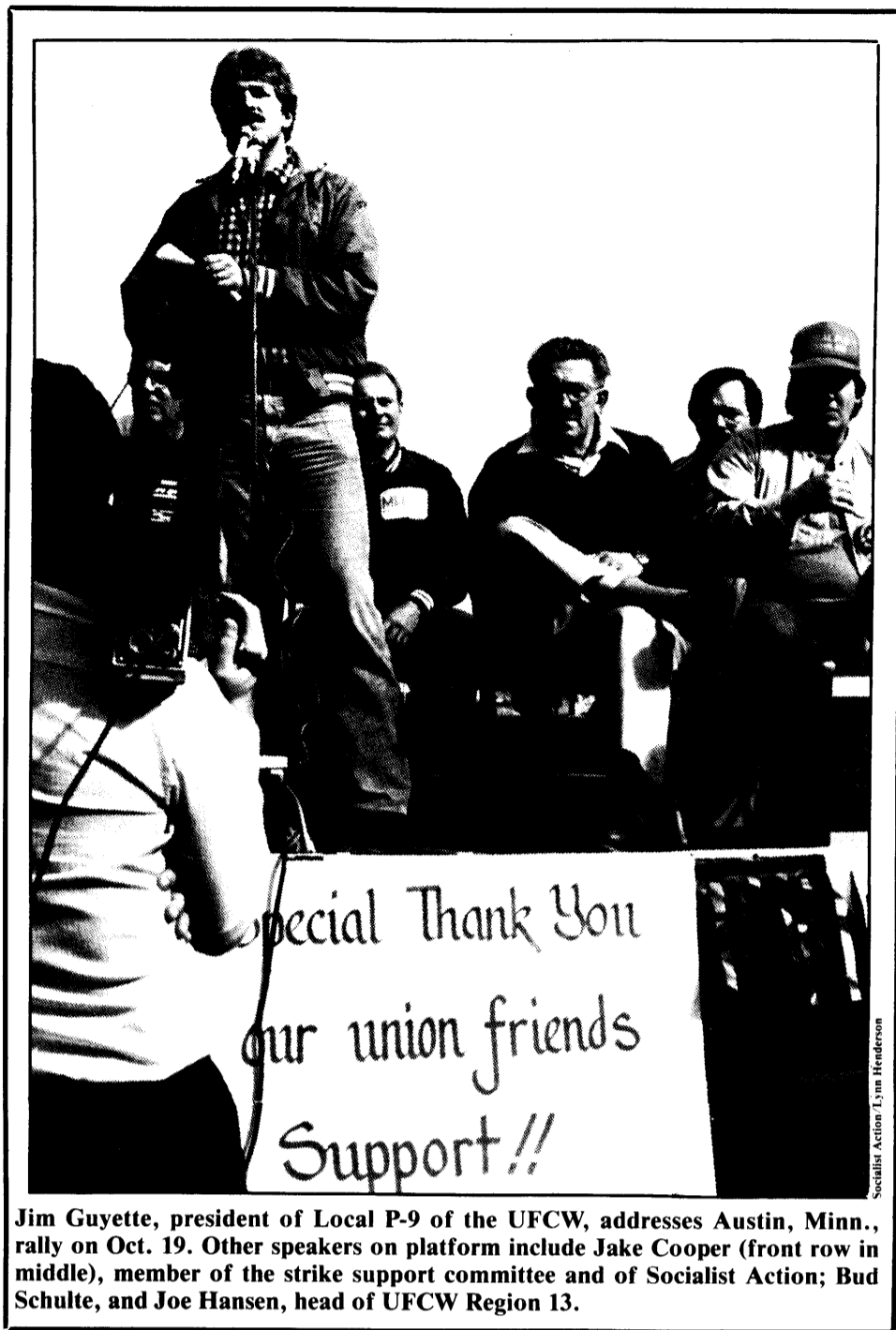
Strikers at P-9 have been door to door throughout the state explaining their cause. They have projected that they will hand out 750,000 leaflets. There has been a groundswell of support from unions in the Twin-Cities area for the strikers, as the success of the emergency food caravans has demonstrated.

The most recent negotiations broke down on Oct. 15, after only a few days, due to the company's intransigence. Although a small amount of work is being done inside the plant by supervisors, there are no scabs entering the plant. Different types of equipment, though, are being moved to other Hormel plants.

In response, Local P-9 held a special meeting after the rally to discuss plans, in coordination with other Hormel locals, to send roving picket lines to shut down the eight other Hormel plants in the Midwest.

In another development, the National Labor Relations Board has taken a swipe at the First Amendment, ruling that Local P-9's "corporate campaign" of informational leafleting at First Bank Systems, Hormel's financial partner, is illegal.

Even so, the Hormel strikers are standing strong. And, as the outpour of



Jim Guyette, president of Local P-9 of the UFCW, addresses Austin, Minn., rally on Oct. 19. Other speakers on platform include Jake Cooper (front row in middle), member of the strike support committee and of Socialist Action; Bud Schulte, and Joe Hansen, head of UFCW Region 13.

support from the labor movement demonstrates, they are not standing alone. Donations should be sent to United

Support Group, P-9 Emergency and Hardship Fund, 316 Fourth Ave. NE, Austin, Minn. 55912.

By KATE CURRY

CINCINNATI, Ohio—More than 500 pickets joined in a rally at the Fernald, Ohio, uranium enrichment plant on Oct. 8. Two days earlier the unions had voted to strike the feed materials production center, which processes low-level uranium into metal ingots for use at other nuclear-weapons production facilities.

The 646-member coalition of the Fernald Atomic Trades and Labor Council voted by a 75-percent majority to walk off the job onto a 24-hour picket line to protest health and safety conditions. The strike committee expects at least a month-long strike.

Negotiations have broken down between National Lead of Ohio, Inc., a private company that currently runs the plant for the U.S. Department of Energy, and the labor council, representing 15 craft and production unions. The old contract expired Sept. 30.

Workers at the plant find themselves in contact with radioactive dust, toxic chemicals and waste, heavy metals, and high voltage. National Lead calls the workers' demands for reduced radiation exposure "unrealistic." The unions

Nuclear workers react in Ohio

want stronger monitoring and inspection plans, and increased worker participation in establishing safety guidelines.

Recent events underscore why workers are more than concerned. On Aug. 21, 1985, 2.4 pounds of depleted uranium and 135 pounds of magnesium fluoride powder, a byproduct from large metallic uranium forms, spilled, causing the evacuation of a plant building. Two days later, 20 gallons of aqueous hydrofluoric acid, a very-corrosive fluid, spilled inside the plant.

Uranium dust released

Since the plant opened in 1951, Fernald has released 215,000 pounds of radioactive dust into the atmosphere and 163,000 pounds of uranium into the water, according to Department of Energy reports.

The reports claim that the leaks

present no public health threat. Another 11.3 million pounds of uranium are buried at the plant. From late September to early December 1984, more than 200 pounds of uranium dust were emitted into the atmosphere.

This release brought attention to the plant's out-of-date machinery. A community group has been protesting the leaks, and Senate hearings on the issue were held in the area. National Lead is proceeding with \$350 million in improvements or nearly half the plant's replacement value.

A July 25, 1985, Department of Energy report concludes that renovating the 34-year-old system will not be enough to adequately reduce the risk of a catastrophic chemical reaction. Supervision and training must also improve.

National Lead is studying the health impact of uranium on humans in an effort to cheat employees out of workers' compensation benefits. Since 1956 they have used two plans for getting organ and body parts for this study. First employees were asked to make a posthumous donation of their organs or entire bodies for the company's study.

Failing to convince many to volunteer, they went behind the backs of the families and bargained with local coroners and pathologists to provide the company with body parts. The coroners are denying any role in the scheme. The Fernald workers' unions view the clandestine program as an effort to shroud work-related diseases.

The Department of Energy claims that "most major process incidents

result from errors or conditions that can be traced to breakdown in management controls." Apparently even they got fed up with the slipshod management of National Lead, and granted a five-and-half-year, \$900 million to \$1 billion management contract to Westinghouse Electric of Pittsburgh. Westinghouse is due to take over operations at Fernald on April 1, 1986.

Westinghouse takes over

The takeover agreement includes layoffs for many of the 1100 workers. Given the upcoming change in management, the unions want to go for a one-year contract, hoping for a better deal from Westinghouse.

Some are even hoping that Westinghouse will be brought in sooner, since National Lead seems uninterested in seriously discussing the crucial health and safety issues affecting both the workers at the plant and the residents of the Cincinnati area.

But whoever runs the plant, it is certain that the safety of the workers will take a back seat to management's interest in making a profit. And as recent experience shows, corporate takeovers usually signal even further attacks against the unions.



Strikers at the Fernald, Ohio, uranium enrichment plant

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drive to unions

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Moreover, the two opposing resolutions calling for an end to U.S. military aid to the Duarte government and an end to U.S. support to the *contras* won by a large majority.

Compromise reached in Massachusetts

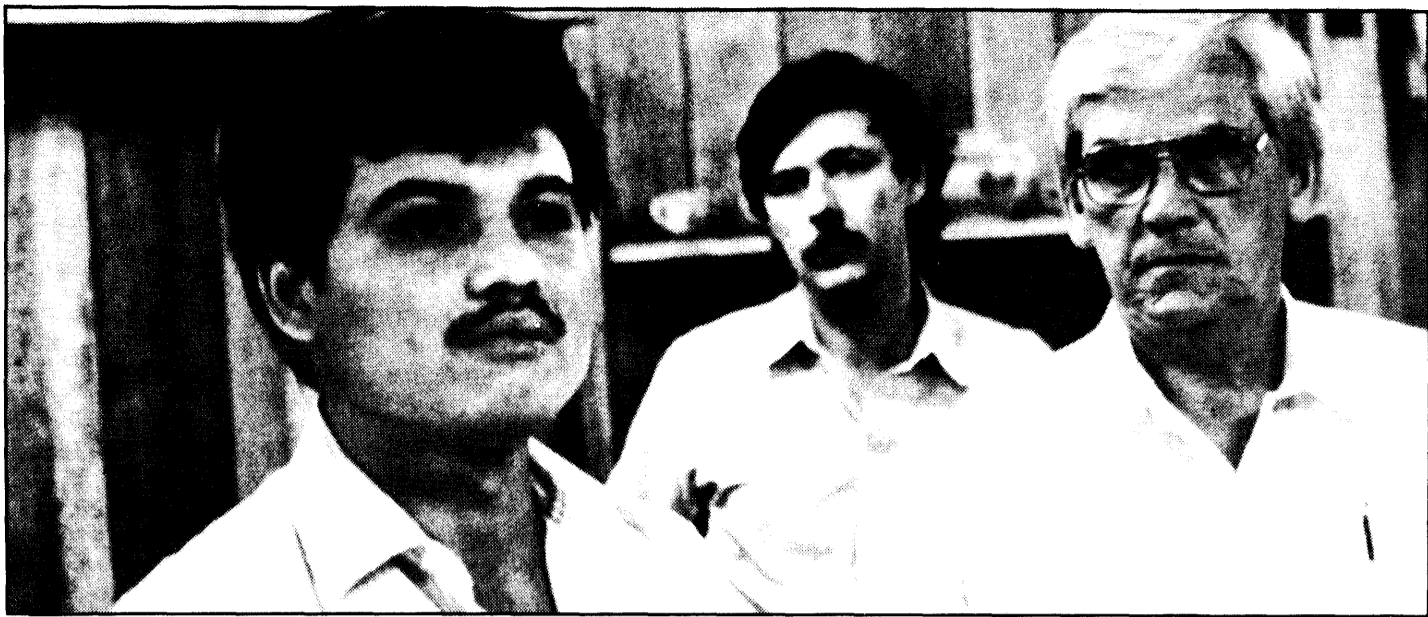
On Oct. 3-5, the Massachusetts State AFL-CIO convention was the scene of a similar confrontation between the two opposing wings of the labor movement.

But the character and the outcome of the debate were different because of the different strategy adopted by the Massachusetts Labor Committee on Central America, a group of 45 local union presidents who support the conclusions of the National Labor Committee's latest report.

