

# A Socialist ACTION

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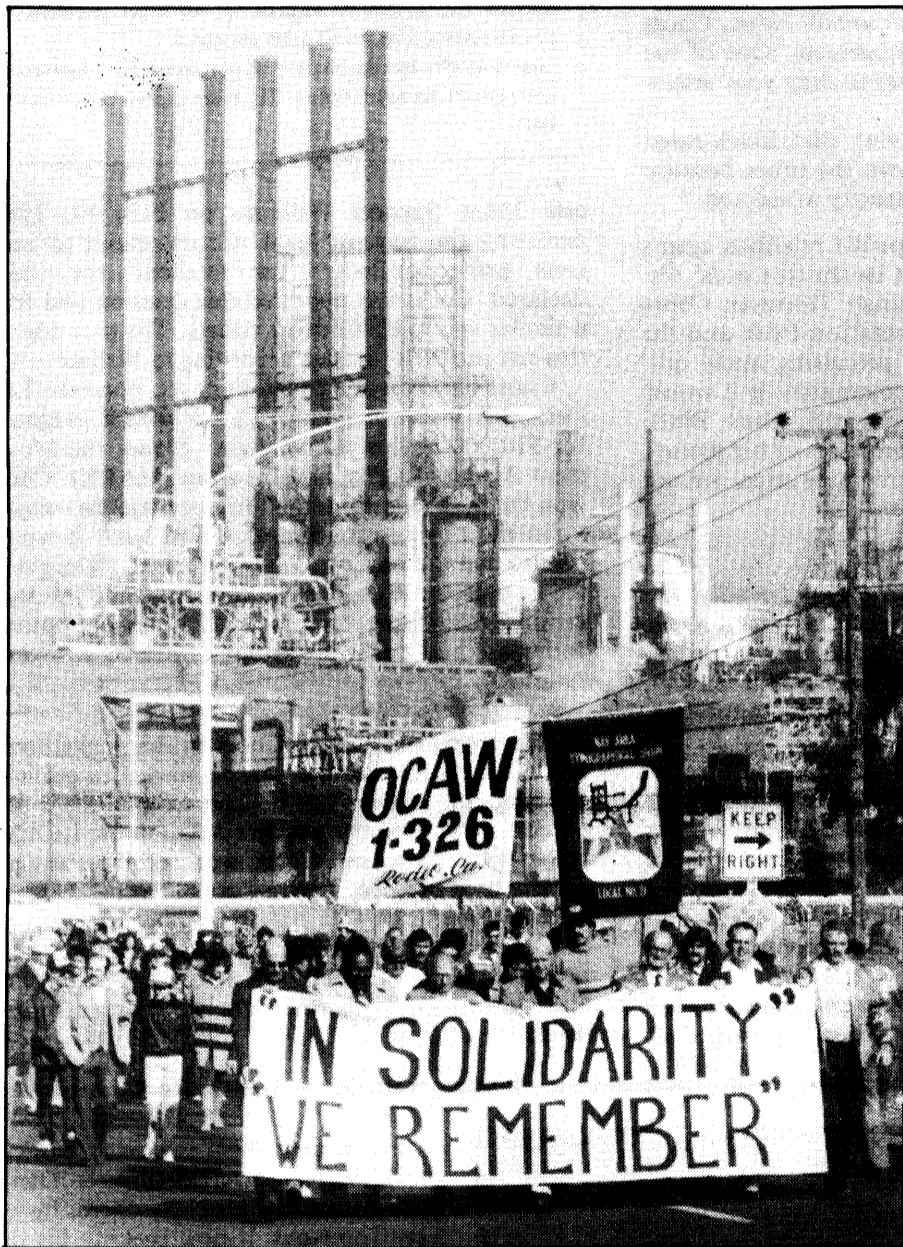
50 CENTS

Building April 20 actions



## Geneva summit: Talks mask arms buildup

### Labor on the march in 1985



Socialist Action/ Joe Ryan

Trade unionists march in Rodeo, Calif., on Jan. 19 to commemorate the death of a striker killed by scabs in January 1984. The Rodeo oil workers were among the many union locals who fought back against the employer offensive.

Last year the labor movement negotiated the lowest wage increases in 17 years. In 1985 contracts will come due for over 4 million workers. The labor solidarity demonstrated in the Rodeo strike and memorial indicates the way forward for working people this year. More on this story, see page 4.

By MARK HARRIS

Ronald Reagan was "pleased," Soviet leaders encouraged, and *The Wall Street Journal* heartened that the U.S.-Soviet Geneva summit on arms control signals a "watershed" whose result "could very well be a more secure world" (Jan. 2, 1985).

The smiles, of course, were bigger than the results. But whatever future deals may be reached, the start of new talks promises one thing for certain—the United States will continue to fortify its nuclear arsenal to guarantee a "more secure world," not for its inhabitants, as the *Journal* well knows, but for its cardinal concern—preserving the "free enterprise" system.

During the 1970s the United States and the Soviet Union concluded 10 arms-control agreements. During the same period the United States added 6056 nuclear weapons to its arsenal while the Soviets built an additional 3903 weapons. Today the United States builds five or six nuclear weapons every day in pursuit of a goal of 17,000 new nuclear weapons by 1992.

Eugene J. Carroll Jr., a retired rear admiral and deputy director of the Center for Defense Information, puts the fact bluntly: "Talks to talk about future talks will provide only a facade to cover the inexorable growth of nuclear arsenals" (*New York Times*, Jan. 8, 1985).

#### Talks renewed

The Soviets broke off talks with the United States more than a year ago when the U.S. government began deploying Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe. The United States is still deploying the missiles, driving forward with its war in Central America, and seeking to expand potential battlefields into space itself. The Reagan administration is thus encouraged that the Soviets' decision to resume talks marks a more compliant posture toward the swelling militarism of U.S. foreign policy.

The Soviets, in turn, hope that negotiating a new arms control agreement

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## Nicaragua inauguration is snubbed

By LARRY COOPERMAN

The inauguration of Daniel Ortega as president of Nicaragua on Jan. 10 was marked by a deliberate snub by many Latin American and European governments, which sent only low-ranking delegations to attend the event. The only head of state present at the ceremony marking the installation of the first popularly elected president in Nicaraguan history was Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

The presidential inauguration occurred the day after the National Assembly, elected Nov. 4 of last year, held its opening session. Ninety-six representatives were given their credentials. The Sandinistas have a two-thirds majority in the assembly, reflecting the

### Fidel Castro's views on revolution. See pp. 12-13

percentage of votes cast for them in the elections. The new National Assembly will take two years to draw up a new constitution for Nicaragua.

The pro-capitalist opposition in the National Assembly immediately called for the drawing up of financial incentives to the "private sector" to increase production. They vowed to oppose any enactment of a "Marxist-style" constitution.

In addressing the assembly, Ortega pointed out that U.S.-backed military aggression will force Nicaragua to spend 40 percent of its 1985 national budget on defense. The costs of the war are imposing increasingly difficult economic sacrifices on the Nicaraguans.

#### Material aid needed

The Soviet Union and its allies in Eastern Europe have made it clear that they do not intend to supply Nicaragua's needs. And Western and Latin American social-democratic governments have only provided minimal aid.

*The Wall Street Journal* published the text of a letter from Carlos Andres Perez, former president of Venezuela and current vice president of the Socialist International, to Ortega to

(continued on page 10)

## Danly workers reject takebacks

By MICHAEL KRAMER

CICERO, Ill.—The hand-lettered sign on the wall gives the name of a local merchant and announces, "All auto parts available on credit for striking union members. SCABS NEED NOT CALL."

Oversized plastic bags stuffed with bread, platters filled with cheese and cold cuts—this is the strike headquarters of the embattled Local 15271 of the United Steelworkers of America. The headquarters is a tangible display of these steelworkers' resolve to keep up the picket lines as the attacks against them by the courts and the Danly Machine Corp. increase.

Within a one-week period beginning Dec. 30, the members voted down a contract proposal 364 to 6 and then saw Joe Romano, the president of their local, fined \$1000 and sentenced to 10

days in jail. Judge Albert Green ruled that Romano violated a June order prohibiting more than five pickets per plant entrance. The judge also fined the union \$1000. Further hearings are scheduled.

The Danly attorney exhibited videotapes and photographs showing more than 100 pickets gathered at the plant on July 26, 1984. Romano testified that he had summoned workers that day after Danly had placed a newspaper advertisement seeking permanent replacements for the strikers. It is precisely the "permanent" status of these scabs which is prolonging this strike into its ninth month.

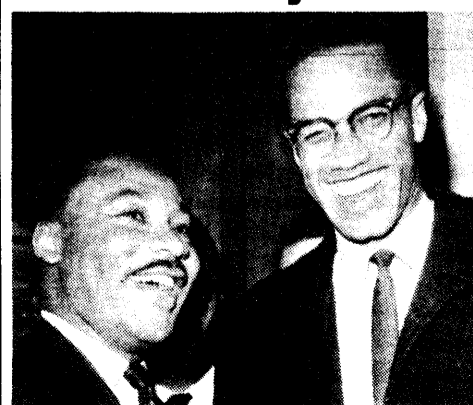
#### Takeback demands

Danly manufactures large stamping presses for the auto industry. It employed 425 working members of Local 15271 when the strike began. This was down from a 1979 work force of

1300, reflecting the downturn in the auto industry. There are about 400

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### Black History Month



The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. (left) with Malcolm X. For commentary on Black History Month, see page 15.

# Coors bribe can't break boycott

By HAYDEN PERRY

An alliance of labor, Latino, Black, and gay forces are locked in struggle with the Adolph Coors Co., one of the most racist, reactionary, and anti-union corporations in America.

The Coors brewery has busted more than 15 unions in the last 20 years. They are also movers and shakers in the ultra-right wing of American politics. From the Heritage Foundation and the Committee for a Union Free Environment to the Moral Majority, Coors money and Coors family members are to be found.

In an interview with *Socialist Action*, Howard Wallace, Northern California coordinator of the Coors Boycott Committee, described the battle being waged against the Coors dynasty, and Coors' desperate efforts to fight back.

According to Wallace, the AFL-CIO called for a boycott of Coors in 1978, when the Brewery Workers union was ousted from the plant after a 20-month strike. Many boycotts have been called by organized labor but few have been successful.

This time it was different. Not only union members, but Latinos, Blacks, and gays have long been outraged by Coors' history of racist hiring practices and support to anti-gay bigots. Coors still maintains pre-employment lie-detector tests, though they have finally stopped asking questions about the prospects' sex preferences. They continue to carefully screen employees for their union sympathies.

As Coors' reputation spread, workers found it easy to pass up their scab beer when so many other brands are available. In 1977 Coors had nearly 45 percent of the California market. Their current share has plunged to a low 15.8 percent. With most of their market confined to the West, the sales drop in California represents a serious loss.

## Arrogance of wealth

Coors fought back with the weapon it had most faith in—money. With the arrogance of wealth, it decided it could buy out the opposition. In October 1984 Peter Coors announced that the company would donate \$325 million to the Latino community for scholarships and grants. The money would be doled out as sales of Coors beer increased in the barrios. This proposition would put Latino organizations into a position of pimping for Coors.

While a few national Latino leaders signed the

agreement, a larger number of them repudiated their action. The boycott would go on, they said.

Coors was no more successful in November 1984, when it offered \$12,000 to the San Francisco Tavern Guild if it would put Coors beer back in 200 gay bars and restaurants. Faced with evidence that Coors money was still funding anti-gay groups, the community rejected the crude bribe with a resounding "no."

A foray into the Black community has come to utter disaster for Coors. At a seminar for minority businessmen in Denver on Feb. 23, 1984, William Coors, chairman of the company, was unable to repress his racist views for even a couple of hours.

According to *The Rocky Mountain News*, Coors blurted out to the Black businessmen: "One of the best things they did for you was to drag your ancestors here in chains."

He was also quoted as saying that Black-ruled African nations are going down the tubes because Blacks "lack the intellectual capacity to succeed."

Frantic efforts by Coors' public relations agents to repair the damage have not increased Coors' dismal sales in the Black community. However, Coors signed an agreement with Operation Push and the NAACP in November 1984, promising many millions of dollars to the Black community if it would end the boycott and buy Coors beer. Some Black leaders have been seduced by promises of big money, but most have not, and workers in the street are not buying the scab beer.

## Turned to courts

When Coors saw that his brand of friendly persuasion was not ending the boycott, he turned to the federal courts for help. Here again he was foiled. Coors sued Howard Wallace and David Sickler, national coordinator of the Boycott Committee, under the Sherman Antitrust Law.

In May 1981 the Boycott Committee had successfully urged TV station KQED in San Francisco to cancel Coors' sponsorship of a fund-raising day for the non-profit station. The brewery offered \$13,000 if it could display Coors logos all over the set during a Coors-Day telethon. After the plea of the Boycott Committee, KQED canceled Coors' sponsorship and returned the money.

Coors wanted \$145,000 damages from Wallace and Stickler. Instead Coors got a decision from Fed-

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eral Judge Spencer Williams on Feb. 17, 1984, declaring the boycott legal. Coors' claim to anti-trust protection was "far-fetched," the judge declared. Coors has appealed this decision and filed a similar suit in California's courts. The grounds for this suit are even flimsier, according to Wallace.

Coors has won one round in court, however. Last December in Birmingham, Ala., it won a judgment for \$10,000 against a civil-rights group, the Movement Against Racism and the Klan (MARK). Coors won the judgment by default in a pre-trial hearing.

So the boycott continues. Asked what it would take to end the boycott, Wallace replied, "Get rid of the lie detector tests, declare your neutrality in organizing efforts, give workers the right to join unions, and cease and desist bankrolling ultra-right organizations."

The boycott is hurting Coors in the pocketbook, but even greater pressure will be needed to get it to the bargaining table. The Boycott Committee is prepared to continue the boycott indefinitely. Its main effort today is to spread the word of the struggle, especially in the East, where Coors is trying to break into new markets.

Coors produces beer under its own name. It also produces Herman Joseph 1868, Golden Lager, and George Killians Irish Red Ale. No worker should drink any of these. ■

# Gays demand answer to AIDS epidemic

By ANDREA HOUTMAN

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) continues to take its toll. Gays are one of the four population groups suffering most from the AIDS crisis. In fact, 98 percent of current cases are gay men.

Last year alone, 229 gays died of the syndrome. The national total of AIDS cases stood at 6931 and 48 percent of these resulted in death. The gay community is organizing in response.

"Mobilization" is a new grass-roots action group working to compel the government and medical establishment to wage an all-out campaign including massive research, education, and medical treatment. According to Morris Kight, Southern California convener of the group and co-founder of Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Community Services Center, Mobilization is demanding congressional hearings and "a full-scale investigation of the sadly inadequate effort to defeat AIDS."

On Jan. 7, 50 members of the new group marched into the offices of federal and state representatives in San Francisco with signs, banners, and petitions. The petitions, containing thousands of signatures, demanded that the officials denounce the use of AIDS as a

political weapon and call investigative hearings on the lack of response to the AIDS epidemic. The legislators were given two weeks to respond to the community in a town-hall meeting.

## Threat to civil liberties

While some research continues, gays are concerned about their civil liberties. According to the Bay Area Physicians for Human Rights, the gay community has become more hesitant to participate in medical studies. The reasons for this are several.

For one thing, research is at an early stage. A possible causative agent, the HTLV-3 virus, has been isolated. However, positive test results for the presence of antibodies for this virus can take an emotional toll while the meaning of the results is unclear.

In addition, there is concern over the confidentiality of test records. Without confidentiality, test records could be used to discriminate against gays. Violations of insurance, housing, and employment rights based on test information could possibly occur. The Bay Area Physicians for Human Rights point to repeated talk of maintaining lists of names of AIDS victims.

The Gay Rights Chapter of the Northern California American Civil



Socialist Action/ Joe Ryan

Liberties Union (ACLU) believes that there is the possibility of a quarantine. The group stated, "The epidemic may get far worse before a vaccine or a cure is available, and a quarantine of gay and bisexual people may be hard to distinguish from house arrest or imprisonment."

