

By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

THE PENTAGON CAN BE PROUD of its victory over West European democracy. NATO paid absolutely no attention to public opinion—to the biggest mass movement in recent history.

Greenham Common women were carted off to jail, Italian parliamentarians were clubbed by police when they stopped to talk to pacifists on their way to the National Assembly debate, protestors were swept from the streets of Bonn by water cannon. And Cruise and Pershing II nuclear missiles (which may or may not work) were duly delivered to U.S. bases in Britain, Italy and West Germany.

The last act in this power play was the intense two-day debate in the German Bundestag leading up to the November 22 vote to go ahead with missile deployment in the absence of any result at the Geneva intermediate nuclear forces (INF) talks between the U.S. and the USSR. It was a foregone conclusion. The majority Christian Democrats and Liberals voted for deployment. Social Democrats and the Greens voted against it. As soon as the vote was counted, Bonn's Defense Minister Manfred Wörner rushed to report to his boss, U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, that all was quiet on the Western front.



EUROMISSILES

Deployment—the fate of the Germans

Photographs by
Lionel Delevingne

policies that seem sensible to most of them. Brandt said he was no optimist. The SPD leader told his own party that he considered the threats from the arms race, the imminent breakdown of the international trade system and the many-sided mixing of "East-West" with "North-South" extremely dangerous. "But I have decided on the working hypothesis that the self-destruction of humanity may still be averted," he said. "I am betting not on fear, but on critical reason and the courage to correct ourselves."

What some commentators called "the power struggle" between Helmut Schmidt and Willy Brandt, which ended with Brandt's triumph at the Cologne party meeting, might more correctly be described as a contest between political philosophies. Their debate hinged on differing views of how to bring "rationality"

ernment is to win over public opinion, not run after it." But to what? To Pentagon dictates? It took the maverick Brandt to commit the heresy of defending those in the peace movement as "more rational" than the elite who accept the nuclear arms race.

"We have to begin a rational design for the future in the tradition of the European enlightenment, of freedom and social democracy," Brandt told his party. "In matters of European unity, of a peaceful order, of North-South relations, social democracy must once again take on its shoulders what could have been expected from an enlightened bourgeoisie."

By channeling the renovating impulse of the peace movement through his party, Brandt did not appear to be seeking personal power (he is too old and skeptical for that). Instead he was breaking through the paralysis of Schmidt's pragmatic realism on behalf of the SPD's younger generation.

One of the younger SPD leaders, Karsten Voigt, assailed the aggressiveness of right-wing Christian Democrats as a sign of fear. "Your fixation on Pershing II is a compensation for your pessimistic Spenglerian vision of the decline of the West," Voigt told the conservatives in the Bundestag. "Our vision of the year 2000 is not the Airland Battle, but a free and peaceful Europe."

Private conversation with European conservatives quickly confirms Voigt's charge. They cling to the U.S. because of both their conviction that Europe is worn out and fear of their own "masses," whose social demands they readily equate with weakness for Russian Communism.

Brandt repeated the proposal he made to the U.S. Congress on September 28 for a step-by-step verifiable freeze on testing, production and deployment of all nuclear weapons. In the longer range, the SPD will spell out its comprehensive peace policy based on the idea of "security partnership" and purely defensive strategies at its regular congress next May.

On the other side, the debate occasionally took an ominous turn. There were insinuations that Social Democrats were disloyal to the West. Brandt reacted sharply to such "slander" and asked Chancellor Helmut Kohl whether German interests were really served by spreading the false impression that the SPD did not support the Atlantic Alliance, national defense and the Bundeswehr.

"No doubt should be cast on the determination of the Federal Republic not to bow to any pressure, any blackmail," he declared. Brandt recalled his friendship with President John Kennedy, who had been assassinated exactly 20 years before, and said friendship with the U.S. should not be reduced to a few cabinet ministers currently in office.

"What have you gained when you get a couple more weapons and lose the hearts and minds of the people in the Alliance?" he asked.

Although Social Democrats had, with some misgivings, supported the "double decision," they had watched with "dis-may" as the "arms control and detente part" shriveled into "pure camouflage," Brandt said. Soviet offers to scrap SS-20s were ignored. "The Alliance and the Federal Republic are frivolously and blatantly missing the historic chance to bind the Soviet Union to an agreement to scrap a large number of modern nuclear weapons for the first time in history," he told the Bundestag.

Brandt is hoping to arouse understanding and support in the U.S. outside, and against, the Reagan administration. But pessimistic Europeans think the East Coast liberals who "understand" Europe have lost power permanently. With the U.S. being led by politicians like Reagan—who apparently neither know nor care about Europe at all—the German right hopes to stay in office for a long time. It wants Washington to veto the SPD as unreliable in East-West matters. Already the American press, generally strongly influenced by U.S. embassies in its foreign political coverage, is tending to ignore and distort SPD positions as too radical to be taken seriously.

While demanding that Europe exert an



Indeed, for the moment a sort of stunned, exhausted silence fell on many Europeans as they strained to see what lay beyond this turning point.

