SHORT

Duck and copy

If President Reagan's new civil defense program sounds familiar to you, maybe you've been reading too many secret documents. The program was lifted—word-for-word, in some places—from a 1978 directive issued by Jimmy Carter. The directive was classified at the time.

Such "political plagiarism shows not only the bipartisan insanity of civil defense," said the Citizens Party's Barry Commoner, "but that the American people cannot count on either the Republicans or the Democrats to stop the drift toward nuclear holocaust." Commoner announced Reagan's copycat policy at the outset of a new Citizens Party national campaign. The campaign calls for cities to withdraw from the civil defense program, which stresses evacuation and depends on local authorities' actions to work, and it urges municipalities to educate residents on the futility of civil defense in the case of nuclear attack. Cities are presently being asked by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to develop evacuation plans and to distribute FEMA's literature. Several cities have already refused to cooperate with FEMA, including Philadelphia and New York.

Exporting Reaganomics

Having done so well at home, the Reagan administration is feverishly working to export its more-guns-no-butter policy abroad, particularly to Latin America, according to a recently released report by the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA). The report says the thrust of U.S. foreign aid to Latin American countries reflects "a dramatic change in focus from basic human needs and human rights to geopolitical security needs." From fiscal year 1980 to 1981, the Reagan administration increased military assistance to Latin America by 279 percent. A 300 percent increase has been requested for fiscal year 1983, bringing the total military aid to \$179.9 million.

In March the administration, taking advantage of a special fund created by Congress to "encourage increased adherence to civil and political rights," used \$22,000 to send international observers from such repressive regimes as Chile, Argentina and the Philippines to monitor elections in El Salvador. A noble gesture on Reagan's part after sending \$35 million in military aid in 1981 and an expected \$116 million in 1982 to a Salvadoran military establishment that practices its own type of monitoring.

Taking it to the ballot

Speaking to the NAACP convention in Boston, Glenn Watts, president of the 650,000-member Communications Workers of America (CWA) recently urged civil rights groups to join organized labor in making this year's congressional elections a "referendum on Reaganomics."

"Ronald Reagan refuses to budget from his insensitive, trickle-down economic game plan," Watts said. "Given this attitude, it is our duty to change the direction of government policy." Calling last year's Solidarity Day march the beginning of a renewed period of cooperation between the labor movement and the civil rights movement, Watts went on to say that "we will see the results of this new sense of unity in this year's elections."

Watts also charged at the June convention that the Reagan administration views civil rights and social issues as mere afterthoughts at best. "The drive for affirmative action has lost some of its zeal in recent years," Watts said. "But when Black America languishes in an economic depression, it is sheer arrogance to assert that 'we've done the job' and caustically ask 'what else is there to do?"

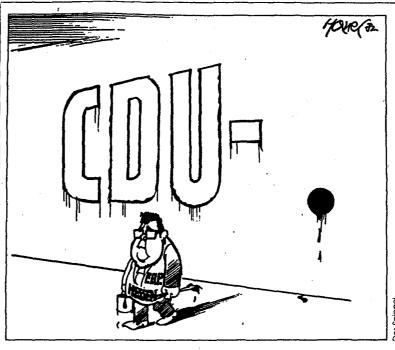
Let them read newsletters

Members of Congress have historically shared a special privilege with the blind and the handicapped. They can send out their business mail for free, just as libraries can send out those hefty books in braille postage-free to the blind. But the way budget-balancers in the House of Representatives see it, somebody's got to tighten their belt, and it's not going to be members of Congress. They just approved a budget that includes a provision eliminating \$713 million in subsidies for nonprofit postal rates and postage-free provisions for the blind and otherwise handicapped. (Some funds will probably be restored in House-Senate negotiations.)