## Navy uses AIDS to discriminate

The use of AIDS as a means of identifying gays and deepening the discrimi-

nation against them is also at work in the U.S. Navy. AIDS-sufferer Daniel Abieta informed his Navy doctor he was gay. The Navy is now seeking his discharge based on a 1981 regulation against homosexuality.

The ACLU is challenging this discharge since the Navy's own regulations require that a seriously ill person be given a medical discharge. A medical discharge entitles a person to health care and medical benefits at a veterans' hospital.

In the guise of fighting AIDS, political repression is continuing in San Francisco's gay bathhouses and sex clubs. These institutions are now under court order prohibiting most sexual activity and requiring that they hire people to monitor the sexual behavior of their patrons.

Mobilization spokesperson John Wahl summarized the political issues at stake: "This is really a war not only against AIDS, but also against those right-wing fanatics who would use the AIDS epidemic to take away civil rights of at least gay and bisexual men. AIDS, because of its political exploitation by people who want to oppress gay, lesbian, and bisexual Americans, has become a very real threat to the health of the Constitution of the United States."

Mobilization can be reached at 647A Castro Street, San Francisco, CA 94114. ■

**New underground railroad:**

# Reagan fails to derail Sanctuary

By GORDON BAILEY

After a lapse of 120 years an underground railroad is again operating in the United States. This time the travelers are not slaves fleeing Southern plantations, but Salvadorans running for their lives from torturers and death squads. If they reach the United States, they believe they can find asylum until it is safe to return home.

But the Reagan administration refuses them asylum. If they recognize these desperate people as refugees, they admit that the Central American governments the United States supports are bloody dictatorships. So they say these immigrants are only seeking an easy life.

In many cases the government packs the refugees into planes and flies them directly back to El Salvador where the death squads are waiting. So notorious have these one-way "death flights" become that Western Airlines backed out of a contract to fly them.

Many U.S. citizens are unwilling to stand by while their government violates the tradition of asylum and the moral precepts of humanity. Like the Quakers who led thousands of slaves to freedom in the 19th century, 120 churches today have organized a network of safehouses and sanctuaries to support and protect the refugees. Originating in the border areas, particularly in Arizona, an underground railroad is conducting refugees to sanctuaries as far away as Boston and Seattle.

The tradition of church sanctuary goes back to the middle ages when priests would shelter refugees from tyrannical rulers. No agent of the king could pursue a fugitive onto church property. Churches no longer have such temporal power but their moral authority and the separation of church and state in America have shielded congregations from obvious intrusion by government agents.

Despite this, the Immigration and

Naturalization Service (INS) has not stopped at the church door in its pursuit of undocumented workers. In Tucson, Ariz., undercover agents attended meetings at the Southside United Presbyterian Church. The meetings discussed the plight of the refugees. Material on about 100 tapes was turned over by the snoopers to a federal grand jury in Phoenix.

On Jan. 10, the grand jury indicted 16 people, among them two Catholic priests, three nuns, a Protestant minister, and a retired rancher. They are charged with violating immigration laws and could face five-year prison sentences. At the same time the INS arrested 60 refugees in such widely separated cities as Seattle, Philadelphia, and Tucson.

The INS has made it clear that this is only the first step in a continuing assault on the right of asylum. "There are 50 or 60 aliens we should be picking up pretty soon," said Harold Ezell, regional director of the INS in California. Further indictments of church workers are to be expected, according to Ezell, challenging the concept of sanctuary. "There is no federal immunity because someone makes a declaration that their intentions are pure," said another INS official.

Supporters of the right to asylum are not intimidated and are preparing their lines of defense. Foremost is the right of churches to conduct their business without government snoopers in their midst. Evidence obtained by secret tape-recording of a church meeting is inadmissible in court, according to civil-rights lawyers. Churches are seeking assurance from the local police that there are no bugs in their meeting rooms.

The Rev. Gus Schultz, pastor of the University Lutheran Church in Berkeley, Calif., told *Socialist Action* that the impasse on refugees could be solved if the INS would grant them the right of voluntary departure. This means that



"You're on your own, kid, once you're born!"

On Jan. 22, President Reagan marked the 12th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion by giving a pep talk to over 70,000 anti-abortion marchers in Washington. Reagan took the occasion to express his support for a proposed constitutional amendment that would roll back women's reproductive rights.

"There are already signs that we've changed the public attitude on abortion," Reagan boasted to the marchers. "The general feeling that abortion is just a small harmless medical procedure that's simply a matter of choice has almost disappeared."

Polls indicate that Reagan is incorrect. A majority of the public continues to support a woman's right to choose abortion. But this support has to be mobilized in demonstrations, rallies, and educational conferences. Mass action is needed to counteract the right-wing, "pro-life" coalition of church and government forces and to demand that the persons who firebombed 30 family-planning clinics in the past two years be apprehended and prosecuted.—THE EDITORS

the refugee could stay until it was safe for him to return home. Most refugees who have left spouses and children behind are anxious to get back to them. So far the INS has turned down this proposal.

The wide range of denominations involved, including Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Catholics, indicates a broad base of support in the religious community. Behind them stand the many millions in the Hispanic community and the estimated 300,000 undocumented Central Americans living in the West.

The hundreds of thousands who are actively opposing U.S. intervention are also allies in this fight to save the lives of Central American refugees.

Public rallies and protest demonstrations are bringing the facts before ever-wider audiences. Funds are needed by the Sanctuary movement to carry on the fight. Checks should be sent to the American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102. Checks should be made out to the National Sanctuary Defense Fund.

# Court, cops, and synod punish church-goers

By PAUL LE BLANC

CLAIRTON, Pa.—On Jan. 4, morning raids by 50 Allegheny County deputies, as well as Clairton and Pittsburgh police, temporarily resolved the confrontation between militant unemployed activists from the Clairton Trinity Lutheran Church and the "moderate" hierarchy of the Western Pennsylvania-West Virginia synod of the Lutheran Church.

Not surprisingly, the forces of "law and order" intervened on the side of wealth and power. Eight supporters of the already imprisoned Rev. Douglas Roth, who had barricaded themselves in the church for nine days, were arrested. Four were sentenced to 60-day jail terms and ordered to pay \$985 each to the synod for compensation. Four others were given 30-day sentences.

The arrests climaxed a struggle by Lutheran Bishop Kenneth May to penalize the Rev. Roth and his supporters for their participation in the Denominational Ministry Strategy (DMS) and the Network to Save the Mon/Ohio Valley. These are two of the many unemployed groups that have sprung up in Western Pennsylvania to combat unemployment.

The suffering caused by the callousness of the steel companies is highlighted by the report of a sharp rise in suicides among the unemployed. The DMS and Network have hit back with controversial

tactics: putting dead fish in safety-deposit boxes of Mellon bank, spraying skunk oil in Pittsburgh department stores, disrupting services in churches where corporate executives are members, and most recently confronting the hierarchies of the Lutheran and Catholic churches.

### "Bishops have been corporatized"

Bishop May's decision to remove Roth, who is part of a group of Lutheran and Episcopal clergymen advocating these confrontational tactics, resulted in a court suit in which the judge ruled against Roth and his followers. Contempt citations and police action followed the refusal of DMS and Network activists to back down.

Charles Honeywell, the recognized leader of the DMS and the Network, has complained, "One hundred thousand people are starving, and all the bishops want to do is have fund drives and food banks."

"All the bishops have been corporatized," Honeywell insists. "They are not on the side of the oppressed at all. They only want to adapt to evil."

He promises the continued use of methods that have generated massive publicity and a storm of controversy.

The Rev. Roth has strongly defended these tactics, asserting that "To provoke evil, words alone are not adequate. It was for his tactics that the culture

crucified Christ. He turned over tables, caused pigs to kill themselves, and he broke the Sabbath laws of the day."

Yet Roth has also criticized the news media because "They sensationalize story after story about the skunk scent and water ballooning but never deal with why such things are happening. Lots about skunk smells, but nothing about families being broken apart, losing everything because of deliberate corporate decisions."

### "Starting chapter two"

We asked Trinity Lutheran Church member William Fosbrink if Roth supporters will continue to fight. He responded, "I think they will more so now because they had something taken away from them. They're saying you can't go to church, and that's a question of freedom of religion."

Trinity Lutheran Church has been boarded up by the authorities and is guarded by Allegheny County deputies. The synod intends to keep the church closed for as long as several months.

Fosbrink added, "From what I've heard people say, they will continue to fight for the unemployed. Doug Roth just called me on the phone and said, 'Now we've finished chapter one and we're starting chapter two.'"

For the past two Sundays dozens of church members have gathered for outdoor services in front of Trinity Church under the watchful eyes of county deputies. Although the authorities have succeeded in wresting from them control of their own church, the condition which generated their anger continues to weigh down upon them. In this area further struggles and confrontations seem inevitable.

# Contract falls short for Gemco workers

## Columbia clericals prepare for strike

By HARLAN F. STONE

NEW YORK—On Jan. 15 more than 100 members of the organizing committee of the Columbia University Local/District 65 United Automobile Workers called for a strike on Feb. 4 if the university continues to refuse to recognize the union and negotiate a contract with the clerical support staff.

This decision came after nearly one-and-a-half years of the university's refusal to recognize the outcome of a union-representation election and after two rounds of unilateral benefit cuts.

In a May 1983 National Labor Relations Board election, a majority of support staff at Columbia—mostly women, nearly one third minorities, and all grossly underpaid—chose District 65/UAW as their representative. The university has refused to recognize the union, twice appealing the election results.

One year ago, the university imposed one set of benefit cuts, including drastic reductions in maternity and paternity leaves and large increases in medical deductible. Recently the administration has retroactively increased employee contributions to the medical benefits plan and is planning yet another more severe round of benefit cuts.

The leadership of District 65/UAW has already committed at least \$1.5 million in strike funds to be paid to all workers who honor the picket lines, whether support staff, maintenance, technical, part-time, or work-study.

The 1000 Columbia clerical workers have also secured the support of the leaders of the other campus unions: the Transport Workers Union, which organizes the maintenance workers, and 1199, which organizes the librarians and

other technical employees. Support is also coming from the New York City Central Labor Council and from students and faculty, who are petitioning the administration to recognize the union and are preparing to hold classes off-campus.

The Columbia University activists have planned a series of activities between now and the Feb. 4 strike deadline to organize and mobilize the support staff. In response to the administration's antiunion scare campaign, the union is planning weekly meetings in all of the nearly 30 campus buildings.

For the Columbia support staff to defeat the university administration, there will have to be real rank-and-file participation, effective action, and active solidarity from the rest of the labor movement. The strike can be won if the majority of the clerical workers becomes actively involved in the strike. Participation in the decision-making process would be ensured with an elected strike committee that would direct the day-to-day running of the strike.

Mass picketing that will encourage a student-faculty boycott of the campus and stop deliveries and repairs will be needed to disrupt "business as usual" at Columbia and to force Columbia to recognize District 65/UAW and begin negotiations.

Finally, a major effort will be necessary to reach out to the memberships of the other unions in New York City, starting with the TWU and 1199 at Columbia. The ranks of labor should be mobilized to walk and respect the picket line at Columbia, to attend rallies and demonstrations, and to raise funds for the Columbia workers. ■

By DAVE ROBERTS and ARIEL MARCUS

LOS ANGELES—Gemco workers, on strike for three months in the Southern California area, have won a new contract following an unsuccessful attempt by the giant company to break the United Food and Commercial Workers Union.

While not all details of the settlement are available, it is known that employees of future Gemco stores (three are presently planned) will not have the right to a union contract. They will have to go through an organizing drive and a new representation election.

The new stores will have centralized checking. This means that both food and merchandise will be checked by the same clerks. Gemco had demanded that centralized checkers receive the lower rate of merchandise checkers. This issue has now been put off for arbitration until October 1985.

Health and welfare payments will be maintained, but a new, separate fund will be established for Gemco employees. A two-tier system of wages has been established, with new employees starting at a lower rate of pay.

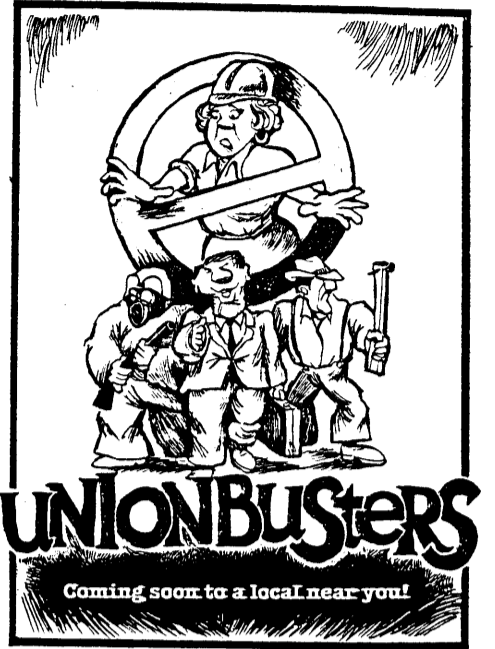
With proper organization, and especially with holiday sales at their peak, the strike could have been over in a much shorter time—with a considerably better result.

The UFCW leadership did not prepare their membership in Gemco and their other 60,000 local members for a militant strike. Most of the retail clerks knew little of what Gemco workers were facing. No attempt was made to bring the full force of their large membership to bear on the strike.

The Labor Alliance Against Concessions, meeting with leaders of the UFCW early in the strike, proposed that the union (1) mobilize the members working at Gemco; (2) mobilize support within the locals representing the other

60,000 retail clerks; and (3) mobilize support in the labor movement with the help of the Labor Alliance.

Although the union leadership did



not respond to the offer of support by the Labor Alliance, Alliance members organized several support picket lines. But the most successful attempt at mobilizing the labor movement took place when the Harbor Coalition (made up of the Longshoremen's Union, the Shipbuilders, UAW locals, and other unions) decided to defy an injunction obtained by the store management. The injunction was so inclusive that any person joining the picket line was subject to arrest.

About 200 unionists from various unions showed up, and no arrests took place. This was the highlight of the strike. Such actions point the way toward mass labor solidarity in order to answer the attacks against working people by large conglomerates like Gemco. ■

## ...Danly

(continued from page 1)

strikebreakers right now, 200 of them union members and 200 new hires. Many of the union members were on layoff when the strike began.

The strike was provoked on May 1, 1984, by Danly's demands for far-reaching takebacks. These included a permanent two-tier wage structure, unfavorable work-rule changes, gutting of seniority rights, job combinations, a wage freeze, elimination of the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA), and massive increases in employee pay-ins for health and pension premiums. The Danly workers answered these union-busting demands with a 97 percent strike vote (See *Socialist Action*, September 1984).

Since Oct. 18, these demands have been settled to the satisfaction of the union. The stumbling block was Danly's insistence that the 400 strikebreakers remain on the job while only 20 of the striking members get their jobs back immediately.

This was just a new scheme to gut the seniority system and to trample the union underfoot. Members saw this clearly when they soundly rejected the proposal. Before the vote Romano minced no words when he said, "It's a contract for scabs."

As the members dig in, however, a cleavage is developing between the members and leaders of Local 15271 and the USWA international, which had crafted the settlement together with top officials of the Ogden Corp., Danly's parent company. The union's District 31 director, Jack Parton, told members

## Oil workers honor slain striker



Socialist Action/Joe Ryan

On Jan. 19, over 400 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union Local 1-326 and other Bay Area trade unionists marched to the Union Oil refinery in Rodeo, Calif. The march and rally commemorated the death of Greg Goobic, a 20-year-old Local 1-326 member who was killed by a scab-driven truck during the 13-day strike against Union Oil last year. Speakers at the rally included: Tony Cannata, secretary-treasurer, Contra Costa Central Labor Council; Joseph Misbrener, president, OCAW; Jack Henning, secretary-treasurer, California Labor Federation; Al Lannon, president, Longshoremen's union, Local 6; Chuck Mack, secretary-treasurer, Joint Council 7, Teamsters union; and Steve Martin, assistant secretary-treasurer, Alameda County Central Labor Council.

before the vote that the proposal probably would be as much as the union could extract from the company.

