New exposé reveals
NSC secret army
Units engaged in combat, covert operations

By Robert Dobrow

As the Iran-contra hearings churn on in Washington, the Congressional investigators seem determined to dwell on one or two minor and insignificant trees while totally ignoring the forest of lies, crimes and blatantly reactionary operations which the Reagan regime was — and is — up to in its ears in.

Take, for instance, this news, which was reported in several local newspapers around the country, but totally ignored by the national media and Capitol Hill. The National Security Council (NSC) ran its own private military units that engaged in combat and covert operations abroad. The secret military organization was kept hidden from Congress and virtually every elected body. It was in effect the personal army of the director of the CIA, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the attorney general, the secretary of defense, and the other Pentagon bigwigs that make up the NSC.

The story, which appeared in the Miami Herald (July 26) and other Knight-Ridder newspapers like the Dallas Morning News and Philadelphia Inquirer, quotes extensively from organizers and participants of what was called the "Intelligence Support Activity" (ISA).

"If ISA operatives were caught," reports the Herald, "the United States would deny any involvement and they were on their own. You knew it was covert if JCS [Joint Chiefs of Staff — RD] used the expression POW, explained a former ISA operative. "That meant Personally Owned Weapons."

Under the Reagan regime, Continued on page 5

J OBS ARE A RIGHT!

But unemployment is an embarrassment to the National Governors' Association. So they answered workers picketing their conference with the arrest of nine protesters.

3

wr ong-WAY COMMISSION

Reagan's AIDS panel does not include one recognized authority on the disease. His choices are more like a list of who should not be on an AIDS commission.

3

gorbachev's reforms

In the second of a series, Sam Marcy examines the economic changes being introduced in the USSR in the light of Soviet history.

9

PAPER STRIKE

At the International Paper strike in Jay, Maine, union spokesperson Marshall Holman says, "The morale is super here and seems to be gaining every day."

4

THE RIGHT TO RELAX

A special 4-page supplement focuses on vacations — who gets them, who doesn't and how to win them.

Centerfold

Atlanta Welfare Rights —
still fighting after 20 years!

By Barbara Gall

Atlanta

July 17 — Chanting, "Reagan, Reagan, he's no good!" one hundred thirty people marched through downtown Atlanta today to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the local chapter of the National Welfare Rights Organization. Founder and President Ms. Ethel Matthews spoke on the theme of "Where do we go from here, and how do we get there." Many children marched, along with Rev. Tim MacDonald of SCLC, Sandra Robinson of the Georgia Hunger Coalition, members of the homeless community and members of the All Peoples Congress. Entertainment was provided by the Welfare Rights Senior Citizens Choir.

Ethel Matthews
Gov’t to help Big Steel shut plants, lay off workers

By Shelley Ettinger

Quiet discussions are currently taking place in high-ranking halls of the Federal Government as to whether or not to help Big Steel, which has already shut down the plants at LTV and Wheeling Pittsburgh, its prime sponsor is the American Iron and Steel Institute, a steel industry group. The plan is for federal legislation to subsidize a new round of plant closings. The restructuring to follow the plant closings would really be nothing more than the continuation of the new strategy of further massive layoffs, more concessions from the remaining workers, and the continuation of the same policies as before.

3,000 march in Watsonville for farm workers’ rights

By Pete Guerra
San Francisco

The sounds of “Hu-call” could be heard throughout the streets of Watsonville, Calif., once again on July 12. Over 3,000 marchers filled a downtown street in one of several statewide protests against the use of labor contractors who hire farm workers. Labor contractors have no interest in the workers and only think of the dollars they are making. The workers they hire get as low as $4 an hour, while United Farm Workers (UFW) union contract workers get $7.25 an hour for the same amount of work.

For the past 25 years, the UFW has been struggling to establish fair wages and working conditions free of cancer-causing pesticides for all agricultural workers. It was in this same town where the heroic canny workers at Watsonville Canniiar Company walked off their jobs and stayed out for 18 months until their demands were met.

