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50 CENTS

Huge protests set stage for new antiwar movement

April 1985 can be a turning point.

For years we have been told that the student movement was dead. And we've been told that Reagan received a mandate from working people in this country to carry out his reactionary domestic and foreign policies.

Those who refused to admit that only 31 percent of the electorate actually voted for Reagan could try to convince us that a "landslide" had occurred last Nov. 6.

Those who refused to look at the deep anger and frustration that has been

"We must follow up this success with national fall actions."

building up beneath the surface could get away with these arguments for a time. Things appeared to be the way they said.

But then there was April 20. And there was April 24. On these two dates, the sentiment of millions of people in opposition to the government's austerity and war policies began to be expressed openly. Even the mainstream media could not fail to notice this reality.

Potential shown on April 20

On April 20 tens of thousands marched in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, Seattle, Houston, and other cities for jobs, peace, and justice. They marched in support of four demands: an end to U.S. support to apartheid; an end to U.S. intervention in Central America; jobs and justice, not war; and a freeze and reversal of the nuclear arms race.

The turnout was far greater than even the organizers had expected: 70,000 in Washington, D.C., 50,000 in San Francisco, 10,000 in Los Angeles. But more important than the numbers was the breadth of the demonstrations.

In a number of cities the trade unions were centrally involved in the demonstrations. The San Francisco rally, for example, was chaired by Jack Henning, head of the 1.5 million-member California Labor Federation. Thousands of Bay Area unionists marched behind their banners and took part in the rally alongside students, Blacks, Latinos, feminists, gays, and the elderly.

April 24: The campuses explode

The campus sit-ins against U.S. support to apartheid began at Columbia and Berkeley. Before long, sit-ins and occupations of university buildings had spread to dozens of campuses across the country.

Spreading occupations, daily and twice-daily demonstrations, mass-planning meetings, all-night vigils, class boycotts, growing and active support from

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Anti-apartheid contingent on April 20 in San Francisco

Apartheid agony continues despite latest 'reforms'

By NANCY GRUBER

The South African government has announced two "reforms" of the detested apartheid system in an effort to stave off the effects of what President Pieter Botha called "a drastic escalation

of the revolutionary climate in the country."

On April 15 the decision to repeal sections of the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act, the first two in a series of legal linchpins on which apartheid is con-

structed, was announced. These acts, which prohibited marriages and all sexual relations between whites and non-whites, have been the basis for more than 17,000 prosecutions since 1949.

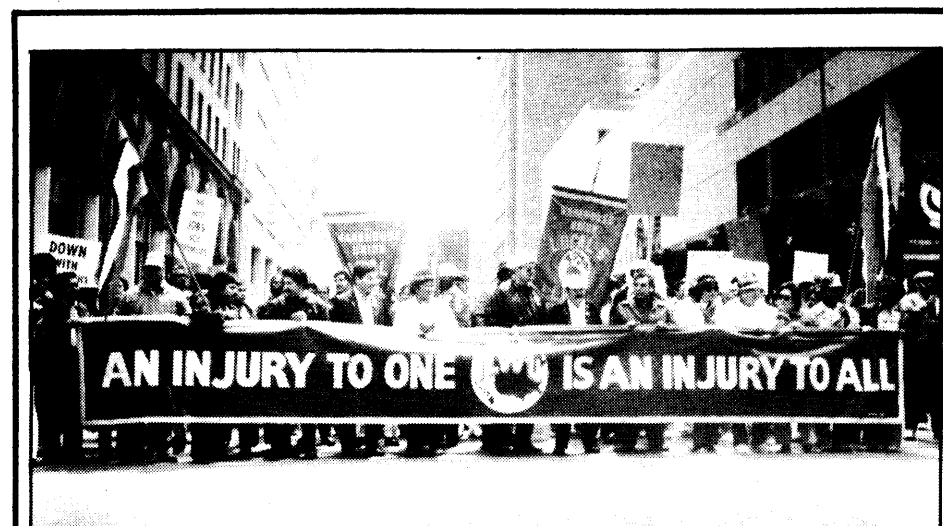
A few days later President Botha announced that some Black residents in white areas who, until now, have been classified as transients will be allowed to become permanent dwellers in South African cities. This decision represents an ever-so-slight retreat from the Nationalist government's statutory definition of Black workers as migrant laborers with no right to live in white areas and no status as South African citizens.

The structure of apartheid

This situation for Blacks was accomplished through such legal ploys as the Population Registration Act of 1950, which required a rigid racial classification of all non-white South Africans, and the Group Areas and Urban Areas Acts. These acts eliminated the right of Blacks to own property anywhere except in the 10 bantustans—or "homelands"—to which all Africans are assigned on the basis of ethnic and language heritage.

The bantustans comprise only 13 percent of the land area of South Africa—the poorest, most arid, and least productive land—while the Blacks who are assigned to live there make up 70 per-

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National roundup of April 20 actions

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Bankers skating on thin ice. See pp. 4-5

Fight back!



Columbia sit-in sparks U.S. protests

By HAYDEN PERRY

Student leaders announced April 22 that they were calling off their three-week sit-in against apartheid at Columbia University in New York City. The sit-in will end April 25, a day after the boycott of classes called by dozens of campuses nationwide.

The sit-in has been staged since April 4 to demand an end to Columbia's investment in companies that do business in South Africa. Some 400 students have participated in the 24-hour vigil in front of Hamilton Hall, a major building on the campus. The building has been renamed by the students Mandela Hall in honor of the African leader.

At the start of the blockade of Man-

delia Hall the administration secured an injunction against the protesters. But the students obtained a countervailing court order forbidding Columbia officials from taking any "improper" action against the students so long as classes were not interrupted.

Despite this order, 14 students were served with court summonses for "continuing trespass."

In addition university administrators have threatened 65 demonstrators with disciplinary penalties ranging up to expulsion. The students have not been moved by these threats.

The students want the trustees to withdraw \$32.5 million in university funds from 27 companies doing business in South Africa. They want student

representatives on a working committee that would oversee divestment. The university will only offer the students a chance to argue their case before the trustees.

During the three-week sit-in, many New York citizens offered their support. On April 18, 2000 demonstrators marched onto the Columbia campus to support the anti-apartheid demonstrators. One thousand of the supporters marched from Harlem. They demanded university divestment from South Africa and amnesty for the arrested students.

Various unions also supported the students. A Teamsters local pledged \$100 a day as long as the boycott continued, and District Council 37 provided a huge tarp to keep the rain out.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson came on campus to support the sit-in. He praised the protesters for setting a "moral example."

Their action is in the "greatest and highest tradition" of the civil rights movement and opposition to the Vietnam War, he said. In concluding the sit-in, student leaders said that they were ending this phase of the protest with high morale and determination to continue the fight against their university's tacit support to apartheid. ■

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... Apartheid

(continued from page 1)

cent of the South African population. The 10 "homelands" are scattered in over 80 separate and non-contiguous pieces of land. The Zulu bantustan, for instance, consists of 29 different areas.

Four of the bantustans—Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei—have already been declared "independent states" by the government, although this status is recognized by no other national or international body, including the United Nations.

By this declaration millions of Blacks have with one stroke been deprived of South African citizenship and made "migrant laborers" without the right to belong to unions or to have their homes and families in areas where they work. And the South African ruling class created an almost bottomless pool of cheap labor to be controlled with passbooks and dehumanizing legislation.

The clear intent of this declaration was expressed in 1978 by the then Minister of Plural Relations and Development: "If our policy is taken to its full logical conclusion as far as the Black people are concerned, there will not be one Black man with South African citizenship."

Prior to 1979, no African worker was classed as an "employee."

All were considered "contract" workers who were permitted to come to the cities or onto white farms to work under a contract of no more than one year. At the expiration of the contract



Longshoremen recess national convention to solidarize with Berkeley students on April 18. ILWU President Jimmy Herman (right) spoke to students at rally (see speech opposite page).

they had to return to the bantustan, report to the labor bureau, and wait for another contract.

In May 1979 the Industrial Conciliation Act was amended to allow the definition of "employee" to be extended to any worker who could legally reside in the Republic of South Africa. But by the Catch-22 of apartheid logic few Black workers could be legal residents.

By the complicated rules of apartheid a small minority of Black workers have

been permitted to live in townships outside the large industrialized white areas if they have been able to prove long residency in the same place or long-term employment by the same employer. The new government decision would apparently extend this permission to an additional small number of Blacks.

Negation of rights remains

But permission to live in or near white areas—or to marry across racial lines—does not constitute citizenship. Political and civil rights for Blacks are virtually non-existent. No Black has voted or held office in South Africa since 1936. Meetings of Africans can be prohibited on any pretext.

Under the Intimidation Act and the Internal Security Act, both of 1982, people may be arrested merely for "jibing or jeering" in the streets, and may be detained without trial indefinitely. The Security Act contains within its definition of "terrorism" any "intent... to achieve, bring about, or promote any constitutional, political, industrial, social, or economic aim or change in the Republic..."

The economic situation of Black workers in relation to whites remains deplorable despite the dramatic increase in independent Black trade unions since 1979. Salaries in the industrial sectors in 1982 averaged around 1350 Rand (1 Rand = \$1.24 in March 1984) a month for white workers as contrasted with about 320 Rand for Black workers. Unemployment is extremely high among

Blacks, with estimates ranging as high as 2 million to 3 million.

Increasing militancy

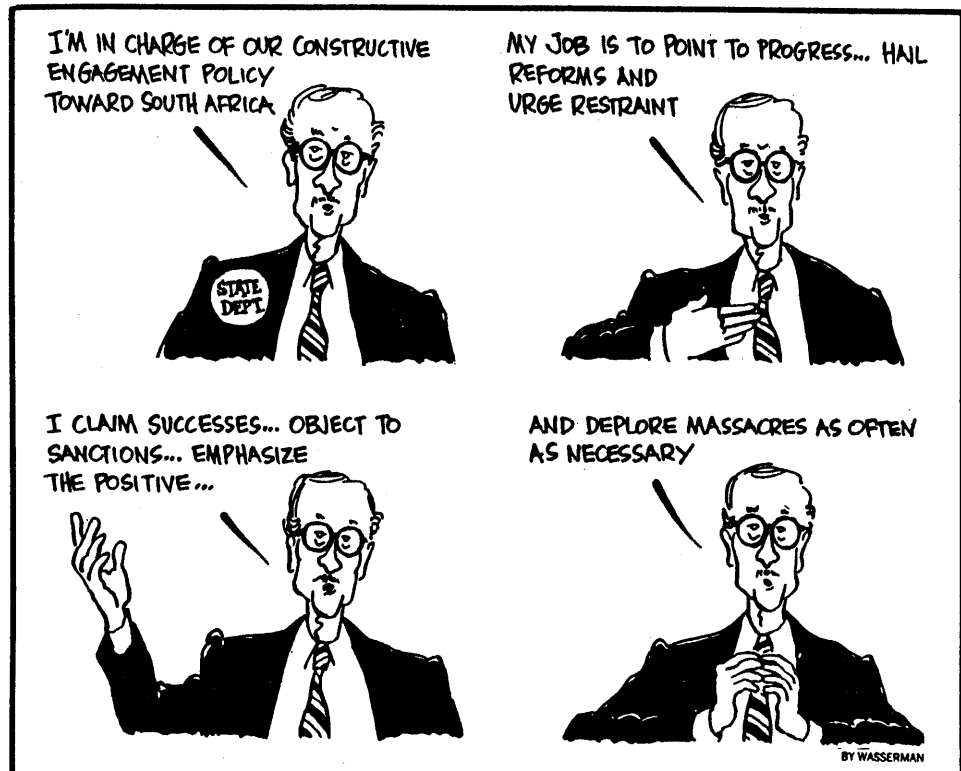
This is the context within which the rising tide of militancy in the independent unions, as well as the increasing violence with which Black youth and township inhabitants are resisting their oppressive situation, must be viewed. Since the beginning of the year over 100 Blacks have been killed, the majority of them by police firing into generally peaceful gatherings of people.

In some cases the victims have been Black policemen or members of community councils installed by the white government to rule in the townships. These people are viewed as collaborators by the inhabitants, and it is entirely understandable that the rage toward their oppressors should be turned against these extensions of white rule.

The recent announcements by Botha are an obvious effort to defuse this rising militancy. The attempt is doomed to failure. The last year has seen a spectacular advance in mobilizations of the Black working class. This rise climaxed on Nov. 5-6, 1984, with a regional general strike in the Transvaal called by a broad coalition of 30 anti-apartheid associations and unions.

The demands of this Transvaal Regional Strike Committee were political and social as well as job-related. They included: withdrawal of the police and army from Black ghettos; the suspension of increases in rents and bus fares that the government was seeking to impose; the release of detainees and political prisoners; the reinstatement of workers fired in earlier strikes; and the rescinding of taxes regarded as unjust.

The strike was observed by 75 percent to 90 percent of the workers in the region—almost a million people—workers and students. The non-white working class, which it is estimated will comprise 93 percent of the South African work force by the year 2000, will not be satisfied with such fraudulent sops as the ones that Botha is offering them. ■



Who profits?

- \$15 billion has been invested in South Africa by U.S. corporations and banks.
- Over 30 U.S. corporations report at least \$50 million in annual sales or hire at least 1000 workers in South Africa.
- 33 percent of all outstanding loans to South Africa are held by U.S. financial institutions.

By LARRY COOPERMAN

BERKELEY, Calif.—The Berkeley campus of the University of California has lived up to its reputation gained over 20 years earlier during the Free Speech Movement (FSM). In response to the arrest of 159 student protesters blockading the entrance to U.C. Berkeley's administration building on April 16, thousands of students poured out for noontime protest rallies Tuesday and Wednesday, April 16-17.

The week before, 50 students had begun a sit-in to protest the university's financial connections with corporations and financial institutions that invest in South Africa. A similar sit-in was being held at Columbia University in New York.

The students plastered long banners across the front of the building proclaiming their opposition to apartheid. And they brought their sleeping bags, proof of their determination to stay until the university had completely divested itself of its \$1.8 billion portfolio in companies that do business in South Africa.

They renamed Sproul Plaza, where the rally was held, Stephen Biko Plaza. Stephen Biko was a leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. Imprisoned by the apartheid regime, he was found dead in his cell and is probably the most famous martyr of the anti-apartheid movement.

Initially, the university had declared the sit-in to be legal and did not attempt to arrest anyone. However, U.C. administration official Ira Heymann reversed his earlier stand and said that the sit-in violated the 1964 policy that allowed students to organize protests on the Berkeley campus but which prohibited them from blocking the entrance to any of the buildings.

At the April 16 rally, attended by over 3000 students, Mario Savio, an

Spirit of protest reborn at the University of California



7000 Berkeley students gather in Steve Biko Plaza during April 24 national student strike against apartheid.

organizer of the Free Speech Movement 20 years earlier, and Mike Smith, an organizer for the Service Employees International Union Local 250 and also a former participant in the FSM, denounced the administration's stance. Savio reminded the crowd that "the reason that the Free Speech Movement is remembered is that it won."

He added that the FSM was begun by

civil rights activists "protesting against racism."

On April 17 Dick Groulx, representing the Alameda County Central Labor Council, brought greetings from the 150 unions and 60,000 workers that it represents. He elicited cheers from the students when he told them: "Ronald Reagan is a rotten, prejudiced old man."

And he reminded them that students and workers are "natural allies."

A student boycott of classes was 70 percent to 80 percent effective, and the noontime rally was attended by nearly 5000 students. Above all, it reflected snowballing support for the students' demands.

On Thursday, April 18, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) recessed its national convention in order to allow the delegates to go to the Berkeley campus and demonstrate their solidarity. Hundreds of ILWU delegates mingled with the large crowd of students to hear a list of labor speakers announce their support of the students' demands.

The labor leaders speaking at the Thursday rally included Jimmy Herman, president of the ILWU; Miles Myers, president-elect of the California Federation of Teachers; and Al Lannon, co-chair of the Bay Area April 20 coalition and president of ILWU Local 6.

Several rank-and-file delegates to the ILWU convention also spoke, bringing greetings from locals as far away as Hawaii and Canada.

Meanwhile, Berkeley judges refused to hear the cases of the students arrested in the protests against apartheid. One of them explained that her "deep moral repugnance" to the system of South African apartheid prevented her from objectively ruling on these cases.

The student protests are the first signs of a revival of the kind of militancy that helped put an end to the Vietnam War.

The defiant spirit of the growing student movement was captured by one banner in front of the administration building that gave—Clint Eastwood-style—its answer to the 159 arrests: "Regents: Go ahead. Make our day!" ■

As we go to press, students on four University of California campuses have mounted anti-apartheid sit-ins in solidarity with the Berkeley students. In addition to the action at Santa Cruz, demonstrators at U.C. Davis began a sit-in on the steps of the administration building on April 22. At least 1000 people rallied at UCLA on April 23, and 400 students sat-in at the administration building there. At U.C. Santa Barbara organizers urged students to "pre-register" for orderly arrest on April 24. ■

Townpeople back sit-in by Santa Cruz students

By SUZANNE FORSYTH

SANTA CRUZ, Calif.—Hundreds of students have been participating in round-the-clock activities here to protest University of California investments in South Africa and to demand that charges be dropped against the anti-apartheid protesters arrested in Berkeley.