But the company seems to be hurting. Sam Kaster, vice president of Local 15271, told *Socialist Action* that General Motors, a Danly customer, complained about the quality of the scab-built machines they have been receiving and demanded that they be repaired. Romano has told the members, "Danly needs top machinists; they need them

bad. January is a crucial month for them and for us."

As the Danly strike continues one steelworker official was quoted as saying, "This is another Phelps Dodge in the making."

He was referring to the 17-month-old strike by 1700 copper miners in Arizona—many of whom are in the USWA—against the country's second largest copper producer.

This summer, in both the Danly and

Phelps Dodge strikes, the unions received publicity for instituting "corporate campaigns."

Tactics in the Danly strike have ranged from threatening to have Chicago unions withdraw their funds from banks that own shares in Ogden, to leafleting at universities, law firms, and banks with which Ogden's board of directors are associated.

But many workers on the picket lines at both Danly and Phelps Dodge have argued that the union's corporate campaign is a weak substitute for more decisive action. Dr. Jorge O'Leary, a company doctor who was fired by Phelps Dodge, advocated in an open letter to the USWA that mass picketing be used to shut down the copper industry. He has also advocated the formation of a union-financed political party and an emergency session of the AFL-CIO to set the date for a general strike.

At Danly, the political support enjoyed by the company has been driven home to all the strikers. Besides the jail sentence of their president, the strikers have seen their fellow pickets arrested for cursing. In one incident a scab attacked a striker as a Cicero policeman watched. The police then refused to let the striker file charges.

In cases like these, "the courts side with the bosses," a union lawyer told the members. As Vice President Kaster said, "In Arizona it was a Democratic governor who called out the state police against the Phelps Dodge strikers. Labor needs to establish our own party, not support somebody else's."

Messages of solidarity and contributions may be sent to USWA 15271, 1617 S. Laramie, Cicero, IL 60650. ■

By KATE CURRY

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—Twenty-seven coal miners were trapped in a fire at the Wilberg mine in Orangeville, Utah, on Dec. 19. Two days before Christmas, the mine was ordered sealed with the bodies entombed.

The fire broke out during an effort to break a 24-hour world-production record. Instead, the mine broke the record for the worst disaster since 38 miners were killed in Hyden, Ky., in 1970. "One lesson is perfectly clear," United Mine Workers President Rich Trumka told reporters. "Production contests without concern for safety and health are an unacceptable race toward death."

When we heard the news here about the trapped miners, the miles between the Appalachian and the Western coal fields didn't seem to matter. We received the latest news reports from the oncoming shifts as we pulled off our muddy boots and dirty mine clothes in the women's bathhouse. We were worried about all those involved, but we were especially hoping the trapped woman miner would somehow make it.

We were puzzled at the reports in the news media about a safety chamber that supposedly would provide refuge from the fire. Such safety chambers, which we refer to as barricades, are not a standard feature of the coal mines in the United States. We are taught that if escape is cut off, we are to build a barricade with the materials at hand.

Barricades are generally viewed as a place to write a will. Desperate measures like barricades or heroic efforts of rescue teams are not the answer to disasters like the one in Utah.

#### Federal inspectors waver

Three weeks before the fatal fire, Emery Mining Corp., the owner of the

*Kate Curry is a coal miner in West Virginia and an active member of the UMWA.*



## Speedup drive kills Utah miners

Wilberg mine, was cited for 26 violations of federal mining laws—including problems with firefighting equipment and electrical problems. Frank O'Gorman of the Federal Mining, Safety, and Health Administration (MSHA) defended Emery's owners by pointing out that it is not unusual to find 26 violations in an underground mine.

Six violations were labeled "significant and substantive" ("s-and-s"). The downgrading of certain violations of the mining laws to "non-s-and-s" was a

part of the Reagan administration's deregulation of the industry and has been consistently opposed by the United Mineworkers of America.

Wilberg has been fined \$22,987 for 264 safety violations since 1982. The accident rate was 27.1 per 200,000 man hours worked in 1982, compared to a national average of 12.21. In 1984, the rate was 11.48 at Wilberg and 10.6 nationally.

The Wilberg mine was one of 13 to 20 mines in this Western region—many

of which are non-union—that are the only ones in the United States to get approval for operating a mining plan with only two entries (or tunnels). Three should be a minimum, but four would be better. A two-entry plan is a death trap plan; escape is almost impossible if something goes wrong between the miners and fresh air.

Routine shovelling of spilt coal and spreading ground limestone rock dust to dilute flammable and explosive coal dust are the first line of defense against mine fires. A safety check in November showed that levels of inflammable coal dust were nearly twice the federal limit in the mines, 3.4 milligrams vs. a standard of 2 milligrams. In addition, union fire bosses had written up the belt line for accumulation of combustible material and inoperative fire-warning devices.

Miners are supposed to be protected by having oxygen self-rescuers available underground. These devices are designed to provide enough oxygen to walk out of the mine in an hour or stay in a barricade for three hours, unaffected by the poisonous atmosphere resulting from a fire. Rescue workers found some victims with oxygen rescuers on and others without them. Was the production area so cluttered that the victims couldn't find the oxygen packs? MSHA was not ready to release this information.

The coal operators pass down through their underground foremen the unofficial word not to nit-pick over these safety details. They say that a drop in profits will mean layoffs. In an industry hard hit with layoffs and mine closings, many miners have been confused by such talk. Fifty percent of District 31 in Northern West Virginia is laid off, and the West Virginia unemployment rate is the highest in the country.

But 280 members of local union 2176 in District 22 in Utah can tell you that a lack of safety in their mine has resulted in more layoffs—and the deaths of 27 co-workers and foremen.

## Boycott targets anti-union retail giant in Canada

By BARRY WEISLEDER

TORONTO—Support is growing for a major consumer boycott of the department-store giant, the T. Eaton Co.

The campaign was initiated by the Canadian Labour Congress, the central body of the 2-million member, country-wide labor movement, to support members of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union on strike at six newly-unionized Eaton's stores in Toronto and across southern Ontario. The strike began on Nov. 30.

For 40 years Eaton's has resisted repeated employee attempts to unionize and obtain decent wages and working conditions.

The union breakthrough occurred within the past year and has captured the imagination of unorganized workers across the country.

But the rich retail giant is out to bust the union through stalling, bad-faith bargaining, and grotesque takebacks. For example, the company refuses to provide benefits that its employees had

before unionization, and Eaton's insists that promotion will continue to be tied to "appearance."

Eighty percent of the striking Eaton's workers are women. Two-thirds of the employees are part-time. So this is a key fight in labor's struggle against low wages, poor benefits, and discrimination aimed at the most vulnerable and exploited sectors of the working class.

It is hoped that the boycott and beefed-up picket lines will affect Eaton's where it hurts the most—in the cash register.

Already the successes in unionization and the strike-support campaign for the Eaton's workers have served notice on the bosses that department-store workers are not going to take this capitalist economic crisis lying down.

## Slide shows dig deep into miners' history

By GENNY ZEBACH

*The history of coal mining is told in two recently produced slide shows, "Monongah 1907," by Thomas Bethell and Babitt McAteer, and "Coal, Our Story," by Genny Zebach, who wrote the following review.*

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—The slide show by Bethell and McAteer carefully documents the evolution of coal mining from the time of the tragic disaster at Monongah in 1907 until the present. Close to 700 miners died in the explosions at Monongah and 3000 during that year alone—at a time when miners were legally helpless to do anything about unsafe conditions.

Rare historic photos of disaster after disaster are coupled with numbing facts. Bethell and McAteer take us to the 1968 Mannington No. 9 explosion, which was the first disaster to attract nationwide news coverage. The authors focus on the legislated changes that followed but, unfortunately, do not deal in detail with the public outcry and the bitter struggles in the coal fields to unionize for better and safer working conditions.

In "Coal, Our Story," I combine the slides with stories and songs that kept

the history alive—songs of hard times, the mine disasters, and the company store. I have been collecting and singing coal songs since my early teens, and I accompany myself on guitar and mountain dulcimer.

Because I can adapt the slide show to the needs of the audience, I have been able to keep third graders at church

camp on the edges of their seats—as well as stimulate thoughtful discussion among those currently employed in the mines. I hope that our programs are not only informative but inspiring to you, your work, and your daily life.

*For information on using the slide shows, contact "Monongah 1907," Humanities Resource Service of West Virginia, P.O. Box 204, Institute, W. Va. 25112, (304) 768-8869; and "Coal, Our Story," Genny Zebach, 1642 Oregon Ave., Fairmont, W. Va. 26554, (304) 363-0171.*

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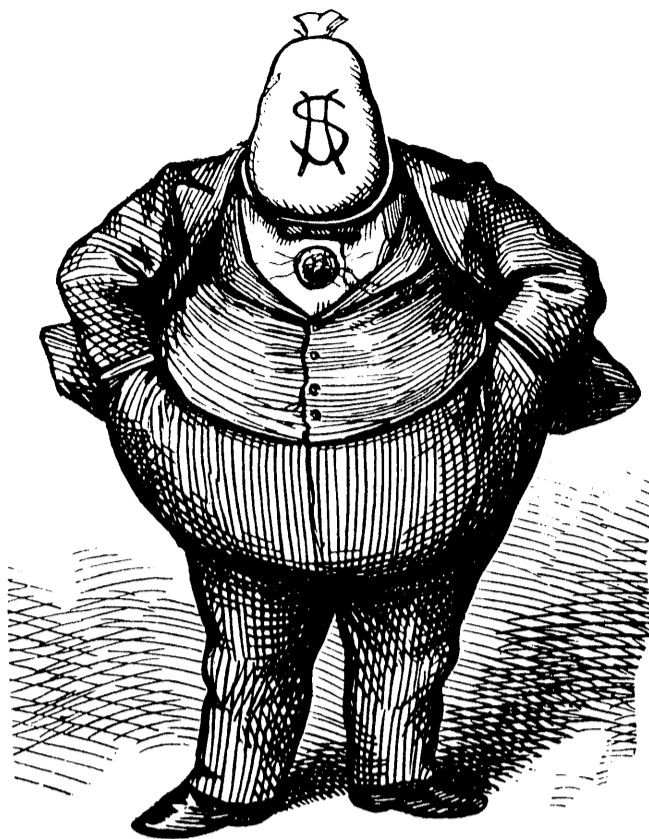
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# How the rich get richer



By RALPH SCHOENMAN

Every year, *Forbes Magazine*, which, like the *Wall Street Journal* and *Fortune*, is staple reading for corporate executives in America, publishes a list of the wealthiest 400 individuals and the 82 richest families in the United States. To qualify, a person must have a minimum net worth of \$150 million. Families start at \$200 million.

Writing in *The New York Times* of Oct. 11, 1984, Lester C. Thurow, professor of management and economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, acknowledges, with the shock of new discovery, that the "400" control not only the economy but the political process in the United States:

"The list reveals a concentration of wealth that should trouble anyone concerned about the accumulation of economic power in the hands of the few."

The combined net worth of the 482 individuals and families is conservatively placed at \$166 billion in business investment assets. *Forbes* reveals only part of the story. The sum of \$166 billion does not include blind trusts or personal holdings, which include such things as private jets, yachts, multiple estate dwellings, priceless old masters, jewelry, and antiques. Such items total billions of dollars in themselves.

Excluded as well is the virtual monopoly of the bond market, through which much of the private riches of America's ruling rich is sheltered and concealed. These assets, worth hundreds of billions of dollars, are hidden in banks, holding companies, insurance associations, and dummy corporations.

## Ever-expanding wealth

There is a further dimension to great fortunes. That is the power of money to control still greater aggregates of capital. To take an example, \$5 million can be leveraged through borrowing to a point where it controls as much as one hundred times its value. When the sum is as large as \$100 million, billions can be borrowed to acquire income-generating corporate holdings, commercial operations, or vast real estate.

Since the people doing the original borrowing often have decisive holdings through intermediaries in the banks providing the "loans," this paper-shuffling amounts to a license to print money. Long before the principal is due it has generated earnings which pay it off many times over.

The power of such wealth is not merely self-perpetuating, it is constantly expanding and feeding upon itself. The average person on the *Forbes* list has either borrowed or controls a family foundation sheltering assets equal to his or her nominal net worth. The assets are thus doubled.

There is another aspect to the ruling-class sleight of hand. No corporation of substance requires more than a fraction of investment to secure its control. All of us have been told that there are millions of stockholders who "really run" the corporations. But this hides the fact that control never flows from 100-percent ownership of corporate equity. Small concentrations of total equity permit the wealthy to control the conglomerates precisely because public offerings diffuse stockholdings.

The Pew family, for example, controls the huge Sun Oil Corp. by owning only 6 percent of its stock.

It commands corporate assets, holdings, earnings, leveraging power, and the capacity to dominate subsidiary and collateral markets through a mere 6 percent commitment of its own capital in the form of stock purchases.

In addition, the Pew family controls seven family foundations whose open (as opposed to concealed) assets are placed at \$1.8 billion. These assets are not included by *Forbes* in the magazine's evaluation of net worth.

The implications of these interrelationships are stunning. The family foundations omitted by *Forbes* in its determination of net worth generate control of a minimum further equity of 26 percent. What this means is that the \$166 billion of business net worth on the part of the *Forbes* 482 individuals and families gives them actual control of over \$3.2 trillion in business assets alone. Just through declared business assets, the "482" own 40 percent of all fixed non-residential private capital in the United States.

Yet even these holdings tell but a small part of the story. The U.S. Department of Commerce figures for 1984 disclose that 2 percent of the population own 50 percent of all common stock in America. But this is not all. Two percent of investors own 70 percent of all tax-exempt municipal bonds, 40 percent of all other bonds and stock, and 20 percent of all real estate.

When we exclude small holdings in real estate and calculate the percentage of substantial holdings owned by the 2 percent of the population, the figure of control jumps to 90 percent!

If we translate this kind of power into personal terms, we get some inkling of what it means. There are 12 billionaires on the *Forbes* list. If their avowed wealth alone were converted into an annuity, they would receive \$630,000 every day for the rest of their lives.

## The rich pay no taxes

The ruling rich do something else. They assume command of the state and use its taxing power to finance the entire governmental apparatus, which serves to secure their control. They use the ability to force most people to sell their labor to pay a portion of the value produced in the form of wages. Then they take a sizable percentage of this meager portion in the form of taxation. The ruling rich themselves pay virtually no taxes.

The taxes of the working population are used by the ruling rich to finance a national apparatus of coercion in the form of armies of police and multiple spying services. The trillions of dollars which fund the Pentagon and its related coercive partners in the CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency, and the 12 other

spy agencies are meant to preserve and expand the national and overseas investments of the U.S. ruling class.

The state, then, is the vehicle through which the power of our ruling class is expressed. It is also, of course, a colossal generator of riches for those who have created it. For the taxing power funds not only every state undertaking, but the trillions of dollars so exacted generate vast contracts for the ruling rich.

Officials in all major agencies and departments, such as Defense, Commerce, Treasury, Budget, and State, come from the very executives of the corporate sectors which receive billion-dollar contracts from these same agencies. Upon retirement from "national office," these functionaries return to the identical conglomerates they serviced while in "public" office.

The Bechtel Corp., to take an egregious example, is the largest construction conglomerate in the Middle East. Among the many functionaries supplied by Bechtel to the state are the secretaries of State and Defense and "trouble shooter" Philip Habib.

## "One man, one vote"?

The power of the ruling rich translates into complete control of the political process and all of its principal organized expressions. Thurow's formulation is rather succinct:

"Great wealth is accumulated to acquire economic power. Wealth makes you an economic mover and shaker. Projects will happen or not happen depending on your decisions. It allows you to influence the political process—elect yourself or others—and remold society in accordance with your views. To say that great wealth controls much of business America is not an exaggeration."

Nor is it an exaggeration to say that the business of state includes financial control of the political process. ABC television news analyst Charles Gibson reported on Oct. 24, 1984, that the Senate races had cost \$100 million, the large bulk of which was supplied by "large corporations."

Much of this is transacted as a form of purchase, a rather public enactment of the bribe as a central modality of "political" life in America.

Of course, the poor on subsistence wages who steal to eat, serve long periods in prison when they are not gunned down by armored police units. The corporate rich, in contrast, are, for now, immune.