In the brightly lit dusk of downtown Bonn, Christmas shoppers coming around the Cathedral were stopped by an eerie sight. At a long, narrow table spread with a few candles, glasses of wine and pieces of bread sat a hundred chalk-white-faced men and women, all dressed in black. They were silent and melancholy. Two ghostly musicians played a strange, sad air on the flute and accordion. The sign behind them read: "Condemned to death by the Bundestag."

Almost all the arguments developed during the past four years (and there were volumes of them) for, but especially against, the missile deployment were repeated, often with passion and eloquence, in the final Bundestag debate.

At a special convention in Cologne two days earlier, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) had put an end to its long inner split caused by former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's strong personal endorsement of the December 1979 NATO "double decision" to "modernize" the alliance's nuclear forces while seeking a European theater arms control agreement with the USSR. Only 13 of the 400 elected party delegates—four of them former cabinet ministers who shared responsibility—voted with Schmidt against the SPD's resounding "no" to missile deployment. The

SPD entered the Bundestag debate with a freshly recovered unity, sense of purpose and "social democratic identity."

Already the issue was what to do after the missiles came, how to get rid of them and how to halt the new rounds of nuclear arms buildup their deployment would set off. More fundamentally, the underlying issue was: can there be such a thing as a *European policy*, a *German policy*? That is, can Germans (or Europeans) determine their own fate according to their own rationality and interests?

Among established politicians, the current majority answer is obviously "no." That is the clearest meaning of the November 22 Bundestag vote. Nobody really seemed to want the Pershing II and Cruise missiles—which will not really be "NATO" but *American* missiles that are being deployed to service U.S. global strategy, not the defense of Europe. Even the Christian Democratic-Liberal coalition government resolution said the objective remained the "drastic reduction, if possible complete scrapping of land-based, medium-range missiles." But the ruling conservatives appear convinced that Europe's only hope is to stick close to Uncle Sam.

Brandt as visionary.

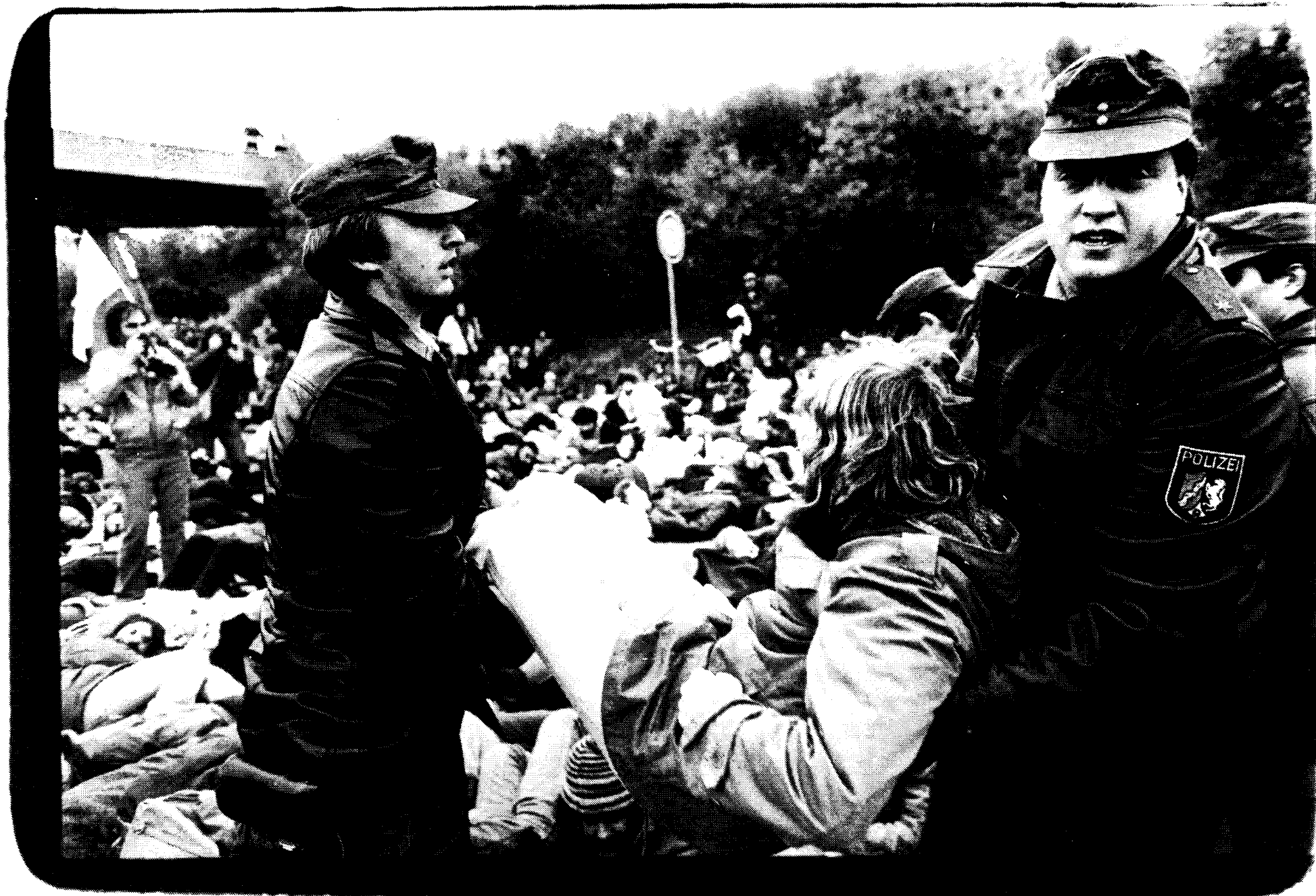
In the hour of the Euromissiles, Willy Brandt stood out among established politicians as a radical visionary simply by pleading for Europeans to dare defend