Dave Slaney, president of the United Steelworkers of America Local 2431 and the labor committee's chairperson, explained that the oppositionists had proposed a compromise to Dave Jessup, AIFLD's official representative at the convention, in the hopes of helping to "educate the ranks about U.S. interventionist policy in Central America."

"We said we'd withdraw our resolution if they withdrew theirs," Slaney said. "I think they didn't want a floor fight and were afraid we'd win, so they accepted our proposal."

Slaney said the compromise also involved a public debate at the time of the convention between Frank Hammer, whom the committee had flown in from



Egardo Garcia, leader of the pro-Sandinista labor federation in Nicaragua, with Keith Johnson, woodworkers president, and Ed Clark, ACTWU vice president (rear). Garcia and Johnson will be among speakers on Central America panel at Nov. 2 antiwar conference in San Francisco. Other panelists include Dolores Huerta, vice president of the United Farm Workers; James Herman, president of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union; and Dave Dyson of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

Kirkland upheld the decision and told me to get lost."

According to a Nov. 28, 1984, press release by the Massachusetts Central America Referendum Campaign, the "Vote Yes For Peace" initiative won by a 2-to-1 majority statewide and a 3-to-1 majority in the Greater Boston area. "While the voters re-elected Ronald Reagan," the statement noted, "they rejected his aggressive policy in Central America."

Slaney lamented that the "undemocratic" ruling by the Kirkland supporters on the labor council "[had] prevented the labor movement in the city from joining with the progressive majority to oppose Reagan's war."

Controversy over tours

Another aspect of the continuing debate over Central America involves the various U.S. tours of non-AIFLD trade unionists from Central America.

This aspect of the controversy is not new. In March 1983, Kirkland sent out a letter to all AFL-CIO state and local central bodies urging them not to endorse the tour of Alejandro Molina Lara, the organizational secretary of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers Unions (FENASTRAS).

FENASTRAS is a federation including 26 national unions in El Salvador. It is affiliated to the Trade Union Unity Committee (CUS), which includes nine Salvadoran labor federations, representing the vast majority of organized labor in El Salvador.

Kirkland's letter deplored the fact that Molina Lara had been invited to speak before numerous union bodies. It also urged the local and regional union directors to check with the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs before allowing anyone to speak to an AFL-CIO body on an international matter.

Kirkland sent a similar letter on Aug. 29, 1985, warning all AFL-CIO affiliates not to endorse a proposed U.S. tour of what he called "supporters of the guerrilla movements."

The tour of eight trade unionists from five countries in Central America began in early October and is scheduled to last through November. It has already coincided in at least one city with the AIFLD fall campaign tour.

The tour has been endorsed and actively supported by several national union presidents, including Kenneth T. Blaylock of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) and William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists (IAM). Both are members of the National Labor Committee.

Other labor tour supporters include regional directors; international union vice presidents such as Edward W. Clark Jr. of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) and Thomas P. Cronin of the American Fed-

eration of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); and more than 50 union locals and local presidents.

"This tour represents organizations that are associated with the Communist-led World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) based in Prague, Czechoslovakia," Kirkland wrote in his letter. He continued, "I call your attention to the statement adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Aug. 14 which calls upon all of its affiliates—and indeed all American trade unionists—to shun contacts with the WFTU and its affiliates."

Once again, despite Kirkland's "red-baiting" appeal, many local union bodies were willing to defy the top labor leadership. Moreover, as of this writing, none of the labor endorsers of the tour have withdrawn their names.

"Labor must take a stand"

On Aug. 23, 1985, the San Francisco Bay Area Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, the coalition that organized a march of 50,000 people on April 20, sent out a letter to the community announcing a Nov. 2 antiwar conference. The conference announcement included the signatures of most of the major labor leaders in the Bay Area.

A recent brochure states that the purpose of the conference is "to bring together nationally prominent trade unionists and religious and community figures to address the need for building a majority movement against U.S. intervention in Central America, against U.S. support to South Africa apartheid, against nuclear weapons, and for jobs and justice."

Explaining his decision to endorse the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, Al Lannon, president of Local 6 of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), told *Socialist Action*: "There is a very real move toward direct U.S. intervention in Central America by the United States. We don't need another generation of soldiers to come back in body bags."

Lannon continued:

"Important sectors of the labor movement are beginning to see the need to get involved in the peace issue before the body bags come back. They are understanding that labor can rebuild its strength if it rebuilds alliances with the community around issues that go beyond the bread-and-butter issues."

Coming just a few days after the national AFL-CIO convention, the Nov. 2 conference is being viewed by many in the labor movement as a national forum in opposition to the AIFLD fall campaign. [See article on Nov. 2 conference in this issue of *Socialist Action*.]

Rubber-stamp days are over

Meanwhile, a campaign is underway by the local Labor Committees on Central America throughout the country to get the state AFL-CIO presidents and the local central labor council presidents—the delegates to the Anaheim convention—to endorse a resolution calling for support to the National Labor Committee's recommendations.

A campaign letter that has been circulated nationally states, "The National Labor Committee represents over 50 percent of organized labor. It is critical for working people in the United States that this AFL-CIO convention accurately reflect the views of its members."

As of this writing there are no indications that the National Labor Committee members will submit a counterresolution to Kirkland's at the upcoming AFL-CIO convention. "We've heard rumors that leaders in ACTWU are considering presenting a resolution calling for an end to U.S. support to the *contras*, but these are just rumors," said Steelworkers' local president Slaney.

"There is more heat than ever before to follow the State Department line," said a union official who spoke on the condition he not be identified. "The National Labor Committee people will be submitted to a heavy dose of red-baiting."

Whatever the outcome of the convention vote, however, what is clear from the two months of intense debate over Central America is that growing numbers of organized workers in this country are willing to buck the AFL-CIO leadership on a major foreign policy issue.

Ed Clark, vice president of ACTWU and a member of the last National Labor Committee delegation to Central America, accurately described the situation leading up to the AFL-CIO's national convention.

Clark said: "The days when a few people in the [AFL-CIO] Department of International Affairs made policy and had it rubber stamped by the Executive Council are over." ■

more heat than ever before the State Department line."

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Detroit, and Jessup. Hammer's brother, Michael Hammer, was the AIFLD agricultural field agent who was killed in El Salvador in January 1981.

"The trade-off was definitely worth it from our point of view," Slaney said.

In the phone interview, Slaney also proceeded to tell the story of how he was overruled over one year ago by the "Kirkland people" in Boston.

In July 1984, Slaney said, the Greater Boston Labor Committee on Political Education (COPE) approved a resolution he had submitted calling on the entire Boston labor movement to support a non-binding referendum on the Nov. 2 ballot that demanded an end to U.S. intervention in Central America.

"Although my resolution passed," Slaney said, "the Kirkland people ruled that it could not be submitted for a vote to the full meeting of the Greater Boston Labor Council. It was ruled out of order because it conflicted with AFL-CIO policy."

"Of course, I was furious and appealed this ruling to the AFL-CIO National Executive Council," Slaney said. "Earlier this year, I was finally given 20 minutes to appeal my case, but



AFL-CIO leaders launch drive to counter antiwar mood in unions

By ALAN BENJAMIN

For the past two months, the AFL-CIO top leadership, in close collaboration with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), has conducted a national campaign aimed at countering the growing opposition within the labor movement to U.S. policy in Central America.

The campaign is scheduled to wind up at the Oct. 28-31 AFL-CIO national convention in Anaheim, Calif., where the AFL-CIO leaders hope to push through a resolution supporting the U.S. war in Central America.

AIFLD, the labor federation's arm in Latin America, has been an active supporter of the State Department's policy toward this region. It is an official institute of the AFL-CIO but it receives about 90 percent of its funds from the U.S. government's Agency for International Development (AID). Numerous mainstream publications—as well as ex-CIA agents like Philip Agee—have directly linked AIFLD to the CIA.

The AFL-CIO leadership's campaign has included two-day labor seminars in nine states, tours to AFL-CIO state conventions by high labor officials and union leaders from the federations AIFLD favors in Central America, and the distribution of a new 300-page AIFLD document and a documentary film on Central America.

At the previous AFL-CIO convention, which was held in October 1983 in Hollywood, Fla., the top AIFLD officials had organized an invited-guests-only conference entitled "Threats to Democracy in Central America."

The purpose of this high-visibility conference was to "denounce Soviet interventionism in the region" and thereby to pressure all wings of the labor officialdom into accepting a more hawkish resolution on Central America.

This year the AFL-CIO and AIFLD leaders have devoted two full months to accomplish this same objective.

Traumatized by opposition

The scope of the fall AIFLD campaign is an indication that the top labor officials are seriously concerned about the increasing rift within the labor movement over U.S. policy in Central America.

CIO foreign policy." Slaiman was particularly anxious to know about "any efforts to introduce resolutions on Central America in state and local federation conventions that do not conform to AFL-CIO policy."

One reason the top AFL-CIO leadership is so concerned about the issue of Central America is that a split has occurred within its own ranks over what policy to adopt toward this region.

In 1982, the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and

cratic society."

This position directly contradicts that of Lane Kirkland, the president of the AFL-CIO and of AIFLD. Kirkland, who served on the bipartisan Kissinger Commission on Central America in January 1984, actively supported the Commission's recommendations to send \$400 million in military aid to El Salvador for 1984-85 and to increase the U.S. force against the Sandinista government of Nicaragua.

Regarding Nicaragua, the July 1985

Doherty urged further U.S. military and economic aid to that country.

Doherty refrained from attacking the National Labor Committee by name, but indirectly included the committee among those non-AIFLD union delegations that had visited Nicaragua over the past two years and had "promoted the Sandinistas' misinformation and deception campaign."

In an Aug. 30, 1985, report circulated at the labor meetings, Doherty stated: "Most of these delegations have been given the regular 'Cook's tour'... Upon their return to the United States, these groups have issued reports on how great the Sandinistas were and what they had done for the workers."

Kirkland's ally defects

To Kirkland's great chagrin, even the AFL-CIO-supported union in El Salvador, the Popular Democratic Unity (UPD), has turned against the Duarte regime and AIFLD. The UPD had initially been one of the regime's big supporters.

In a Feb. 15, 1985, letter to Duarte's Christian Democratic Party, UPD General Secretary Ramon Mendoza indicted the Duarte government for failing to implement land redistribution and for "increasing the repression against legitimate trade unionists."

Soon after the UPD broke its pact with the Duarte government, AIFLD withdrew its financial support to the UPD. AIFLD then supplanted the UPD with the Democratic Workers Central (CTD), which is a totally fictitious organization consisting of a maximum of 1000 members.

According to the Labor Network on Central America, the CTD has been seeking an alliance with a new right-wing party, Patria Libre, which is an offshoot of Roberto D'Aubuisson's ARENA party. D'Aubuisson is one of

hue was able to convince the resolutions committee to recommend a "yes" vote on his Central America resolution and a "no" vote on the two opposing resolutions.

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Compromise reached in Massachusetts

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Taken from August 1985 issue of Labor Notes

Human Rights in El Salvador was formed. This committee includes the presidents of 24 major international unions. It has issued two fact-finding reports—the latest one in July 1985—strongly opposing the AFL-CIO line on Central America.

The committee's July 1985 report, entitled "The Search for Peace in Central America," recommended that all U.S. military aid to the government of El Salvador be stopped on the grounds that "the human rights situation in El Salvador has not improved and trade-union and political rights are still being violated."

The report also stated that "the crimes of the past have been repeated

National Labor Committee report recommended that the U.S. government "end all military support for the counterrevolutionary groups (*contras*) attacking Nicaragua from Honduras and Costa Rica."