The anti-apartheid movement came to life on the Santa Cruz campus as soon as word was received that 159 Berkeley students had been arrested on April 16. The next day, close to 600 people attended a rally in solidarity with the Berkeley protesters. When organizers of

the rally called for a sit-in at the re-named "Nelson Mandela" library, 400 people sat down.

The library is covered with banners. One reads, "Workers and students unite against racism."

The adjacent "Winnie Mandela" Plaza is littered with sleeping bags, blankets, and backpacks. Tables are filled with literature and with food donated by local businesses.

Messages of support for the sit-in have been received from the Service Employees International Union Local 735, the American Federation of State and Municipal Employees local, Santa Cruz Mayor Marti Wormhaut, and the African National Congress. ■



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ILWU president speaks at Berkeley

The following speech was given by Jimmy Herman, international president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, to a student-labor rally on April 18 at the U.C. Berkeley campus.

You should know that this is a delegation of the elected working-class delegates to the highest governing body of a great union—the ILWU. We are in a recess from the 26th annual convention, where we formulate policy and adopt program.

One of the issues high on our agenda was a position rejecting the sickness occurring in South Africa: to demand an end to apartheid, to demand that Black citizens of that country be treated with the dignity to which they are entitled and which they are going to get one way or the other.

Part of this delegation is made up of sugar workers, pineapple workers, longshoremen, warehousemen, and ship scalers. We represent a million workers all of whom agree; all of whom lock hands with the rest of the world's working class to call for an end now to apartheid and an end to repression.

We are here today as we joined with the students over 20 years ago to reject the tragedy of Vietnam. This union is proud to join hands with you and declare that nothing has changed when it comes to our appetite for decency.

We know that our friends of the victimized Black majority of that country are going to seize power. Anything that we can do to guarantee that—the sooner the better—we're for doing it.

We will also be participating in a dramatic march on Saturday—a march for a peaceful world, for a nuclear-free world, a march against militarism, a march for a peaceful economy, a march against a government that is wasting money in a shameful display of military-martial nonsense. This, too, has to end. I hope you will join with us on Saturday as we joined with you today. ■



By ALAN BENJAMIN

The mainstream media call it the most impressive economic recovery of the post-World War II era. Reagan, we are told, has put the country back on its feet—on the road to greater economic growth and stability. Is this really the case?

After the deep recession of 1980-82, the U.S. economy did show signs of "recovery."

The 1984 gross national product, for instance, grew at a rate of 6.75 percent, the highest growth rate since 1951. The rate of inflation was kept at 4 percent.

But this hasn't been a recovery for the average working person in this country. The slight business upturn, which saw real profits double from 1982 to 1984, came at the expense of the working class.

In 1982, 33 percent of the workers involved in contract negotiations had their wages frozen. In 1983 this figure increased to 50 percent. In addition a large percentage of workers were forced to take actual wage cuts.

In 1983 the average weekly U.S. wage was \$172.93. In 1984 it dropped to \$172.41. Yet in 1967—17 years earlier—the weekly wage was \$184.83. (All of these figures are based on 1977 real dollars in order to permit a valid comparison.) These averages, however, conceal the growing differential between low and high incomes.

The mainstream media have also heralded the fact that the official U.S. unemployment rate is now "only" 7.2 percent. This ignores the large number of "discouraged" workers no longer counted in the statistics and the even larger number who have been forced to take part-time or minimum-wage jobs.

Even official unemployment statistics show a worsening situation in major industrial areas and reveal a dismal situation for Blacks, Latinos, women, and youth. The unemployment rate for Black youth, for example, is now over 40 percent.

In early April the Congress passed a bill that would gradually eliminate the 26-week supplemental unemployment

"Each recession has been deeper than the previous one."

benefits for 340,000 people. In 1983, 26 million workers were unemployed at some point, but only 39 percent received any jobless benefits. With the new unemployment legislation, several million more will be without a job, with little or no hope of finding one, and with no unemployment "security net."

One-third of the small farms are going bankrupt. Home and farm foreclosures are on the rise, and social services are being severely cut back.

Fragile character of upturn

For the time being, the 1983-84 upturn has allowed the media and the government economists to mask the deep underlying crisis of the U.S. economy. The spectacular rise of the U.S. dollar on the international money markets has also contributed to the mistaken notion that the "recovery" has put the economy on the road to sus-

Workers ask: What 'recovery'?

tained stability and growth.

During the past 18 years, since the end of the postwar economic "boom," there have been three major economic recessions: in 1970-71, 1974-75, and 1980-82. Each recession has been deeper than the previous one. In no case has the upturn signified any real recovery of the economy. The Reagan "recovery" is no different.

Take the high value of the U.S. dollar today, for example. Far from reflecting an increased strength of the U.S. economy, the artificially inflated dollar reveals that a major dislocation of the economy is in store for the future.

The "strong" dollar is essentially the result of the high U.S. interest rates, which have siphoned gigantic sums of capital from all corners of the globe to the United States. It is estimated that speculative capital amounting to \$850 billion has been attracted to the United States in search of a higher rate of return.

This influx of "eurodollars," "petrodollars," and foreign currency into the United States has greatly helped the

U.S. Treasury to finance the skyrocketing budget deficit, particularly the exorbitant allocation of military expenditures. (Pumping up the arms economy has been one of the major means of bringing the economy out of the postwar recessions.) But this is just a short-term "fix."

It is also fraught with grave perils.

Just as easily as this foreign capital floated into the United States, it could leave the country tomorrow in search of more profitable markets. Analysts estimate that up to \$550 billion could be immediately removed from U.S. financial markets, causing unprecedented chaos in the economy.

Future catastrophes aside, however, the "superdollar" has already caused enormous difficulties for the U.S. economy. Not only are industrial and farm producers finding it increasingly difficult to sell their products abroad (the export price of U.S. goods has nearly doubled), they are facing greater competition at home from low-cost imports.

The foreign competition has forced capitalists in this country to lower their

prices—hence the low inflation rate—but this in turn has placed a great strain on the corporations' profit margins. The number of bankruptcies has reached record levels over the past two years, as smaller corporations can no longer compete in the marketplace.

The ruling rich cannot allow their profits to be squeezed down. They are therefore compelled to continue their attacks on the American working class, the producers of all wealth, in order to offset their declining profit rates. And they do this by demanding still greater concessions from working people.

Moreover, the high interest rates that U.S. banks are currently enjoying are actually a threat to the stability of the banking system—like a narcotic "high" of a drug addict.

New recession in sight

The 1983-84 business upturn brought the economy to the point of producing at 80 percent of its productive capacity—hardly an economic "miracle."

But today, with a new slowdown in production already underway, economic observers are warning that a new recession may be upon us as early as 1986.

In this context the corporations are asking for even greater concessions from the workers. Not satisfied with the superprofits exacted from the previously granted concessions (the three auto giants registered their all-time high profit level of \$10 billion in 1984), the ruling class is pressing for more take-backs.

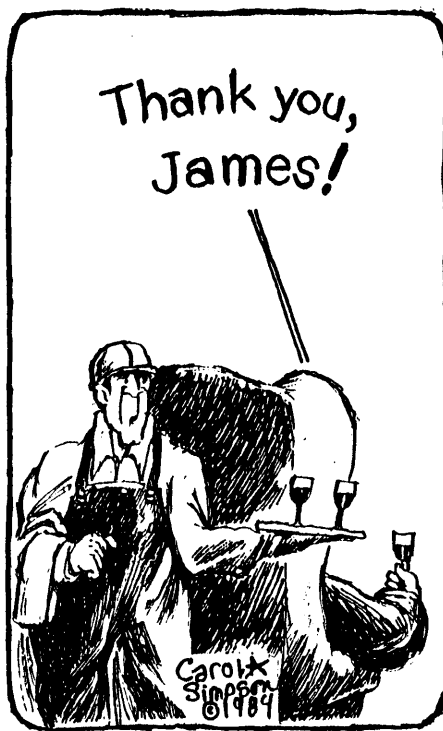
One recent example of this increased assault on the gains of the labor movement is the campaign for a lower minimum wage for teen-age workers. A bill introduced by the Reagan administration—with the support of key Democratic Party leaders—calls for a minimum wage of \$2.50 an hour for workers 16 to 19 years of age, instead of the \$3.35 an hour minimum.

A recent *Wall Street Journal* editorial complained that "wages in the United States are too high for the economy to be competitive in the long term."

And the editorial concluded, "What we need is permanent reductions in the wage levels of U.S. workers."

This is what the rulers in the corporate board rooms and in the Congress have in store for working people. No matter how great the concessions granted, these will never be sufficient to halt the attacks, let alone pave the way for an economy "recovery."

These are the bitter truths of the "debt economy," which a growing number of workers are beginning to understand. ■



'Business Week' fears collapse

The economic crisis of U.S. capitalism has steadily deepened since the late 1960s with the end of the postwar boom. The forces that fueled the economic stability and prosperity of the 1950s and '60s have exhausted themselves. In fact, they are rapidly turning into stimulants of severe economic dislocation and collapse.

The artificial expansion of industry and agriculture through unprecedented government spending (particularly military spending) has led to a swelling of the national public and private debt, becoming an immense burden on the economy.

From a debt of \$43 billion in 1940, this national obligation has ballooned in 1984 to the incredible sum of \$1.7 trillion. And the debt is growing faster and faster, at the rate of \$27 million an hour.

The interest charge on the soaring public debt is soaring even faster. It has risen 500 percent since 1945 and stood at \$134 billion in 1983. At this point the government has to borrow to pay interest on the old debt, thus adding new debt in an ever ascending spiral.

The threat of a looming economic collapse resulting from the spiraling debt is not something Marxists have invented. The capitalist class is fully aware of the "debt bomb," as the following excerpts from a *Business Week* article (Oct. 12, 1974) clearly illustrate:

The U.S. economy stands atop a mountain of debt \$2.5 trillion high. The U.S. is the Debt Economy without peer. To fuel nearly three decades of postwar economic boom at home and export it abroad, this nation has borrowed an average net \$200 million a day, each and every day, since the close of World War II...

The most pessimistic view [is that] the specter of a chain reaction of defaults by borrowers and failures by lenders [will] thrust the world into deep depression...

It is not the 1930s, and governments and central banks are now more knowledgeable, better able and more willing to aid institutions in trouble, as the Federal Reserve aided Franklin National Bank and the German central bank aided the victims of the Herstatt disaster.

Yet the dangers are greater than in the 1930s. The amounts at risk are greater and so is the leverage, here and abroad...

The nation's burden of debt is like a string drawn very taut... The string has not broken, and it may not. The energy of every economist, of every government official, of every lender and borrower will be directed in the weeks and months ahead to keeping the string from breaking. Yet no one knows the precise breaking point and, while there are schemes and theories galore, no one really knows how to ease the tension, either. ■

Steve Zeluck: 1922-1985

Dear editor,

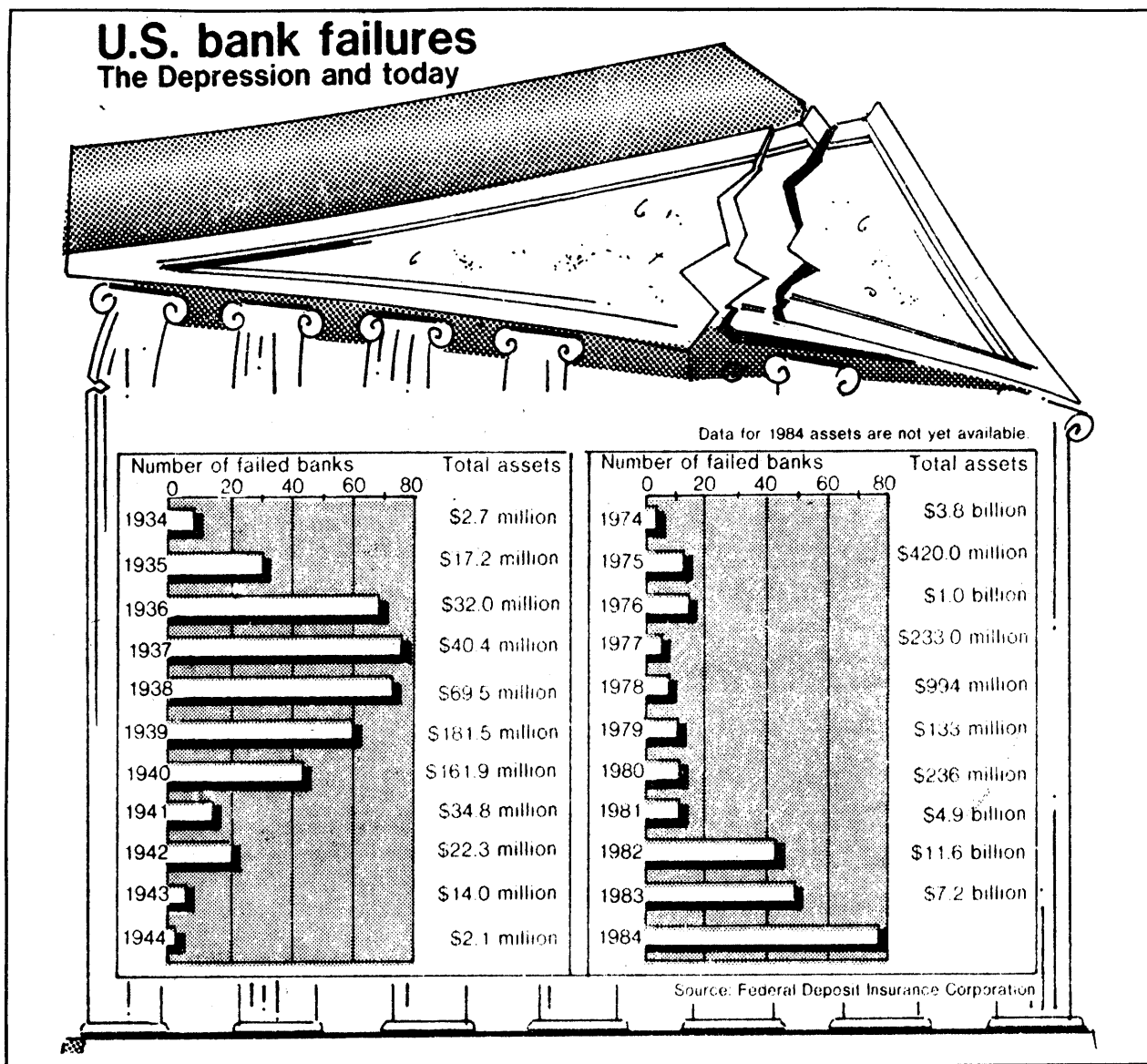
Steve Zeluck, an editor of *Against the Current* (a socialist quarterly published in New York), died on March 1 in New York City. Steve's death was the result of mesothelioma, an incurable cancer caused by exposure to asbestos when he worked in the U.S. Navy shipyard in Philadelphia at the beginning of World War II.

From the time he joined the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International) in the 1930s, Steve remained committed to the advancement of revolutionary Marxist theory and practice in the United States.

A memorial meeting was held on March 24. Contributions in Steve's memory should be sent to *Against the Current*, 45 West 10th St., Apt. 2G, New York, N.Y. 10011.

A reader,
New York

U.S. bank failures The Depression and today



Banks skate on thin ice

By HAYDEN PERRY

One of the most traumatic experiences of the Great Depression was the collapse of the banking system. Depositors saw their life savings vanish as banks closed their doors in the face of mass withdrawals by panic-stricken people.

In the '20s bankers had been folk heroes in America, pointing the road to riches in the great Wall Street bull market. The long boom following the end of World War I convinced many that capitalists had found the way to end the cycle of boom and bust.

The October 1929 stock-market crash produced a rude awakening. Its effect on the bankers and their reputations was devastating. They had been lending money to speculators to gamble on Wall Street. Bank officials had used their depositors' savings to speculate on the market for their own profit. The stocks that they accepted as collateral dropped in value from \$10 to 10 cents or less.

President Herbert Hoover counted on the bankers to reverse the slide to financial collapse, but everything the bankers did only prolonged the crisis. They called in loans when beleaguered businessmen and farmers needed more credit, not demands for immediate repayment. Foreclosures left banks with dead-businesses and unsaleable homes on their hands.

Many banks were hard pressed to meet even the normal demands of their depositors for cash. Then they were faced with the dreaded run on the bank—panicky depositors lining up to get their money out before the bank folded. Even a sound bank cannot pay off all of its depositors in a day without outside help.

As one bank closed, depositors at other banks rushed to take their money out. Even sound banks could not withstand this sort of run and closed their doors. By the end of 1933, 6000 banks across the country had failed.

Roosevelt to the rescue in 1933

To stop the bank runs and save the rest of the banks, state governors declared bank holidays, closing every remaining bank in the state. By the end of 1932, 34 states had taken this drastic action. When Roosevelt took office in March 1933, the country was almost without a functioning banking system.

Roosevelt was not a banker, but he was a superb politician. In his inaugural speech he excoriated the bankers for their incompetence and lack of vision. He declared, "The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization."

Now the government would take charge.

