



workers world

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

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Workers' power challenges apartheid bosses

South African miners: 'Strike a total success'

By Robert Dobrow

August 11 — In a stunning show of working-class power, the miners of South Africa have dealt a body blow to the fascist apartheid state, shutting down the vital gold and coal mines which produce the lifeblood of the South African economy.

Some 340,000 Black miners are out on strike in the largest contract-related walkout in South African history. One-third of the gold and coal mines have been closed shut over the workers' demand for a "living wage." The strike is already spreading and officials of the militant National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) have begun strike balloting at 12 additional mines that produce platinum, chrome, uranium and diamonds.

"The strike is totally successful," said NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa. "It is a very big step toward a major victory."

According to a news report monitored on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) today, when miners at one pit were ordered back to work at gunpoint, they defied the police and sat down right inside the

mine. The BBC also reported that the African National Congress of South Africa, the group leading the struggle against the racist regime, has come out strongly in support of the strike.

Gold key to apartheid

Mining accounts for over 80% of the apartheid regime's export earnings. Gold alone makes up about 60% of such earnings. It is absolutely central to the South African economy and feeds the fortunes not only of the rulers in Pretoria and Johannesburg but of the giant financial houses on Wall Street, London, Bonn and the Bourse. Yet the Black workers who dig up the gold deep under the ground are some of the most super-exploited and oppressed in the world.

Black miners earn about \$200 a month compared to \$750 for white miners. They are forced to live in unsanitary and overcrowded single sex hostels where they are forbidden by law to reside with their families for the duration of their contract at the mine. Over the last decade, more than 8,000 have been killed in mine-related accidents and 250,000 injured.

The NUM is demanding better

wages and living conditions as part of the "living-wage campaign" launched by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, South Africa's largest trade union federation. The miners want a 30% across-the-board wage increase, as well as danger pay and an increase in death benefits from two to five times a victim's annual salary.

The Chamber of Mines calls these demands "unreasonable." The NUM says that "Mineworkers are determined to show they are prepared to mount a bitter and protracted struggle for a living wage."

Struggle for 'control' of the mines

The mineworkers' union is one of the most militant and politically active groups in the anti-apartheid struggle. Recently, the NUM became the first union to adopt the 1955 Freedom Charter of the African National Congress, the famous document which eloquently sets forth the ANC's goals to rid the country of oppression. Upon accepting the Freedom Charter last February, the NUM declared, "The workers' struggle in the mines cannot be separated from the struggle in the

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Delegates at Second National Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in July.

PHOTO: AFRAPIX/IMPACT VISUALS

ALL OUT FOR AUG. 30!

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Detroit newspapers fake bankruptcy to merge

By Kris Hamel
Free Press Unit member
Newspaper Guild Local 22
Detroit

When does a \$71 million loan get forgiven, turn into a corporate asset, and then revert back to a liability, a loss on the books (including \$26 million more in retroactive interest)?

The answer — when you're a newspaper desperately trying to fail in order to make huge profits further down the road, of course.

This corporate financial trickery was revealed in federal court this week as public hearings began on the proposed joint operating agreement (JOA) between the Detroit News and Detroit Free Press.

The above shenanigan was performed by the Free Press and its parent company, the multi-billion dollar Knight-Ridder, Inc. The newspapers are claiming that the Free Press is a failing enterprise, that both papers are losing tens of millions of dollars a year, and that only a JOA monopoly will save them. The Detroit JOA is a merger of the newspapers in all areas except the editorial departments.

If ultimately approved by the attorney general, it will be the largest newspaper monopoly in North America. Profits of \$1 billion are expected for the companies over the 100 year life of the agreement. The jobs of over 1,000 workers will be sacrificed for this end.

The intervenors in the hearing opposing the JOA are six newspaper unions, including the Teamsters and Newspaper Guild, and Detroit mayor

Coleman Young. The anti-trust division of the Justice Department is also challenging the JOA.

The Detroit News and Free Press have been longtime arch rivals and competitors. Attorneys for the unions say the newspapers do not qualify for a JOA because they have not tried to make money, but instead have spent heavily in a struggle for dominance they have themselves described as "maniacal" and "irrational."

It was the tremendous opposition to the JOA and disbelief in the failing status of the Free Press that forced Atty. Gen. Edwin Meese to order hearings.

The 1.2 million daily readers of the two newspapers have learned that the papers are not in existence to provide community service and information but rather are big businesses like any others, whose main concern is profit at whatever expense. Previous JOA's in other cities have shown that these mergers are also racist in character with coverage and service to the inner cities drastically reduced.

The true face of the newspapers has also been shown in relation to the unions. Collective bargaining contracts expired in June, and the companies, according to Guild negotiators, have shown no intention of wanting to reach a settlement. In addition to wage freezes, they want the workers to pick up increases in health insurance, which go into effect Sept. 1. The unions are bargaining jointly with the newspapers and will be taking strike authorization votes from the memberships in the next few weeks.



WW PHOTO: JUDY GREENSPAN

Lesbian and gay speakout. On July 31 in Seattle, the Peoples of Color Caucus of the Oct. 11 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights presented a speakout entitled Double Jeopardy — Twice Oppressed. The event was held in conjunction with national organizing efforts and a national meeting in Seattle of the March on Washington planning committee. The forum hosted a compelling and talented group of nationally known lesbian/gay persons of color including San Francisco's Pat Norman, national co-chair of the March on Washington, Carmen Roundtree, from the New York (national office) of the All-Peoples Congress, and Terry Ortiz of Boston, chair of the Peoples of Color Caucus. Black, Latino and Native speakers addressed a standing room crowd of 130. The forum was chaired by Seattle activist Damita Brown from Seattle Lesbians of Color and Will Smith from the Seattle All-Peoples Congress. These organizations sponsored the event along with Seattle Black and White Men Together and the National Peoples of Color Caucus.

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1,200 nurses strike in Oakland, Berkeley

By Bruce Baginski
RN, member CNA
Oakland, Calif.

August 11 — Over 1,200 registered nurses, represented by the California Nurses Association, walked off their jobs this week at three hospitals in the East Bay. On Tuesday, 300 nurses went on strike at Providence Hospital in Oakland, forcing the operation to reduce services to 30 patients, compared with a norm of about 200.

Friday, the strike widened to Alta Bates and Herrick Hospitals in Berkeley, both owned by the Alta Bates Corporation. More than 900 nurses walked off, and the combined daily patient population was reduced from about 350 to 150. Nurses totalling 1,300 in four other East Bay hospitals are currently negotiating new contracts. If those nurses go on strike as well, the area could be hit by a medical crisis.

Nurses are demanding a 14% raise over two years. Providence has offered 7%, Alta Bates and Herrick only 6.5%. Taking inflation into account this amounts to a wage cut. Striking nurses maintain that the wage demands are modest in view of greatly increased workloads and the need to reverse an exodus of nurses from the profession.

The hospital administrators' solution to the nursing shortage is increasing workload and the length of the workday, which results in nurse burn-out and dangerous conditions for the worker and patient alike.

In a move directly related to the strike, 600 hospital workers — many of them Local 250 members in house-keeping, food service, laundry, clerical, maintenance, pharmacy and supply distribution — were laid off today at the three hospitals. This is surely a move to cut costs, and apply pressure to the strikers. But it can only gain more sympathy for the strike by showing the callousness of the hospital administrators.

Administrators at Providence rejected proposals designed by CNA to enhance recruitment of nurses into the hospitals and maintain quality care, such as increased staffing and better in-hospital training. They also want language in the contract to prohibit informational picketing and support of other strikes by nurses.

Thirty-eight Providence employees, mostly RNs, signed a letter to administrator Dona Taylor protesting the callousness shown toward workers. Specialty area nurses are being told to obtain special certifications but are



Striking Oakland nurses fight for a decent wage.

WW PHOTO: BRUCE BAGINSKI

also offered no incentives to attain or maintain these costly certificates. Providence charges its own employees \$24 to take mandatory CPR training, where most hospitals offer these classes free to workers, and even the general public can take them for less than \$10 from the Red Cross.

Treatment of techs protested

Also cited in the letter was the "appalling" treatment of respiratory and EKG techs. It states, "We feel administration is essentially holding them hostage during this critical time because they are some of the only people not protected by a bargaining contract." Because of the impending strike the techs' jobs and seniority are being threatened to prevent them from using earned vacation days.

Two other hospital unions which represent x-ray and lab techs have agreed to join the picket lines Monday at Providence. Talks between CNA and all three hospitals have completely broken off at this time. The strikers are optimistic about holding out because the nursing shortage has given them plenty of work available in the area. Registries have been recruiting at the picket lines.

570 arrested in U.S. protests of nuke weapons

By Lallan Stein

At least 570 people were arrested in the U.S. as thousands demonstrated worldwide on Aug. 9, the 42nd anniversary of the U.S. detonation of an atomic bomb over Nagasaki, Japan. The arrests occurred as more than a thousand anti-war activists marched on U.S. nuclear bases in Nevada, Colorado and Washington.

At the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant in Colorado protesters set out at 5:30 a.m. to shut down a Rockwell International Corp. facility for the day. They marched 500 strong on two main gates where they were met by state police. When they refused police orders to disperse, 320 were arrested.

Rockwell runs this plant for the U.S. Department of Energy. It produces plutonium triggers for nuclear weapons.

At the Nevada Test Site, located in the desert 65 miles north of Las Vegas, about 400 demonstrators faced down the cops and 228 were arrested. They were not held long. The growing number of demonstrations and arrests at the site this year has caused local authorities to stop prosecuting the protesters.

The third demonstration occurred when protesters forced entry into a Trident nuclear submarine base in Bangor, Wash. There were 22 arrested. Like the others, they faced arrests in order to show their opposition to U.S. nuclear war madness.

Among other U.S. demonstrations to mark the event there was a Peace Fair in Nashville, Tenn. In the Philippines, residents of Manila protested and in Nagasaki, Japan, 25,000 gathered in a memorial service for their loved ones.

On the picket line

LTV settlement. Workers at LTV Steel voted on Aug. 6 to approve a new contract settlement that will restore most of the pension benefits for retirees while cutting 500 more jobs at LTV plants. The contract ratification, which passed with a 57% "yes" vote, is being challenged in court by the Reagan administration in a fight over the pension rights of some 45,000 retired workers. The federal Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC) — whose ostensible purpose is to guarantee pension payments to covered workers — had cut supplemental payments to LTV retirees by as much as \$400 per month after the steel company terminated its pension plans and dumped them on the PBGC during bankruptcy proceedings. Now the agency is opposing any restoration of retirement benefits to these workers.