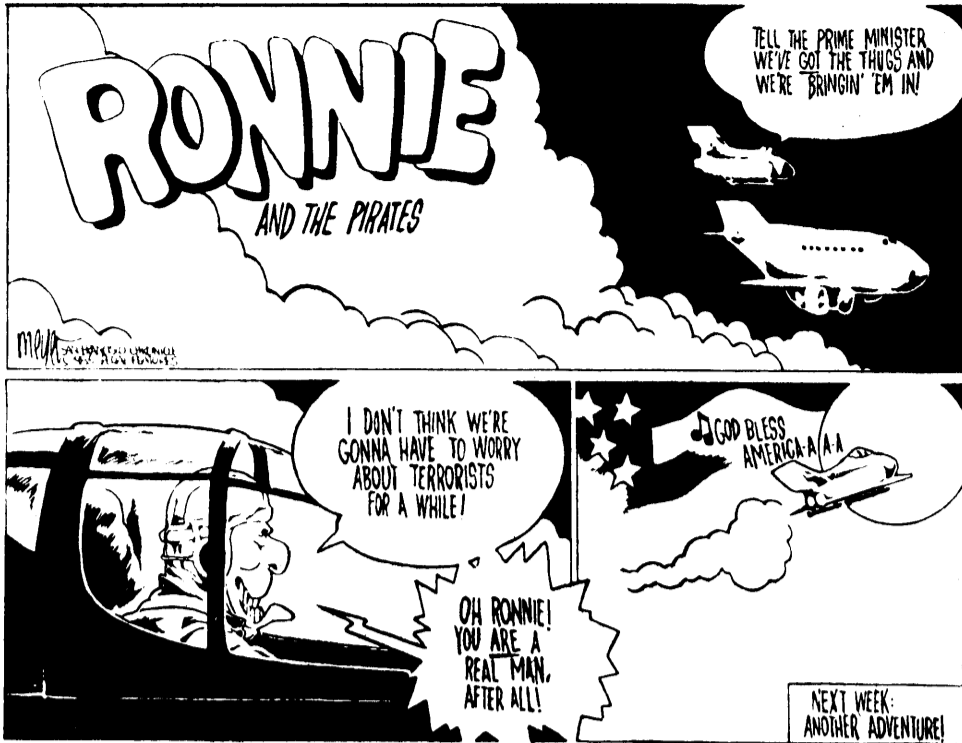
The report stated that Nicaragua is not "the totalitarian government of Reagan's pronouncements." It also noted that "the *contra* forces are not supported by the vast majority of the Nicaraguan people."

The Doherty/Brown road show

The fall AIFLD road tour featured keynote speeches by Irving Brown, head of the labor federation's International Affairs Department, and William

"There's more heat than ever before to follow the State Department line."

Who are the real terrorists?



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

During the Vietnam War a comedian once joked about President Johnson: "How do you know when the president is lying?" The answer: "When his lips are moving."

Which brings us to our latest president, "Rambo" Raygun. In his ravings against terrorism Reagan is an exponent of that old shibboleth that when you tell a lie, tell a big one, and when you commit a crime, point your finger at the victim instead of at the criminal.

President Reagan accuses the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in connection with the hijacking of the Italian liner, *Achille Lauro*, of being nothing more than common criminals. Secretary of State George Shultz says terrorists are "cowardly animals." Cuba, North Korea, Iran, and Nicaragua are labeled "outlaw" states that "sponsor terrorism." All are an example of resort to the "big lie."

Here is a president who represents a government that has done everything in its power to destroy every spark of freedom and liberty on this planet. Here is a president who provides the instruments of mass murder to every tin-horned dictator on the face of the globe, and then has the gall to call the victims of his government's actions "terrorists."

Where does terrorism come from? The answer is from the oppression and exploitation that are inherent to the capitalist system. The terrorism of oppressed people is always a response to the institutionalized terrorism of the oppressor.

It comes about when an entire people, who are subjected daily to inhuman conditions and treated as caged animals in the interest of private profit, become desperate. From such desperation comes the belief, however mistaken, that there is no other way to strike back except through individual acts of terror.

Such tactics are wrong because they create the illusion that a few courageous individuals can liberate the people from oppression. This impedes the mobilization of the oppressed for a mass struggle—the only road toward liberation.

The biggest terrorist

The U.S. imperialist government is the biggest terrorist in the world today. James P. Cannon, who was the founder of the Socialist Workers Party, gave a description of Yankee imperialism in 1948 that could have been written today.

"The basic causes of this world crisis are no mystery. The first cause is the breakdown of capitalism throughout Europe—and Asia—and the colonial lands. The working people want peace and bread, which capitalism cannot give. The colonial slaves don't

want to be slaves any more—and capitalism cannot live without colonial slaves. The working people, the poor peasants and the colonial slaves are in revolt against the continued rule of bankers and landlords.

"On the other hand, American capitalism—the last solvent stronghold of an outlived and doomed world system—is trying to prop up the hated regimes of capitalism and kings and landlords by economic and military force.

"These are the two main elements of the present world crisis.

"The Wall Street money-sharks, and the brass hats of Prussian mentality, are riding high in Washington these days. The masters of America, drunk with power, are threatening and terrifying the people of the world—seeking to dominate and enslave them—striving to

transform the other countries of the world into colonies of the American empire.

"This is a program of madness, and it is doomed to failure. The great majority of the people of the world do not want to be slaves of America. That is to their credit and we applaud them for it" ("Notebook of an Agitator," Pathfinder Press, 1973).

The reasons for the use of terrorism by oppressed people are revealed in the real terrorism of the imperialist oppressor. The American capitalist mad-dogs think they can destroy the will to struggle of the people of Palestine, Nicaragua, Cuba, and South Africa with their CIA-financed murder.

They hope, by financing Israel's reign of terror against the people of the Middle East, to stop that revolution. It's as if they learned nothing from the struggle of the Vietnamese people for national sovereignty. A war, by the way, that ended in the total defeat of imperialist power in Vietnam.

Middle East and Nicaragua

Let's look at U.S.-sponsored terrorism in the Middle East. Israel, South Africa's and America's best friend, has reduced Lebanon to a reign of murder and desolation. Women, children, and men are bombed at will, their homes destroyed, their lives in ruins. That country has become, thanks to Israel and the United States, a region of smoking rubble.

It is no accident that four Palestinians hijacked the Italian liner shortly after the Israelis arrogantly bombed the headquarters of the PLO in Tunisia, killing innocent people. Reagan revealed his total hypocrisy when he applauded this Israeli atrocity.

U.S.-sponsored atrocities such as this are committed daily all over the world in the interest of "free enterprise." Have the people of the United States been told that there are over 200,000

displaced people in Nicaragua because of Reagan's terrorist war against that poor country? Or that every day civilians and unarmed peasants are murdered with bombs and guns provided to the *contras* with U.S. dollars?

Listen to what happened to the Rigoberto Lopez Perez family on May 2, 1985, in the city of Boaco, Nicaragua:

"Because of an alert that *contras* were near their town, the Perezes spent the night sleeping in the woods rather than risk going home. Thinking that they were safe, they returned home at dawn to prepare breakfast. While they were doing so, the *contras* struck.

"In less than five minutes, the *contras* shot and killed six members of the family: Crescencio Perez, 72; his daughters Esperanza, 33; and Irene, 36; his son, Juan Ernesto, 32; and his granddaughters Brenda Patricia, nine; and Claudia, three."

And "Rambo" Reagan raves in mock horror at the "immorality" of terrorism by the oppressed.

Mass action, not individual terror

The victims of imperialism, with their meager resources, cannot hope to equal the terror of the capitalist class. The ruling class has far greater power to terrorize than the oppressed—as we witnessed in Hiroshima and Vietnam.

Resorting to individual acts of terror, even when most justified, only allows the hypocritical big-business media to cover up for big-mouths like Reagan, who, in retaliation, unleash their legions to kill and torture imperialism's victims.

A more effective response is to look toward the potential power of millions of working people—mobilized for mass action—against Washington's terror machine in the Middle East, El Salvador, or elsewhere.

Antiwar demonstrations, strikes, protests, and political action that strive to tap that enormous reservoir of working-class power—that is the way to build a movement that can put the working class in power and disarm the U.S.-terrorist war against humanity for good. ■

Dear Bishop Tutu:

We are a handful of individuals who are separated by thousands of miles, but joined together by the common conviction that justice can only be brought about if we ourselves remain steadfastly committed to the ideals and practice of nonviolence. We write this letter to express our support for you and the thousands who stand with you in the face of the monstrous oppression, cruelty, and violence of the South African state. Even when provoked to anger by an unyielding adversary, you have not given in to malice, but have remained always caring and astute.

Your country is a theater, and the entire world your audience. The stage is well lit, and now, through all the propaganda, we see the players for what they are. Even from our very great distance we can sense the terrible frustration and sadness you must feel when your peoples' acts of courage and dignity are crushed daily. They hold a peaceful meeting, and dogs are set upon them; their schoolchildren sing, and are chased and beaten. For simply speaking out, they are arrested, detained, and tortured. They cannot even mourn their dead in peace.

To the South African government we say lay down your arms and stop the bloodbath. To you, Bishop Tutu, we say that your refusal to respond with violence has been your strongest weapon. With great respect for your personal faith and courage, we thank you for your continuing affirmation of dignity and of life.

Cory Aquino
Former President, Catholic Women's League, Philippines
Manila, Philippines

Vladimir Bukovsky
Former Prisoner of Conscience, Soviet Union
Palo Alto, California

Cesar Chavez
President, United Farmworkers Union
Keene, California

Mairead Corrigan Maguire
Co-founder, Community of the Peace People
1977 Nobel Peace Laureate
Belfast, Ireland

Adolfo Perez Esquivel
Coordinator, Servicio Paz y Justicia en America Latina
1980 Nobel Peace Laureate
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Alexander Ginzburg
Former Prisoner of Conscience, Soviet Union
Washington, D.C.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson
Chairman, National Rainbow Coalition
Co-Pastor, Fellowship Missionary Baptist Church
Chicago, Illinois

Petra K. Kelly
Member, German Parliament
Bonn, West Germany

Kim Dae Jung
Co-chair, Council to Promote Democracy in Korea
Former Prisoner of Conscience
Seoul, Korea

Coretta Scott King
President, Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change
Atlanta, Georgia

The Mothers of the Disappeared
"Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo"
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Armando Valladares
Poet
Former Prisoner of Conscience, Cuba
Madrid, Spain

Joan C. Baez
Joan C. Baez
President
Humanitas International

Lech Walesa
1983 Nobel Peace Laureate
Former Prisoner of Conscience
Gdansk, Poland

Andrew Young
Mayor of Atlanta
Former Aide to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Atlanta, Georgia

An answer to Joan Baez on non-violence

Here's where we agree with you: The South African white-minority government should lay down its arms and stop its bloodbath. It has killed over 750 blacks this year. Through the forced segregation policies of apartheid, countless thousands more have died from malnutrition, starvation, and disease.

Here's where we disagree with you: How can this be brought about?

The clear implication of your appeal for a non-violent response to the apartheid butchers is that somehow, this non-violence will lead to the disarming of the

apartheid regime. Further, the fact that you have addressed your appeal to Bishop Tutu, and not to the regime, implies that perhaps you would withdraw your support for him should he abandon his strategy of non-violence.

When in history have tyrants voluntarily laid down their arms? Never.

The question then is: How can the white-minority apartheid regime be disarmed? How can this be accomplished with the least sacrifice of human life?

It seems clear that the Black masses of South Africa can only disarm the

tyrants of the apartheid regime if they themselves are armed. They have already shown their resolve to end apartheid and win the inalienable human right of national self-determination, the right to govern their own country by majority rule, the right to vote.

We have no doubt that the Black masses of South Africa will arm themselves in their fight to win their freedom. This has been the case with virtually every oppressed nation that struggles for its emancipation from tyranny, including the American revolutionaries who armed themselves to fight British colonialism.

An underlying assumption of your letter is that if the oppressed of South Africa use violence in their fight to end apartheid, somehow this will diminish the moral standing of their struggle. Your unstated premise is that the violence of the oppressed is morally equivalent to the violence of the oppressor.

We hold that there is a fundamental difference between violence carried out in the struggle for freedom and violence carried out to maintain the apartheid state.

The South African police, military forces, and network of stool pigeons keep apartheid alive in order for the capitalists there to reap the highest possible profits from the labor of the Black majority. This constitutes the most repugnant system of organized state violence.

All those who abhor apartheid can aid the struggle against it, not by urging the oppressed to face their oppressors unarmed and defenseless, but by wholeheartedly supporting the Black majority in their struggle to win by any means they deem necessary—The editors. ■



French military force is ever present in New Caledonia.

