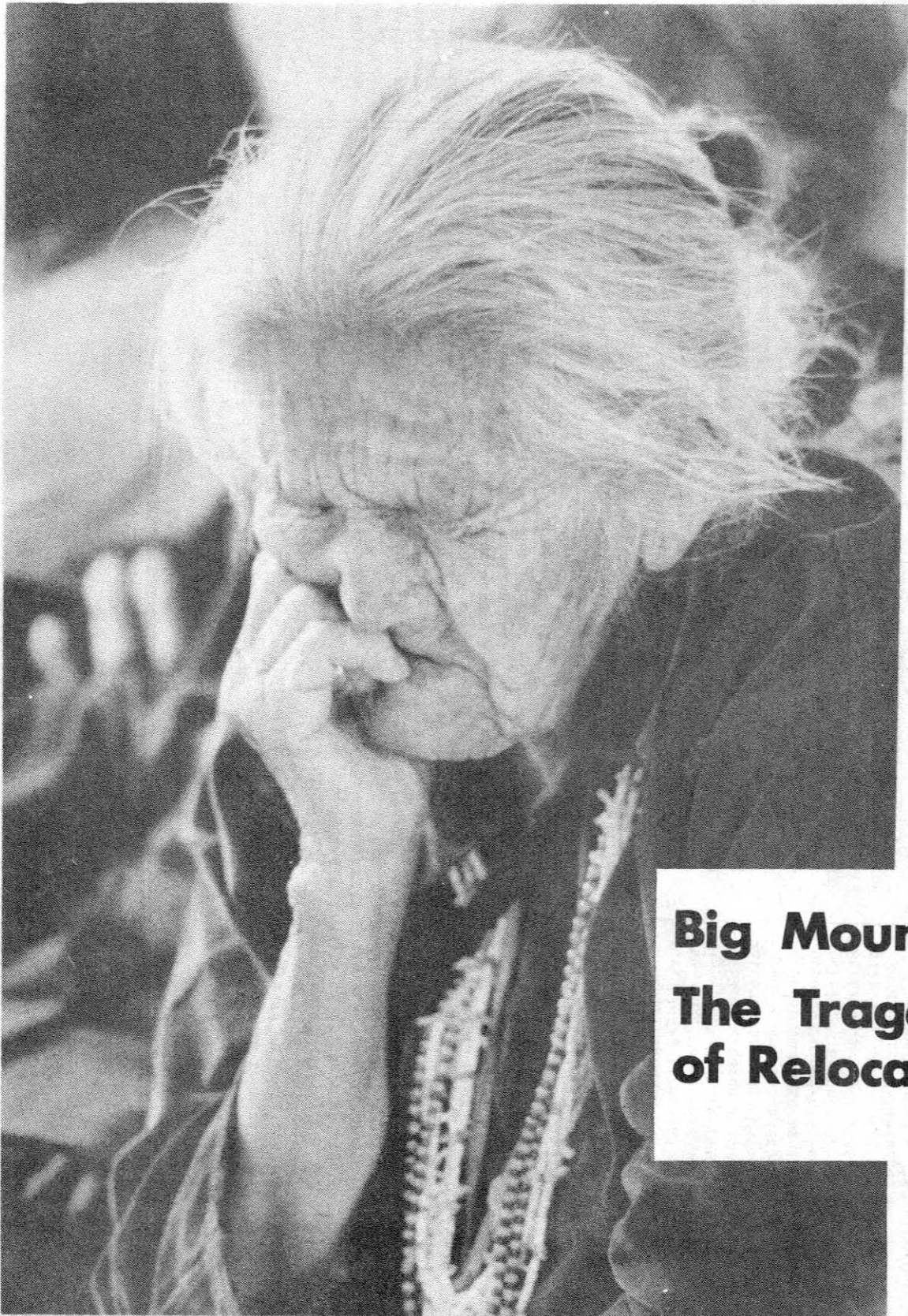


DIRECT ACTION

Issue #24



**Big Mountain—
The Tragedy
of Relocation**

Nuclear Race For Native Lands



On March 22, the third anniversary of the Star Wars speech, activists from throughout the Bay Area rallied at Sunnyvale Civic Center and marched three miles through the highly militarized Silicon Valley. The march culminated in the first direct action ever staged at the Blue Cube, the command and control center for all U.S. military satellites. Simultaneously, actions organized to stop Star Wars took place in Colorado Springs (at the site of the new command center that will replace some of the most strategic functions of the Blue Cube), as well as Wyoming, Washington state, and Massachusetts. The Sunnyvale action called attention to the Lockheed complex, where Trident nuclear weapons and Star Wars components are designed and assembled, and the NASA Ames Research complex, as well as the Blue Cube.

Drawing the front page headline in the San Jose Mercury and major coverage in the Oakland Tribune, the action was very successful in bringing to public attention for the first time the links between Star Wars, the space shuttle, and the destruction of life, sacred tradition, and self-determination on Easter Island and its closest neighbor, Chile.

Thirteen arrests took place at the Blue Cube, in an atmosphere of spirited and nonviolent resistance. An 83-year-old man and a middle-aged Chilean woman vaulted over the eight-foot barbed wire fence as police tried to restrain them. Other protesters eluded the authorities, cleared a second barbed wire fence, and were apprehended running toward the top-secret Blue Cube. The courage, energy and commitment of these activists inspired others to commit CD spontaneously. After the arrests, balloons and kites with tin foil attached were flown over the enormous

antenna dishes in an effort to disrupt satellite communications. One kite made a triumphant touchdown in the center of the dish.

Easter Island is known for the ancient, mysterious 60-foot sculptured heads that stand in rows overlooking its shores. Now the United States wants to add another landmark: an emergency landing strip for its space shuttles.

Preparations are moving ahead despite loud protests throughout Chile, which governs the isle, and even though the 1,600 island inhabitants are largely opposed to the plan.

Chilean opponents, who count prominent writers and former government members among their ranks, charge their country would sacrifice its sovereignty by providing the US with a base for possible wide military uses. The fears most commonly voiced are that Easter Island would become a staging base for US military operations in Central America or be used for spying or guiding airborne weapons.

About 2,200 miles off the mainland, Easter Island is among the most isolated in the world. Anthropologists speculate its people may have reached a level of civilization more advanced than the Inca or Aztecs. Ancient myths and customs still lingering among the islanders are considered by some scholars to be an essential link in tracing the history of human civilizations.

There is controversy over whether the island belongs to Chile or to its inhabitants. Chile annexed Easter Island in 1888. For nearly half a century beginning in 1883, the Chilean government rented the island to the British, who raised sheep there. Islanders still complain that they received no benefit from the rental. Leprosy brought by slave traders at the turn of the century not only ravaged but further isolated its population, as Chile imposed a quarantine on the island.

Now, the remaining descendants of these early island dwellers say the Americans will not only damage their

environment but turn their home into a prime target in a nuclear war.

In May, NASA told Congress it wanted to use \$7.6 million already appropriated for other purposes to install "landing support equipment" and lengthen the island's present runway "to the maximum extent possible"--from 9,610 to 11,000 feet. NASA also wants to build a metal storage building nearby.

The new base is needed, according to NASA, because the space shuttle's orbit has recently been changed from an equatorial to a polar path. The Pacific abort site is most important for launches from California's Vandenberg Air Force Base. The first such launch was scheduled for July, but has been indefinitely postponed.

NASA implied in May that it had already reached an agreement with the



aspect of the problem" warning that the island could become a "target for destruction in the event of an East-West confrontation."

Since then, a writers group has called for a national plebiscite on the issue. 1300 organizations, representing one million Chileans, signed a call asking for a plebiscite. There have also been large demonstrations in Chile in protest of the Pinochet government's handling of the Island.

The Easter Islanders, represented by a 21-member council linked to ancient families, have sent a letter to Chile's El Mercurio newspaper protesting the endangerment of their Island.

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Resistance Mounting At Big Mountain

July 8, 1986 is the deadline for removal of more than 10,000 Dineh (Navajo) Indians from their ancestral homes in the Southwest. Their removal is dictated by Public Law 93-531, the Relocation Act, passed in 1974 by a largely misled and uninformed Congress.

The law partitions a 3,000 square mile "Joint Use Area (JUA)" within the "1882 Executive Order" area, constructs a 300 mile fence imposing the partition, and requires removal of all Navajo residing on 1500 square miles of the land. The lands are in the heart of the Navajo reservation in Arizona. A Relocation Commission was established under the Act to implement the relocation.

P.L. 93-531 supposedly was passed to "settle" a "land dispute" between Navajo and Hopi Indians. Although there are the usual neighborly tensions between the Navajo and Hopi of the JUA, these normal tensions have been exaggerated by pressure from the surrounding dominant white society, and the act itself has generated tremendous additional stress.

Several investigations have shown that the "dispute" which is being sold to the American public was manufactured and fought out between white attorneys representing Peabody Coal, the U.S. Department of the Interior, and a number of electrical utilities and coal gasification companies operating in the Four Corners, high atop the Black Mesa. Says David Clark of the Dineh Nation: "We've been together with the Hopis for years and years. A lot of our people are intermarried into the Hopi people. We've been neighbors like that for years. They are trying to irritate this relationship, to break up this relationship because both tribes are sitting on the resources that are vital to the state, and other countries around us . . . Just like the old saying, 'A divided house cannot stand by itself.'"

Within the Tribes this struggle is reflected in the split between the mass of traditional Indians and their pro-development "progressive" chairmen. "There is no actual fighting between the Hopi and Dineh people," noted Larry Anderson, a leader of the American Indian Movement and veteran of both Wounded Knee and

Viet Nam. "But Hopi and Navajo Tribal Councils have been at each others throats because of the federal government and the multinational corporations."

TRADITIONALS UNITED IN RESISTANCE

When the U.S. fencing crew reached Big Mountain in 1977, it encountered the literal resistance of the Elder women, who ever since then have continued that resistance, tearing down every fence post and becoming the inspiration for the resistance movement throughout the JUA.

These Traditional Dineh refuse to be separated from their Hopi neighbors with whom they have shared the

THE RELOCATION ACT

The purposes of the legislation were (1) to transfer "quieted title" for lands to the Tribal chairmen so the lands could be leased, (2) to allow access to the massive Black Mesa coal seam in order to strip mine it and supply power for the Central Arizona Project (CAP) and other projects, (3) to remove the traditional Indians living above this coal seam who were opposed to the industrialization and devastation of their land, culture and religion.

The legislation was godfathered by Sam Steiger and Barry Goldwater of Arizona, and literally written by past and future attorneys for Pea-



Roberta Blackgoat (Navajo) shakes hands with Thomas Banyacya (Hopi), while Catherine Smith (Navajo) looks on smiling.

land and religion since long before the White Man arrived in North America. Their resistance is supported by the solidarity of the Traditional and religious leadership of the Hopi people, none of whom recognize the legitimacy of the law or the "Tribal Chairmen" who act in their names.

Thomas Banyacya, Interpreter for the Hopi Religious leaders, stated: "If these sacred lands are disrupted and the Navajos driven off the land, this will signal the 'longest walk to death' for the Navajo and Hopi people and all peoples."

body Coal. The law was passed in 1974 in the midst of Watergate and an "energy crisis", by a Congress which adhered to its own tradition of not overruling the "home state" Congressman.

WHICH HOPI? The entire "relocation" is being carried out on behalf of the "Hopi people". Yet the only Hopi "representative" recognized by the U.S. is "elected" in pathetic proceedings in which that "Chairman" recently squeaked to victory by a mere 42 votes. All together, Ivan Sidney received the votes of 908 Hopi peo-



ple, which included hundreds of off-reservation votes. This represents less than 10% of the Hopi people. At no other Indian Reservation in the U.S. is there a lower voter participation; this is because the overwhelming majority of the Hopi boycott elections, which violate their customary way of making decisions, which is by consensus.

Moreover, the Hopi traditionalists, comprising the majority of the Hopi people, realize that they may be the biggest losers of the Act. For centuries, the Hopi villages of the Black Mesa have enjoyed a protective insulation from the intrusive white U.S. culture. Providing this protection have been the Dineh shepherders of the surrounding rangelands.

In addition, throughout the 20th century, the largest environmental threat to the Black Mesa has been strip mining. In this arid climate, strip mining permanently destroys the fragile ecology of the earth's surface. In order to slurry the coal, the life blood water table is drained out of reach of all life forms on the skin of the earth, leaving the Hopi high on their mesa without water for their lives, their crops, or their livestock.

TRAIL OF TEARS REPLAY: GENOCIDE

This would be the largest peacetime forcible removal of a people in U.S. history and would duplicate in scale and effect the Trail of Tears death march of the Cherokee under Andrew Jackson in the 1830's.

It is interesting to note that five years after Congress divided the Joint Use Area, the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Tribes proved that the State of Maine had illegally taken an area

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Big Mountain Support Group

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To Our Gracious Readers

It's Monday night, Tax-Day eve, as we finish our second issue since the formation of the Nonviolent Action Project. NAP was formed because the confines of anti-nuclearism were too constricting for our understanding of direct action.

We started this issue hopefully, in that we were breaking new ground. The theme section is on Labor: On the Line--And Holding It. For the first time, DA features major coverage of workers' struggles in the U.S. The Oakland Teachers' strike Watsonsville, and Hormel remind us that direct action movements have deep roots in American labor.

Anti-nuclear activists have long connections with Native American struggles. The front-page stories on Big Mountain and Easter Island uncover the links at both ends of the arms race. The Navajo are being re-located from the Joint Use Area so energy conglomerates can mine coal and uranium. The indigenous people of Easter Island are losing their land to an "emergency landing site" for military space shuttles

launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base.

But our hopefulness in recounting the direct action struggles of these diverse peoples is broken by today's events. Today Reagan bombed Libya. On the eve of the House vote on Contra aid, Reagan declares war on Libya in the name of "fighting international terrorism". In Central America, Reagan ignores the Contadora Peace Negotiations and every nation in Central and South America to pursue a counter-revolutionary war against Nicaragua.

Millions of dollars flow to South African-backed "contras" fighting to overthrow the Angolan government; and Reagan wants to arm his worldwide contra network with Sidewinders, the U.S.'s most high-tech hand-held surface-to-air rocket.

At home, the struggle continues. Since the Hormel article was written, hundreds of Local P-9 strikers have again blockaded Hormel headquarters; twelve or more have been arrested.

We seem to be in a perpetual emergency response.



E. London

GRAFITTI

(Following our centerspread on political graffiti last issue, artist Mark X. phoned DIRECT ACTION to let us know we had printed a photo of one of his public works. I interviewed Mark shortly thereafter.)

WHAT DRAWS YOU TO GRAFITTI?

Besides the political statement, it's the risk, it's a different kind of protest. Doing damage to public property is a personal stand, a rebellion against sterility. There is a social reason this is happening--people don't like their environments, so they're changing them.

I spraypainted at the building I live in. The manager is a power-tripper, he said he was an urban developer--I said, "So am I."

In Mexico, people paint rocks--out in the middle of nowhere, there's a painting, done with a brush--it's

a different sense of aesthetics. We're pretty uptight, everything's supposed to have its place. But people need to express themselves.

DO YOU CONSIDER YOUR ART "POLITICAL"?

If you break the law, if you feel that strongly about it, that's political--just the act itself is political art.

WHAT ABOUT THE CHARACTER YOU USE?

He's called "Strangewolf". I got the idea from a ten-year-old named Tommy, I asked him if I could copy it, I had him send me drawings, and I'd put Strangewolf into situations. In some ways it's a self-portrait--it came very easily.

I don't approach it as a political statement--it's more environmental. What's offered today as aesthetic is ugly--there's no visual creativity. This is my contribution towards making society more visually pleasing.

IT SEEMS LIKE A LOT OF STRANGEWOLF'S SITUATIONS ARE PRETTY MUNDANE. WHY IS THAT?

I don't usually try to analyze what I draw. I choose the psychic images of the middle-class world, such as TV or a cup of coffee.

They're self-portraits in that they express solitude--it's my "tag".

ANY LAST THOUGHTS?

Graffiti has been happening since

the beginning of time. With cave paintings, people were expressing themselves. How do we express ourselves in our environment? All expression is done inside, in a studio or a bar--but what about in our environment, "out there"? When I see a new graffiti, it's exciting. What else is exciting out there?

--by Leonardo da Berkli

From Our Readers

Hello DIRECT ACTION folks,

I very much appreciated the coverage given to the San Francisco AIDS & ARC vigil, and especially found Kate Raphael's "Left Wing Homophobia" to be a great read. She raises several important questions for "straight" progressives to consider, and her observations are right on target. I would like to, however, make note of a misconception Kate did not dispel--that gay/lesbian identity is a "preference" rather than an "orientation".

Gay and lesbian sexuality is an orientation, not a preference. The characterization is crucial to understanding the dilemma a gay person confronts when she or he realizes that their very essence is threatened whether or not one chooses to be open in the dominant world of heterosexual relations (and all its trappings).

This confusion in mistaking "orientation" for "preference" has caused much heartache and grief, especially when it comes to seeking support from those whom you might expect would be natural allies in confronting the status quo. Indeed, this misconception is used by the Left as an excuse for not dealing with one's own homophobia, because after all, "it's their own personal preference".

While one always hopes that war and injustice are challenged by every group--even "Gay" ones--the concerns expressed by organized homosexuals are much larger than just single issue that it appears to be for politicians, right wing types, left-wing vanguardists, and the unthinking "general public". Confronting one's own individuality in the open and direct way of many Gay and lesbian people affirms not only one's personhood, but also it challenges those who seek to dominate others (and do!) and who threaten the world with extinction.

Just as the larger peace movement has experienced a loss of active involvement, in part due to its "doomsday" mentality, the Left of today needs to break with the past and put forth an affirmative vision and a

criticism of existing society and its institutions, based on this vision. From what I have seen, organized Gay and Lesbian activists and radical feminists have led the way in this regard. Their caring and concern for individual needs, as well as for collective well-being, provides much empowerment to directly challenge evil in any form. And as John Clark notes in THE ANARCHIST MOMENT: "The most radical bonds are not those of class oppression but those of free community."

Please continue this much needed dialogue on this matter.

Sincerely,
 Brad Ott
 New Orleans

More Letters Page 19

Direct Action:

While we are grateful to Direct Action for giving so much space to a review of Risking Peace: Why We Sat in the Road, we couldn't help but be disappointed by the reviewer's self-righteous tone. Finding nothing to criticize about the book itself, Sheila Harrington chose to compare her own political analysis to the political analysis of the people whose statements make up the major portion of the book--finding them insufficiently radical, "... over-eager to pronounce their standing in the good guys category ... at the expense of those who find themselves outside the law because they live in a society where the legal and the just are frequently not synonymous."

First of all, it seems highly inappropriate to us to review the book by criticizing the allegedly bourgeois life-styles of the defendants, and secondly, her specific criticisms are ill-founded, indicating a careless reading of the book. As

to the gap between law and justice, for example, one of the defendant's statements reads, "This trial has caused me to think about the crucial difference between justice and law, . . . The deployment of first-strike missiles in Western Europe is legal . . . But it's illegal for citizens to block the entrance of a laboratory which designs weapons that certainly constitute a crime against humanity. With legal and illegal as they are, I'm afraid no court in the land could possibly serve justice . . ."

"Harrington states: Not a single person mentions the Russians or challenges the media-whipped hysteria around Communism on which the arms race depends for its primary pretext."

To quote from another defendant, "What if half the money that's spent at the Lab to design unthinkable nuclear death were instead invested in training us as men and women to go to the Soviet Union and talk to the men and women there about what we're all thirsty for, which is peace?"

Harrington: "There is a real hesitancy to say anything which could be construed as un-American."

Defendant: "The United States cannot have it both ways. If Germans after World War II were responsible to higher laws, then the American soldiers guilty of slaughtering women and children at My Lai should have also been responsible. The designing of weapons at Lawrence Livermore Lab that could end all life on earth is evil, an abomination, and a crime against humanity . . ."

Harrington: "How much of what is important to convey(. . . our sense of how all these issues are connected with each other and with American society in general) do we sacrifice by resorting to this lowest-common-denominator-with-exception approach?"

Defendant: "The children in our schools draw pictures of mushroom-shaped clouds and nuclear bombs. The third graders in Central Amer-

ica draw pictures of their families and friends exploded into little pieces by armaments our government sends down under the guise of economic aid. Probably the Navajo children draw pictures of the government coming and taking their sheep and cattle away."

Defendant: "The arms race is not elsewhere, it is in the context of our lives. Peace and justice too must be in the context of our lives."

We could go on, but suffice it to say that the statements were made by individuals with a broad range of concerns and life-styles. Harrington's assertion that the book "minimizes us" is bewildering.

Risking Peace is the only book to date that documents the Livermore demonstrations. It's important to note that proceeds from the sale of the book benefit the Western States Legal Foundation, which continues to provide the legal support that is an essential part of the Livermore actions.

We are humbled by Alice Walker's review comment: "Risking Peace is one of those apparently small testimonials of faith and courage that is in fact a very large challenge to peoplekind. These voices urge us to join them, before it is too late. And to join such beauty as is revealed here would be an honor. All of us must sit in the road."

In peace and struggle,
 Jackie Cabasso and
 Susan Moon, co-authors
 c/o Open Books
 1631 Grant Street
 Berkeley, CA 94703

DON'T FORGET TO WRITE

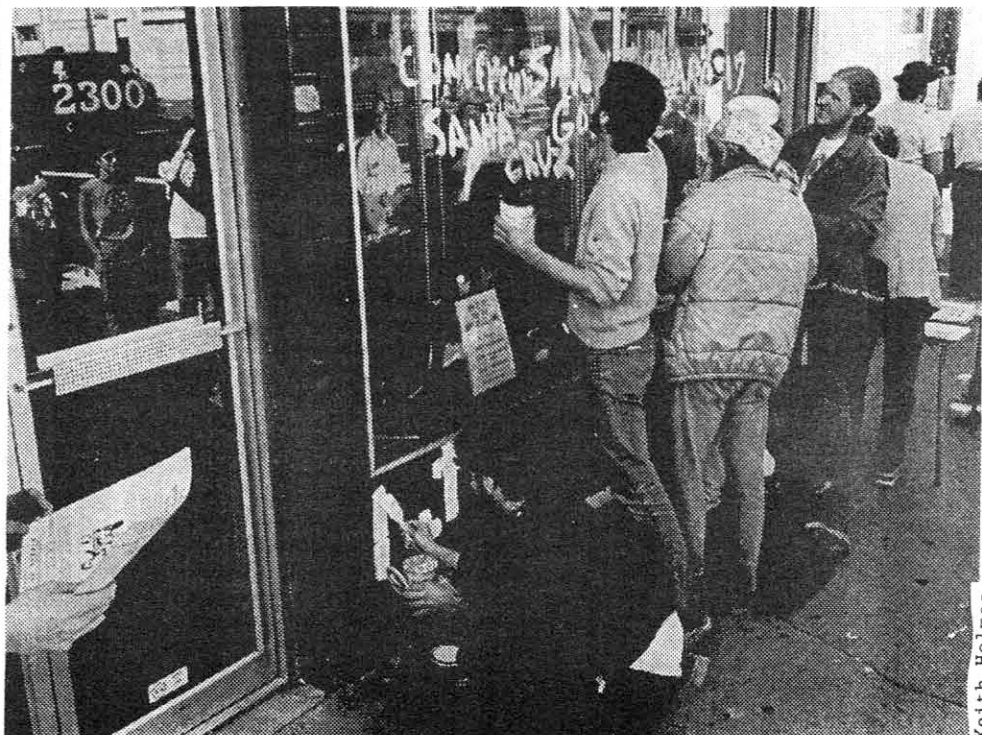
This issue of DIRECT ACTION was produced by:
 Sheila Harrington, Kate Raphael, Steve Nadel, Suzanne McMillan, George Franklin, Graham Hale, Joe Blackburn, Tad Mutersbaugh, Martha Fox, Jim Mascolo, Paul Bloom, Kathy Bindels

Resistance Targets Contra Aid...