They are also immune to the mass famine and misery which afflicts the hundreds of millions of people who suffer the daily consequences of the power of the ruling rich in America.

"The Ship of State," Bertrand Russell was fond of saying, "is a gang of pirates and the flag a skull and crossbones."

So it will remain until the state assembled by the rulers of America is dismantled and the 482 individuals and families cited by *Forbes Magazine* are scattered to the winds. ■

## Oneidas demand land

By JOHN McNAMARA

BUFFALO, N.Y.—In 1795 New York State "obtained"—to use the state's word—100,000 acres of land that belongs to the Oneida Indian Tribe. This land was acquired without the necessary legal approval of the federal government. It later became part of Madison and Oneida counties.

The Oneidas have sued the state to get back part of the land that is rightfully theirs. They are asking for the return of 875 acres. The claim is small compared to the 100,000 acres originally stolen and the claims being made by other Native American tribes. Most of the 875 acres is being used for a highway.

The case is now in the United States Supreme Court. New York is challenging the right of the Oneidas to sue. The question of the statute of limitations has been raised. The land was stolen 190 years ago.

The justices are also concerned about the effect that a ruling in favor of the Oneidas will have on the claims of other Indian tribes. Justice Byron White declared that "the same claim could be made about the rest of the 100,000 acres."

This possibility is disturbing to the officials of New York and other Eastern states where other Indian tribes have

filed suits. One suit claims 6 million acres in central New York State.

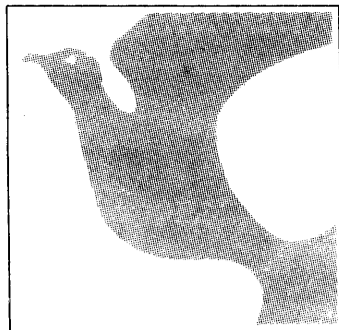
A grim prospect was projected by Allen van Gestell, attorney for two counties involved. A ruling for the Indians, he charged, "means that the people who are there today, who have abided by the laws of New York, are in the middle. You have several thousand people who will be told to leave their land, and I am not sure they will do it."

The Oneidas have not said that the inhabitants of their land will have to leave if the Indians win their case. They want to establish their right to their ancestral lands. What happens when that right is established is another question.

In a test case that was filed in 1970, the Oneidas won a small victory. The 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that they were entitled to damages of \$16,694 plus interest for two years. This ruling gives the Oneida encouragement that they can win further victories in the courts.

It would be a mistake, however, for the Oneidas to rely solely on the courts. The Native Americans must build a mass movement and link themselves with other progressive movements and peoples. They must take the issue to the streets. History shows that it is this kind of action that accomplishes lasting gains for working people and oppressed minorities. ■

# Socialist Action Forum



## Building the April 20 antiwar actions



Socialist Action/Marc Bedner

### Leslie Cagan: "We must be more public and assertive"

**Socialist Action:** Most of the polls before and even after the elections indicate that a large percentage of the American population is opposed to Reagan's policies on nuclear weapons, Central America, and South Africa. Even the media consider that Reagan did not receive a mandate to carry out his right-wing policies. What can be done today to involve and organize this broad spectrum of the population in protest against Reagan's policies?

**Leslie Cagan:** Your assumption about the Reagan victory, which is the assumption of many people, is not one that I agree with. First of all, while it may be true that many people disagree with his policies, nonetheless (a) there is a vast bulk of people who agree with his policies, and (b) those who disagree with his policies don't necessarily disagree with the basic underlying assumptions of his administration. In other words, a lot of people don't want to send troops to Central America but agree with the basic assumption that "We have to stop communism in Central America."

I think that we, the American people, are in deep trouble and that we can't simply say that people disagreed with Reagan but voted for him anyway. The question is not how do we mobilize or activate people who agree with us, but what do we do with a large percentage—perhaps the majority of the population—who don't agree with us. How do we reach them?

**S.A.:** So in light of your assessment of the mood of the American people, what should activists do to turn this situation around?

**Cagan:** One thing we have to do is to continue and redouble our most basic educational efforts. We have to not just

come out opposing U.S. military involvement in Central America; we also have to talk about what the real day-to-day conditions of people's lives in Central America are—why there is revolutionary movement in Central America.

We must talk about what the Nicaraguan revolution has brought to the people, what the struggle in El Salvador is really all about, and what the situation in Guatemala really is today.

At the same time, I think we have to continue to be much more assertive about our public protests. We have to be very public—be that in the media, in street demonstrations, or in lobbying efforts.

We have to say very loudly and very sharply to the policy-makers that we object to their policies. But I also think we have to understand the public protests as a way to say to other people in this country that there is an opposition force that they can take part in.

We in the movement also have to be much clearer in defining and offering real political alternatives to the American people. On the question of Central America, for instance, I think there is some real merit in using things like the Central America Peace Alternative.

Concerning domestic issues, the Jobs with Peace Campaign is another example of what can be done to offer a different vision of how things could be. This campaign specifically says, "Let's cut money from military spending and put money into creating jobs, housing, and healthcare."

These are the three major things we must do: on-going and deepening educational work, on-going and deepening protest activities, and the articulation of alternatives in foreign and domestic policy.

**S.A.:** You've been involved in organizing national protest actions in April. Could you tell us how this proposal

(continued on page 8)

This month's issue of *FORUM* continues the discussion on the prospects for building the national antiwar actions on April 20. These actions have been called in five cities nationwide around the following four themes: No U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, Freeze and Reverse the Arms Race, Jobs and Justice, and End U.S. Support to Apartheid in South Africa.

In our last issue of *FORUM* leaders of the labor, peace, and religious movements presented their views on the perspectives for building a mass antiwar movement in the wake of Reagan's re-election. In this issue we are focusing on the ongoing organizing efforts for building the April 20 demonstrations.

The participants in this month's *FORUM* are the following: Leslie Cagan, national co-facilitator of the New York-based Mobilization for Survival; Don White, member of the subregional executive council of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) in Los Angeles; and Carl Finamore, member of the steering committee of the San Francisco Spring Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice Committee.

We are also including a review of Fred Halstead's book, "Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War," by Socialist Action staffwriter Carole Seligman. This review focuses on the lessons for today of the anti-Vietnam war movement.—THE EDITORS



Socialist Action/Marc Bedner

### Don White: "Coalition will be very broad in L.A."

**Socialist Action:** What are some of the activities currently being organized in Los Angeles to stop U.S. intervention in Central America?

**Don White:** The national mobilization for April 20 is considered very important in Los Angeles. We will work through the April 20 coalition to bring thousands of people into the streets to demonstrate that there is broad opposition to the Reagan administration on both foreign and domestic issues.

We also consider it important to work on the Pledge of Resistance. Nationally, 30,000 signatures have been collected of people who are willing to hold vigils, demonstrate, and protest any further escalations of the Reagan administration's policy of intervention—particularly in Central America and the Caribbean.

**S.A.:** What has been the response in

Los Angeles to the Reagan administration's attacks on the Sanctuary movement?

**White:** The arrests of Sanctuary workers and refugees earlier this week have shown all too clearly that the Reagan administration will do anything necessary, trample over anyone, and sacrifice possibly even the lives of Central American refugees to move its agenda forward.

And the arrests have already evoked a strong reaction. There are calls to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to the Reagan administration, to congresspeople. A demonstration denouncing the arrests has been organized for Monday [Jan. 21] by The Pledge of Resistance, USOCA (United States out of Central America), and CISPES, among others. The refugee community and the religious community are also involved.

**S.A.:** Can you tell us something about the Jobs with Peace Initiative that was conducted in Los Angeles?

**White:** That was an incredible accomplishment. The initiative passed here by an impressive percentage—

(continued on page 9)

Leslie Cagan is national co-facilitator of the New York-based Mobilization for Survival. The interview was conducted by Alan Benjamin.

Don White is a member of the subregional executive council of the Los Angeles Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and of the Los Angeles Coalition for Peace and Justice. The interview was conducted by Andrea Houtman.

# Carl Finamore: 'Big push is needed for April 20 actions'

By CARL FINAMORE

The Reagan administration continues to walk a political tightrope as it attempts to avoid provoking massive opposition to its war policies in Central America. Washington is thus pushing the diplomatic maneuvers by Secretary of State George Schultz in the Geneva disarmament talks as a peaceful smokescreen to cover up its war policies in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

In another move intended to quiet dissent, the administration continues to proclaim Reagan's substantial electoral victory as a mandate for his Central American policy. But this boast is tempered by the comments of many media editorialists and pollsters, who warn that the majority sentiment against the arms race and U.S. intervention did not shift with the November elections.

In fact, this majority sentiment has forced the government to proceed more slowly than it would like in providing direct assistance to the "contras" seeking to overthrow the Sandinista government and to the bloody Salvadoran and Guatemalan regimes.

## Significance of April 20

There exists great potential today for mobilizing this mass sentiment against the U.S. war drive. It was thus extremely significant that several months ago the anti-intervention movement announced plans for national protest actions during the week of April 15-22. Mass demonstrations are scheduled for April 20 in Washington, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Denver.

Dozens of national organizations and hundreds of local groups have pledged support to these actions and to the four themes: No U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean; Freeze and Reverse the Arms Race; Jobs and Justice; End U.S. Support to Apartheid in South Africa.

The April national actions already represent a giant step forward for the antiwar movement by combining demands of the antinuclear weapons and anti-intervention movements. With the additional potential of attracting anti-apartheid sentiment, a unique and powerful coalition around the four national themes is possible.

It is also possible to enlist the support of important sectors of the labor movement in these national antiwar actions. In recent years, a large number of unions have begun to break away from the cold-war ideology of the AFL-CIO leadership. Fact-finding tours to Central America by top union leaders have challenged the lies of the administration, while several official union publications have linked the war spending to the economic plight of U.S. workers.

## West Coast examples

In its latest issues, *Socialist Action* has reported on the progress of the San Francisco Spring Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice Committee. Attracting unprecedented labor, religious, and community support, this unified coalition has obtained free office space in a union office building, printed 20,000 leaflets, and established functioning working committees.

At its first mass meeting on Jan. 24, over 350 Bay Area antiwar activists enthusiastically pledged to build the April 20 demonstration as widely and

broadly as possible. [See accompanying photo-story.]

Good progress is also being made in Los Angeles, where a broadly sponsored coalition held its founding meeting on Jan. 31. Organizers of the April 20 mobilization [see interview with Don White on page 7] expect to gather hundreds of additional endorsements for this action.

But other results across the country are not as promising. The national coalition responsible for the Washington actions—the April Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice Committee—has only recently acquired an office with one full-time staff person.

Moreover, insufficient effort has been made to encourage the development of local coalitions—particularly on the East Coast and in the Midwest. Yet, substantial participation from Midwest and Eastern seaboard cities has always been essential for the success of a national action in Washington.

The national coalition has called for

four days of protest in the nation's capital—including lobbying and civil disobedience—but appears to have serious doubts about the potential for building a massive demonstration on April 20. But the examples of the San Francisco and Los Angeles coalitions should be sufficient proof that it is possible to tap and mobilize the massive antiwar sentiment of American working people.

## We need a mass action

In the months prior to the November national elections, most anti-intervention groups and individuals devoted their efforts almost exclusively to defeat Ronald Reagan by campaigning for Walter Mondale or Jesse Jackson.

Protest rallies and demonstrations came to a near standstill as energy, money, and false hopes were placed in the ability or desire of the Democratic Party to end U.S. aggression in Central America. Today, many of the leaders of these organizations have now become demoralized by Mondale's defeat. They falsely believe the voters' rejection of Mondale represented an acceptance of Reagan's war drive.

But there is absolutely no evidence to indicate that the American majority sentiment for peace in Central America has been reversed. It is wrong to equate

Mondale's electoral defeat with an endorsement of Reagan's pro-war policies because Mondale's support to the invasion of Grenada and his pledge to quarantine Nicaragua revealed that his views were hardly distinguishable from Reagan's.

The anti-intervention movement has traditionally become disoriented during election periods. This was the case in 1984. But today we must put this confusion behind us and recognize the need for a massive and united display of opposition to the threats posed against the people of Central America.

We should also understand that *focusing* on lobbying or individual acts of civil disobedience is no substitute for building mass actions. As the anti-Vietnam war movement taught us, mass actions are the most effective way to tie the hands of the warmakers. We need mass antiwar actions in order to prevent a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua.

The April 20 demonstrations in the five designated cities are designed to bring together the broadest sectors of the population in the most massive and visible display of opposition to Washington's war policies. More than ever, a great push is needed to make the April 20 actions a success. ■



Eugene "Gus" Newport, mayor of Berkeley, Calif., addressing the first organizational meeting of the S.F. Spring Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice. Over 350 activists attended the meeting at the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco on Jan. 24. Newport is one of four co-chairs of the Spring Mobilization, which is organizing a mass march and rally on April 20.

## ...Leslie Cagan

(continued from page 7)

developed and where things stand today for the April actions?

**Cagan:** The idea for major protest activities in the spring came out of discussions that were held about a year ago within the nuclear disarmament movement on the need to begin to link our work to that of other forces in the peace and justice movement.

We found ourselves jumping from issue to issue. At one point we focused on the Euromissiles. At another point we focused on the MX missile. This is not to deny or undermine the very hard and good work that a lot of people were doing. But this work was still scattered.

We ended up feeling the need to project something that could serve as a vehicle to help unify and strengthen the peace and justice movement. We focused in on the need for major protest activity, regardless of who would be elected in November.

This evolved into a plan that calls for national actions in April and that links several movements that are working on different issues. We have a call that addresses U.S. intervention in Central America, the situation in South Africa and U.S. support for apartheid, nuclear weapons, and the domestic situation—the large military budget and the lack of social spending.

What we are trying to project is a more coherent and more unified peace and justice movement. We see the April actions as an important arena for making this kind of public statement, both in Washington and in actions on the West Coast.

**S. A.:** What are the actions being planned and what are the dates projected for them?

**Cagan:** The dates are April 19-22. We are planning activities on this day which are not just the traditional march and rally. We are trying to be creative about developing activity that sends a strong political message and can also be inspiring to the people there, regardless of the number of people who come. There will also be lobbying efforts and non-violent civil disobedience on that Monday.

**S.A.:** How is April 20 building in other cities?

**Cagan:** It varies from city to city, but we know there are coalitions already underway and doing work in virtually all the major East Coast cities and in a number of Midwest and Southern cities. There is a major organizing effort out on the West Coast with activities in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle. These are activities that we will project as part of the national actions packet.

The other thing is that we are encouraging local activities on Tax Day, which

is April 15. This is important in and of itself but also as a building action for the national demonstrations.

**S.A.:** The San Francisco Bay Area coalition is building very broadly. It has involved labor leaders, the church, elected officials, and community and solidarity activists. How do you see this fitting into the national picture?

**Cagan:** What San Francisco is doing is also a priority for the national coalition. We must all pull in not just the peace and disarmament constituencies but the other groups that work on very important issues. This includes labor, the Third World constituencies—particularly the Black community—the student population, and others. This is beginning to pick up some steam. For instance, there are already some national labor unions that are on board or have expressed interest.

**S.A.:** How would you advise our readers as to the next step in building and organizing the April actions, particularly April 20?

**Cagan:** The most important part of a process like this is to get the word out in the unions, at the workplace, in school, in newsletters, and in the media. And I think we should promote these actions not just as a one-shot deal, but as part of a process of building a more unified movement in this country that is going to last beyond April. ■

Carl Finamore is a member of Socialist Action and of the steering committee of the San Francisco Spring Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice.



**Anti-Vietnam war movement:**

# Some lessons are worth remembering

By CAROLE SELIGMAN

*Out Now! A participant's account of the American movement against the war in Vietnam*, by Fred Halstead. Monad Press, New York, \$9.95.

"Hey, hey, Uncle Sam! We remember Vietnam!" This chant is heard often on demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America.

During the course of the long Vietnam war, the great majority of people in this country came to favor U.S. withdrawal, and millions actively opposed the war by demonstrating in the streets. The opposition got so massive that it included active-duty soldiers who organized antiwar protests on their bases and participated with civilians in conferences and street demonstrations.