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INTERNATIONAL

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Zimbabwe massacre
Asian workers: no prosperity
Korea and U.S. strategy
Soviet reform and capitalist threats
Irish interview

NATIONAL

HBC’s secret army
Steel industry gets govt. handout
Farm workers’ support rally
Governor’s meeting protest
AIDS panel in a Reagan
Oct. 11 march for gay pride
Paper strikers prepare for Maine rally
On the picketline
Sinking policy
Snaking in Bork

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Unemployed force their message on governor's meeting
9 arrested in action to demand moratorium on plant closings

July 26 — The National Governors' Association (NGA) here postponed a meeting of unemployed workers picketing their meeting with the arrest of nine protesters.

The action began at noon. Within minutes of the arrival of a car and van caravan, a militiaman in line of workmen the unemployed and their families were confronting the governor's conference. Minutes later, a decided to stop layoffs and plant closings.

State troopers responded quickly and arrested all of the workers without warning. The protesters were charged with trespassing at the posh Governor's Inn. Though it is open to the public and half a million taxpayer dollars paid for the conference, police said the demonstrators were driven away the demonstrators shouted, "Who are you afraid of? We demand justice!"

"These arrests are illegal and racist," stated Jerry Goldberg, an organizer for the Detroit Job Is A Right. Continued from page 3

Reagan appoints wrong-way AIDS commission
Insurance industry, ultra-right call the shots on panel

By Andy Staup

President Reagan named his 12-member Council of AIDS Policy July 23. As soon as you look at the list of people appointed to this body, you know something is wrong with this process.

It's like one of those psychological tests which ask, "What's wrong with this picture?"

Why, for instance, do most of those Reagan chose have no medical experience? AIDS is a health problem, one that has been studied by many distinguished doctors and scientific researchers. Is it just not a fact that those single recognized authority in the AIDS field?

And why is there only one gay member and one black person, when these are the hardest hit groups? Reagan's choices are almost altogether ignorant of the very subject they are supposed to make recommendations about.

That's the first impression. Then you look down the list it comes to the name O'Connor. This can't be the O'Connor, not John Cardinal O'Connor? But it is.

O'Connor: 'Country's leading gay-hater'

In the Catholic Church, gay Washington, D.C. has found the country's leading gay-hater. The Cardinal is the guy who would be running AIDS policy if he were married to St. Patrick's Cathedral. In fact, he has expressly forbidden gay Catholics from holding mass in any church in his diocese.

The good Cardinal lives on the same planet as the rest of us. He is bigoted, but that's about all he is in common with them, besides an intense mutual dislike. One select group of gay and lesbian liberals poked O'Connor, the mass they call "the arch bigot."

O'Connor is the head of a list of who should not be on an AIDS commission. Everybody but Reagan and the ultra-right, that is.

Look at Reagan's list again. Perhaps O'Connor is the odd man out, the one awful exception. Uh-oh. What's this? Admiral James D. Watkins, the recently retired chief of naval operations. What is he doing here?

The admiral is well known for his policy of criminalizing lesbian and gay members of the navy, or one should more accurately say "suspected" gays and lesbians. Apparently the cardinal's great experience in persecuting people for their real or imagined sexual orientation gives him the credentials for Reagan's AIDS commission.

The rich are well represented

Oh no! Not Richard De Vos, the Amway cult leader! Since when did organizing shady financial scams (Amway is sort of a combination of a patriotic-religious revival meeting and a chain letter) qualify anyone for a position on a health panel? Then again, the super-rich De Vos does give a lot of money to the Republican party.

Here we find Therese Crenshaw, the operator of a San Diego "sex clinic" which opposes the use of condoms!

Good grief, not Penny Pullen! Pullen, a close ally of Reagan's Phyllis Schlafly, is the Illinois State Representative who wrote one of the most reactionary pieces of AIDS legislation yet proposed anywhere. Medical experts and AIDS rights activists have universally condemned the proposed Illinois testing law.