Allie Light

Emergency Response Network sponsored protests against U.S. aid to the Contra February 24. Many protesters formed a "living cemetery" in front of the San Francisco Federal Building before getting arrested blockading the building; others did actions at three SF recruiting centers, including painting the 19th & Mission center with tempera. Approximately 100 were arrested at the various locations, and a second set of actions were planned for late April as part of a national alert.



Keith Holmes

... And Arms Shipments

to El Salvador, Honduras

A February Congress in San Francisco of the Pledge of Resistance (formerly Emergency Response Network) adopted a campaign to stop arms shipments leaving the Bay Area for Central America. Over a hundred people reached consensus on the campaign, which will focus on Lykes Brothers shipping company and the Oakland Army Base, both of which are core to the U.S. supply of arms to El Salvador and Honduras. The campaign will try to raise consciousness about the human costs of U.S. priorities both in Central America and in terms of quality of life in Oakland.

A critical link to conducting war is supplying it: the troops get beer (no amoebas in its water); electrical equipment, howitzers and ammunition are sent; construction semis are shipped to build roads and airstrips into the Honduran jungle.

Oakland Army Base - together with Port Chicago in Concord - is key to this process for the war in El Salvador. Oakland base personnel participated in tropical war exercises in 1983 by practicing loading trucks, jeeps and artillery for shipment south. At Pier 7, (you can see it to your right just before the toll plaza on the eastbound side of the Bay Bridge), ships owned by companies under contract to the Navy's Military Sealift Command regularly dock and - occasionally - set sail for Acajutla, El Salvador. One of the companies, Lykes Brothers Steamship Company, has offices at 100 Spear Street in downtown San Francisco.

So, while the bureaucrats in the National Defense Transportation Association have expensive luncheons on one side of town, Oakland's housing shortage in the rest of the city intensifies. Alameda County is losing \$6.8 million in federal revenue sharing this year. While Lykes Brothers

lays off one out of every eight of its shoreside staff, the country to which its ships take weapons continues to be dangerous for trade union members of all sorts.

The problem for us is clear. Our question is how to solve it. Activists in Contra Costa County are trying one method by launching a ballot initiative to prohibit arms shipments from Port Chicago to Central America. Bartameus, a Christian affinity group, has committed to a weekly presence at Port Chicago for six months.

At this writing, a march and civil disobedience at Oakland Army Base is being planned as a response to contra aid approval. But the campaign to stop arms shipments is envisioned as a broader and more sustained effort than one, or even a series, of arrest actions. It will involve connecting with community groups, being aware of labor issues (such as faced the longshore workers who refused to unload South African cargo last year) the dynamics of race and economic tensions, and pursuing fair coverage by the local media. It will mean coming to grips with the expanded militarization of the water and culture at Hunters Point, Treasure Island and Alameda.

The Pledge will sponsor a workshop to explore these issues on Saturday, April 26, place to be announced. For information and/or flyers on this event, call the Pledge office at 771-1276. If you belong to a group, church or school class that you think would benefit by a presentation and discussion of the Central America military shipments, contact us at the above number. We need graphic materials (posters, banners, brochures), community contacts and much more people power.

--by John Lindsay-Poland



Michelle Coe



Joe Blackburn

Easter Island

continued from page 1

But Joel Cassmar, science officer at the US embassy in Santiago, insists that the proposed changes are purely "technical" and that the dangers have been exaggerated. He also contends the plan will not affect the fragile ecology of the island.

"We're not going to change any land outside the airport perimeter. It's moving a little bit of soil to bring the runway right out to the beach, kind of like San Francisco Bay."

Radomiro Tomic, who represented Easter Island in Chile's Congress for four years, disagrees. He says that 3 million cubic meters of solid rock would have to be moved, irreparably altering what some scientists have called the "world's finest open-air museum."

Unwilling to leave the debate in the US in the hands of technocrats, the San Francisco-based Committee to Defend Easter Island, primarily Chilean exiles, has initiated the campaign to publicize the Easter Island/Vandenberg/space shuttle link. The Sunnyside action, organized by them in coalition with the Vandenberg Action Coalition, the San Jose-based

Coalition Against Lockheed D-5, the San Jose Peace Center and other peace groups, was a wonderful beginning to this campaign.

To get involved in planning the next stage of the campaign, call the NAP office at 644-2028. The Vandenberg Action Coalition will be discussing how we can further the campaign and organize against the space shuttle in California at a statewide meeting April 12 at 1985 Chanticleer in Santa Cruz. The strategy discussion will also include the exploits of Los Angeles VAC members, who were hiking on the Nevada test site on the morning of the last nuclear test on March 22. Perhaps more of us can make the trek during the next scheduled test during the third week of April (that's now!).

Only a multi-faceted disarmament movement, linking constituencies and strategies, will be strong enough to build a campaign that can gain the offensive and win.

--partly reprinted from a Mercury News article by Lake Sagaris
Action analysis by Bill Simpich



Government Business
The U.S. has used its Security Council veto power to kill all six peace initiatives proposed to the U.N. by the Nicaraguan government.

Napoleon Duarte won the El Salvador presidential election with the aid of \$2.1 million from the CIA.

Fourteen families in El Salvador control the country's wealth: 2% of the citizens hold 60% of the land and industry.

Atrocities
866 El Salvadoran villages were bombed in 1985, up from 694 in 1984, a result of increased U.S. military aid.

Contras captured a 70-year-old Nicaraguan, Adam Flores, on July 26, 1984, castrated him, scraped the skin from his face, and killed him.

60,000 people have been murdered since 1980 by death squads operating openly in El Salvador.

3000 tons of bombs have been dropped on El Salvador since July 1984, more than 7.5 tons a day.

Hopes
Nicaraguan health programs are successfully producing one of the most rapid declines in infant mortality ever — from 12.1% in 1979 to 8.2% in 1984.

TOP OF THE NEWS

The World Health Organization has selected Nicaragua as one of its five model countries in primary health care.

Opposition parties hold a third of the seats in Nicaragua's Parliament, evidence that the country's government is not a dictatorship.

Over 1500 Nicaraguan youths, ages 16 to 23, volunteered, trained and began teaching in the government's countryside literacy campaign.

70% of Nicaragua's economic contracts are with capitalist countries, among them France, Sweden, Finland, and Brazil.

Fears
Contras received CIA intelligence, aircraft, communications gear and training through the 1985 U.S. House Intelligence Bill.

The government of Costa Rica formed its first army in 1985, a response to \$11 million of unsolicited U.S. military aid.

Resistance
El Salvadoran rebels hold about one-third of the country's land as free territory, despite escalating U.S. military aid.

Over 200 churches and synagogues across the U.S. offer sanctuary to political refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala.

REAGAN ASKS \$100 MILLION IN AID FOR CONTRAS

San Francisco Chronicle

The Largest Daily Circulation in Northern California

122nd Year No. 27

★★★★

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 30, 1986

777-1111 25 CENTS

You Pay for This



This front page graced the Chronicle display boxes in most areas of the City on February 24. So realistic did it appear, that demonstrators in front of the Federal Building spread rumors that \$27 million had already been sent to the Contras. Oh well! Invigorated by the

One Third of Aid Already Sent

\$27 Million U.S. Funds to Nicaraguan Government

Churches Raise War Relief

72 U.S. church groups have pledged to raise \$27 million to help Nicaraguans repair damage done by the contras, challenging the morality of the '85 Congressional appropriation of \$27 million to the contras.

Contra Leader Quits and Confesses Atrocities

1986 New York Times
"The 'contras' were, and are, a proxy army controlled by the U.S. government," admits former contra leader Edgar Chamorro. "During my four years as a contra director, I was prominently involved in promoting civilian

non-combatants to prevent them from cooperating with the government. Hundreds of civilian murders, mutilations, tortures and rapes were committed in pursuit of this policy, of which the 'contra' leaders and their CIA superiors were well aware."

impact of this action, a similar but funnier substitution was distributed on April Fools Day. In addition, at least two "independently produced inserts" appeared in Chronicles and Examiners during February and March—one about Contra aid, the other about the real significance of the space shuttle explosion.

Women Unite to Stop Rape

Bay Area women will Take Back the Night in San Francisco, April 26, 1986. This year San Francisco Women Against Rape is initiating the first Take Back the Night March and Rally in several years. It will begin at the Panhandle at Oak and Stanyan at dark and proceed through the Haight and down Castro St. and 18th St. to the rally in Dolores Park. Thousands of individuals and contingents of Bay Area women will protest the fear and violence invading women's lives and affirm the power of women acting together.

"This march celebrates diversity among women, transcending differences which sometimes divide," explains SFWAR Coordinator, Shawn Corne.

"Violence and the fear of violence affect all women." Women marching together April 26 will experience the freedom and exhilaration of walking the streets together with confidence.

One woman said she is helping out with the march because she was raped a few months ago and, "This is a way I can give something back," to the community which helped her survive after the attack.

Since the early 70's when the first rape crisis centers were formed, women have achieved a tremendous increase in services for sexual assault survivors. Due to the efforts of women around the world who are still marching, rallying, lobbying, volunteering, educating and facing the daily reality of rape, there are now support services for survivors in every major U.S. city, many towns and villages, and in cities around the world. Laws have begun to change in many states, recognizing marital rape, admitting 3rd party testimony in child sexual assault cases, and beginning to prosecute the rapist instead of blaming the victim. San Francisco has more services than even most big cities provide, yet they are not enough.

Men may march, but are asked to march behind the women. This is because women are the primary targets of sexual assault, and according to organizer Shawn Corne, "Women as a class of people are victimized by men. This march is a statement of power and visibility of women. It is not a denial that other groups and in-

dividuals are violated." Because it is about women taking power and resisting sexual assault, men are not being invited to support or protect women, but to march, if they wish, in acknowledgement of their own vulnerability.

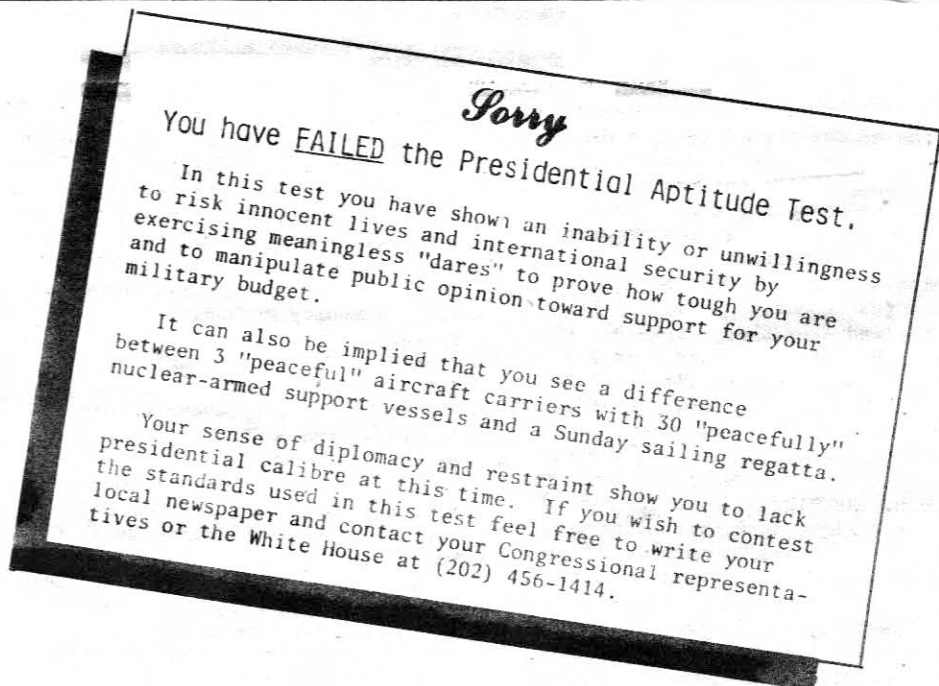
With the increase in availability of services to rape survivors there has been no decrease in attacks on women. One in three women are raped during their lives. Resistance to attack is often not publicized or reported. Many individual women successfully resist attacks by acting instinctively. Resistance can be avoidance of a situation which makes a woman uncomfortable, or it can be actually fighting back against an assault in progress. Women who fight back and successfully avoid a rape have still been assaulted. These assaults are not counted in the statistics.

One San Francisco woman who describes herself as "timid," became so enraged at seeing a man climbing into her window, that she frightened him away by pointing at him and ordering him to leave. Another woman broke an attacker's nose and chased him and his accomplice down Market Street. These women survived by fighting back. Other women survive by complying with the assailant's demands. "When a woman's life is on the line, her instincts usually tell her the best response," says black belt Pam Shore, an organizer of Take Back the Night in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Women who have lost their lives and women who have survived assault will be honored at this year's Take Back the Night March and Rally, as well as women who live with the threat of rape in their minds at all times. "The event is an act of group resistance to sexual violence," says Shelly Philo. "If 10,000 women are out there in the streets on April 26, there is going to be an impact on each woman and for women collectively."

For more information or to help finalize arrangements for the event, call SF Women Against Rape, 861-2024.

--by Nina Raff



The day after the bombing of a Libyan ship, two activists stood at the corner of Haight and Clayton offering a "Presidential Aptitude Test."

Passersby who did not take the dare to "step across this line" were handed the above.



Hundreds of women braved driving rain and a massive contingent of SF police to participate in a war-chest tour on International Women's Day. The march highlighted right-wing think-tanks, multinational cor-

porations involved in Central America, government and military offices, and porn shops promoting violence against women. A closing rally featured a theater piece and a martial arts demo.

Nuclear Transport: Waste Not, Worry Not

Within the last three months the issue of nuclear waste transport has assumed a compelling position in East Bay politics. Recent developments focus on shipment of Taiwanese nuclear waste into ports on the US West Coast and across the continent on local roads and highways to nuclear reprocessing facilities and dumps. The controversy takes two main forms: 1) Whether overseas nuclear reactor waste should come back into the US at all, and 2) if we must accept them, which ports and roads, and which methods, are safest to transport these wastes?

The players in this political battle include the overseas clients of General Electric, the Department of Energy (DOE), the California Highway Patrol (CHP), the Port of Oakland, the Department of Transportation, the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, the Governor, the West Clawson (West Oakland) Neighborhood Association, the Bay Area Free South Africa Movement, various environmental groups such as Greenpeace, and the Berkeley/Alameda County Nuclear Free Zone Committee (B/ACNFZC).

To date:

In January, the DOE announced that spent fuel rods from nuclear reactors in Taiwan would be offloaded in Long Beach and trucked across the US to a final destination in South Carolina. They also designated Oakland as a backup port for receiving nuclear waste shipments.

The spent fuel rods are contained in 25 ton lead casks lined with stainless steel. The casks are under pressure, generated by the buildup of radioactive gases within the casks. The material is highly toxic; according to the Department of Health in New York City (a Nuclear-Free Zone since 1984), a release of 1% of the plutonium gases from one cask in downtown Manhattan would result in up to 10,000 early fatalities from cancer, and up to 1.3 million cases of lung cancer would be induced in residents and workers in the area.

The CHP has designated Seventh Street in Oakland, Highway 17 (880) through Oakland and San Leandro, Highway 238 through Hayward, and I-580 through Castro Valley, Dublin and Livermore as the route to be used through Alameda County of these shipments. Conspicuously absent from consideration has been the stretch of Highway 580 through Oakland which for years has been closed to all truck traffic to assuage its nearby residents' concerns over excessive noise.

At CHP hearings in Oakland on January 29, Saul Bloom, Executive Director of the ARC Foundation, a San Francisco based research center, Chappell Hayes, representing the West Clawson Community Neighborhood Association, and Len Conly of B/ANFZC challenged the criteria used by the CHP to select its routes, and noted the absence of an environmental impact report from the Port of Oakland on the potential hazard of unloading the waste.

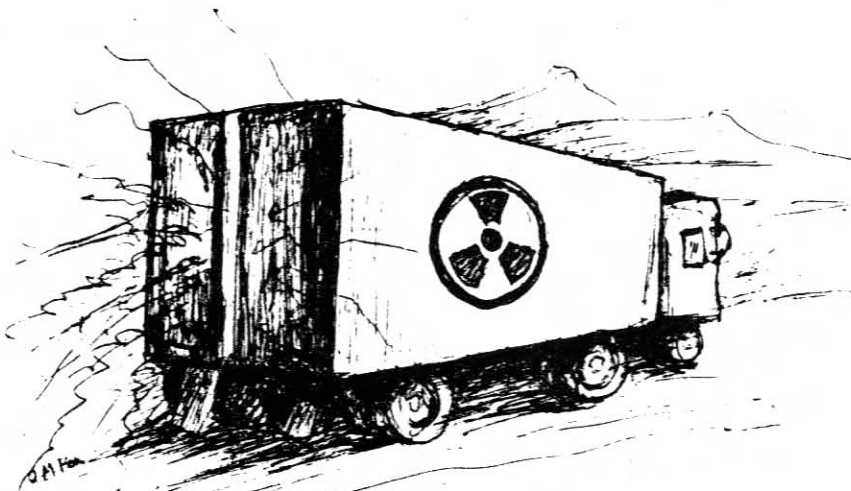
At the urging of Alameda County Supervisor John George, the Alameda County Board of Supervisors considered the issue at its public meeting Feb. 4. Paul Miller of B/ACNFZC, presented the Nuclear Free Zone ordinance to the Supervisors, and pointed out that the drive to qualify the ordinance for the November '86 ballot already had over 10,000 signatures. Bloom, Hayes and Miller also urged the supervisors to reject the CHP environmental impact report and requested that the Port of Oakland refuse to allow the unloading of nuclear waste materials until a new report had been completed. They also suggested that the supervisors ask the CHP to consider the safer route of Highway 580 rather than 17 through Oakland. All interested parties were invited to the March 18 meeting to hear additional reports and submit further relevant information.

In the meantime, an Assembly Joint Resolution, introduced by Assemblyman Elder (D-57th District) was amended on February 18 to request the DOE to "adopt a different route, as specified, for radioactive waste shipments and would oppose the shipment of spent radioactive fuel rods through California ports and harbors."

On March 4, the campaign staff for Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles notified the B/ANFZC that the mayor is

opposed to the offloading of nuclear waste from Taiwan at the Port of Oakland, or at any other California port.

At the March 18 meeting, although the supervisors were told by county Counsel Richard Moore that they had no jurisdiction to block the plan, they voted to recommend that other agencies and the Legislature oppose it. Moore said the transportation of radioactive materials is governed by federal and state regulations, which would preempt any county actions.



The supervisors, however, voted to: --Urge the DOE not to use the Port of Oakland as a receiving point; --Ask the Port of Oakland to take a similar position;

--Oppose Eastbay truck routes tentatively selected by the California Highway Patrol to transport the materials;

--Endorse a bill by Assemblyman Elder that would prevent the use of any state ports and harbors for handling the shipments.

--Direct Moore to determine if the cities of Long Beach or Seattle,

which are also being considered, have sought to block the DOE's plan, so the county can consider whether to join such action.

Analysis:

What has awakened such indignation, especially by non-activists? It is none other than the "fallout" from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NNPT) of which the US is an original signatory.

That treaty was an attempt by the nuclear weapons powers to keep the "Nuclear Club" exclusive, by keeping the reins on the nuclear technology it eagerly exports, particularly to Third World countries. The key has been to keep control of the reactor fuel, without which no opportunistic terrorist group, "wavering" government or crazy dictator would be able to enrich and eventually make their own nuclear weapons. That is why American companies are contractually obligated to comply with the treaty by regularly shipping the waste back to the US for reprocessing or disposal.

One further note: The fuel grade plutonium and uranium extracted at Savannah River, South Carolina, reprocessing plants will be retained by the DOE and may finally be sent to Hanford, Washington for use as weapons material.

--Paul Miller and Len Conly

Berkeley Nuclear Free Zone Campaign

Do the people of this County know what you know about Livermore Labs and the Alameda Naval Air Station? How many people know what's in those military helicopters flying over our heads between the Bay and the Concord Naval Weapons Station? In 1982 the Freeze initiative gave voters the chance to go on record for halting the arms race, as an abstraction. But local voters have never been asked to vote on whether we want to participate, as a community, in the design of more nuclear weapons, the home-portion of nuclear-powered and -armed aircraft carriers, and the transport through our streets of Taiwanese nuclear waste now coming home to the U.S. It's about time.

We're currently petitioning to put initiatives on both the Berkeley City and Alameda County ballots for the November election. We especially need help with the County-wide initiative in order to bring the knowledge that Direct Action readers have to those who most need to hear it.

As part of the initiatives, a "Findings" (introductory) section will be sent to every voter which will take up everything from U.S. foreign policy to the Federal budget, the danger to the environment of accidental radioactive spills, and the harm to children of facing the threat of extinction daily. We need help from activists in several areas of concern with this.

The initiatives, if passed, would have several immediate and practical results, even while some clauses might be overlooked by the Feds or brought into court by the University. The City and County would have to stop investing in and contracting with nuclear weapons makers. The Community's Right To Know would be protected. Peace Conversion Commissions would be established. Food irradiation plants using radioactive wastes would be banned.

We chose the Nuclear Free Zone format as a way of combining our concerns over foreign policy, the arms race, and the Federal budget. We were inspired by learning that there are now over 100 cities or counties in the U.S. which have been declared NFZ's by ballot initiatives or local governmental bodies. Most of these 100 do not contain nuclear facilities. Alameda County is an especially important target to join the NFZ movement because of the many nukes within our borders.

If we can get on the ballot, we expect high-priced public relations firms to attack our initiatives.

Everyone in the County will become aware of the initiatives and therefore of our local nuclear facilities. We think this will be an eye-opener as it was for the Boston area when the Cambridge NFZ campaign was underway, even though it was defeated. We also believe that electoral

action of this kind can be radical. We are not part of anyone's re-election campaign. We feel these laws could bring pressure to bear on whoever is in office, and that the effort to implement NFZ laws could take off in original directions. We've found that the fact of a petition drive --even though its success is not yet certain --already carries some weight. In February, the County Board of Supervisors held a hearing on transportation of nuclear waste within the County. Our speakers were able to testify and were listened to because we were able to say that we had already gathered 10,000 signatures of County voters concerned about this issue.