While the LTV contract settlement involves considerable concessions in exchange for pension restitution, and there was real opposition to it, LTV workers and retirees appear united in their resolve to continue the struggle for jobs and retirees' rights. Workers World spoke to Dolores Hrycyk, a leader of the LTV retirees in their pension struggle over the last two years, and she characterized the settlement

as "a fair break for retirees." More important, she said, was the unity between workers and retirees. "We worked hard and never gave up, and the active workers backed us up 100%. And if it had been a no vote, we would have backed them up — we would have been on the picket lines with them." Hrycyk said that the lesson of the LTV struggle, for both active and retired workers, is "to never trust the corporations again." Or the government. She said the retirees will continue their battle to defend pension rights against the PBGC's attack, and "if the PBGC messes with us again, we'll be right out there fighting again."

• • •

Pittsburgh janitors' victory.

After a struggle that lasted a year and a half, 75 Pittsburgh, Pa., janitors recently won an important victory against the powerful Mellon Bank. Mellon had slashed the workers' wages by \$3 per hour in early 1986, then subcontracted janitorial work they'd been performing to a non-union firm. But the workers, mostly Black and other Third World members of Service Employees Local 29, waged a determined campaign to expose Mellon's union-busting with frequent pickets and demonstrations and an advertising campaign exposing the hypocrisy of the bank's slogan, "a neighbor you can count on." As a result of this struggle, Local 29 won an agreement that includes back pay — an average of \$8,000 per worker — and reinstatement to full-time status at full pay for an increase of \$4.75 per hour, full contractual seniority rights, pension benefits and medical insurance. The agreement covers janitors at two Mellon bank buildings in Pittsburgh, but it will likely have additional side benefits: SEIU is in the midst of an organizing drive at a third, and the successful conclusion of this struggle is sure to give a boost to that effort.



Protesters in Nagasaki mark anniversary of 1945 atomic bomb attack.

Shelley Ettinger

Central American presidents sign agreement

By Dee Knight

August 10 — Presidents of the five Central American countries — Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras and Guatemala — signed a peace agreement Friday that Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega called “a first great, transcendent and historic step” toward a settlement to the conflict in the region. If implemented, the pact would deny the contras use of

bases in Honduras and call for an end to U.S. funds for the contras.

The signing took place at a historic summit meeting in Guatemala City despite a last-minute Reagan administration bid to steal the show with a bogus proposal of its own. This was widely recognized as a cynical ploy to win congressional support for more contra aid funds.

“When the Reagan plan was made public, it provoked an anti-American

reaction,” a senior contra official lamented to the Christian Science Monitor.

“This is a Central American agreement,” commented Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, who initiated the agreement. “We Central Americans understand the problems, and the answers to those problems, better than anyone else.”

Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo added that, “We want

to become the principal actor in our own history, and we’re asking foreign nations to respect our own will to construct peace.”

While the agreement is recognized as a victory over U.S. efforts to dominate the entire region and destabilize Nicaragua, President Ortega cautioned that “we still have major steps to take before there is peace in Central America. We cannot yet have great expectations.”

The official Sandinista newspaper *Barricada* editorialized on Sunday that “We have entered another phase in the struggle for peace.” It reiterated the Nicaraguan call for direct negotiations with the United States to end the contra war — a call the Reagan administration continues to reject.

President Ortega added that “American aggression in the area is continuing and there are continuing threats of intervention against Nicaragua. We hope the United States government will act rationally for the first time, that it will respect this agreement of Central American leaders and leave us in peace.”

House Speaker Jim Wright of Texas expressed support for the plan and urged Reagan to support it, adding that “it would be unwise” for the Reagan administration to seek military aid for the contras while the peace talks are under way. But Wright immediately hedged his position by “not ruling out” the idea of “nonmilitary” or “humanitarian” aid to the contras during the negotiating period.

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Organized resistance undercuts Duarte regime

Strikes, guerrilla battles expand in El Salvador

By Sue Bailey
Washington

A forum entitled “El Salvador Today” organized by Oscar Ordenes, a Latin American Affairs Specialist and activist in the solidarity movement, was held here on July 30. The forum featured Ramon Cardona, a representative of the FDR/FMLN (the opposition forces in El Salvador) and Angela Sanbrano of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

The analysis presented by Ramon Cardona shed light on the deepening crisis faced by the U.S.-sponsored Duarte regime.

When Duarte came to power in 1984 with the help of the CIA, he made four promises: peace, economic prosperity, democracy and an end to human

rights violations. These promises turned out to be only promises.

On the economic front, Duarte instituted an International Monetary Fund austerity plan in January 1986 which served as a catalyst for massive opposition. This plan devalued the currency by 100%, increased taxes and caused inflation to increase from 15 to 20% in just two weeks. Rates for public transportation and utilities also soared.

As Cardona explained, “these economic assaults on the people helped create a massive opposition coalition to the government. The first action by this group — the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS) was to demonstrate in San Salvador where 60,000 marched.”

The Duarte government’s huge military operation called Operation Phoe-

nix launched two years ago also faced setbacks. The objective was to dislodge the revolutionary forces and to drive the civilian population out of the areas under FMLN control. Operation Phoenix attempted to push the FMLN forces from the central part of the country to the north where they would be encircled by both the Salvadoran and Honduran armies. “The purpose was to annihilate the FMLN,” explained Cardona.

The Salvadoran forces carried out “scorched earth tactics” destroying whole villages and leaving 20% of the population as refugees.

But Operation Phoenix failed. Instead, the FMLN, “has established a permanent military presence in over 90% of the country. We have permanent military units in 12 of the 14

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Mandela: ‘The struggle is my life’

By G. Dunkel

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela finished 25 years in a South African prison on Aug. 5, 1987. Over half the Black people in South Africa were born after he and his comrades — Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada, Denis Goldberg — were convicted, yet “Mandela-Sisulu lead us” is a slogan that is found in the speeches and songs and the hearts of the masses of struggling South Africans.

“The struggle is my life. I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days,” was what Nelson Mandela wrote while he was underground in 1961. His 25 years in prison, which the racist South African government would have gladly ended any time he renounced his revolutionary principles, have seen the struggle for freedom in South Africa and against while supremacy raised and raised again in massive displays of organized anger.

Mandela’s early life

Nelson Mandela was born in the Transkei to a rural but influential family. After being expelled from college because he led some protests, he moved to Johannesburg, became a lawyer and joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1944. He, Sisulu and some other comrades helped to form the Youth League and to move the ANC to adopt a more militant strategy.

He led the Defiance of Unjust Laws campaign in 1952, where 8,500 people were arrested in militant but non-violent protests against apartheid laws. He was one of the leading organizers of the Congress of the People in 1955, which drew up the Freedom Charter, whose preamble states “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and white.” This simple, democratic demand drew howls of

rage and heavy repression from racist South Africans who practice and profit from white supremacy.

In 1956 Mandela was among the 156 people charged with high treason. The state based its “case” on the Freedom Charter and the Manifesto of the Youth League, and the trial lasted five years before all were acquitted.

In 1960, the repression in South Africa grew more severe. Sixty-nine unarmed Black Africans were killed by the cops at Sharpeville. After this massacre, both the ANC and Mandela were banned but still were able from the underground in 1961 to organize a massive general strike in which hundreds of thousands of Black South Africans stayed at home. This was a last ditch effort to move the apartheid regime by non-violent means but the South African government responded to the stay-at-home with more and heavier repression.

Umkhonto we Sizwe

“The time comes in the life of any nation when there remains only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defense of our people, our future and our freedom.”

This quote from the manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the nation), which was to become the armed wing of the ANC, sums up the view of Mandela, Sisulu and their comrades in 1961. They saw that armed struggle starting with sabotage was the only way for the Black people of South Africa to end white supremacy and gain their freedom.

The ANC leadership was well aware that “rebellion would offer the government limitless opportunities for the indiscriminate slaughter of our people. But it was precisely because the soil of South Africa is already drenched with the blood of innocent

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Slogan in Johannesburg township in 1976 pays tribute to ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.

— Miners’ strike

Continued from page 1
community. . . . Apartheid and capitalism are two inseparable evils that must be smashed.”

NUM President James Motlasi said at that conference, “Comrades, the answer to our problems on the mines is clear. We need to take control. Nineteen eighty-seven is the year we march in that direction. . . . Under capitalism we will never find a solution to our problems. It is only with a democratic socialist South Africa that the working class and all the oppressed people will have the wealth which they produce under their control.

“Should they fail to heed our call they will have to face mass struggles on the mines for control.”

That struggle has now begun. Typically, the fascist regime has thrown its whips and dogs against the workers in a desperate attempt to crush the strike. Their repression shows no signs of intimidating anyone. Rather, it is provoking larger and larger layers of the oppressed into battle.

Meanwhile, in the Western imperialist capitals from Washington to London, those who profit the most from apartheid and whose guns and money have secretly propped up the Pretoria regime are watching with dreaded fear as the miners’ strike rolls like a tidal wave over the South African landscape. The Pentagon, for instance, relies on South Africa for its strategic minerals, which are vital in the high-tech military industries. The U.S. imports 73% of its chromium, all the manganese and 92% of its platinum from South Africa.

The Reagan administration has so far stayed silent on the strike. (If it were happening in Poland, of course, they would be cheering hysterically.) Their “human rights” campaign isn’t meant for exploited Black workers in Africa, only for right-wing thugs and “contras” fighting against the people of Nicaragua, Afghanistan or Angola. It’s the task of the anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. to bring the mineworkers’ struggle to the people here at home and to rally solidarity for their just cause.

U.S. out of Africa! Down with racism! Victory to the miners!

South Korean workers rebel against Wall Street

By Bill Doares

A wave of strikes and sit-ins is rocking south Korea in the wake of the June-July popular upsurge which weakened the grip of the U.S.-backed Chon Do Hwan dictatorship. Like their heroic class brothers and sisters in the mines of South Africa, the south Korean workers are rebelling against decades of virtual slavery to U.S. banks and multinational corporations.

As of Aug. 12, at least 200 factories were reported to be on strike while walkouts by dock workers had paralyzed shipping in Pusan and other south Korean ports. Strikes were reported at the auto plants and shipyards of Hyundai, south Korea's largest industrial conglomerate, which is partly owned by Bank of America, and at DaeWoo, the GM subsidiary that produces the Pontiac Le Mans.

On Aug. 10, the New York Times reported that striking coal miners had

seized a railway station in the town of Taebak, halting train service for 15 hours, while workers took to the streets in four major cities demanding better pay and working conditions.

South Korea has long been described in the U.S. big-business press as an "economic miracle," a country that has prospered because of "free enterprise" and trade with the United States. This is a lie.