Willy Brandt (below) said, "I have decided on the working hypothesis that the self-destruction of humanity may still be averted."

into politics. Schmidt admits that "irrationality can exist even at the summit of power," but, as a model member of the world leaders' club, he feels rationality declines from the summit to the base.

Schmidt would surely agree with Wörner that that "the role of responsible gov-





The Greens reject an alliance with either NATO or the Warsaw Pact. They seek to link with independent peace movements in East Europe.

equal-partner role in a "reformed" Atlantic Alliance, Brandt stressed Germany's need for its allies, especially the U.S. and France. SPD policy aims at avoiding two potential temptations: a revival of German nationalism or the ambition to establish an independent European nuclear arsenal. Brandt emphasized his conviction that "the world does not need still another atomic superpower." Thus, he said he opposed a "Europe with nuclear great-power ambitions brought together in opposition to the U.S." This is the still-secret project of right-wing "Gaullists" in Germany and even among some sophisticated right-wing strategists of East European origin in the U.S.

Brandt's ambition is the opposite. "Europe as a moderating force and, eventually, a stabilizing power, will be able to help make positive changes in worldwide political power structures." In particular, such a Europe could help found new relations with the Third World. This constructive role requires a purely defensive, conventional military force rather than nuclear weapons that threaten other regions.

The Green position.

While the SPD was saying "no" to the missiles but "yes" to the Atlantic Alliance, the Green Party radicalized its post-deployment position by coming out for the first time in favor of German withdrawal from NATO. At a congress in Duisburg, the Greens decided to reject political alliance with anyone "who has a foot in NATO or in the Warsaw Pact."

In practice, this means no Communists can hope to get on the open lists of candidates that will be put up by the Green Party for state elections next year. Green priorities now are to link up with independent peace movements in Eastern Europe, especially East Germany, and seek early withdrawal from NATO.

This position was criticized in the Bundestag debate by Karsten Voigt, who said that the eventual long-range goal must be to overcome the need for NATO. "But withdrawing from NATO today would be a step backward to the nationalization of security policy," he warned.

When a Green asked him to admit that the Greens were not nationalistic, Voigt said he "wished things were that simple. Next to healthy patriotism, there is a re-nascent nationalism, on the left too, not only on the right." Germans had to be especially attentive to history and to their neighbors' concerns, Voigt said.

The SPD did all it could to make defeat painless for Helmut Schmidt. The face-saving line officially stated by the party and developed by Schmidt himself was that the "double decision" might have had a happy ending—that is, an arms control agreement instead of an arms buildup—if Schmidt had stayed in office as chancellor.

With his incomparable influence as star member of the world leaders' club, Schmidt would surely have been able to bully Washington and Moscow into a good deal. Instead, wishy-washy Helmut Kohl let the "walk-in-the-woods" deal get away. This is the flattering myth that the SPD gave to Schmidt to soothe him during his retirement.

Privately, many believe that the clever chancellor let himself be maneuvered by the Pentagon into championing weapons systems contrary to German interests. Even Schmidt admitted that agreeing to deploy the Pershing II in Germany, and only in Germany, was "a mistake."

Oskar Lafontaine, mayor of Saarbrücken, said he was glad to see the lumbering old ship SPD finally brought back on course. But a healthy number of the extra-parliamentary left, in addition to the Greens, consider this just another example of the SPD's historic record of "too little and too late."

