

Sanctions aid peace movement

by Jorgen Dragsdahl
Pacific News Service

COPENHAGEN, DENMARK—President Reagan's sanctions against the Soviet Union and Poland might not help the Polish people—but they probably will help the campaign for European disarmament.

The declaration of martial law in Poland had been a serious blow to this movement. Until then, many of its followers saw a link between the challenge against the American hegemony in the West, and an apparent retreat of Soviet hegemony in the East. The British historian E.P. Thompson, who plays a leading role in the campaign, has often argued that if the West would relax its military and ideological pressure on the East, it would enlarge the space within which political reform might take place in its own way, and at its own pace, on the other side.

Indeed, if Eastern Europe is allowed room by the Soviet Union for democratic reforms, then it becomes harder to argue that the Warsaw Pact is a threat against which we in Western Europe must arm ourselves with American nuclear weapons.

The repression in Poland had a sobering impact on these dreams, presenting the Western European public with a view of East Bloc militarism that grew harsher with each passing day. The movement itself, moreover, is drawn from circles where considerable sympathy for Solidarity has flourished since August, 1980. Seeing one's heroes interned by the thousands could not encourage hopes for a positive East Block response to disarmament appeals.

Then Reagan came on the scene. He based his declaration on moral outrage, and many Europeans thought immediately of the peasants in El Salvador and Guatemala. He condemned the Soviet hand behind military rule, and many here thought of U.S. support for the military dictatorship in Turkey. He announced sanctions, expecting allied support, and leading West European politicians complained that he had not even consulted them beforehand. In sum, many of us saw an American president acting quite cynically in a matter of extreme concern to Europeans without any regard for European views.

And that cynicism has again made

neutrality between the two superpowers respectable. Attention which had once been totally focused on Poland was diverted to the dispute between Reagan and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

Thus Reagan gave the European peace movement another chance by putting himself into direct conflict with the three sentiments from which it draws its strength: His actions fueled a widespread fear of war and increased international tension. They ignored the growing force of "Europeanization"—people in both Eastern and Western Europe acknowledging their common heritage and destiny. And finally, they overlooked the fact that many Europeans have simply stopped believing more military power yields more security.

This reaction to the Reagan sanctions might surprise American sensibilities—the military in Poland demonstrates the use of ruthless power, and Western Europe ends up criticizing its protector, the United States. And while the claims of outright anti-Americanism in Western Europe made by some media observers are exaggerated, there is certainly a problem of trust. Lately, people in Washington have developed the habit of talking quite casually about limited nuclear war, creating a suspicion here that American leaders might take risks that seem limited to them, but are total for us. Opposition to this state of affairs can be expressed in somewhat in-temperate form.

But a rejection of the policies of the present administration is not a rejection of everything American. In fact, American critics of the arms race have inspired a great number of European peace activists.

The Reagan administration has often declared that the movement against nuclear weapons was directed by the Soviet Union. Among other things, that view ignores the history of the European left over the last couple of decades, in which a fundamental change has taken place. It is worth noting that the strongest condemnation of the Polish Communist Party and the Soviet Union has come from the Italian Communist Party, the largest in Western Europe. In addition, President Reagan's view overlooks efforts by the peace movement to forge relations with dissident groups in Eastern Europe, efforts that could hardly be approved by the

Russians.

The British-led European Nuclear Disarmament Organization, for example, quickly expressed solidarity with the Polish workers after the military takeover, and asserted that peace and democracy were indivisible. It appealed for an end to martial law and the freeing of political prisoners. It demanded that the Soviet Union respect the integrity of Poland, and called on all governments to refrain from exerting political and economic pressure on her.

There are many other indications that ties between East and West are growing in the process of Europeanization. The Czech human rights group, Charter 77, had addressed a public statement to the Western peace movement, linking the struggle for political freedom with the struggle against nuclear weapons. The Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council, the most effective anti-war movement in Western Europe, has developed extensive relations with the West German churches, which are becoming more critical and peace-oriented. Reports from Hungary tell of several thousand pacifists gathering in a December 14 demonstration against both NATO and Warsaw Pact contributions to the arms race. And in Rumania, several hundred thousand have participated in officially sponsored marches against nuclear weapons in East and West.