It is true that south Korea has been a source of "miraculous" profits for General Motors, ITT, Radio Shack, Control Data and the rest of the nearly 2,000 U.S. imperialist companies that invest there. It has also been a miracle for U.S., Japanese and West European banks to whom south Korea pays nearly \$10 billion a year in interest on a debt of over \$50 billion.

But for the workers who produce this fantastic wealth, life is very hard. More than half of all south Korean workers earn less than the official poverty level of \$124 a month. Many

cannot afford housing and sleep in company-owned dormitories where they use beds in shifts. Inflation is high and there is no unemployment insurance or disability compensation.

South Korea has the longest average work week and the highest rate of industrial accidents in the world (ten times greater than that in the U.S.). It also has the lowest average wages of any industrialized country.

These conditions have been maintained by a series of brutal U.S.-backed dictatorships that have repressed unions, banned strikes, and jailed and tortured labor activists. These regimes have been propped up by the United States, which maintains more than 42,000 troops in south Korea. In a blatantly colonial relationship, the south Korean army is actually under the direct command of a U.S. general.

When current dictator Chon Do Hwan seized power in September 1980, his first foreign visitor was David Rockefeller, then president of Chase

Manhattan Bank. This was only months after Chon's U.S.-commanded paratroopers had massacred 3,000 people in the city of Kwangju.

It is no wonder that the big business-owned news media in the United States praise the south Korean economy. After all, they would like to see workers in this country working for the same wages as the workers in south Korea. This is also why they never have a good word to say about socialist north Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), where workers enjoy guaranteed employment, an eight-hour day, free medical care, free daycare for their children and rent-free housing.

Workers in this country, however, have an interest in seeing all workers everywhere win the best possible wages and working conditions. That is why we must demand that the U.S. government get all its troops and weapons out of Korea before they are used against the south Korean workers' struggle.

Repression fails to stop Haitian struggle

By Neville Edwards

August 12 — In order to try and stop the wave of militant protests and strikes by the Haitian workers and peasants, the military regime, headed by General Namphy, has been instituting more and more repressive measures.

The regime has ordered the expulsion of Daniel Narcisse, a leader of the 57 Organizations, one of the six main organizers of the recent general strike that is still being felt in Haiti today. The regime has banned public demonstrations. Areas such as downtown Port-au-Prince and the palace are off limits to public gatherings.

Narcisse has been classified by the regime as being an "undesirable foreigner." Narcisse was a political exile for 20 years during the Duvalier family reign. He has now gone into hiding inside Haiti. "Expulsion is a fascist way to disorganize the opposition," stated Narcisse.

Meanwhile, attempts to stifle mass struggle with repression have failed. The latest report out of Haiti is that high school students are boycotting final exams as a show of solidarity with the general sentiments of the masses. In support of the student boy-

cott, public transportation workers stayed off their jobs, and most businesses are still closed.

A presidential candidate known to have tried on several occasions to overthrow the Duvalier regime was involved in a gunfight with soldiers. The regime said that Bernard Sansaricq was plotting a rebellion with eight to ten other people. It has been reported that Sansaricq has fled into the countryside.

Over a week ago, at least 100 people were killed in the remote region of Haiti. It has been reported that in the town of Jean-Rabel, 140 miles northwest of Port-au-Prince, peasants were attacked and killed by landowners and Tonton Macoutes supporters. The Macoutes are militias used by the Duvalier regime to terrorize the masses. The peasants are organized by the Catholic Mission. They had gone to meet with the landowners on the issue of land redistribution. These lands were stolen from the peasants during the Duvalier regime. The regime's response to the brutal murders are that the peasants and Catholic Mission are communists.

Since the downfall of the Duvalier regime, the Reagan administration has poured over \$60 million worth of

military aid into the country. Recently, the U.S. shipped half a million dollars worth of anti-riot equipment to the regime. In addition, the U.S. has sent military advisors to Haiti to train the Haitian army in anti-riot tactics.

It is clear to the Haitian people and the rest of the world that the U.S. is to be blamed for the military violence against the Haitian workers. In a recent Christian Science Monitor report, statistics show that over 50% of the adult population is unemployed. The report states that a study in June found that malnutrition among chil-

dren under five years old has doubled since January 1987.

These days, the regime is calling for an early election. This is meant to obscure the real issue. Whereas once the masses were themselves calling for elections, today the sentiment among the Haitian people is, down with the Namphy regime, elections later!

The masses' steadfastness in carrying out heroic struggles despite the repression is evidence that Namphy's days are coming to an end just as Duvalier's did.



WW PHOTO: JOHN CATALINOTTO

Haitian solidarity in NYC. On Aug. 7, over 500 Haitian people and supporters held a militant demonstration at the Haitian consulate in New York City and then marched to the U.S. State Department office where a rally took place. This demonstration was different from previous ones in that organizers took it straight to the U.S. State Department office in Manhattan and the Haitian consulate, thereby making the link between U.S. imperialism and the Haitian military government.

Irish labor backs gay rights

The Irish labor movement has taken a major step forward in joining the struggle for lesbian and gay rights. According to a report in Gay Community News, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions — the national labor federation there — recently passed a strongly-worded statement that put Irish labor on record in support of the gay movement. The statement posed the objective of creating "a workplace environment where lesbian and gay workers can have equality of opportunity and be free of harassment or pos-

sible reprisals..." All affiliated unions (95% of organized labor in Ireland) were directed to demand contract language on non-discrimination against lesbians and gays, negotiate for protections against anti-gay harassment and work to eliminate "direct and indirect discriminatory provisions in relation to pensions, access to leave and other fringe benefits" so that gay workers' families have the same coverage as straight workers.

Shelley Ettinger



South African women. Over 175 people attended a spirited celebration of South African Women's Day in San Francisco on Aug. 8. Special guest, Susan Mnumzana, of the Women's Section of the African National Congress, spoke. On Aug. 9, 1956, over 20,000 Black South African women organized a mass and defiant protest against the racist apartheid pass laws and passbooks, which restrict the travel, employment and place of residence of all Black South Africans.

Also featured at the Aug. 8 celebration were musical group Mystic Youth, Native American poet Inez Hernandez, the Palestinian dabke dancers "Land Troupe," Vakuni Mawethu performing South African songs, and Puerto Rican poets Piri Thomas and Alfonso Texidor. The event was cosponsored by several groups, including Art Against Apartheid, San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee and U.S. Out of Southern Africa Network of the All-Peoples Congress.

WW PHOTO: PATRICIA JACKSON

California rally condemns attack on Black woman

By Ron Holladay
San Jose, Calif.

Some 250 people gathered on Aug. 3 here in a community park to rally against racism. This was the same park where a Black woman was terrorized July 25 by four racist "skinhead" youths claiming membership in the "White Aryan Resistance."

The attack occurred when the four surrounded the 54-year-old woman as she tried to cross a bridge leading from the park. "As I tried to pass them," she said, "one suddenly blocked my path and said, 'N-----s have to pay to cross' and another one pointed to a tree and said, 'We hang n-----s from this tree.'"

She started screaming and Juan Carlos Gonzales, 21, came to her defense and yelled at the racists to "leave that lady alone." He helped the woman, who has requested that her name not be used, over the fence to safety.

The Aug. 3 rally, which attracted a sign-waving, multinational crowd, was called at the request of several neighbors. Union, community, religious and progressive groups attended, chanting "No to racism, intolerance and injustice" and "Yes to liberty, equality and justice!"

The victim of the attack, a worker at San Jose State University, was one of many speakers at the hour-long rally. She thanked the crowd for their support and read a poem that she had

written to honor Gonzales.

In the presence of many city officials attending, some at the rally questioned why Kenneth Allen, one of the alleged attackers, was charged only with assault and battery when he could have faced much more serious charges of civil rights violations. Such charges could result in more severe penalties which discourage future attacks.

Among the speakers at a speakout following the rally was Gloria La Riva of Workers World Party who emphasized that "racists and Nazis don't have the right to speak and advocate genocide."

Concerted attempts are being made in this area to recruit "skinheads" to racist and Nazi groups. The so-called "White American Resistance" headed by Tom Metzger produces the racist TV program "Race and Reason" which appears in some areas. They have also distributed vile and scurrilous racist literature in Contra Costa County, the site of numerous unexplained violent deaths of young Black people in the recent past.

Some "skinhead" youths model themselves on the fascist "skinhead" youth of England. They have nothing in common, however, with the "punk" youth, many of whom take part in progressive political movements. Recently, in nearby Dublin, for example, 30 white "punk" youths came together to organize a protest against a Klan-backed cable TV show.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST



A demonstration of 300 marks 10th anniversary of major San Francisco housing struggle.

WW PHOTO: GLORIA LA RIVA

10th anniversary of eviction of Asian seniors marked in San Francisco

By Stephanie Hedgecoke
San Francisco

A demonstration here on Aug. 4 marked the tenth anniversary of the police eviction at the International Hotel, a hotel which housed low-income tenants, over half of them elderly Filipinos.

The crowd of 300 demonstrators, including some former tenants, marched from St. Mary's Square in the Chinese community to the empty hole still left after the I-Hotel demolition.

The I-Hotel was once home to 80 tenants, but its significance was far more than just needed low-cost housing. The I-Hotel was also the last remnant of the old Filipino community, which used to stretch down ten blocks of Kearny Street before the Financial District expansion.

The struggle to save the I-Hotel lasted nine years and drew protests of several thousands into the streets for eight months in 1976-77. On the morning of Aug. 4, 1977, the police were held off for hours by a human barricade of 5,000. Then police broke the room doors and smashed and stole personal property.

Deaths follow eviction

The eviction is thought to have killed some elderly tenants. According to home-care worker and tenant Nita Besse, for example, Felix Ayson, the 80-year-old, self-educated, hearing impaired leader of the tenants, "was never the same. He was broken hearted after the eviction. He became very quiet and he just died."

Today, homeless people live in the huge hole left, and the low-cost housing promised by the city for the site has yet to be built after ten years. "Why couldn't people have kept living there until now?" asked Emil de Guzman, former tenants' union president.

"For many of us the I-Hotel was our first home in the U.S. After ten years, we have come back here to our com-

rades who fought to keep our home," a Filipina former resident told the rally. "Since the I-Hotel, the dislocations and evictions have multiplied to hundreds, while little has been done to provide homes for the homeless. What was most unforgivable was the stealing of our property," she continued. "We blame the police and the city for their unspeakable and unpardonable actions. We want justice!"

The names of the 26 tenants who have died since the eviction were hung on the hotel site's fences for today's rally. Following a moment of silence in commemoration, the demonstrators shouted repeatedly, "Mabuhay I-Hotel! Long live the I-Hotel!"