The provision was passed almost without comment. Rep. William Coyne (D-Penn.), however, called the provision "cruel" and wondered how much discussion there would have been if the Representatives' privileges had been cut. "Few members of this legislative body are averse to using cost-free frank mail," he said. Rep. William D. Ford (D-Mich.), who chairs the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, also opposed the cut, pointing out that "historically we have helped certain people pay their postal bills not as a special favor to them but in furtherance of the national good."

Maybe the legislators will send their affected constituents a special mailing to explain their logic. After all, it won't cost them smathing.

-Nina Berman and Pat Aufderheide



Greens grow in Hamburg

PARIS—The German Social Democratic Party's (SPD) fall from power picked up momentum with its dismal showing in the June 6 elections in Hamburg, the traditional "capital" of German social democracy. From over half the vote, the SPD fell to an historic low of 42.8 percent, leaving the Christion Democratic Union (CDU) top party for the first time with 43.2 percent. Even worse from the SPD politicians' point of view, the lion's share of the remaining vote was mopped up not by the Free Democratic Party (FDP), a possible crutch to keep the SPD in power (as it is doing in the federal government in Bonn), but by the Greens.

The liberals of the FDP have been coy about if and when they will switch alliances, dump the

SPD and form a new governing coalition with the CDU. This coyness apparently did them no good in Hamburg. With only 4.8 percent of the vote, the FDP stayed below the 5 percent minimum needed to win seats. Instead, the ecological Green Party, with 7.7 percent of the vote enters the Hamburg parliament as the third party, with nine seats, putting it in the position of a highly unwelcome mediator between the CDU with 56 and the SPD with 55. The Greens have now won representation in five West German Lander and are on their way to replacing the liberals nationally as number

Although amounting to only a small percentage of the vote, this shift could change the political game in West Germany considerably. The FDP is an element of pro-NATO, pro-American stability—the very epitome of the political order established by the Anglo-American occupation forces that are

closer to their own political ideal than the Catholic CDU.

The Greens, on the contrary, are a fresh and unpredictable product of a new "post-materialist" generation of Germans who have no use for the old games and old values. They pull their support from all economic groups but mostly from the young, the educated and women. Their influence has increased with the rise of the nuclear disarmament movement which they helped to build. Since so far their aspiration is not to take power so much as to question and limit it, the other parties cannot easily imagine how to deal with them.

—Diana Johnstone

AMA docs true to form

CHICAGO—Looking very much as usual—white, male and aging—the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association (AMA) held its annual meeting in Chicago June 13-17. Among the 303 delegates, there were only two women, four identifiable blacks and three or four Orientals and Hispanics. Overall membership, particularly of younger doctors, has declined.

Dr. Frank J. Jirka Jr., a Chicago suburban urologist and new president-elect of the AMA, speculated that the decline is due to the increased interest by physicians in various specialty societies. Others locate the source of the problem in the AMA itself—its traditionally conservative policies and growing self-interest on the part of its members.

For example, last year the House of Delegates turned back

On June 5, about 200,000 people turned out in Italy to march for peace. Despite President Reagan's announcement on the eve of his June European tour of future arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union, the participating peace organizations and political parties refused to back down from the peace issue, claiming that this type of mass demonstration is becoming increasingly important since the talks have not yet begun and the Italian government has not yet halted construction of a military



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efforts by student and resident delegates to endorse the ERA. The house also refused to go on record opposing handguns, even though last year sentiment was strong for handgun control. A physician who sells handguns successfully moved to table the motion. And in a step backwards, the AMA called for the withdrawal of funding for a project aimed at improving health care in the nation's penitentiaries.

At this year's meeting, the AMA—despite the growth of a strong, mass-based disarmament movement and the emergence of medical groups like Physicians for Social Responsibility—stuck to its conservative posture and refused to take a political stand on the question of nuclear war.

The house adopted a report of the AMA Board of Trustees saying that the AMA "is not participating in the political issues involved in national defense and the politics of nuclear war."