S. Pacific rocks boat on French A-bombs

By MARK HARRIS

French military agents succeeded in sinking the *Rainbow Warrior* with their bombs, but they also sprang a slow leak in the French ship of state headed by President Francois Mitterand, leader of the Socialist Party.

After more than two months of official denials, the French government finally confessed its crime. But that admission came only after the thread of official lies had unraveled so far that little remained to cover the stark reality—that an act of state-sponsored terrorism sank the Greenpeace ship and took the life of a crewmember.

The duplicitous details of this French "underwatergate" affair have tarnished Mitterand's credibility and stirred further protest in the South Pacific against France's nuclear tests. But it has not deterred the French president, who used to oppose nuclear weapons, from his dogged defense of the French nuclear strike force.

Mitterand acted outraged at the bombing. But only after two persons arrested in New Zealand in connection with the bombing were identified as French military agents did he decide to launch an official investigation. From this point on things only went from bad to worse.

Mitterand called on Bernard Tricot, De Gaulle's former chief of staff, who asked a couple of questions and declared France innocent. It wasn't long, however, before the Tricot report whitewash faded totally in the light of further disclosures.

Finally, the French government admitted on Sept. 22 that agents of the General Directorate for External Security (DGSE) had carried out the terrorist attack on Greenpeace. Defense Minister Charles Hernu and Admiral Pierre Lacoste, head of the DGSE, were dismissed for covering up their involvement in the *Rainbow Warrior* operation.

Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, however, refused to identify the other intelligence agents involved, saying that they were only "following orders." Who gave those orders? That is a Pandora's box the government doesn't care to open.

This strained effort to hide the truth appears motivated by the circuitous path the trail of clues is following to the door of the French presidency. President Mitterand's military adviser at the time, Gen. Jean Saulnier, who is now chief of staff of the armed forces, would have been required, according to normal procedures, to authorize the \$300,000 released for the sabotage operation.

One former chief of staff to the army, in fact, told *La Croix* that Mitterand would "necessarily" have been informed of the operation in advance.

Adding insult to injury, the government has indicted five intelligence agents, not for participating in the bombing, but for leaking information about the crime to the press!

The backdrop for this sordid affair is the refusal

of the French government to end its nuclear tests in the South Pacific, despite the deep and near unanimous opposition throughout the region. In August, the entire South Pacific was declared a nuclear-free zone by eight Pacific nations—Australia, New Zealand, Western Samoa, Tuvalu, Fiji, Cook Islands, Kiribati, and Niue.

Nuclear-free Pacific

The treaty bans the manufacture, stationing, or testing of nuclear weapons in the region, but does allow for the transit of nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed ships. The treaty also leaves the question of whether to allow port visits up to individual countries. Vanuatu did not sign the treaty, in fact, because it objected to the treaty's loopholes.

The declaration stands, nevertheless, as a telling expression of the range of protest sweeping through

"If the nuclear tests are safe, as Mitterand claims, then why does France forbid any independent medical examination of the Polynesian people under its domain?"

the South Pacific against a nuclear peril imposed from outside.

New Zealand's decision earlier this year to bar port calls by U.S. warships using nuclear power or carrying nuclear weapons is still another expression of that trend. Since U.S. policy is to never confirm or deny whether a ship is nuclear-equipped, U.S. ships have been effectively banned by New Zealand's policy.

Lange backtracks

Prime Minister David Lange, however, is not happy over the strain in relations with his most powerful ally. He now wants to ease the restriction on port visits so that a ship will be barred only if it is actually proven to be carrying nuclear weapons.

To this end he has initiated high-level talks with the United States, although a formal agreement has yet to be worked out. Lange has, in fact, invited a U.S. warship to visit New Zealand in order to demonstrate that the ANZUS defense pact between the two countries and Australia is still alive.

New Zealand and Australia have no strategic qualms with either the United States or France. But they are uneasy over the bullying way these two Western powers dismiss the protests of all those "funny little islands" in the Pacific.

That is the meaning of Australian Ambassador F. Rawdon Dalrymple's recent warning that the Reagan administration's "policy of indifference to what the French are doing" will only provide "fertile ground for anti-United States, anti-West propaganda."

France, for its part, acts as if it couldn't care less. Mitterand has actually stepped up the frequency of

nuclear tests since taking office in 1981. In 1983 France built another test site to further expand its facilities. The most powerful underground explosion ever detonated by the French, in fact, took place just last May.

France originally hoped to test its nuclear bombs in Algeria, but the radioactive fallout from its one and only test there floated over the Mediterranean toward Europe. Nonetheless, Algeria soon gained independence and France was forced to look for a new place to build a test site—this time on the other side of the world—at Moruroa atoll in French Polynesia.

Since 1966 France has exploded more than 100 nuclear bombs in the Pacific. It continued to explode its bombs in the atmosphere until 1975, since France was not a signatory to the 1963 ban on atmospheric testing.

Full of holes

France's claim that its nuclear tests are safe is as full of holes as the Moruroa atoll where it explodes its bombs. The atoll is extremely fragile from the effects of repeated underground blasts, as scientists from New Zealand, Australia, and Papua New Guinea reported after studying the atoll last year.

Because the atoll is made of coral, which is quite porous, there is real concern that radioactive materials will be released into the ocean. The scientists noted that it is certain that radioactivity will seep into the ocean over the next one thousand years, and could possibly be released even within five years of a test...

The risk factor is compounded by the possibility of accidents, such as the March 1981 typhoon that destroyed a nuclear waste dump at Moruroa, dispersing high-level radioactive waste. Five months later, another storm again littered the atoll with nuclear waste.

Earlier, in July 1979, an explosion and fire wrecked an underground lab containing plutonium, killing two men who were so radiated they had to be buried in lead coffins. Only two weeks later, a nuclear device exploded while stuck halfway down the test shaft, tearing a mile-long crack across the atoll and setting off a tidal wave that injured personnel.

If accidents are not cause enough for worry, there are other perils, such as President De Gaulle's deliberate decision, early in the testing program, to allow residents of several Polynesian islands to be dusted with radioactive fallout rather than wait until the winds changed direction.

If the nuclear tests are safe, as Mitterand now claims, then why does France forbid any independent medical examination of the Polynesian people under its domain? France says it isn't so, but it won't release the public health statistics for French Polynesia for the last 19 years to refute charges that years of atmospheric testing have caused an increase

in leukemia, thyroid tumors, and other cancers.

France used to claim its atmospheric tests were safe, too, when the effects of those blasts were found in radiated fish catches on Mexico's Pacific coast, and in the rain in Fiji, and on Pitcairn Island, where radiation levels six times higher than normal were detected.

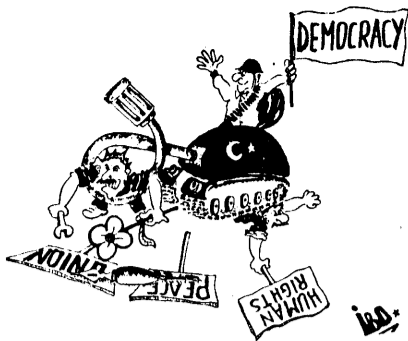
De Gaulle's legacy

Charles De Gaulle promised in 1958 that France would remain in the Pacific for ever. That prediction may prove right in one respect. The risks from its bombs will linger long after France is forced to abandon its South Pacific colonies.

But in another respect history will record De Gaulle's promise as a hopeless boast. Because it is a promise that has already failed—in Vanuatu, which achieved independence in 1980, and is today failing in New Caledonia, where the native Kanaks want France out. And in Tahiti, resentment to its status as a colony built on bombs is certain to escalate into another challenge to French rule in the Pacific.

The French government displays an impervious attitude toward protests against its nuclear tests in the South Pacific. But the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior*, and its plans to construct a military base in New Caledonia that could take up as much as half the main island, tells another story.

France is worried because its strategy of nuclear colonialism can survive only by sabotage and military might. But in the end these are no match for a population inflamed with the slogan of independence and a world free from the prospect of a radioactive death.



By D. ARMAN

On Sept. 12, 1980, the tanks rolled into the streets of Turkey for the third time in 20 years. The takeover by the military was expected.

The coup resulted from the failure of the major capitalist parties to carry out their program within the parliamentary system at a time of severe economic and political chaos.

The working class did not have the political program nor the revolutionary organizations that could have enabled it to take state power, even though it had shown its capacity for struggle. Nonetheless, the ruling class resorted to the military because of its fear of social upheaval or a possible civil war.

Since 1980, the military dictatorship has systematically organized terrorism against the working class, its organizations and political parties, as well as against the poor peasantry and the liberal political currents.

To day, the military junta claims to be making a "transition to democracy" because it instituted elections in 1983.

When the elections were announced, 17 political parties were formed. But the military soon closed them down using the National Security Council, which is composed of Gen. Kenan Evren and commanders of the army, navy, airforce and gendarmerie. It retained the power to veto any founding member of a new party—and only new parties would be allowed to run in the upcoming elections.

Gen. Evren, who had become presi-

D. Arman is a member of the Solidarity Committee with the People of Turkey based in San Francisco.

U.S. policy weighs on Turkish workers

dent along with a new constitution in 1982, threatened the population by saying that if voters didn't choose the "right people," the armed forces would intervene again.

Right after the 1983 elections, martial law was again reinstated until April 1984. And as of June 1985, 24 provinces are still under martial law, including such large cities as Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir.

Attacks against working class

During the first three years of military dictatorship, over 130,000 political prisoners were thrown into Turkey's infamous prisons, where many perished through torture and brutality, including 30 hunger strikers. Dozens were sent to the gallows, and the streets were turned into a bloody shooting ground.

The age-old repression against the Kurdish people in Eastern Anatolia was also sharply increased. This area is where the U.S. government has been given the right to build three military bases. This also happens to be near the border of the Soviet Union, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Plans are underway to set up seven more U.S. bases.

The trade unions were banned along with the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike. The Supreme Arbitration Board, which is under the direct control of the military, took over. Wages dropped sharply.

The Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) was destroyed. This confederation, which represented a third of all unionized workers, was formed in February 1967 with the metal workers, printers, food handlers, bank workers, and construction workers unions. These unions had been suspended from the official government confederation, Turk-Is, because they supported the militant strikes of the Kozlu coal miners in 1965 and the glass

factory workers a year later.

The Turkish workers in the DISK had a militant trade-union and political life. But now, with the destruction of DISK, sections of the rank and file have gone back to the Turk-Is confederation, which is politically on the right. The DISK union leaders face long prison sentences and the death penalty.

At least half of the leadership of the pre-coup organizations live in the prisons of Turkey. These prisons used to be called "red-universities." But now the prisoners are kept in isolation and are forced to march while singing nationalistic songs.



Turkey's dictator, Gen. Kenan Evren

As a recent Amnesty International report on Turkey indicates, torture is still widespread, and any attempt to investigate the fate of some of the prisoners is impossible. The authorities have not yet disclosed, for example, what caused the death of Fikri Sonmez, the mayor of the town of Fatsa, in Corum prison in June of this year.

All universities and broadcasting institutions have been "cleared out" and brought under direct governmental control. Every single piece of news has to pass through censorship, and newspapers are still being closed.

The left-wing organizations once claiming over a million members in more than 30 political groupings have been completely wiped off the political map.

... S. Africa

(continued from page 20)

tion—the unions and the community groups—complement each other. The latter groups stem from the existence of masses of unemployed and from youth outside the ranks of the unions.

But the unions have provided the organizing ability and power to make these ad-hoc actions most effective. Auto workers and mineworkers played an important role, for example, in publicizing and enforcing the consumer boycott of white-owned businesses that began in July.

The Transvaal coalition

The trade unions' ability to lead mass political action was tested by the two-day general strike in the Transvaal, which took place Nov. 5-6, 1984.

Planning for the action began in a meeting originally called by the Congress of South African Students at which a broad coalition of trade union, student, women's, and community groups was set up. Their demands included the withdrawal of police from the Black townships, the suspension of increases in rents and bus fares, the release of political prisoners, and the reinstatement of workers who had been fired.

About one million workers and students participated in the action—despite severe repression by the government. About 30 people were killed and hundreds were arrested. Close to 90 percent of the 6,500 Black workers in the SASOL gasoline refinery were fired for taking part in the strike.