Aug. 29: Commemoration

By Teresa Gutierrez

On Saturday, Aug. 29, several organizations will be mobilizing a "Stop Contra Aid" demonstration in Austin, Texas, and throughout many parts of the Southwest. Gilberto Rivera, state-wide organizer for CAMILA (Chicanos Against Military Intervention in Latin America) told Workers World that Aug. 29 is a commemoration of the 1970 Chicano Moratorium.

Seventeen years ago on Aug. 29 a historic event took place in Los Angeles, when Chicanos manifested mass opposition to the Vietnam war with a protest of over 25,000 people. On that day, a police tear gas canister killed a Chicano reporter, Ruben Salazar.

"August 29 in Austin," Rivera stated, "is a day when Chicanos and other Latinos can show that we understand that what is happening in Central America today is what happened in Vietnam. The combatants will again be primarily Latinos. The Reagan administration wants people



Union, community groups rally against racism in San Jose, Calif.

WW PHOTO: GLORIA LA RIVA

Michigan youth drives racists from housing project

By Kevin Carey
Romulus, Mich.

A resident of the Birch Run Housing Complex in Romulus, Mich., a working class suburb of Detroit, reported to Workers World that on Aug. 1, at 11:30 p.m., three racist teenagers in a Mustang drove into a predominantly Black town house complex called Birch Run. They approached a small group of Black youths, and began yelling racial obscenities.

A fight broke out immediately between one of the racists and a Black teenager. The Black youth, a student of martial arts, quickly repelled the attacks, causing the three racists to flee to their car.

This same resident went on to report that the three were obviously intoxicated, drove recklessly away and in the process hit a parked vehicle. Police arrived, and as the youths were led away, one of them yelled racial slurs at a crowd of Black people who had gathered and witnessed this incident. The youth then broke away from the policeman and attacked a Black youth, who immediately defended himself.

This particular incident is just one of many racial incidents that have occurred in Romulus at the Birch Run Townhouse complex and also at the Wellesley complex, which is predominantly white.

Some of the incidents were caused by racists who reside at Wellesley; others were caused by outside racists who have viciously attacked Black men, women and children. Most of the blame for the unrest that exists in the area must rest upon the shoulders of the management company that is in charge of both Birch Run and Wellesley. This company is called PMC and it not only maintains the segregation in the complexes, but poorly maintains the buildings and regularly raises the rent despite elected boards at both the complexes.

One resident in Romulus summed up the situation of the segregated townhouse complexes, by noting that the promotion of racism at the housing complexes "distracts the attention away from the real enemy... the management company that is getting richer and richer from the unjust rent increases and lack of quality maintenance service."

Meeting to demand freedom for Puerto Rican prisoners

San Francisco rally part of Aug. 30 actions

By Gloria La Riva
San Francisco

Elias Castro Ramos, Puerto Rican independentista and one of the Puerto Rico 15 defendants, will be the featured speaker at a public forum called by the Bay Area Committee to commemorate the second anniversary of the infamous FBI raid and arrests in Puerto Rico, on Aug. 30, 1985.

The meeting is scheduled for Aug. 30 from 4 to 7 p.m. at the Women's Building, 3543 18th St., San Francisco. In addition to Castro's political presentation, cultural acts will include Puerto Rican poet Piri Thomas, Chicano musician Enrique Ramirez and music by "Los Pleneros de la 24" led by Maria Medina.

The struggle to free the defendants as well as the Puerto Rican struggle for independence from U.S. colonialism are the themes of this important Bay Area event.

Elias Castro's attorney, Diane Polan, spoke at a reception held for her by the Hartford 15 Committee here last Thursday. She talked about the

U.S. government's massive dragnet-style approach in the arrests and trial preparation against the Puerto Rican defendants.

She said, "Money was no object in the government's investigation," and she described 30 months of illegal intrusion on the lives of dozens of Puerto Rican activists. "They [FBI] arranged burglaries and break-ins. Every technological device that is known was used by the FBI." And yet in all that surveillance for two and a half years, she said, there was no evidence of "criminal" activity.

Polan said, "We believe the purpose was purely for intelligence gathering by the U.S. government. They want to know everything about the Puerto Rican independence movement."

The legal costs involved in this case are enormous, and the trial may not begin until next year. All the proceeds from the Bay Area event will be sent to the Hartford defendants. A donation of \$3 to \$5 is requested, and Puerto Rican dinners will also be sold. For more information, call the Bay Area Committee for the Puerto Rican Hartford 15 at (415) 821-6545.

AGAINST RACISM

National March to Demand Justice & Civil Rights for Puerto Rican Political Prisoners

Sunday
August 30
Everyone to Hartford!
Gather in Hartford, 10 a.m.,
Park & Zion Sts.

For travel arrangements to Hartford, Conn., for the Aug. 30 demonstration in defense of the Puerto Rico-Hartford 16 contact the city nearest you:

- Baltimore (301) 235-7040
- Boston (617) 424-1176
- Bridgeport, Conn. (203) 366-7195
- Buffalo, N.Y. (716) 881-1525
- Hartford, Conn. (203) 233-7996
or (203) 244-3963
- Jersey City, N.J. (201) 433-2332
- Monmouth Cnty., N.J. (201) 741-7097
- New Brunswick, N.J. (201) 246-7420
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MOVIE REVIEW: La Bamba

A positive portrayal of Chicano culture

By Teresa Gutierrez

For the first time in the history of this country a major motion picture written and directed by a Chicano about a Chicano has received widespread acclamation and distribution. Luis Valdez' hit film, "La Bamba," is about a young rock and roll star, Ritchie Valens, who was on his way to fame when he tragically died in an airplane crash in 1959 with two other rock stars.

Valens, whose real name was Ricardo Valenzuela, was a 17-year-old Chicano from Southern California. Valenzuela became famous for the hit records "La Bamba," "Come On, Let's Go" and "Donna."

In this Reaganite period of racism and reaction, it is refreshing to see such a film as "La Bamba" that portrays the culture of Chicano/Mexicano people in a positive and realistic light. This story of a working class family shows the farmworker heritage

that is very much a part of Chicano/Mexicano history and highlights the tremendous role that women play in the survival of the family. The film shows not only the success of one Chicano who was about to "make it" but also hints at what life is really like for the vast majority of Chicano/Mexicanos in this country.

One of "La Bamba's" major contributions is bringing to national attention the existence of an oppressed nationality that for the most part is hidden by the media. The film exposes many aspects of the racist character of this society. Valenzuela, for example, in spite of possessing great talent, must change his name in order to make it more acceptable for his career. While one may argue that many actors and actresses change their names for popular appeal, when a member of an oppressed nationality must "Anglicize" his or her name, it is nothing but racism.

In spite of its important contribu-



Luis Valdez, director of La Bamba.

tion, the film was criticized by some of the press for not concentrating solely on the story of Ritchie Valens. But it is to the credit of Luis Valdez that he shows the other side of the coin by emphasizing in particular the life of Ritchie's brother, Bob. In spite of Bob's contradictions, here too was a Chicano with artistic talent whose break never came.

The story of Bob represents what is true for many Chicano/Mexicanos. Many talented and intelligent youth from all nationalities are never given the opportunity to excel. For many Third World people who struggle to upgrade their standard of living, racism demands that they deny their culture, language and heritage to get ahead just a little bit. It demands that they somehow ignore and rise above the conditions of poverty and bigotry that surround them.

The recent tragedy of a young Chicano Harvard student shows this clearly. The New York Times headline screamed: "Worlds in collision: From Barrio to Harvard to jail." The article told the story of a young man who had been attending Harvard for almost two years. From a poor, Mexican working class family in Southern California, Jose Razo walked into a police precinct last month and turned himself in for taking over \$30,000 from several stores in a period of a year and a half.

The conflict between life in a racist ivory-tower institution and life in the barrio drove this young man to desperation. All the money that he obtained went to help his family — to put a roof on their home, to buy new furniture and clothes. Razo told his mother that he felt guilty knowing

that he had everything and his family had nothing.

The press calls it a "world in collision" but the tragedy of this talented young man is a result of a racist society that presents obstacle after obstacle for Third World people. Everyday it sends signals to the oppressed that to be Third World, to have another language or culture or to be poor is something to be ashamed of.

Witness the success of the racist "U.S. English Only" movement that scorns the existence of other languages in the society as it demands that only English be used. This movement is nothing more than a statement to the oppressed that the many nationalities in this country — Asians, Latinos, Natives, Blacks and Arabs — have no right to their own culture or to self-determination.

In spite of the fact that Jose Razo was able to get into Harvard, the pervasive oppressive conditions around him led to this tragic situation. Yet, the prosecutor on the case argues that Razo had the opportunity to "escape the barrio," but blew it. But oppressed people, no matter where they are, cannot escape racism. One white student told the press that other students had jokingly called Razo a "wet-back."

In addition, for many of the oppressed who love their culture and way of life, "escaping the barrio" is not a desired option. What oppressed people seek is better standards of living and an end to racism, not an escape from their culture or their community life.

Valdez' film points this out well as neither Ritchie nor Bob had any desire to leave his way of life. This is a significant contribution that "La Bamba" makes. It portrays Chicano/Mexicano culture with the warmth and pride that many Mexicanos feel about themselves. For once, the oppressed can walk into a movie house and see themselves as real live people struggling to survive, people who care about each other in contrast to most major films where the oppressed are mainly portrayed as drug pushers or addicts.

The success, however, that Valenzuela had during his short life should

Continued on page 8

Commemoration of Chicano Moratorium

with a common culture to attack those who are trying to build a just society in Central America."

Simultaneous demonstrations are also being held in Los Angeles, Rivera stated.

Wide support

The August 29 Commemoration has received wide support throughout the state of Texas and CAMILA organizers have had response from the Valley, West Texas, Laredo and El Paso. Support has also been received from Mexico, Rivera said. An electrical workers union from Mexico City will be sending representatives in solidarity with the commemoration. A theater group, Teatro Tecolote, will also be coming from Mexico City to perform a skit on Central America.

Rivera went on to say that this demonstration was important so that people could show their opposition to U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and to demand a halt to further aid to the contras. "The Iran-contragate hearings," Rivera said, "show the outright

disrespect of the law by the U.S. government. This is why people need to come out in force to show opposition to further aid and illegal U.S. military intervention."

In a show of solidarity, the Austin chapter of CAMILA and the N.Y. Chapter of the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression will be exchanging solidarity statements. The statements supporting the two struggles will be read in Austin, Texas, on Aug. 29 and in Hartford, Conn. on Aug. 30 at the Puerto Rican-Hartford 15 demonstration.