Comparing U.S. policy today to U.S. policy in Vietnam is an effective way to remind people that our government is carrying out a policy of aggression against small, poor countries trying to determine their own destinies. It also can serve as a reminder that the people of the United States intervened to help stop their government from carrying out its aggression in Vietnam.

Fred Halstead's "Out Now!" is an invaluable source for today's antiwar activists. Halstead describes the major events in the protest movement from 1963 through 1975, when the last American troops were finally withdrawn.

Woven through the chronological description of the various actions,

teach-ins, demonstrations, conferences, and the groups that sponsored them are brief summaries of what was happening in Vietnam itself, portraits of the main national leaders, and brief sketches of many of the rank-and-file activists.

Included are extensive quotes from minutes, conference proceedings, calls to action, and leaflets—which give a real flavor of the events described and show the sides in the debates which arose. Halstead is more than fair with those who held opposing views to his but makes no pretense at being a detached observer.

Halstead was an active participant and a leader in the antiwar movement and also a leader in the Socialist Workers Party. His book is frankly partisan to the socialist perspective that the SWP brought into the movement.

**A mass action approach**

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance were consistent advocates of peaceful, legal, mass demonstrations focused around the single idea of bringing our troops home from Vietnam—Out Now! In retrospect it seems obvious that this was a correct orientation. The demonstrations grew to over 1 million people and obviously could not be ignored. (Later "The Pentagon Papers" showed that the demonstrations were very much a factor that determined the moves of the government.)

Advocates of mass, peaceful demonstrations argued at the time that this

form of protest would be able to draw the "ordinary person" into action. This approach was geared toward reaching out to working people (whose union leaderships for the most part supported the war) and, later, to soldiers. Broad coalitions were built in order that the broadest constituencies of antiwar people could come together in common action, despite differences they might have on other political issues.

Many groups who had extensive political programs on all kinds of issues were able to understand that the urgency of the Vietnam war required the broadest possible unity in action and they were able to agree to disagree on the rest of their issues in order to forge

**"Peaceful, mass action drew the ordinary person into action."**

unity around opposition to the war. But at several points during the course of the Vietnam war, one or another key group of the movement opposed the call for mass mobilizations.

Over the course of the movement the main discussions and debates counterposed the strategies of mass, peaceful, street demonstrations to electoral politics and civil disobedience or "confrontation."

Sometimes the issue was debated in a straightforward way and other times the issue was obscured by organizational squabbles—such as whether a national conference should set the date of a mobilization or leave it to some future time.

**Same questions reappear today**

In many ways, today's struggles against U.S. intervention in Central

America and against nuclear weapons stand on the shoulders of the Vietnam antiwar movement. Many of the lessons of the earlier movement have been absorbed, but some of the same questions are reappearing today.

For example, almost all of the antiwar, antinuclear, and solidarity groups decided to support Mondale and other Democratic Party candidates instead of building mass demonstrations to answer the invasion of Grenada and the increased U.S. moves against Nicaragua and El Salvador. While the movement was thus demobilized, the United States was able to carry out extensive war games in Honduras and the Caribbean and move new nuclear weaponry into Europe.

This is why the escalation of the U.S. war drive today demands a unified response from the opposition. The call for the April 20 spring peace mobilization should elicit the broadest support from the entire antiwar movement—no matter what other projects groups are working on. The need is pressing for activists to put aside their differences over politics and tactics and to unite in mass actions for peace.

A great difference between the peace forces of the 1980s and those of the 60s and 70s is that the labor unions are becoming involved in the current movement. The U.S. working class has suffered several economic setbacks in the past 20 years, and union leaderships that actively engage in protest are reflecting the discontent of their ranks.

More unions are actively opposed to the government's Central America policies than opposed the Vietnam war at the height of the antiwar movement. This alone—and all it can mean in terms of mobilizing masses of people in this country—affords the current movement a real chance of stopping U.S. intervention before the government commits U.S. troops.

**...White**

(continued from page 7)

something between 55 and 70 percent voted yes for Jobs with Peace. It also included lots of grass-roots organizing on the part of community people who are not traditionally involved in the progressive movement.

This successful initiative also helps combat the misconception that Reagan has a mandate in this country. That is not true. He has created a climate of fear in the United States. And, unfortunately, some people voted on one issue alone—their fear over economic issues—their pocketbooks. The fact that inflation was reduced somewhat was enough to mislead some people into thinking that their interests were best served by Reagan.

S.A.: The initiative won in the same electoral districts where Reagan won. This means that a large number of voters who voted for Reagan also voted for peace...

White: That's right. When you have a president like Reagan who is a master of media, it is scary to think that often it's simply a personality—a father figure—who can seduce people with a false sense of "I'm in control—don't think."

So there are many elements that led to his reelection which do not invalidate the growing support of the movements against apartheid in South Africa, against the nuclear arms race, and particularly against his attempts to militarize space—star wars—which many Americans are becoming extraordinarily nervous about.

There is an enormous reservoir of opposition to the Reagan administration. The Jobs with Peace Initiative showed that. We think that April 20 will also show that.

S.A.: Could you describe some of the activities that are being carried out to build the April 20 action?

White: At the present time, 24 activists in Los Angeles have signed an invi-

tation to an initial meeting to be held Jan. 31. They include representatives of the Los Angeles New Jewish Agenda, the Office of the Americas, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1222, Service Employees International Union Local 535, Jobs with Peace, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 26, SANE, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), CISPES, and others.

The coalition is going to be very broad here. Even the 24 signers indicate a broad outreach and include some groups that have not been involved until now in these types of demonstrations.

We also believe that the religious groups will come out in force for that first planning meeting. The attack on the Sanctuary movement, concern over the violation of human rights in Central America, concern over the deportation of refugees, the moral questions posed by the arms race and by the 35,000 homeless people in Los Angeles will bring the religious community out in large numbers.

S.A.: What do you think is the importance of mass action in stopping U.S. intervention in Central America?

White: These demonstrations can have a dramatic effect. They show that thousands of Americans can mobilize and join with other citizens in the streets to call for a redirection of U.S. foreign and domestic policy.

We know that these demonstrations had an effect during the Vietnam war. The administrations at that time were aware that citizens were in the streets protesting their tax dollars being exported to kill innocent men, women, and children. Now we're going to try to demonstrate that the American people do not want U.S. tax dollars exported to kill Nicaraguans and Salvadorans. We do not want to militarize space. We do not want U.S. collaboration with apartheid in South Africa.

What we do want is jobs, programs that meet human needs, not war. We want a life with dignity here in the United States, and we want that same kind of life for people in other countries. We think that this can help build a strong movement in the United States that will force the U.S. administration to change its role in the world.

I would urge your readers to participate in the coalition for April 20 in their cities. If we can mobilize five or six major demonstrations on a single day,

there will be a tremendous impact on the media and on the Reagan administration. And suffering people in other parts of the world will then know that there is concern here for these issues and that people are working to change the role of the United States.

People in the Los Angeles area who are interested in finding out more about our coalition can get in touch with: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 4603 Prospect Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90027.

## Helping to build the April 20 antiwar actions



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# ...Arms talks

(continued from page 1)

with the United States will soften the edge of hard-line U.S. antagonism to their country. The Reagan administration, too, wants to convey the impression to its European allies and the American public that it can keep the nuclear lid on U.S.-Soviet relations from blowing, while U.S. military expansion proceeds apace.

At issue in future negotiations are U.S. demands to negotiate major cuts in land-based missiles, a proposal seen by the Soviets as a ruse to strip them of their most effective weapons. The U.S. arsenal of 11,190 strategic warheads is primarily concentrated in submarines and bombers.

The Soviet Union, by contrast, has 5800 of its 8240 nuclear warheads on land-based missiles. The Reagan administration also insists that the Soviets dismantle hundreds of their triple-warhead SS-20s targeted on Western Europe or face full deployment of 572 Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. The Soviets insist that parity already exists between the NATO alliance and the Warsaw Pact countries.

## Star wars

The Soviet Union says that the success of any future agreements in resolving these issues rests on a commitment by the United States to curtail its Star Wars project. The Reagan administration, however, has made it clear that nothing will deter the launching of this \$26-billion project. The Star Wars program involves research into developing a system of space-based weapons using lasers, particle beams, and projectiles, which could intercept Soviet ICBMs in flight.

The American negotiators did "concede" to Andrei Gromyko's demand that they at least agree to the objective of "preventing an arms race in space," a shift from the Reagan administration's previous willingness to only "discuss" the arms race in space. In return for this weighty concession, the Soviets agreed to include under discussion of space weapons, ground-based weapons aimed into space, which would include Soviet anti-ballistic missiles.

Reagan claims Star Wars is a "defensive" system that would provide a shield against nuclear attack, protecting the populace and shifting the focus of nuclear strategy away from a mutual "balance of terror."

But the paramount concern of the

Pentagon, regardless of Reagan's starry-eyed pitch for a new, improved nuclear deterrent, is "to pursue development of a defensive system for the purpose of protecting not whole populations," reports Charlotte Saikowski in *The Christian Science Monitor* (Jan. 7, 1985), "but hard targets; that is, ballistic missiles."

The Star Wars plan will, in fact, increase the likelihood of a preemptive nuclear attack by the United States, which refuses to disavow first use of nuclear weapons in a future conflict. The Pentagon warriors will feel all the

against ballistic missiles, they could prove quite deadly against targets on land, including populations.

New offensive weapons will certainly be built to counter any Star Wars system and the price paid in lives in a nuclear confrontation will multiply accordingly. The expense, needless to say, for this added destructive potential will not come cheap. The full cost of a Star Wars system is estimated to be as high as \$1 trillion.

The United States appears determined to proceed with the development of Star Wars weapons, while using the

time reconciling their search for "stability" with the "Marxist precept" of "inevitable world progress toward a socialist future."

## A lasting modus vivendi?

"It is, however, the live-and-let-live basis," she reminds us, "of the modus vivendi the superpowers have evolved over the decades in order to survive in the nuclear age."

That is not entirely true. The Soviet leaders have long since reconciled their brand of Marxism with their eternal quest for a lasting modus vivendi with the United States and its allies. In the lexicon of the Soviet bureaucrats, the "theory" of stability goes by the name of detente or peaceful coexistence. The problem for the Soviets is that this search is continually strained by the inevitable ruptures of the class struggle.

"The only way to change East-West relations fundamentally," *The Wall Street Journal* candidly admits in its otherwise hopeful assessment of the Geneva talks, "is to change the character of either the West or the East. We are not volunteering, and the Soviet elites don't dare."

That job is better left to the working people of East and West, who offer the only escape from the "balance of terror" that threatens to topple us into the abyss of nuclear obliteration. It is a path that leads not to Geneva but to mass struggle against the Washington warmakers to ensure that they no longer menace the globe with their nuclear toys.

That task, too, requires disarming the ruling rich and their generals of more than just their weapons. It demands putting them out of business for good. That route leads to a new kind of society—a socialist democracy—where capitalists, bureaucrats, and nuclear weapons will all be consigned to the status of curious antiques of a deadlier age. But that was not a perspective present in Geneva. ■



more confident in pushing the button if they think a Soviet retaliatory attack can be neutralized.

Robert M. Bowman, president of the Institute for Space and Security Studies and former director of Star Wars programs for the Air Force, notes that "star wars battle stations, orbiting 300 miles above the Soviet Union," can hardly be considered "defensive" in nature (*The Christian Science Monitor*, Jan. 10, 1985). Bowman says that even if Star Wars weapons were ineffective

project as bargaining leverage to pressure the Soviets. Liberal critics of Reagan's "irrational" hard-line stance can remind themselves, should Star Wars throw a cog into the wheel of future U.S.-Soviet agreements, that when you dangle a trillion dollars before the aerospace industry, things have a way of justifying themselves in the end.

Elizabeth Pond remarks in *The Christian Science Monitor* (Jan. 10, 1985) that the Soviet leaders have a hard

# ...Nicaragua

(continued from page 1)

explain his absence from the Jan. 9 ceremonies in Managua:

"My gesture and my words... are a call to reflect upon what the Latin American democracies and the rest of the world hoped for from that great revolution of all the Nicaraguan people: political pluralism, a mixed economy, and a nonaligned position—as the

revolution pledged—conveying the true wishes of its people."

Perez, while asserting his opposition to U.S. intervention, played into the U.S. propaganda campaign around the Nicaraguan elections:

"Those of us who believe we have done so much for the Sandinista revolution feel cheated, because sufficient guarantees were not provided to assure the participation of all political forces. Sadly, the limiting in this way of true political pluralism weakened the credibility of the elections."

These comments by Perez are indicative of a shift in the attitude of a series of governments in Latin America and Western Europe that have greeted the measures taken by the Nicaraguan government since 1979 with distrust or outright opposition.

In contrast, the Cuban government has made significant sacrifices to come to the aid of the embattled Nicaraguan revolution. The day after attending Ortega's inauguration, Castro went to

ceremonies marking the completion of a sugar refinery built outside of Managua with Cuban aid. He announced the cancelling of the entire \$45-million debt owed by the Nicaraguans.

Castro commented, "You can construct works like this sugar mill with your own efforts, but perhaps, for example, you cannot search for oil, so it is correct to reach an agreement with foreign investors."

He added, "Here there can be a capitalist economy, but what does not exist, and this is crucial, is a government at the service of capitalism."

In comparison to the days immediately following the July 1979 Sandinista victory, the aid coming from foreign capitalist sources is becoming extremely limited as the economic blockade the United States is trying to impose becomes stronger. Fortunately for the Nicaraguan revolution, the solidarity felt by the Latin American working classes is far stronger than that exhibited by the social-democratic ex-president of Venezuela. ■

## International VIEWPOINT



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What are the implications of the British miners' strike in Britain and for workers fighting to defend their right to work everywhere? How are the Nicaraguan revolutionaries responding to the worldwide propaganda campaign and the threats of direct imperialist intervention against them? How have the Polish workers continued to organize since the 1981 military crackdown? What is the response of revolutionary socialists to these events?

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## A letter from Nicaragua

The following letter was written by a young Nicaraguan woman, Raymunda Morales Morales. It was addressed to the North American "brigadistas" and to the U.S. antiwar movement. It was given to Socialist Action member Dianne Feeley, who was in Nicaragua last September on the Marvin Jose Lopez International Brigade. The translation from the Spanish is by Socialist Action.

I hope that when you read these lines you will all be together to listen to my words. I see that you are great people—friendly, respectful, and caring. I have only known you for a short time and already I have a lot of warm feelings for you. You are the warmest human beings I have ever known. I thought that everyone in the United States was like your president—with bad thoughts for Nicaragua. But now I see that I was wrong and that only your president is a dictator. I hope you will relay my message that the people of Nicaragua were happy to have you here with us and that we will do everything possible for you to take back with you a good impression of your Nicaraguan brothers and sisters. We hope that you help us prevent more massacres of women, children, the elderly, and men of great value for our people. Don't think that you cannot do anything for us. You have already done a lot. You are showing us that you are human beings with big hearts, with feelings. You are warm, loving proletarians for helping us with such spirit in all that you do within the reach of your hands. In the name of all Nicaraguans, I give you thanks for being so good. I thank God for that. This is a country that loves all countries without regard for color, size, or race. We want to live in peace. Let there be no more blood flowing from children, the elderly, women, and men. I hope that the people of the United States will understand this reality and that we may relate more to each other and live in peace like brothers and sisters. You and we are the living example.

Warmly,  
Raymunda Morales Morales

Managua, Free Nicaragua, Sept. 24, 1984.



# Israeli right feels wind in its sails

By STEVE ASHBY

JERUSALEM—It was an average October evening in the West Bank. A bus crowded with Palestinians on their way home from work rolled down the road from Jerusalem to the Arab city of Hebron. Suddenly an explosion rocked the bus, screams filled the air, and the bus crashed off the side of the road. One Palestinian was dead and a dozen others injured.

The right-wing Zionist terrorists had struck again. Later the Israeli police picked up a suspect who was accused of firing the rocket—taken from the Israeli military and made in the U.S.A.—that was launched into the Arab bus. The suspect, a reserve Israeli soldier, claimed he was acting out of vengeance because “when the police won’t act we must.”