In the words of Joe Foster, general secretary of the Federation of South African Trade Unionists (FOSATU), such repression has served only to

"inflame the situation a little more and increase the polarization" throughout the country.

"Liberated zones"

Some of the participants in the Transvaal strike came to rather one-sided conclusions, however.

Thami Mali, chairperson of the strike coalition and Soweto local leader of the



Milling workers on strike during 1950s.

United Democratic Front, told the *Rand Daily Mail*, "Our task is to intensify the resistance, to create an ungovernable situation, and to really force the state to declare certain regions or zones liberated."

It is doubtful that such a scenario—which brings to mind Vietnam, Nicaragua, and other predominately rural societies—will be decisive in industrial South Africa.

As Cyril Ramaphosa of the mine-workers points out, "If any change is to take place in the apartheid system, it is the working class that will have to be in the leadership." And, in South Africa, the power of the working class is concentrated in truly massive organizations—the trade unions.

The workers' organizations will have to undertake self-defense—ultimately by force of arms—as the political struggle deepens and pro-capitalist former "allies" fall away. But to be effective, self-defense must be an integral component of a strategy that seeks to mobilize the masses around their own interests.

The unions are stressing the issue of unemployment, for example, to reach out to the unemployed (white and Black) as well as to their own members. The metal industry has lost 80,000 jobs in the last three years. Motor-assembly plants have lost 30,000 jobs in 18 months.

The National Automobile and Allied Workers Union and the Metal and Allied Workers Union call for a 40-hour week with no loss of pay to help share the work with the unemployed.

Two stages?

The National Forum, a mass coalition that began in 1983, states in its manifesto: "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."

Such ideas have engendered controversy among the leaderships of some anti-apartheid organizations. "Here we see an attempt to impose working-class leadership," the South African Commu-

The extent of U.S. capital investment and direct military aid to the Evren dictatorship has increased considerably, while the share of European capital is in steady decline.

The Turkish ruling class has ventured into the shaky Middle East and North African market as an exporter of goods and capital. Iran and Iraq are the two major importers of Turkish goods.

The IMF

But the radical change in the Turkish economy has already brought certain difficulties. The number of businesses and banks that have been bailed out by the government is extremely high. The availability of long-and short-term credit will only help the government postpone the problem. Enter the IMF.

The program of the new military regime fits neatly within the dictates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Its program calls for an end to deficit spending, the institution of price and wage controls, an end to subsidies to state-run enterprises, and a 33-percent devaluation of the currency.

With these goals, the IMF, in June of 1980, released 625 percent of Turkey's quota of IMF funds. Along with this, a ceiling was placed on interest rates to encourage "private initiative and more efficient industry."

The government said it needed to "stabilize the economy and discipline the working class." This, of course, is the bosses' language for unemployment, speed-up, and government cutbacks for the workers and peasants.

And to accomplish these goals, the ruling class used the military and state-sponsored terrorism.

The U.S. government's role in supporting the Turkish military has been financial as well as political. A "Memorandum of Understanding" between Turkey and the United States states that "you can't pick a better place than Turkey for defending the Persian Gulf."

And to this end, the United States has increased military aid to the Turkish military dictatorship from \$402.7 million to \$759 million. This has enabled the Turkish government to increase repression and safeguard capitalism in the Middle East. ■

nist Party (SACP) writes in reply to the National Forum. "The attempt to merge the working-class struggle with the national-liberation struggle is sectarianism par excellence."

"According to this sectarian view," the SACP continues, "the stages of our revolution are negated and the working class is being mobilized, not to spearhead the struggle for national liberation against national oppression, but to spearhead the struggle for a 'Socialist Azania.'"

Actions like last year's general strike in the Transvaal demonstrate how the trade unions and other organizations of the working class can embrace and lead the struggle for democratic rights and Black majority rule. But Black people will only achieve full national liberation through the struggle for socialism.

Socialism is not simply the nationalization of banks and factories. Socialism will be built in South Africa after Black workers (and white workers who support their struggle) take power into their own hands.

Liberal capitalists, although they may speak of "power sharing" today, will turn against a mass mobilization that endangers their profits. The Communist Party's illusionary goal of a non-socialist "national-liberation stage" will do nothing to halt the capitalists from undertaking counterrevolutionary activities.

The idea of socialism will become more understandable to Black and white South African workers as they participate in organizations that come out of the struggle. Leaders of FOSATU have put forth the idea of building a labor party based on the trade unions. And the National Forum has called for a constituent assembly around the demand for "one person, one vote." ■



Bulgarian-KGB plot to kill pope?

Agca trial misfires in targeting KGB plot

By PAUL SIEGEL

Right-wing propagandists, including those in the Reagan administration, indeed the Great Communicator himself, have periodically intimated that there is a terror international directed by the Soviet government.

Confusing the actions of frustrated groups isolated from the masses with the struggles for national liberation of mass movements, and ascribing both to this mythical terror international, they have at the same time ignored the state terrorism practiced by the U.S. government and its surrogates in Nicaragua and elsewhere.

A central role in the propaganda campaign about a Soviet-inspired terror network was to have been played by the trial of Ali Agca, the attempted assassin of the pope. But this has now collapsed.

The trial of Ali Agca was billed in advance by the American media, furnished with material by disinformation centers in Washington and Rome, as a great drama—"The Evil Empire's Foiled Murder of the Vicar of Christ"—combining the features of a modern morality play and of, as NBC-TV put it, "a classic thriller" that would reveal "a super-secret conspiracy linking the Bulgarian secret service, the Turkish Mafia, and the Russian KGB."

Instead, however, it has turned out to be a farce in the manner of Pirandello's famous "Six Characters in Search of an Author." In view of Agca's continual changes of his story about the supposed Bulgarian-KGB plot against the pope each time his statements have been exposed as inventions, this new Italian farce might be called a "A Character in Search of a Plot."

Despite some hilarious moments, however, such as Agca's announcement that he is Jesus Christ and his inviting Reagan to witness his skill in resurrecting the dead, presumably because of Reagan's belief in Armageddon and the Second Coming, the trial is too slow-paced to be successful even as a farce.

What William Safire, the right-wing columnist of *The New York Times*, predicted would be "the trial of the century" is now dragging along and being covered only sporadically by the *Times* in stories of three or four sentences.

N.Y. Times gives up

The *Times*' own editorial comment (Aug. 15) is "Why should anyone care what Mr. Agca says? There is no credible independent corroboration of his claim that he was recruited by Bulgarian and Soviet secret police to eliminate a troublesome Polish pope." But this isn't what it said before.

It gave its front page to Claire Sterling, one of the chief theorists of the "Bulgarian connection," who asserted that the devoted and dogged investigating magistrate, Judge Martella, had found considerable corroboration for Agca's story, which she described at length.

Earlier it had almost daily news stories bearing such headlines as "The Attack on the Pope: New Link to Bulgarians," and had an editorial entitled "Trail to Bulgaria" (June 21, 1984) that stated, "Bulgaria's vehement denials of links with Mr. Agca do not square with his detailed accounts of meetings with Bulgarian agents in Sofia and Rome."

But, alas, Martella's corroboration has not stood up in court. As the *Times* courtroom reporter, John Tagliaube stated

(Aug. 6, 1985), "Faced with a lack of hard evidence to back up Mr. Agca's statements, the prosecutor, Mr. Marini, has embarked on an odyssey to several European countries in

"The evidence strongly indicates that he was acting in behalf of a fascistic Turkish organization."

search of further evidence from Turks whom Mr. Agca has named in the course of his testimony."

This search for evidence, however, as the *Times* editorial wearily admitted, has not come forth with anything credible.

The *Times* weakly sought to absolve itself of responsibility in the buildup of the trial by saying that Agca's account "was sufficiently convincing to justify the trial." This is not at all true.

In a 35-page pre-trial article, "The 'Bulgarian Connection' Revisited," in the Spring 1985 issue of *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (No. 23), a quarterly magazine published by ex-CIA people opposed to U.S. government foreign policy, Frank Brodhead, Howard Friel, and Edward S. Herman thoroughly exploded the prosecutor's case.

"Bulgarian connection" disconnected

Among the documented assertions they made, which were later further corroborated in the trial, were the following. Agca was described by Turkish journalists who had covered the trial in which he was convicted of having assassinated a liberal editor as mentally unbalanced

and suffering from "delusions of self-grandeur."

The evidence strongly indicates that in attempting to assassinate the pope he was acting in behalf of the Gray Wolves, an ultra-nationalistic, fascistic Turkish organization.

He wrote a letter to the slain editor's paper threatening to kill the pope if he visited Turkey at a time before Solidarity was even in existence. The *Times* editorial which threw in the sponge on the theory of the Bulgarian connection, to whose reputability it had contributed greatly, belatedly referred to this letter in acknowledging that the trial "has given weight" to the idea that "the roots of this plot were in Turkey," not Bulgaria.

"The 'Bulgarian Connection' Revisited" also pointed out that Agca had changed his story in pre-trial testimony literally hundreds of times, his ever-shifting story often being adjusted to take into account new facts brought up by the Italian press and TV, to which he had access. The same point was made about his shifting testimony in the trial by Tagliaube.

Moreover, the article reported that the Italian defense minister stated in Parliament that Agca had been visited by members of the Italian intelligence services before he was seen by the investigating magistrate, that the Italian press gave further details about these visits, and that there is a good deal of evidence that coaching took place.

During the trial, the chief witness for the state in a trial against the Mafia asserted in the Italian magazine *L'Espresso* that the deputy chief of military intelligence (SISMI),

it by Claire Sterling. He then sold his material to NBC-News, *Newsweek*, and *The New York Times*, and wrote an article himself for *The Wall Street Journal*.

"Having helped generate the Connection," conclude Brodhead, Friel, and Sherman, "Henze was then used by the media to confirm the truth of the plot. . . . While he was acting the role of expert and reporter, the U.S. media almost never mentioned his former CIA connection."

Another key figure was Michael Ledeen. Ledeen worked as a journalist for a right-wing Italian newspaper and was closely associated with Francesco Pazienza, an intelligence official with connections to General Santovito, the head of SISMI.

Santovito was subsequently forced to resign when he was found to be a member of a secret right-wing organization. A few days after the pope was wounded, SISMI put out a story that the attempted assassination was hatched by the Russian defense minister.

Ledeen became a senior fellow at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, a right-wing think tank with many connections to the Reagan administration. This think tank put out a report entitled "The Papal Assassination Attempt: A Case of State-Sponsored Terrorism" which assumed Russian involvement and concluded that there should be an "organized effort on the part of the U.S. government to develop as much credibility and access to information about the case as is needed to generate a political attitude."

The working group that produced the report included Henze, Brzezinski, Marvin Kalb, the author of the widely-publicized NBC-TV program on the "super-secret conspiracy," and such luminaries as Max Kampelman, the chief American arms negotiator at Geneva.

Media culpability

The American media, were, therefore, the victims of a right-wing campaign—if "victims" is the right word for those so ready to go along with it. The thesis of this campaign was obviously implausible, for it called on the Soviet government to undergo a tremendous risk for what would have been of extremely dubious benefit.

The assassination of the pope, with even the slightest suspicion of Russian involvement, would have plunged Poland into turmoil. The church has traditionally been a vehicle for national feeling against Russia, but it has a working relationship with the Polish state where it functions, as the *Times* stated (Oct. 31, 1979), "as something of a loyal opposition, pressing its demands but cooperating in times of crisis."

In the atmosphere of the new Cold War, however, the media did not pay attention to such considerations. Just as it had regarded the accusations of Cuba that the CIA was seeking to assassinate Castro as the raving of lunatics, until the accusations were confirmed by a Senatorial committee, it now regarded seriously the raving of a real lunatic. ■

One cause of cancer may be blowing in the wind

Cancer is a preventable disease. I say this despite the data I reported last month, which indicated an increase in cancer incidence and mortality.

The cancer death toll is now over 430,000 deaths per year. It is now the leading cause of death in the United States. Although hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent to develop cures for various cancers, success has been limited.