This was what the people wanted to hear. The spirit of doom and despair that enveloped the nation was lifted and replaced by hope. Even when

Roosevelt temporarily closed every bank in the country, depositors did not panic. With appropriate measures of reform, Roosevelt assured the nation, the banking system would be restored to health. The disastrous bank runs would never occur again.

Gradually most of the banks reopened. However, thousands of people lost millions of dollars that they never recovered from the wreckage. Moreover, nothing basic was changed in the system. The reforms did not eliminate the basic laws of capitalist economics.

It has been 52 years since the banking system was saved and reformed by Roosevelt. Now the financial institutions have to be saved all over again. Small country banks are closing their doors. One of the biggest banks in Chicago is teetering on the brink of bankruptcy. The governor of Ohio has called a bank holiday, closing all 71 savings-and-loan banks in the state. Is this 1929 all over again?

The debt bomb is ticking

We are not in a deep depression, but there are enough destabilizing factors to undermine any bank. First there is the huge debt that is owed by the countries of the Third World. It is often referred to as the debt bomb because it could blow up the entire banking system of the Western World.

Loans of billions of dollars were pressed upon these countries in the '60s and '70s by banks loaded with OPEC oil money. They now owe \$360 billion. There is no way the underdeveloped countries can pay back these billions. The banks close their eyes to this fact and keep postponing the day of payment. So long as interest is being paid the banks pretend that the loans are sound and will be repaid eventually.

No bank has failed as a direct result of the debt bomb because too many banks around the world are involved and governments are using their power to try to prevent the debtor countries from defaulting. Contemplating this problem gives the bankers sleepless nights.

Here at home the farm crisis is undermining banks around the country. In the booming '60s farmers had been encouraged to expand. They borrowed money to buy more equipment and high-priced land. Then the bottom dropped out of the farm market. The value of farmland fell, leaving the farmers with huge debts they could not pay.

The banks found that the farmland used for collateral was worth less than the debt. This means that the bank would be insolvent. From here it is a short step to bankruptcy.

The mounting federal deficit is another source of disaster for the banks. The national debt is now \$1.7 trillion. The yearly deficit is \$200 billion. The Treasury has to borrow more money just to pay the interest, leading to a never-ending spiral of debt. It has to

sell billions of dollars worth of securities every day to keep the system going.

This drains investment funds from the capitalists. It keeps interest rates high. And it creates all sorts of opportunities for fraud and deception—as the state of Ohio discovered.

Even well-run banks must be shaken by this triple threat to the financial system. But the banks are not being well run, despite the reforms of 1933. Many are being run by the same sort of self-serving, double-dealing, and incompetent men who led the banks to disaster in 1929.

Almost every week the papers carry an item concerning irregularities in the affairs of some prominent bank. Florida banks are accused of laundering drug money. A big Boston bank admits to accepting laundry bags full of cash for deposit without reporting it, as required by law. The Bank of America was forced to refund illegal charges on inactive accounts.

Of Florida crooks and an Ohio crisis

The saga of the Ohio savings-and-loan crisis is a good illustration of what happens when crooks are allowed a free hand in our financial institutions. In Florida in 1976 three scoundrels by the names of Ewton, Seneca, and Mead joined forces to create the ESM Company to deal in government securities. Buying and selling them, lending and borrowing them, and profiting from their rise and fall in value.

Cities like Beaumont, Texas, often buy government securities with tax money that they will not be spending for a while. That city bought \$90 million worth from ESM. They did not take delivery because ESM was supposed to buy them back in a few months. This gave ESM the opportunity to pledge Beaumont's bonds as collateral for loans to finance further profitable schemes that it was engaged in. In fact, ESM pledged the same bonds several times over in a pyramid of unsecured debt.

The climax came when a suspicious customer looked deeper into ESM's tangled finances and forced it into bankruptcy and its operators into court. This was the end of ESM but the beginning of big trouble for the savings-and-loan-business in Ohio.

Home State Savings of Cincinnati had invested heavily in ESM's securities. In fact it had close ties to ESM that are still under investigation. When ESM went bankrupt, Home State took a huge loss.

When its depositors learned of their bank's troubles, they rushed to take their money out. Pictures of long lines outside Home State appeared on TV. Depositors of other savings and loans (S and L's) rushed to take their money out too, and a classic bank run was on.

To stop the panic Gov. Richard Celeste did exactly what state governors had done in 1932. He closed all 71 S and L's in Ohio. He called to Washington for help, but help was slow in coming. It is charged that Reagan let Ohio swing slowly in the wind for a while because the state administration is Democratic, and Marvin Warner, head of Home State Savings, is a big wheel in the Democratic party.

Reagan to the rescue in 1984

The Ohio savings and loans are only a small segment of the financial scene. The crisis did not involve any commercial banks. So the administration could play politics with the fate of a few thousand small depositors. But when it comes to bank failures that endanger the whole financial edifice, the ruling class can move rapidly and decisively.

This was the case in the collapse of the Continental Illinois Bank in Chicago last year. This bank had expanded rapidly, investing in farm loans and nuclear-energy loans, as well as highly risky and complicated deals that will take years to unravel. As farm values dropped and nuclear-energy projects closed down, rumors of trouble at Continental Illinois spread. Depositors began to withdraw their money.

These were not small savers, but big international corporations, including many Japanese. This was an international bank run that could have the most serious consequences for the whole banking system. The ruling class was alarmed.

Reagan declared that he would never let Continental Illinois fail. The government moved in with a massive infusion of taxpayers' money. It could be as much as \$7.5 billion. The Treasury took over the bad loans and piled the risk on the backs of the public. It guaranteed the safety of every deposit without limit and put all the financial power of the government behind the bank.

Many country bankers, who had been allowed to fail without the administration lifting a finger, wondered why they were treated like second-class citizens? They do not understand that they are expendable in the battle to save the system.

The ruling class has not saved the banking system. They are merely shoring up weak points in a basically bankrupt institution. It will take intervention by the working class to oust the money changers and make the banks institutions serving the people. ■

Comparable worth struggle racks up victories

By DIANE LUTZ

Comparable Worth: "The looniest idea since Looney Tunes"—"At once revolutionary and looney"—"The issue of the '80s"—"Pregnant with the possibility of disrupting the entire economic system of the United States of America"—"The hottest new issue for working women."

These are differing opinions from critics and supporters of the idea of comparable worth.

What is comparable worth? Is it only an issue of higher pay, or is it a struggle that could change our society in a larger way?

In spite of the 1963 Equal Pay Act, which required that men and women be paid equally for the same work, the average woman worker's earnings are only about three-fifths of a man's earnings, even when both work full time, year round. This is because women workers are concentrated in low-paying, dead-end jobs. Over half of all women workers are employed in only 20 of 427 occupations listed by the Census Bureau.

These are jobs such as secretary, nurse, retail-sales clerk, seamstress, and teacher—jobs in which women have traditionally worked and which are identified as "women's jobs."

On the average, "women's jobs" are paid less than "men's jobs"—even when the "women's jobs" require more skill and responsibility. The fight for comparable worth—or pay equity—is an attempt to end this injustice.

Comparable worth goes beyond equal pay for equal work. It means paying workers equal pay for work of comparable value. The "comparable value" of a job is found by assessing the knowledge and skills, mental demands, accountability, and working conditions required by the job, assigning point factors, and making a comparison with other jobs.

In other words, it means that salaries should be based on the skill, effort, and responsibility each job requires relative to all other jobs in an organization—

Diane Lutz is an organizer for the Washington Federation of State Employees.



Yale University clerical and technical workers strike for pay equity in 1984.

regardless of whether the jobs are held by men or women.

The state of Washington, under pressure from the Washington Federation of State Employees (AFSCME) conducted the first comparable worth study in 1974. It revealed that jobs held primarily by women were paid about 20% less than jobs held primarily by men with the same job-evaluation points.

An example is the comparison between Clerk Typist and Warehouse Worker I. Both jobs received 94 points. However, the Clerk Typist was paid a salary 10 grades (25%) below that of the Warehouse Worker I.

This study was updated in 1976, 1979, and 1980 with the same results, but the Washington state legislature dragged its feet, taking no action to end the pay discrimination shown by its own studies.

The fight in the courts

In 1982 AFSCME filed suit against the state. The trial took place in September 1983, and District Judge Jack Tanner found the state of Washington guilty of pervasive and intentional discrimination. He ordered that wages be

raised immediately and that back wages should be paid. The state appealed his decision, and the appeal was heard on April 4, 1985. The decision is still pending.

In addition to Washington, there have been lawsuits on the issue of comparable worth in Connecticut, New York, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Hawaii. A number of states have passed legislation that commits them to the eventual implementation of comparable worth; these include Minnesota, Washington, New Mexico, and California.

Comparable worth has also been an issue in collective bargaining, and one of the most important aspects of the legal and educational campaign is the ammunition it provides to workers. Unions have won at least 65 victories over comparable worth-related issues.

In July 1981 city workers in San Jose, Calif., went on strike for nine days over the issue of pay equity. The strike was settled when the city agreed to provide \$1.5 million for pay-equity adjustments of 5% to 15% over the two-year contract for more than 60 female-dominated jobs.

These increases were in addition to the 15.5% pay raise negotiated for all bargaining-unit members over two years. Additional pay-equity adjustments were negotiated in 1983.

Victory for Yale women workers

There have been collective-bargaining victories for comparable worth in seven other states, most recently in Connecticut. In September 1984, 1600 clerical and technical employees at Yale University formed a union and struck the institution. The 82% of its members who were women earned as much as 12% less than the 18% who were men.

The strike was settled victoriously early this year. The new three-year contract includes across-the-board increases of over 20% and goes a long way toward ending the pay discrimination against jobs mostly held by women. The Yale strike will be an inspiration to the clerical workers at Columbia University who are currently struggling for union recognition and will undoubtedly raise comparable worth in their negotiations.

The struggle for comparable worth has radical implications beyond the important effects of raising the pay of women in traditional women's jobs. First of all, raising the pay of women workers can make a qualitative difference in their lives—childcare becomes a possibility, single parenting is made easier, etc. The idea of comparable worth is the fastest short-term way of helping women to become more independent.

Second, it is an excellent organizing issue to draw women and minorities into the labor movement.

Third, efforts to obtain comparable-worth systems are opening up exciting discussions in unions concerning our whole economic system. The issue directs attention away from one company or a few legislators and exposes the systematic, institutional role of sex discrimination in the economy.

When we start to question why men's jobs should be paid more than women's jobs, we also begin to question why supervisors and managers are paid more than other workers. We begin to see that a hierarchically structured job market, not "free competition," shapes our lives. Finally, the discussion can and does lead working people to question why some people have more power and wealth than others.

When critics of comparable worth warn that such a system will destroy the whole fabric of the American economy, they are surely exaggerating. But the struggle for comparable worth may have a large effect on our society. It is an issue that is bigger and more radical than it first appears. ■

By HAL LUNDFORD

NEW YORK—Teamster activists are waging an uphill battle against a proposed National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA) settlement covering 200,000 workers. If passed it would divide the ranks, weaken the union, hurt new hires and casual employees, and threaten the jobs of senior employees.

The new contract has a multi-wage structure paying new hires and temporary employees respectively about \$4 and \$2.70 an hour below scale. This will give employers an incentive to replace senior workers.

New production standards will facilitate firing the higher-paid senior drivers. The elimination of the Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) will push down the living standards of Teamsters who are already making about \$1.76 an hour less in real wages than they made in 1981. The new contract will not stop big companies diverting jobs to their non-union divisions.

Despite all this, Teamster president Jackie Presser is counting on two provisions—a wage increase for employees with seniority and some improvements

Hal Lundford is a member of I.B.T. 707.

Teamsters resist takeback contract

in pensions—to enable this package to pass.

Even though it takes a two-thirds vote to reject a contract, passage is not a foregone conclusion. In 1983 the Teamsters rejected a Presser proposal by an 88 percent majority. So a two-thirds no vote on this contract is possible. Even a 50 percent no vote would shake up the bureaucracy.

TDU gaining authority

In the fight against the sellout contract and for union democracy, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) is gaining authority and members. TDU papers and contract bulletins have been the only source of information for thousands of Teamsters.

TDU has brought a lot of rank-and-file pressure to bear on local officials, thus contributing to a split in the Teamster bureaucracy. Many East and West Coast locals have come out strongly against the new pact. The president of Local 707 in New York tore up a copy of the proposed contract before a membership meeting, calling it "garbage."



Jobs are a central concern of the membership. Some 100,000 jobs have been lost in the freight industry since it was deregulated in 1980. Union policy of granting concessions to save jobs has been proven bankrupt. The largest companies used the concessions to cut prices and run the small companies out of business.

Drivers laid off by the small firms do not get union jobs with the big carriers. These companies have non-union divisions that get the bulk of their new business. Failure to organize the growing

non-union sector has seriously weakened the NMFA as a master contract and with it the power of a united membership.

To turn this situation around a big vote is needed against Presser's sellout contract. The idea of recalling the negotiating committee should be raised as well. Members should also demand an elected negotiating committee.

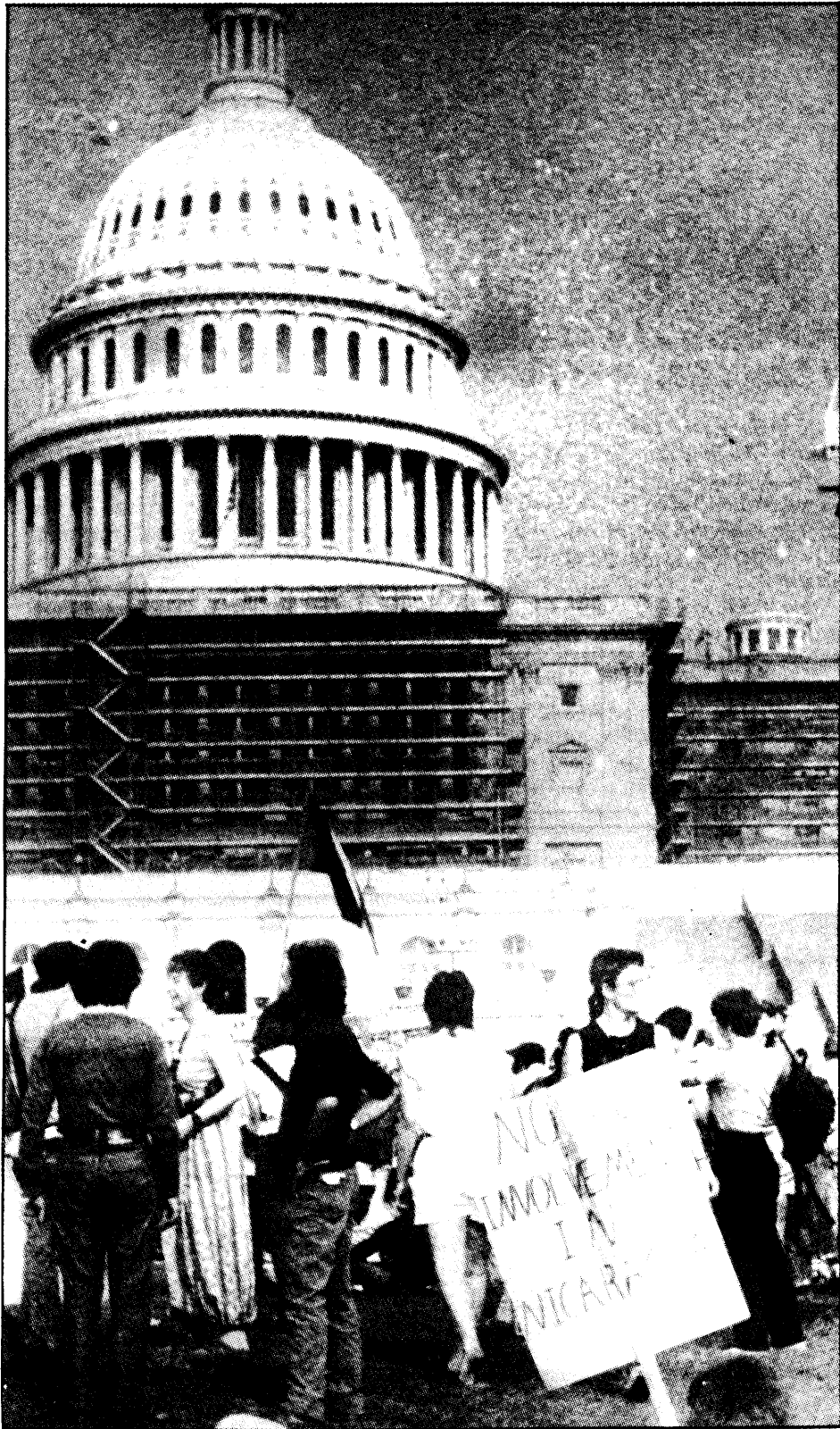
A campaign to stop the erosion of jobs through double breasting and subcontracting out to non-union brokers is necessary and possible. Demands should be raised to open the companies' books to inspection by union committees. Free access to the books would reveal the behind-the-scenes deals and management's strategies to weaken the union.

The national contract must be revitalized by bringing all freight under it and ending special-area riders that make locals compete with each other for jobs. By uniting the membership, the power of the whole union can be turned to helping the weaker sections.