A man in a train, the publisher of the Saturday Evening Post: Besides sharing the president's reactionary worldview, what recommended him? Or White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker's two friends Eugene Mayberry and Colleen Conway-Welch? Mayberry, already appointed to head Reagan's commission, is a trustee for a big insurance company.

Which is the first real clue of what the commission will be. Look at John J. Creedon, another commission member. He's a big fish, a very big fish. He's the top executive at Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in New York City and chairman of the Business Roundtable's Task Force on Health and Welfare Benefit Plans.

He's the one who will be calling most of the shots. When big money speaks, the Reagan government listens. And the big money here is the insurance industry, which has been an obstacle to providing necessary medical care for people with AIDS. Of course, the insurance industry is closely tied to the medical industry. Both are well represented on Reagan's commission.

While most people look on medical insurance industries as a provider of health care when they are in need, the industry sees its purpose as only taking profits. For the people with AIDS who are truly in need, these rich multi- billionaire dollar medical and financial firms are trying to stop the people from getting what is rightfully their right — fully paid medical service.

It's classic capitalism. And another example of why socialized medicine is a necessary part of the answer to the AIDS crisis. But that's not the answer that will be coming from Reagan's AIDS commission.

Huge turnout expected for Oct. 11 lesbian and gay march

By Brenda Sandburg

Washington

With only ten weeks left until the Oct. 11 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights, organizing is intensifying around the country. Judy Greenpan, an organizer with the People's Anti-War Mobilization and a staffperson in the national office, said, "People are calling in from parts of the country where there had been no organizing, such as Minnesota, Wisconsin, Missouri, Delaware and South Dakota."

As part of the final gearing up, the People of Color Caucus of the march is meeting in Seattle July 30 and 31 to plan the participation of people of color. Those who come will be instrumental in organizing the morning rally on Oct. 11. This meeting will be followed by a final meeting of the national steering committee Aug. 1 and 2 with the theme of building the march.

Tens of thousands of people are planning to attend the demonstration in D.C. National staffperson Lee Bush noted that a caravan of cars, vans and buses will be starting from San Francisco and linking up with people in Nevada, Wyoming and Kansas. A second caravan will begin in Seattle and head through the northern part of the country. The two groups will meet in Cincinnati and continue together onto Washington. Bush is with Black and White Men Together and the IGUNAs (Impatient Gays United Against Nuclear Arms).

In the Northeast area, national staffperson Michael Resendes said that to date 500 buses and one train are scheduled to come from New York City, 200 buses and at least one train from Boston, 10 buses and possibly two trains from the Hartford, Conn., and a train from Rhode Island. Trains are also coming from Chicago and New Orleans. Resendes noted that five airlines are offering special rates through travel agents for people attending the march.

A diverse number of labor, anti-war and progressive organizations have endorsed the march. They include Rev. Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition; the San Francisco Labor Council of the AFL-CIO; the American Federation of Teachers; the Massachusetts Tenants Organization; the Nov. 20 Committee for Palestine; Committee for a New Korean Policy; People's Anti-War Mobilization/All Peoples Congress; SANE; Mobilization for Survival; NOW; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; National Association of Social Workers; various city councils, including the D.C. City Council; and eleven Congressional representatives.

The national march office in Washington is staffed by full-time volunteers from such diverse areas as Los Angeles, Key West, Fla., Nashville, Tenn., and Seattle. They need hundreds of additional volunteers to pull together the march in the next two months. For more information about beginning to organize in your city, contact the national office at (202) 783-1829.
Maine paper strikers prepare for statewide rally

By Donna Pond-Greaves
Portland, Maine

July 27 — As the strike against the International Paper Company’s Androscoggin Mill in Jay, Maine, enters its fifth week, hundreds of United Paper Workers International Union (UPIU) Local 14 and Firemen and Oilers Union Local 246 are gearing up for a statewide solidarity march and rally to take place in Jay on Saturday, Aug. 1.