What is being done to prevent cancer? The answer is—very little. Experts seem to be divided on the role of pollution and other environmental factors in causing cancer, and manufacturers' associations and trade groups are quick to exploit such divisions.

Common sense tells us that living downwind from an oil refinery is hazardous to your health. But isn't that "unscientific?" We need hard evidence. Fortunately the real weight of evidence is overwhelming; it is our manipulated

106.2 cases per 100,000 population in the period studied. But remote from petrochemical plants and the winds from them, Presidio, Texas, had a rate of only 13.3 cases per 100,000 during the same time interval.

Methodological shortcomings

Did this new data initiate a move toward greater regulation of atmospheric pollution? No! The initial responses were largely confined to the methodological shortcomings of the study. Unfortunately, there is little interest or funding for the more rigorous epidemiological studies. After all, definitive data might make a strong case for regulation.

Current efforts have attempted to identify specific ingredients in petrochemical emissions that may be carcinogenic. This completely ignores the human reality. We are exposed to a mixture of chemicals, some of which may not be directly carcinogenic, but "promote" or activate others.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has used these distinctions to limit investigation and regulation. The EPA tried to separately consider "mutagens" that alter the chromosomes of cells, and "epigenetic substances," which are involved in cancer causation, but do not alter genetic material.

Public pressure forced the EPA to retreat from this false distinction, but

foot-dragging is still the rule. Recently, the EPA announced the creation of an "intention to list" list. Under this designation, it can take four years before a final regulatory standard goes into effect.

Epidemiological methods

Epidemiological studies fall into two broad categories: "prospective or follow-up" studies and "retrospective or case-control" studies.

In a "prospective" study, a group of people of similar ages are followed by interview and questionnaire for a number of years. Careful records of occupation, lifestyle, health history and cause of death are maintained. From this information, mortality ratios for different categories can be calculated.

Because such studies take many years to complete, often a "retrospective" study is used. People with a given disease (the cases) are identified and matched with people who do not have the disease (the controls). Both groups are given the same interviews and questionnaires. Differences between the groups are then used to calculate risk factors for the different categories.

Unfortunately, both types of studies are very expensive. So we are hampered by the lack of controlled data as well. As B.J. Steigerwald of the EPA said, "Major epidemiological studies don't seem to be in the cards." This is not surprising given the billions of dollars in profits that would be lost by major polluters if they were held accountable for the human misery they create.

Further evidence that points to environmental causes of cancer is detailed by Samuel Epstein, in "The Politics of Cancer."

Certain countries have low or background rates of incidence for certain cancers. Cancer of the mouth is very rare in the United States, but it is up to 35 times more common in countries where betel nut is regularly chewed.

In Japan, the incidence of colon and rectal cancer is low due to the large amount of fiber consumed, but stomach cancer is widespread, probably due to the extensive use of charcoal broiling. In the United States, the incidence rates are reversed. When Japanese immigrant families are studied in the United States, a change to the general American pattern appears quickly, often in a generation.

Enough data has been amassed to



lead a sub-agency of the United Nations World Health Organization to estimate that 70 percent to 90 percent of all cancers are due to environmental causes! Cancer is the only major fatal disease in the industrialized world whose incidence is *sharply* rising, according to Epstein.

Rese arch has demonstrated that there is no safe level of exposure to carcinogens. No matter how low the level, measurable health effects occur if the exposure persists. Many carcinogens are concentrated in body tissues as well, raising the effective exposure levels.

In the face of hundreds of studies demonstrating an environmental link to cancer, industry groups practice denial and disinformation. The government agencies charged with protecting our health have lost sight of that responsibility. Regulation is slow and the process is often further delayed by legal action from giant corporations.

A dangerous and immoral trend is the growing reliance on *cost-benefit* analysis to determine which hazards should be regulated. This analysis measures *in dollars* the cost of eliminating a health risk versus the benefit to health.

Who determines the worth of human life? Cost-benefit analysis completely denies this worth and further reduces people to commodities. Commodities to be bought, sold, or *replaced* as needed by the corporations.

The question becomes one of value: What do we value more highly, human health and safety or corporate profit?

In spite of the gloomy statistics presented here, there is a real basis for optimism. If cancer is *not* an arbitrary killer that strikes randomly and without warning, we can control and limit it by reducing our exposure to carcinogens. The power rests with us to control the problem.

Author's note: I hope you have enjoyed the first two columns of "Hazardous to Your Health" as much as I have enjoyed researching and writing them.

I'm a research associate at the University of California, San Francisco. My knowledge in health promotion, epidemiology, environmental problems, and changing society is largely self-taught. Like everyone, I would like your feedback. Please write with questions or comments about past columns, suggestions for future ones, and your ideas on health. I'll respond to everything in some way.

"What do we value more -human health or corporate profit?"

perception that seems scanty.

This past July, a study was released that "turned up data that suggest a link between high rates of respiratory cancer and the locations of petrochemical plants in 133 counties in 27 states east of the Rocky Mountains" (*New York Times* July 22, 1985).

The study compared the incidence of respiratory cancers upwind versus downwind and near versus far from petrochemical plants. According to the study, "almost all counties with high incidence rates had plants nearby or were downwind of such plants."

For example, Chamber County, Texas, had a respiratory cancer rate of



Too many doctors?

By KIM B. MALLET

Because I have no Kaiser card and no family doctor, I go to the Berkeley Free Clinic for general health care. I spend a lot of time making sure that I have flossed my teeth, or done enough exercise, or inserted a diaphragm, so that if I do become sick, it won't be because of something I've neglected.

But I suppose the day will come when I will be flat on my back with no way to pay for getting better. These days, since I have very little money, it is a prominent concern of mine.

It amazes me that while my money is tight, and while the wages of many American workers are meager, nurses, medical aids, and doctors in Nicaragua are in danger every day of being killed by the *contras*. I'm amazed, because

"Reagan's cubs," as they call themselves, get money to continue their war from the U.S. government.

Why is there always so little money to protect people's health and yet so much money to kill people? This money should be used for more worthy causes, like setting up grants and scholarships to enable Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans to attend medical school.

Once upon a time, I had a little dream of becoming an obstetrician/gynecologist. But it was a fallen dream. I had all the cards stacked against me: At the time, about 10 years ago, only 17 percent of the medical students were women, and only 8 percent were Black. And prospective students from low-income families were shut out.

I doubt things are much better today. I asked myself why this was so. Then

I learned that in 1907, the American Medical Association (AMA) asked the Carnegie Foundation to survey all medical schools. The man who did the research was Abraham Flexner, the brother of Simon Flexner, head of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. The AMA felt there were too many doctors in the United States. In 1910 Flexner concluded the same thing.

The Flexner Report recommended that in order to lessen the number of doctors, medical education must be made inaccessible. Close the women's medical schools. Close five of the seven medical schools for Blacks. Make the tuition very expensive.

It all sounded too familiar.

But feeling sad about a lost dream is only part of the story. It soon hit me that I should do something about this situation. I realized that I would have to join the struggle to change the system so that medicine would no longer serve profit, but would heal the people.

Profit drive ravages health care system

By HAYDEN PERRY

The Wall Street Journal reports the case of an elderly woman who bought almost 50 health insurance policies at a cost of \$14,000 in premiums because she did not want to be a burden on her family as her health failed.

For the final year of her life she was confined to a nursing home. Not one of the insurance companies that took her money would pay the \$1000 a month the nursing home charged.

There was nothing illegal in this. The poor woman had failed to read the fine print and the exclusions that made her policies almost worthless.

Fine print and exclusions determine the true worth of an insurance policy. They also determine the true quality of the medical system in the United States—which has been described as “the finest in the world.”

Massive hospital buildings, electronic gadgetry, and techniques to replace kidneys and hearts may lead an observer to believe health care in this country is the best obtainable. But the medical system's own “exclusionary clause” declares that first-class health care is available only to those who can afford it.

An index of the quality of a nation's health system is found in its table of life expectancy and its infant mortality rate. Males in the United States stand 18th in the world in life expectancy—slightly behind most Western European countries.

Fourteen nations do better than the United States in saving babies at birth. Last year about 11 babies died prematurely for every 1000 births. This compares with Sweden, where in 1978 only 7.7 died. For Blacks in Mississippi, the chances of a healthy delivery are bleaker; in 1967 about 45 babies died for every 1000 births.

Sara Rosenbaum of the Children's

Defense Fund said, “In America babies are dying because of infectious diseases, poor nutrition, and lack of basic medical care.”

A shortage of doctors

U.S. society is entangled in a contradiction. Minimum education is a recognized right of every child and an obligation of the state. But the even more basic right to health—which ultimately means life itself—is left to a health care system fueled by the profit motive.

Because of the profit motive people are denied the most basic element of a health care system—an adequate supply of doctors to treat the sick. The Department of Labor has estimated that the nation needs 14,000 new doctors a year. Medical schools graduate only 8000.

Proposals in Congress to expand the medical schools have been bitterly opposed by the American Medical Association (AMA), the doctors' job trust.

They want to keep the supply of doctors down and their income up.

Part of the doctor shortage is met by about 2000 foreign doctors who come to study and stay to practice in the United States. Here the wealthiest country in the world is taking doctors from the poorest.

(Compare this with Cuba which is training enough doctors for their own needs, and enough to lend medical assistance to numerous underdeveloped countries.)

The supply of doctors is not spread evenly across the United States but is concentrated in the affluent communi-

ties where well-equipped hospitals and well-to-do patients are located.

Physicians have deserted the slum areas of the cities. In 1930 the East Garfield Park section of Chicago had 212 doctors. In 1970 there were only 13 left to serve 63,000 poor patients. Rural communities fare even worse. Close to 5000 small towns with a half-million inhabitants do not have a single physician to serve them.

Hospitals for profit

Historically hospitals have been charitable institutions run by religious orders. Later community hospitals were founded by non-profit organizations to meet local needs. They charged the patients who could pay but treated many indigent patients for nothing.

When hospital care consisted mainly of good nursing and simple medications, costs were reasonable. Philan-

“First-class health care is available only to those who can afford it.”

thropy and community chest funds helped the community hospital to break even—which is all the non-profit hospital expected to do.

Then came the great technological revolution in medical science. New drugs that could wipe out many killer diseases and new electronic machines for diagnosis and cure have transformed the hospital into a very complex and expensive institution.

With such breakthroughs in medical science, people should be enjoying the best health ever. Instead we are facing a health care crisis that is bankrupting the middle class and reducing the poor to despair.

This is because the drug industry and medical-supply houses put profits before delivery of health care. Like the military/industrial complex that profits from the government's imperialist policies, a medical/industrial complex (MIC) has been developed to coordinate the economic interests of doctors, hospitals, druggists, and the medical-supply industry.

Drug companies ignore AIDS

Profits alone determine the research policies of the drug industry. The nation is in the grip of a near panic over the AIDS epidemic. Cries for help are rising from all over the nation.

Yet not a single major drug company is researching for a drug or vaccine to fight this disease. There is greater profit in developing some variations of valium since the patent rights have just run out and there is a multimillion-dollar market waiting to be exploited.

Manufacturers of radiographic scanners and kidney dialysis machines have found a new world of profit in the sickness industry. They have found that hospitals can be profitable if you charge all the traffic will bear.

Sixty percent of the U.S. population has some sort of health insurance. This guarantees doctors and hospitals a minimum payment. Above that they can charge the patient whatever they think they can get.

“What do you think your right arm is worth to you?” they will frequently ask a complaining patient.

Federal and state funds from Medicare and Medicaid is another pool of cash the medical profiteers can tap. Conglomerates have been buying up community hospitals and nursing homes



‘How sick may I get for \$537?’

to run them strictly for profit. This means no more charity patients, every aspect of the institution must contribute to its profitability.

The first diagnosis of an emergency patient brought into the hospital is his financial health. If he has no insurance he is shipped as fast as possible to the nearest county hospital—the place of last resort for the indigent sick.

The commercial hospitals are so anxious to get rid of these unprofitable patients they sometimes send them out with plasma bottles and needles attached to their arms.

Elderly prey to costs

A sick person with a Blue Cross card would be admitted to a hospital, but would not be immune to shock when receiving his or her share of the bill. While Blue Cross talks of covering 80 percent of the average bill, exclusions and unexpected co-payments often leave the patient thousands of dollars in debt.