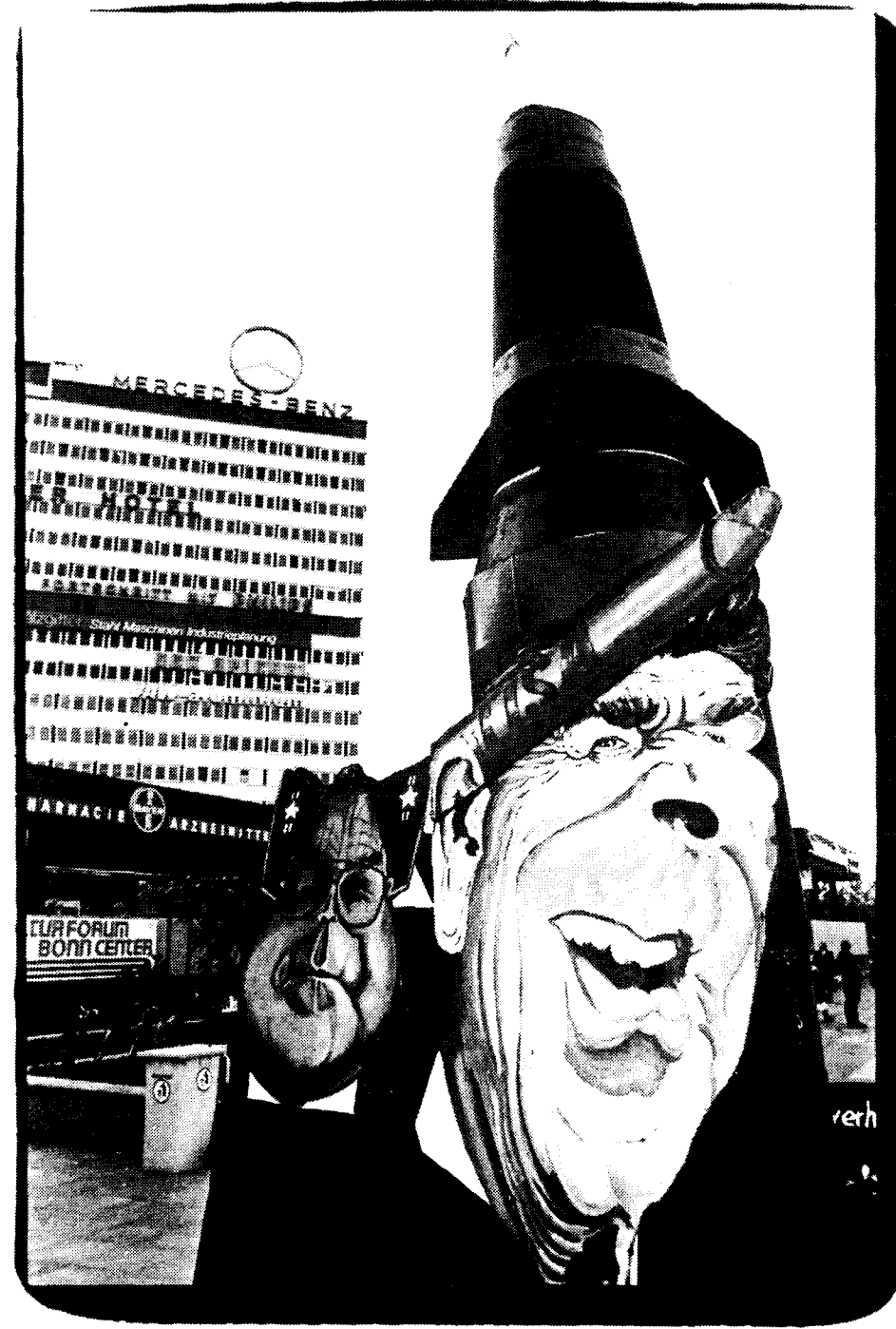
The SPD, its critics recall, failed to block World War I, failed to stop the rise of Hitler and now has failed to prevent

the deployment of nuclear missiles some fear may be intended by the Reagan administration to decapitate the "evil empire" and provide a "final solution to the Russian Communist problem."

Those who see the situation in desperate terms may feel compelled to more desperate opposition than the long-range political program of the SPD. Social Democrats are finally coming around to a

After a busy fall of peace protests (above) silence has fallen on many Germans now that the missiles are in.

coherent policy that by the light of current reason seems able, as Willy Brandt said, to rally majority support in West Germany and in Europe. The question as the missiles arrive is what room and time remain for Europe's political rationality?



Labor Notes

Continued from page 2

Weisen's ability to mount an effective challenge. Suddenly last week the picture changed when Odorcich announced that he was withdrawing and would support Treasurer Frank McKee, who had been mentioned by some prominent opposition leaders as a possible candidate, depending on his program. McKee is seen by some as less deeply implicated in the steel pact concessions and received some plaudits for his copper industry

negotiations, where Phelps Dodge is holding out in a long strike against the industry pattern settlement.

Key issues for "dissidents" include opposition to concessions, members' right to ratify contracts and greater internal democracy in the union. But if opposition elements do split between Weisen—who may still decide to withdraw—and McKee—who had not yet announced his candidacy as *In These Times* went to press—Williams is clearly the beneficiary. ■

Pacifica

Continued from page 6

programmer Dorothy Healey, who supported Berland in the conflict, says this is primitive Marxism. "It's contempt for our listeners, the ideas that we have to protect them from 'bad things.'"

News differences.

Internal conflict continued at Pacifica, even after Spark's firing was upheld, significantly, by her current ally, Peter Franck. Most of the dissent came from the KPFA news department, which had been closely allied with Spark in her mission to "politicize" the station and in

her ideas about how to do that.

The news and public affairs departments of Pacifica stations have always been the foundation's cutting political edge. Under Cooper's direction the KPFA news department made the Central American conflict and other international news a major focus, a priority shared by Washington bureau chief Tim Frasca. The pair won Associated Press awards for their coverage of the 1982 El Salvador elections. In 1983 Cooper traveled to Nicaragua, Argentina and Chile.