The NFZ committee is focused around Gathering Signatures Right Now. Later we expect to organize demonstrations targeting the weapons contractors and nuclear facilities in the County. We hope we've made clear all along that any activity anyone wants to do in connection with this campaign would be welcome. Don't feel you need to get our permission.

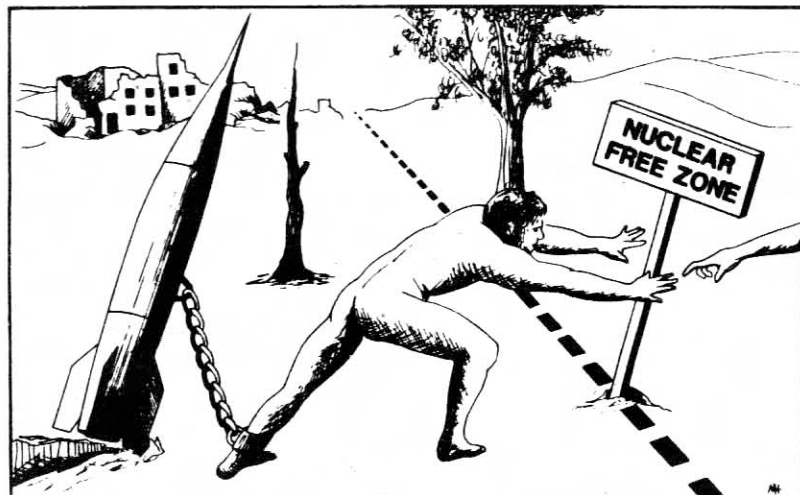
Readers have probably heard that local grassroots efforts got plans for a food irradiation plant (using radioactive cesium) dropped. We

added the ban to our initiatives and wish we could take credit for getting the plans scuttled--but it shows that local pressure on nuclear matters can make a difference.

It's a tremendous effort to get the County-wide initiative (especially) on the ballot. We need about 68,000 signatures in order to be sure of 40,000 valid ones, and we have only until April 27 to collect them. Petitioning is actually a very positive experience since most people will sign when asked.

If you want to help, there's no time to lose. You can pick up the blank petitions from our desk at the LAG/Nonviolent Action Project office, or call Len at 526-2746. You can meet us Saturday or Sunday mornings at 10am at the office to get a partner and a clipboard and hit the streets with us. Over 100 people have already helped petition--and we still need you!

--Jan Arnold



Nuclear Free Zones

SONOMA CO. NUCLEAR FREE ZONE CAMPAIGN

A Sonoma County Nuclear Free Zone Campaign began March 5, in an effort to qualify the initiative for the Nov. 4 ballot. We need a lot of help to register the 12,500 valid signatures needed in order to submit the petitions to the Board of Supervisors by June 15.

For more information, contact Kenji Hoshino, 707-823-0654; Molly Burnell (707)431-7197; or the Peace Center, (707)575-8402.

Chicago became the largest municipality to declare itself a nuclear free zone on March 11.

The ordinance, adopted on a voice vote without opposition bans the design, production, and storage of nuclear weapons and requires firms to phase out nuclear weapons business in two years.

continued from page 1

twice the size of the JUA. This time, however, the tribes had to accept money: according to Congress, it would cause too much suffering to move people off land they had used for over a century.



Joe Blackburn

Resistance art erected on mud-flats.

International experts on displacement of indigenous peoples have found that such uprooting of traditional land-based peoples literally destroys their lives. The Fourth Russell Tribunal convened in Rotterdam in 1980 and found that this removal violated the United Nations Convention on Genocide. Not surprisingly, on February 19 of this year when the U.S. finally ended its 39 year hold-out against ratifying this Convention, voting against it was Senator Barry Goldwater, the main advocate of Navajo removal under P.L. 93-531.

BIG MOUNTAIN RESISTANCE --AIM

It was at Big Mountain that the Dineh made their stand, throwing the fencing crews out as soon as they appeared in 1977. In 1979 Katherine Smith drove them out at gunpoint again, was arrested and later acquitted when a jury could not be formed.

In 1979 the Dineh people of Big Mountain declared their independence, and their total resistance to removal. In 1981 a Survival Camp was established at Big Mountain by the American Indian Movement, under the direction of the Elders of Big Mountain. The people had sought out AIM's support in 1977, and the Movement put itself at the service of the Traditional leadership.

SUPPORT GROUPS

In 1980 the first non-Indian "Support Group" was formed, bringing together anti-nuclear activists, environmentalists, and a wide variety of other persons of conscience working in support of the people of Big Mountain and the JUA who are opposing removal. Presently there exists an international network of nearly 100 Big Mountain Support Groups.

INVESTIGATIONS

In 1985 the House Appropriations Committee released its investigation of the relocation program, concluding that the program thus far was a massive failure and that it (the investigators) could not see how the program could be made to work.

According to Leon Berger, director of the Navajo/Hopi Task Force, "the American Taxpayer is being eaten alive by one of the more unreasonable policies ever pursued by the U.S. government. Over one-half billion dollars is earmarked to relocate some of the most traditional Indians in North America from their ancestral homeland.

"The forcible relocation of 10,000 Navajo people is a tragedy of genocide and injustice and will be a blot on the conscience of this country for many generations. It will hold its place with Wounded Knee, the Long Walk, and the Trail of Tears."

Also in 1985, President Reagan assigned ex-Secretary of the Interior William Clark to search for an alternative to relocation. After 6 months, Clark concluded that the Hopi Tribal officials would never willingly compromise. He suggested that "other agencies" of the government should develop alternatives which would halt relocations and provide a "comprehensive" solution to the entire issue of Navajo and Hopi use of lands in the Four Corners.



THE DEMANDS

The key demands of the people resisting removal, and of the support network, are (1) **REPEAL OF P.L. 93-531** to bring to a halt the forced removal of these Indian people. The people also demand (2) that those already removed from the land be allowed to return. The tribe estimates that more than 6500

Navajo are now wandering "refugees", having abandoned their homes under pressure of the 12-year-old program. (3) that the U.S. government comprehensively redress the complex mess of land issues it has generated in its 100 years of boundary-drawing between the Navajo and Hopi people, and (4) that those who want to move should be assisted in doing so.

In the face of continuing U.S. plans to remove the people in July, ("I've put the National Guard on notice and they are ready", said Senator Barry Goldwater in a PBS Broadcast in December,) there is a nationwide mobilization underway;

to confront and resist any attempt to remove the people. This mobilization is directly accountable to the elders on the land.

Explaining their commitment to resist relocation, one young traditional of the Dine nation said: "We'll go back in the canyons like we did in the 1800s. That's how we survived. Being able to dig in... that's just the basic survival thing, to dig in to deal with the government. I hope you understand."

--by Big Mountain Support Group newsletter staff, edited by Sheila Harrington

What Can I Do?

- (1) WRITE LETTERS (OR CALL) YOUR CONGRESSPEOPLE!!! DEMAND THAT P.L. 93-531 BE REPEALED.
- (2) BEGIN A CHAIN LETTER: SEND LETTERS AND A COPY OF THIS OR SOME ARTICLE WHICH EXPLAINS THE SITUATION TO TEN FRIENDS; ASK THEM TO PLEASE WRITE THEIR CONGRESSPEOPLE AND ALSO TO SEND THE LETTER AND ARTICLE TO TEN PEOPLE THEY KNOW.
- (3) ARRANGE TO SHOW THE SLIDE-SHOW IN DEFENSE OF SACRED LAND TO FRIENDS, CHURCH, ETC. (CALL BIG MOUNTAIN SUPPORT GROUP, BMSG, AT 415-644-2028 TO GET MORE DETAILS.)
- (4) TAKE FRIENDS TO SEE THE MOVIE BROKEN RAINBOW --A DOCUMENTARY ON THE HISTORY AND CURRENT SITUATION OF THE NAVAJO/HOPI RELOCATION.
- (5) SEND MONEY, FOOD, CLOTHING, TOOLS & CAMPING EQUIPMENT TO: BIG MOUNTAIN SURVIVAL CAMP, c/o KEE SHAY/ P.O. BOX 203/ ORAIBI, AZ 86039.
- (6) SEND MONEY TO THE BIG MOUNTAIN SUPPORT GROUP (BMSG)/ 3126 SHATTUCK AVE./ BERKELEY, CA 94705.
- (7) SUBSCRIBE TO BIG MOUNTAIN NEWS (SLIDING SCALE FROM \$5 UP) AT THE ABOVE ADDRESS FOR BMSG.
- (8) ARRANGE TO DISTRIBUTE BIG MOUNTAIN NEWS --TO FAMILY AND FRIENDS OR IN YOUR AREA.
- (9) DISTRIBUTE LEAFLETS (HOPEFULLY AVAILABLE SOON FROM THE BMSG OFFICE) AT "RECEPTIVE" EVENTS.
- (10) ATTEND A BMSG MEETING: EVERY THURSDAY EVENING AT 7:30 p.m. AT THE BMSG OFFICE (ADDRESS ABOVE --#6). BEST TO CALL THE OFFICE FIRST TO CONFIRM: 644-2028.
- (11) JOIN A WORKING COMMITTEE OR AFFINITY GROUP.
- (12) DECIDE YOUR RESPONSE: LEGAL PROTEST? HOW? NONVIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE? WHAT FORM?

A LIST IS AVAILABLE OF LOCAL CONTACTS FOR MANY AREAS OF THE COUNTRY. WRITE BERKELEY BMSG AT ABOVE ADDRESS TO RECEIVE THE LIST.

IMPORTANT NOTE: The latest word from the Elders at Big Mountain is that they do not want people to go down to Arizona unless: (1) they first check with the BMLDOC office in Flagstaff; and (2) those hoping to actually go down there understand that this is a life and death situation and are willing to make at least a six week commitment. Visitors will need to be wholly self-sufficient (there is no water to spare in the high desert) and to understand the fragility and sacredness of the land. Everyone who ends up going down must be ready to work hard under direction of the people on the land. The action to STOP RELOCATION of the Native Peoples of Big Mountain is most effective in our own communities and directed at Washington, D.C.

South African Airways Disrupted

Last February 1, thirty-two people turned the terminal used by South Africa Airways at Kennedy Airport into a pavilion of protest against Apartheid in South Africa and its collaborators in the U.S. Now they are vowing to return regularly to the airport, to continue to disrupt business as usual and create chaos at the British Airway's terminal (which houses the South African owned airline), and to both airlines' offices in New York City, until British Air-

A dozen demonstrators, looking very much like tourists to South Africa, boarded the baggage line, as others began taunting them. One woman screamed at a man in the line: "What's in the box; tell us what's in the box!" As 100 people gathered to see what the commotion was all about, the man in line with the box said "It's just a grandfather clock." He was so convincing that an off-

icial from South African Airways came over and told him to ignore the woman, "she's just a troublemaker." The women, not to be deterred, ripped the wrapping paper off the box, revealing a coffin. People in the crowd, now being leafletted by the action:



Joe Blackburn

ways breaks its ties to the airline of apartheid, and South African Airways is driven from New York.

For over an hour last February 1, direct action groups disrupted business at South African Airways. The first band of activists padlocked a gate at the terminal's departure ramp, using case-hardened steel materials. It took police more than twenty minutes to cut through the chains. By that time, traffic had snarled all the way down the departure ramp, and hundreds of yards onto the main roadway. Port Authority police, unable to get through the jam, had to leave their cars and run on foot to the terminal.

groups, began screaming when they saw the coffin tumble to the floor. Out tumbled a body of a Black person, an effigy which looked very real for a second. More screams from the crowd. The man begins to apologize for it: "It fell from a window; no it slipped on a bar of soap; no, it belonged to my grandfather", all the while referring to the body as "it". Other demonstrators join one side or the other. A woman says: "At least your bodies are out in the open, all these other people in line going to South Africa are concealing their dead bodies."

At exactly that moment, another

tourist-like demonstrator reaches the front of the baggage line. She opens her bag and removes a pillow upon which she'd embroidered "Smash Apartheid", which she tears open and out spill a pile of bones shackled together and thousands of feathers. By now, it is impossible to distinguish between actual passengers and protesters pretending to be en route South Africa. As one group is dumping figures of tiny Black babies on the floor, another is unfolding a banner revealing an Uncle Sam shaking a Nazi South African hand, with the slogan "Partners in Racism".

"Our point", said one white South African demonstrator, "is to make flying on South African Airways - which is owned by the apartheid government - as uncomfortable as possible, to confront those whites about the role they are playing, and to not let people get away with the easy-way-out answers, such as "I'm against apart-

heid", while still living off their white privileges; to make South African Airways pay a material price by delaying their timetable and passenger check-in; to begin acting on alternatives that directly affect business as usual."

After an hour, the anti-apartheid activists simply walked out of the terminal, to the amazement of all -- including themselves -- without any arrests. (Although some demonstrators reported seeing airport agents taking down their license plate numbers and photographing them from the balcony.)

For more information on anti-apartheid direct actions, and to become involved in them, contact
Brooklynites Against Apartheid
Box 400790, Brooklyn NY 11240

Mitchel Cohen
Red Balloon Collective &
Brooklynites Against Apartheid



Resistance At The Nevada Test Site

Imagine -- living in a recreational vehicle a half mile from America's nuclear test site, whose entrance is marked by a cattleguard crossing--one week. With seven people from Texas, meditating, forming community, awesome landscape that masks death, walking among the cactus, wondering if that beauty is radioactive. Feeling the ground shake because my first day coincided with a test. Breaking into a cold, numb sweat because of what I can't see. Questioning the direction of the winds.

Bannered at 7 a.m. to hundreds of buses that carry workers to high-paying jobs. What are they feeling? A familiar cop takes my picture and I know it's for his scrapbook, waving, making friends with site security. Placing crystals, beads, desert flowers in a permanent peace garden, sleeping under a full moon on the test site. Private witness.

Snuggling around a fire planning civil disobedience. Bearing witness at the cattleguard crossing, our line of demarcation. Joining hands and watching the police on the other side, trespassing on ancient Indian land now bought and raped by my tax dollars. Walking past authority, knowing a test can be stopped by civilians on the land. Aware of being unnoticed as the cops arrest my friends, walking. Excited powerful feeling of finding and confronting the bomb.

Handcuffed. Bussed 60 miles to Beatty, booked. While having coffee, listening to local gossip--I share the same birthday with my arresting officer. Arraigned by a Justice of the Peace. No media, no public awareness. Peacekeeping is buried news but the local bordello makes headlines. Jail. My vegetarian diet is respected but Mother Earth is not.

In January 1986 the American Peace Test was formed when the national Freeze convention voted not to endorse civil disobedience. Founding participants included members of LAG, Pledge of Resistance, Ground Zero, Freeze, and Red River peace Network (organizers at Pantex) as well as peace activists across the country.

A national non-violent c.d. action will take place on June 2 at the Nevada Test Site. I urge members of the Bay Area peace and justice and religious community to form a caravan to represent Northern California voices against nuclear testing.

The Nevada events start with a day of legal demonstration (Sat. May 31) leading to a nonviolence training and community building (Sun. June 1) and culminating in a day of civil disobedience (June 2).

There will be a commissioning service on May 30 at Martin Luther King, Jr. Park. Any questions, call 526-6989 --by Esther Freeman

Protest Meets Surveillance in Ann Arbor

In October students at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor shouted down George Bush at a public lecture and embarrassed him into a hasty departure from a reception later. Several weeks

later, when the Today show was filming on campus, police used force to remove banners and demonstrators calling attention to the media black-out on the bombing of El Salvador. Next, 26 students were violently and unexpectedly arrested during a legal demonstration against CIA recruitment. Five of those arrested were acquitted, while the remaining 21 had hung juries and are being retried. Their action was a success, however, as the CIA cancelled its next appearance at UM.

In the midst of these antics, Livermore Lab thought it could recruit on campus unnoticed on March 7. Students learned of their plans, however, and scheduled a protest of the lab's role in Star Wars research. The lab suddenly announced they were not coming, so the demonstration was cancelled. On March 5, the students learned the interviews would proceed, in a different (and more remote) location than first announced.

A local paper reported, "Ann Arbor police and University of Michigan security officer - equipped with hardhats, video equipment and cameras, and radios - were out in force on Friday afternoon to control a small group of student protesters who initially forgot their protest signs...."

With ... their ranks depleted the seven remaining protesters left for Central Campus on a UM Bus...planning to go home. However, a police car followed their bus all the way to Central Campus, then drove up onto the Diag, watching their progress across campus and into classroom buildings."

Six of them decided to go complain to University President Harold Shapiro about the surveillance. Police followed them to Shapiro's office. The other woman "who did not want to go to Shapiro's office, went up the 4th Floor Senate Advisory Committee on University Affairs, riding on the elevator with two police officers who left when they discovered she was there to chat with friends...."

"[City] Councilman [Lowell] Peterson...said, 'I might have to send a copy of the First Amendment to the police department to see if they haven't read it lately.'"

Protest in Ann Arbor seems unlikely to subside, regardless of police harassment. During the four days prior to the House vote on contra aid, 118 people were arrested in the Ann Arbor office of their Congressman, Carl Pursell.

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Bombing El Salvadoran Citizens
Aiding and Abetting Apartheid
Mining Nicaraguan Harbors
Shelling Beirut
Escalating the Nuclear Arms Race
Training and Funding Contra Terrorists

WANTED
FOR
STATE TERRORISM

BLACK ON WHITE

EVER CONSIDER A CAREER
IN MURDER, TORTURE, RAPE,
AND THE OVERTHROW OF
SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENTS?

THE CIA WANTS YOU!

RED ON IVORY

SEND \$8.00 TO L.A.S.C.
4120 MICHIGAN UNION, ANN ARBOR, MI 48109
(Proceeds support the Latin American Solidarity Committee)



62 Arrested Good Friday at Livermore

after an ecumenical service and a seed-planting ceremony involving 500 protesters, 50 adults and 12 kids were arrested in a colorful demonstration.

Long Live The Great Peace March

PRO PEACE is an acronym for People Reaching Out for Peace. At once it positively identifies the march as for peace rather than anti-war or anti-nuclear; and it connotes that this peace organization would be managed by professionals.

Over 1000 marchers signed on despite scepticism over the lack of a grassroots basis for organization. They decided to "temporarily suspend" their disbelief in order to be part of what promised to be the largest and best orchestrated march for nuclear disarmament.

The marchers were only halfway across California when the organization had folded.

This correspondent arrived at the march's high Mojave campsite eight miles south of Barstow, shortly after the announcement that PRO PEACE was greatly in debt and "going out of business." The report of PRO PEACE's demise indicated that a day of intense fundraising had grossed only \$25,000 of the needed \$100,000 while PRO PEACE had left a string of debts from its Orange County office to the high Mojave desert.

Marchers complained that the grandiose proportions and goals of the march and the reports of major financial backing from elite sources gave them the feeling that "big business types" knew how much money was needed and knew how and where to get it. This gave a disincentive for the marchers to seek adequate financial support and for people and organizations of the grassroots to give it.

Looking around the campsite, one wondered if all the snazzy new equipment was necessary. Wouldn't used school buses do for shuttles instead of the new 10-door Chevy Emerald Cruisers? The four huge tents that

served as town halls were nice and presumably light weight, but on a march in which even the marchers' tents were trucked, something less high tech would have functioned. Clearly the professionals made costly mistakes.

As of the Ides of March all of the equipment was subject to be repossessed, including the showers, kitchen and library on wheels. David Mixner, founder of PRO PEACE, political consultant and advertising executive, was not giving up. He helped to set up a new non-profit corporation, the Great Peace March, Inc. which would allow money to be given for the march to pay for food and water rather than PRO PEACE's old debts.

Mixner and others involved in central planning have proposed that hundreds of marchers shuttle to Las Vegas and begin fundraising to enable the march to be re-equipped. There is said to be unlimited housing and much support for the march in Las Vegas. Approximately 200 marchers would trek through the most forbidding parts of the Mojave desert. The whole group would then rally and continue along the route originally planned.

Those who were drawn to the march by promises of daily showers and regular laundry service, goals not attained in the PRO PEACE fortnight, have read the handwriting on the wall and are fleeing to the comforts of home. A majority are motivated to continue but divided and unsure as to how.

Some accept Mixner's proposal, supporting the idea of sticking together and routing through the cities that expect the march. Others have grown critical of the central plan-

ning and support systems of the march. They argue that autonomous "tribes" of 12 to 20 marchers and one support vehicle are all that is needed for a group to walk cross country.

Some favor walking different routes. Many believe that crossing the Rockies would require the degree of support envisioned in the PRO PEACE plan. And, significantly, a contingent plans to visit Big Mountain.

All agree that the march needs to raise money and support from the grassroots in order to succeed.

A final word about process: The march was organized into neighborhoods, villages and towns with facilitators chosen from small groups serving as representatives in larger groups. The most powerful body on the march is the policy committee which is made up of four former PRO PEACE staffers and four marchers. This committee was given the power to make all decisions except to remove someone from the march.

Some marchers criticize themselves for giving up so many rights and responsibilities. Part of the appeal of the march they say was its clear organization. "I came on this march in order to do something for disarmament, but not to think."

Another marcher summed up the feelings of many. "I'm glad PRO PEACE is out of the picture. It does away with the illusion that somebody else can take care of the march. As we all must work for peace, we all must work to make it cross-country in health and harmony."

Contributions can be made by calling the Great Peace March office in LA at 213-653-6245.

--Charlie Brenner



Labor: On the Line

Introduction

For nearly a year our collective, the Direct Action Publishing collective, has been struggling with the need to begin printing more detailed discussions of the economic forces and political battles shaping U.S. militarism. We have found our greatest barrier to be our own socially taught fears of incompetence in discussions of economic issues. Dissatisfied with remaining at the level of cataloguing corporate profiteers from militarism, we have drawn up countless plans of increasing grandeur, only to see nothing survive to print.

What we have finally created has been inspired by the strong labor actions of recent months: the militant strikes of the Oakland teachers union, the Hormel meatpackers, and the Watsonville cannery workers. We hope that what we have finally produced is something more than strike news with a Direct Action flavor, even if it is less than the movements opening salvo for an economic strategy.

We have tried to place these strikes in both a local and global context. Locally, Berkeley labor activists are organizing around the formation of a Berkeley city Labor commission. By networking with labor unions and forming a public support network, they hope to involve both workers and the public with commission activities. We also interview members of local unions and worker owned collectives about their work experiences. How do collective and union members feel about their organizations, and about the relationship between trade union movements and collective movements.

The past year's efforts to produce these pages was helped along by a collective reading and discussion of two articles, reviewed below. "The Political Economy of Late Imperial America" and "Reagan's Magical Mystery Tour" were written by Mike Davis over the year encompassing the re-election of Ronald Reagan. (The articles were published in the British journal *New Left Review*, volumes 143 and 149, in Jan./Feb. of 1984 and 1985, respectively. Interested people who have trouble finding copies of these articles can send your name, address and \$2.50 for xerox copies, to Direct Action, attn: Allen Josephson.) These articles represent an ambitious attempt to chart the changes in the American economy and political power structure since W.W. II, which have culminated in the coming to power of "Reaganism", the movement.