The elderly who are supposed to be enjoying socialized medicine under Medicare are the most vulnerable to high medical costs. They pay the first \$400 for a hospital stay plus whatever charges the doctor and hospital adds on to their payment from the government.

To bridge the gap in coverage the average retired person has to pay \$40 a month for additional commercial insurance. This is out of an average Social Security income of \$450 a month.

From the Black baby who is denied a fair chance of a healthy life to the aged who live in dread of the financial burden of inevitable sickness, the U.S. medical system is robbing the poor of their inalienable right to health and the longest life possible. ■

Closing the door on the poor

At best county hospitals are dreary places where patients sit for hours to obtain an interview with a doctor. At a time when county hospitals are flooded with poor patients, state and federal funds are being cut. The result is tremendous overcrowding and a serious deterioration of conditions.

In one week recently three county hospitals in the San Francisco area were declared to be in violation of minimum standards of health care. The response of hospitals to such criticism has been to close whole departments.

Hospitals have closed 15 out of 21 emergency treatment stations in highly populated West Contra Costa County (across the bay from San Francisco). Another hospital in the county is asking state officials for permission to refuse “desperately injured” emergency patients.

Earlier this year a Contra Costa man waited in a hospital emergency room for four hours while doctors tried in vain to find a neurosurgeon to operate. He was finally transferred to the county hospital in San Francisco, but died two days later—H.P. ■



Crowded hallway at San Francisco General Hospital. Overcrowding is common in county hospitals.

Hospitals pout over lost profits

Medical researchers warned last month that cuts in Medicare ordered by the federal government may force some hospitals to reduce care or refuse admission to many elderly patients.

Dr. Eric Munoz and colleagues at the Long Island Jewish Medical Center charged that the new “prospective pay system,” under which hospitals receive a fixed fee according to the type of ailment treated, does not adequately consider the increased cost of emergency treatment or caring for more severely ill patients.

“It used to be a Medicare person would walk into the emergency room and bring \$20,000 with them,” Munoz stated in the Oct. 4 *Journal of the American Medical Association*.

Under the present system, he continued, “They’re costing the same \$20,000 but Medicare is only reimbursing the hospital \$10,000. So [the hospital] just lost 10 G’s and they’re not too happy about it.” ■

New book on ascent of flight attendants union

By JAYNE BURRIER

From Sky Girl to Flight Attendant: Women and the Making of a Union, by Georgia Panter Nielsen. ILR Press, 1982, 160 pp.

The years 1945 and 1946 witnessed the largest labor upsurge in American history. More than 8 million workers engaged in almost 10,000 recorded work stoppages during those two years. Soldiers returning home from the war found that they faced the same situation they had left—unemployment and poverty. Employers, on the other hand, had grown fat from war profiteering.

This was also a time when the commercial airline industry was coming into its own. And with it came efforts to organize the workers in this booming industry. Georgia Nielsen's book *From Skygirl to Flight Attendant* tells the story of how flight attendants organized their union during the renewed labor activity following the war. She traces the history of the Association of Flight Attendants (and its predecessors) up through the 1980s.

The occupation of flight attendant only came into existence in 1930. One has to remember that in-flight service, such as it was, was initially considered the job of a man, usually the copilot.

There was a great deal of opposition, in fact, to hiring women. Nielsen tells us that it was Ellen Church, who originally aspired to be a copilot, who initiated the idea of "sky girls" at Boeing Air Transport, one of four predecessors of United Airlines.

Many obstacles for women

Ada J. Brown, a United Airlines stewardess, is credited with organizing the first union for stewardesses in 1945. The obstacles to organizing were, of course, great. The women worked long hours for little pay and the no-marriage rule guaranteed a high turnover in personnel.

The prevailing social view of women at the time was that their primary role in life was as a wife and mother. A job as a flight attendant was often looked at as simply an exciting and glamorous interlude



Advertisement photo from 1950s

before settling down to their "real" calling in the home.

Despite the difficulties, Brown's organizing efforts paid off, and the Air Line Stewardesses Association (ALSA) was established on Aug. 22, 1945.

Nielsen claims there was no antiunion campaign by management at United Airlines. She credits United's President William A. Patterson with being a benevolent man truly interested in the welfare of the workers. She goes so far as to refer to a source who said that an antiunion campaign would have "greatly offended" Patterson.

This is misleading. Mr. Patterson would have

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been much more offended by the loss of profits a prolonged strike would have caused. No doubt, too, the widespread labor unrest after the war had something to do with his decision to recognize the union. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the union was organized on the back of the great organizing efforts of the 1930s, when millions of workers joined the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

For flight attendants the union has come to mean more than providing economic protection. Flight attendants have faced discrimination on the basis of sex, age, race, appearance, weight, and marital status. The women's liberation movement, however, has had a profound impact in giving women flight attendants confidence to fight against demeaning treatment and be treated as the professionals they are.

That has meant fighting for the right to marry and keep their job. It has meant fighting for the right to grow old and keep one's job. And as a side benefit, the women's movement has helped open up flight attendant jobs to men.

What is "women's work?"

The changing attitudes about who is qualified to be a flight attendant provide some interesting insights into the superficiality of sexual stereotypes. At first the idea of women working on aircraft was considered shocking. Could women do the work? Was it possible?

But years later, after women as flight attendants became the norm, a Mr. Diaz applied for a job as a flight attendant for Pan Am and was turned down because he was male. In the ensuing court case, Pan Am brought in "expert" psychiatric testimony where it was explained that male flight attendants would pose a threat to the masculinity of male passengers. The court ruled against Diaz, pointing out also that at 30 years of age he was too old. But the case was appealed and the ruling overturned.

Nielsen's history of the flight attendants' union, and especially its sometimes difficult relations in the past with the pilots' union, reminds us not only of the difficulties that the union has had to contend with in organizing a predominantly female union. It reminds us also how much things have changed as we today witness a new sense of union solidarity taking root among all airline employees. ■

A kiss of originality in 'Spiderwoman' tale

By PAUL SIEGEL

The Kiss of the Spiderwoman, released by Island Alive, 1985.

"The Kiss of the Spiderwoman" is a superb film. Based on a novel by the Argentinian writer Manuel Puig, directed by Hector Babenco (the director of the excellent Brazilian film "Pixote"), and beautifully acted by Raul Julia and William Hurt, it is both original and profound.

Two men, a revolutionist and a homosexual, share a prison cell of the Brazilian dictatorship. Molina, the homosexual, cares nothing about politics. He is solely concerned with escaping from utter loneliness by finding a man whom he can love and who can love him.

Valentin, the revolutionist, on the other hand, gave up a beautiful, intelligent, upper-class woman with whom he was in love, because he would not forsake the movement.

To while away the time, Molina narrates and acts out one of the Nazi propaganda films exported to Latin America during World War II. In it a sultry French cabaret singer falls in love with a Nazi intelligence officer opposing the Resistance.

Through him the singer learns of the nobleness of the Nazi cause—which is seeking to build a new order that will rectify the world's wrongs. This film within a film, needless to say, is as absurdly false in its staginess as in its

politics.

For Molina, however, it is significant as a melodramatic story of love. He identifies with the heroine in her passion for the handsome, blond Nazi officer.

Valentin indignantly asks if Molina doesn't know that the Nazis gassed homosexuals. "Of course," replies Molina. "I'm not that dumb a broad." The reply reveals both his self-centeredness and his self-contempt.

Valentin tells him that his escaping into fantasy makes his life as trivial as the movies of which he is fond. For Molina, however, Valentin's vision of a distant revolution is itself fantasy and his self-denial for the sake of this revolution is folly.

"A real man"

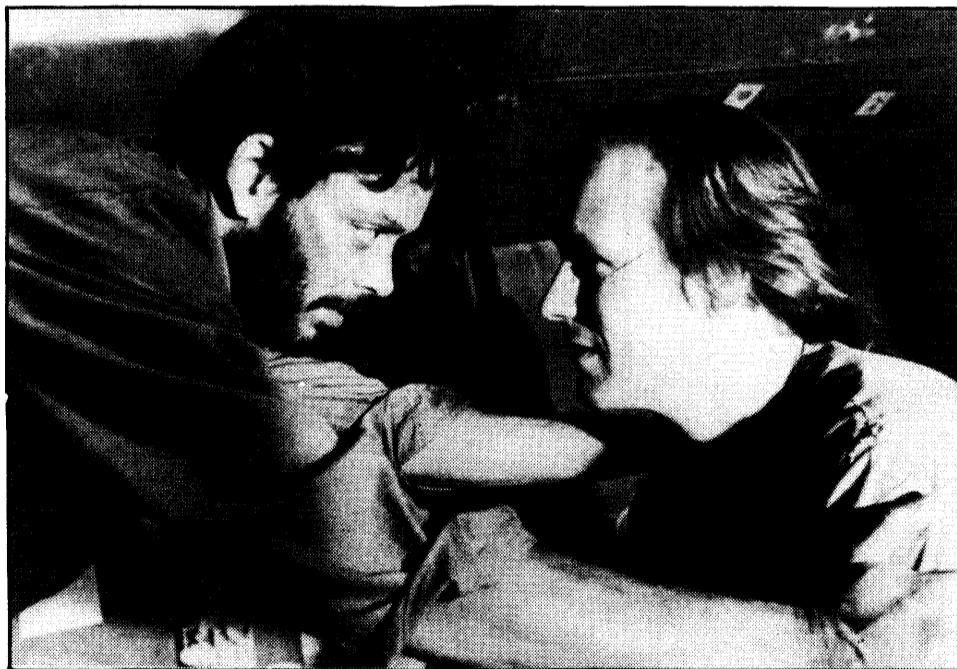
Each, however, affects the other. Molina, coming to appreciate Valentin's nobility, falls in love with him. All of his life he has been searching for a "real man."

When Valentin defines a "real man" as one who won't accept indignities from those who are powerful and who won't inflict indignities on those less fortunate than he, Molina—accustomed to the scorn of others—finds his "real man" in Valentin.

Valentin is touched by Molina's kindness to him in his illness. He comes to be more understanding of him and also to face up to his own suppressed desires to give up the fight.

Valentin says that his lover was right when she asked him to desert the movement. But, he asks, how could he have

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Raul Julia (left) and William Hurt (right) star in Hector Babenco's "Kiss of the Spiderwoman."

done so when his friends were being captured every day? What for others would be reason to desert is for him—in his unassuming heroism—reason to stay.

Valentin resembles the stereotyped Resistance fighters of the Nazi propaganda film that Molina describes. But he is a real human being.

The ring of truth

"The Kiss of the Spiderwoman" has a remarkable authenticity that contrasts with the film contained within it. It does have a number of unobtrusive parallels, however.

At the conclusion Molina, on being released from prison, obeys Valentin's

request that he convey information to the underground. Like the cabaret singer in the Nazi film—and characters in a thousand melodramas—he has been redeemed by love. But this is a redemption that has the ring of truth.

Valentin, badly battered by his jailers, is given a shot of morphine by a prison doctor. He drifts off into a morphine dream—or perhaps it is the last gleam of consciousness before death—in which his lover opens the prison doors.

They escape together to the exotic island locale of the spiderwoman of whom Molina had told him in one of his fantastic narratives. This is the only kind of escape from the struggle he can have. ■

Bewildered

Dear editor,

Your article "Fidel Castro and the Latin American Debt" I thought involved a fair amount of distortion of the Cuban position on this question.

You quote Cuban CP leader Ruiz-Soto saying, "It is a historical reality that sectors of the national bourgeoisie in Latin America, due to their contradictions with imperialism, are adopting positions which converge with those of the proletariat, the peasantry, and other non-capitalist sectors in the anti-imperialist struggle and for the conquest of economic independence and complete national sovereignty."

You then jump to the conclusion that this means unity with the national bourgeoisie and "These formations necessarily subordinate the interests of the workers and peasants to the needs of the national capitalists." I find that a rather peculiar conclusion to derive from Ruiz-Soto's statement.