The union members, approximately 25% of whom are women, walked out of the mill June 16 after the company refused to budge in a series of take-back demands in contract negotiations. According to a flyer being distributed by union members at factories and mills throughout the state, the company is demanding wage cuts of $5,000-a-year per worker, the elimination of overtime jobs and a move to Sunday and holiday premium pay.

The Jay workers are already working a total of 56 hours a week, and the company is now mandating a minimum 39 Sundays a year plus all holidays except Christmas and New Year’s Day. And as federal reports indicate record profits of $365 million last year, it is now demanding work Christmas too.

The morale is super”

Sunday’s statement that 97% of the union contract vote was to strike. UPIU media director Marshall Holman told the crowd: “The morale is super here and seems to be gaining every day, particularly with the returning to our ranks of three workers, in addition to the donations and support that have come in from all over everywhere.”

Saturday’s solidarity march and rally was called by the state AFL-CIO, which predicted the event would bring in some 5,000 Maine workers. Among the strongest supporters have been the union members in nearby Ruger Manufacturing in Maine, who last year fought a bitter 11-week contract strike with the Boise Cascade Company.

In addition to the Androscoggin Mill in Jay, UPIU members are also locked out or on strike against International Paper Co. in Mobile, Ala., DePere, Wis., and Lock Haven, Pa.

The four union locals, joining for the time in a coordinated bargaining approach, have vowed that none will return to work until all have acceptable contracts, according to Local 14 President William Mervine.

With nearly 70% of the industry organized, papermill workers are the backbone of organized labor in Maine. And their fight to draw the line against concessions will affect the lives and livelihoods of every worker and their families.

Like the Local 14 flyer says, “This is a struggle between a greedy corpora
tion and the people of Maine.” All of us should be in Jay Saturday at 10 a.m. for the solidarity rally. Financial contributions can be sent to Local 14 and Local 246, Box 272, Jay, Maine.

A Job Is a Right

Continued from page 3

Campaign, “Seven of the nine arrested were Black or Latino.”

Reports from the Androscoggin Mill in Jay, Maine, show that the company has traveled from all over Michigan, from Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York and Maryland to organize the annual National Governors’ Association conference. They were demanding that the convention move the people before corporate profits by enacting moratoriums on ban plant closings and layoffs and to reopen shuttered plants; to guarantee jobs for all and expand social services.

The demonstration was organized by the National Job is a Right Campaign. Included were members from over a dozen UAW locals (most of whom are from plants facing shutdowns) from AFSCME, United Electrical Workers, Newspaper Guild, SEIU, TWU, United Workers Association, UE, Hotel and Restaurant Workers (HERE), Wayne County Unemployed Council, United Welfare Rights, Jobs and Justice Fightback Committee and the Milwaukee Labor Market.

Many of the governors and their staff, who were on their way to the opening ceremony, the main theme was “Jobs — Putting America to Work,” came out of the hotel to see the demonstrators marching. Officials carrying signs saying, “Put America to work with jobs, not empty talk,” and to hear chants of “The governors have the power, we demand jobs.”

Those arrested included Suana Nunez, an unemployed Chicana woman who is disabled and legally blind; she brought her 20-month-old son to the demonstration. Also arrested were William Roundtree, national coordinator of the A Job Is a Right Campaign, and Gabrielle Gemma, an organizer for the campaign. They had been stung out because they had confronted the “embarrassed” Michigan Gov. James Blanchard in the lobby of the hotel the previous day, forcing him to respond to the press on the governor’s power to enact a moratorium.

Organizers included Clayton Bar
cay, Chicago; Liziette Love, UAW Local 599, Flint, Mich., founder of the Jobs and Justice Fightback Committee; Gertrude Cooke from Detroit who is retired; Kevin Carey, unemployed Oshkosh, and Détroit, UAW 581 member James Holder; and Thomas Thordner, AFL-CIO member and state labor representative from Michigan.