Our original fears about how to launch a non-rhetorical discussion of economics are still here. If anything, we have learned that knowledge alone is not power. In an ebb time of practical political work, becoming clearer about Reaganism's continuing political and economic base eliminates any illusions about the immediate prospects for our movements, without necessarily giving us any guideposts to the future. Somewhat shakily, we still are convinced that without more discussion of the tremendous economic and political changes going on beyond our daily view, all talk of non-hierarchical societies and collectives, or economic conversion and demilitarization, will rest on sand.

Cram Your Spam, Please



Historically, meat-packers have had one of the strongest unions in the food service industry. But industry conglomerates are trying to change this. It started when Greyhound sold its Armour foods subsidiary to Conagra. Before the sale Greyhound closed 13 plants, firing all the workers. Days after the sale was completed, Conagra reopened the plants with non-union workers, cutting wages to \$6 an hour. The drive to bust the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) was on.

This was the opening salvo in the war to reverse 50 years of union struggles, to change meat packing back into a low-wage non-union industry. But when Hormel corporation, one of the most profitable meat-packing companies in the U.S., tried to institute its own union busting tactics, UFCW Local P-9 of Austin, Minnesota fought back. 1500 members of Local P-9 have been engaged in one of the most bitter strikes of recent years, since August 17, 1985.

Hormel is Austin's only industry. The Austin plant is Hormel's most modern plant. It was built with \$20 million dollars of union money. This money was loaned at concessionary interest rates of 6%, in 1978 (you remember how much the banks were making on interest back then). In addition, the workers of P-9 signed an 8 year no strike pledge. By 1983, Hormel hired a union busting law firm, to prepare for expiration of the no strike contract. In 1985, the union hired Ray Rogers of Corporate Campaign, to advise them on the type of community support organizing that had proved vital to union campaigns such as the farm workers and the J.P. Stevens textile workers.

In 1985, Hormel terminated the contract, unilaterally slashing wages by 23%. Hormel instituted a union busting strategy of demanding concessions on all fronts and refusing to negotiate. Local P-9 went out on strike.

In January 1986, Hormel began hiring scab labor to replace the striking workers. Only 34 of the 1500 members of P-9 went back to work. When the workers blockaded the gates to keep out the scabs, Hormel closed down the plant. After a few days negotiating with the city government, on Jan. 21 Hormel and the city called in the Minnesota National Guard.

1200 National Guardsmen sealed off all approaches to the plant. To get off the freeway exit to the plant, you needed a company pass. Picketters trying to reach the plant were harassed, driven off the road and arrested.

P-9 responded by instituting roving pickets at other Hormel plants. When P-9 pickets appeared

at the second largest Hormel factory, in Ottumwa, Iowa, most of the 800 workers refused to cross the lines. Days later, 400 of these workers were fired. Other shut downs have occurred at Dallas, Texas and Fremont, Nebraska.

Meat-packing is one of the most dangerous jobs in America. On average, 33 out of every 100 meatpackers are injured at work every year. For Hormel, this average is 202 for every 100 workers per year. This is due to the speed up and crowded conditions at Hormel's "modern" Austin plant.

Hormel is demanding total control over the work force. They want an end to seniority protection, more cutbacks in medical benefits, and total control over firing workers. They want to institute a two tier wage system, where new workers are paid lower wages, in order to permanently lower wages. Meanwhile, Hormel executives such as Chairman Knowlton are getting 30-50% wage increases. These take backs are to maintain and expand Hormel's 84% increase in profits over the last year. For Hormel, even union offers to tie future wages to the profitability of the company are not enough.

Local P-9 members have responded with blockades at the gates of Hormel corporate headquarters, which have resulted in mass arrests. Union rank and file are touring the country, raising support from union locals. Hundreds of union rank and file and local leaders have turned up at meetings such as at the San Francisco SEIU headquarters, to support P-9, Watsonville cannery workers and the TWA flight attendants.

Local P-9 is facing an uphill battle. The rank and file are one of the first locals to challenge the trend of union-busting and give backs. In the face of successful union-busting campaigns, the UFCW national has been afraid of the consequences to the workers in the entire industry, of losing this strike. The national support for this strike was never strong; recently the national UFCW has withdrawn its official sanction of the strike. This removes the last formal legal protection Hormel workers at other plants had if they refused to cross Local P-9 roving picket lines.

But P-9 is still strong. Over 1000 workers are still out on strike. Rank and file strike meetings still draw 800 people. The local support group maintains 500-1000 members.

This strike is critical. The struggle to reverse the union concessions and union busting trends of the past years is key to a renewed union movement. But the issues raised by this strike also include ones of union democracy - the right of union locals to determine strategy without being undercut by the national leadership. The strike also raises issues of union-community relationships, of how unions will learn to build strike support in local communities around the nation. The strike also is one which raises issues of re-building union solidarity, through the use of roving picket lines to shut down other plants, and the appeals for national rank and file support.

There are many ways we can support Local P-9. We can write Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich (State Capitol, St. Paul Minnesota, 55155). Protest Hormel's lies about worker violence. Tell him that the real violence comes from Hormel's efforts to destroy the union. Protest the return of the National Guard to its historical role as strike breakers.

Local P-9 has set up an Adopt a P-9 family fund. National union support for this fund is keeping morale up and supporting families on strike. You can contribute to this fund, and find out more about the strike, by writing to Local P-9 at:

UFCW Local P-9
316 NE 4th Ave.
Austin, MN 55912

--by Allen Josephson



Minority Women at Watsonville

Six Months And Still Striking

International Working Women's Day was celebrated in Watsonville by a program of music, dance, and mime, sponsored by the Women Strikers from Teamsters Local 912 and the Northern California Watsonville Strike Support Committee (NCWSSC). Statements of solidarity with the Watsonville cannery workers' strike brought the audience to their feet cheering and clapping, especially when the power of the Mexicana and Chicana women in the strike was pointed out. After the program I asked Shiree Teng, a representative from NCWSSC, to talk to me about the strike from the point of view of minority women workers. What follows is a condensed version of that conversation.

Organizing

On September 9, when the 1,750 cannery workers-80% of whom are women-walked out on strike against Watsonville Canning Co. and Richard Shaw Frozen Foods, both companies were demanding wage cuts, benefit reductions, the weakening of grievance procedures, and other contract concessions. At that time the cannery workers union, Teamsters Local 912, was run by Richard King; it had no women on staff, and was not actively fighting for the strikers. Even though the strikers had no support in town, both union officials and

many of the strikers' husbands discouraged them from seeking support outside of Watsonville. The women were told to "stay put", that "everything will be all right."

In spite of that, a meeting was set up in San Francisco, initiated by the Cannery Workers Project, to which labor, Latino, student & progressive community groups were invited. Among the groups represented were the Garment Workers Union, the Postal Workers Union, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, the Coalition for Labor Union Women, the Committee for Health Rights in Central America, the Committee for Nicaragua, the Committee to Defend Refugee Rights and MECHA, the Chicano students organization. About 80 people showed up, the majority of whom were Latino and Asian women.

Out of that meeting the NCWSSC was formed. The strike was seen as an important strike for women workers for three kinds of reasons: 1) Union issues: The strike rejected the trend toward take-back concessions, wage cuts (from \$6.66 and hour to \$4.75 for production line workers), benefit reductions, and weekend work without overtime pay. It also presented strong opposition to work speed up, in this case, trimming 20 heads of broccoli per minute instead of 15. Trimming is cutting the head to a

continued on page 17

Victory For Oakland Teachers—And Parents

On January 6, 1986, members of the Oakland Education Association (OEA) left the classrooms and took to the streets. Within two days, over 90% of the 3500 teachers were striking while nearly as high a proportion of the 51,000 students were staying home. After 4 weeks of picketing, demonstrating, occupying buildings, and supporting alternate schools, the teachers returned to work, having won most of their demands.

The final contract language was important, but the real impact of this conflict must be seen in the context of a nation-wide critical focus on education, as well as a disastrous pattern of concessions by unions in an attempt to 'save' job security. Further, the tactics of the striking teachers and a developing strategy of solidarity and mass action are important for other teachers' struggles and for unions in general.

To gain perspective on the strike, one must go back to January, 1985 when the OEA submitted contract proposals to the Oakland Unified School District (OUSD). These centered around an increase in pay, restoration of the annuity (pension fund), and better conditions in the schools, including smaller class size. The District replied with a proposal for virtually no pay increase, a 'cap' (freeze) on benefits (meaning that teachers would have to pay increased costs in medical coverage), a two-tier retirement fund, new forms of bureaucratic harassment, forced transfer of teachers in the Child Development Centers (CDC) and no improvement for substitute teachers.

The negotiations were stalled almost from the start as the District used the excuses of a decertification vote faced by the OEA and an election of new Board of Education members to prevent any agreement or even progress. The delay seemed to hurt the teachers' strength, especially after we returned to work with no contract in September and allowed one threatened strike deadline to pass in October. Finally, we hoped a state mediator would convince the District, but his proposals, written in December, were ignored.

When the teachers gathered on January 5 of this year for a strike vote, there was real concern in the ranks about the level of preparation and support in the community. There had been little visibility in the



Courtesy OEA

union's efforts to publicize the issues at stake, despite some community leafletting in the fall.

The School Board seemed to presume that teachers would not walk out, despite brief strikes occurring before the last two contracts (in 1983 and 1979). But the Board underestimated the resolve of the teachers. Every OEA member realized that Oakland teachers' pay ranked at the bottom of the 20 largest school districts in the state. In line with this, the public had been told by the Guthrie Report (a study actually commissioned by the District, costing half a million dollars) of something they sensed all along - that the OUSD was mismanaged, overly bureaucratic, providing poor results, and leading to a high drop-out rate. It recommended that teacher salaries be improved and administrative expenditures reduced. In fact, while having the poorest teacher-student ratio in the state, Oakland had the highest ratio of administrators to students of any major school district.

When the strike was announced, parents were quick to respond. Beyond keeping their children out of school, parents (along with some elementary school teachers) organized "freedom schools", gave critical testimony at Board meetings, picketed in support of teachers at the Airport Hilton where negotiations were occurring, and organized a parent-student rally at Laney College in the last week of the strike. While there was one 'neutral' (pro-

Board) parents' group, most community organizations like the North Oakland Parents Association and the Oakland Progressive Political Alliance were supporting the OEA positions, to a large extent because they realized that a setback for the teachers would condemn Oakland to worsening educational system, preventing the recruitment of good teachers and demoralizing the already overburdened instructional staff.

Teachers and community were united in frustration with the city government. During the strike, it was revealed that the City Council was considering a loan of \$15 million to the Oakland A's baseball team (owned by the Levi-Strauss family). In addition, a secret \$30 million slush fund was uncovered, primarily aimed at purchasing the Los Angeles Raiders football team. Meanwhile, a request to loan the School District \$5 million to settle the strike was rejected by the Council. Anger grew over the priorities of city politicians and the Board members.

The union responded with demonstrations at city hall as well as at weekly Board meetings. After the Board met on January 22, about 75 teachers sat in at the administration building and stayed there till the next Friday when over 800 angry OEA members occupied the offices at the "white monstrosity" on 2nd Ave. The next Monday the District offices were 'defended' by School District and Oakland police leading to a siege by teachers, during which there was one arrest and several shoving matches.

Despite this level of militancy, the union leadership and strike team

leader Tonia Pleasanton did not try to further rank-and-file participation in planning and organizing the strike. Nonetheless, the on-going picketing of school sites and Board members' homes, the militant mass actions, the rallies and vigils all created an activist approach to the strike. In turn, teacher-activists realized that they must appeal to other school workers (classified, janitorial, instructional assistants) in AFL unions, as well as to all working people, to improve life in Oakland.

The final agreement was ratified overwhelmingly at a mass meeting on Friday, January 31, after some intervention by State Education Commissioner Bowick (earlier mediation by Mayor Lionel Wilson had proved futile). The union won a 20% salary raise over three years (plus an adjustment at the end to place salaries at the average of the 20 largest districts), annuity for all teachers hired by the District since 1983, no cap on benefits, an immediate 30% raise for substitutes, and no 'escape' clause which the District had earlier demanded; we lost on CDC teachers and class size. But beyond dollars and cents, teachers won respect and resisted the concessions all too common throughout the country.

We also learned the importance of grassroots organizing and cooperation in union struggles. Teachers are continuing on-site activity (some effort at school senates, more union gatherings, strengthened grievance actions, new rank-and-file groupings, etc.) ongoing efforts at union solidarity (a committee was established to correct the weakness in co-operation with other school district employees, and support is being created for the Hormel strikers) and greater co-operation with community groups (there is an ongoing campaign initiated during the strike to recall the Board members). Lastly, there needs to be a strengthening of the parent-teacher alliance, both for the vitalization of the union and the good of the students. Teachers acknowledged our debt, when during the ratification meeting, Connie Peoples, president of the OEA, suggested a vote of thanks to the mayor. Teachers booed her down, instead responding with shouts of "PARENTS, PARENTS, PARENTS."

--by Bill Balderston
rep council member, OEA



Photo by Ron Riesterer, TRIBUNE, Oakland

BIO-RAD: An Outlaw Company

Last October 30, Local 6 members at Bio-Rad in Richmond were forced to strike for a new contract. Issues included the employer's demand for a three-tier wage structure, and employee payments for health and welfare.

On November 22, members voted to return to work under that contract, with the company's addition of a form of agency shop and other restrictive provisions. We had put up a good fight; now we were returning to work to rebuild so that we could fight again another day.

Bio-Rad began to renege on our agreements. They have declared that we do not have a contract. Stewards and other Union officials are not recognized and grievances are not being dealt with. However, some portions of the new contract - like employee payments for health and welfare and lower wages for new hires - have been put into effect.

The company - advised by the law firm of Littler, Mendelson, Fastiff, & Tichy - has a reign of terror and intimidation in effect. Employees are being called in one at a time and held up to one and two hours with both threats and promises to get them to resign from their union. A majority are holding fast despite the brutal pressures.

One supervisor made it clear that Bio-Rad "is dead serious" on going non-union, despite whatever the law or the N.L.R.B. says. Bio-Rad President David Schwartz made it clear what his program is at a February 10 captive audience meeting:

"There is no contract." He also stated that most employees faced a 10 year wage freeze, despite high company profits.

Bio-Rad has placed itself above the law, and is truly an outlaw company. The company has called in the Richmond police to force Local 6 business agents off the premises, despite our contractual right of access.

Local 6 wants just one thing -- for the company to live up to the contract it agreed to and the commitments it made, and to end their union-busting campaign of threats and intimidations

We ask your help by communicating to Bio-Rad that outlaw corporations will not be tolerated in the Bay Area. Tell them: sign the contract!

We ask your help in maintaining the morale of union members facing daily harassment on the job. A message of support, c/o the Local 6 office will help.

Bio-Rad's address is:

Bio-Rad Laboratories
220 Wright Ave.
Richmond, Ca 94804
Att'n: David Schwartz, President

Local 6's office is:

ILWU Local 6
255 Ninth St.
San Francisco, CA 94103

Unions And Collectives:

We interviewed a number of people in and connected with the direct action community who are members of labor unions, or collective businesses, or both. The interviews were designed to elicit a sense of how unions and collectives view and affect each other, the differences and similarities between the two forms of organizing. These interviews were not designed to represent all union workers or all collectives. We welcome responses or additional comments in the next issue of DA.



Rich Cosby has been a member of SEIU Painter's Local 4 for 9 years. He was never active in the union. Rich is also an active member of the Pledge of Resistance and the Affinity Group Organizing Committee.

DA: How much contact is there between different groups of workers?
RC: Very little. The construction industry atomizes people; you're not in one place, and on the job you're working all the time. You get very little opportunity to talk about union business - who to vote for, things like that - even with the people you work with.

DA: What was the union experience like for you?
RC: It was pretty alienating. I did want to be involved at first. It was a lot of older white men making the decisions. They have experience in the trades and don't want to slow down to explain the process to newer people. Unions don't take care of people, although some, like SEIU 250 (Hospital Workers) and the Muni drivers, seem to be better about that. I'm really impressed with the energy and spirit of those unions, many of which are led by women. Public sector unions like Local 250 provide much more sharing and caring. They really get people involved in the struggle. That's the first step toward collectivizing.

DA: What function does the union serve for most painters?
RC: It's really a strictly economic one. This particular union doesn't provide a social base for people, again because of the atomization of the trade.

Four years ago we struck for two weeks. I got to know people better on the picket line. There was a real feeling of solidarity. But it didn't carry over after the strike.

DA: Could collectives be a workable alternative for union painters?
RC: I think so. Trade unionism leads to a solidarity consciousness that a collective would thrive on. However, under current conditions, people don't perceive a need for that or any alternative because the union takes good care of us.

DA: Could the current Painters' Union be influenced in any way to work more collectively?
RC: It would take a really charismatic leader who was oriented that way. Everything in the union depends on leadership. It's quite different from a collective, in that respect.

CHARLIE is a Bay Area activist who has been involved with several collective businesses, notably, the Inner Sunset Community Food Store and the Mission Blue Cafe. The Inner Sunset Store is 10 years old. Charlie was a member of it for 4. The Mission Blue was a two-year experience from initial idea to sale. The original group was 12 people; at different times there were 10-15 people participating.

DA: Describe these two collectives briefly.
C: The Inner Sunset Store began with an all-volunteer membership. Originally you had to come to a certain number of meetings in order to have a vote. Later you only had to work a certain number of hours. Now there is paid staff, but it still pays "shit wages." The Mission Blue was a tighter collective, demanding a stronger commitment from its members. You had to work two shifts, come to meetings, and be approved by everyone to be a collective member. We said we were working on a "deferred wage" plan, but when we did sell out, we never paid any wages. What happened each month was that after we made the expenses, people would submit requests for how much money they needed. No one ever got more than \$200.

DA: So anyone who wanted to be involved in these collectives had to have another source of income.
C: Yes; that makes "affirmative action" an issue collectives really have to think about. On one hand, new collectives often can't afford to pay fair wages. On the other, you want to involve people who can't afford to choose poverty.

DA: What did you get out of being part of these collectives?
C: A feeling of empowerment and working with a group.

A collective can't really function with more than 12-15 people. I have basically a tribal vision for society. You have to have a level of trust in a collective, which is not possible in a group over a certain size. It's an emotional, not a rationalistic way of organizing.

DA: Do you think collectives are a viable alternative for social organization?
C: I do, but it depends what you think is necessary. Some technology is probably not possible in a collective society. But the question is whether the technology will dictate our social structure or we are going to choose technology based on whether it promotes the kind of society we want to have.



Inkworks print shop occupies a special place in our survey: the shop is collectively owned and operated, but the ten collective members also belong to the Graphic Communications International Union (AFL-CIO). Inkworks has done progressive movement printing for 12 years. I interviewed Lincoln Cushing, a collective member for the past five years; other workers also added their comments.

DA: What does it mean to you to be a collective shop?
LC: Although we're a collective, we don't see ourselves as part of the "collective movement". We're structured that way because it helps us direct the project politically. We do get asked to participate in the collective movement, but we don't see collectivity as an end in itself. We want to put more of our energy into working with class-conscious organizations representing broad forces of social change. We see ourselves as a resource for the progressive movement in which trade unions play an important part.

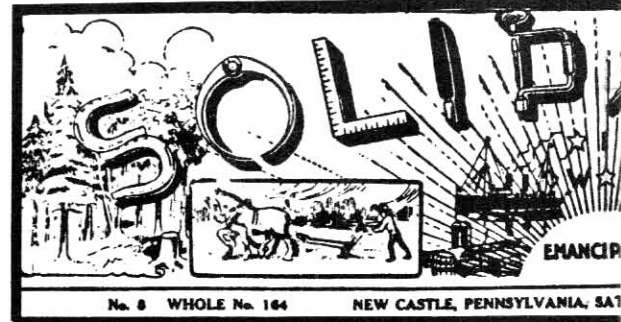
DA: How do you make decisions?
LC: Our decision-making is based on our goal of proving high-quality printing for social change groups. We have collective meetings about once a week. All major decisions are made by the whole group. Day-to-day, each worker makes practical decisions; there's also a chain of command. Ultimately, the production manager is responsible for production decisions. In case of disagreements, it goes to the collective meeting. Generally, decision-making goes pretty smoothly.

DA: And what does it mean to you to be a union shop?
LC: We see it as essential to our work to be a union shop, to promote the idea that it's important to support the trade unions. Unions are a big part of the work for social change. We'd like to broaden the participation in the union movement. We print material for rank-and-file groups such as the East Bay Municipal Utilities District, the ILWU, the Electrical Workers, TWA Flight Attendants, and the Service Employees, as well as supporting trade unions organizing around South Africa. For us, being a union shop means being closer to the progressive elements within the trade unions. As individuals committed to the trade, membership in the union has been quite important. We feel that

a union contract, with its guaranteed working conditions, wages, and benefits, is essential to providing the stable basis upon which the collective can grow and serve the movement over the long run.

Inkworks is set up as a non-profit corporation, and individuals cannot accumulate shares or any compensation other than wages. All profit goes into political donations and upgrading the shop. With commercial work, we make it a point not to undercut other union shops.

DA: What have been the major problems you've faced?
LC: The biggest ongoing problem we face is having to be businesspeople. This leads to a sort of identity crisis, juggling interests of political activist, businessperson, and individual. It is only by looking at the longterm process for social change, and our service to the organizations active in the movement, that our role becomes clearer.