Members should push for hiring halls in every local. Overtime should be banned when members have been laid off. A cut in the workweek with no reduction in pay would meet the problem of unemployment among Teamsters. ■

Socialist Action Forum

APRIL 20
ROUNDUP



This month's FORUM section is devoted entirely to a roundup of the April 20 nationwide demonstrations against the U.S. government's war and austerity policies.

Because of the size and political significance of these tremendously successful demonstrations, we have turned over our FORUM section to the coverage of these events. In June we will return to our regular format of presenting differing viewpoints on the many issues facing working people in this country.

Socialist Action correspondents and photographers have contributed on-the-spot reports of the demonstrations in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Denver. This section also includes excerpts from the speeches of some of the major speakers at these protest actions.

D.C. march shows depth of protest

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

WASHINGTON—Over 400 chartered buses began arriving early in the morning of Saturday, April 20. People came here by the tens of thousands from throughout the eastern half of the United States to participate in the April Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice.

A Festival of Resistance on the ellipse kicked off the day's activities. Simultaneous programs on six stages reflected the various components of the coalition that organized the march. Each stage featured speakers and cultural events focusing on a particular theme.

Before the march began, the crowd, estimated at 65,000 to 75,000, overflowed the assembly area. The parade route took demonstrators past the White House and through part of the downtown shopping area. The rally had already begun by the time the final marchers arrived at the Capitol over three hours later.

Signs and chants reflected the four themes of the demonstration: No U.S. Intervention in Central America; Create Jobs and Build a Just Society; Freeze and Reverse the Arms Race; and Oppose Apartheid/End Racism.

The size of the march exceeded the

organizers' most optimistic predictions. Local organizing efforts were set back by two attempts to cancel or postpone the demonstration. Local coalitions in many key cities were late getting off the ground. Despite these organizational weaknesses, as word of the demonstration spread, local groups began organizing to express the widespread support enjoyed by the four demands of the April Actions.

Massive outpouring of protest

Thousands of students, including sizable contingents from Oberlin College, Columbia University, Harvard University, and Northwestern University, participated. For most, it was their first national demonstration. For many, it was their first political activity. Campus anti-apartheid demonstrations, demanding divestment of university funds, served as the catalyst for involving many of these students.

The Hispanic contingent was the most spirited. Music and Spanish chants demanding an end to U.S. support for the Nicaraguan contras continued for the entire parade route.

The connection between military

(continued on page 9)

S.F. march points the way forward

By CARL FINAMORE

SAN FRANCISCO—The demonstration on downtown Market Street stretched for miles and took two-and-a-half hours to complete as 50,000 protesters marched to a Civic Center rally co-chaired by Jack Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California AFL-CIO, and Pat Norman, a well-known Black lesbian political activist.

It was the largest Bay Area action in recent years. But even more impressive was the wide variety of groups and individuals in the march. Attracted by the broad appeal of the coalition, many thousands were demonstrating for the first time.

Thousands of students swelled the huge anti-apartheid contingent. Many of them had been involved in the recent explosive anti-apartheid activities on

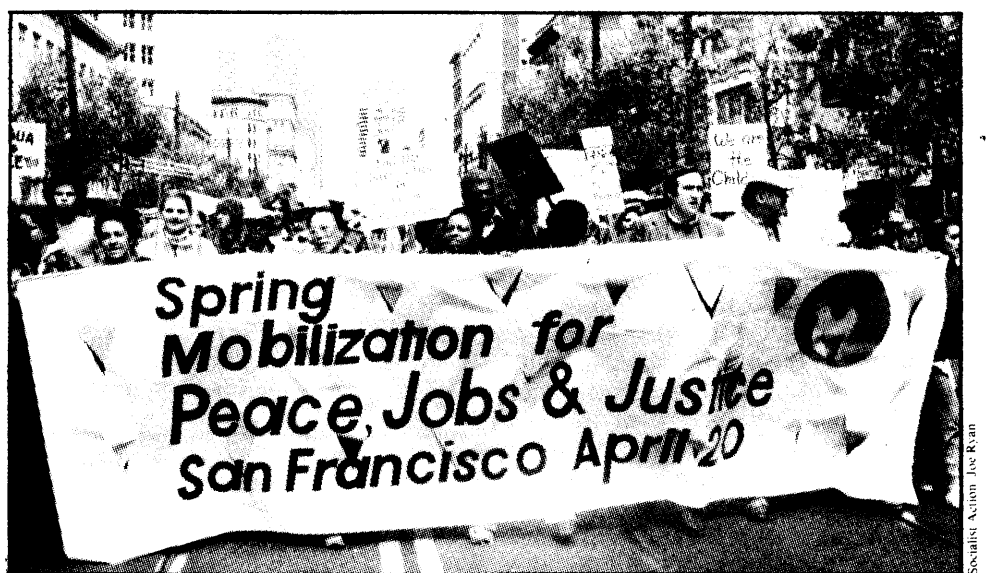
several Bay Area campuses [see *Socialist Action*, page 3].

Seventy-five United Farm Workers proudly carrying their union banners joined 400 members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and members of over 50 other unions in an impressive labor contingent.

The first and by far the largest contingent, organized around "No U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean," was by itself larger than recent protests against U.S. intervention.

The San Francisco Mime Troupe and dozens of bands, dance, and cultural groups accompanied the march and contributed to the upbeat and militant nature of the action. In addition to some floats, several buses, driven by union members from the Transport Workers Union and the United Transportation Union, rolled alongside the demonstrators.

Following the demonstration, all the



major papers ran extensive front-page stories describing the wide support the protest had received from hundreds of labor, church, peace, and community groups. Under the banner headline, "50,000 rally in S.F. against apartheid, Reagan," the April 21 *Examiner* noted that the contingent organized by the Santa Clara Central Labor Council had attracted "2500 members of community groups... aboard a chartered 'Spring Mobilization' train."

The April 23 *Examiner* had another

front-page story titled, "Unions undertake new alliance with activist causes."

The unions' new alliances

The article noted the "unprecedented show of force by Northern California unions, from Painters Local 4 to the ILWU International Executive Board. Every labor council in the five-county Bay Area endorsed the march, as did virtually every local union local."

Peter Cervantes-Gautschi, business

(continued on page 9)

Carl Finamore is a member of the staff and the steering committee of the Spring Mobilization.

... Huge protests

(continued from page 1)

labor—these are the characteristics of the rising anti-apartheid movement.

All these actions culminated on April 24 in a coordinated nationwide student strike. On 90 campuses, tens of thousands of students boycotted classes to protest apartheid.

At Berkeley, 7000 students rallied at Steve Biko Plaza (formerly Sproul Plaza) and then filled the Harmon Gymnasium, where they urged the university's regents to withdraw the \$1.8 billion they have invested in companies that do business in South Africa. A local paper called it "the biggest student gathering of its type since May 1970, after four students were killed at Kent State University in Ohio."

An estimated 2500 rallied at the University of California at Davis; 1500 at San Francisco State University; 1000 at San Jose State; and 2000 at UCLA, the campus' largest demonstration since the Vietnam War. Nearly 400 were arrested nationwide that day, including at least 325 who occupied an administration building at Cornell University.

At the University of Wisconsin at Madison, approximately 200 demonstrators occupied a conference room at the state Capitol.

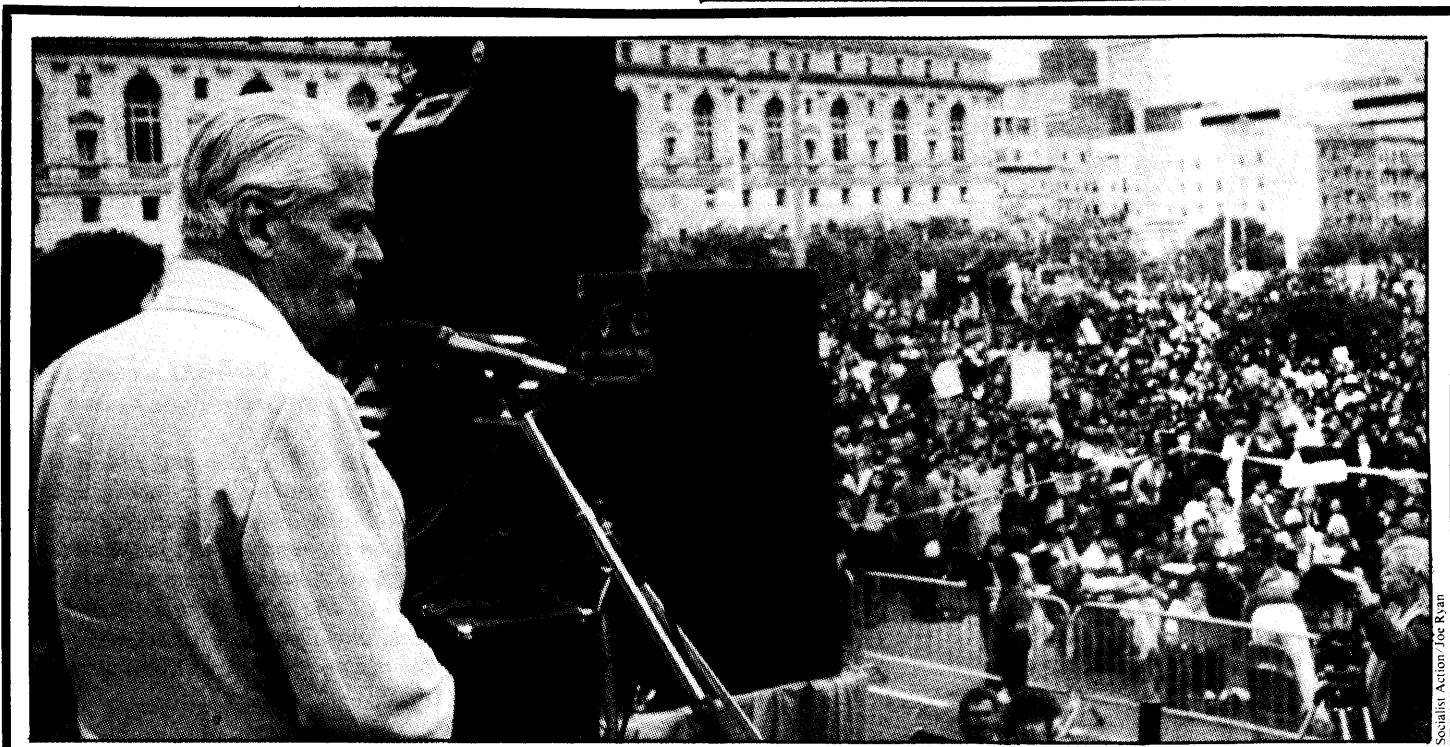
No mandate for war

Reagan has no mandate to finance the murder machine in South Africa or to provide aid to the contras seeking to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

A February ABC News/Washington Post poll showed that 70 percent of the American people were opposed to any form of aid to the contras. The House of Representatives, feeling the pressure of this opposition, voted against aid to the contras by a vote of 303 to 123. April 20 had an impact.

The movement against war and austerity has been given a gigantic boost by the April 20 antiwar demonstrations and the recent campus upsurge. Yet these actions have barely begun to organize the potential opposition to the government's policies.

It is urgent to extend and deepen the important gains made in building the April 20 actions. Nationally coordinated fall actions around the four



Jack Henning, labor leader, speaks to S.F. rally

The following are major excerpts from the introductory speech given by Jack Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California AFL-CIO and one of the rally's emcees, to the San Francisco April 20 antiwar rally.

On peace: We want the United States out of Latin America. Precisely, we want it out of Nicaragua where the Reagan administration is using mercenaries and assassins to interfere with the rights of the people to determine their own form of government. And we want an end to their accord with the powers in El Salvador that, for generations, have exploited the poor and the workers and are a threat actually to democracy

in all of Latin America.

And particularly because of the events of the past few weeks, we want America to end what is in effect a blood alliance with the murder-machine that calls itself the government of South Africa.

The word, brothers and sisters, on justice: There is no justice in a society that's polarized economically. We have 35 million Americans today living in absolute poverty. We have hundreds of thousands sleeping in the alleyways, on the sidewalks and on the streets of America—the homeless of America—Reagan's greatest contribution to America the beautiful.

And, as far as jobs are concerned:

There's been a murmur of recovery in the economy yet millions are unemployed in America—nearly a million jobless in the state of California. But we should remember this—that the murmurs of recovery are resulting from the Third-Reich economy of the Reagan administration, a Third-Reich economy founded solely upon defense expenditures....

Well we want jobs. We don't want \$14 million sent, either in arms or economic aid, to the subversive forces of Nicaragua at the very time Reagan is cutting aid from the senior citizens, from the welfare people of America, and from the students of America. ■

themes of the spring mobilizations are a vital necessity. Greater numbers and new forces can be brought in to make the fall actions an even greater show of strength against the warmakers.

Fall actions needed

A first step to prepare these actions would be the holding of regional antiwar conferences during the summer or the early fall. The local coalitions that emerged for April 20 can provide the initial organizational backbone for these conferences.

The conferences must be open to all

those who support the four April 20 demands. Adding new demands to make the coalitions more "anti-imperialist" would only limit the ability to draw in the new forces—particularly the unions—that are willing to join in this antiwar united front.

The national steering committee of the Washington, D.C., April Actions will be meeting at the beginning of June. Their decision to call for regional conferences—and ultimately even a national antiwar conference—to prepare nationally coordinated fall actions would give a tremendous boost and

clear direction to the antiwar movement.

A new kind of coalition—one with the unions in the forefront—began to develop in San Francisco. Coalitions such as this one on a national level can mobilize the power of labor and give direction to the tremendous energy manifested in the April protest activities.

April 1985 can be a turning point. The potential is there. It has been expressed in the nation's streets and on its campuses. Now is the time to prepare for the next step.—The editors ■

L.A. march focuses on Central America

By SOPHIE MASTOR

LOS ANGELES—Marking the largest antiwar demonstration since the days of the Vietnam War protests, 7000 to 8000 activists, representing over 100 organizations, marched down Broadway to the Los Angeles City Hall. Hundreds more attended the rally there.

Because of the unique ethnic makeup of the city, with its Latino population of over 3 million, the accent of the Los Angeles action was on Central America. At the same time, this event marked the first large, broad-based demonstration in Los Angeles with a significant Black presence. The Filipino community also was extremely active in the April 20 Coalition—another first for this city.

Chairpersons for the event were Los Angeles City Council member Robert Farrell, who heads the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials; Jack Foley, district director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union; Jackie Goldberg, Los Angeles Board of Education member; Sumi Haru, national recording secretary of the Screen Actors Guild; and Father Luis Olivares of Our Lady Queen of Angels Church.

Among the speakers were Angela Davis, Marta Alicia Rivera of ANDES (the Salvadoran Teachers Union), Sabino Virgo of Jews United for Peace and Justice, Salah Amin of the November 29 Coalition for Palestinian Rights, Antonio Rodriguez of the Coalition for Visas and Rights for the Undocumented, and Mitchell Learner of the American Indian Movement.

Notable was the low-key presence of

the infamous Los Angeles Police Department. Two days before the demonstration, in a sudden about-face, the Police Department informed the coalition that instead of allowing us to march down only half the street, which in the past has made it impossible to fully unfurl banners, we could have the entire street, which would be cordoned off to traffic.

This resulted in a demonstration entirely free of the tensions that such actions have elicited in the past.

Peacefully, united and strong, we carried our message: Build a just society—through peace, jobs, and justice. We feel that we can grow. ■

Mario Savio:

The following are major excerpts from the speech given by Mario Savio, co-founder of the Free Speech Movement of the 1960s, to the San Francisco April 20 antiwar rally.

I'd like to say it's very encouraging to see so much support from organized labor. Without organized labor we can't win. With organized labor we will prevail....

Thank you to the Trans-Africa demonstrators, to the sanctuary churches, and to the solidarity networks.... And a thank you from the bottom of our hearts to the Berkeley students.

Reports of the death of the movement were obviously greatly exaggerated. The movement continues....

As we know, right now [the Congress and the government] are searching for a compromise to the president's plan for aid to the contra terrorists. The president's plan was described by a Republican as an "apple with a razor blade."

The president's men on the hill are trying to find a way to shine that apple up so that enough Democrats will be persuaded that it would be a fitting gift for Nicaragua... Since when has it become acceptable public policy to extend even "humanitarian" aid to terrorists?

The time to act to prevent a wider war is now.... ■



April 20 in San Francisco

. . . D.C.

(continued from page 7)

spending and cuts in social services helped involve numerous unemployed, Black, senior citizen, and community groups.

The weaknesses of the demonstration, however, were most clearly reflected in the labor contingent. A number of international unions endorsed the demonstration, but no efforts were made to involve them in the planning. No speaker from the labor movement, for example, addressed the rally.

Although some trade unions—most noticeably the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, United Auto Workers District 65, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees—had contingents, there was little organized participation from the trade unions.

Nevertheless, large numbers of trade-union members attended, showing the potential for actively involving the trade unions in the future.

The depth of the opposition to U.S. foreign policy was reflected in the geographic areas represented. In addition to buses from New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Pittsburgh, there were buses from cities as far west as St. Louis and as far south as Miami.