Later you mention Castro's call for a debtors' cartel of Latin American nations. Then you say, "But for the call to cancel the debt to genuinely serve as a lever to move the workers and peasants forward on a revolutionary course, it must break out of the 'two-stage' framework" that you infer Castro puts on it (as part of his reformist course?)

I am really quite bewildered how you reason that a debtor's cartel is reformist, and particularly how you pulled out of a hat the idea that Castro supports a two-stage theory of revolution.

It is hard not to regard this as deliberate distortions of Cuba's positions.

Stansfield Smith,
Chicago

Dear Stansfield Smith,

In the September article—and in other articles on Cuba published in the February 1985 and July 1985 issues of *Socialist Action*—Fidel's views on Latin America are quoted extensively. Fidel states explicitly that socialist revolution is not on the agenda in the continent and that what is needed is a democratic revolution that can bring about the development of these underdeveloped nations. Is this not a "two-stage" theory of revolution?

The article highlighted the progressive and revolutionary character of Fidel's initiatives

on the debt question, while pointing to the dangers of linking the call to cancel the debt to the call for a "new international economic order" based on the 1974 United Nations resolution. Why this danger?

The 1974 U.N. resolution, which has been endorsed by the majority of capitalist governments in the underdeveloped world, seeks to improve the terms of trade between "rich" and "poor" nations. It also seeks to secure a more "just, equitable, and rational" use of the resources of the underdeveloped nations.

But it attempts to do all this while safeguarding the right of capitalist expansion in the Third World and the right of the multinational corporations to continue plundering the resources of these nations.

Is it possible for there to be a "new international economic order" as long as the imperialist banks, corporations, and states can continue to accumulate capital in these countries? In the age of imperialism, as Lenin clearly pointed out, this is impossible.

The various capitalist governments in Latin America have demonstrated their unwillingness and inability to sever their ties with U.S. imperialism. They will attempt to put pressure on the imperialists for better terms of trade, or for a renegotiation or even a moratorium on the foreign debt. At the same time, though, they will demand austerity and "social pacts" from the workers to help them weather the crisis.

The workers and oppressed in Latin America cannot settle for anything less than the non-payment of the imperialist debt and a total break with the International Monetary Fund.

The workers and oppressed of Latin America need to strengthen their unity to advance their struggle against imperialist domination. The Oct. 23 Continental Day of Protest Against the Debt launched by the trade-union conference in Havana is an opportunity to mobilize millions of people in the streets not only against the debt, but against the austerity policies imposed by the IMF.

But to satisfy the demands put forward on Oct. 23, the workers and oppressed need their own independent political organizations. They cannot count on any wing of the capitalist class in their fight against the imperialist debt. They can only count on their own strength.

The call to cancel the debt



Filmmakers capture scene of Sharon Lockwood of the San Francisco Mime Troupe meeting a former steelworker backstage in "Troupers," a feature film about the Mime Troupe directed by Glenn Silber. The film is now available for booking from Icarus Films, 200 Park Ave. So, Rm. 319, New York, N.Y. 10003.

must therefore be linked to demands that mobilize the workers and peasants in defense of their own interests—not those of the national capitalists.

Such demands include the defense of the Nicaraguan revolution, the expropriation of imperialist industries, the distribution of land to the peasants, and an end to the austerity measures imposed by the IMF and the various capitalist governments of Latin America—**The editor.**

Donation

Dear editor,

I am enclosing a donation to the Socialist Action fund drive in memory of my grandfather, Jack Lesser, who died on Oct. 2 at the age of 95.

Jack Lesser was a socialist from the generation of working-class fighters directly inspired by the Russian revolution. He escaped from Russia before the revolution and settled in Philadelphia.

During the 1930s Lesser was active as a trade unionist and shop steward at R.C.A. Victor and was fired from his job for helping to lead a strike there. He remained a fighter to the end of his life.

M.S.
San Francisco

Excluded

Dear editor,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter that I sent to the forum director of the Philadelphia branch of the SWP after I received a request for suggestions and comments about the party's forum series.

As a former party member and an active participant in the Philadelphia April Actions Coalition, I am concerned

about the party's exclusionary policy concerning attendance at their events, feeling that such methods work against the SWP's own intentions to build a revolutionary party in the United States.

I have also enclosed a check for a subscription to *Socialist Action*. Please credit my friends in the Boston branch for the sub sale.

Mike Pearlman,
Philadelphia

Dear Mike,

All expelled members of the SWP, including those of us in *Socialist Action*, have been excluded from the SWP forums and bookstores on the baseless charge that we have disrupted forums and that we have "claimed to speak in the name of the SWP in public."

These charges are outright slanders and are totally false. We repudiate the methods of disruption that have been used against the SWP. We have defended and will continue to defend the SWP against all forms of disruption.

Nor do we claim to be the SWP. We claim to represent the political continuity of the old SWP, which the SWP leadership today has thrown overboard. We seek to defend this continuity in our press and in our activity in the class struggle.

We are heartened to know that former party members are reading our paper. Please send us letters with your comments or criticisms of our articles. Or, better still, send us articles about the working-class struggles in Philadelphia—**The editor.**

Editor's clarification

In the article by Sean Flynn, "Is there a capitalist remedy for underdevelopment" (October *Socialist Action*), two formulations were added by the editor which, due to their brevity, could lend themselves to misleading interpretations.

Flynn's article sharply made the point that the Socialist Workers Party was taking one step further in embracing a "two-stage" theory of revolution by stating that the socialist revolution was impossible not only in Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), but in a series of other semicolonial countries as well.

Flynn also showed how a series of African petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes that claim to be "anti-imperialist," such as Mozambique, end up capitulating to imperialism because of their unwillingness to take the path of the socialist revolution.

The clause "rationalize the [Burkinabe] government's procapitalist policies" was added to Flynn's statement that "Jeness and Clark used the debate to draw sweeping conclusions bearing on revolutionary strategy..."

Jeness and Clark, two of the SWP "theoreticians," do not really discuss the policies of the Sankara government, except in very general terms. The debate here is on a more abstract theoretical plane.

The term "procapitalist," moreover, is usually used to refer to regimes that openly identify with capital. Obviously to the extent that the government does not abolish capitalism, it is procapitalist. But within this large category distinctions should be made. The Sankara government in Burkina Faso appears to be more akin to the Dergue in Ethiopia or the Samora Machel government in Mozambique, two regimes which Flynn takes up in his article.

Elsewhere, the term "temporary" was added to the statement that "some gains were won by the exploited" under nationalist regimes in the so-called Third World.

Again, it is obviously true that capitalist exploitation was not abolished by these regimes, that the workers and peasants were demobilized and often repressed, and that the distance taken by these governments from imperialism was "temporary."

Yet, what was left out of the picture with this one-word formulation was the fact that national independence from France, Britain, Italy, or Belgium—or the seizure of assets like the Suez Canal—were real gains that have not been washed away.

Moreover, the suppression of the landed aristocracy in Ethiopia or the large landowners in Egypt is a progressive conquest for many peasants. While there are many cases where the land is later given back to the old landowners (either directly or through the market mechanism), it is a task of the working-class movements in the semicolonial countries to defend the past gains by moving forward toward the establishment of governments that break with capitalist property relations—**The editor.**

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Black unions spell threat to apartheid

BLACK majority RULE

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

Delegates from 16 Black and non-racial unions in South Africa will meet this month to form a united "super-federation" representing over 500,000 workers.

The federation will be the most powerful working-class organization in South African history. It is the result of a number of—sometimes heated—"unity conferences" undertaken since the independent unions were allowed to register in 1979.

The largest single component of the new federation will be the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which has organized some 200,000 members and organized 18 major strikes in the three years since its formation.

NUM President Cyril Ramaphosa attributes the union's growth to the fact that "The workers understand that our union is prepared to fight to the end—and to win."

The unions have agreed that they will restructure themselves after unification into broad industrial unions representing workers in the mines, factories, transportation, and services throughout the country.

The federation's largest components are based in South Africa's most strategic industries—such as mining, metals,



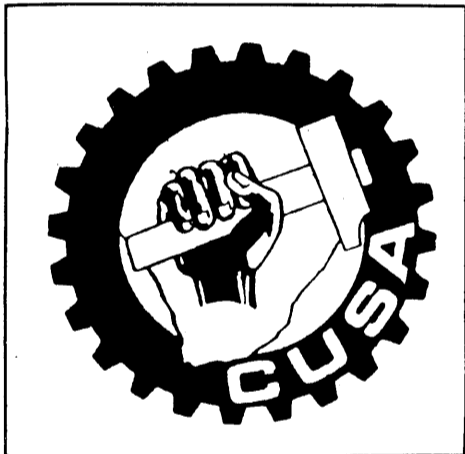
Thirty-eight leaders of the United Democratic Front, South Africa's largest anti-apartheid coalition, face a possible death sentence on charges of high treason. Trial opened on Oct. 21 for 16 of the defendants. Supporters of civil liberties must protest this show trial. We must redouble our efforts to secure their release from a murderous apartheid government that ignored world appeals and hanged Black South African poet Benjamin Moloise.

in construction, and 17 percent in the mines.

South Africa is a unique example of a highly industrialized capitalist society that owes its wealth and very existence to the extreme oppression and misery of its Black population. For that reason, labor struggles have steadily converged with activities against repression and around demands for democracy and national rights.

On many occasions during the past year, labor unions have joined ad-hoc coalitions with community associations that are concerned with specific problems such as housing, utility rates, and schools.

These two types of mass organization
(continued on page 14)



CUSA, the Council of Unions of South Africa, and FOSATU (below), the Federation of South African Trades Unions, are the two largest federations that will unify this month.

chemicals, textiles, automobiles, and food processing. These highly concentrated industries have become dependent on an increasingly skilled Black labor force in order to compete in the world market.

As a Black worker at General Motors commented, "Our strength is in the economy. We have the power to bring the economy to its knees."

Political action

The federation will play an important political role out of necessity. Black union leaders cannot pretend to bargain with the employer on "pure and simple" wage issues—as many of their counterparts attempt to do in the United States.

Low wages are the product and the goal of the government's system of quotas, pass laws, forced removal, and violence. Apartheid policy was summed up succinctly by a government deputy in parliament when he said: "A Black man in a white area is there only to sell his labor."

Thus, in 1981, although Black people made up 71 percent of the workforce, they only took home 29.4 percent of the total wages. Black workers received 22 percent of the wages of white workers employed in manufacturing, 18 percent

Botha offers 'one person, no vote'

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

Thousands of people were stirred to protest in 1983 when the government proposed elections for a new constitution that offered parliamentary representation for people of Indian and mixed-race descent.

Trade unionists and community activists went door to door urging a boycott of the elections. The government's offer of limited "power-sharing" was countered by calling for "one person, one vote." This slogan has increasingly become the rallying cry for the struggle in South Africa.

The importance of the "one person, one vote" slogan is underscored by none other than the editors of *Business Week*, who speak from the point of view of capitalists in the United States. "South Africa's fundamental struggle is not over apartheid but over who shall run the country," they warn.

The editors state with candor that "U.S. interests" require that the United States "be identified as supporting the

side that will eventually prevail: the side of Black political rights."

But *Business Week* gets to the heart of the matter when it points out that those same "U.S. interests" have seen their rate of return in South African financial investments tumble from an extraordinary 20 percent five years ago to only five percent today.

Last month U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz took his cue from the businessmen and proclaimed apartheid "doomed." He urged that the apartheid regime negotiate with recognized Black leaders—such as those of the African National Congress.

Otherwise, Shultz stated, the government could be overthrown by "violent revolution."

Shultz's warning left South African President P.W. Botha unmoved, however. The erstwhile "reformer" responded that a white backlash could erupt "if the international world pushes us too far."

Botha did concede, however, that Blacks might be permitted to manage some of "their own" affairs—like segregated housing and education. And he suggested that a few Blacks could even be admitted to a council in his private chambers to make "inquiries and proposals."

As for "one person, one vote," Botha informed *Business Week*, "It will lead to a socialist dictatorship in South Africa, and we are against it."

As the death toll in South Africa approaches 800 in the last year, Botha's government has shown that it will fight Black majority rule by any means it deems necessary—and that means unrestrained state terrorism.

Opponents of apartheid in this country must redouble our demands to end all U.S. support to the South African regime.