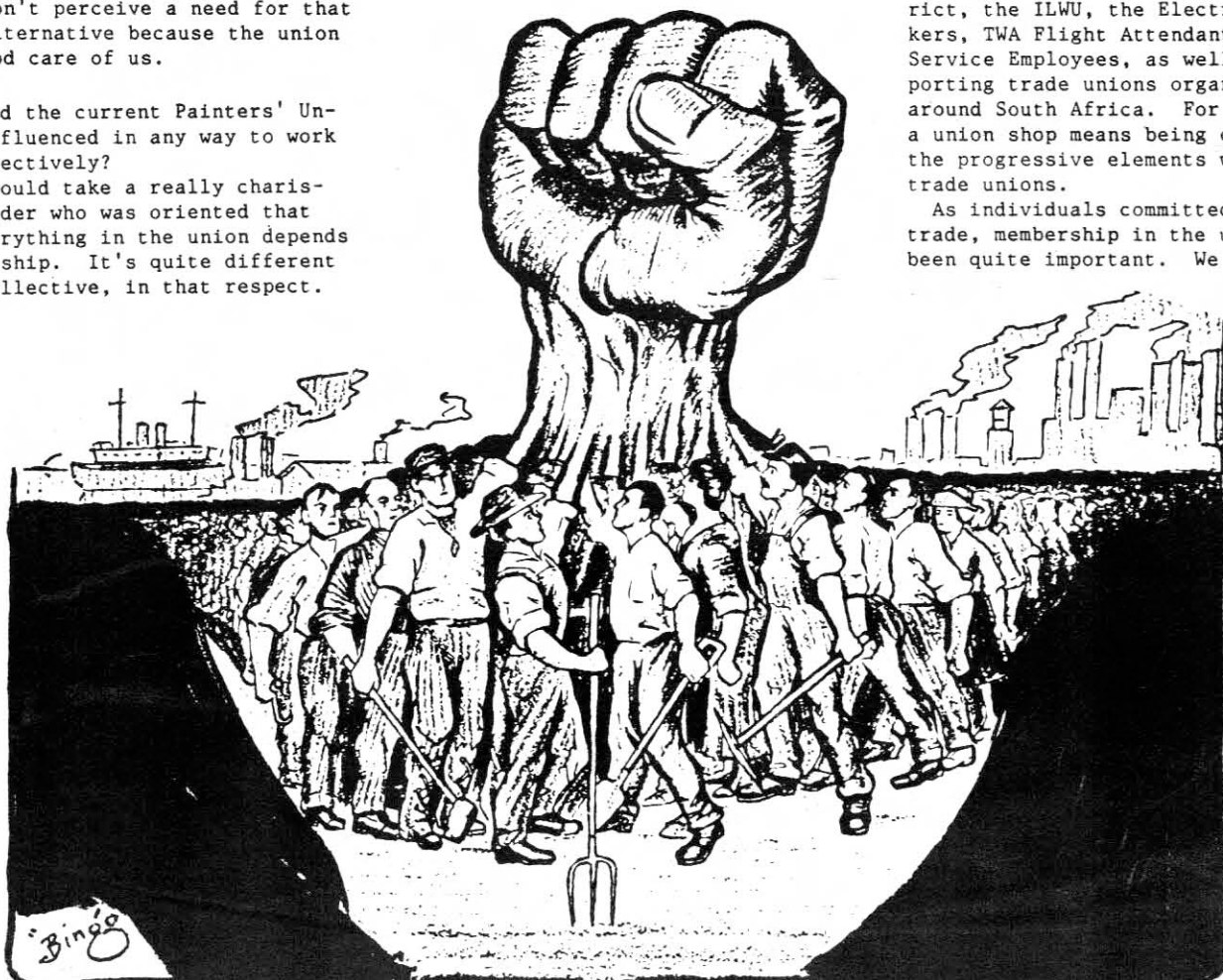
A WOMAN'S PLACE BOOKSTORE, at 41st and Broadway in Oakland, is 10 years old. The entire collective is new, however, as a result of a bitter split a couple years ago. There are now four members: two Third World women, two white women; two with children, two without; both heterosexual and lesbian women. The store has a women's art space as well as the events space which is used at least once a week. I talked mainly to Susan Tircuit and a little to Uzuri Amini.

DA: I know a little about the split which ended in the formation of Mama Bears and the restructuring of this collective. Who owns A WOMAN'S Place now? How has the store changed since the arbitration?
ST: The store is collectively owned. None of the current members has a financial investment in the store. We have a good benefits package and a flat salary based on 36 hours a week; we all work more though. Women with children get an additional stipend. We still have women-only events, but we encourage men to come into the store. A lot of men are afraid to, because of the way it was before.

DA: Is being a collective a big part of the store's identity?
UA: It's more important to me to be a women's store. I guess some women may be drawn in because we're a collective, but I don't think about it much.
ST: We are trying to put out collectivism as part of our vision. But the main thing we are interested in is being a place for women.

DA: What problems do you have as a collective?
ST: We have problems with priorities, because everyone thinks what she's doing is most important. We try to rotate most jobs to combat that. We're having a lot of competition, both from Mama Bears and the commercial bookstores in this area. We have a lot of titles no one else has. We have a large Third World section, a men's section, a gay men's section, and of course the art space and events. A lot of women still don't know we're here.

DA: Are you connected with other collectives? With people in labor unions?
ST: We have friends in other collectives: the Cheeseboard, the Juice Bar, Nabolom. We do get the Collective Networker, but we don't go to intercollective meetings, though we've been thinking about it. I don't really know anyone in a union, and I don't think the others do. We do use a union printer, Inkworks; we made a conscious decision to use them because they are a collective shop [sic].



Struggling For Life

IF YOU live in San Francisco and ride the 1 California, you're probably had an anarchist bus driver and didn't know it. LARRY BROWN has been a part-time Muni driver and member of Transport Workers' Union Local 250A for five years. He is also a member of Communist Dupes Affinity Group.

LB: I guess I'm know as kind of a trouble-maker by both management and union leadership. My only spurt of activity with the union was a couple of years ago when I organized the part-time drivers to get certain benefits. The union leadership had made sweetheart deals with the management and then tried to deflect the drivers' hostility onto part-time drivers. I started talking to the other part-time drivers and we went to the union with our concerns. They ignored us, so we went to management and eventually won almost everything we were asking for.

things no one wants to take responsibility for; then they don't get done. The collective process is more important to me than getting them done. BC: A collective may be "managed oppression" in the context of an individualistic economy. It's better even if it's not freedom.

DA: Is collectivization a social ideal for you?
BC: Self-determination, not collectivization per se, is the goal. Collectives offer one option for that, but I think there are others. I think collectives offer a great opportunity for people to cooperate, form unity with diversity, and be more creative.

DA: What was involved in your decision not to be a union shop?
BC: We didn't really decide; the unions decided. Our intention as a worker-controlled organization has always been to have solidarity with other workers. A collective can be isolated, and fall into the small-business trap.
JM: We want to be part of the union; it would bring us more work and we don't want to underbid our "brothers." It would mean paying higher benefits and we can't afford that yet. We don't have the kind of customers who can pay that high. You have to struggle with customers to make them see that it's worth it.

DA: In general, how do you feel about unions?
BC: A union shop is better than a non-union one, and a collective in general is better than a union shop. Some of the more radical unions talk about the same things as collectives do.
JM: Unions and collectives are part of the same idea or worker control. Unions stop short of actually taking control. When workers seize the means of production, you have to start seeing the conflicts between yourselves and working on those. I will push that ideal within the union.
BC: The dilemma of work is how to organize to meet people's survival needs and their creative ones. The union movement has come a long way towards more than meeting the survival need; but what about creativity?
DA: What problems do you have as a collective?
JM: Many of us want a boss, we want to fuck over our bosses, not our friends. We're too negative, not focused on the positive project. This is more of a model for when people do get ready. But collectives are getting stronger, because people are tired of being so negative.



KATHY LABRIOLA is a Licensed Vocational Nurse and has been a member of SEIU Hospital Workers' Local 250 for ten years. Local 250 has 30,000 members in 14 counties around the state, who are Nurses' Aids, laundry workers, LVNs, etc., but not Registered Nurses, who have a separate bargaining association. Kathy is now a trustee of the union and thereby sits on the Executive Board. She worked in the Berkeley Free Clinic for many years.



Peter Brueghel the Elder

DA: Is the union a political and/or social base for you?
KL: It's my primary political home now, but it was not for years, when I was working in the Free Clinic and other groups. In our union we have a South Africa Committee, an AIDS Committee, etc. I can do everything I want to do in that context.
I have a very tight circle of friends, some in my union and some not. Within our progressive caucus in the union there's a very close feeling of community. We are mostly women who have worked together for years. We've been there for each other through the divorces, pregnancies, and on the picket lines too. On the other hand, I'm very out-of-the-closet about my lifestyle, my politics, my bi-sexuality. For some of the straighter people in the union that's alienating.
DA: Do you work very much with people from other areas of hospital work?
KL: Much more so in the union than in the hospital, sadly. In the hospital there's both a conscious divide and conquer mentality, to interfere with organizing, and a very hierarchical, legalistic approach to efficiency. Legally, the RNs have to be separately organized, because they're considered more "professional", they have BA's.

DA: Do most union members see the union as a political as well as an economic commitment?
KL: It is fundamentally a political commitment, in that we are working-class, most of us raised in that class, and we aren't upwardly mobile. We want to promote the working-class influence in society. We want to control society. We know capitalism is fucked-up and a revolution is necessary to change it. The union is a place to start.

DA: Are there problems working within the union?
KL: The process is not as democratic as in collectives. It's more centralist; I'm more of an anarchist. The President and Secretary/Treasurer have a lot of power. They are both white men, while the membership is 2/3 Third World women. The little power women have now is the first we've ever had.
DA: Do you think the process will get more democratic?
KL: I hope so. Our unions are really in danger of being eradicated. The climate has changed so dramatically in the last five-six years. The rank-and-file is taking more control.

DA: Why did the climate change so drastically?
KL: In 1979-80 there were concessions and people thought that would be it. Things were hard, so they bought it. But then each year management has demanded more. The Hormel and Watonsville strikers are saying no to that and they are being destroyed to discourage future strikes. Their internationals are not even supporting them.

DA: Do you think collectives offer a feasible alternative for union workers?
KL: Yes. The union is a first step toward collectivization, toward the control which would enable us to change the organizations we work for. The economic system is what is not feasible. The Berkeley Free Clinic shows that a clinic can be run as a collective and deliver high-quality free health care to large numbers of people. It's not that big a jump to the Berkeley Free Hospital and Hospice and HMO.

DA: What are the major differences between union work and collective work?
KL: In a collective it's given that you are taking responsibility for the whole group. In a union it's class war. You're much less powerful, more vulnerable. The hospital management makes all the decisions about how to run the hospital. There's so much more potential for really doing things in a collective, because a few people don't have so much power as in a union. Sure, it can be cumbersome, but I think collectives are more efficient in the end.

The Cheeseboard was founded in 1967, and moved to its present location on Shattuck in North Berkeley in 1973. Originally a privately-owned small business, the store was collectivized in 1970-72, and now has 20 full-time workers. Friedel Gordon has been part of the collective since 1977.

DA: How do you co-ordinate your work? Is there a store manager?
FG: There is absolutely no store manager at all. Certain people are in charge of some managerial task for a long time--bookkeeping, or baking--but tasks like waiting on customers "out front" and cleaning are done by everyone, every day. There's one monthly meeting, which isn't enough, but people hate meetings.

DA: I remember there was a Cheeseboard affinity group called "Short Meetings", and later "No Meetings".
FG: Yes, at our meetings it's all business. We actually talk very little about cheese, it's things like whether to get a new floor, a financial report, financial worries, price changes, and maybe complaints. Every year we have a period where we think we are losing money, and we talk about that endlessly.

DA: What is your relationship to other collectives?
FG: As a collective, we don't have a very strong connection to other collectives; but individually, several members are interested in the Intercollective. However, we support collectives in material ways. In general society, many of the



DA: How did full-time drivers feel about your going to management?
LB: Most of them understood. A lot of full-time drivers started coming to our little committee. Ostensibly they came to express support, but our meetings were run more by consensus, with facilitation, etc., and they were much more congenial than the big union meetings.

DA: Would there be any potential for collectivization of bus drivers?
LB: Well, as I said, people liked the more collective form of organization. Practically, though, cooperation between drivers is even a radical idea. Drivers brag about "running sharp" - ahead of schedule, even though they know it means their "follower", the driver behind them, will probably lose his break. I pointed that out once to a guy who was behind me, and he yelled at me, "What are you, some kind of supervisor?"

DA: Could a big operation like Muni function as a worker-owned and operated collective?
LB: In the case of buses, it doesn't make much sense. It eliminates hassle to have the city take care of the buses; we just have to show up and drive. But there are some large worker-owned plants, and they do work. In the case of U.S. Steel, the workers bought one plant and hired managers. You can imagine how different it would be to have management accountable to workers for their jobs.

RED STAR/BLACK ROSE is a collectively owned and operated printshop on Foothill Blvd. in Oakland. The collective is 5 years old and now has 6 members. Its major customers are Catholic and other churches and charities, and some small social change groups. All members of the collective are paid the same wage. Ben Clark is the only remaining one of the founders of RS/BR. Jim Martin has been part of the collective for 3 years.

DA: What has being in the collective meant for you personally?
BC: It means autonomy and a better feeling about my work than when I was doing commercial work. I once printed something for Barry Goldwater, Jr. and that felt awful. Now we decide what jobs to take, and everyone has the right to refuse to work on a project they don't approve of.

DA: Does collectivization really make less skilled "shit work" more tolerable?
JM: Even boring work can be fun if you do it in the context of working toward an ideal. We are writers and poets, who print for a living. Some

Voodoo Economics After

The stock market posts new records daily, while the unemployment rate remains at the highest levels ever for an "economic recovery". Almost daily the Reagan administration points to another "indicator" of economic growth, but U.S. factories can't use more than 80% of their capacity. Unions make concessions to "maintain competitiveness", their money is invested in buying into the defense industry.

It is too easy to get lost in the maze of statistics used to clean up the daily atrocities of the feminization of poverty, the dismantling of affirmative action, the union-busting fever. The sum of all this is more than the parts; it is a real revolution in the American social contract, whose impacts we have barely begun to see.

The context of this revolution is described in two articles by Mike Davis published in the British journal *New Left Review*. "The Political Economy of Late Imperial America" was written a year before the 1984 elections; "Reagonomics' Magical Mystery Tour" followed a year later, in 1985. What these articles describe can be loosely summarized as the rise, fall and reconstruction of the post-W.W.II American domestic political system.

While the articles deal exclusively with the economic arena, and within that almost entirely with class relationships, they provide one of the clearest discussions of

eral major transformations of the American economy and politics.

After W.W.I the growing industrial sectors had cooperated in the "American Plan" to totally destroy that generation's union movements. However after W.W. II, the dominant corporations of American capitalism, the heavy industry which doubled in size during the war, was forced to make concessions, though remaining within the bounds of the growing profitability. American capitalism insured its post-war prosperity through the unprecedented "Fordist" combination of mass production and mass consumption. Mass consumption was made possible through the enormous expansion of high wage working class manufacturing jobs in auto, steel, electrical, construction and other basic industries. The possibilities of supporting such an economy were increased by the industrialization of previous peripheral areas of the economy - the transformation of mineral producing and agricultural areas in the South and West, into what we now call the "Sunbelt".

These policies gave wide sections of the American working class opportunities and living standards never before available to them (or any other working class for that matter.) For the first time semi-skilled and skilled industrial workers could afford the products they produced. What the workers gave up in return was any control over the introduction

only, in the sense of a socially viable system of relations between the dominated and the controlling. Hegemony in this sense included repression, such as McCarthyism, but also significant concessions determined by the balance of power between working class organizations, such as unions, and the capitalist class. In the factories this meant acceptance of managements' "rights" to control technology, job functions and the definition of profitability, in return for the right to bargain over the distribution of a portion of profit in the form of wages and benefits. In politics, it meant the acceptance of a subordinated role of unions within the Democratic party.

In this sense, hegemony included the creation of legitimacy for the system of domination, by incorporating the dominated into the system in a manner that insures continued profitability. In return for a very large real rise in the living standards of the white working class, capital protected what it most clearly needed - control of the work process and factory floor. Government programs injected huge amounts of credit into the economy, subsidizing both production (roads, mortgages, electrical power generation) and thereby consumption (autos, appliances, homes, education), creating a stable political balance for this system.

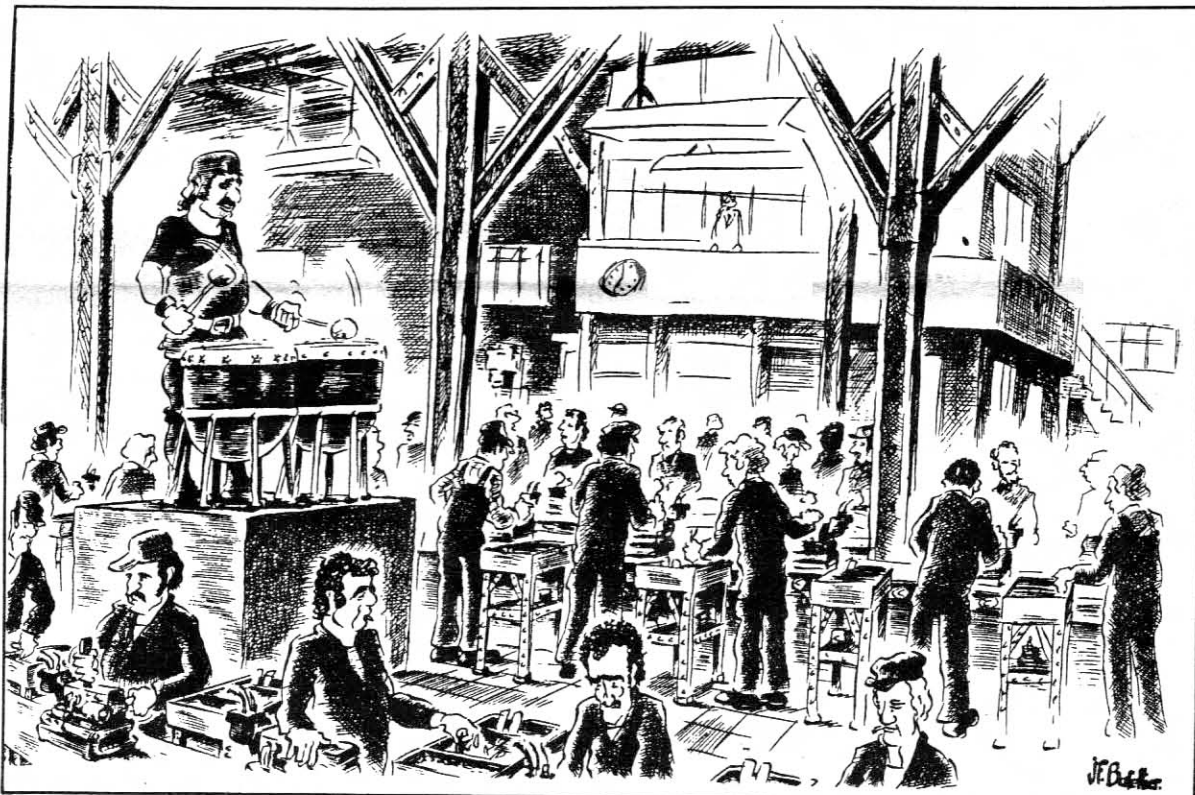
However, this option required, at a minimum, a level of union militancy equal to the original wave of CIO organizing. Beyond that, it required union solidarity with the rising movements of blacks and women. In the absence of a broad alliance of labor/women/black/poor people's movements, such an outcome was extremely unlikely. The major responsibility for this failure is rightly attributed by Davis to the conservative leadership of the AFL-CIO, which consistently supported American cold war politics, opposed the incorporation of the demands of blacks, hispanics and women into union programs, and generally neglected the work of organizing the non-union sectors of the economy.

By struggling mostly for the maintenance of the wages and benefits of currently unionized workers, the divisions between the organized and unorganized were allowed to grow. Maintenance of existing union contracts replaced struggle for programs, such as national health insurance, which would benefit and build the broad alliances needed. The struggle to maintain workers' wages in the face of inflation, in the absence of organizing among non-union workers, enhanced the divisions between workers protected and those unprotected from rising costs of living.

"Overconsumptionism": The New Prosperity?

With the anti-war and black movements crushed, and union movements declining in strength and opposed to strategic alliances with their only possible allies, different social groups and classes moved in to define the solution to the crises of the 70's. For Davis, the social alliances formed in the 70's, and coming to power under Reagan in the 80's, are based on the rise of "overconsumptionism". In the absence of groups organized for progressive solutions to these problems, the political space was created for a solution based upon an alliance of the corporations and the enriched middle class. A new model for attempting sustained growth was tried.

This "overconsumptionism" is not based upon the opulence of the "lives of the rich and famous", but refers to the move to an economy based upon the consumption needs of the growing class of managers, scientific and engineering personnel, and entrepreneurs. This class had expanded enormously with the growth of production, government and privatized services. The American economy has more positions relating to the management of labor (from shop floor supervisors to managers), the realization of profit (salesmen and advertising) and the organization of capital



the political and economic bases of "Reaganism", the movement.

It is a commonplace that America ended W.W.II as the economically and politically dominant world power. It is usually simply assumed that this was easily transformed into the prosperity and complacency of post war America. What is neglected is that the nature of post war America was up for grabs, that the ruling powers of this country faced a working class that had been at the height of its militancy before the war. The years after W.W. II saw a very quick return to that militancy, with a huge post-war strike wave.

This radicalism was contained partially through the repression we usually simplify as "McCarthyism". The threat of radical unionism was met by purges and repression, which insured that the leadership of the union movement would support the international policies of the American state. The radical threat of labor militancy was also controlled by the boundaries of its partial victories, in the reorganization of American society that Davis refers to as "Fordism". Though Fordism is most generally used to refer to the introduction of assembly line organization by Henry Ford, Davis uses Fordism with a broader economic and social meaning.

FORDISM

For Davis, Fordism contains sev-

of new technology, or the organization of the work place.

By maintaining control over the factory floor, the capitalist class could insure their profits through the introduction of new technology and the organization of the work place for the greatest efficiency. As a result worker productivity still rose much faster than wages. A social bargain could be struck: the recognition of unions and the right to strike was done in the context which ensured management control of the basic organization of work. Corporate profits rose, while a large section (perhaps as high as a quarter of the population) saw significant improvements in their standards of living.

The government also helped maintain the conditions for this prosperity. Government subsidies of home mortgages and college educations for millions of veterans gave the American working class its first entry into these previously middle class reserves. The further subsidization of road building and electrical generation, allowed the growth of auto and consumer appliance industries, and made suburbanization possible.

This process was still very selective; blacks, farm workers and unskilled workers benefitted little from these programs. Yet a system of controlling and defusing a radical threat was created. It was, by and large, a system based on hegemony as opposed to outright continued repression: hegem-

A Return to Crisis

In a shorter time than most analysts usually admit, this system was in crisis. Politically, blacks, left out of the post-war boom, were in rebellion by the 1960's. The domestic consensus on foreign policy was challenged by the Vietnam war. The automobilization and suburbanization of the American economy had reached such saturated levels that they could no longer serve as a basic engine of expansion and profit. The growing demand for social services and public benefits (health, education, transportation) had created a fiscal crisis for most urban areas - especially where tax bases were eroded by suburban flight. The previous industrialization of the Sunbelt had eliminated further areas of easy profit growth in the U.S. The oil price jumps of the 1970's merely provided the final impetus for a fundamental reorganization.

There were several "possible" solutions to this combined economic, political and ideological challenge. The "neo-fordist" solution would have been to replicate the policies of the 40's, this time incorporating blacks, women, agricultural and service workers into the high wage/high consumption economy. This would have meant allowing the unionization of the service sector, agriculture and the Sunbelt high technology economies.



the Witch Doctor's Gone



(lawyers, accountants) than any other industrialized nations. With the addition of scientific and technological personnel this class reaches 20-25 % of the population, providing a mass base for political power, in times of political de-mobilization of workers, minorities and women.

The economic aspects of the rise of overconsumptionism as the foundation of economic growth reflect a fundamental repolarization of our society. The massive decline in unionism is a corollary of the destruction of the high wage working class basis of Fordism. Throughout the 70's steel, auto, and other traditional manufacturing jobs were eliminated. The job growth sectors of the 70's were much more polarized; health care, banking/real estate and finance, fast food and other service sectors were based on poles of privileged professional and entrepreneurial positions at one end, and dead end low wage jobs at the other. The racial and gender divisions in society further assisted in creating these polarizations.

The increasing pole of wealth at one end was dependent upon the break up of the Fordist model of society. The growth of low wage sectors, changes in tax structures, the devaluing of production/manual labor in favor of credentialed professional labor were the economic basis for the wealth of this middle class.