The Chicano Moratorium Commemoration has been endorsed by several peace groups including PanTex, Central American Peace Initiative, El Frente Unido Latino, Venceremos Brigade and the All-Peoples Congress. Bill Means from the American Indian Movement and the American Indian Treaty Council will be the featured speaker.

For further information please call (512) 477-6084.

EDITORIALS

Wall Street honors Aug. 12

Some people celebrate birthdays. Others take note of wedding anniversaries. Still others note the dates of great revolutions. But this week, the parasites whose income comes from speculation in stocks are paying their most profound respects to August 12. It was on that day five years ago in 1982 that the great 1980s bull market began its rise.

Those of us whose income comes from wages, may not know it, nor may we care much, but the Dow Jones Industrial Average of stock prices increased over 230% in those five years. This increase was noted in the business sections of virtually every newspaper in the week of August 12. Most informative was the coverage in the Aug. 10 Wall Street Journal, that mouthpiece of finance capital. While joyfully noting the orgy of speculation that added \$1.8 trillion (that's \$1,800,000,000,000) in paper value to U.S. stocks, it also warned of some problems.

One problem is that there was no real growth in production to back up the stock prices. According to the Journal, real output has increased barely 20% in those five years. As one economics professor put it, "There is no real industrial investment boom behind [the rise]. It's a puzzle." This puzzle makes even those who have gotten rich worried that someday soon the bull market will end in a crash of depression-era size.

Another fact the Journal notes is that the big gains, the quick profits, have been limited to a "narrow circle of institutions, securities-industry professionals and the already wealthy." On the other hand, the stock rally was fed by takeovers, cost-cutting and restructuring binges. From 1981 to 1986, these led to the loss of 10.8 million jobs, mostly in manufacturing. As we've often noted before in Workers World, these jobs have been replaced, if at all, by non-union, low-paying service jobs. And average real wages for the work force have dropped below the level they were in 1962.

To sum up: The stock market boom has made

the rich much richer. Wall Street money-handlers have made fortunes in commissions. Workers and poor people have gotten poorer still. And all the great wealth is pure speculation, subject at any moment to a giant bust. The future of capitalism seems bleak, even in the pages of the Wall Street Journal.

Working class out in front

The historians and analysts who deny the role of the working class as an agent of social change must be scribbling overtime to explain events in the summer of 1987. A sample of the articles covering some of the hottest world struggles from this current (August 20) issue of Workers World highlights this role.

In El Salvador, where the focus of attention has been on the guerrilla war, a big boost to the liberation struggle occurred in the cities. In 1986 there were only four strikes; this year, in May alone, there were 28.

In Haiti the general strike is the weapon of choice for those millions who threw out the Duvalier dictatorship and who want now to depose the U.S.-backed military government.

In South Africa, the last few years of fighting to overturn the apartheid regime began in

the townships and the schools, and was supplemented by a guerrilla struggle. But on center stage now are 340,000 Black miners, whose heroic decision to tie up the purse strings of apartheid is striking the hardest blow against the fascist regime and their monied backers in England, West Germany and the U.S.

And then there's south Korea. There U.S. and Japanese banks and industries were only too happy to superexploit Korean workers, paid at the rate of \$3 for a 10-hour day. The growth in electronics, steel and even auto manufacture was called a miracle — by those who reaped the profits. But this growth also increased the number, centralization and objective strength of the working class, whose strikes now defy fascist anti-union laws and challenge the military government.

Whether the struggle be for liberation from foreign domination, freedom from dictatorship or an end to racist rule, the working class has an essential role. Only by joining these struggles of all the oppressed can the working class win its own right to organize, to strike, to control working conditions. And of all the oppressed, only the workers have the vital power to stop production by withholding their labor. The reality of events this summer are bearing out the objectively revolutionary role of the working class.



Letters

Peltier coverage

Please continue to send me Workers World. It has been the best source of inspiration to me and my comrades here at the Oklahoma State Penitentiary. I especially thank you for the excellent coverage on my brother Leonard Peltier and the Mandela/Peltier tour last year. Kudos to Andy Stapp on his "Tale of two Marines" in the July 23, 1987, issue. Once again Workers World is right on time.

Standing Deer
aka Robert H. Wilson
McAlester, Okla.

A poem

This is a poem that was written and read by a Black woman who was attacked on July 25 in San Jose by four racist youth. She read it to hundreds at a rally against racism that was organized by her neighbors. It was very moving for all of us who heard it:

Nothing about the afternoon warned me
that I was headed back to yesterday
that I was walking back to a pit of
midnight
in the middle of a golden afternoon.
There should be a pious hush around
disaster.
But this afternoon was giggling with
bird songs.

tree leaves were dancing in the singing wind,
and along the redwood bridge
four young men were leaning over the railing.
Coyote Creek, benevolent living waters of the ancient Ohlone people,
lopes gently beneath the bridge carrying on its murmuring ripples ghosts of Ohlone warriors in tule rush canoes,
and anyone with imagination can lean over the redwood railing and communicate with yesterday. I thought how wonderful that these young men are holding seance as I had done

so many times, so they must be . . .
Then suddenly they turned on me.
and I saw swastikas tattooed across the sun,
and ghosts of the Gestapo marched toward me,
and ghosts of the Ku Klux Klan marched toward me,
and the doors of Auschwitz opened up before me,
and the doors of tomorrow closed before me,
and Emmett Till and Anne Frank, and Martin Luther King, Jr. and multitudes of ghosts from hanging trees, and gas chambers, and concentration camps rose up from Coyote Creek to welcome me.
Midnight closed in like a solid wall around me.

Then one ray of light appeared, one man placed his life between me and eternity.

Juan Carlos Gonzales.
Thank God for Juan Carlos Gonzales.
Yaeko Naritomi
San Francisco
(Editor's note: See article on page 6.)

— Mandela

Continued from page 4
people that we felt it our duty . . . to use force to defend ourselves against force." (Mandela's testimony at the Rivonia trial.) But they didn't shrink from the task.

Mandela slipped out of the country early in 1962 to gather international support at the Pan-African Conference and get some military training. He returned to personally lead the sabotage campaign and was arrested on an informer's tip.

Mac Maharaj, a leading ANC cadre, who spent 12 years on Robben Island with Mandela, sums up his influence: ". . . at the mass level, the armed struggle has come to be accepted as the crucial weapon in the armory of the liberation movement if victory is to be achieved . . . In their search for the way forward, the identification of the masses with Nelson Mandela is an identification that goes beyond the person of Mandela and sees him as the first commander-in-chief of Umkhonto."

Workers World welcomes letters from its readers. Send correspondence to: Workers World, Letters to the Editor, GPO Box 948, New York, N.Y. 10116.

— La Bamba

Continued from page 7

not be turned around to project the idea that is being promoted by the media, and that is "see, if he can make it, if he can change his name and be successful, so can you."

For the same society that promotes this individualistic attitude is the same bourgeois society that props up the vile U.S. English Only movement, that passed the racist Simpson/Rodino Immigration Law, that allows and spurs on racist violence and everyday attacks and downgrades the standard of living of all workers in this country. It is not up to the workers to individually overcome these obstacles and "make it." Rather it is the task of workers and oppressed to get rid of the capitalist system that is at the root of all oppression. A society can then be built where the cultures of all peoples will be respected and appreciated, and the fundamental right to self-determination will be guaranteed.

Don't forget to subscribe!

The Soviet reforms and the capitalist market

By Sam Marcy

Fourth in a series.

August 10 — The most detailed and comprehensive exposition of the recent Soviet economic reforms is the report of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to the June plenum of the Central Committee.

All references to Secretary Gorbachev's report in this article are from the version released by the Soviet news agency TASS on June 26.

"The restructuring," Secretary Gorbachev says, "was started on the initiative of the Party and is being carried out under its guidance. The Party has roused the country, its ideas have captivated millions of people, it has generated tremendous hopes."

The reforms will enable the USSR to renew all spheres of life in Soviet society, the report says. Nothing less than the virtual transformation of all Soviet society is envisioned by the restructuring reform.

Secretary Gorbachev goes on to say, "The main political task of the Party in the economic field is to carry out a radical reform of the management of the economy and create a streamlined, effective and flexible system of management making it possible to make maximum use of the advantages of socialism. . ."

Goals of Gorbachev's plan

"The radical reform of managing the country's economy is directed at: . . .

"Turning scientific and technological progress into the main factor of economic growth;

"Ensuring balance, overcoming shortages of material resources, consumer goods and services that obstruct efficient management and intensification of production;

"Giving the consumer priority in economic relations, rights and possibilities of economic choice;

"Creating a reliably operating cost-restricting mechanism for the functioning of the national economy . . ."

"The essence of the radical restructuring," says Secretary Gorbachev, ". . . is [to create a] transition from predominantly administrative to economic methods of management at all levels [of society] . . . [and develop] an extensive democratization of management."

What is the difference between administrative and economic methods? Generally this refers to the arbitrary setting of prices in disregard of economic costs.

In bourgeois economics it is said that prices are dictated exclusively by the market and that anything else is arbitrary, inefficient and the product of wanton willfulness. They conveniently forget the many rigged prices of monopoly capitalist corporations.

One of the aims of the new Soviet reform is to create a balance between the unit costs of labor, that is, socially necessary labor, and its reflection in socialist planning.

The reforms contemplate "a drastic expansion of the margins of independence" of state enterprises (referred to as amalgamations).

This includes a transition to what Secretary Gorbachev refers to as "full cost-accounting and self-financing." In the course of his talk, he goes into some general details on how this is to be done, but more concrete guidelines are to be published later.

"Secondly," his report continues, is "a fundamental reorganization of the centralized management of the economy" so as to get a "balanced development" and to relieve the center of "interference in the day-to-day operation of subordinate economic units."

The bourgeois press refers to this as the first step in abandoning socialized

Bourgeois analysts try to confuse capitalist profits with profitability under socialism. Does profitability have the same social and economic significance in the planned Soviet economy as it does in a capitalist country?

planning. A great deal has been written by the bourgeois press on this, especially in the U.S., and we intend to go over it.

"Thirdly," the report says, "a cardinal reform [will be in] planning [the system of] price-forming [and also that of] the finance and credit mechanism." The aim here is to create a "transition to wholesale trading in means of production." Also projected is a "reorganization of the management of scientific and technological progress . . ."

"Fourthly," he says, ". . . [is to deepen] specialization . . . as well as the direct inclusion of science in production."

It is on this basis that the USSR will achieve "a breakthrough to the world standard of quality." Quality of production, of course, was an aim in past decades, one which has eluded Soviet planning to this day, but here again, not to the extent that the bourgeois press would have us believe. Witness the monumental achievements of the USSR in space and other industrial and scientific endeavors. The great drawback has been in the field of consumer goods.