Local politics got a lot less attention. That was partly because of Pacifica's scarce resources and the attention local commercial radio gave the political scene, but it also reflected a judgment shared by Cooper and Spark that local politics, even on the left, were not as im-

portant as international struggles. Spark dismisses the criticism of the station's local news as "redbaiting," an attack on the "politics" of international reporting.

Similar beliefs shaped the focus of the Washington bureau. At times conflict flared up between Washington and Berkeley station KPFA over the "style and substance" of Frasca's newscasts, acknowledges KPFA news director Aileen Alfandary. Frasca took a dim view of reporting on the Democratic Party; indeed, of most electoral politics. Coverage of left groups' lobbying in Washington—nuclear freeze, women's and labor organizations—was spotty. There was disagreement over the importance of 1980 Democratic convention coverage, which KPFA spearheaded. Cooper attributes the differences to KPFA sectarianism—"They're narrow about coverage that doesn't treat the regeneration of the Democratic Party as the most important issue."

Even Maeda, who had supported Frasca's demotion of popular Israeli reporter Peretz Kidron for an insufficiently anti-Israel line in 1981, began to chide the Washington bureau for "cynical" reporting, a term that found its way into a negative job evaluation of Frasca by Maeda earlier this year. But Cooper defends the bureau: "Of course it's cynical—do you want us to be buoyant about Washington or the weakhearted resistance of the Democrats?"

Cooper and Frasca's attempts to set up a nightly half-hour newscast, the *Pacifica Report*, brought them into their greatest conflict with the other stations. At year's

start the two announced that they were ready to produce a half-hour daily report, a longtime Pacifica news dream that had been stalled by the five stations' different needs and viewpoints. By May, only KPFA was playing the *Pacifica Report* in its entirety; others were just cutting it up and using parts in their own broadcasts. Houston's KPFT was running NPR news, Washington's WFW, the newest Pacifica station, broadcasts very little news at all.

At a May national board meeting, "we railed against this like you've never heard," Cooper recalls. "We couldn't believe the organization couldn't find the decency and solidarity to air the only national program we have." Others in attendance called Cooper and Frasca's tirade "contemptuous."

That same meeting saw the emergence of the corporate funding issue. Maeda had applied to Gulf and Toyota foundations for grants for news equipment to match those received from the National Telecommunications and Information Agency. Corporate grants for equipment, though not for programming, were permitted under Pacifica's bylaws. But after Frasca objected to the Gulf and Toyota queries, the other news directors joined him, and Maeda, who agreed not to pursue the grants, was reprimanded by a Pacifica board committee. The next month Frasca filed a grievance against Maeda over the issue, and in September—after the Cooper-Frasca firings—the matter found its way back onto the national board agenda, although by that time, most sources agree, corporate funding was a "dead issue."

To Chile.

In the windup, the two firings were more the result of Frasca's and Cooper's last-minute decision to leave their posts and go to Chile in September than any political conflict. Maeda warned Frasca that his precipitous departure would cost him his job, and even Cooper acknowledges he knew Berland might decide to remove him as news director because of the trip.



If we receive your order by **December 15th**, we'll guarantee that a handsome card announcing your gift will be delivered to each person on your list before Christmas and that they'll receive our first issue of the new year.

GIVE ITT FOR CHRISTMAS

Better yet, give ITT before Christmas.

We've arranged Special Holiday Rates for you and your special friends—\$25 for the first one-year subscription, \$23 for the second and \$21 for each additional gift. More than you care to spend? How about a six-month subscription that's just as easy and even cheaper—\$13 for the first gift, \$12 for the second and \$11 for the third, fourth, fifth and all the rest.

So even though time is short, we've got a gift idea that lasts all year long. Why not take care of your holiday shopping from your living room this year? Avoid the crowds and the craziness of last minute shopping. Give your friends and family a thoughtful gift that keeps them thinking week after week, and give yourself a break from the department store shopping lines. Just fill out the coupon below and we'll do the rest.

ID # _____
(The number immediately above your name on your label.)

Send my first gift to: _____

My Name _____

Address _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

City/State/Zip _____

HSAS

☐ One Year/\$25 ☐ Six Months/\$13

Send my second gift to: _____

☐ Renew my own subscription for \$25

☐ My payment is enclosed

☐ Bill me after January 1, 1984

☐ Charge my: ☐ Master Card ☐ VISA

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ One Year/\$23 ☐ Six Months/\$12

Send my third gift to: _____

Account # _____

Expiration Date _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ One Year/\$21 ☐ Six Months/\$11

In These Times, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657

Subscriptions will begin with the first issue in January

For faster service, use our toll-free number: 1-800-247-2160;
Iowa residents: 1-800-362-2860

Rates above are for U.S. residents only. All foreign subscriptions are \$35 for one year and \$17.50 for six months.



Were the Rosenbergs really Soviet spies?

In their book, "The Rosenberg File," Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton assert that they have come up with new and conclusive evidence showing that the Rosenbergs were guilty.