The Politics of Overconsumptionism

But what was the political context which allowed a new set of class alliances to form, and to gain control of the federal government in order to implement these policies? The failure to form an alternative politics within the limitations of the Democratic Party has already been discussed. The union beauracracies trashing of the McGovern presidential campaign laid the basis for the elimination of any alternative politics within the Democratic party. But what else was going on?

If the 70's was a period of demobilization of all progressive movements (with the exception of the women's movement), then it was a period of the mobilization of these middle class forces. Demobilization of the progressive movements came by repression of black and anti-war movements and the purging of the McGovernite, "left-liberal" wing of the Democratic party. Anti-rent control, attacks on property taxes, attacks on the anti-poverty programs of the Johnson era, provided the organizational basis for this new middle class politics. The drastic electoral demobilization of the lower income sectors in the face of the non-programs of the Democratic party, gave these organizations electoral clout out of proportion to their numbers. In the 1970's, 18 million voters stopped voting; this disenfranchisement was disproportionately weighted against blacks, hispanics and the working class. This shrunken electorate made the special interest groups and Political Action Committees of the middle class (real estate, lawyers, doctors) a much more significant base than their numbers accounted for.

The themes of "deregulation" and "free enterprise" provided an ideological bind between these class sectors and capital. Behind a rhetoric of conservative distrust of the centralized state, the reality was the use of the state to redirect income distribution for the benefit of the middle class.

The state was used to transfer income from the working class and lower income middle class, upwards. Income was transferred from the working class to the corporations by changes in tax law, "deregulation" of occupational health and safety, and transfer of publicly funded services (education, transportation, health and now even prison) to systems of private profit. Under Reagan's first term tax law changes, the lowest 60% of the population by income lost 4-8% of their income, while the upper 40% gained 3-9%. Managers share of national income rose from 16% to 20% in Reagan's first term. Interest income as a share of GNP

rose from 26% to 34 % as deregulation of the banking industry opened investment markets to the upper middle class.

The Role of Defense Industry

Reaganism's overconsumptionist class base depends on the maintenance of this prosperity. Only the defense industry can replace the former mass consumption goods industries as the corporate profit source. Half the demand in aerospace, one-fifth the demand in metal production are taken up by defense. Defense is the fastest growing segment of electronics, and nearly the single largest. The former mass consumption industries, such as auto, are turning to defense (witness Ford and GM's battle over the purchase of Hughes Aerospace.) With the collapse of oil prices and agriculture, defense will be totally crucial to the maintenance of prosperity in the Sunbelt economies.

What production of non-defense goods is left is based upon a world-wide industrial system. Profits and control over the workforce are maintained by the ability to shift production at a moment's notice to wherever labor is cheapest and political conditions are most favorable. Ford's "world" car means a strike in America can be broken in Spain. Even service sectors are affected; computers and telecommunications allow clerical sweatshops to be set up in the Caribbean to support Wall Street. The necessity of an interventionary military strategy

to college and few women finish high school, to one with some of the men and women in college and entering technical professions (myself included). At the same time, leaving N.Y. in 1975, the year the banks took over and dismantled Fordism in N.Y., it is clear that had I been living the same life today, these possibilities would be closed to me. For me, the transformation Davis is describing is very real and immediate. The men in my family who couldn't manage to avoid Vietnam in one way or another are now locked into lower-wage jobs than their parents generation.

Just the same, there are major weaknesses by omission, in Davis's articles. They tend to reduce everything to an effect of class; even where race and gender enter, they enter as modifications of class, not in their own right. Its is one thing to talk about creation of low wage jobs, it is another to explain why they are so overwhelmingly female. While this may be ascribed to the problems of limited space in a journal article, looking at Davis's general treatment suggests an ignorance of other active causes. Talking about the creation of Reaganism's base, without talking about the role of anti-communism or the rise of the fundamentalist religious right, indicates a subordination of everything to class. This results in an ultimately incomplete perspective. However, he has played the vital role of beginning an analysis of the economic/class aspects which can go into creating a more complete

The bases for Reagan are also the bases for Reaganism without Reagan. A left strategy based on "Jobs not Bombs" is not enough. In the '70s, 28 million new jobs were created; for every new high wage manufacturing job, ten low-wage service jobs were created.

to support such an economy is obvious.

The bases for Reagan are also the bases for Reaganism without Reagan. A left strategy based on "jobs not bombs" is not enough. In the 70's over 28 million job were created; for every one job in high-wage manufacturing industries, there were ten created in low wage service sectors. The economy is being reoriented towards the permanent creation of low wage jobs. Programs such as the Caribbean Basin Initiative and immigration "reform" are designed to help the Sunbelt incorporate the Caribbean and Latin America as a source of the cheapest labor.

Reaganism has created an ongoing political base, in the huge class of managers and technical professionals. Accustomed to rising wages (paid for by union busting and lowering of the general wage costs), favorable tax laws (paid for by tax income transfers from the poor and working class), this class has strong economic reasons to favor a continuation of business as usual.

What Does It All Mean?

So where are we? What do direct action activists learn from this? On the one hand, I find this a very personally empowering analysis; even in its abstract form it speaks strongly to my life experience. I grew up as the son of a union machinist in Brooklyn, N.Y. The "Fordist" solution, in a N.Y. long accustomed to acting as the assimilation point for European working class immigrants, was extremely strong. My family survived on Fordism - the union health care treated my mothers diabetes; N.Y. had the country's largest system of rent control and publicly subsidized housing. The subsidized educational programs (N.Y.C. had the largest free college system in the country) transformed a family whose previous generation had seen no men go

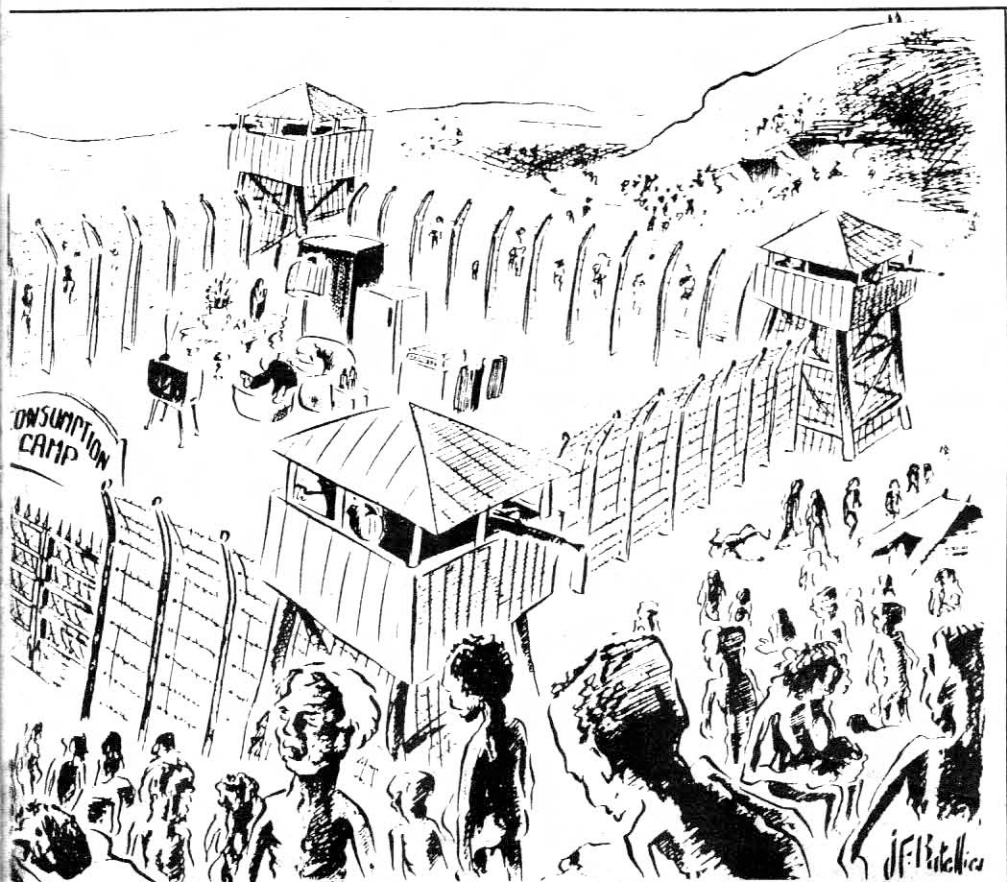
perspective.

Lessons For Our Movement

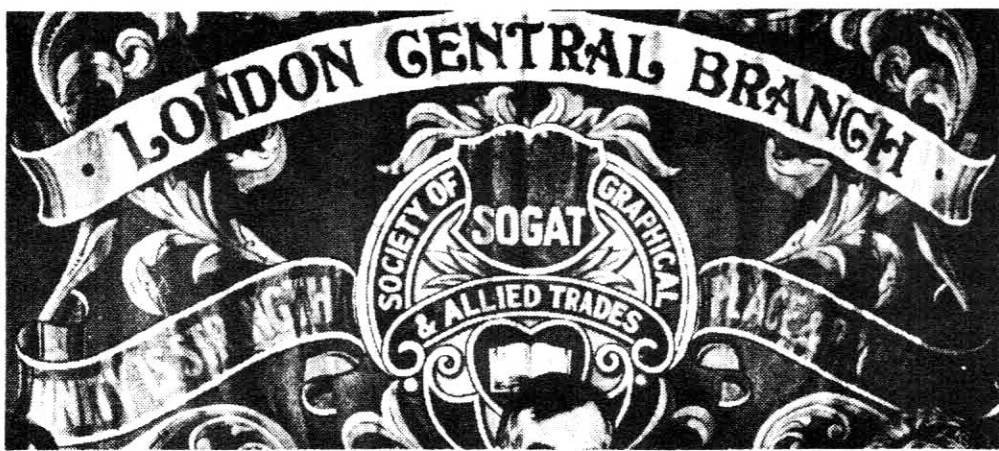
There are many lessons here for the Direct Action movement. First and foremost the transformation from an anti-nuclear movement to a movement seeking a more just society, requires that the strategies of alliance building take a much more primary role than they ever have for us. We live in a conflictual, not a consensual society. We need to learn to make choices about our allies.

We also need to see how defense spending is not just corporate welfare, but entrenched as a critical glue in the economy. The transformation from Fordism to Reaganism means that defense spending will play a stronger role in maintaining corporate profits and privileged class standards of living, than in the past. Real conversion cannot be begun without a radical change in the balance of political and economic power in this society.

We cannot ignore long term institutional struggle; without a progressive presence electorally, the middle class organizations have a greater clout over the state. The state is an arena of struggle, where decisions about the division of social resources are made. Therefore, we have to consider how we develop the relationship between institutional and direct action struggles. Without direct action movements, progressive electoral movements can develop into their own political machines. Movements autonomous from the electoral process will always be necessary to provide a check on state power. But direct action movements can not maintain their pure distance from the state, and the electoral access to the state in capitalist democracies. Minimally, the gains of direct action, be it the CIO sit down strikes of the 30's or our own, need to be in-



Britain: Laboring Under Thatcher



Visiting Britain this past Christmas to see my family, I found an atmosphere which could not, to use the proverbial British understatement, be called boring. The country was still reeling at the social/political fallout from the inner-city police riots in Handsworth (where I went to school), Tottenham, et al., and at the physical fallout from the Sellafield nuclear reprocessing plant due to weekly plutonium and uranium leaks into the Irish Sea, the surrounding communities, and the workers' lungs.

Added to this I witnessed the farcical Westland Helicopter affair, which led to Defense Minister Heseltine's and Trade Minister Brittan's resignations, and practically brought down Thatcher's government. However, one of the most important issues, unions, labor and deliberate destruction of British manufacturing, was really bugging, and I will expand on it for this section of DIRECT ACTION.

Background

The background for the current union struggles is the fanatically anti-union legislation Thatcher and her ex-labor minister, Tebbit, enacted. A major aspect of this is the ban on secondary picketing (i.e., at a plant where you do not work, or with a different union), and the enormous penalties facing unions who defy courts on this. This all flies in the face of the traditional rights of British trade unionism won through decades of struggle, and is part of the plan to reduce them to the impotence of American unions. Indeed, Thatcher reimported an infamous Scots union-buster from the U.S., Ian McGregor, who then gutted the steel unions before taking on the miners, as chairman of the National Coal Board.

In 1983, the National Graphical Assn (NGA) was fined close to \$1 million in its fight against a small company which sacked its skilled workforce, moved elsewhere, and set up with high-tech equipment and non-union, unskilled workers. NGA's millions of dollars of assets were impounded, axing union pensions, and they incurred huge legal expenses and vicious police attacks on picketers - providing training for the quasi-medieval military tactics used against the miners later on.

Fleet Street Going to Docks

The stakes have now been dramatically raised in the printing industry battle. Rupert Murdoch, the Australian media baron who reminds one of Hearst, and owner of News International (The Times, Sunday Times, and the NY Post), built a huge new plant at Wapping - his Xanadu in the old London docks. He said he would start a brand new paper, the "London Post," but as the unions

feared, it was to house the old production, moved from Fleet Street. He demanded 'no-strike' clauses, etc from the 200,000 member Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (SOGAT '82) union. To its members, 'London Post' became 'Wapping Liar'! SOGAT '82 struck for basic rights and Murdoch callously sacked 5,000 of its members.

Secondary picketing followed at Wapping, as Murdoch retreated there behind rows of razor wire (shades of Greenham Common!), and SOGAT '82 got the deliverymen to boycott his papers.

But wait, Murdoch's old trucking-baron buddy from Australia brings in his company - TNT! - to do the job. I remember seeing a container so labelled being loaded on an airplane, somewhere on my trip, and feeling queasy! Now Murdoch asked the court

of workers as mere economic pawns to be pushed around, or discarded, at the whim of the captains of industry.

There was also treachery from inside the ranks--the printing electricians union (BEPTU), under its renegade leader Eric Hammond, was set to talk separately with Murdoch and take over SOGAT '82 members' jobs. Feverish activity at the Trade Unions Council (TUC--Britain's AFL-CIO) tried to retain a united front of print unions, with respect to Murdoch, who had already told the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) to choose between solidarity or jobs!

Miners' Strike Aftermath

This current struggle brings to mind, of course, the year-long miners' strike. The miners' leader, Arthur Scargill, tried to hide the National Union of Mineworkers' assets outside the country, but eventually they had to be turned over to government receivers, and the wasted effort simply cost the union huge legal and other expenses. The militancy of the miners' wives, who formed local Action Groups, and the national Women Against Pit Closures, was one of the most gratifying things to come out of the strike. Their magazine, Coalfield Woman, is still going strong a year after the strike ended.

Recent good news for the NUM was that the Leicestershire miners voted strongly to stay with the NUM, and

pressure), she has still not been able to dismiss those still in unions, a major embarrassment to her.

-800 construction workers at the Sellafield nuclear plant walked out over the almost weekly plutonium leaks.

-Support workers at the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment struck over inordinate increases given the scientists, while their claims were ignored.

-The Association of University Teachers staged a 2-day strike, their first ever, over the suicidal cuts in higher education funds.

Run-up to Next General Election

Though the preceding might sound all rather gloomy - miners 'defeated', unions and workers backed to the wall - I feel justified in ending on a more hopeful note. Thatcher doesn't quite realize what she has spawned. She knows quite well that it was the miners who brought down the Conservative Heath government in 1974 - hence the draconian laws, planned for since 1979. But since the courts now feel more sure of applying the laws, and unions like SOGAT are complying more directly, the British working classes can more easily see that such measures are like swatting a fly with an MX missile, and are indeed part and parcel of the class war Thatcher and her henchmen are waging against them. Even so, she plans to introduce even more anti-union legislation before the next General Election ('87 or



Women make their feelings known outside Mr Rupert Murdoch's Wapping plant during the demonstration to mark International Women's Day
Picture by Graham Turner

to impound SOGAT '82's \$25 million assets, which it did on 11 Feb., also fining them \$35,000.

Brenda Dean, general secretary of SOGAT '82, was quoted in THE Guardian (London), as saying, "It now seems that under British law working people don't have the right to strike, a trade union does not have the right to defend its members, and to call for solidarity. Mr. Murdoch could not do what he is doing here in either America or Australia."

Murdoch had prepared well by falsely restructuring his empire into 'separate' units--Fleet Street, Wapping, and distribution, so the secondary action charge would stick. He also timed the sackings for maximum benefit, using scurrilous advice from his lawyers, who talked

to reject the breakaway Union of Democratic Miners, formed by working miners at secure, modern, 'economic' pits, notably in Nottinghamshire, during the strike.

Continuing Struggles

-After a year of teacher walkouts, including plans to disrupt exams, their demands are under arbitration. They include crucial pay raises and smaller classes, though Thatcher wants to trade off the two, against the aims of the National Union of Teachers (NUT), the largest union.

-At the Government Communication Headquarters, the top secret communications interception base, where Thatcher two years ago barred unions as a security threat (under U.S.

'88), much to the horror of more traditional 'consensus politics' conservatives.

Though the Labour Party has troubles of its own, (with factional strife), the alliances made during the miners' strike, the 4 million unemployed, the destruction of the traditional manufacturing base, could all come back to haunt Thatcher. Though it makes one wince to think it necessary, the recent public agreement between Neil Kinnock, leader of the Labour Party, and the Reagan administration, that the latter will not interfere in the election, sets the stage for at least the possibility the British people can take their country back for themselves.

--by Graham Hale

Voodoo Economics After the Witch Doctor

(continued from page 13)

stitutionalized and protected. Additionally, to gain experience with democratic control of our lives, we need to gain community control over state supported services such as housing and education. Transformations such as from Fordism to "overconsumptionism" cannot be fought only in the streets and the factories.

Reaganism is a radical transformation of the institutional basis of our society; it is a radical re-closing of democratic access to institutions and of economic mobility, for major parts of

society. If the pumped up prosperity of contemporary America begins to fail, a left turn is not a given. No class is a homogeneous unit, the middle class the least. The rise of Posse Comitatus in rural areas, of Lyndon LaRouche and other fascistic (i know its a buzz word, but its true) groups shows which direction middle class farmers and technocrats could move if their living standards falter. Movements such as the Freeze, the unionization of professional groups such as teachers, show the conflicts between segments of the middle class and the demands of corporate profit. These are the

grounds in which alliances can be made: alliances along class lines between the working and middle class, alliances with women's and minority movements, with movements based along issue lines such as environmental and peace groups.

These are dangerous times. We have a government that can only be described with that old-fashioned word, warmongers. We have an economy which is built on the increasing polarization of wealth and power. We have a political system which is producing political demobilization on the bottom and political patronage on the top. Their is little room for us to maneuver.

--by Allen Josephson



What's Next For The Philippines?

While many of us are skeptical about how much reform Cory Aquino will be able to bring to the Philippines, we are at least hoping that the brutality which characterized the Marcos years will decrease, if not stop completely. We are encouraged by the fact that the political prisoners are being released.

What do we have now running the Philippines? A revolutionary government? A legitimately elected president? A military-civilian junta? It appears that the government itself in Manila doesn't even know. Occasionally Cory Aquino and some members of her cabinet have been ruling by decree; cancelling local elections, telling old Marcos supporters to resign their positions, and appointing new officials. Other members of Aquino's cabinet are saying that until the old constitution is restored or a new one is written the government must operate according to Marcos's constitution.

Unperturbed by the political maneuvering is Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. He was the man who implemented martial law on behalf of Marcos, and is now the hero of the new government. He and general Fidel Ramos are asking for more military aid from the USA and are revamping the military. My fear is that while the military may end up being less corrupt, it may also become a more efficient instrument of repression. Enrile could end up running the government and the Filipino people will be in worse shape than ever.

Here in Butuan City (a poor city on the southern island of Mindanao), election fever didn't reach beyond the small middle class until a week before balloting. The first week of February saw visits by both the Aquino-Laurel team and the former First Lady, Imelda Marcos. The three weeks following the elections saw bigger crowds outside the newspaper distributor every day. During the four day "revolt" rain

or political instability often cancelled flights from Manila so we followed events hourly on Radio Australia and British Broadcasting. You outside the Philippines were probably better informed than we on Mindanao.

Finally, even Reagan had to admit that Marcos was without any significant support in the country. Reagan, who had supported Marcos's

fascism from when he was still governor of California until the final hours, now claims credit for restoring democracy to the Philippines. The U.S. backed government has a new face. The reduced corruption and mild reforms will temporarily placate the middle class. Reagan can send more military aid than ever. The real issues of land reform, foreign control of the econ-

omy, and the U.S. military bases are not being addressed. In the latest press reports, Aquino contends that she has no intentions of dumping the International Monetary Fund program for the Philippines. Finally, the mastermind behind Marcos's martial law remains in the government.

Yes, I'm glad that Marcos is gone. However, his government was already starting to unravel as a result of Aquino's campaign of civil disobedience. Had that been permitted to escalate over a month or two, Marcos would still probably have left and Aquino would be in a more secure position today. Enrile and Ramos might even have left with Marcos. I have no doubt that the U.S. intelligence services had a major role in the so-called "revolt" in Manila. U.S. defense secretary Caspar Weinberger admits to providing logistical support to the Enrile-Ramos forces.

It's true the people in Manila did have a powerful experience of solidarity and nonviolent struggle when they gathered by the hundreds of thousands in front of Camp Crame where Enrile and Ramos were headquartered. They successfully stopped the pro-Marcos military from attacking the camp. Elsewhere in the city they also hindered military activity.

However, the emergence of Enrile and Ramos as national heroes has, in the words of Philippine historian Renato Constantino, temporarily "aborted the process" by which Filipinos (at least in Manila), are coming to understand their "neocolonial identity".

By Don Goertzen

(Don Goertzen has lived on the southern island of Mindanao for the past three years. He has been organizing with land reform and anti-Marcos groups as part of an assignment with the Mennonite Central Committee)



Unions And Collectives: Struggling For Life

(continued from page 11)

ideas of collectives are being taken up--worker management, sharing power.

DA: The Cheeseboard seems to serve a fairly affluent clientele. Was this a deliberate decision?
 FG: No, it just developed that way. The original owners started this little cheese shop, and then expanded it into a collective. A lot has to do with individual tastes. I want to see gourmet food available to the broad public. A peasant in southern France uses extra-virgin olive oil, and eats great bread and cheese daily. It's a luxury that's appropriate, and we have good prices.

DA: How does it work, sharing managerial responsibility?
 FG: Some people do more of a specialized task, because they have the skill, or because they really want to do it. But there's always pressure to help with waiting on customers "out front", or with cleaning. It's a constant source of tension, but we work on it.

Specialization is becoming a bigger problem as our business grows. We used to be much funkier than we are now. We are an experiment, but we also have to make it financially, and we do make a lot of compromises because of that.

But everyone has the right to do everything; the responsible jobs are the most desirable.

DA: What sort of decision-making process do you use?

FG: We don't have a formal consensus process; but in actuality we do work by consensus. If a lot of people are against something, we'll let it go. There's a veto right, like "blocking", but very rarely used. We do go-rounds, but we actually don't have a facilitator.

DA: In meetings of 20 people, you don't have a facilitator?

FG: It's pretty anarchistic. Sometimes someone will call names of people to speak. We're not very good decision-makers in meetings.

DA: What are your working conditions like?