"Fifthly [is the] transition from the excessively centralized system of management to a democratic one . . ." Secretary Gorbachev adds.

No intent to abandon socialized planning

Notwithstanding what seems to be a wholesale decentralization of the economy, it is important to note that no evidence exists of an intent to altogether abandon centralized, socialized planning.

On the contrary, Secretary Gorbachev says: "The Central Committee of the CPSU points out that the planned management of the economy as a single economic complex is the major gain and advantage of the socialist economic system and the main instrument for the realization of the Party's economic policy."

The reforms, therefore, are merely against over-centralization and to spread out much of the authority to subordinate organs and groups. But by no means is it contemplated that the socialist planning principal should be abandoned, the idea is to merely restructure it.

The report says that the key to achieving the projected result lies in the pursuit of democratizing all organs of the government. "Our experience demonstrates that success is achieved at the places where party, government and economic bodies make full use of the growing political and social activity of the working people. Let me say frankly — we will not cope with the task of restructuring if we fail to pursue the policy of democratization firmly and consistently."

The reforms are "directed at the attainment of a new, qualitative state of socialist society."

The report continues, "The restructuring was necessitated by the mounting contradictions in the development of society. These contradictions, on gradually accelerating and not being solved, were actually acquiring pre-crisis forms." The contradictions

developed in the latter part of the 1970s and early 1980s, he says.

What are the fundamental causes of this developing "pre-crisis"? They are "stagnation and conservatism."

Therefore, "an offensive is being launched by the Party against bureaucratism [and] the administrative and pressure methods of management [of the economy] . . ."

These methods are often referred to as the "command-and-administrative forms of managing [Soviet] society . . . [They] put a brake on our movement. Democratic and only democratic forms are capable of imparting a mighty acceleration [in the development of Soviet society] . . ."

The aim is to do away with the rigid, inflexible command methods in the organization of the planned economy, because they have become an obstruction to the further growth of socialist construction. Indeed, according to the report, they have become a brake on the economy which has resulted in stagnation.

From this is drawn the conclusion that the large amalgamations, that is, industrial complexes and factories, should get a wide margin of independence and be converted in their operations. Full profit and loss methods of accounting are to be introduced and the amalgamations should be able to finance themselves on the basis of their resources while increasing responsibility in achieving the highest economic results.

In this way the management of the economy will go from an administrative method of management to economic methods at every level. This can be done only by the broadest democratization of the planning apparatus, Gorbachev says.

"What is the fundamental drawback to the present economic management of the factories?" Gorbachev asks. It is the "weakness of internal stimuli for self-development."

Here is an example, according to the report: A factory is given a certain production quota and resources, but it is done through a system which uses "directive-like indices" and the marketing of the product is guaranteed. So the stimulus for self-development becomes eroded.

Then what is the overall aim of the restructuring process?

It is to achieve a fundamental breakthrough in the development of the economy. In other words, to create a genuine qualitative change, as the report calls it.

What have been breakthroughs of Soviet economy since 1917?

What have been the real qualitative changes, great leaps forward and breakthroughs in Soviet society since the Bolshevik Revolution?

The first, of course, was the victory of the Civil War and the consolidation of Soviet power. The second was successfully overcoming the drawbacks of the NEP (New Economic Policy) while taking advantage of the partial capitalist restoration in order to move forward.

In the post-Lenin era we have the collectivization and industrialization, which came as a result of instituting the first Five Year Plan, a world his-

toric turning point.

In what way are the Soviet reforms related to the collectivization and industrialization of the first Five Year Plan?

In the first place the collectivization of the peasantry was not merely a change in the form of management of agriculture. To put it in Marxist terms, it was a change in the mode of production, or, more precisely, a fundamental change in property relations.

Collectivization was a drastic overhauling of agriculture that changed the form of ownership from private to collective property.

The present Soviet reforms hope to achieve a change in the form of the management of the economy. A common error, both consciously and unconsciously cultivated by bourgeois elements, is to confuse ownership and management. They also try to confuse centralization and democracy so as to give both of these concepts a bourgeois content.

Such confusion serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. They hope that the new management concepts — the transfer of some functions and authority from the center to subordinate bodies, especially to the managers, by democratic means, by which they mean bourgeois democratic means — will ultimately force the USSR to abandon socialized property in favor of bourgeois property.

That's a long, long stretch. But that is the orientation of the bourgeois publicists and the champions of the "free capitalist market," of which some are in the USSR (see last article).

So as to avoid any confusion between management and ownership it is best to bear in mind the contrast between a change in management and a change in ownership. When the Chinese agricultural communes were dismantled by the People's Republic in the latter part of the 1970s, that constituted a change in the form of property from what was socialized, certainly state-directed, forms of property to what has now become private property among the peasants. The overwhelming bulk of agriculture in China is now privately owned and run. Only a small portion of some state and cooperative forms remain.

Likewise, after the 1956 rebellions in Poland, what had been cooperatively-owned or state-controlled farms were dismantled in favor of private property forms of agricultural production.

Similarities with reforms of 1957 and 1965

The Soviet reforms concern themselves with the management of socialist industry. Restructuring management of the economy is not an altogether new departure in Soviet society. On the contrary, some of these reforms and even some of the terminology is remarkably akin to the earlier reforms of May 1957 in the Khrushchev era and those in December 1965 under Kosygin.

Gorbachev himself refers to them in his report. "Over the past few decades there have also been repeated practical attempts to change the existing system of management. They were made in the 1950s, the second half of the 1960s and the late 1970s. But those attempts were not all-out or consistent. They only had what was at best a short-lived effect and did not lead to the desired breakthrough," he said.

Attempts were made to get prices to reflect economic costs on the basis of profit and loss in the various enterprises. There was an amalgamation of large industrial enterprises into associations as a means of furthering

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— Soviet reforms and capitalist market

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advances in the economy.

Demands were made to set up a form of competition among the enterprises in an effort to get prices to reflect economic costs more accurately. Both the 1957 and 1965 reforms were characterized by emphasizing the stimulus of material incentives in production.

The bonus system, which had its origins in the earlier Stalin period, became more widespread. None of this was significantly changed in the Brezhnev-Andropov-Chernenko era.

The 1957 reform abolished the industrial ministries of the government which were controlled centrally from the very top and aimed to spread them out on the basis of territorial economic councils (Sovnarkhozy). In other words, they were transferred to various republics and regions. The abolished ministries were derisively referred to during the Khrushchev era as "empires."

The overall goal was to strengthen national and industrial coordination, but have it on a regional, republic as well as national basis. Gosplan, the supreme planning agency until just now, was to coordinate the councils.

What the reform in 1957 did in the field of reorganizing administration was to take about 20 ministries and create more than a hundred regional councils. At the time it was referred to as decentralization in the bourgeois sense of the term.

By defusing the economic administration with such a large number of separate entities it came into conflict with centralized planning. Some of the regional councils were concerned mainly with their own region and, where buying and selling was involved, it could add up to substantial disorder. It also brought about an increase of corruption and profiteering.

The councils were soon dismantled, however, because the growth and multiplication of these separate bodies made the planning process more complex and complicated rather than simpler. Nevertheless, there was a considerable spreading out ("decentralization") in the sense of relieving the center of some elements of the planned economy.

It was more or less inevitable that a consolidation took place during both the Kosygin and Brezhnev era. But what must not be lost sight of in discussing these organizational changes in industry, or what in the Gorbachev era would be called restructuring, is the broader economic aim of the Khrushchev and Kosygin reforms. That was an attempt, and that's all it amounted to in the end, to at long last give some degree of priority to the production of consumer goods.

Of course, the great emphasis was always on the development of heavy industry, without which the country would have forever remained backward, not having the indispensable elements necessary for socialist construction or its own defense.

What Kosygin did different from Khrushchev was to considerably widen the concept of profitability; less emphasis was put on a quantitative increase in total output in production as the fundamental lever for Soviet planning. Enterprises were given more freedom to decide what to manufacture.

Managers were given a wider latitude and greater freedom to decide what to produce and how to do it. The number of ministries were cut from about 50 or to around ten.

During the 1960s and 1970s there was a highly spirited discussion among communists internationally on the significance of these reforms, particularly how they figured in the internal struggles of the political forces in China. But this is not the

place to discuss them; it requires separate treatment.

Meaning of profitability under socialism

For the moment, however, it is necessary to explain the appearance of such categories as sales, profits, return on investment, interest, rent and so on which have long existed in the USSR but were widened during the Kosygin era. Concepts such as profitability, a return on investment, sales and so on are familiar phenomena under capitalism. Do they have the same social and economic significance in the planned Soviet economy as they do in a capitalist country?

Bourgeois analysts of the USSR have studied these categories for decades hoping to detect an avenue on which they could lead to the restoration of capitalism.

Marxism proceeds from a wholly different methodological plane. Marxism first analyzes the specific mode of production, the specific social system, such as ancient slavery, feudalism or capitalism. Marxism searches out the driving force, the motor force, behind each of these specific social systems or modes of production and then analyzes the function that the categories such as rent, profit and so on play in each system.

These categories are not altogether new to the capitalist mode of production. They have a considerable history. In modes of production prior to capitalism they were an incident to societies where production was generally for immediate consumption.

What the bourgeois analysts try to do in their analysis of the USSR is to confuse the function of these categories with the driving force of the social system. The driving force under capitalism is profit, not immediate consumption as it was in earlier societies.

The bourgeois analysts are thus trying to confuse the function that these categories play in different social systems with the way they function in the USSR. Their function under capitalism should not be confused with the driving force of capitalism, which is what the bourgeois analysts do.

The laws of supply and demand existed in other previous modes of production, but it explains neither the laws of capitalist development nor the nature of the reforms in the Soviet Union. The driving force in the USSR is not what the motor force is under capitalism.

As Marx says, "The direct purpose of capitalist production is not the production of commodities [such as in a socialist society — S.M.] but of surplus-value or profit (in its developed form), the aim is not the product, but the surplus product. Labor itself, from this standpoint, is productive only insofar as it creates profit or surplus product for capital. If the worker does not create profit, his labor is unproductive."

And, Marx also says, "The whole aim of capitalist production is appropriation of the greatest possible amount of surplus-labor, in other words, the realization of the greatest possible amount of immediate labor-time with the given capital." (Theories of Surplus Value, Part II, Progress Publishers, pages 521 and 547.)