Inside the resort, the NGA was being addressed by a Black chairman of Chrysler, which has closed seven plants in Detroit resulting in massive unemployment and devastation especially for the Black community. He was telling the governors that the way to make corpora
tions more competitive was to “face up to the cost of competition.”

A statement given to the press by the A Job Is a Right Campaign spoke for the victims of this “cost of competi
tion.” “We are told that these closings are good for us, that our misery will mean U.S. corporations will become more competitive worldwide; this is nonsense. Competition is a code word designed to decrease the work force and lower their wages. Cost of closing plant closings, concessions and speed-ups have only meant enormous profits for U.S. corporations and have not created or saved one job.”

Every worker and family member was invited to join the rank and file chaired by Annie Graham, Local 22 Detroit, expressed their anger and outrage and their willingness to con
tinue to fight back. The tremendous solidarity between the workers — Black, Latin, Arab, white, young and old — was demonstrated when a huge circle was formed and everyone, hands held together in the air, sang “Solidarity Forever” and “We Shall Overcome.”

During the long afternoon, workers arranged transportation to a bathroom and food and raised $800 bail money within a matter of min
tes; the many children who were
tere worked eagerly with the adults.

During the rally Jim Nelson, UE Local 1066 from Erie, Pa., said, “We didn’t arrive in this situation by acci
dent; this was planned by big business and the politicians they control. We’re not going to let this go on. The struggle we’re engaged in today is going to make history.”

Also Michelle Hawkins, 14, who had come with her three brothers and their mother Joyce Crutschfield, spokesperson for the A Job Is a Right Campaign and a laid-off worker from UAW Local 88 in Detroit, said, “My mother’s an abortion, she’ll fight till the end and I’m going to help her.”

Punds are urgently needed to help cover the cost of legal expenses. dona
tions can be sent to: A Job Is a Right Campaign, P.O. Box 88141, Detroit, Mich. 48208.

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On the picket line

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tion for farmworkers.

Boycott U.S. Playing Cards. - Workers at the U.S. Playing Card Co.'s Norwood, Ohio, plant have been on strike for six months in a bitter struggle against a broad com
p
c 8
pany attack on the full range of con
tact rights, benefits and union representation. Last November, U.S. Playing Card slashed wages by up to 22%, laid off 100 workers without regard to contractual seniority rights and began to subcontract union work. In February, the company escalated the attack by increasing the cuts to 40%, instituting mandatory drug test
ing and threatening to shut down the Norwood plant and reopen at a non
er
district. The Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers have called on the labor movement to support their strike with a boycott of play
cards made by the company or its subsidiary American Playing Cards Co. Ltd.

Fred Flintstone, Bugs Bunny settle. A settlement has been reached in the month-old strike by the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) against four animated cartoon film production companies in Hollywood. Voice actors who portray cartoon characters in television and movie cartoon films like The Flintstones and popular Saturday morning children's shows like Smurfs, Ghostbusters and — yes, it's still around — Bugs Bunny face off for better working and working conditions. The settle
m ent gives a four-day work week, limits on the number of hours the actors must use their voices and a 10% wage increase.

Shelley Ettinger
Washington's role in destabilizing Panama

By Teresa Gutiérrez

July 28 — The situation in Panama has escalated to a dangerous point. Washington's attempts to destabilize the Panamanian government have intensified.

On Monday, July 27, the Panamanian government arrested Cpl. Roberto Díaz Herrera, a pro-U.S. right-winger. The move comes days after the Reagan administration suspended all military and economic aid to Panama, perceived as an act of increased hostility.

For over a year now, the U.S. government has orchestrated a fierce campaign directed at Panama's military leader, Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, and his president, Eric Arturo Delvalle. The U.S. has accused General Noriega, who is considered the main leader there, of drug trafficking, corruption, murder and election fraud. For the past year alone, the U.S. government has led a campaign in Panama and the U.S. calling for the ouster of both Panamanian leaders.