FG: We have definite work shifts,

and you don't take time off unless you work it out. Being on time and working really hard are sacred, the unwritten rules.

We pay ourselves \$11 an hour. A shift is usually 6-9 hours, and most people work at least 30 hours a week. It used to be less, we used to have more part-time people, but a lack of continuity and commitment arose. You can't be a full boss if you're not there.

The personal commitment varies; it's like a marriage, love and commitment wax and wane. On the whole, everyone has a strong commitment.

There's a lot of rough kidding and teasing in the store; humor is a very important element.

We help each other in essential ways. If one of us needs help, we'll make that a priority. We've gone through births, and through the death of one of our members. We've hurt each other and been really pissed off, but we're also essentially connected. It's not dependent on whether we're friends--but there's a lot of love, we do a lot of joyful things together.



Alonzo Printing, a mainstream commercial printer and a union shop, has printed most of the 24 issues of DIRECT ACTION newspaper. I interviewed Dennis Puglisi, who is both a member of the Graphic Communications International Union and a mem-

ber of the management of Alonzo. (Dennis emphasized that he speaks only for himself in this piece).

DA: What are the advantages to you of belonging to a union?
 DP: Security and benefits programs, and resting at night knowing you have a voice. I've found most people want to be in a union, most people applying for jobs here are trying to get their foot in the door.

DA: What problems do you see in a union shop?
 DP: The skill level of employees has deteriorated. Formerly, most employees got their own education. Now, many companies require employees to attend union-sponsored classes. Since they're required to be there, instead of being there by their own choice, a lot of students could care less. I've been dismayed at the attitudes of some of the students who have visited Alonzo to see the new equipment. With all the advances in printing in the past decade, only 3 or 4 in a class of 20 had any enthusiasm.

Printing is a craft. Maybe a collective can come closer to this "guild" atmosphere; they're there because they want to be doing the work. It'll be up to the people in the unions. If they're looking for an easy job, it won't work.

DA: A major goal for some collective shops is worker control over what and how they print. How important is that for you?

DP: Something I learned right away as a production worker--I had a prima donna attitude, and I realized my new employer would print anything. I asked myself, is it just for money, regardless of political content?

But I realized, our constitution provides for that, printing everything. A few months ago a publication came in that I felt very strongly against. But friends said, isn't it important that these things get into print? I feel I have a better handle on what's happening in this country by printing these different views.

I may strongly disagree, but that's one thing I like about living in the U.S.--you pay your bills, we'll print you. You should appreciate

that, your group offends a lot of people.

--by Kate Raphael
 George Franklin



POW Faces Sexual Assault

Alejandrina Torres, a Christian Puerto Rican activist is imprisoned for conspiracy and sedition in trying to win freedom for her homeland. She has been subjected to repeated sexual abuse in federal prisons. In Chicago MCC she was held for 15 months in the men's section of the prison, where male guards and prisoners could watch her at all times. Later she was subjected to a brutal rectal search in the presence of a male guard, who held her head between his legs to keep her still. Currently she is housed in the federal facility in Tucson, where she is allowed out of her cell only after being pat searched by male guards. A demonstration is being held in support of her and other Puerto Rican prisoners in Tucson on April 19, and a number of Bay Area activists are on their way to join it. The organizers in Tucson, assisted by the prisoners themselves, have made contact with a number of women's groups in Tucson and with local sanctuary workers.

Witness On The Volcano

In February 9 folks from the Bay Area went to El Salvador, to investigate the attack against the people of the Guazapa Volcano region. Guazapa lies 12 miles north of San Salvador and guerrillas are said to come down from there and sabotage electrical plants, etc. in San Salvador itself. It has been an embarrassment that the rebels operate so close to the capital.

Operation Phoenix, as the operation at Guazapa is called is based on the principle of draining the sea to get the fish, and the army has destroyed every sign of life in the area, houses, crops, animals, and have killed or captured thousands of peasant farmers.

Our original plan was to get as far as we could toward Guazapa and support the people by getting the news out to the world that civilians were being bombed daily in this region, not by accident as a government strategy. Later, in a meeting with David Passage, Deputy in charge of missions, we learned that Operation Phoenix is a model for military operations to be used in other areas such as Morazan and San Vicente.

We were able to accomplish nearly everything we tried to do (short of stopping the war of course). We met with government people, military people, including the colonel in charge of Operation Phoenix, people from the U.S. embassy, labor people, and displaced persons; we talked with everyone who would talk to us. One soldier told us that if the U.S. stopped financing the military, the Salvadorean government would fall in 10 months. Of course, he could be wrong, but that's what he said.

The first thing we did was meet with government people, activists and political prisoners in and around San Salvador. Right now in El Salvador there is a law called Decree

ged state and said nothing. They were quickly snatched out of the room.

The third person was Brigido Sanchez, a 59-year-old campesino and church worker. When we asked the colonel in Guazapa why a church worker is under such suspicion from the government, he told us the story of Rutilio Grande, a popular hero from that area.

Rutilio was from a middle class family who lost their money. Someone else paid for his education. He became a priest and came back to his home. According to this colonel, he taught the people "communism", which means he told them they had rights. The colonel's words were, "Before Grande, the people had been poor and humble and hard-working, and the church reinforced this. Then Grande taught them to be communists." Brigido Sanchez was one of those who heard the word about human rights and liberation and became a church worker. His daughter was raped several years ago by the military, and their family lost their home. Brigido was arrested in January as he was walking with the Central America Peace March, and has been tortured ever since.

When we left San Salvador and headed up to Guazapa, our first stop was Calle Real, a displaced persons' camp (I kept referring to people as refugees but learned that in order to be an official refugee, you have to have fled the country. Inside you are a displaced person). The testimonies we heard at Calle Real were heart-rending. After the bombing started, people ran out of their homes and hid in "tatoos", holes in the ground, staying there for days until hunger forced them out. At this point, some were caught by the military, which meant they were in custody under Decree 50 for up to a month before

have left our guns outside in respect for the priests; we see you have no guns; this is my territory and I would like to know who you are." At that point Diego sat down. Realizing that we were in the presence of an FMLN member, we regained some of our composure and answered and asked questions. Two more of his comrades were there; one was a woman who worked for Radio Farabundo Marti broadcasting from that area every day. The next day, after taking testimony from the Guazapans, we were asked to do an interview for Farabundo Marti and we did, jokingly asking them not to broadcast it until we left the country.

That night we stayed over in a small house next to the church. Two of us were on the porch when 120 more displaced persons came walking in in the middle of the night. They expected to stay in the house where we were, and we told them in broken Spanish that we were North Americans. I tried to imagine what it must have felt like for them, after walking 15 days, to get here and find North Americans lying in the house. Without another word, they turned and left the porch.

The next day, after scrounging to find clothing for them, and feeding them (many of them were really near starvation), we heard their stories, which were very similar to what we had already heard about the destruction of everything they had. They had walked during the night and slept during the day until they reached the lake. Some hid in the reeds for days. They made reed rafts and crossed the lake, holding on to logs. Some of them drowned because they couldn't hold on any more.

I asked one man if he had lost any of his family in the attack and escape. He said, "Yes, when the bombing started my 8-year-old son ran out of the house in another direction." This had been Jan. 10 and we were talking to him on Feb. 20. Without really thinking about it I told him I would try to find his son, and I took both of their names. Upon returning to Calle Real, I asked a nun if they had an 8-year-old boy by that name. She said no but that there was an 8-year-old boy with another name. We saw her the next day and she was happy to tell me that she was driving up to Carrizal and taking the boy--it was the right boy after all! I rejoiced thinking of the father's face when he saw his son.

The other really rewarding part of the trip was the demonstration we did with the Madres, the mothers of disappeared and assassinated people in San Salvador. First we were able to get in with them to see the US Ambassador--the first time they had ever met with Edwin Corr. Our meeting with him was publicized on the evening news, which is how our hotel finally figured out what we were up to.

We marched with a coffin and flowers and banners from the cathedral to the U.S. embassy with the Madres. A few days before I had asked them about getting a permit to march and they smiled and said you couldn't get a permit because it was illegal. At the Embassy we had a service for the Guazapan dead and others who have been killed or disappeared. At the end of the service, we gave the flowers off the coffin to the Madres and they threw them over the walls of the Embassy. It was very moving. We found these women to be so strong and courageous, and so determined, that we were really inspired and it also brought out how little we in the US risk when we attempt to resist the arms race and intervention.

What struck me the most about El Salvador was that the army is full of children, teenagers, and the opposition forces are also full of very young teenagers. They all have US made M-16s. The meaning of US intervention was never so clear to me.

We in this country should write to the Salvadorean government and the US State Department, as well as the Congress, and say you know about these atrocities and that we don't have the right to do this to people.

We are available to give presentations and slide shows. If you or your group would like to hear more, please contact Betty at 836-2389.

--Pamela Osgood and Betty Lawson
(edited by Kate Raphael)



CONTRAST
by Connie Rogers

We are loving here
And gentle,
Ready to rescue
The stranded kitten.

Yet,
Something moves
Across the land.

In the depots
The crates are packed.
Flying low into the night
The cargo is carried South.

Unloaded, the guns gleam new,
The best,
Made in the U.S.

The following morning
A helicopter lifts
Over a field
And scatters bullets
Across fleeing figures.

Children
Fall in the mud
Never to move again.

We are a good people,
Yet,
Under cover
Deadly cargo
Is exported from our land.

A blasphemy
That rips through life
And spews destruction
Upon fragile dreams.

The dead brown eyes
Stare into the falling rain
While in our land
We rescue a kitten.

(Reprinted with permission from the
Laney Tower.)

Shuttle Mega-Deaths

We are fortunate that the explosion that blew apart the space shuttle Challenger on January 28 didn't occur three months later, during the scheduled May 1986 shuttle launch, or 200 million people could have been dead.

The press has refused to report it. The government is tight-lipped about it "in the name of national security." But the May shuttle was scheduled to carry two electrical generators fueled by 47.6 pounds of plutonium, described by Professor of Physics Michio Kaku as "the most toxic substance in the universe." Had this nuclear fuel been part of the package that exploded in the atmosphere, 200 million people would be killed, the food chain would be contaminated, and large tracts of the earth's surface would be permanently quarantined. Since it is estimated that one pound of plutonium oxide, evenly divided, is enough to induce cancer of the lungs in every human being on earth, those who survived would develop cancers that could wipe out vast numbers not immediately affected.

The government's plan to launch plutonium on shuttle flights was uncovered by reporter Karl Grossman, who had to battle the federal government for over nine months to obtain the documents containing the plutonium plans. Under the Freedom of Information Act, Grossman appealed the government's refusal to release the information. He eventually received several hundred pages of material, "in which the government claims the chances of a crash back to Earth or an explosion of the space shuttle to be extremely unlikely," Grossman said.

Mitchel Cohen
Red Balloon Collective

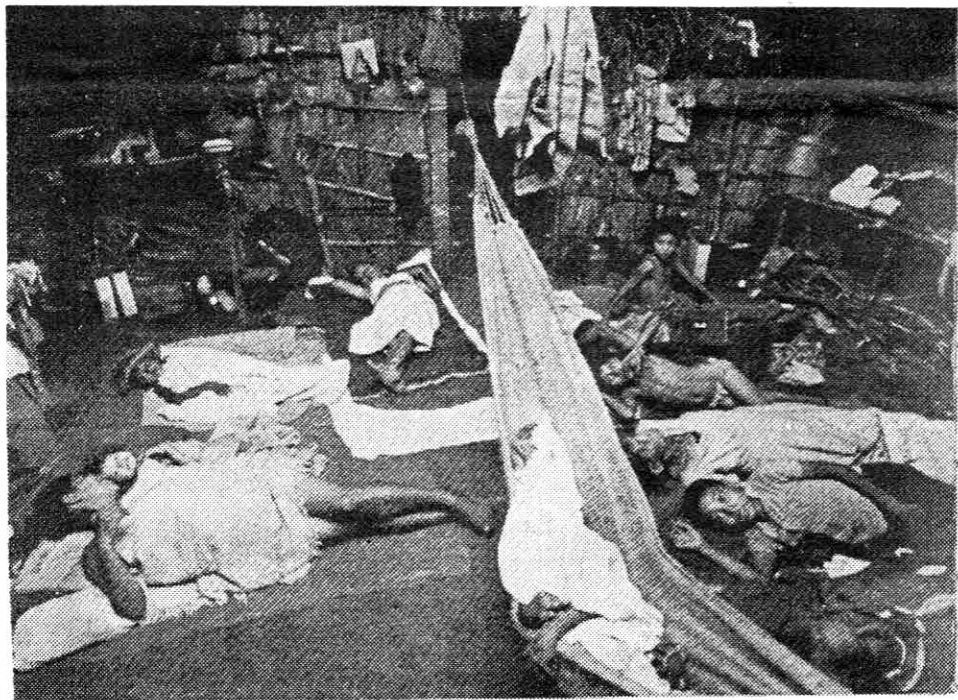


Photo from "In Search of Refuge" by Fran Yvonne Dilling

50, which is renewed by the assembly every 30 days. Under this law if you are picked up by the military you can be held for 15 days without any civil rights at all, and it is in this period that people are most likely to be tortured and/or killed. I met 3 people in the Mariona prison, who are being held indefinitely with no charges.

Two of them are brothers, Vladimir and Jaime Centeno. They are 21 and 18 years old and were picked up at home, along with their father, last November. Their father was released due to international pressure, but they were held and tortured. They were told their father would be killed unless they confessed. They were beaten on the soles of their feet and on their testicles, and had plastic bags with lye put over their heads so they would believe they were suffocating. They did confess, fearing for their father's life.

There was a lot of international solidarity around their case, so when their wounds began to heal, they were made up, put in long-sleeved shirts and slacks, drugged and taken before the international press. Interestingly, the press for once didn't believe the stories the government was telling them and began to ask the boys questions they could not answer. They simply sat there in their drug-

ged state and then the Church.

While there we learned that up to 400 had escaped through the army lines and were occupying the church at Carrizal in Chalcatango Department (province) on the Honduran border. The Red Cross had come the day before to take them to a displaced persons' camp. Only 10 who were ill agreed to go with them. The others were issued an ultimatum by the military to leave, or they would be forcibly removed. The priests had said the people could stay as long as they wanted, but they had no real way of protecting them from the military and no experience in working with displaced people. We heard about this situation and decided immediately that was the place for us to be.

It was a very long drive and although we didn't have enough gas to get to Carrizal, somehow we still made it there and back as far as a gas station. Nobody understands exactly how that happened. We had to talk our way through military checkpoints and not let anyone know where we were headed. Not long after we arrived we were in the priests' house next to the church and a strikingly handsome man in green clothes with a red scarf came into the room. We were silent. He spoke in Spanish, and an Irish priest translated, "We

Destination: Nicaragua

Final Pacific Voyage Planned for Peace Ship

The Pacific Peacemaker will set sail from Australia late this spring bound for Nicaragua where the ship will be donated for use in community services.

According to president of the Board of Pacific Peacemaker Project, Josie Reichlin, "This last voyage of solidarity will highlight the intrinsic connection between the nuclear arms race and self-determination issues. The Nuclear-Free Pacific movement takes a strong stand on independence issues and the right of peoples to choose their own future without intervention. It condemns U.S. efforts to destabilize Nicaragua."

Originally owned by Australian and New Zealand groups, the Pacific Peacemaker made world news as the flagship of the Puget Sound blockade of the first Trident deployed into the Pacific. A year later, the ship was again seized while protesting the first MX missile test from Vandenberg AFB, California. Since that time, the Pacific Peacemaker has been involved in actions at the Bataan Nuclear Plant in the Philippines, Kwajalein Missile Range in the Marshall Islands, the RIMPAC Exercises in Hawaii, and two protests of uranium shipments from Darwin, North Australia. In 1982, the peace ship was rammed and dismasted at Moruroa while opposing French nuclear testing there.

Pacific Peacemaker Project, financed the boat's purchased in late 1982 through no-interest loans from individuals. Before the donation of the ship can be made, \$15,000 must still be raised to clear the title. Contributions from the public are needed for this. Another \$10,000 is required for ongoing expenses and to transport much needed medical supplies. The 54-foot ketch is proposed to serve initially as a floating medical clinic.

Nicaraguan Ambassador Carlos Tunnermann confirmed that the Pacific Peacemaker will be gratefully accepted for community use. "This donation is a concrete action of solidarity," Reichlin said, "and is consistent with the nuclear protest history of the ship. The forces which push us to the brink of nuclear war are the same as those which oppress Third World peoples. To clarify this connection is essential. A better use for Pacific Peacemaker is hard to imagine."

Cruise Alert

On Jan. 9th, a cruise alert came into the Vermont Peace network from Britain. The struggle against cruise missiles is an international struggle.

The message was as follows: "Cruise is out in Italy. It's been out twice in the last 2 days, the first two trips since Dec. 18th. A convoy with cruise launchers have gone from the U.S. Comiso base in Sicily to C. Signorella, a port town, and then back again yesterday, and this morning; they didn't stay out." (Comiso is across from Libya).

"The person who phoned from Milan, Italy, said the military is going to expropriate a 30 meter strip of land around the base from the farmers. They will lose the land without any compensation. A lot of local people have signed a petition in protest. Actions outside the Italian defense ministry in Rome are planned for January 25th. The cruise resistance network in Britain is planning simultaneous demonstrations."

"An alert is also on at the U.S. Greenham Commons base in Britain. We expect something to happen within the next couple of days. There have been threats, evictions, harrasing - I'd call it psychological warfare - to lower the morale of the women at the peace camps. People have gone down there to give support."

The disruption caused in the lives of citizens around the world by our U.S. cruise missiles and bases is evident from this one phone-call. We are asked to take some visible action as U.S. citizens to protest these threatening war games and stop these preparations for nuclear war.

On Jan. 13 th, another call came into our network from Britain. "Cruise is out again. Two launchers. They're on their way to Salisbuty Plain."

Ms. Mel Goertz Jan. 14, 1986



(continued from page 8)

certain size, at a specific angle; from there is goes onto an assembly belt to packaging, where a worker is required to box 15 heads per minute, 8 hours a day; from there to weighing and labeling, also done on a per minute scale.

2) Minority issues: In the city of Watsonville 55% of the population is of Mexican or Chicano descent; there are no Mexican or Chicano representatives on the city council, the school board, or any other governing body in the town.

3) Women workers' issues: Women are often stuck in one position, with no recourse to changing jobs; if they accept the concessions demanded, they will be unable to support their families. Many of these women are single parents, heads of household for extended families. Women workers, especially minority women, work in mostly lower strata jobs in industry; many don't speak English, and are a first wave of new immigrants into this country, often working under minimum wage. It is estimated that if they are non-union jobs, close to 100% work under minimum wage; with a union, 25% probably still work under minimum wage, in violation of their contract.

The support group formed into six committees to work with the strikers on food drives, fund raising, student

outreach, community outreach, legal aid, and labor outreach. They felt that empowerment for the strikers was important, and that in order for the labor movement to change, it had to start from the bottom, from the grass roots level. They felt that women's issues and minority issues (i.e., equality in the workplace and equal representation) were problems in the labor movement as well. It was hoped that this type of organizing would begin to make changes that would last past the strike itself.

Seeing Results

In March, when our conversation took place, the strike was in its 6th month; that was seen as a victory in itself, as the strikers have had to survive on \$55 a week in strike benefits, and have had over 76 families (with 250 children) evicted as of March 7. I asked Shiree what gains had been made in that 6 months.

She told me that first, in December, the Teamsters Local 912 had voted out Richard King, and that for the first time the union was being led by a Chicano man. Also, for the first time, a Chicano woman striker had run for president of the union.

Second, in the town itself, the strikers had gained more awareness of why there wasn't more town support; they see the lack of political power for Chicano people in Watsonville. (For instance, when Shiree and two strikers applied for a march permit, the two strikers had never been in City Hall, though they had been at the cannery for 17 years.) Through the strike effort, over 200 groups had been approached by letter, phone, or visits. Overwhelming

support had come from unexpected sources (i.e. the Santa Cruz Democratic Women's Caucus, an organization unknown to most of the strikers at the outset of the strike); these contacts had changed the Chicano women's understanding of the resources that are around them. Fourth, the role of the police in acting as private security guards for the canneries became clear. Over 400 people have been arrested since the strike began in September. No more than 4 strikers are allowed to congregate at each plant gate, and general harassment occurs in the town. For instance, one morning when 50 or 60 women strikers, supporters, and kids were trying to walk from the union hall to an unemployment insurance hearing, 12 policemen in riot gear stopped them and wouldn't let them cross the street. The police finally let them go, 4 at a time, with each change of the traffic light. It took 40 minutes for the group to cross the street.)

Another important gain has been the heightened awareness of sexism and chauvinism within the labor movement itself. In labor support rallies, organized by unions, strikers are usually not invited to speak. The union officials hand-pick the speakers when they do allow it, rather than using democratically elected spokespeople. Often they do not allow a non-English speaking striker to be on the platform; they seem to feel that if a person can't speak English, they can't think.

There is an equal problem with elitism and subtle racism in the support groups as well. Some supporters think they know better than the strikers what to do; instead of respecting the strikers' integrity and following what they want to do, they come in and tell them, "this is how you're going to win," a "do as I say" attitude.

Finally, I asked Shiree what the benefits had been for the women specifically, both in the strike and in the support group. She said that often women are made to feel ignorant. Being active helps you come out of that. You become more self-confident, more assertive, and more of an equal. In the Watsonville situation, there is a feeling of a whole political movement for Chicanos in the Southwest; the sense that a "nation", a place, was stolen from them, from Mexico, and they are reclaiming their land, their history, their pride, and their place in society. The women say, it is not just a fight over \$2 an hour, an economic fight, but it is a struggle much more fundamental than the issue in front of them now. They are fighting for the future of their families and their people.

Viva la Huelga!

--by Suzanne McMillan

CD Action At Molesworth Cruise Base

LARGEST DIRECT ACTION SINCE THE 1960'S

In spite of driving snow and sub-freezing temperatures, between four and five thousand activists participated in a blockade of the Molesworth Base in Cambridgeshire, England on February 6.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) called the action for the first anniversary of the midnight raid on the camp by Michael Heseltine (Britain's Minister of Defense, who resigned recently over the Westland helicopter scandal), and subsequent construction of an 8-mile fence around the base. Difficult conditions have yet to deter determined activists from maintaining a constant vigil at the base over the past four years. Molesworth is the next site slated for Cruise in Britain.

At least 75% of those who came were prepared to be arrested, and of the Scottish contingent (52 souls, including the author, who braved blocked roads, snow and ice, to travel overnight from Edinburgh) 90% anticipated arrest.

The blockade began at 6:00 a.m., with buses and private vehicles arriving throughout the morning and early afternoon. By 10:30 a.m., when the Edinburgh bus rolled in, people were being directed away from the main gate, where 3,000 were said to be sitting in, to the other three entrances. Activists from all over the country spread out in sleeping bags and survival sacks, or sat on plastic

covered stacks of newspaper while they picnicked in the snow, exchanging food, news, and good cheer.