The attack was not unusual. Zionist terrorism is part of the everyday experience for Palestinians.

## Israeli society in crisis

The background to the escalating use of terrorist violence by right-wing Zionists is the growing crisis of the Israeli economy and the impact of 17 years of occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The economy, despite recent austerity measures by the “National Unity” government, remains out of control. The inflation rate is running at an annual rate of over 800 percent.

The Israeli government is in desperate need of the \$4.85 billion they have asked Reagan for in 1985—but even that unprecedented aid won’t halt the economic crisis. The economy is feeling the impact of the \$2 million a day spent on the occupation of Lebanon, the West Bank, and Gaza.

Gideon Spiro, a leader of Yesh Gvul, the Israeli soldiers’ anti-war movement, explained the changes in Israeli society resulting from the occupation in a speech to a United Nations conference in September 1983:

“Sixteen years of occupation and oppression has created a new Israeli with a colonial mentality, an Israeli who is a racist, an Israeli who tries to cover his government’s brutality and ignorance with quotations from the Bible.

“This Israeli, which I would call the ugly Israeli, the occupier and oppressor, calls on the assistance of the Almighty and thereby sanctifies the torture of Palestinians, their expulsion, the confiscation of their land, the denial of their basic rights. In the Occupied Territories there is already a system of apartheid—one law for the native Palestinians and another for the master race, the settlers.”

As Spiro told me in an interview:

“The polls show that 60 percent of the Israeli Jewish youth are against democratic values. Sixty percent of the population as a whole is against freedom of the press. This is the result of 17 years of occupation. . . . Until now, the Israelis have not had to choose between settlements in the West Bank and owning a car. Now they will have to. Now Israel is moving to the right. Israel is going toward civil war. The settlers have already started it on the West Bank.”

Deir Yassein, Qibya, Kafr Qasim, Sabra, and Shatila. To the Western world, they are foreign-sounding names. To Palestinians, they evoke the

memories of massacres carried out by the Israelis. For the Palestinians, Zionist terrorism is nothing new. Yet in the recent period there is a clear escalation of the right-wing Zionist settlers’ violence against the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

In the last few years, there have been numerous attempts to blow up the Dome of the Rock and Al Aqsa Mosque—one of the holiest shrines for the world’s 800 million Muslims—in the old city of Jerusalem. On June 2, 1980, four Palestinian mayors in the West Bank were bombed. Gunmen burst into the Islamic University in Hebron in July 1983, killing three students and wounding 40 others. On April 27 of last year, explosive charges were attached to five Arab buses. The bombs were discovered, saving the lives of hundreds of Palestinians.

Last spring the Israeli government felt pressured to arrest some of the right-wing Zionist terrorists. It was revealed that the underground movement included top Israeli army officers, people in senior administrative positions in the Occupied Territories, and the family members of public figures and members of the Knesset. The trial of the terrorists has dragged on for months—unlike the “trials” of Palestinians, which are mere show trials.

The defense has argued that the government was aware of and supported their attacks on the Palestinians. In October, 7000 Zionists turned out in the Arab city of Hebron to show support for the underground terrorist movement. The rally was led by former Israeli chief of staff, and now minister of Industry, Ariel Sharon—the butcher of Lebanon—and Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of the right-wing Kach movement.

## Kahane and the Kach movement

In July of this year, Kahane was elected to the Israeli Knesset with 25,000 votes. His followers have been responsible for much of the above-mentioned terrorism. His election program called for driving out the 700,000 Arabs from Israel, as well as the 1.3 million Arabs from the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Kahane argues that “the very idea of a democratic Jewish state is nonsense. A state can be permanently defined as Jewish, or as democratic, but never as both.”

Chaim Ginsberg, a leader of the Kach movement and like Kahane also a U.S. citizen, told me in an interview, “In the next election we expect to win five more seats, or up to 100,000 votes. The nation is moving toward the right, toward Kahane.”

After Kahane’s election, he and 100 supporters marched through Palestinian East Jerusalem, attacking Arabs, and chanting, “Death to Arabs—Arabs out!” Since then Kahane has led marches on a whole series of Arab cities, where he has been met by massive demonstrations of Arabs as well as some Israeli Jews.

Kahane, although more blunt than mainstream Israeli leaders, does not differ in essence from their program. The ultimate source of the growing right-wing terrorism in Israel today is the leading Zionist figures in the Israeli government.

## Dheisheh refugee camp assaulted

The focus of the right-wing violence in recent months has been the Dheisheh refugee camp, which lies outside Bethlehem in the West Bank. The 10,000 Dheisheh Palestinians, like the other 400,000 Pales-

tinians who live in refugee camps in the Occupied Territories, were driven in 1948 from their homes in what became Israel. The Dheisheh refugees, among the most militant in the West Bank, are the focus of hatred of the Israeli government and the settlers, who want to drive them out of the camp and into Jordan.

In early October the camp was attacked by Kahane and dozens of his armed supporters. They broke down doors of Palestinian homes, fired shots into the air, and shot up rooftop water reservoirs. Kahane prayed near the camp mosque and cursed Arabs as “dogs.”

The Israeli military, who accompany Kahane everywhere due to his Knesset status, did nothing to stop him.

The next day 300 armed Israeli settlers led by the American Rabbi Moshe Levinger, leader of the right-wing Gush Emunim movement, raided the camp. The Israeli authorities turned the settlers back, but responded by closing eight of the camp’s entrances. Eleven entrances had already been closed in the last two years. Now only one small entrance remains open for the camp’s 10,000 residents.

In November the government further escalated its moves to terrorize the Dheisheh Palestinians by ordering five newly built shops along the Hebron-Jerusalem road to be demolished. Rabbi Levinger has set up an encampment outside the main Dheisheh entrance, and the right-wing settlers have been given permission by the government to patrol outside the camp.

One Palestinian told me “the camp is like a massive prison.”

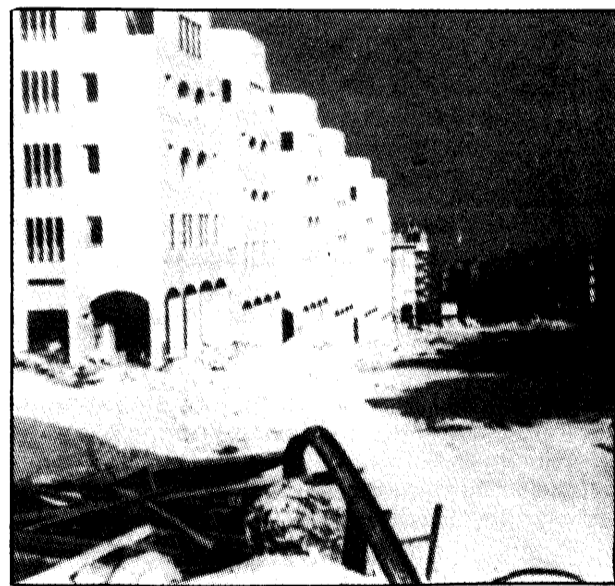
Residents have reported that the “camp resembles an army camp with [Israeli military] patrols everywhere.”

Palestinian leaders in the West Bank have warned of the danger of a massacre of Dheisheh Palestinians at the hands of the right-wing settlers and the Israeli military.

## Israeli leftists respond

In October and again in November, two dozen Israelis from the “Committee in Solidarity with Birzeit University” picketed in front of Dheisheh camp against the actions of the right-wing settlers and the Israeli government. Both times they were arrested.

As Gideon Spiro, one of the protesters, explained, “The settlers arrive at Dheisheh camp



Steve Ashby

**Zionist settlement under construction outside Jerusalem. Over 30,000 settlers live in housing complexes on Palestinian land confiscated by the Israeli state.**

behaving like terrorists and are not arrested, while we hold a peaceful demonstration to protest violations of human rights and terrorist acts and we get arrested!”

In addition to the actions of the Committee, a new group called the “Committee Against Racism” was formed in September by leaders of the Peace Now movement. It was organized to mobilize opposition to Kahane among Israeli Jews.

In October, for example, Kahane and his supporters marched on a theater in Jerusalem that was showing “Beyond the Walls,” a film that advocates Jewish/Palestinian dialogue. They were met by 3000—mostly Jewish—protesters, who threw tomatoes at the right-wingers.

But it is the right wing that feels the wind is in its sails. As Israeli society polarizes, increasingly the Israeli people must decide which side they are on. And the American people, whose government has given Israel \$29 billion since 1948, must decide which side they are on as well: Are they with Kahane and Sharon, for anti-Arab terrorism, for racist violence—or are they with the Palestinians and the progressive Israeli movement, for justice and equality for Arabs and Jews alike. ■

By NAT WEINSTEIN

On New Year's Day in 1959, Fidel Castro entered Havana at the head of the victorious Cuban revolution. Scores of gangsters, generals, and torturers who once propped up the Fulgencio Batista dictatorship fled in the dawn to Miami.

The revolutionary government did not wait long before responding to the demands of the impoverished Cuban people. It enacted a series of economic and political reforms and began to set up a planned economy.

These reforms were resisted, however, by a number of wealthy ruling-class figures who had joined the coalition government. They saw that their own privileges were threatened. In addition, the revolution was confronted by an ever-tightening economic blockade, sabotage, and threats of invasion by the Kennedy administration.

The Castro leadership met the imperialist challenge by nationalizing the U.S. banks and corporations and the holdings of the capitalists and landlords "down to the nails in their shoes."

Less than two years after the Rebel Army had taken power, the revolutionary government had established a workers' state with the goal of establishing socialism.

The Cuban revolution inspired a new generation of fighters in Latin America and around the world. By the time of the first conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, which met in Havana in 1967, a current of Central American revolutionists looking to the Castroist leadership as an alternative to the ossified Communist parties had developed.

This current includes the FSLN in Nicaragua, which was to triumph over the hated Somoza dictatorship in July 1979, and the Salvadoran revolutionists organized in the FMLN.

From the day it took office in 1980, the Reagan administration has not hidden its goal of overturning the victory of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, of drowning the struggle of the Salvadoran masses in blood, and ultimately of crushing the Cuban revolution. The invasion of Grenada in 1983 was a dress-rehearsal for what the U.S. government would like to do throughout the region.

The stakes in the struggle of the Central American revolutionists against U.S. imperialism are therefore very high. The defense of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions—and the extension of the revolutions to El Salvador, Guatemala, and beyond—requires that the leaderships of these revolutions have a clear understanding of the program needed to advance the interests of the impoverished masses of the region.

**"Socialism is not on the agenda"**

In a recent interview, however, Fidel Castro asserts that the Cuban revolution cannot be held up as an example for revolutionists in the rest of Latin America. The interview, published in the Dec. 26, 1984, issue of *The Guardian*, was conducted by Swedish journalist Peter Torbjornsson in Havana in November 1984. Castro states the following:

"In Latin America, socialism is not the question. The Nicaraguans have not set socialism as an objective. Economic development and social reform are the question. No revolutionary movement—including the Salvadorans—has proposed socialism as an objective. We know how the Salvadoran revolutionaries think. Their objective is national liberation. They have proposed a pluralistic system, economically and politically."

Fidel Castro goes on to motivate this orientation. But in doing so a subtle ambiguity creeps in. He presents his rejection of the socialist goal in a way that lends itself to the interpretation that this is a tactic intended to reassure the revolution's bourgeois "friends":

"Proposing socialism would

not only clash with objective economic realities; it would also create obstacles to the revolutionary movement in the rest of Latin America. In my judgment it would weaken the revolutionary movement because you would be presenting every movement for democracy and social justice as a radical movement. I believe that would only help the United States in its campaign to maintain its domination. I do not believe socialism is on the agenda in Latin America. What is on the agenda is national liberation."

According to *The Guardian*, Castro's comments "mark a major change from

which subordinates the struggle against capitalism to "campism."

"Campism" is a term describing a conception of the world as being divided into opposing imperialist and anti-imperialist "camps."

From this flows a strategy of uniting all "anti-imperialist" forces—workers' states and "anti-imperialist" capitalist states—against the imperialist "camp."

Socialist revolution, according to this viewpoint, must be postponed to an indefinite future. Moreover, the political revolution against the bureaucratic dictatorships, like Poland, is ruled out.

A good presentation of this outlook was given by Cuban Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez in an interview

Central America or to the rest of the world."

**The transitional method**

The greatest potential for victory over imperialism and for true national liberation lies in the elemental *anti-capitalist* inclination of the masses of workers and rural laborers. One must remember that it was Fidel Castro himself who once said that tactics designed to fool the enemies of the revolution only end up fooling its friends. Much more is lost by "tactics" that defuse the workers' anti-capitalist instincts than can possibly be gained.

But today Castro fails to distinguish between the tactical slogans and the demands of the mass movements required to advance the revolutionary struggle along the road to its ultimate strategic goal of socialist revolution.

It would indeed "weaken the revolutionary movement" if, as Castro warns, "every movement for democracy and social justice [is presented] as a radical [i.e. revolutionary socialist] movement."

Such a sectarian approach would certainly cut short the development of a mass movement capable of challenging the capitalists for state power.

But the gap between short-term tasks and the longer-term goal is overcome by what revolutionary Marxists call the *transitional method*. This method begins with demands based on the current level of consciousness of the masses. These are demands that represent a bridge from today's consciousness through progressive struggles and explanations to a higher level of thought and action and thus in the direction of socialist revolution.

The other side inherent in the transitional method is the need to construct a conscious instrument to lead workers to the conquest of power—a revolutionary, proletarian, Leninist combat party. The two sides are intimately connected and indispensable for the victory of socialism in the developed countries and ultimately on a world scale.

There is no contradiction, therefore, in mobilizing and educating the masses in action around democratic and day-to-day demands, and the perspective of socialist revolution. The two key leaders of the 1917 workers' revolution in Russia, V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, applied this method to successfully lead the workers to victory in their revolution.

Lenin was the foremost exponent of this dialectical conception of the interrelationship between the ends of the revolutionary struggle and the means for reaching the goal. Trotsky went on to codify this strategy for socialist revolution in the *Transitional Program*, the founding programmatic document of the Fourth International.

[The Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, was founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky after the Stalinist degeneration of the Third

## Castro's new views on revolution pose serious questions



Camilo Cienfuegos and Fidel Castro during Cuban revolution

the 1960s, when Cuba was calling for socialist revolution throughout the hemisphere."

But this observation is not precise.

While his sweeping statement ruling out socialism as a task for today is new, it is not true that Castro ever called for socialist revolution "throughout the hemisphere."

Canada and the United States were most certainly never included in such a perspective. Moreover, active encouragement and aid to revolutionaries by the Cubans have been restricted to the colonial and neo-colonial world.

And even in the underdeveloped sphere of the world, Castroist policy raises a question mark over its previously stated position in favor of socialist revolution.

The sending of Cuban troops to Africa, for example, has two sides to it. The troops unquestionably help defend nationalist governments against imperialist attack. But they also shore up regimes—such as that in Ethiopia—which are opposed to the independent mobilizations of the workers and oppressed nationalities in their countries. This fits in with a perspective

published in the Jan. 11, 1984, *San Francisco Chronicle*. Rodriguez states:

"The problem of Latin America at this moment is the problem of cohesion and coordination between Latin American governments, even if they have different points of view on politics and economics, in order to establish the capacity of Latin America to negotiate with other parts of the world, including the United States."

After affirming that "in no country in Latin America is socialism the immediate reality," Vice President Rodriguez strongly denied that Cuba was interested in having the Nicaraguan government follow the path of the Cuban revolution:

"There are no possibilities in Nicaragua to construct a socialist economy because they do not have enough basic economic development... Nicaragua is at a lower stage of economic development than existed in Cuba at the time of its revolution," Rodriguez stated. "We don't believe that the Cuban model is to be exported either to

### "The Cubans inspired a new generation of fighters around the world."

(Communist) International established by Lenin and Trotsky in 1919.]

**Reaganism is not fascism**

In a similar vein, flowing from the perspective that rejects socialist revolution as the goal of the present period, are Castro's comments concerning alleged fundamental differences within the U.S. ruling class. He says:

"Can we put our trust in these people—in an administration that invaded Grenada, that mined the ports of Nicaragua, that organizes the counterrevolution, that

(continued on page 13)



Fair Play for Cuba Committee demonstrates in front of United Nations during Missile Crisis in October 1962. Washington wants to prevent Nicaragua from following Cuban road.