A return to the Cold War of the sort implied by Reagan's sanctions is at odds with the further development of these ties. Thanks to the officially proclaimed peace policy of the Warsaw Pact countries, Western groups at least have a chance to communicate directly to the people of the East Bloc. Renewed cold war would close the doors detente opened, and only make the repression of an effective European peace movement easier.

A strategy premised instead on development of a popular political base for disarmament in Europe has been called naive, and the events in Poland may reinforce such a charge. But hundreds of thousands marched this fall in Western Europe in the belief that more arms and more confrontation rhetoric would inevitably lead to total war. Martial law in Poland will end one day, and the ideas underlying a new Europe cannot be repressed so easily.

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Reagan budget harms poor

by Harris Levon McRae

U.S. Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally (D-Cal.) was in Portland recently to address a campaign rally for Walter Backstrom, state legislative candidate for District 18.

Congressman Dymally, with over sixteen years political experience, has served as California State Assemblyman, State Senator, Lieutenant Governor, and is a member of the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Technology as a representative of the 31st Congressional District.

"The poor are faced with some very serious challenges and the future doesn't look very bright. Because of these adverse situations we need to rethink our entire agenda," Dymally said.

Dymally feels that Californians are concerned with the issues that most U.S. citizens are concerned with, especially the economy and the way President Reagan's administration is handling it. "Reagan has done tremendous damage budget-wise to the poor and the elderly. The legislature is attempting to balance the budget and repair the damage of Reagan's budget cuts."

One of Dymally's main concerns as a politician is with the Haitian refugees. He and the Rev. Jesse Jackson are working along with the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Science and Technology to focus attention on the problems of the Haitians. "The Haitians should be treated as an international problem—not just as a Black problem. They are viewed as economic refugees while Vietnamese, Cambodians—

everyone except the Haitians—are viewed as political refugees. There is no difference and they should not be made to stay in concentration camps."

When asked if he had any political "Heroes," Congressman Dymally singled out John Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, Adam Clayton Powell and Congressman Gus Hawkins from California. "Especially Humphrey, he had a lot of warmth and simpatico for fellow human beings."

It takes a lot of hard work and commitment to succeed in politics. "There is no substitute for hard work, and that can be tough at times. Politics is a family disorganizer—especially for those who live on the West Coast. Politicians on the East Coast can more or less 'live' in Washington."

Dymally said that Ronald Reagan is a "very able politician, but he treats the economy in too simplistic terms. There is a danger in Reagan's dependency on the private sector to turn the economy around. We are riding a selfish mood as far as the middle class is concerned."

Along with electing Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, Governor of the state of California and Jerry Brown U.S. Senator, Dymally is also very interested in seeing Blacks go into party politics. "Not many young Blacks move into politics. Politics don't reward their talents sufficiently so they move into the private sector for high salaries and foreign cars. The South is still the main part of the nation showing Blacks with a deep political commitment. Given the damage that Re-



REP. M. DYMALLY

gan is doing to the civil rights movement and his excessive emphasis on the military, politics is now the cutting edge in the civil rights movement. There was a time when Blacks couldn't get into politics—now we can. Those who can afford time and money should contribute as much as they can. You can't influence an institution by staying away from it."

Congressman Dymally originally came to this country from Trinidad, West Indies, as a nineteen-year-old student. Among other jobs, he worked as a union organizer and a teacher of exceptional children before entering politics. His wife Alice, is a former teacher. He is the father of two children, Mark and Lynn.