"No more Vietnams"

At the main rally, speakers representing the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FDR), the National Union of Nicaraguan Students, the African National Congress, and the

American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee stressed the support that U.S. foreign policy offers right-wing military dictatorships throughout the world.

Disabled Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic explained that even though the Vietnam War ended only 10 years ago, the U.S. government is clearly planning a repeat performance in Central America. He made an emotional plea that no more young Americans be allowed to die or become permanently disabled in such a new Vietnam.

Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) discussed the devastating effects the military budget has on the U.S. economy. He also described congressional hearings to investigate FBI harassment of U.S. citizens who have traveled to Nicaragua.

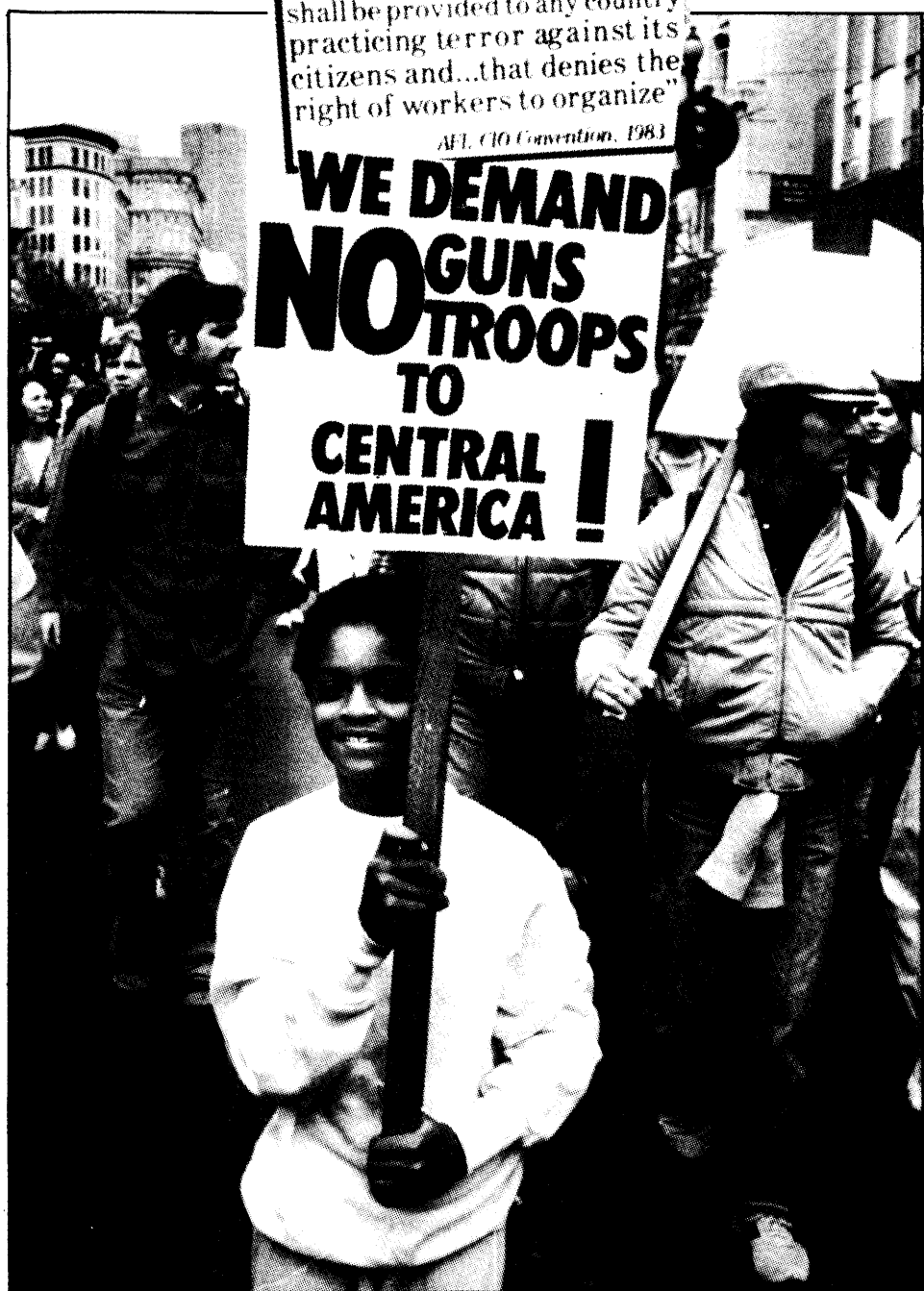
The best-received speaker of the day was the Rev. Jesse Jackson who opened his remarks by explaining that "peace, jobs, and justice are transcendent dreams that draw us together."

His announcement of a planned student strike against apartheid met with prolonged applause.

As buses arrived, marshalls distributed a hand-out including a section entitled, "What's Next."

This flier stressed lobbying against U.S. aid to the contras, for sanctions against South Africa, for cuts in military spending, against cuts in social services, and for a jobs bill. It also mentioned the annual August 6-9 local activities commemorating the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Participants left the demonstration encouraged by the large turnout and optimistic about the prospects of building a broad, mass movement in opposition to the U.S. war policies. ■



Denver rally forges unity

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

About 1800 antiwar demonstrators came to Denver on April 20 to protest U.S. intervention in Central America. The march—organized by the Denver Pledge of Resistance—began at the State Capitol, stretched four times around the Federal Building, and ended with a lively rally.

Support for the action gathered momentum days before April 20, when 450 students protesting CIA recruitment on campus were arrested at a sit-in at the University of Colorado at Boulder. The students had intended to make a "citizen's arrest" of the CIA representa-

tives. Many students from Boulder attended the Denver protest, and anti-nuclear and anti-apartheid groups also carried signs and banners.

Steve Graham, a regional coordinator of the Rocky Mountain Pledge of Resistance, told *Socialist Action* that it was significant that large numbers of Chicanos were prominent in the march. Graham said that compared with activities against the war in Vietnam, "April

20 showed that we're not just a student-based movement any more. It showed that when we put the effort out we can reach deep into the Third World community and deep into the labor movement."

Richard Bensinger, a district coordinator for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, addressed the demonstrators during the rally outside the Federal Building. At one point, he

asked all the people in the crowd who were members of labor unions to stand up. At least 300 people stood in response.

Other speakers at the rally included Rita Montero, regional coordinator of Witness for Peace; Mary Willham, coordinator of the Western Solidarity anti-nuclear coalition; and Ntathu Mbattha, a representative of the Colorado Coalition Against Apartheid. ■

. . . Bay Area

(continued from page 7)

manager of the Santa Clara Labor Council was quoted as saying, "This time, the unions expect to be in the forefront as opposed to where we were 15 years ago, when we tagged along with other movements."

Charlene Tschirhart, director of the San Francisco Nuclear Freeze campaign told the *Examiner* reporter that "normally, peace and environmental groups had to get together and beg unions to come aboard. This time, they picked it up and took the leadership."

This important union involvement was clearly recognized as a major achievement of the San Francisco action.

At the April 20 rally itself, Mario Savio, leader of the 1964 Free Speech Movement at Berkeley, received thunderous applause when he began his speech by saying, "It's very encouraging to see so much support from organized labor. Without organized labor we can't win. With organized labor we will prevail."

Other speakers at the rally included Jimmy Herman, international president of the ILWU; Felix Kurry, a leader of the Salvadoran trade union movement; Pedro Noguera, president of the student body at U.C. Berkeley; Rep. Ron Delums (D-Calif.); and Dolores Huerta, vice president of the United Farm Workers.

Symbolizing the important new alliances made by the Spring Mobilization coalition, the demonstration was led off by leaders of all the major contingents and included labor figures marching alongside the Grey Panthers, veterans, the disabled, and the 159 arrested anti-apartheid protesters from the University of California at Berkeley.

"The place to be"

Indeed, April 20 became "the place to be," just as singer Holly Near had hoped when she spoke at a recent coalition fundraiser featuring actor Ed Asner

and Apple computer founder Steve Wozniak. That particular event raised \$11,000 for the coalition.

Over \$40,000 was raised and spent in the four months of the coalition's existence. The rally sales of buttons and T-shirts and the fund-appeal collection gathered another \$13,000 for the coalition.

Organizers are optimistic that the gains made during this mobilization will encourage an even wider layer of groups and individuals to participate in future protest actions in support of the four themes of the Spring Mobilization. ■

Seattle labor leads march

By PAUL ANDERSEN

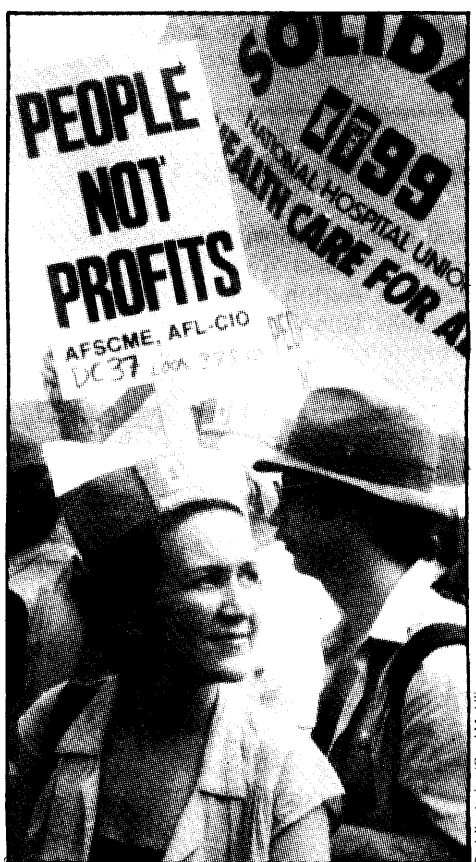
SEATTLE—A high-spirited grouping of antiwar activists, anti-apartheid protesters, and labor-union members joined a march and rally of over 5000 people here on April 20. Young and old alike participated. High-school students came with their home-made signs, and Grey Panthers were mobilized from all over western Washington State and northern Oregon.

About 30 mechanics and baggage handlers who are on strike at Alaska Airlines led the march through downtown Seattle. The strikers were followed at the front of the march by a large con-

tingent of trade unions that had endorsed the April 20 action.

"Unions are beginning to recognize the importance of social issues as they try to fight for a decent job for every man and woman in this country," Rita Shaw told the rally in front of the federal courthouse, as she pointed to the many union banners in the crowd. Shaw is one of the co-chairs of Northwest Action for Peace, Jobs, and Justice, which organized the April 20 event.

Speakers at the rally were introduced by Linda Layton, president of Local 2202 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, who represented the Alaska Airlines strikers; Maryamu Eltayeb, a co-chair of Northwest Action and a member of the Seattle Coalition Against Apartheid; and David Bloom, associate director of the Church Council of Greater Seattle. ■



Mass action needed to disarm U.S. brinksmen

By NAT WEINSTEIN

The military-political strategy of the U.S. ruling class is based on convincing the world that, if necessary, it will not flinch at triggering a nuclear holocaust to forestall the ultimate victory of world revolution.

Star Wars, the popular designation given to President Ronald Reagan's "Strategic Defense Initiative" program, is a logical extension of the American imperialist strategy of nuclear brinksmanship. [See article on Star Wars in the April issue of *Socialist Action*.]

Reagan, as the chief executive officer of his class, deliberately adopts the role of a free-enterprise fanatic who is prepared to destroy all life on earth to save it from communism.

While Reagan is not crazy, there is an underlying madness driving U.S. imperialism. Star Wars testifies to the historical bankruptcy of a social system that has outlived its usefulness. Capitalism's grim strategy for survival is based on holding the world hostage with the threat of detonating the nuclear doomsday machine rather than giving in to the irrepressible revolutionary tide.

The Star Wars doomsday threat must be taken seriously. In the first place, the bigger the nuclear powder keg, the greater the likelihood of accidental detonation. And in the second place, the longer the world teeters on the brink, the greater become the odds that humanity will be exterminated.

The U.S. capitalist class, like all other ruling classes, will not be induced to give up its power merely through the force of logical argument. And so long as that power includes the awesome U.S. nuclear arsenal, the existence of life on earth is threatened.

Ultimately, the power to destroy the world must be wrenched forever from the hands of the capitalist class by a mass revolutionary movement led by the working class. How can we get to that point? What must be done now?

Deadly connections

Mass mobilizations such as the ones that took place April 20 point the way toward what must be done now to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism.

The movement against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean is an entirely progressive democratic movement when based on defense of the principle of self-determination. On this basis it is, at the same moment, an objectively anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist movement because it goes counter to the inherent logic driving U.S. capitalism toward bloody intervention in Central America.

The "Freeze," or antinuclear-weapons movement, is similarly an entirely progressive movement. Both movements are objectively anti-capitalist despite the

"The bigger the nuclear powder keg, the greater the likelihood of detonation."

fact that the consciousness of most participants lags behind such an understanding.

Antiwar mass action, moreover, has the salutary effect of making opposition visible to the population at large and, even more significantly, to the capitalist government itself.

Most demonstrators, by far, do not consider themselves anti-capitalist or, for that matter, even anti-imperialist. Nevertheless, their protest meetings, marches, and demonstrations seriously restrict imperialist options. And when the U.S. government shows its unwillingness to abide by the will of the majority, it leads millions to a higher level of understanding and to more potent measures of anti-capitalist action.

The abrasive ruling-class disregard for democracy is aggravated by the accompanying appalling diversion of funds from human needs to feed the ravenous war budget.

And when the imperialists send our precious youth to die in defense of hated dictatorships—as well as U.S. banks and corporate profits—further advances in consciousness will be inevitable. The organic connection between strikebreaking and other repressive acts, at home and abroad, will become ever more apparent.

We saw only the palest expression of this process

of heightened consciousness unfolding during the Vietnam War, when our young men were being steadily shipped home in plastic body-bags. Opposition to the war at home, focusing on the demand "Bring Our Boys Home Now," encouraged a growing resistance to the war by the GIs themselves.

Although limited to the war issue alone, this movement proved potent enough to force U.S. imperialism to pull out of Vietnam—the U.S. government experiencing its first clear military defeat in its history.

This momentous shift in consciousness took place despite the capacity of the capitalist rulers to buy both guns and butter. The current interventionism, however, is accompanied by a mounting economic



crisis marked by a relentless drive against the living standards of those who will be asked to sacrifice and die or whose sons will be asked to do so in defense of profits.

Neither does it appear that the economic picture will get better. On the contrary, the relative economic stability of the postwar era is on the verge of a colossal breakdown.

A strategy for the antiwar movement

It is certainly true that there are forces at work within the anti-intervention and antinuclear-weapons movements that strive to divert the movement into harmless channels. These forces advocate support for capitalist politicians who claim to be for the "freeze" and/or for a negotiated settlement to the war in Central America.

Among these forces are cross political agents of capitalism. In the "Freeze" movement, Democratic Party "liberals" seek to obstruct the connection with the anti-intervention forces and strive to point the movement toward placing equal blame on the Soviets for the nuclear-arms race.

At a minimum, they seek to diffuse the legitimate protest by the American people against their own government's policies by promoting support for one or another imperialist-sponsored treaty.

We witnessed such a grotesque performance earlier this year when, as the March 25 *New York Times* reported, "A group of powerful liberal and centrist Democrats in the House of Representatives... sent a letter to Mikhail S. Gorbachev warning that the Soviet Union must comply with existing arms treaties or risk the most 'serious consequences for the future of arms control.'"

If the antinuclear-protest movement adopted this stance it would destroy itself. A political line that in any way directs the movement's fire against the Soviet Union defeats its essential purpose. In fact, it assists the U.S. rulers to carry out their planet-threatening strategy unhindered by giving credence to the basic imperialist premise of "Soviet aggression."

Indeed, the mounting movement of millions that is striving to break free of capitalist domination and misery—especially in the semi-colonial world—is completely independent of Soviet policy. It is not at

all the product of a "communist threat" to conquer the world. On the contrary, the worldwide anti-capitalist revolution is proceeding despite Soviet government and Communist Party policy.

Strengths and Limitations

But what stance should the antinuclear-weapons movement take toward treaties whose ostensible purpose is to limit and even roll back the tendency to military confrontation? What should, for example, the movement's stance be toward a freeze of the production and deployment of nuclear weapons?

Obviously, the movement should agitate for and welcome any such move toward a freeze and reversal of the nuclear arms-race. But while imperialists may be forced into a temporary agreement that goes counter to their long-term trajectory, so long as they retain power and possess nuclear weapons, the threat of a nuclear holocaust remains.

To the extent that a "freeze" agreement represents a setback to imperialist aims, the movement should relentlessly demand further retreats until such time as the capitalists are totally disarmed.

Practical advances for the antinuclear-weapons movement can be accomplished without endorsing specific "freeze" treaties. Treaties are by their nature compromises that only limit imperialist banditry. The imperialists, moreover, inevitably encroach on the agreements, driven as they are by the pressing needs of their economic system.

The Soviets may be compelled to sign such agreements in the course of the struggle to win over world public opinion to an understanding of imperialist culpability for the arms race.

But it is completely unnecessary—in fact it is counterproductive—for the movement to take responsibility for a treaty imposed by force that will inevitably be violated by imperialism. This would get the movement caught in the web of charges and countercharges over which side first violated the treaty.