Impromptu dances to the pennywhistle and guitar helped warm cold bodies and fires were kept burning on the roads and in discarded metal drums by benders where stew and tea were being sold; however, four people suffering from hypothermia were removed by ambulance.

Police moved through the milling crowds, sidestepping those on the ground, and clustered by the gates in force, but there were only seven arrested, all of them women among the two or three hundred massed at the women's gate, who chose to take the action a step further by damaging the fence with wire cutters.

In a probable attempt to minimize the impact of a deepening opposition to Cruise, no equipment was moved in or out of the base during the blockade, thereby allowing authorities to avoid arresting from 3,000 to 3,500 committed blockaders.

General frustration was felt over minimal newspaper and radio coverage though television reports were favorable, and jubilation at the high turn-out was expressed by Scots on the long ride home.

--Lynn Hogatt



THE BOSS CAN'T COME TO THE PHONE
RIGHT NOW, HE'S BUSY GIVING HIMSELF
A BONUS AND LAYING OFF LABOR

In Defense of International Day

In an article titled "The Selling of the Summit" in D.A. #23 [pp. 1 and 4f.], Allen Josephson analyzed governmental and media manipulation of the recent summit conference and attempted to prescribe a strategy for the peace movement to follow in the future.

I have no bone to pick with the analysis of the summit conference, which offers nothing surprising to the reader but does do a very serviceable job of covering the subject in its major aspects. It is to the final section ('So Where is the Peace Movement?') that I am going to take exception.

I want to begin, however, by quoting a sentence with which I thoroughly agree. It occurs midway through the final section of A.J.'s article:

The restoration of strong local organization, mass actions, and civil disobedience is the first priority before entering institutional struggles...

This is indeed the crux. Without such a 'restoration,' the ineffectual condition to which the peace movement has been reduced, and which the rest of A.J.'s article accurately evokes, can be expected to persist.

Concerning this 'restoration,' A.J. says, "And don't ask me yet how to do this." Don't ask me either. We both wish, very very badly, that we knew. But some of us had a strategy, three years ago, for assuring, as we thought, that 'strong local organization, mass actions, and civil disobedience' would continue to thrive and grow.

I am alluding to the thinking behind the International Day of Nuclear Disarmament in June of '83. This thinking is badly misrepresented in A.J.'s article. I quote:

LAG's first International Day (1983) in some ways was the anti-nuclear equivalent for total rejectionism [of involvement in electoral politics]. The projection of the total autonomy of all groups (on local and regional lines, in the U.S. and internationally) meant the refusal to develop any common programs, goal or ideology. Its vision of the alteration of political power was also based on the sudden collapse of its opposition in the face of mass unrest (civil disobedience).

In fact, everything which A.J. says in this account of the International Day project is either misleading or outright wrong.

Let us recall to mind the state of the peace movement in '82-'83, when LAG was organizing for International Day. In the U.S., there were old-line peace organizations, the burgeoning Freeze (which was keeping well clear of direct action), and a considerable number of autonomous local groups and regional networks (notably LAG itself) that were involved or interested in non-violent civil disobedience. Abroad, the situation varied with the country: in some, a centralized umbrella organization dominated (cf. Britain or The Netherlands); in others, absent such an organization, the picture was closer to what one saw here in the States (cf. West Germany).

In organizing for International Day outside Northern California, the working group had to deal, willy-nilly, with 'total autonomy of all groups.' It did not 'project' this autonomy out onto a blank. Rather, it faced a well-populated, highly varied movement scene of which autonomy was a leading feature. In addition, aside from the goal of nuclear disarmament, these groups, in their autonomy, were very far from developing, or even attempting to develop, 'any common programs, goal, or ideology.' Given this state of affairs, and given the June '83 deadline that was never more than ten months away and getting rapidly closer, it would have been quite absurd to aim at more than two objectives: first, adherence by participating groups to some form of a common vision, as embodied in the "International Day Call," and second, cooperation in staging actions on or about the International Day itself. And these objectives were attained in the case



of dozens of groups in the USA and a score of groups abroad.

The 1983 International Day was decidedly not conceived of as a one-shot affair. It was intended to be the first in a series of annual events that would gradually create the conditions of cooperation and mutual dialogue, both within the USA and internationally, under which it would become possible for the world peace movement to 'develop...common programs, goal[s] and] ideology.'

Nor were those members of LAG involved in the working group indulging in 'fantasy replays of insurrection a la 1917,' as A.J. suggests. It was our hope that out of the growth of a massive, world-wide grassroots movement of non-violent popular resistance a healthier, more just, and less warlike future might be born. None of us had any scenarios on the drawing boards for just how that birth might take place, though of course it was fun to speculate. But what we did agree on was that no desirable future was going to get born unless the right sort of conditions were first created. And we believed that the ongoing International Day project could contribute significantly to creating them.

Unfortunately for LAG, and for the peace movement, there was no second International Day. In '84, its heir was the far more marginal "No Business As Usual" Day at the end of April. Under the impact of an election year, the deployment of the so-called Euromissiles in late '83, and just plain battle fatigue, the peace movement began to deteriorate, rapidly receding from the high-point reached in '82-'83, not only here in the USA, but also abroad. Without an ongoing project to rally around, direct action groups found members and energy slipping away. New focuses for direct action in some areas have kept this process from turning into a total rout, but they have in no way succeeded in reversing it.

As I look-back, I remain convinced that the peace movement missed a great opportunity in '82-'83. Riding on the crest of an extraordinary outpouring of hope and vitality, people seemed to feel that time was on our side. In fact, it turned out that even by mid-'83, time was running out. When Pamela Osgood and I travelled in Europe in the winter and early spring of '83, organizing for the Day, again and again I saw the leaders of national organizations or the key people involved in organizing at their national level fail to realize that it was crucial to work immediately to create a basis for sustaining the energy of the world-wide peace movement in the years to come. Instead, people were pre-occupied with immediate, short-term issues, and with short-

lived reactive coalitions that were soon to become even more reactive as defeat followed defeat. Somehow, the future of the movement would take care of itself, without any real commitment to a long-term cooperative project and overarching vision.

As we have seen, the future has not taken care of itself. What was possible in '83 is not even thinkable now. The conditions for a second attempt at an International Day do not exist now—one can only hope that they may exist again. In consequence, I believe that it is at present next to impossible to devise a way of getting the movement to a place where it could achieve that 'develop[ment]' of 'common programs' and so forth that A.J. speaks of.

That is a very distressing thought to me. I wish I could convince myself that it is untrue. But I can't.

I am also distressed, to a lesser degree, when I consider the

history of LAG since '83 and the present status of the people who have been most active in LAG over the years. It distresses me to recall that people at the heart of LAG worked to insure that the International Day project would not continue. I watched 'the baby thrown out with the bathwater' in the fall of '83, and I still mourn its death. It distresses me to recall the faces of that wonderful International Day working group of which I was lucky enough to be a member, and to think of how seldom I have seen those faces since the fall of '83. And it distresses me to realize that in the ongoing split that developed over International Day even before it occurred and that survives even now, it is possible for one of the most vocal participants in the debate to continue to misconstrue so badly, some three years later, the real thinking out of which the project arose, and the modest, attainable, and realistic goals that it actually pursued.

Finally, it distresses me to number myself, after a long and weary struggle, among the casualties of this dispute. It took me over two years to realize that I was facing a case of 'the road not taken,' and that it was not going to be taken no matter how many years I persisted in a life of frenzied LAG activism. Yet, though I have withdrawn to the fringes for now, I cannot rid myself of the hope that something new and vital will arise from the network of people along the West Coast that we used to think of as members of 'LAG.' In the meantime, I would like to see us come to terms with old mistakes and old misunderstandings. Such a process may be indispensable if there are going to be any grounds for hope. And so, I have sat myself down in front of my typewriter and written this article, the first in a long time, and turned it in to the DIRECT ACTION collective of which I used to be a member, wondering whether I am acting out of a sense of duty to the movement and so the world or whether I am simply perpetuating an old quarrel that can never be settled, because even its terms cannot be agreed upon. Or maybe both are true.

Where are we, indeed?

-----Patrick Diehl



Judge Upholds Blockade Busts

Attorney Joe Hurley of the Alameda County DA's office, told GRASSROOTS that he would still arrest Martin Luther King, Jr. for "blocking the roadway." He told Federal Judge Marilyn Patel in San Francisco Feb. 3 that the "state of mind of the defendants was not legal under the law." Hurley was referring to the one thousand protestors who blocked the road at Livermore Death Labs two years ago in protest because of "a greater need" to prevent nuclear destruction. Judge Patel felt that "nothing presented" during the hearing by attorneys for the protestors "gave reasons for their actions." Leonard Post declared that "only a jury can determine that. They were denied this in court."

After hearing further arguments, the judge said she would make a decision

on whether or not the defendants were denied their rights. Last week she ruled in favor of Hurley.

Outside, in the corridor, Hurley revealed himself to be more devious than clever. In a spirited informal discussion with the defendants he challenged: "All right! If the anti-abortionists block the roadway to blow up a clinic, is that fair?"

It was immediately pointed out by many that "We did not want to blow up Livermore. We just peacefully blocked the road." Others, including Rev. Stephan Branod, an Episcopal Priest and an attorney who helped shape up the brief before the judge, said "Civil rights are for everybody. I would support anti-abortionists if they wanted to block the road. It is their right."

--by George Kauffman, Grassroots, 2/26/86

From Our Readers

Alderson Federal Prison
Cottage 7, Box A
Alderson, W.VA 24910
February 27, 1986

Dear Friends,

First, let me admit that as an imprisoned Plovers resister, I have no direct experience with the secular mass movement, so I speak as an outsider. However, I wanted to share these thoughts stimulated by letters in your recent issue.

The "former subscriber" and Roxanne Schwartz both express disillusionment with civil disobedience as they see it practiced, and I would suggest, their complaints go to the same source. When resistance is seen as a political "tactic," useful only if effective, or as a media event, it becomes, by definition, self-limiting and controlled by the system's reaction to it.

When it doesn't "work," it is abandoned in favor of more promising techniques, and it cannot claim a high degree of commitment because a little publicity doesn't justify the risk of imprisonment (or death, should the government escalate its own methods). "Emotional satisfaction" quickly wears thin as repeated efforts get to be a drag. Thus, after a few spectacular actions, it fades away, not due to any inherent weakness but, I think, because of our failure to clarify purpose.

We do not focus on "tactics" in our private lives. Our decisions unfold into a way of life determined by moral and/or religious values. Relationships with others, with the environment, with work, with material goods, with our own bodies, are determined by some vision of what constitutes a good and proper life. Not subject to the neighbors' approval or media recognition, it simply is, and, for most of us, some elements of it are important enough that we would suffer or die rather than abandon them.

Why, then, do we fail to live our public lives with the same clarity? Why can we not choose some model that expresses our values and live it with full commitment? Why bend in the breeze of expediency or difficulty?

I believe that nonviolent resistance embraced, not as a tactic, but as a way of life cuts through the problems raised by your readers. Certainly we try to communicate lovingly and clearly with those we meet during and action, but we do what we do because it is right and good, even if sometimes misunderstood. Ultimately, we are responsible only for our own actions, not for others' reactions.

Certainly we do not wish to give up jobs and be separated from loved ones during years of imprisonment, but we can accept that because the value of a life of resistance makes sacrifice worthwhile.

And finally I believe, the move from tactic to way of life offers our greatest hope of success. Why should the government close Livermore if it knows that most will not risk much and will act only as long as the media expresses and interest? Why should the system take seriously that which is not serious? The "tactic" of civil disobedience can be ignored, treated tightly, deflated or co-opted. Nonviolent resistance as a way of life demands a serious response. Perhaps the disillusioned should not throw out the baby with the bath water but dry the kid off and give it a hearty and enduring embrace.

In Peace,
Helen Woodson
03231-045

Sife 300 maybe June 2
USS Missouri Miss May 6-10
Nicaragua Witness for Peace application deadline May 15

RENT PARTY for Nonviolent Action Project, LAG, Big Mountain office--Saturday May 3, 8pm-??, at 3126 Shattuck in South Berkeley(the office). Door prizes, open mike, dancing. Please bring food or drink, and your check-book! More info--644-3031.

Dear Direct Action,

A group of us joined the San Francisco contingent at the National Movement for Women's Lives on March 16 in Los Angeles. The pouring rain didn't dampen anyone's spirits; in fact, the colorful umbrellas made a festive atmosphere, and walking with friends underneath them created an intimacy I've never experienced at a political demonstration before.

We estimate there were 20,000 marchers, give or take 5,000. Scores of buses brought people from all over the state. It really was a great turn-out of people demanding women's rights to free choice in birth control and abortion.

ooo
TTT,
Tori Woodard



Over 50 anti-apartheid demonstrators were arrested in two days of actions at San Francisco's Pier 80 in early March as a South African ship unloaded cargo.

Boishevik Tendencies

Uprising at UC-Berkeley

For nearly 10 years, students have spoken out to get UC to cut ties with South Africa. We hoped the Regents would divest our money from this racist regime. We went out and educated the public (and continue to do so). We offered feasible alternative investment portfolios that would yield as much or more money as South African investments. We announced our intention to force the Regents to get the University of California out of South Africa.

Following the lead of South African students struggling for the liberation of their country, we have reached a point of no return. On the UC Berkeley campus, students and Community members experienced violence that has not been seen here since the late 60's or early 70's, brought on to campus by police.

It all began Monday, 3/31, when

students erected 15 shanties, representing the way South Africans live everyday. Late that night, about 70 police came in and demolished the shantytown and arrested 61 people. As they stood up against the shanties, arms linked, the struggle was one reminiscent of South Africa.

Wednesday, hundreds rebuilt the shantytown but that night were faced with some 250 cops from 14 Bay area forces (including the Alameda County sheriffs in full riot gear).

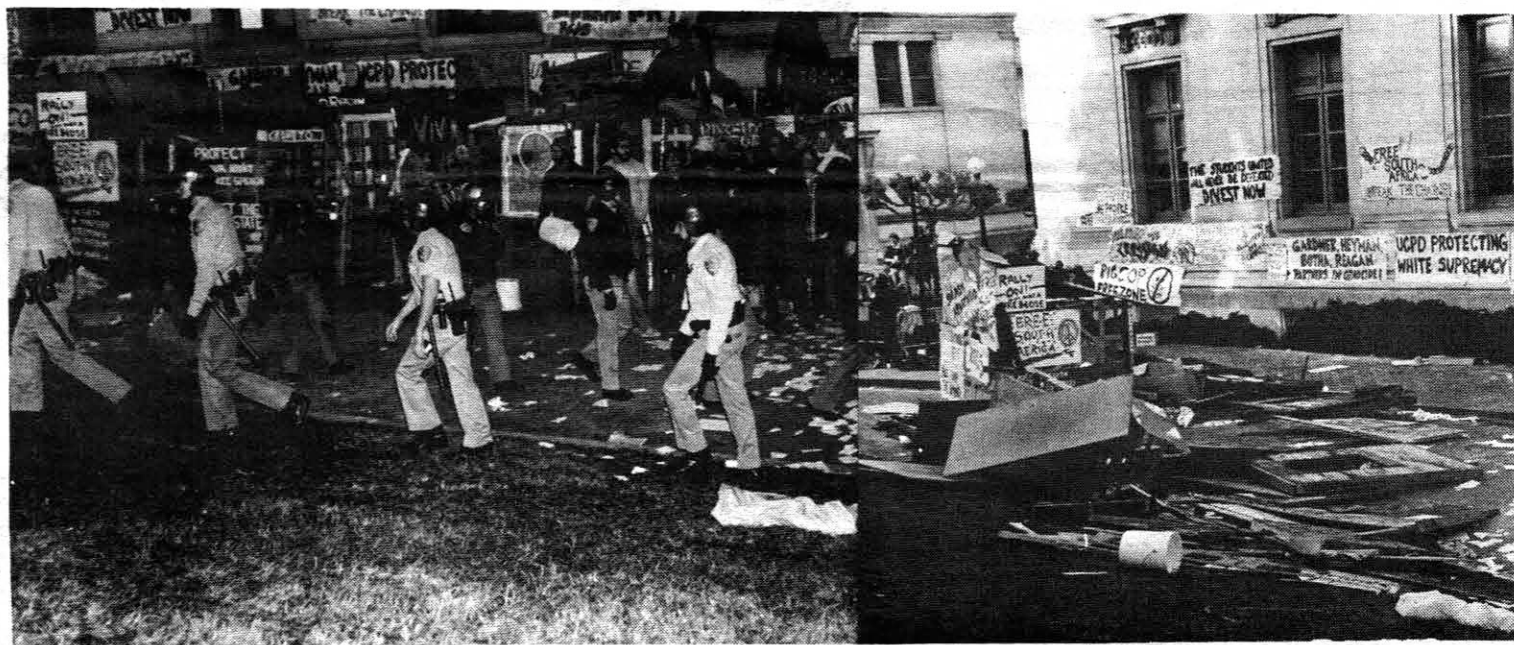
Not many resisted arrest that night after having experienced the brutality Monday night, but the cops were gung ho to flex their muscles and the U.C. administration gave them the go ahead.

There were chokeholds used on protesters after protester. Well over 100 people were arrested, but only 91 were taken to jail. Others were freed that

night but have been plucked out one by one since that night, and arrested when they are alone.

Following the arrests people did a number of things to block the passage of the buses carrying people to Santa Rita jail. In the spirit of nonviolent protest, hundreds sat down by a gate near the entrance to the campus. Blood and kneecaps flew; trashcans, rocks, bottles flew back. The cops went crazy but the protesters would not give up. Hundreds sat down at the very entrance to U.C. Berkeley. We have reached a point of no return. Apartheid will end whether or not students here work for its abolishment, but it may mean thousands more deaths. People in Berkeley and around the U.S. see no reason to prolong the revolution there. Let it be. Let's get out of there and let history take its course already.

--by Max Ventura



Max Ventura

Midwife On Trial

Susanna Napierala, respected midwife of Sonoma County stands trial for the felony charge of practicing medicine without a license and intent to harm. The incident surrounding her arrest was a homebirth Susanna attended in the Spring of '82. On April 17, '82 Susanna assisted in the normal labor and delivery of a healthy baby boy. Within minutes after the birth the mother developed an unpredictable complication; internal hemorrhage. Susanna acted skillfully and did exactly what should have been done during this emergency. The mother was safely transported to the hospital. Both mother and child are well. Three years later, the Board of Medical Quality Assurance asked the Sonoma County D.A. to have Susanna charged and arrested. Susanna and other midwives are being singled out for prosecution in this discriminatory fashion throughout the State.

In order to maintain their position of prestige and financial power, doctors in the American Medical Association are attempting to put the midwives out of business. To the doctors' dismay, however, more and more women are choosing to give birth at home. Our society no longer trusts the natural process of birth or women's instinctive ability to give birth. Rather than a natural occurrence birth is seen as an illness, a medical event which is the responsibility of the doctor. This undermines women's confidence in themselves and interferes with birth's natural rhythm. The result is dif-

ficult labor and increased intervention. The Caesarian Section rate in the U.S. is alarmingly high - 30% of all births.

Those people who view birth as a natural healthy event and who prefer giving birth at home, in a familiar relaxed environment where they feel safe, are denied adequate medical backup and care if the need arises. Certified nurse midwives are restricted in their choice of clients and the manner in which they practice, risking their license if they act out of line with medical opinion or have problems during a home birth. Difficulty obtaining malpractice insurance is also forcing nurse midwives to stop practicing (and birth centers to close down). In addition, midwives, credited by their own organizations but unlicensed by the State are under constant threat of harassment and legal prosecution and those doctors who support home birth do so under threat of losing their hospital privileges.

The option of birth at home has also brought about changes in hospital practices during the last ten years, creating more flexibility and choice within the hospital. As more and more midwives are forced to stop practicing, and refused hospital privileges a monopoly is being established, leading to further restriction of choice within hospitals. The situation is critical. And yet at the same time, a growing number of women and men, aware of the importance of the birth on their relation-

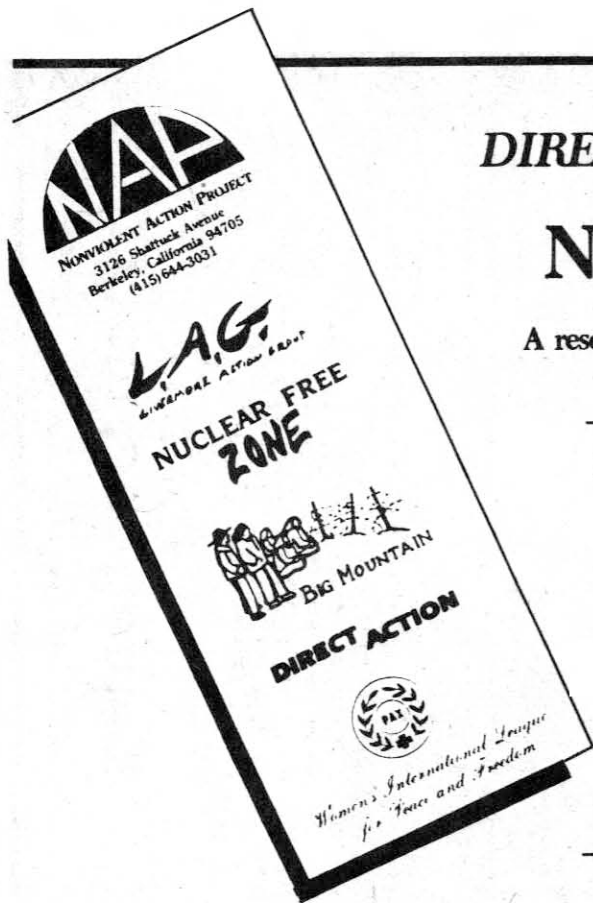
ship with their children, are determined to take responsibility for themselves and their babies, and to fully experience their births.

On February 24, there was a large rally in front of the court house where Susanna's case was to be heard. Hundreds of families came to demand their right to birth options. Due to this and other public pressure Susanna's charges have been dropped to a misdemeanor, so this case will no longer set State precedent.

Randall Fights Deportation

The hearings on the deportation of Margaret Randall, author of many books including *Sandino's Daughters*, *Cuban Women Now*, and *Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution*, were held in early March in a Federal court in Texas. The first day of the hearing, the judge ruled that Margaret is "deportable". The INS, represented by three attorneys: a Chicana, a white woman and a white man, then tried to use Margaret's own writings to prove that she is a Communist "opposed to the happiness of this country." Her supporters packed the courtroom every day of the week-long trial.

No decision is expected before August. Meanwhile, money is needed for her defense. Contributions can be sent to The Committee for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, 14th Floor, New York, NY 10003. For more information they can be called at 212-674-3303.



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A resource center for civil disobedience and grassroots organizing

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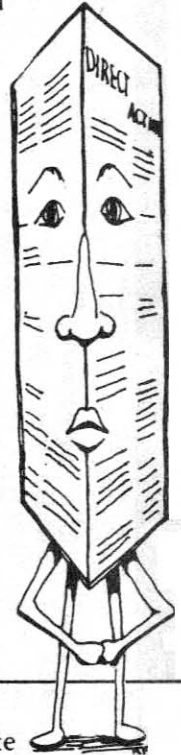
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