County seeks representatives

Multnomah County Executive Don Clark today announced that vacancies exist on the following citizen boards and commissions:

Adult and Family Services Review Board; Building Code Board of Appeals; Child Care Coordinating

Council; Community Corrections Advisory Committee; Community Health Council; Economic Development Advisory Committee; Emergency Medical Services Advisory Committee; Employees Retirement Board; Merit System Civic Service Council; Parks Commission.

Citizens are encouraged to apply or to recommend appointments to the County Executive. Interested persons should write or call Maggie Pendleton, Office of the County Executive, 1021 SW 4th Avenue, Portland, OR 97204, 248-3308.

School tax-exemption stirs debate

by Catherine Siegner

Few actions by the Reagan Administration have stirred up as much debate, and consequently, revealed the true direction of Reaganomics, as the Jan. 8 move allowing tax-exempt status to private schools which practice racial discrimination.

The policy of denying tax exemptions to such schools began in 1970, when then-President Nixon ordered their revocation in response to a Mississippi court case. Black parents had requested a temporary injunction to stop discriminating institutions from receiving federal tax breaks and won.

The Internal Revenue Service subsequently initiated regulations amounting to "punishing" segregated schools by withholding the special tax breaks. This situation prevailed until it came under the scrutiny of the Reagan campaign, and the candidate promised to end what he saw as implementation of social policy through administrative regulations.

Before his nomination, Reagan pledged to uphold the 1980 GOP platform, which stated, "We will halt the unconstitutional regulatory vendetta launched by Mr. Carter's IRS commissioner against independent schools."

Although it has yet to be decided whether the IRS' "vendetta" is indeed "unconstitutional," both lower courts and the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals have ruled the government has the legal authority to deny tax exemptions to schools which discriminate.

Analysis

Two schools originally challenged the IRS position—Bob Jones University in South Carolina, and Goldsboro Christian Schools in North Carolina. As revealed in a recent news show, Bob Jones University, while accepting Black students (in certain quotas), does not allow interracial dating on campus.

Since the administration's recent reversal of IRS policy, however, these schools would now be eligible for tax-exempt status in spite of their overtly racist policies.

Due to the hue and cry emanating from all parts of the country, Reagan and his "Big Three" aides—Edwin Meese, James Baker and Michael Deaver—have been desperately trying to turn their action into something that looks more palatable and less like outright administration approval of racial discrimination.

It hasn't been easy. Claims that Reagan didn't realize the effect of his own rule don't wash when the history of his involvement in the issue is revealed. As he hurried to send legislation to Capitol Hill denying tax exemptions to blatantly discriminating schools, Reagan was caught once again backtracking to cover an embarrassing blunder.

White House spokesman David Gergen appeared on PBS' MacNeil-Lehrer Report, abashedly vowing to do better next time by adequately communicating at the top levels in order to avoid such "misunderstandings."

Even if the administration manages to emerge unscathed from this particular quagmire, questions remain about its posture on racial equality, in the schools and elsewhere. GOP leaders fear the fallout could be long-lasting, even as long as November 2, when, as their nightmares run, Black voters go to the polls in droves and separate Republican incumbents from their offices.

As syndicated columnist Richard Reeves put it recently, "...these clever people in momentary power are in the process of doing everything they can to put Blacks in their place—and Ronald Reagan seems to believe that place is about 1950."

Antigua gains freedom, joins UN

Freedom came to Antigua, in the Caribbean, after 350 years of British rule.

Warfare was not needed to win Antigua's freedom. Independence was achieved through mutual agreement. Even though defense was not an issue for independence, Prime Minister Lester Bird says the nation's biggest challenge will be

building up its armed forces. Since the aborted invasion of Dominica last year, security has become a primary concern of most Caribbean islands.

Tourism is Antigua's major source of income. Last year tourism brought in more than \$114 million in foreign exchange earnings and about \$14 million in wages. 40 per

cent of that total was brought in by American tourists.

Is the 157th member of the United Nations ready for all the responsibilities of independence? Prime Minister Bird asserts, "...after 350 years, if we're not ready to look after our own destiny and self-determination, then we never will be."

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