The *New York Times* says that Radosh and Milton have made the "definitive" case.

Conservative columnist George Will says "they establish beyond doubt" the Rosenbergs' guilt.

James Weinstein, editor of *In These Times*, says that "The Rosenberg File" has performed "a great service" for the left.

But how good a case have Radosh and Milton made?

Read "Sorting Through 'The Rosenberg File,'" by Irwin Silber, a special supplement of the newspaper *Frontline*. Silber analyzes the Radosh-Milton theory and the evidence on which it is based and demonstrates how the authors' own ideological blinders have led them to misread their own evidence and construct a theory with no substance to it.

For the issue of *Frontline* which includes this special supplement, send \$1.00 to *Frontline*, P.O. Box 2729, Oakland, CA 94602.

Berland, however, didn't demote him on the spot, Cooper notes—a telegram in Chile notified him of the decision.

The ingredient that made the firings part of this unsavory political stew is Peter Franck, whose siding with Frasca, Cooper and Spark opened the rift foundation-wide. Franck has long feuded over administrative responsibilities with Maeda—she filed a grievance earlier this year charging him with interfering with her work. The rivalry has resulted in the abolition of Franck's position as president beginning January 1984, when the Pacifica board plans to consolidate most of the president's powers with the executive director's in a single strengthened position.

Franck is out of the country and can't be reached for comment. But his siding with the Pacifica *desaparecidos*—after backing Spark's firing last year—is widely perceived as an alliance designed to force the national board to reconsider its reorganization plan. Raising the corporate funding issue publicly four months after it was considered settled is uniformly described as an attempt to discredit Maeda. And the investigation and firing of Berland avenged Cooper and Spark, but also demonstrated that Pacifica needs a president who can act to resolve conflict.

Franck is unlikely to succeed in his quest. "This has become a political struggle clothing an attempt for personal vindication," says Ying Lee Kelly, a KPFK boardmember Franck recruited to the national board who has split with him over the Berland firing. "All these people have distorted and disguised these personnel problems as an ideological battle to gain support and coverage. It is unforgivable."

And yet the feuding has an ideological component. The *desaparecidos* fought for a more rigidly defined left line in Pacifica programming, in contrast with the "pluralism" that has marked the stations since Pacifica's founding. But it was their methods more than their politics that brought them into sharpest conflict with

other programmers and management. Now they wage their battle from the outside, with a campaign that has succeeded in eroding listener support and subscriptions at KPFK. That former employees could wreak such havoc on an institution they once were part of perplexes people like Kelly. "It makes me think of the King Solomon story—you know who the mother is because she's the one who objects to cutting the baby in half." But the methods of the "protracted struggle" against Pacifica, as Spark calls it, are in themselves a measure of the ideological

nature of the conflict.

Inside the station, morale is low and the conflict has even found its way into the union. The local, which has been used by both sides, recently voted out its contract negotiating team partly because two of the three members had recommended, as union representatives, that Franck fire Berland. Members also voted to disaffiliate from District 65 of the United Auto Workers, an affiliation pushed by Cooper and his supporters earlier this year.

Cooper compares the union members to "Chilean shopkeepers who supported

the fascists against Allende." But Jennie Hubbard, the third member of the union's ousted negotiating team, sees it differently. "Now there's no affiliated union, no organized opposition to management in a time of reorganization and possible layoffs. The workers are in a terrible position. But [the Cooper-Spark faction] has polarized everyone. I once supported them. I agreed there needed to be more of a plan at the station. But they've factionalized themselves—it's just a crusade to get rid of Jim Berland."

Canada

Continued from page 7

en some justification for the fears" that he is "warlike" and "cannot be trusted to look for peace." More recently, the prime minister voiced skepticism about the justifications that Washington gave for its invasion of Grenada (which, like Canada, is a member of the British Commonwealth).

These misgivings likely contributed to Trudeau's decision to visit six NATO capitals and the Vatican in early November, though cynics suggest that the trip had more to do with Trudeau's dismal showing in the latest public opinion polls. He declared that he hopes to persuade the five (admitted) nuclear powers to establish "global limits on their strategic nuclear arsenals," to raise the nuclear threshold in Europe and to stabilize East-West relations. In Trudeau's opinion, "The relationship between the superpowers may have become too charged with animosity for East-West relations to be entrusted to them alone."

Most observers have expressed skepticism at Trudeau's chances and the response from Washington was cool. Apparently, Trudeau believes that his efforts will be well-received by the voters back home, and he hopes to take some

steam out of the peace movement at the same time.

But recent polls show a majority of Canadians prefer that Ottawa follow a middle path between the superpowers. Last year, the noted Canadian author George Woodcock wrote: "So far as Canada is concerned, to allow the testing of the Cruise here will mean our identification in the eyes of the world with the most belligerent of U.S. policies."