A similar problem is posed to the anti-intervention movement in relation to the demands raised by the Central American revolutionists for a negotiated settlement with the U.S. government. A look here will shed light on the stance the movement must take toward disarmament treaties.

The demands of the Nicaraguan Sandinista government for a compromise with U.S. imperialism are completely just. Conversely, any demand by the U.S. government upon the Nicaraguans is completely unjust.

The Nicaraguans have every right to negotiate whatever compromise they may feel forced to make, just as when a citizen held at gunpoint by a bandit may be forced to give his money in exchange for his life.

The responsibility of the antinuclear-weapons and anti-intervention movements is to continue unremittingly to make demands on the U.S. government to dismantle its nuclear arsenal and to withdraw from Central America and the Caribbean. This is completely consistent with opposing any concessions wrenched by the imperialist bandits from their victims at the point of a gun.

The April 20 national actions raised the simple democratic demand of "No U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean."

This expresses the essence of a correct and powerful antiwar strategy.

The demand to "Freeze and Reverse the [Nuclear] Arms Race," if it, too, avoids the trap of giving legitimacy to any particular compromise, can also raise mass consciousness and build the movement on an independent axis. This is the only road to peace. ■

Dan Youngdahl, 1939-1985

Members and friends of Socialist Action are saddened by the death of Dan Youngdahl, a founding member of Socialist Action and a member of our Twin Cities branch. Dan, who was 46 years old, finally succumbed to the leukemia which he had courageously battled since the late 1970s.

Dan joined the Socialist Workers Party in Chicago in the mid-1970s. As a member of the Chicago branch, he was one of the first SWP members to study and become involved in the antinuclear-weapons movement.

Dan resigned from the SWP in 1983. As loyal party members began to be purged from the SWP for defending the party's historic program, Dan, like many members and party supporters, became alarmed. In October of that year he attended the Chicago founding conference of Socialist Action.

Dan will be remembered fondly by all his comrades. The family requests that contributions be sent in Dan's name to the Bone Marrow Patient Research Fund, Box 809, The Mayo Building, 420 Delaware St. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455. ■

British antinuclear activist speaks:

"Greenham women forge links"

The following interview with Helen John, an activist at the women's peace camp at Greenham Common in England, was conducted by Michael Schreiber in London on March 12, 1984.

Socialist Action: What effect did Britain's decision to allow cruise missiles to be stationed here have on the peace movement?

Helen John: It reawakened the opposition to nuclear weapons in a way that no other weapons system had ever done previously. That opposition went right through Europe. And it grows; it doesn't diminish.

We're beginning to hear the true story now. These weapons are there to keep NATO intact—to do whatever NATO wants. The American people were told that the people of Europe were crying out for these weapons because they were frightened of the Soviet threat. Now the story is that we must keep NATO intact. And the people of Europe have never been consulted.

S.A.: I take it that many of the Greenham Common women had not been at all "political" before the

"Demonstrations can confound and confuse the military authority."

encampment. How did they become involved?

John: They were in many cases apolitical but became so concerned about weapons that were designed to start a nuclear war that they were forced to make a personal commitment.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament hadn't really managed to get the message across to the public. The political parties really don't have the will to deal with this. The right-wing elements within the parties actually support the missiles.

So it came down to ordinary individuals taking personal responsibility, especially women who are learning that they can do that. They are finding out how imaginative ways of demonstrating against these missiles can confound and confuse the military and civil authority.

They develop in many ways, and they make links that they weren't aware of before. Many of the women who came to the camp didn't know, for example, what's happening in the miners' villages. They didn't know what's happening in a lot of other campaigns—the anti-abortion lobby and the whole issue of violence being perpetrated against women in society generally, for example.

So although Greenham was formed and still exists predominately to oppose the missiles, it has made all sorts of links. The symbol we have adopted, the spider's web, represents these interlinking and interacting movements.

S.A.: How were the ties first made between the Greenham women and striking miners?

John: Support groups were formed to maintain direct links with the mining communities, raising food and money for them. Whenever Greenham women went out and spoke about the cause we're predominantly concerned with, we always made people aware of the direct links between the miners' struggle and the nuclear-weapons issue.

A whole range of people, including people from the British Socialist Action, took an enormous part in introducing the miners' wives to women from Greenham. They urged women from the mining communities to go down and actually spend a day at the camp—to see for themselves what was happening there.

The miners' wives in particular saw



how their own case was misrepresented in the press. They were then ready to understand just how easily the women at Greenham had been misrepresented. They began to understand that there was a very definite link between trying to close down the coal mines and the government's policy of establishing more nuclear-power plants.

Those links will grow in the future. In December and January there is going to be a march of women into Central America—through Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, and into Nicaragua. We're firmly opposed to the situation that the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran people are facing from the American government's aggression.

One of the suggestions that I heard this week is that we should suggest that miners' wives be sent to take part in that

march and that the miners' union back the trip. So the links will grow and they will become much more international.

S.A.: With this proliferation of struggles, to what degree does the peace camp at Greenham remain a focus for the movement?

John: Greenham must remain a very clear international focus for women's opposition to the illegality and immorality that these missiles represent. Now we have to build joint actions with other peace camps to show that we are in cooperation with each other, not in competition. We have to build symbolic actions that include our counterparts in West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Italy, and the United States—where these appalling weapons are shipped out.

I think we'll probably have some

Dutch peace activist:

Antimissile coalition battles deployment

The following interview with Thomas Van Duin was conducted in San Francisco by Larry Cooperman on Nov. 13, 1984. Van Duin is a member of the Leiden, Netherlands, chapter of the Campaign Against Cruise Missiles and of the Socialist Workers Party (Dutch section of the Fourth International).

Socialist Action: We have received many reports in this country about continuing demonstrations against the threat of nuclear war and against the placing of U.S. missiles in Western Europe. How did this movement develop in Holland?

Thomas Van Duin: In 1979 NATO decided upon a schedule to deploy cruise missiles in Europe. It would take nine years. Deployment in Holland would be in the last year.

The strongest peace groups formed a coalition against the cruise missiles and there have been three main campaigns in the last four years. In 1981 we had a major demonstration in Amsterdam. About 250,000 people showed up.

The second campaign was in October 1983 in The Hague, which brought together about half a million people. This was the largest rally we have had in Holland since World War II.

A very important aspect of this campaign was that the leading labor-union federation, the Federation of Dutch Unions (FNV), decided to join the national antimissile coalition and to mobilize its members for this rally in The Hague. In 1980 the unions decided upon one principal slogan, "No bombs but jobs," which indicates their awareness.

The FNV decided to support the third main campaign—held in May 1984—by having a symbolic 15-minute strike in which all the different unions that are members of the federation joined. About 600,000 workers participated. This is a very important signal as to the growing strength of the peace movement.

S.A.: The actual deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe, then, didn't produce a demoralizing effect in Holland?

Van Duin: No. But last June the parliament made a decision that was a big disappointment to the peace movement. It voted to go ahead with the deployment of the missiles unless the Soviet Union agreed to stop the deployment of its SS-20s. It is likely that in November 1985 parliament will make a final decision to go ahead on schedule.

S.A.: Did the Social Democratic Party oppose the decision in parliament to proceed with the deployment of the missiles?

Van Duin: Yes, and because it is a labor party it influences the discussions in the unions. But it is unclear what their strategy will be given their concern to win a majority in the next election. This consideration might paralyze their movement activity.

S.A.: Could a wing develop in the peace movement that would support the election of the Social Democrats as a means to end deployment?

Van Duin: Perhaps. Many branches of the party are more radical than the leadership. Five years ago the party took an official stand against the cruise

symbolic actions built around the fourth anniversary of Greenham in September. We know that we can rely on the women and men in America to assist us.

S.A.: Some people in the United States have counterposed actions of civil disobedience to organizing mass actions. I take it that you don't?

John: I think that you build up to those mass actions by keeping the small actions alive. That's what happened during the Vietnam War. People burned their draft cards and helped young men get out of the country long before the mass of people were out on the streets.

Because we took a court case opposing the weapons of the United States, some of us have had the privilege of being in the United States and meeting the peace groups. We know that we have their support, and we're not as nervous as when we started.

S.A.: Can you tell us more about that court case?

John: We started a lawsuit in the federal court of New York that focuses on the illegality of the weapons. We want to prosecute the real criminals, the ones who are breaking the law, the people who own the weapons. The current administration is the current owner of these weapons. If this administration had changed for a Democratic one, it would be the Democrats.

Judge David Edelstein refused to look at the suit because he said it was a political, not a legal, issue. We argued that breaking international laws in preparation for genocide is indeed a matter for the courts. That was established in Nuremberg.

We haven't finished with this case yet. We're going to publish the findings of the expert evidence that supports our case so that ordinary decent human beings can see what's happening in their name and with their money. That has to be the American people. They're the only ones who can stop this happening to all the people of Europe. ■



Poster announcing October 1983 protest in The Hague

missiles and agreed to join the main campaigns as a result of the pressure from the local branches already in the movement. The local branches might continue their activity.

S.A.: Is there much awareness within the Dutch peace movement of U.S. intervention in Central America?

Van Duin: Unfortunately, until now the perspective of combining the fight against cruise missiles with the issue of U.S. intervention in Central America has not been supported by the major peace groups. On the other hand, there exists in Holland a strong Central America movement, which has decided to orient to the peace movement and to try to educate its members about this issue.

Central America will become an increasingly important issue in the next elections because the relationship between U.S. foreign policy and NATO policy is very strong. The peace movement could become more and more an antiwar movement. This is what we in the Socialist Workers Party are continually stressing. ■

Austerity buffets Israeli workers

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

The collapse of Israeli designs on Lebanon coincides with another crisis of comparable importance. Ilan Chaim reports in *The Jerusalem Post* that the current Israeli unemployment rate of 6.3 percent—a 20-year high—would double within three months.

The Jerusalem Post also reported on Feb. 9 that Israel's foreign reserves had fallen below the old "red-line" mark of three month's worth of imports. The fall in January had been \$282 million, bringing reserves down to \$2.3 billion.

This means that three-quarters of the \$1.26 billion in U.S. aid received in November had already been swallowed up. Huge debt repayments mean that these reserves will continue to disappear each month.

The government, the Histadrut labor federation, and the manufacturers signed a pact that Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i called "a moment that will go down in Israeli history."

Eight months after the pact was signed, however, workers' wages have fallen 7.5 percent, and subsidies in basic goods have been cut by 55 percent. A key feature of the new pact is a sharp cut in government subsidies in basic goods and services.

Yediot Aharonot reported that "the average person finds himself assailed on two fronts. His living costs will rise substantially due to subsidy cuts while his income is eroded."

"Iron Fist" Rabin, however, demanded an increase in the defense

budget from the Treasury proposal of \$2.2 billion to \$2.6 billion.

Health services decimated

The social impact of these measures on the Israeli public is considerable. Health Ministry Director General Don Michaeli stated that all hospitals would have to go on a rotation system for emergency services. Half the country's emergency wards will be closed. All outpatient departments in general hospitals will be closed, and no elective diagnostic tests or surgeries will be performed.

The Health Ministry notified all private patients and public hospitals providing care for geriatric and chronic-disease patients that no funds could be expected in the foreseeable future. Finance Minister Moda'i cut the budget request of Health Minister Modechai Gur by \$75 million below the already reduced amount.

These cuts will occur despite Gur's warning that they "seriously threaten the health services and endanger the lives of patients."

Three major hospitals announced that they could accept only emergency cases. The Hadassah Medical Organization had to borrow funds to pay staff salaries for two months.

The crisis produced bitter comment from medical administrators throughout the country. Professor Peter Vardi, director of the Barzilai Medical Center at Ashkelon, stated: "To those who have, it shall be given; from those who have not, it shall be taken."

In the midst of this crisis the Central

Bank reaffirmed its demand to cut governmental expenditure and reduce public and private demand on the economy. This was in response to pressure from the United States.

Israeli officials were embarrassed when *The Wall Street Journal* was leaked a secret document disclosing that Israel had asked the United States for \$12 billion in economic and military aid over the next three years.

The confidential 80-page "white paper" showed that U.S. officials were concerned that as U.S. assistance to Israel and Egypt have been parallel since the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1978, major increases for the Israelis would have to be matched for Egypt.

Grants tied to austerity measures

Israel is revealed to have demanded \$4.4 billion in grants for fiscal 1986, projecting similar needs for 1987 and 1988. Secretary of State George Shultz, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, was insisting upon further austerity measures.

The Jerusalem Post revealed that a new strategy—to defer a secret plan worked out with the U.S. government—had been proposed. The plan, which called for immediate elimination of all subsidies on basic goods and services and a massive devaluation of the shekel, was considered "too drastic."

The Israeli authorities had concluded that the mass unemployment and social austerity would lead to "generalized unrest," and instead they devised a pack-



age deal based upon a slower "pace of achievement."

Meanwhile banking sources informed *The Jerusalem Post* that foreign banks were waiting to see whether the U.S. government would come through and remove the immediate threat of an economic collapse. A senior banker stated that foreign banks are now treating Israel with extreme caution even if the funds come from the United States. ■

This is the second of a three-part series. The third article will deal with the Arafat-Hussein agreements and the situation in the Palestine Liberation Organization.



Hamdi Faraj

By LARRY COOPERMAN

On Feb. 2, 1985, 15 Palestinian residents of DeHeishe, including Hamdi Faraj, a well-known journalist, were arrested by the Israeli authorities. Although they were tortured during their interrogation, none of them confessed to any of the various crimes of which they were accused. Some of the accused were released on bail while others were held in a prison notorious for its use of torture.

By the end of March, the DeHeishe 15 were formally charged with five offenses. All five charges are based on an alleged physical attack by the defendants on the house of a leader of a Palestinian group, the Village League, that collaborates with Israeli intelligence.

DeHeishe is a camp on the West Bank set up for Palestinians who have been forcibly relocated from their own towns. Over 10,000 Palestinians live in the one-square-kilometer camp.

DeHeishe has been under continual attack from a combination of Israeli soldiers, settlers, and the Village League. Both individuals and homes have been the object of Village League assaults. No action has ever been taken against the Village League, even when the names of the specific members responsible for physical assaults have been given to the Israeli authorities by eyewitnesses.

The charges against the 15 DeHeishe residents arose from an incident that

15 Palestinians face trumped-up charges

occurred last Jan. 11. A Village League "assault unit" attacked a group of DeHeishe youth in the neighboring town of Bethlehem. The Village League gang chased the DeHeishe residents back to DeHeishe where the attack continued.

Later, hundreds of people from the DeHeishe camp gathered at the house of Yassin Jaber, the leader of the Village League assault unit. They discovered 150 Molotov cocktails at his house. Molotov cocktails had been thrown into the homes of DeHeishe residents a number of times.

Israeli justice ignored the actions of the Village League. No charges were

brought against a single one of those responsible for the terror campaign against DeHeishe. By contrast, the DeHeishe 15, on the testimony of three Village League members, face long jail terms if they are found guilty by a three-person military panel.

Hamdi Faraj, one of the accused, was the managing editor of *As'Shira*, a Jerusalem magazine shut down by Israeli censors in 1983. Since 1974 Faraj has been arrested 14 times although he was never convicted of any crime. In 1976, for example, he was arrested for his participation in the publication of a magazine, *University*, without the per-

mission of the military governor.

In 1982 Faraj was jailed for 35 days without charges. His collection of 500 books were confiscated and he was fined 2500 shekels (about \$100) for possessing 12 banned books. There are about 2000 book titles that West Bank Palestinians are forbidden to possess, including such well-known classics as *Macbeth*.

Prior to Faraj's most recent arrest, the Village League attacked his house using Molotov cocktails. Three of his brothers have also suffered similar attacks and are among the 14 other defendants.

The trial of the DeHeishe 15 is scheduled to begin May 15. Telegrams demanding that the charges against Hamdi Faraj and the 14 others be dropped can be sent to Shimon Peres, c/o Israeli Embassy, 3514 International Drive NW, Washington, D.C., 20008. ■

Polish regime sets trials for Solidarity leaders

By JIM RICHTER

The Polish government announced in mid-April that it will conduct two political trials in the coming months.

The first is the trial of Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk, Bogdan Lis, and Adam Michnik, all of whom are accused of "provoking unrest" and "carrying out illegal activities."

The three Solidarity leaders were arrested on Feb. 13 after they attended a meeting called by Lech Walesa to discuss a proposed work stoppage in protest of the regime's announced price hikes. Since March 10 Lis has been on a hunger strike.

The second is the trial of two leaders of the Szczecin Committee for the Defense of Law and Order, Edmund Baluka and Jan Kostecki. They are accused of distributing leaflets "that defame Polish law and undermine the population's confidence in the leading institutions of the state."

Baluka and Kostecki set up this committee shortly after the murder of

worker priest Jerzy Popielusko to monitor allegations of police violence. A number of other civil rights defense committees have sprung up across Poland since that time. This second trial is scheduled to open sometime in May.

Meanwhile, an estimated 50 people have been carrying on a hunger strike in the town of Biezanow. Their main demand is the release of Andrzej Gwiazda [sentenced to an indefinite

prison term for participating in a demonstration on Dec. 16] and Frasnyniuk, Lis, and Michnik.