(continued from page 12)

launched the arms race...who belong to a party with a program that is fascist in its foreign policy?

"One has only to read the positions of the last Republican convention to see its entire fascist program in foreign policy. It's not just dangerous for us; it's dangerous for the whole world."

The interview ends with this response from Fidel Castro:

"In the future I believe there could be new leaders in the United States—more realistic, with broader vision, with more respect for Latin America—because, objectively, we need each other. But the relations of domination have to go. Some day the United States will resign itself to living with revolutions in Latin America."

This perceived qualitative division within U.S. capitalism is mistaken. The designation of the Reagan administration and the Republican party as carrying out a "fascist" foreign policy originates in the world Stalinist movement led by the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. They are the chief rationalizers for class-collaboration and betrayal of the world working class.

The function of this designation is to justify granting political support to one faction of the bosses against another. In this country it is used to give support to the Democratic Party as part of a so-called all-people's front against fascism.

The "fascist" designation is unscientific as well as disorienting. As bad as the Republican wing of the U.S. capitalist class is, it is not fascist. This is not in any way to minimize the malevolence of the Republican wing. Fascism is a special political form for repressing the workers. It is based on the mobilization of declassed petty-bourgeois and lumpen-proletarian masses in a demagogically radical mass movement.

Such an *extra-legal* social movement is used as a battering ram for the destruction of the defensive institutions of the workers and thus for a qualitative reduction in their living standards—all in the service of capitalist profit.

Fascist methods are a last resort for capitalism since it is extremely costly to the capitalists. They pay the heavy price of handing over *political* control to a band of gangsters. The fascist-led mobs, while protecting the capitalist right to expropriate the surpluses created by the workers and farmers, will seize the choicest morsels for the fascist regime.

There is no strategic difference between the U.S. capitalists over foreign or domestic policy—although tactical differences between capitalists certainly do exist. It is possible to take advantage of such tactical differences as was done by the U.S. anti-Vietnam war movement.

But it is a major error to give political support to "good" capitalists or to their political representatives. There are no anti-imperialist representatives of U.S. capitalism. Imperialism is not a policy, it is a stage reached by capitalist society. All representatives of capitalism in the imperialist countries are, by definition, imperialist.

Castro's previous statements in support of President Carter during the 1980 election campaign and against Reagan in the 1984 campaign remove any doubt as to the meaning of his latest remarks. Cuba's dependent relationship with the Soviet bureaucracy has exerted its influence over the Cuban revolutionaries. They have shown the effects of this influence.

#### Pressures and legacy of Stalinism

The underlying motivation for the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy is the reactionary strategy of "socialism in one country," or, as it is more popularly known today, "peaceful coexistence."

"Socialism in one country" was the formula invented by Joseph Stalin to take the Communist International off the road leading to socialist revolution. It was window-dressing for a policy of sacrificing workers' interests in every country in exchange for diplomatic concessions by the imperialist countries to the Soviet state.

Political support granted to capitalist politicians by the Castroists is likewise harmful, whether in the Contadora group of nations or in the heart of imperialism here in the United States. It carries with it the false message to workers and peasants that things will go better for them if these so-called progressive, anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic or anti-monopoly representatives of capitalism are placed in power—with the aid and support of the workers.

It is not possible to wage an effective struggle while in a *strategic* bloc or alliance with the enemy class or a section of it. Political alliances with capitalists dictate support to the minimum demands of the capitalists, the most important of which is their right to exploit the workers. This requirement alone attacks the basic premise of the *revolutionary* workers' movement.

Moreover, when *proletarian* revolutionaries, or those that may have such a conception of themselves, counsel even limited confidence in capitalists to the workers, the workers' own living experience, refuting such confidence, will undermine the authority of their counselors.

The Castroists are paying this price. After the political support granted by Castro to the Velasco Alvarado junta in Peru from 1969 to 1975, or the support to the various bourgeois regimes in Mexico, the great authority the Castroists once had is being eroded in these countries and beyond. The Cuban revolution, and the revolutionary state cre-

ated by that revolution, is the greatest loser.

#### Revolutionists of action

But despite this strategic outlook of the Cuban revolutionaries, one should not draw hasty conclusions. It is far more important to keep in mind that Fidel Castro and the revolutionary current he represents are a different political breed than some of those presently associated with him—like Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, who comes out of the old Stalinist, Popular Socialist Party of Cuba.

The Castroists, have an unequalled history of transcending programmatic misapprehensions such as those under which they presently labor. The July 26 Movement, which destroyed capitalism in Cuba, came to power committed only to democracy—not socialism. Their break with their preconceptions, when the needs of the revolution required it, was relatively swift and sure.

Every attack by Cuban capitalists and U.S. imperialists during the first two years after the defeat of Cuban dictator Batista was met by ever deeper mobilizations of the workers. Matching blow for blow, they armed the workers, systematically mobilizing them to take control over Cuban and U.S. property and relentlessly dismantling and destroying capitalist power.

In so doing—and here too they dis-

### "The Cubans have nothing to fear from mass mobilizations and the extension of the socialist revolution."

tinguished themselves from others who were similarly driven by events—they unleashed in far greater measure the independent power of the workers.

The Castroists are archetypical "revolutionaries of action," a term describing pragmatic revolutionaries who have displayed a capacity to go beyond their limited strategic goals in their genuine commitment to advance the interests and material well-being of the masses.

Revolutionists of action is an apt term describing the fighters in Nicaragua and El Salvador today as well. This current, too, is genuinely committed to conquering a better life for the workers and peasants in their countries. This is not at all the case with the so-called socialists and communists with whom they nominally share similar political positions and perspectives.

Despite their strategic misconceptions, the Sandinistas, for example, have taken important steps forward that would have seemed ruled out by their initial political program—although they have yet to follow the road of Cuba all the way.

In sharp contrast, those parties that

follow the lead of the Stalinist rulers in Moscow are unable to overcome their strategic misconceptions. Those political forces that adhere to the so-called Socialist International are equally cynical. When push comes to shove they, too, show themselves to be determined opponents of socialist revolution.

#### Strengths and weaknesses

But in Cuba we still have reason to be optimistic. The Cuban revolutionaries of action have nothing to fear from mass mobilizations and the extension of socialist revolution.

Unlike the Stalinist bureaucracies in Eastern Europe and Asia, the Cuban leadership rules with the highest degree of consent and support from Cuban workers and peasants. They systematically mobilize their people by the millions in enthusiastic defense of the considerable material gains of the Cuban revolution.

Unfortunately, however, direct forms of workers' rule that would permit Cuban workers to decide domestic and international policy, have not yet been institutionalized in Cuba. Workers' democracy would be the best guarantee for advancing the Cuban and world socialist revolution.

While repression of worker dissidents is rare, the workers in Cuba still do not have the right to politically organize independently of the Cuban Communist Party—the only legal party there. Neither do they have the right to organize themselves into a tendency or current within the Cuban CP so as to be able to systematically put forward and argue for a point of view and policies that may be at variance with the official ones.

This right, including the right to elect and recall the delegates to the highest decision-making bodies of the state, is still denied the Cuban workers. This denial of institutionalized forms of workers' democratic control over all aspects of economic, political, and social life in Cuba is a serious shortcoming that weakens the Cuban revolution and the workers' state on which it rests.

Still, the Cuban bureaucracy has not hardened into a parasitic and privileged caste with a deadly fear of its own people, such as exists in the other workers' states.

The Cuban revolutionaries of action are in a rare historic position to give a major impetus to the concept of world socialist revolution such as was done by the Bolsheviks at the time of the Octo-

ber revolution. The Bolsheviks saw their own revolution as both an end and a means to the higher goal of a worldwide proletarian victory over capitalism—the only final consolidation of their national victory.

In the words of Lenin, the Bolsheviks saw their victorious workers' state as the "advanced outpost of the world socialist revolution."

They understood that the workers' conquest over Russian territory must be subordinate to the extension of the revolution, particularly to the developed countries of the world.

The Communist International, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, saw every advance of the world's workers as a victory for the Soviet state, and every defeat of the proletariat as a defeat for the Soviet Union.

The Communist International, whose traditions and principles still live in the Fourth International, fought to construct sections of the world party of the working class in every land, fighting to overthrow capitalism everywhere. This is the road that should also be followed by the Castroists in Cuba and Central America. ■

# What is the Marxist law of value?

By RALPH FORSYTH

A company announces a drop in sales and a "reorganization" plan that includes a 30 percent reduction in its work force. Another firm announces layoffs that are attributed to the introduction of more automated machinery. An airline carrier announces bankruptcy, fires all its union employees and then reopens several weeks later with a new non-union work force.

Sound familiar? These newspaper reports are not isolated incidents but everyday reading in the local newspapers. In fact, in half of the union contracts signed since 1982, workers have had actual losses in terms of net income compared to their previous contract. The givebacks have come in the form of reduced wages, fringe benefits, and/or accelerated work production.

What will happen if the standard of living of the average worker continues to decline and the income gap between the rich and the poor continues to increase?

We know that workers, with or without a conscious understanding that they live in a class-divided society, will continue to try to improve their standard of living at the expense of the profits of the owners of industry. Ultimately, workers will understand that, in a capitalist society, each worker's labor power is purchased just like any other commodity.

## Value of labor power

The exchange value (cost) of labor power is, like other commodities, primarily determined by the amount of socially necessary labor time that is used to manufacture that product. For example, a product with 100 hours of labor time invested in it will tend to sell at a cost twice as much as one that has taken 50 hours of labor time to produce. In the case of labor power, this boils down to the average amount of labor time to rear, socialize, and train each person until he or she is ready to enter the labor market.

The value of labor power, like other products, will fluctuate from time to time above or below its theo-

retical value due to a number of factors. The law of supply and demand, for example, can cause sharp increases or decreases in the cost of a product.

But, unless a monopoly (or patent) exists to limit competition, forces in the marketplace soon restore the cost to a level near its real value. The price of labor power, in contrast to other commodities, can also be affected by groups of workers organizing



into unions and withholding their labor until they receive higher wages or better working conditions.

An important adjunct to this Marxian law of value is the understanding that each worker produces much more value each day than he or she receives in equivalent value in the form of wages and benefits; i.e. the worker creates surplus value for the company. This, in a nutshell, is the source of the exploitation and the ultimate cause of the economic and political instability of the capitalist system.

The owners of industry, the capitalists, convert this surplus value into gigantic aggregates of capital, which they seek to invest profitably in other ventures. Inevitably, the interests of capitalists in different countries collide and military hostilities begin. The workers who have created the surplus value then

become the cannon fodder for the resolution of the problem.

## Export of capital

The basic problem, then, is that workers, as a group, cannot buy back the equivalent of all the goods that they have produced. Thus, periodically, a glut of goods is produced that can't be sold. (They are often needed, but the workers as consumers can't afford to buy them.) The capitalists who own these products must either go broke or export them into foreign markets. Different nation-states, representing their local capitalists, then try to increase their domination (often militarily) of foreign markets to seek new export markets as well as sources of raw materials and cheaper labor.

Politicians, for example, often speak of "national security" or "our spheres of influence" as justification for overt or covert intervention around the world. These politicians are really arguing for the need to maintain control of the markets, natural resources, and a cheap labor supply for capitalist companies. And the capitalist owner then uses the availability of the "cheap" labor in these countries as a threat to U.S. workers. They often announce, "either accept wage cuts or we'll move to where we can buy labor power cheaper."

During the epochs of slavery and feudalism it was very clear to the slaves or serfs that they were being exploited. To workers in a capitalist society, however, the same kind of victimization is less apparent. The fact that workers, as a class, receive only a fraction of the wealth they produce puts them economically in the same situation as slaves or serfs. This exploitation is what defines a class-divided society.

Workers learn the truth of these lessons as well as their ultimate power to promote revolutionary change during the struggles to maintain their standard of living. And in the course of these struggles they will realize, with the help of a revolutionary party, that they must pursue the fight for a new classless society in which they will democratically control the processes of production and receive the full value of their labor power. ■



## The detective story: Social anatomy of murder

By ALAN WALD

*Delightful Murder: A Social History of the Crime Story*, by Ernest Mandel. London, Pluto Press, 1984, 152 pp.

Although Marx and Engels wrote prophetically on many aspects of art and society, they failed to foresee the rise of a mass culture industry in the advanced capitalist nations. One curious feature of this multimillion-dollar business is the persistence, from the rise of bourgeois society to the present stage of late capitalism, of the detective thriller. Millions upon millions of copies of crime stories have been sold worldwide since 1945.

Ernest Mandel is a leading theoretician of the Fourth International, best known for his books "Marxist Eco-

nomics," "Late Capitalism," "The Second Slump," and "The Long Wave of Capitalist Development," as well as his introductions to the first three volumes of Marx's "Capital."

He has now written the first book attempting to explain the extraordinary success of the detective genre from a historical materialist perspective. "Delightful Murder," however, is not a literary history. It is a social history that employs the Marxist method to explore "that most difficult and complex riddle of social theory: How do the laws of individual psychology intersect the great curves of social ideology and of social evolution as a whole?"

In 16 tightly written and well-documented chapters, Mandel correlates the evolution of the crime novel to the complex relationship of crime and property in bourgeois society, a social system itself inherently criminal. He argues that as bourgeois society came into being, it was necessary to alter the existing popular sympathy for bandits and hostility to the police.

Progenitors of the crime story performed this legitimating function for the new bourgeois laws and values. Subsequently, the ideological content of the detective novels would be modified to meet other needs of the society, especially during the interwar period with the ensuing rise of corporate crime and mass consumption.

Of course, crime stories are the creations of individual authors, each with a distinctive set of skills and motivations. Nevertheless, as Mandel demonstrates in a striking chapter called "From an Integrative to a Disintegrative Function of the Crime Story," the genre is so restrictive and ideologically laden that even most left-wing detective-story writers have failed to subvert the genre for radical ends.

## BOOK REVIEW

"Delightful Murder" is filled with useful information about the relation of crime to the state, to accumulation and competition, and to capitalist reifica-

tion. Furthermore, in literary matters, "Delightful Murder" is not at all a work of crude sociological reductionism, as is often the case when non-specialists try their hand at cultural analysis.

Explicitly, Mandel has been influenced by such provocative cultural critics as the German Walter Benjamin;

implicitly, one can see evidence that he has read and assimilated some ideas of the Hungarian Georg Lukacs. Written with wit and verve, Mandel's study provides an admirable example of the potentialities of the historical materialist method when applied to contemporary cultural phenomena. ■

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**Socialist Action**

# The Black Experience

## Black History Month: Learning from our past

By KWAME M.A. SOMBURU

"It is impossible to understand the present or prepare for the future unless we have some knowledge of the past."

—Malcolm X on Afro-American History.

February is Black History Month. Its roots go back to 1926 when Dr. Carter G. Woodson—rightly honored as the father of Black history—started Negro History Week.

Dr. Woodson was born in Virginia in 1875. He received his doctorate from Harvard and founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915. He retired from a teaching career in 1922 in order to devote full time to research as director of the association and as editor of *The Journal of Negro History*. Woodson's writings include "The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861," "A Century of Negro Migration," and "Negro Makers of History."

Black History Month should be utilized to educate Blacks and all people about the true history of the relationship between the peoples of European and African ancestry during the past 500 years. This education should not be just a recitation of facts, but it should explain why racism was utilized to rape and exploit the human and natural resources of Africa and what lessons can be learned in order to transform our present racist, capitalist society.