A more elementary basis for not confusing capitalist profit with profitability in the USSR is that no matter how big the bonus of a manager, worker or administrator may be, no manager, plant director or government official, no matter how high-ranking, has power to alienate state property. He or she cannot utilize accumulated savings or bonuses to either sell or buy government property. No property can be transferred away from the state and used in a personal way for profit.

The ownership of the means of production is strictly controlled by the state.

Under capitalism, any entrepreneur, in fact anyone, can utilize income or profit (from a giant mining concern to transportation, utilities, communications or other kinds of corporations) and buy a racetrack, gambling casino or brothel. That is a bourgeois right under capitalism.

But it cannot be done under a socialist system and cannot be done under present Soviet law.

Three pillars of socialism

Commodity exchange between enterprises, especially on a wholesale level; profitability; return on investment, that is, capital — all this appearing in the Soviet economy may turn out to be an embryonic tendency in the direction of capitalism. But it is very, very far removed today and is mere conjecture in light of the existence of the three firm pillars of socialism — public ownership of the means of production, the existence of a planned economy (notwithstanding so-called decentralization), and a monopoly of foreign trade (notwithstanding the recent breach of it by legalizing projected joint ventures with imperialist countries, as we discussed in the last article, and which have yet to prove to be of any real significance).

It is to be remembered that one of the important disputes that arose in the last days of the Stalin period was the controversy between Khrushchev and Stalin about the projected transfer of the machine and tractor stations to the collective farms. It never took place while Stalin was alive.

But later, in 1957, Khrushchev transferred the machine and tractor stations to the collective farms. It raised an important political and theoretical question. First, the machine and tractor stations were part of the industrial sector and not of the agricultural one. The former is socialized state property; the latter is collective property. The farms are owned by the collectives and at least in theory the profit, except for taxes, goes to the collective.

Therefore, it would seem that the transfer of the machine and tractor stations theoretically would weaken socialized industry in favor of a lower form of ownership — collective ownership — and lead away from the further development of socialism and in the direction of private property. But viewed in a historical perspective this did not happen.

For one thing, Soviet industry is so vast and powerful that the sale or the donation of the machine and tractor stations to the collective farms could only encourage rather than discourage socialist development of agriculture.

Collectivization released peasants from land

We saw earlier that the collectivization of agriculture caused a profound revolution in property relations from private to collectivized forms of ownership. But it did more. It released millions of peasants from the land, from the villages and from all the rural areas into industry. The numerical growth of the working class was staggering by capitalist standards.

Underemployment was not a problem. Each succeeding Five Year Plan brought out this characteristic feature of the Soviet economy — no unemployment. Referring to that period, Gorbachev says that "the number of workplaces grew rapidly . . . To fill vacancies was the main problem . . . [Those were] conditions predominantly of extensive development of production."

In other words, industrial production was extending and growing on the basis of accumulating labor power (extensive growth of production as differentiated from intensive, meaning the greater use of technology). The situation, says Gorbachev, is radically changing now. "The scope on which the excessive workforce will be trimmed will increase considerably in conditions of the speeding up of the scientific and technological progress." There lies a crucial issue and a great deal depends on how it is resolved.

In the earlier era there was no unemployment. Industry was steadily growing although more on the basis of extensive production with more and more workers coming into the workforce. Now the situation is changing, says Gorbachev. The progress of the scientific-technological revolution will create "an excessive amount" of workers.

Scientific-technological revolution brought mass unemployment in West

We all know what that means under capitalism and what it means in the conditions of the on-going scientific-technological revolution in the capitalist West, particularly in the U.S. It has wreaked havoc on the working class and brought the familiar reappearance on a massive scale of unemployment.

When one takes into account the size and scale on which the Soviet reforms are to take place, that is, the technological modernization aspect of it in which it is hoped to introduce sophisticated high technology on the scale of the Western capitalist countries, the

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CALENDAR

BUFFALO, N.Y.

Fri., Aug. 14: Public housing and the homeless. Summertime series of talks and films on socialism. Free. 8:00 p.m. At 349 Niagara St., call (716) 855-3055.

Fri., Aug. 21: Social Security, pensions and minimum wage: How we won them, how to fight to keep them. Summertime series of talks and films on socialism. Free. 8:00 p.m. At 349 Niagara St., call (716) 855-3055.

Fri., Aug. 28: The fight against concessions, layoffs and plant closings. Summertime series of talks and films on socialism. Free. 8:00 p.m. At 349 Niagara St., call (716) 855-3055.

CHICAGO

Sat., Aug. 15: The anti-war struggle — pacifism or Marxism? Class. 3:00 p.m. Call (312) 489-3829 for location.

Thurs., Aug. 20: Film — "With Babies and Banners." The great Flint sit-down strike of 1937. 7:00 p.m. At 1608 N. Milwaukee Ave., call (312) 489-3829.

Thurs., Aug. 27: Film — "Occupied Palestine." A documentary portrayal of Palestinian struggle for self-determination. 7:00 p.m. At 1608 N. Milwaukee Ave., call (312) 489-3829.

Fri., Aug. 28: Eyewitness Belfast — the struggle against British colonialism. Presented by Ed Childs, recently returned from one month in Ireland. Forum and slide show. 7:00 p.m. At Wellington Ave. Church, 615 W. Wellington, call (312) 489-3829.

NEW YORK CITY

Sat., Aug. 15: "Free all political prisoners: U.S. to Puerto Rico to South Africa," with guest speakers: Susan Mnumzana, Women's Section, ANC, and Esperanza Martell, Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression. Workers World Forum. Donation. Refreshments. Disabled accessible. 7 p.m. At 146 West 25 St., (212) 255-0352.

SAN FRANCISCO

Sat., Aug. 15: Barbecue fundraiser at El Rio club. Relax under palm trees. Generous entree portion plus all the salad you can eat. Benefit to buy coin-operated boxes for Workers World newspaper. \$7. 5:00 p.m. At 3158 Mission at Precita, call (415) 826-4828 for advance tickets.

Sun., Aug. 16: "The Civil War, Reconstruction and the State. Workers World Party meeting. Public welcome. 7:00 p.m. At 2489 Mission St., No. 30, call (415) 826-4828.

Sun., Aug. 23: "The Constitution today — Who really rules?" Workers World Party meeting. Public welcome. 7:00 p.m. At 2489 Mission St., No. 30, call (415) 826-4828.

Washington sees Middle East as booty to seize

Pentagon puts 24 warships in Persian Gulf

By Joyce Chediak

In the next few weeks, the Pentagon will have 24 naval vessels and more than 15,000 U.S. sailors in the Persian/Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. This will be the largest U.S. military buildup in that area since the Iranian revolution of 1978-79.

While Reagan administration officials claim that this huge amount of military muscle is needed to escort Kuwaiti tankers through the war-torn Gulf, a closer examination shows a less noble motive.

What has characterized U.S. policy towards the oppressed nations of the Middle East since the Iranian revolution eight years ago? An unrelenting buildup of anti-Iranian and anti-Arab sentiment. In fact, the very last time that a U.S. administration had anything good to say about Iran was before the 1979 mass struggle, when that oppressed nation was a client state of imperialism, ruled by the shah, an outright U.S. puppet.

Since then, Wall Street and its mouthpieces in Washington, enraged by the militant anti-imperialist strug-

gle of 46 million Iranians, first declared an economic boycott, broke relations, seized Iranian assets, then actually attempted to invade Iran in April of 1979.

And even though the Reagan administration can't get public support for military adventurism in the Middle East, all of its key figures, and many in Congress as well, regularly contribute their sputterings to this tide of anti-Arab and anti-Iranian racism.

U.S. shoots at Iranian planes

The U.S. government claims its motives in the Gulf are purely altruistic — to help stop the Iran-Iraq war. But the only ones that U.S. rulers are really out to help is themselves. They are hardly concerned with the plight of the Iranian or Iraqi workers. For example, their anti-Iranian hysteria is not aimed merely at the Khomeini government, but at the Iranian people as a whole. Washington sees the oil-rich and strategically located countries of the Middle East, and especially Iran at this moment, as prizes that it would like to seize.

Washington is intervening in the Gulf war for its own reasons. This is why, while it was Iraq which broke the 25-day lull in the fighting this week, Washington shot missiles at two Iranian planes. And even though Iraq began the tanker war in the Gulf, the Reagan administration is pushing for an arms embargo against Iran.

U.S. imperialism is no friend of Iraq, either. After the Iran-contra exposures the Reagan administration is hell bent on giving the impression that it wants the Iran-Iraq war stopped. But it was the weapons that the imperialist powers provided to both sides which have allowed this fratricidal and bourgeois war between oppressed nations to continue for seven years. The Pentagon has armed both Iran and Iraq in an attempt to weaken them both so it could come in and grab the oil. There was no concern for the million workers who have lost their lives on both sides.

The ever-present racist invective against the Iranian and Arab people is pre-war propaganda, designed to prepare the public here for Pentagon assaults in the Middle East. And the

U.S. guns, planes and ships moving into the Gulf are really there to tighten Exxon's and Texaco's grip on the oil heedless of the wishes of the people who live in the Middle East.

There is no doubt that seven years of war has pushed the governments of both Iran and Iraq steadily to the right and both have suppressed the working class movement. However, the fundamental enemy in the Middle East is U.S. imperialism. And the main thrust of the struggle there is to get the U.S. out of that area so that the working class movements can reassert themselves and the oppressed nations of the Middle East can determine their own lives.

Meanwhile, Washington plans to sacrifice the Black, Latino and working class youth of this country to tighten its grip on Middle Eastern oil. The working class and progressive movement here has every reason to say "no!" to Pentagon adventurism in the Middle East and to demand that the billions of dollars it takes to keep 24 U.S. ships in the gulf be used instead for jobs and social service programs at home.

Join us in the struggle

Workers World Party (WWP) fights on all issues that face the working class and oppressed peoples in this capitalist society. All work together in this organization — Black and white, Latin, Asian and Native peoples, women and men, young and old, lesbian and gay, disabled, working, unemployed and students.

If you would like to know more about **WWP**, or if you would like to join us in these struggles, contact the branch nearest you:

Atlanta: P.O. Box 424, Atlanta, Ga., 30301 (404) 662-6417.

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— Nicaragua

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Reagan himself expressed support for the plan, and administration officials admitted the U.S. had no choice but to throw "its public support" behind it. They said Reagan did not want to be seen as the only voice against the plan in the face of consensus in the region and in Congress.

Reagan tries to undercut plans

But even as he stated his support, Reagan immediately began to undercut it, saying he intends to protect the interests of the contras, and adding that his government will be active in coming months trying to address what it views as the shortcomings in the pact. This means they will attempt to force impossible conditions on the Nicaraguan government and try to bludgeon and bribe the other Central American presidents to pull out of the

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question arises of how the social problem, that is, the unemployment, will be solved.