The delegates did, however, grant time to Air Force Lt. Gen. Paul W. Myers, M.D., who made a blatantly political speech decrying the "Soviet threat," saying, "Satisfactory negotiations with a formidable adversary can only happen when you are strong. We must do more than just try to counterbalance menaces that stare us in the face."

Joseph Boyle, M.D., chairman of the Board of Trustees, recently said that "The major activity of the AMA is to promote the science and art of medicine." He made that statement at the opening of the AMA's new 12-story, \$12.5 million office building in Washington, D.C., which houses \$1 million in commissioned art work and two floors of AMA lobbyists enthusiastically working to defeat any form of socialized medicine.

With all that money for art and science, the AMA, because of expense, recently discarded regional medical seminars designed to bring updated information to doctors and ceased publication of some scientific journals while allowing the quality of others to decline.

-Charles-Gene McDaniel

Missiles and the Mafia

ROME—On his visit to Rome, Ronald Reagan heard an unexpectedly sharp condemnation of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon from his host, President Saudro Pertini. After accusing Begin's government of applying "barbarous tribal law against a whole people," Pertini said that Israel had its own homeland and should respect the homelands of others. Reagan changed the subject and started praising Italy for taking on greater responsibility in NATO.

This snatch of dialogue illustrates how, if the NATO machine is turning inexorably, the alliance's mental gears do not mesh. A major part of the new responsibility that Italy is taking on in NATO has to do with what Caspar Weinberger calls "defending Alliance interests outside the NATO treaty boundaries"—notably in the vaguely

vast region that the Pentagon now labels "Southwest Asia" and that seems to include the Middle East. Faster than any other NATO ally, Italy is letting itself be dragged into plans to enable Rapid Deployment Forces to intervene in North Africa, the Arab world and even Iran. In particular, the biggest NATO base in Europe is to be built at Comiso in Sicily, for forces pointing not so much East as South.

Yet Italian public opinion sees no need for armed "defense of Alliance interests outside the NATO treaty boundaries," is unlikely to agree with U.S. policy in the Middle East and is overwhelmingly opposed to war in general and to war by advanced Northern countries against the less developed South in particular. The general feeling here is that the government has gone along with the U.S. plan to build a big NATO base because there is money in it. In this case, much of the money will go to the Mafia, which, in turn, will help protect the base from a hostile public.

Gangsterism has recently turned uglier and more murderous in Southern Italy. Last April 30, top Communist leader Pio La Torre, who had recently stepped up his crusade against the Mafia, was gunned down in a Palermo side street. The next day, he was to have led a big May Day protest against construction of the Comiso nuclear missile base. At 54, he was a veteran foe of the Mafia and the leading member of the Italian parliamentary commission investigating Mafia activities.

Before he was assassinated, La Torre had been warning that the NATO base would make Sicily a crossroads for Mafia dealing, espionage and crime, bringing massive infiltration of foreign agents. He had also said that parliamentary investigation had revealed that Italo-American Mafia banker Michael Sindona had been in Palermo around the time certain Mafia adversaries were assassinated, and that the Sicilian-American gangsters accompanying Sindona had claimed they were supposed to carry out some sort of "anti-communist political

La Torre had then plunged into building a broad peace movement that is well on its way to reaching the goal of one million signatures collected in Sicily alone petitioning the Italian government to suspend construction of the Comiso base. (The next step will be a nationwide mobilization against the base throughout Italy.)

La Torre's successor as Italian Communist Party regional leader in Sicily, Luigi Colajanni, told In These Times that "the peace movement has aroused broad opposition to the [Comiso] base, and this does not please the secret services and certain, shall we say, reactionary circles-Italian and international. We cannot rule out the possibility that the Mafia imay havel killed La Torre also -not solely, but also-to silence one of the main leaders of the peace movement.'

-Diana Johnstone

Briefing: Labor roundup



In June the Supreme Court ruled against Steelworkers dissident Ed Sadlowski.