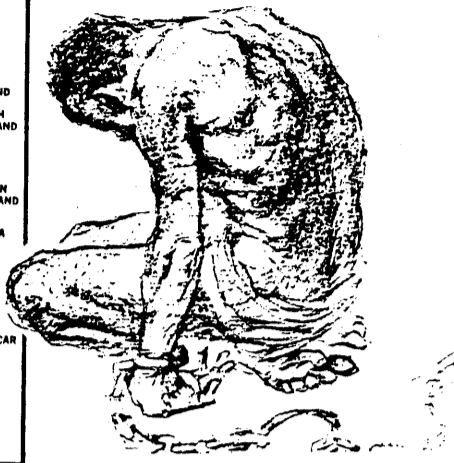
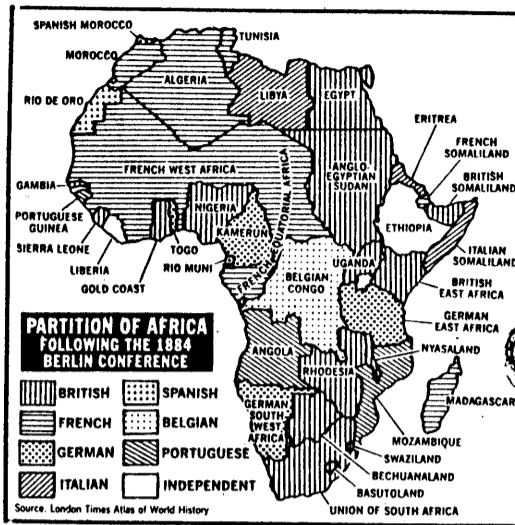
Black history can be fully understood only by placing it within the context of world history. For example, Henri Pirenne points out in his "History of Europe" that the word for slave in all Western languages (esclave, sklave, slaaf) is merely the name of the Slavic people of Europe.

"The Slavs—as pagans—were beyond the pale of humanity, and those who were taken prisoner were sold like cattle," Pirenne states. "For the people of the 9th and

10th centuries, the Slav was what the Black was for the people of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries."

Other authors trace the oppression of Black people up through the beginnings of the modern era. In "The Rape of Africa," Lamar Middleton concludes, "If a continent has been stolen from 140 million natives, it is assuaging to remember that the fraud was committed in the holy cause of civilization."

In his highly recommended "Capitalism and Slavery," Eric Williams likewise emphasizes that the Industrial Revolution, on which modern capitalism was based,



would have been impossible without the immense profits derived from the African slave trade and the products of slave labor.

Readers may find helpful references for Black History Month among the following additional books: "The World and Africa," by W.E.B. DuBois; "The Black Man's Burden," by E.D. Morel; "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa," by Walter Rodney; "Africa's Gift to America," by Joel A. Rogers; "My Bondage and My Freedom," by Frederick Douglass; "American Negro Slave Revolts," by Herbert Aptheker; "South Africa—White Rule, Black Revolt," by Ernest Harsch; and "Fighting Racism in World War II," by George Breitman, C.L.R. James, Edgar Keemer, and others.



## A Personal View

### Shooting for justice?

By JIM MORGAN

Since I came to live in New York City in 1963, I have been burglarized four or five times, had three bikes and two trombones stolen, and have been held up once by a gang of boys. In 1964, on the lower East side, I was lying down and saw the window at the foot of my bed begin to open. I jumped up, grabbed a bottle and yelled at the man who was starting to climb into my apartment. He quickly climbed back up his rope to the roof. What would I have done if I had a gun?

It is understandable that many people in the United States sympathize with Bernard Goetz, who shot four Black youths who allegedly tried to rob him on Dec. 22. In a *New York Times* poll of 1329 residents, 52 percent supported Goetz. Forty-nine percent of New Yorkers polled say crime is the city's number one problem.

Self-defense is a right. But did Bernard Goetz have to shoot these boys, one of whom was paralyzed by the shooting? Two of the four were evidently shot in the back. As Jim Houghton of Harlem Fight Back put it, "John Wayne wouldn't have done it that way!"

And yet to most white Americans Bernard Goetz seems to be a "Death Wish" hero. Maybe some think they will be safer now on the subways, but I certainly wouldn't want to be in the subway car when someone started shooting! If subway robbers think their victim will shoot, are they not likely to shoot first?

A fellow teacher, who is Dominican, told me that Goetz has been made a hero because he is white. I agree. Isn't there implicit racism in all the praise for Goetz? What if he were a Black who shot whites? Not too long ago in Brooklyn a Black transit worker was beaten to death by a gang of white toughs. What if he had shot them? Would he be a "Death Wish" hero?

So what's the solution? More cops? But repression doesn't get to the root of the problem. As long as we have poverty in the midst of plenty, there will be crime. Most crime is connected with the market, including the drug traffic. With a developed planned economy it will tend to disappear.

The socialist solution to crime is not shooting criminals but eliminating the conditions that breed crime. This means free job training, public works, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, spreading the work so that no one need be unemployed. Ultimately it means eliminating the market and competition.

We are less afraid of being mugged in a rich neighborhood. If everyone is rich there will be no more "crime in the streets."

Let us perform this social experiment: Organize and struggle to end poverty and see what happens to the crime rate.

### Nancy's New Year's resolution

Nancy Reagan has sworn off worshipful stares. Husband Ronald will have to mug for the TV cameras quite alone, Mrs. Reagan confided to *Time* magazine last month. Her worshipful staring will fade into history, said the First Lady, "only because there was so much talk about it and it was kind of ridiculed."

### On the radio

Dear editor,

On Jan. 4 and 10, Suzi Weissman read the entire article by Ralph Schoenman, "The Unfinished Chinese Revolution" (*Socialist Action* December 1984), on her radio program on KPFK.

After her second reading, she took phone calls from her listeners and referred them to *Socialist Action* newspaper. I was very pleased to hear the article and the questions over the air.

B.W.,  
Los Angeles

Dear B.W.,

Thanks for your letter. We have already received two letters from people who listened to the program and were impressed by the Schoenman article. We are happy to say that both requested a subscription to *Socialist Action*.

The editor

### A correction

Dear editor,

The January 1985 issue of *Socialist Action* arrived and was appreciated. Just stay with the "Old Man" [Leon Trotsky] and the spirit of the almost-as-old man James P. Cannon.

One point of constructive criticism: The Jake Cooper article on the Austin, Local 9, packinghouse workers was very good, but "meatpackers" is the name of the employer—and has been since 1904. The wage slaves are referred to as "packinghouse workers."

I ought to know since I was one of the founders of this early CIO movement in Minnesota and Kansas in the mid-30s.

Paul Rasmussen,  
Miami, Fla.

Dear P.R.

Thank you for your support and your correction. The mistake in the Local 9 article was ours, not Jake Cooper's.

The editor

### DSA on Thomas

Dear editor,

The Democratic Socialists of America is celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Norman Thomas—perennial presidential candidate of DSA's predecessor, the

DSA are ignorant of their movement's sordid history. Hopefully, the exposure of Norman Thomas' CIA dealings will give them food for thought. But when Harrington and co. publicly swallow such elements of the military-security complex as the Pentagon and NATO, why should any one think they would gag on the CIA?

Lenni Brenner,  
Berkeley, Calif.

### Paper sells well

Dear editor,

Despite false rumors in the popular press of "upswings" in our economy, it is obvious to those of us who are selling *Socialist Action* in Cincinnati that people in increasing numbers are looking for answers to their own economic problems and the many social problems that arise from them.

In the area surrounding the University of Cincinnati campus, the response from students and others is exciting, as more and more students are searching for some constructive political actions to participate in. The "Yuppie" oriented false optimism that has prevailed, at least on the surface, on most of our campuses seems to be eroding in the face of stark reality.

In working-class Black and white communities people seem eager, after buying a paper, to stay and discuss the economy, joblessness, etc. An extraordinary interest in international affairs—threats of nuclear war and U.S. aggression in Central America—seems to be on the agenda also.

If sales in Cincinnati, touted as a relatively stable and conservative city, are any indication of national attitudes, we who are selling *Socialist Action* can take heart that the slumbering American public is waking at long last.

Doris Marks,  
Cincinnati, Ohio

## Letters to editor

Socialist Party. Harry Fleishman, an associate of the old campaigner, started things off with a laudatory article in the Nov. 21 issue of *In These Times*. Michael Harrington, DSA's chair, followed with a similar piece in the Jan. 7 *New Republic*.

But neither Fleishman nor Harrington bothered to tell their readers that Norman Thomas ended up in the pay of the CIA. According to the Feb. 22, 1967, *New York Times*, Thomas' Institute of International Labor Research received \$1,048,940 between 1961 and 1963 through a CIA conduit, the Kaplan Foundation.

Thomas later confessed that he was "ashamed we swallowed this CIA business," but he was just up to his old tricks. In the mid-1950s, for example, Thomas had personally solicited Allan Dulles, head of the CIA, for funds for another of Thomas' groups—the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. Soon afterward, according to the Nov. 30, 1968, *Ramparts* magazine, Thomas wrote that he was "delighted that the Farfield Foundation [a CIA front] came through... I am happy to think I had a little to do with the proposition in certain quarters."

The younger members of

# Third World hunger: Made in U.S.A.

By HAYDEN PERRY

While famine in Africa holds the attention of people on five continents, slower death from malnutrition is shortening the lives of millions in other parts of the world. It is estimated that 500 million people subsist on only one meal a day or less—not just during the emergency of a drought, but for a lifetime of hunger and malnutrition.

Hungry people are found all over the world: in India and Pakistan, in Africa and Latin America, throughout the lush tropical islands of the Pacific, and here in the United States. How can we explain that most hungry people are found in countries where the main occupation of its citizens is agriculture?

Neo-Malthusians say hunger is caused by people having too many babies. The population is outrunning the food supply, they say.

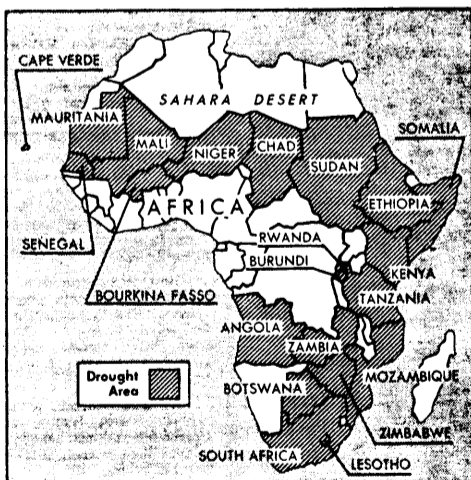
Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins debunk the myth of potential food shortages in their book, "Food First."

They point out that Africa, where famine is raging, is underpopulated. There are 2.5 acres of cultivated land for every inhabitant. This is more cropland per person than in the United States. And Africans are cultivating only 12 percent of their potential farmland. Unlimited population growth may present problems, but shortage of food need not be one of them.

Such advances have been made in the science of agriculture that it has been called the Green Revolution. Strains of rice, beans, and other crops have been developed that can triple and quadruple the yield per acre. With the birth of the first new seeds 30 years ago, it appeared that the problem of world hunger was about to be solved. But today, a generation later, there are more hungry people in the world than before. However, the fault lies not with science but with economics and politics.

## Imperialism brings hunger

The European imperialists first brought hunger to the Third World. They saw their colonies as vast plantations to raise cotton, rubber, sugar, or



bananas for the people of Europe and America. Indigenous farmers who were raising food for themselves were thrown off their land and converted into laborers producing crops they could not consume. In Cuba before the revolution, cane cutters lived on high-priced canned goods from the United States even though their fertile soil could grow food crops in abundance.

The imperialists no longer rule their former colonies directly, but they still hold them in a tightly knit web of capitalist property relations. In the neocolonies, a small group of big landowners and merchants hold economic and political power. They continue to raise cash



Werner Bischof

crops for export and continue to push the small farmers off the most fertile land.

Many of the small farmers give up and move to the cities, where they swell the already huge urban populations. Mexico City is now the world's biggest metropolitan center. To avoid discontent in the cities, Third World governments keep food prices down by paying the farmers as little as possible for their crops. This further discourages the farmer who sinks further into debt and often loses his land.

The result is a fall in food production in countries where the population is rising. In the last 10 years in Mexico, cropland devoted to food production for the domestic market has dropped 25 percent. In the same period, deaths of children from malnutrition have risen 10 percent.

Big landowners in Mexico could raise corn for the domestic market, but they can make four times as much by raising tomatoes for American consumers. Multinational food conglomerates also reap huge profits by raising crops in Mexico for their supermarkets at home. They are searching the world for regions where they can buy up fertile acres and hire cheap labor.

Bud Antle Corp., a California-based agribusiness concern, is raising fruits and vegetables in the Sahel region of Africa, not far from the scene of drought and famine. The produce is flown to Europe where the wealthy can eat strawberries in winter—while African children starve.

So long as the landlords and multinationals hold power in the Third World, even the most well-meaning efforts to aid the poor farmers will fail. The superseeds of the Green Revolution do the farmer little good. He cannot afford the expensive fertilizer needed to make them grow.

He cannot afford tractors. When the wealthy landlord buys them, the tenant farmer loses. With the tractor the big farmer can plow more acres; so he pushes the tenant off his land and farms it himself. The crop he raises may be feed for livestock—for meat that the worker and peasant cannot afford to buy.

International loans enrich the elite of the Third World but intensify the drive to produce more coffee or cotton to pay

interest to the bankers in New York. The result: More food has to be imported and the international debt grows bigger.

## Cuba defeats hunger

Cuba has shown how this vicious cycle can be broken. The big landowners are gone; the multinationals are

**"Agriculture cannot be organized for our long-term benefit so long as profits come first."**

out. Production of food for the people of Cuba is the first priority; no more high-priced canned goods from America. Cuba's farmers are given every encouragement to increase food production, whether in individual plots, in cooperatives, or on state farms. Where shortages exist, rationing assures every Cuban an equal share.

The Cubans still have to raise sugar to produce foreign exchange for necessary imports. But national planning bal-

ances the two sectors of agriculture so that the minimum needs of every citizen are met. Meanwhile the government and farmers are cooperating in trying new crops and new techniques that take advantage of Cuba's fertile soil and subtropical climate.

The Cubans do a better job of feeding their people than the government of the United States. Here warehouses are bulging with "surplus" butter and cheese, while children and adults on welfare suffer malnutrition. Obstacles are put in the way of distributing cheese to the needy by supermarkets that complain of "unfair competition."

Welfare payments are too small to provide an adequate diet for the average family. Many welfare mothers run out of money before the month is up and have to take their children to soup kitchens run by churches and various charities. Soup kitchens sometimes run out of food before everyone has been fed. The response of the American ruling class to this grim situation is further cuts in social services.

## Food—not profits—first

Apologists for agribusiness argue that they are more productive than the peasant tilling his little plot of land. Producing a single crop on thousands of acres and pouring on pesticides and fertilizers is the way to go, they say.

Lappe and Collins, in "Food First," demonstrate that this is not the way to go. The farmers of India and China, they say, produce more food per acre than corporate farms in California. Agribusiness looks only to big profits in the short run. Pouring on pesticides leads to new mutant strains of insects that call for ever more powerful poisons. The accident in Bhopal, India, indicates the sort of stuff they are spraying on our fruits and vegetables today.

Excessive irrigation and use of fertilizers is turning parts of California's Imperial Valley into salt beds unfit for cultivation. That is one reason agribusiness is looking for new acres around the world. So long as their profits-first techniques of farming continue we are heading for an ecological disaster.

Agriculture cannot be organized for the long-term benefit of mankind so long as profits for the few are put first. Farmers and workers of the world must get the landlords and bosses off their backs. Then the experience of generations of farmers will be combined with the new discoveries of science to put the horrors of famine behind us forever. ■



## Toronto abortion clinic defies harassment

By ANNE BRUNELLE

TORONTO—Dr. Henry Morgentaler's Toronto abortion clinic reopened in early January and is providing full services. Despite growing attempts by anti-choice demonstrators to disrupt the clinic, the medical staff is working to capacity, providing safe abortions in a supportive environment.

The police have also stepped up harassment. They have followed several patients home and succeeded in intimidating one unescorted patient, an undocumented immigrant from Honduras, into making defamatory and false statements to the press about her treatment at the clinic.

This story, while widely publicized, has not decreased the number of women coming to the Morgentaler clinic seeking a service they cannot easily obtain elsewhere.

In mid-January, Dr. Morgentaler and Judy Rebick, spokesperson for the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics, are making a tour of Western Canada to urge the women's movement to mobilize support around this issue. The possibility of opening abortion clinics in Calgary and Edmonton, Alta., is being discussed. ■