At the same time, the Provisional Coordination Commission (TKK) of Solidarity has issued a call for independent demonstrations on May Day "to demand a wage increase to compensate for the price increases, the respect of the eight-hour day [See *Socialist Action*, April 1985], and the release of all political prisoners."

It is the responsibility of all working people in this country—of all those committed to human rights and socialism—to demand the immediate release of the Polish political prisoners. ■

International Viewpoint is a biweekly political review analyzing recent world events from a revolutionary Marxist perspective. Future issues will contain coverage of the discussions and resolutions of the Twelfth World Congress of the Fourth International as well as regular reporting and analysis of events from Nicaragua to Poland. We offer a special introductory offer of three issues for \$3. A six-month subscription is \$22, and one year of *International Viewpoint* is available for \$42. Subscribe now! Write to Box 80B, 2520 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614.

The following is an interview with Nieves Ayress, a prominent figure in the struggle of resistance to the brutal Pinochet dictatorship. Ayress, a longstanding leader of Chile's revolutionary feminist movement, was one of the "disappeared" of the regime. Following the coup in 1973, she spent three years in different concentration camps.

Ayress' courage in resisting her torturers was intolerable for the dictatorship, which later condemned her to death by firing squad. But as a result of an international campaign to demand her release—and thanks to the constant pressure of her family and friends—Ayress was included on a list of 18 "most dangerous" prisoners who were released from the torture clinics and immediately deported from Chile in early 1977.

Ayress is on a national tour of the United States sponsored by the National Network of Solidarity with Chile. She will be traveling to Chicago, New York, and Washington, D.C., during the month of May. The interview was conducted in San Francisco by Alan Benjamin.

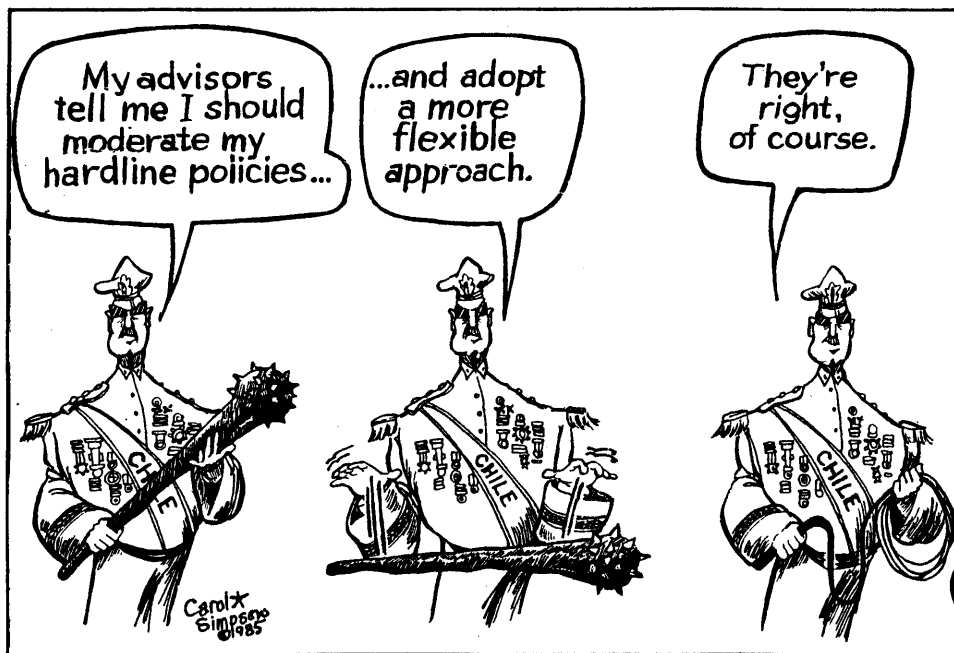
Socialist Action: What is the purpose of your tour in the United States?

Nieves Ayress: I've come to this country to help reactivate the work of solidarity with the Chilean people. I plan to speak at solidarity rallies and on campuses to attract attention to the escalation of the repression in Chile—repression that is financed by the U.S. government. I also want to focus on the role women have played in the resistance to the fascist dictatorship.

S.A.: What is the current state of human-rights violations in Chile?

Ayress: Pinochet's war against the Chilean people has escalated since the state of siege was imposed on Nov. 6, 1984. In response to the massive National Days of Protest that began in 1983, Pinochet has arrested thousands, opened new concentration camps, and

Chilean feminist cites new wave of terror



closed down opposition newspapers.

Raids of poor and working-class neighborhoods are conducted daily. Whereas in the past the use of torture was restricted to clandestine concentration camps—such as the one in Lonquén, which no one knew existed until a torturer confessed his crimes to a priest—today the government is using methods similar to those of the right-wing death squads in El Salvador.

Bodies of women who have organized the "ollas comunes" [neighborhood soup kitchens] or the Comites de Defensa de la Mujer [Women's Defense Committees] are regularly found beheaded in the town squares to intimidate others from joining the struggle for freedom.

This is true of our companeros in the unions and in the various rank-and-file committees as well. The open and public psychological terror against the Chil-

ean people is something new. It reflects the dictatorship's fear of the growing protest against the regime.

S.A.: What is the situation of the political prisoners?

Ayress: Pinochet is now planning to reinstate executions of political prisoners. There are currently 15 political prisoners who face possible death sentences.

The military has announced that five of the prisoners—two of whom are women—will be brought before "war tribunals" that have been instructed to sentence them to death. They are Jorge Palma Donoso, Carlos Araneda Miranda, Hugo Marchant Moya, Susana Capriles Rojas, and Marta Soto Gonzales.

We in Chile know that there is no possibility that they will receive a fair trial at the hands of a government that has tortured, killed, and disappeared

over 30,000 Chileans since 1973.

International solidarity is urgent in the case of the 15 political prisoners. I'd like to urge readers of *Socialist Action* to send letters demanding their immediate release to Sr. Ricardo Garcia R., Ministro del Interior, Palacio La Moneda, Santiago, Chile.

S.A.: You were detained for over three years. How, assuming this is possible, can you summarize this experience?

Ayress: I went through three years of animal-like torture along with hundreds of other companeras. But our experience—uncountable rapes and sadistic abominations—did not break us. In fact, the double torture we women were subjected to helped strengthen us.

And this is what the military could not tolerate. Gen. Conrado Pacheco, who was in charge of the Tres Alamos camp where I was held, particularly despised the women because we would not give in. The more they abused us, the more we resisted.

Like the women outside the prisons who organized committees of relatives of the disappeared or "ollas comunes," we too organized ourselves in the prisons. We held occasional meetings and we produced handicrafts, which were sneaked out and then sold to help sustain our families. For us the prison was another battlefield.

S.A.: How was your release secured?

Ayress: I was condemned to death by a firing squad—just like the 15 political prisoners today. I am alive thanks to a powerful international campaign that was able to obtain my release. International solidarity has saved hundreds of lives in Chile. It has brought the atrocities committed by this hated regime to the attention of world public opinion.

On my tour I want to present the testimony of my experience in Pinochet's concentration camps to highlight the situation in Chile today. If it was possible to obtain my freedom, it will also be possible to free the 15 political prisoners.

Labor and citizens defend sanctuary workers

By HECTOR RAMOS

The following article was taken from the May 1985 issue of *Panorama*, a monthly international publication produced in Mexico, which analyzes political developments in Central America and the Caribbean.

Most of *Panorama's* articles are either written or translated into English. Subscriptions can be obtained by sending a check or international money order for \$40 (12 issues per year) made payable to Priscila Pacheco Castillo to: *Panorama*, Apartado Postal 20-119, 01000, Mexico, D.F.

The U.S. government has arrested or charged some 20 people, most of them associated with various religious institutions, of "helping illegal Central Americans to cross borders by inciting their entrance [to the United States], transporting them, and giving them refuge."

They are also accused of "conspiring" to commit the crime of giving sanctuary to these people.

It has been estimated that one out of 10 Salvadorans has immigrated to the United States. That is, a half million Salvadorans. In addition an important number of Guatemalans live "illegally" in the United States. According to their own testimony, these refugees have had to leave their respective countries, fleeing from repression and from a total lack of democratic freedoms.

The Central American refugees have to face a great number of dangers and difficulties during their journey. Even after they have arrived in "paradise on earth," they run the permanent risk of being deported to the death camps by U.S. immigration police.

On the basis of official statistics of



the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), there have been an estimated 50,000 deportations of "illegal" Central Americans in the past five years. Of those who have been deported and whose whereabouts are known, many have been jailed, tortured, disappeared, or assassinated. Those who have been returned are considered suspect by the right-wing governments of El Salvador and Guatemala.

Of the refugees who have tried to use legal procedures to obtain political asylum or refuge, only 3 percent have received that status.

The age-old tradition of sanctuary

On March 24, 1982, the Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, Ariz., announced its decision to give sanctuary to Central American refugees. Others, especially members of Christian *comunidades de base* [base communities] in Texas and Arizona followed suit.

Washington's initial calm in the face of the growing sanctuary movement did not last long. Its first attack occurred on Feb. 17, 1984, when La Migra [INS] arrested Stacy Merkt and a Catholic

monk in San Benito, Texas, as they were transporting three Salvadoran refugees. These two were members of Casa Oscar Romero, a refugee center run by the Catholic Diocese of Brownsville, Texas.

A second arrest occurred on March 7, 1984, near Nogales, Ariz., where a border patrol arrested two people who were transporting four refugees. The two were representatives of church congregations in Tucson.

Finally, as part of this first warning from the federal government toward the sanctuary movement, the immigration police arrested Jack Elder, the director of Casa Oscar Romero, on April 13, 1984.

Of these five activists arrested, three were cleared of all charges for lack of evidence.

However, the government's offensive against the sanctuary movement accelerated. The INS sent two undercover agents and—to their shame—two Salvadoran refugees to secretly tape the sanctuary movement's meetings in several churches in order to collect as much evidence as possible.

Last Jan. 10, on the basis of this evidence, the U.S. government accused 16 church members of 71 violations of the law. This time among the accused were John M. Fife, the minister of the Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, the first church to be declared a sanctuary, and Jim Corbett, a member of the Quakers, the first denomination to offer its churches as sanctuaries.

A broadening movement

Reagan underestimated the movement's capacity to respond. After his latest attack, many other churches and groups outside of the church have been brought into the struggle. The city of Berkeley, Calif., by a nearly unanimous vote of its city council, decided to offer sanctuary.

Despite the reputation for conserva-

tism of Texas and Arizona, the states where Reagan has concentrated his attacks on the movement, the community response has been impressive. Tucson's Central Labor Council, which includes all of the AFL-CIO unions in the area, passed a resolution to "support the sanctuary movement, and to strongly and publicly condemn the actions of infiltration of the Justice Department into that movement."

On Feb. 28, the same day that Jack Elder and Stacy Merkt were found guilty by a federal court in Houston, members of Casa Oscar Romero and more than 200 religious leaders—among them dozens of bishops—publicly denounced what they called "a scandalous policy of the Reagan administration."

They demanded that the government "stop the deportations of Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees and the jailing of church members who help them."

The Reagan administration is mired deep within this predicament. It is on solid ground neither politically nor morally. Whether it decides to retreat or plunge ahead on its present course, the consequences could be costly.

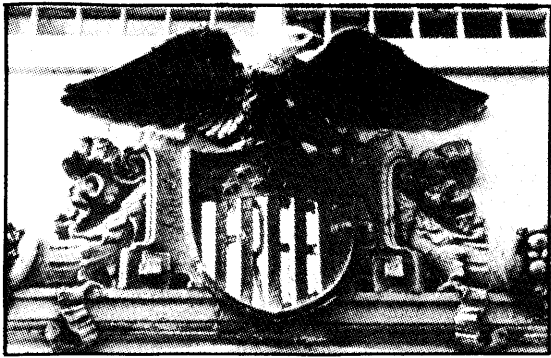
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By ALAN WALD

Ceremony, by Leslie Marmon Silko. New York, Signet, 1978. 275 pp. \$2.25 paper.

One of the distinctive outgrowths of the recent wave of political upheavals that began about 20 years ago has been the increasing recognition of literature by and about oppressed minorities—Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Puerto Ricans—as a vital component of American culture and an arena for innovative artistic developments.

Of all these oppressed groups, the social structure and cultural life of the Native Americans were targeted for the most brutal assault by triumphant American capitalism.

As George Novack cogently argues in "Genocide Against the Indians" (Pathfinder, 1975), a war to the death was fought on the North American continent from 1620 to 1890 between two incompatible forms of social organization. These were mercantile (and later industrial) capitalism imported from Europe and the "primitive tribal communism" of native inhabitants.

Today Native Americans are the most oppressed minority in the United States, with the lowest rate of employment and the highest rate of suicide. Nevertheless, Native American literature, which had carried on an underground existence for decades, emerged as a potent force in the 1960s.

This was especially due to the revival of "Black Elk Speaks," the autobiography of an Ogala Sioux, which was published in 1932 and reissued in 1962, and to the awarding of the Pulitzer Prize to N. Scott Momaday's "House Made of Dawn," a 1966 novel by a literature professor of Cherokee and Kiowa ancestry.

However, the 1978 appearance of "Ceremony" by Leslie Silko, a woman who grew up on the Laguna Pueblo Reservation in New Mexico, constitutes a singular advance in the evolution of Native American literature.

Not only does "Ceremony" equal "House Made of Dawn" in its remarkable technical innovations—both are experimental novels integrating Euro-American and Native American cultural traditions—but Silko transcends all hitherto-known thematic boundaries in Native American fiction. This is done through the startling perspective she brings to bear on the way in which capitalism objectively unites people of color through its domestic violence and international wars.

Refusal to kill is psychosis?

"Ceremony" is the anatomy of the mental breakdown of Tayo, a World War II veteran from the Laguna Pueblo reservation. Tayo's alleged psychosis is precipitated by a combat incident when he is ordered to execute some Japanese soldiers lined up in front of a cave with their hands over their heads.

Tayo finds himself unable to shoot because he believes that he sees his Uncle Josiah—the most beloved member of the family, the one who kept closest to the Pueblo traditions—in the middle of the Japanese prisoners. After the executions are carried out, Tayo collapses in uncontrollable crying, and his condition is diagnosed as "battle fatigue."

When he returns to the United States, Tayo is treated in a Los Angeles mental hospital, but on the day of his release a second incident occurs. He faints in a train station and awakens to find himself surrounded by a Japanese-American family recently released from a relocation camp.

Staring into the face of the youngest boy, Tayo hallucinates that he sees Rocky, his cousin who was killed in the Pacific. Tayo is then seized by an attack of nausea and imagines that he is trying to vomit the image of the boy's face out of his mind.

A third traumatic episode occurs when Tayo is back in New Mexico at a bar near the reservation. He is in the company of other Native American veterans who are frustrated because they have lost the temporary sense of equality with whites that they had known in the service. They now pass their time bragging about military and sexual exploits.

But when Emo, the most rabidly anti-Japanese of the group, displays a bag of teeth that he knocked out of the head of a dead Japanese soldier, Tayo stabs him with a broken beer bottle.

Eventually Tayo learns that his sense of sympathy and identification with the Japanese is not the result

Native American novel:

"Circle of death" unifies Third World people

of psychotic hallucinations but the consequence of a higher order of perception. He tells Betonie, an unorthodox medicine man, about his vision of Uncle Josiah among the Japanese prisoners, and Betonie answers: "It isn't surprising you saw him with them . . . Thirty thousand years ago they were not strangers."

After this reminder that most Native American tribes are descended from Asian clans that crossed the Bering Straits during the Pleistocene ice age, Tayo progresses to a deeper understanding of the ways in which American capitalism devalues the lives of people of color in its inherent drive to expand and dominate.

In a climactic scene, Tayo hides in a uranium mine. In this setting he recalls the fact that Trinity Site, where the first atomic bomb was exploded, is only 300 miles to the southwest of his reservation, at White Plains.

After a moment of reflection, Tayo comes to the realization that there is a tragic connection between

BOOK REVIEW

the slaughter of Native Americans for their land and the holocaust at Hiroshima: "The top-secret laboratories where the bomb had been created were deep in the Jemez Mountains, on land the government took from the Cochiti Pueblo."

Tayo concludes that "He was not crazy; he had never been crazy. He had only seen and heard the world as it always was: no boundaries, only transitions through all distances and time."

He understands that the victims of Hiroshima and his own people are united by the white man's system in a "circle of death."

Native American literature is sometimes represented as a variant of Romanticism advocating an impossible return to an idealized, pre-technological existence. Although the cultural values underlying Silko's critique of capitalism are complex and perhaps contradictory, one of the most prominent threads of her argument seems to offer a refutation of this characterization.

This thread can be traced by starting with the title of the book, "Ceremony," which refers to the curative treatment that Tayo experiences under the tute-

lage of Betonie. Betonie is intentionally counterposed to a traditional medicine man, Ku'oosh. This is not only because of Betonie's eccentricities (his medicinal paraphernalia includes telephone books collected from all parts of the country), but also because he is an innovator who teaches that new ceremonies must be developed to respond to the contemporary situation.

Betonie believes that the source of evil in the world is neither white people nor their brutal, inhuman machines. He argues that the whites themselves are victims of a value system that transforms a vital, natural world into "objects."