After Ed Sadlowski lost his race in 1977 for president of the Steelworkers union-relying heavily on outside liberal donations to combat the strong staff support for Lloyd McBridethe union voted to prohibit candidates from accepting money from anyone outside the union. Sadlowski successfully challenged the rule in court, but in June the Supreme Court ruled that "reasonable" restrictions on campaigns within unions do not violate a candidate's free speecl

Herman Benson of the Association for Union Democracy argues that the rationale adopted by the 5-to-4 majority undercuts the intention of the Landrum-Griffin act to guarantee free speech in unions. He expects other unions to enact rules, such as requiring publication of donors' names, that would intimidate potential supporters of dissidents, especially in unions like the building trades. where a member could lose work for being in the opposition.

"They say you have to get money from members, but to get money you have to be a credible candidate, and how do you appeal to members if you don't have the money to travel?" Benson asks.

Over the long run, he expects other court cases may restrict the implications of the Supreme Court ruling. Some union reformers, including

Sadlowski attorney Joseph Rauh, are now advocating new legislation to protect union democracy and, among other things, restrict staff influence.

Ironically, in the Mineworkers (UMW) union, where outside money first played a major role in support of Miners for Democracy, the challenger, Richard Trumka, is criticizing incumbent Sam Church for taking money from other non-UMW union officials, lobbyists and politicians. Trumka says he will support restrictions on campaign contributions.

Steelworkers local presidents voted 263-79 on June 14 to permit President McBride to begin discussing problems of the steel industry with the companies. Despite reported strong sentiment against concessions at the meeting, McBride is expected to return in a few weeks to report industry demands for reopening the contract a year early.

In the auto industry, leaders of a number of large General Motors locals are attempting to organize a battle against further concessions in their local contracts. In some cases, GM has unilaterally changed work rules—such as eliminating the rotating personal relief system in favor of a mass break—and then negotiated. Local leaders

report that the international union simply has advised filing grievances.

Angry local officials complain that GM is playing one local against another as well as against foreign competition. The relief changes, they say, not only force as many as several thousand workers to line up at the same time for rest rooms or coffee machines but also eliminate as much as 10 percent of the jobs in many plants by axing relief workers.

Often workers make concessions to save their jobs only to suffer plant closings later. Recently a U.S. district court judge ruled that in such circumstances workers may be able to collect damages for breach of contract. The decision came in a suit filed by the Electrical workers (IUE) against Singer Co. of Elizabeth, New Jersey.

Last year the 600 workers at the plant that once employed over 9,000 agreed to concessions in exchange for a company promise to modernize the plant and pursue defense contracts. But a few months later management stopped looking for new contracts and in February announced the facility would close by the end of the year, and action the judge labeled "grossly unfair."

Joel B. Hopmayer, attorney for the union, said that the union lost its contention that the company was obliged to keep the plant open for the duration of the contract but is appealing that aspect of the decision. The judge will also decide later on damages based on the value of the givebacks, estimated at \$2 million by the company and \$28 million by the union.

For the first time in U.S. history, a new state law clearly sets out the legal framework for establishing worker cooperatives. In late May, Massachusetts enacted legislation pushed by the Industrial Cooperative Association (249 Elm Street, Somerville, MA 02144) that not only makes it legally simpler to establish cooperatives but also establishes a solid, democratic model. With their legal status more firmly secured, industrial cooperatives may find it easier to arrange financing and may be more likely to be taken seriously by legislators in economic development plans.

Although the AFL-CIO executive council did not endorse the nuclear freeze at its spring meeting, it did reaffirm support for ratification of SALT II and for its plan to reduce nuclear arms. Four presidents of big unions (Gerald McEntee of AFSCME [public workers], William Wynn of Food and Commercial Workers, Murray Finley of Clothing and Textile, and William Winpisinger of the Machinists) were dissatisfied with the resolution's restraint and voted "no."

- David Moberg