Canadian peace groups act as the cutting edge of public support for such a

middle path and they are not content to sit around waiting for Trudeau. During United Nations Disarmament week in October, 40,000-60,000 Canadians again took to the streets in protest, not only of Cruise testing here, but of the planned December deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. And as an expression of the growing unity between the peace movements in the U.S. and Canada, "Refuse the Cruise" Canada-U.S. Solidarity Days were scheduled for December 2 and 3.

Make a Living as a Social Change Activist

...become a Public Interest Psychotherapist

A fully accredited Master's Program in Psychology, fulfilling requirements to become a licensed marriage and family therapist. Psychoanalytic, family systems and Marxist theory are taught in an intellectually serious training program that focuses on training therapists for the labor movement, social change movements, and women, gay and Third World communities. Instructors include Dr. Michael Lerner; Dr. Peter Gabel; Lee Schore, MSW; Dr. Terry Kupers; Dr. Michael Bader; Dr. Mina Caulfield; Dr. Nancy Feinstein; Dr. Angela Davis and Dr. Guillermo Bernal.

Evening Courses, so you can work and go to school.

Accelerated program, 18 months, starts January, apply by December 15th.

For September 1984 admissions, apply by March 15th.

FOR MORE INFORMATION WRITE:

Psychology Graduate Program,
NEW COLLEGE OF CALIFORNIA
777 Valencia St, San Francisco, CA 94110

Make some
New Year's Revolutions
— at 33 1/3 rpm —

Celebrate the Spirit of a Decade with Journeys

A retrospective of 12 favorites from Holly's first 6 albums—10 years of music that celebrates life, love, and visions for a better world. A great way to introduce Holly to a friend... a fuel for the long distance traveler.

Catch hold of a Lifeline

Holly Near and Ronnie Gilbert (of the Weavers) together! The live album that captures the warmth, power, and excitement of their historic performances.

Available at local stores or send \$8.50 per album to Redwood Records, 476 W. MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, CA 94609. Both available on cassette. Also: New low prices on Holly's first 3 albums in your stores!

Peter, Paul and Mary
SUCH IS LOVE

Send \$9.95 per album plus \$1. for postage & handling to:
Peter, Paul and Mary
Box 1380, Murray Hill Station
New York 10156

COLLECTOR'S EDITION

PP & M's NEW ALBUM
RECORDED LIVE At Their
20th Anniversary Concert

"Between true Christianity and people's revolution, there is no contradiction."

Does Christianity have a place in a socialist society? Does the Christian faith allow for a socialist ideology? In her latest book Margaret Randall, author of *Sandino's Daughters*, answers "yes" to both these questions.

The Nicaraguan revolution marked the first time in history that the Church allied itself with a progressive revolutionary movement. *Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution* is a unique view of recent Nicaraguan history, seen through the eyes of Christian revolutionaries. \$7.95