As an antidote, Betonie advocates ceremonies that will restore a sense of collectivity among all people and a harmonious existence in nature. But such ceremonies cannot be acted out by a medicine man alone, because, as Betonie says, "the people must do it."

Throughout "Ceremony" it is the individualism of the whites—especially as expressed in Christian theology with its emphasis on individual suffering and individual salvation—that is the focus of attack. Silko sharply distinguishes between "ritual," in which the false lessons of history are simply re-enacted, and "ceremony," in which a consciously controlled creative act restores humanity to its correct relation to the world.

"Ceremony" is a first novel and not without certain flaws and limitations. Silko has to some degree sacrificed the psychological realism of her characters to the daring aesthetic achievements of her fresh, dramatic language and her provocative flashbacks, juxtapositions, and transitions.

Some of her characters seem to be contrived to exhibit different modes of assimilation to or resistance against the dominant culture. A few are two dimensional—replete with self-hatred or else mystically sensual and bound to nature.

Nevertheless, Silko is unequalled in the way she has used craft and imagination to provide a historical perspective for the sentiments that came to the fore among rebellious youth of the 1960s and 1970s. She transfers the political themes of anti-imperialism and Third World solidarity from the Vietnam War to World War II in a wholly convincing manner.

"Ceremony" offers profound testimony to the creative resources of Native American cultural traditions. Furthermore, with acute political insight, Silko recognizes that American imperialism's crimes against people of color are not simply aberrations that can be reformed out of existence but are inherent in the character of the social structure itself. ■

Mime Troupe sets mission for Factwino



Are you going to let this machine do your thinking for you? If so . . . this could be a job for Factwino! Once again, in a hilarious musical play, "Factwino: The Opera," the San Francisco Mime Troupe's redoubtable comic-book hero is poised to do battle against the two-headed Armageddonman, the Moral Majority, Union Carbide, and the Department of Defense.

"What can I do?" the Mime Troupe sings, to counter the forces of ignorance and corruption? Factwino's friends give a rousing musical response in the second act, "I do what I can do!" Along the way, the Mime Troupe treats us to a panorama of characters with dazzling quick-change virtuosity.

"Factwino: The Opera" continues at the Victoria Theatre in San Francisco through May 12 and will be performed at the Variety Arts Theatre in Los Angeles from May 15 through May 26.—M.S. ■

October 1917:

Russian workers build new state

By ANN ROBERTSON

By February 1917 the people of Russia were starving due to food shortages, freezing due to coal shortages, and exhausted from the war effort. The czar had led the country into another war of aggression where workers and peasants fought on the battlefield only to help realize the imperialist dreams of the Russian bourgeoisie.

Turning despair into hope, the workers in Petrograd transformed their protests from individual strikes into a general strike and brought the government to its knees. Soviets soon sprang up all over the country, nourished by the revolutionary fever and linked together in a single, powerful "All-Russian Congress of Soviets."

Spontaneously created by the Russian workers and peasants during the 1905 revolution, the soviets consisted of elected representatives from factories and workplaces. But while the February revolution was executed by the Russian working class, the conviction that this was a bourgeois revolution persuaded them to transfer power to the capitalists, who in turn formed a Provisional Government.

Great expectations, however, were met with cruel disappointments. The Provisional Government failed to decree an eight-hour day despite demands by the soviets. It did nothing to redistribute the land and condemned those peasants who nevertheless seized it. It kept postponing elections for the promised Constituent Assembly. But perhaps worst of all, the Provisional Government could not declare a peace: Capitalists simply had too much at stake in the imperialist war effort.

Led by the Bolsheviks, the October

revolution swept aside the capitalists' Provisional Government and ushered in a new era. The workers took control of the bourgeois state, smashed it, and erected an entirely new structure in its place—a workers' state. The soviets, which had supreme authority, constituted the essence of this new state.

"Vanguard of the working people"

Lenin's description underlines its revolutionary departure from any capitalist variety:

"Soviet power is a new type of state without a bureaucracy, without police, without a regular army, a state in which bourgeois democracy has been replaced with a new democracy, a democracy which brings to the fore the vanguard of the working people, gives them legislative and executive authority, makes them responsible for military defense, and creates state machinery that can re-educate the masses."

Soviet representatives could be recalled at any time, and the ministers of the new government, called "commissars" to signal a new type of governmental official, were paid the equivalent of a skilled worker's salary with small additional increments for each of their children.

This new government immediately abolished all private ownership of the land without compensation. Landowners' estates and those of the Crown and Church were transferred to the local soviets for equal distribution among the peasants.

The Bolsheviks ideally would have favored the formation of large agricultural collectives in order to increase productivity, but they realized that such a proposal would have directly collided

with the aspirations of millions of poor peasants.

Thus Lenin argued: "We as a democratic government cannot evade the decision of the rank and file of the people, even if we do not agree with it. In the fire of life, by applying it in practice, by carrying it out on the spot, the peasants themselves will come to understand what is right..."

Hence, of the confiscated land, 86 percent went to the peasants and only 3 percent to agricultural collectives.

Workers' control was immediately implemented. Here workers had access to all accounting books. No decisions could be made by the owners without the approval of the workers. While workers neither owned nor managed a business (management frequently required an expertise that workers had yet to master), they nevertheless had control in the form of veto power over all decisions, ranging from the hiring and firing of workers to an owner's attempt to decapitalize.

Contemporary exercises in "co-determination" in Europe, for example, have nothing in common with workers' control. Co-determination means that workers "participate" in decisions without any ultimate control whatsoever.

"All-embracing workers' control"

During the first few months only a few hundred businesses were nationalized, often in response to provocations

"Those who had been on the bottom now ruled."

by an owner who was determined to decapitalize. Or sometimes, in spite of a more cautious Bolshevik policy, workers simply took over a factory or business so that it too was added to the list of nationalizations.

Some have consequently argued that the Soviet Union did not become a workers' state until June 1918 when nationalizations occurred on a systematic and extensive basis.

But Lenin insisted that "the important thing will not be even the confiscation of the capitalists' property, but the



countrywide, all-embracing workers' control over the capitalists and their supporters. Confiscation alone leads nowhere, as it does not contain the element of organization, of accounting for proper distribution."

Four days after the revolution the eight-hour day was decreed, and no children under 14 were allowed to work. Soon afterward social insurance against unemployment and sickness was established, and the equality of women was decreed. Divorce was simplified, and civil marriages were legalized.

The old court system, which survived the February revolution, was immediately discarded and replaced by workers' and peasants' courts. Later Lenin commented: "Here our task was easier; we did not have to create a new apparatus, because anybody can act as a judge basing himself on the revolutionary sense of justice of the working classes."

The October revolution dissolved the czar's entire army at once, and the Red Army marched in to replace it with the following objective stipulated at its inception:

"With the transfer of power to the toiling and exploited classes, there has risen the necessity to create a new army which shall be the bulwark of Soviet power... and will serve as a support for the coming socialist revolutions in Europe."

This was a revolutionary army built on a revolutionary structure: Officer ranks were abolished and replaced simply by a commanding staff elected by the soldiers themselves.

Socialism—the country's goal

The banks were nationalized, and all debts contracted by the czar were annulled except those to small-bond holders.

Church and state were officially separated so that, for example, religion could no longer be taught in public schools.

Finland was given independence, and all national minorities were granted self-determination along with the right to secede from the nation.

Lenin even submitted a proposal on the reorganization of the libraries which included regular book exchanges between Russia and foreign countries and the extension of libraries' hours to 11 p.m. including Sundays so that workers had easy access to them.

Finally, socialism was officially proclaimed the country's goal.

And all of the above happened within the first few months of the revolution.

In short, the country was turned upside down. Those who had been on the bottom now ruled. The people were intoxicated with this new freedom. During the first weeks of the revolution they organized themselves incessantly into committees. There were workers' committees, peasant committees, housewife committees, all intensely debating the decisions of the day.

One witness testifies to a train ride from Petrograd to Moscow where the people organized themselves into a travelling committee before reaching their destination.

Lenin's wife, Krupskaya, mentions a daytime encounter with a woman worker who, when asked what shift she worked, responded: "None of us are working today. We had a meeting yesterday evening, everyone was behindhand with her domestic work at home, so we voted to knock off today. We're the bosses now you know."

George Lavan Weissman, 1916-1985

The editors of *Socialist Action* join the editorial board of the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* in honoring George Lavan Weissman's 49-year commitment to revolutionary socialism. Weissman, who had suffered from emphysema for some years, died of a heart attack last March 28 in Concord, N.H.

Weissman was a founding member of

the Socialist Workers Party. At the time of his death he was a member of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, a group of members expelled from the SWP.

Weissman became a Marxist during the Great Depression while he was a student at Harvard University. At the age of 20 he joined the Socialist Party in

Boston. In the SP he met Trotskyists, who influenced his continuing evolution to the left. When the Trotskyists were expelled from the SP in 1937, he went with them and helped found the SWP.

Weissman worked on the editorial staff of *The Militant* from 1948 to 1967. He was also director and editor of Pioneer Publishers and Pathfinder Press from 1947 to 1981. He served on the SWP's national and political committees for many years.

Because of ill health, Weissman did not play any role in the internal debates over Castroism and Trotskyism that divided SWP members before and after the SWP's 1981 national convention. Nevertheless, the SWP leadership sensed that he would never support its efforts to revise the party's program, and included him among more than 100 members purged for "disloyalty" in 1983-84.

In February 1984 Weissman joined with other expellees in forming the Fourth Internationalist Tendency and became a member of the *Bulletin IDOM* editorial board.

The revolutionary movement has lost a steadfast fighter. Socialist Action honors him by continuing the struggle to defend the historic program and traditions of the party founded by James P. Cannon—the party to which Weissman devoted his entire adult life.

A memorial meeting for George Weissman will be held in Manhattan on Saturday, May 25, at 7:30 p.m. For further details about speakers or place, write the F.I.T., P.O. Box 1947, New York, N.Y. 10009, or phone (718) 934-6281.

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Socialist Action

U.S. aids Kampuchean terrorists

By CLIFF CONNER

The Oscar-winning film "The Killing Fields" has reminded the American public of the genocidal terror campaign carried out in Kampuchea (Cambodia) by the now-exiled Pol Pot regime. Most Americans, however, seem to be unaware—and would be shocked to learn—that the U.S. government has for several years been trying to restore Pol Pot to power. Furthermore, those efforts are now being stepped up.

On April 9 the Reagan administration announced its intention to begin directly sending military aid to guerrilla groups seeking to overthrow the present Kampuchean government. Previously, U.S. assistance to the Southeast Asian "contras" had been supplied indirectly—"covertly"—through right-wing American allies in the region including Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

On April 2 the House Foreign Affairs Committee voted to send \$5 million in aid to the counterrevolutionaries. A *New York Times* editorial (April 11) called this "meager sum" a "down payment" meant "to clear the way for a much larger new commitment."

Those who remember how the United States conducted the Vietnam War will recognize this familiar one-step-at-a-time scenario. A series of U.S. air strikes, for example, would typically advance a mile or two farther up the North Vietnamese coast day by day to test the response of Hanoi and its allies.

Likewise, the Reagan administration is today tiptoeing deeper into a Southeast Asian intervention, pausing at each step to gauge the reaction of the American public. Fear of the so-called Vietnam syndrome—that is, a reawakening of the mass opposition that forced the U.S. military out of Vietnam a decade ago—is widespread among U.S. policy makers. As Republican Rep. Jim Leach put it: "I personally believe that there is no stomach in this country for a renewed military involvement in Indochina."

The Vietnamese invasion

In January 1979 the hated Pol Pot regime was driven from power and into

"Cities were declared 'wicked' by Pol Pot and obliterated."

exile by the Vietnamese army. Generally speaking, military invasions are not popular among the people of an invaded country. This was an exception, however; virtually all international observers reported that the overwhelming majority of the Kampuchean people greeted the Vietnamese troops as liberators and were overjoyed at getting rid of Pol Pot.

But Pol Pot did not simply disappear. His Cambodian "contras" set up their military camps just over the border in Thailand and, much like their Nicaraguan counterparts in Honduras, engaged in murderous raids and sabotage in order to destabilize the new government. The only effective force blocking Pol Pot's return to power has been the Vietnamese army.

A bipartisan policy

Why does the Reagan administration back the detestable Pol Pot gang? And how does it try to justify this policy?

First of all, the policy is not Reagan's alone; it was begun by the Carter administration. After Pol Pot was over-



thrown, Carter's diplomats made an all-out effort to keep his representatives seated as the official Cambodian delegation to the United Nations. So much for Carter's vaunted concern for "human rights."

This bipartisan policy stems from the American ruling class's desire to stop the spread of the Vietnamese revolution. Following the U.S. military withdrawal in 1975, North Vietnam's economic system was extended to the South.

The Hanoi government, after a three-year delay, began a drive in 1978 to sweep away capitalism in South Vietnam. A workers' state—bureaucratically ruled—based on the expropriation of the capitalists and a nationalized and planned economy was established throughout all of Vietnam.

Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime in Kampuchea, however, took the opposite road. Far from moving beyond capitalism in the direction of socialism, Kampuchea under Pol Pot appeared to be reverting to a primitive precapitalist stage of peasant economy.

Cities were declared "wicked" and obliterated, public education and health were virtually abolished, circulation of paper money and coinage were outlawed. Kampuchea's economic infrastructure was destroyed, and forced agricultural labor camps became the basic economic unit. An estimated 2 million Kampucheans—out of a total population of 7 million—perished in this mad lurch into backwardness.

At first, U.S. propagandists seized on this tragedy for their own ends and gave it extensive publicity. They cited what they called the Khmer Rouge's "communist" terror as vindication of the U.S. role in Indochina.

But suddenly the spotlight on Kam-

puchea dimmed. The mass media, as if on command, ceased its exposures of the horrors. "Mr. Pol Pot," as *The New York Times* calls him, had become a respectable American ally.

Shades of George Orwell's "1984", where Big Brother's regime changed sides in the middle of a war, and nobody was supposed to notice!

Why the sudden turnaround? Although Hanoi's intentions in Kampuchea were defensive and not revolutionary, the American imperialists feared that a Vietnamese victory would result in the extension of socialist revolution to Kampuchea. They began to see the "communist" Khmer Rouge as their last pro-capitalist straw, and they grasped at it.

For its part, the Khmer Rouge eagerly accepted its role of helping the United States regain a toehold on the Indochinese peninsula.

How do they explain their policy?

How do U.S. government officials attempt to justify their effort to reimpose Pol Pot on Kampuchea? For one thing, they deny it. Their public relations line is that they recognize three distinct groupings among the Kampuchean "contras": Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, which they still falsely label "communist," and two smaller, "non-communist," forces led, respectively, by Son Sann and Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

American policy, they say, is to aid the non-communist groups, but not the Khmer Rouge.

It is clear to all concerned, however, that if the present Vietnamese-backed government were to be militarily overthrown, it would be replaced by Pol Pot's forces. Pol Pot commands an estimated 35,000 troops; the other two

groups combined total only 25,000.

When Hanoi announced that it would withdraw its army from Kampuchea if the other "contras" would eliminate the Khmer Rouge leadership, the ever-candid Prince Sihanouk responded: "If Vietnam has not been able to remove the Khmer Rouge in six years of fighting, how can they expect us to do it for them?"

In short, the U.S. claim that it can militarily support part of this coalition without aiding its strongest contingent—Pol Pot's—is a hoax.

Reagan's recent step-up in support for the counterrevolutionaries was spurred by serious military blows inflicted upon them in the past few months. Vietnamese troops destroyed most of their bases along the Thai border earlier this year, including several belonging to the Khmer Rouge. Son Sann, in a meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz on April 10, appealed for more U.S. funds to help his forces "regroup" into "small hit-and-run guerrilla units."

"U.S. backs criminals who created the real 'killing fields'."

The lines in this war are clearly drawn. The U.S. government is backing the criminals who created the "killing fields" in real life. The Vietnamese army stopped the killing and remains the only force preventing a resumption of Pol Pot's reign of terror.

The Vietnamese-backed regime in Phnom Penh, however, has not brought workers and peasants' democracy to Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people face a long and difficult struggle for democratic rights and socialism, in which the overthrow of Pol Pot was only one necessary step.

Above all, it is necessary to remember that the soil from which Pol Pot's terror sprouted was the misery and destruction caused by American saturation bombing. From 1970 through 1973, 442,735 tons of bombs were dropped on Kampuchea.

We in the United States must oppose all renewed attempts of the Reagan administration to intervene in Southeast Asia. No aid to "contras"—in Central America or in Indochina! ■

10 years after fall of Saigon

The fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975, marked the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. National liberation was achieved after 35 years of armed resistance against Japanese, French—and finally United States occupation.

The cost of U.S. intervention alone was staggering. A half million U.S. troops occupied South Vietnam by 1967. Six years later, 50,000 had been killed.

Up to 2 million Vietnamese were killed out of a population, North and South, of 53 million. Ten million became refugees. Nearly 8 million tons of bombs and 400,000 tons of napalm were dropped throughout the Indochinese peninsula.

The U.S. antiwar movement, generated by mass revulsion to the "dirty little war," caused a lasting distrust of the U.S. government in the minds of millions of people. ■