In the earlier period, excess workers resulting from technological changes in the workforce were absorbed in Soviet industry or retrained for jobs in other areas. It was not on the scale which the scientific-technological revolution poses and which it multiplies many times.

The Soviet constitution guarantees a job for every worker. This right is strongly affirmed in Gorbachev's report. "The socialist system," he says, "guarantees the employment of the working people. It is their constitutional right to work." But the real problem is how the "excessive workforce" will be "trimmed" in light of the speeding up of the scientific and technological revolution.

Will the new "economic mechanism" give an orderly and painless transition to a new phase in the development of the socialist economy?

This is the real question. One of the fundamental problems of the new reforms is how to combine the breath-taking speed of the scientific-technological revolution with the tardiness of social progress, which historically lags behind material conditions in society.

process or drag their feet to sabotage the agreement.

The U.S. wants to force Nicaragua to negotiate with the contras as if they were a legitimate political force with a base in the country, and as if they represent "democratic" interests. But it is no secret that the contra leadership is the ragtag remnant of Somoza's fascist National Guard. And the Sandinista government is already implementing an amnesty and repatriation program for the contra rank-and-file that has stimulated mass desertions from the contras and helped to further isolate the mercenary leadership.

So far, the Reaganites have not demanded any such negotiations by the Duarte government in El Salvador

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regions and south of the second largest city, Santa Ana."

In the recent period, Cardona explained, "we have resumed the tactic of large-scale battles, involving hundreds of our combatants, in attacks on the enemy. 'Impregnable' government bases have been overrun and the government has suffered many casualties."

The crisis in El Salvador is not just an armed conflict. "What I want to make clear," continued Cardona "is that in the last three or four years, especially in 1986, a level of tremendous organization has taken place." Even earthquake victims have organized into a national organization in response to the government's inability to respond to their needs. Students, teachers, the unemployed all have begun to organize and to mobilize. In September 1986, the farmworkers formed a national coordinating body. And, the refugees have organized into the National Committee for Repopulation and are returning to their villages in defiance of the government.

In May of this year, there were 28 strikes as compared to four during the whole year of 1986. In early July, one of the workplaces of the striking Social Security Hospital workers was militarized. Two days later, the hospital workers responded by occupying the building of the Health Ministry. The government fired union leaders, but the struggle intensified. The workers attempted to retake their workplace but were met with government

with the liberation forces led by the FMLN-FDR or the unions, community and church leaders who are daily victims of the most vicious repression there.

The new agreement has many details to resolve, and is to involve a wide range of groupings, including government representatives, opposition parties, church officials, the United Nations, the Organization of American States and the Contadora Group (Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela). The fact that the pact was signed shows the strength of the Sandinista revolution and the deep desire for peace in the region felt by all who have suffered because of the unending U.S. imperialism's effort to impose its will there by military force.

gunfire. Fifteen were injured.

According to Cardona, "this is a new reaction by the government. There has been selected repression for years, but that repression has escalated. It is more open, systematic and public. But the repression only intensifies the people's anger and determination."

The role of the U.S.

Since 1980, the U.S. has sent \$2.7 billion to prop up the Duarte regime. Despite the aid, unemployment and underemployment is about 50%. Inflation is running at 40% this year and wages have declined 15%. U.S. aid accounts for 81% of El Salvador's federal budget — a rate unmatched since the Vietnam War when the U.S. made up 92% of the south Vietnamese budget.

The Duarte government has suffered defeats — both from the FMLN fighters and from the mass movement. The options for the U.S.-backed government are narrowing. As Cardona puts it, "there is a real possibility of direct U.S. intervention."

But the mass movement has created an important new level in the Salvadoran struggle. "Like in Haiti and the Philippines," Cardona concluded his remarks, "the anger of the people has moved them. They have joined together and they have a political, military, revolutionary force capable of guiding the very strong forces in this movement. Our convictions are strong. We will continue to try to achieve a political settlement. But if we cannot achieve that, we will continue with the revolutionary process and we feel confident that in the end, we will win."

Conspiración Iran-Contra ¿El pentágono maneja al país?

Por Lucinda Sintierra

En las últimas semanas testimonios en las audiencias públicas sobre el asunto Iran-Contra han confirmado que los niveles más altos de la administración Reagan han conspirado para llevar a cabo una guerra ilegal contra Nicaragua y han mentido sobre la venta secreta de armas a Irán.

Para las millones de personas que esperaban saber la verdad, la clase dominante de este país ha convertido las audiencias en un escenario al estilo Hollywood, y a su agente, el Teniente Coronel Oliver North, en una estrella.

En ningún momento se ha mencionado cuantos niños, mujeres y hombres han sido asesinados o mutilados por los contras. Ni se preguntó sobre el negocio de la cocaína que se intercambiaba por armas para mandar a los contras. Estas drogas están destinadas a los barrios de la gente más oprimida en este país. La droga, además de darles altas ganancias, mantiene al pueblo controlado.

Washington tampoco tiene ninguna intención de dejar el Medio Oriente ya que no les conviene retirarse. Primero porque venden billones de dólares en armas a los distintos países y además quieren controlar esa región por su gran riqueza en petróleo. En Nicaragua no quieren un pueblo libre que se autodetermine, más bien quieren un país bajo el control de los Estados Unidos donde la clase domi-

nante puede sacar ganancias millonarias explotando los trabajadores con sueldos de hambre y robando sus riquezas naturales.

Esa es la verdad sobre la política de la clase dominante de los EE.UU., y el gobierno y los militares son sus agentes.

Gobierno Secreto

Para llevar a cabo esta política ultra-derechista la administración Reagan creó un gobierno secreto dentro del gobierno que podría operar sin restricción o control civil. Este gobierno secreto en realidad estaba compuesto por todos los miembros del Consejo de Seguridad Nacional (CSN) que incluye al presidente Reagan, al vice presidente, al director de la CIA, al asesor de la seguridad nacional, al procurador general, el jefe del estado mayor, los secretarios del estado y defensa, al jefe del estado mayor de la casa blanca.

Fue este grupo, bajo el liderazgo de Reagan y organizado por oficiales militares activos y "jubilados," que en realidad ha estado manejando la política externa de los EE.UU. para la clase dominante.

Por supuesto esto está en violación total de la constitución y muchas otras leyes nacionales e internacionales. ¿Y qué hacía este gobierno secreto?

De acuerdo al Miami Herald del 5 de junio las operaciones incluían el lanzamiento de aeronaves espías en misiones secretas sobre Cuba y Nicaragua, la dirección de los contras en

Nicaragua, y la circulación de informes falsos a los medios de comunicación para preparar la opinión pública para futuros ataques contra Nicaragua.

Además, un plan secreto fue elaborado para la suspensión de la Constitución y para declarar la ley marcial en caso de "oposición nacional contra una invasión militar en el extranjero." En otras palabras si hay oposición a la invasión de Nicaragua están listos para detener a cualquiera que se oponga. Esa es la democracia en los EE.UU.

El congreso, compuesto por los demócratas y republicanos, no ha exigido la disolución del Consejo Nacional de Seguridad, ni el término de la guerra contra, ni el enjuiciamiento de Reagan.

El congreso, con unas pocas excepciones entre legisladores negros y latinos, están todos de acuerdo con el propósito de la política exterior de Reagan que es reposer y expandir la habilidad de los bancos y corporaciones estadounidenses para controlar y explotar la mayor parte del mundo posible.

Los trabajadores y oprimidos no pueden confiar ni en el congreso o el gobierno o militares de la clase dominante, sino que en nuestra clase, la clase trabajadora. Pues nuestros intereses son los mismos: deshacernos de la opresión y explotación aquí en los EE.UU. y de nuestros hermanos y hermanas en los países explotados por el imperialismo.



30 de Agosto
¡Todos a Hartford!
Lugar de Reunión,
Calles Park y Zion, 10 a.m.

Marcha Nacional Pro Justicia y Derechos Civiles Para los 15 Presos Políticos Boricuas

La Marcha Demandará

- Que Celebren el Caso en Puerto Rico
- Juicio Rápido y en Español
- Jurado Compuesto de Boricuas
- Alto a la Detención Preventiva/. Apoyen el Derecho a Fianza
- No a la Militarización de Vieques y Puerto Rico
- Alto al Colonialismo de EE.UU.
- Alto a la Represión Política en EE.UU. y Puerto Rico
- Libertad Para los Presos Políticos y Prisioneros de Guerra, Desde Sudáfrica Hasta EE.UU.
- Alto al Racismo y la Violencia Racista
- Alto a la Intervención de EE.UU. en Centro América, el Medio Oriente y el Sur de África

Veá página 7 para la lista de Contactos



Manifestación en las Filipinas. Esta semana se conmemoró un año más del ataque atómico a las ciudades japonesas de Hiroshima y Nagasaki. En Manila, estudiantes realizaron una manifestación frente a la embajada de los Estados Unidos que todavía es el único país que ha usado una bomba atómica contra una nación. Miles y miles murieron y aún tantos años más tarde sienten los efectos de la radiación otros miles y miles más. Este crimen horrorizó al mundo entero.

¡No compre Coors!

Derechos reproductivos bajo ataque

Por Petra Guerra

Reagan y su administración de nuevo atacan los derechos reproductivos de la mujer — el derecho a escoger.

Se están desarrollando nuevos reglamentos en el Departamento de Salud que prohibirán dinero federal para clínicas que extiendan información y consejos sobre el aborto.

Estas clínicas extienden sus servicios a mujeres de pocos ingresos, la mayor parte provenientes de la comunidad oprimida: negra, latina, indígena, asiática y a jovencitas. Actualmente existen como 4.000 clínicas que dan sus servicios a más de 4,3 millones de clientes al año y reciben un total de \$142,5 millones de dólares en fondos federales.

Al pasar estos reglamentos, las clí-

nicas tendrán que hacer cortes en sus servicios o cerrar sus puertas. Esto afectaría a la población que más los necesita, la mujer pobre y de color, que es el 85% de la clientela y dejará a las jovencitas sin servicios.

Estos reglamentos son ilegales y violan los derechos civiles de la mujer, quitándole el derecho a escoger, a controlar su cuerpo y sus derechos reproductivos. Y el presidente Reagan espera pasar estos reglamentos en otro ataque a los derechos de la mujer.

¡Nosotras las mujeres no vamos a permitir que esto suceda nunca! Grupos que luchan por derechos reproductivos se encuentran organizando contra la represión de todas.

La lucha ha sido larga y dura y Reagan y los que piensan como él no nos arrebatarán lo que tanto nos ha costado conseguir.