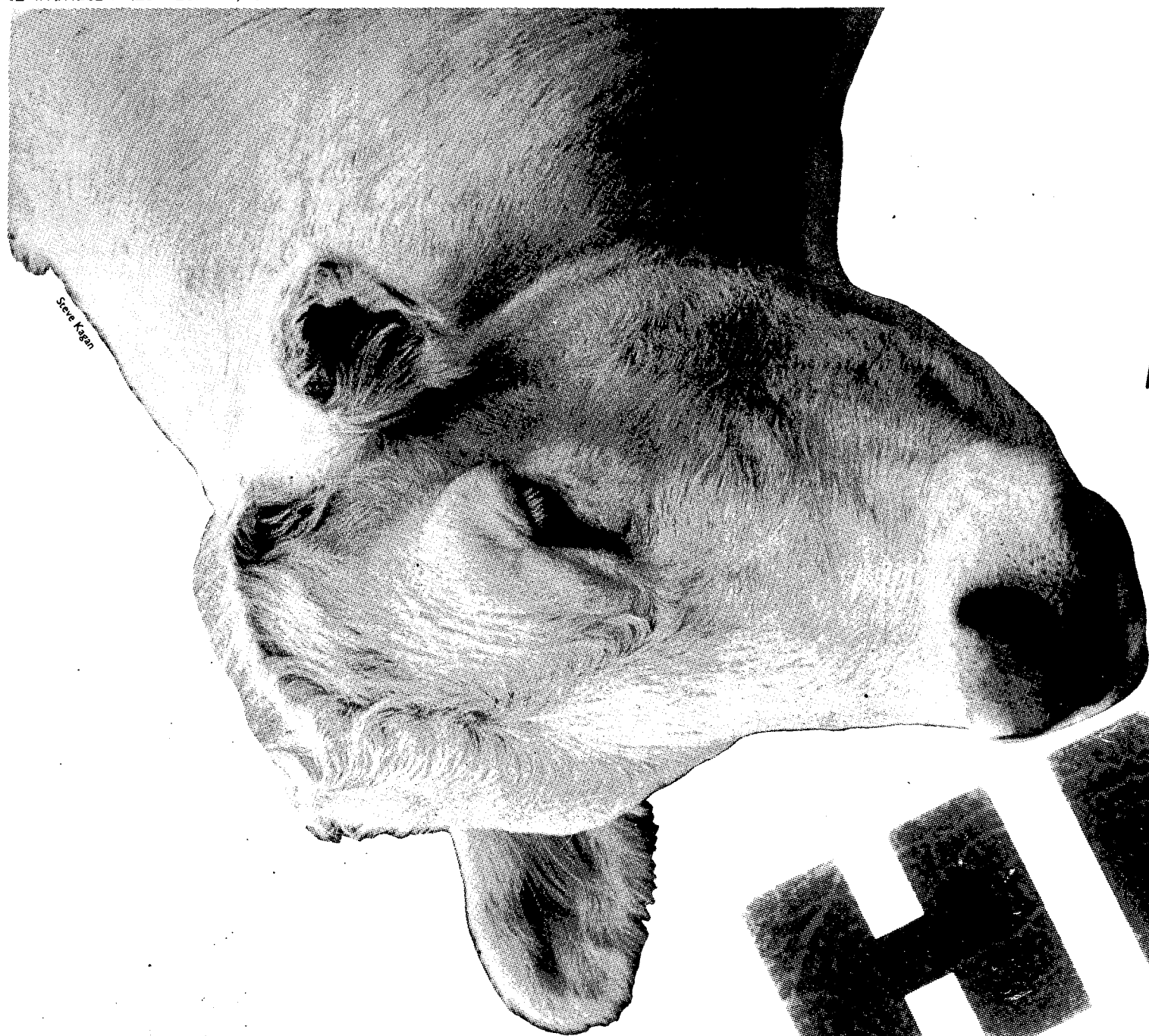
Margaret Randall

Sandino's Daughters
Testimonies of Nicaraguan Women in Struggle. "A powerful portrait of Nicaraguan women both as individuals and as a political force." — Ms. Magazine, \$7.95

DORIS TIJERINO: Inside the Nicaraguan Revolution.
Published in 1978, Doris Tijerino, now a member of Nicaragua's post-war government, recounts her experiences in prison and in the battlefield during her country's revolution. \$5.25

Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution

At bookstores, or from New Star Books
2504 York Ave.
Vancouver, B.C.
V6K 1E3 Canada



By John Conroy

HIDE

CHICAGO

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT WILL soon consider the case of the Surak brothers, Vlastimil and Slavomir, the hard-working owners of a tannery situated on a godforsaken block off the Chicago River. The firm is marginal. The case is curious, and rife with seeming contradictions. And the Court's decision may be momentous. The lives of thousands, perhaps millions of workers could be changed as a result.

A tannery, even a good one, is not a pleasant place to work. Skins of dead horses, cows, pigs, goats, deer, walrus, kangaroos, sharks, alligators, water buffalos and ostriches are shipped from slaughterhouses, depending on the product the tannery produces. Before a meat packer ships the skins, workers salt them to prevent them from putrefying. But the raw hides are not deodorized and pieces of the animal's fat and muscle may accompany the hide to the tannery. Earlier civilizations treated hides by soaking them in a watery mixture that sometimes included dog, poultry or pig dung, and therefore tanneries were often located on the downwind side of a village.

Today hides are soaked in a series of chemical solutions; each tannery has its own formulas and may well guard them as a trade secret. The chemicals are strong and potentially hazardous: at Horween Leather, a tannery near the Surak broth-

ers' firm, eight workers were killed and 37 injured on Valentine's Day 1978, when a mistaken combination of chemicals produced a noxious gas. Most of the dead were Mexicans.

The tannery industry in Chicago was dominated by Eastern Europeans before World War II, and by blacks in the '50s. The work is hard and dirty. Nobody's son went into his father's shop, and as each group achieved some education they moved on, leaving the field to more desperate workers. Today's employees are mostly Hispanics.

Vlastimil Surak, born in Czechoslovakia, the son of a tannery worker, went to work in a tannery there at age 13. When he emigrated to the U.S. in the late '40s, he was 21 years old and an old hand in the business. In 1954, he and his brother set up their own small plant that employed up to nine workers. Many were Mexicans and did not speak English. Employee turnover was substantial.

The brothers Surak—now known as John and Steve—worked 12 hours a day, six days a week. They did not always come to easy agreement about how the company should be managed. One confrontation between the two brothers, involving a black employee, Albert Strong, was recorded by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) in a 1973 case. "Various dates for this incident are given ranging from 1968 to early 1970," wrote the administrative law judge assigned to the case. "The indictment arose out of a dispute between the partners concerning Strong's work assignment. A composite of the testimony indicates that, upon losing the job assignment argument to his brother, Steve [Slavomir] threw a skin over Strong's head. Strong reacted in an-

ger and turn pair of his hand. Stron approached disarmed b fired Stron telling Steve and would day, Steve a the incident had hot ten

At that union shop organize the ended in a —effective ity, and the by the NLI work force

In 1976, crack the S as Sure-Tar ombian wh years before cago Local signing up

John Su unions. Du 1971, John and asked said he was cans was s testified th Mexican be I can get a

Floribert ployee dur recalled in s ministrative had approa

A union vote by the largely Mexican workforce at a Chicago factory led to an Immigration Service raid.

SEEK