Such open intervention in the internal affairs of a U.S. ally, however, has nothing to do with concern for drugs or corruption.

Panamanian military bases are vital U.S. military interests in this region. General Noriega, a nationalist, has repeatedly threatened to expel U.S. military personnel. He has indicated that he will proceed with compliance of the 1977 Torrijos-Carter Treaties that calls for the U.S. to return the Panama Canal in the year 2000.

In addition, Noriega has refused to allow U.S. military bases in his country to be used for the U.S. government in its efforts to overturn the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua. Noriega's military, he has actively participated in the peace efforts launched by various Central American countries which have continued friendly relations with Nicaragua.

— NSC's secret army

— NSC's secret army

In Nicaragua, the U.S. has failed to topple the government. The contra revenues, which are used to support the contra rebels, have been diverted to the U.S. military and political establishment.

The contra rebels, who are supported by the U.S. government, have been fighting a war of attrition against the Sandinista government. The Sandinista government has been able to maintain its power with the support of the people and the international community.

The U.S. government has been trying to overthrow the Sandinista government through economic sanctions, political pressure, and military action. The Sandinista government has been able to resist these efforts through the support of the people and the international community.

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— Sandinista supporters in D.C.

The Nicaraguan government is attempting to overthrow the U.S. government to protect the interests of the people. The Sandinista government has been able to maintain its power with the support of the people and the international community. The U.S. government has been trying to overthrow the Sandinista government through economic sanctions, political pressure, and military action. The Sandinista government has been able to resist these efforts through the support of the people and the international community.

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What’s behind the massacre in Mozambique?

By Monica Morehead

July 27 — In the aftermath of the criminal, barbaric massacre last Tuesday of over 380 civilians in Mozambique, a legal and international community continues to ask itself why? Why were unarmed women, men and children indiscriminately abet, maimed and wounded in huts, on the streets and even within the sanctuaries and religious wards in the town of Inhambane?

There is no question as to who carried out the massacre. Testimonies and eyewitnesses to the massacre have confirmed that Renamo (Movimento Nacional de Resistência) was responsible despite repeated denials from its headquarters in Lobamba, legal, and from its racist apartheid backstop in South Africa.

Renamo is a gang of mercenaries created in 1976 by white settlers in then Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) to terrorize Mozambique following its heroic victory over several hundred years of Portuguese colonialism. Mozambique has not enjoyed one moment of peace in order to reconstruct its life as an impoverished country. The racist apartheid regime in South Africa has replaced the former Portuguese oppressor. Now Mozambique is forced to direct all of its national resources to defend itself against Renamo’s campaign of economic sabotage of key rail links and a guerrilla war against the civilian population. Renamo is made from the same mold as the contras in Nicaragua and UNITA in Angola.

In fact, the extreme right wing in the Senate has called for the U.S. to aid Renamo in its overthrow of the government and the overthrow of the Mozambican government, a violation of international law that is supposed to protect a country’s right to sovereignty. It was revealed by the Mozambican government that the U.S. and South Africa supplied the guns, bullets and machetes that butchered the people of Inhambane. The U.S. ruling class blatantly sided with the apartheid fascists in their terrorist campaign against Mozambique? One important factor is that Mozambique has had a history of providing sanctuary and safe haven for the guerrillas of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, the national liberation movement that led to the ultimate overthrow of the racist government and thegmt. Mozambican President Samora Machel, a strong opponent against apartheid, was killed in a plane crash last October in South Africa; a crash that strong evidence indicates South Africa was responsible for.

Unlike Mozambique and the majority of the countries in southern Africa that have been historically underdeveloped, South Africa is the most industrialized country on the African continent. It ranks as the 17th most industrialized economy in the world. It continues to be controlled by the U.S. and South Africa as long as the anti-apartheid movement continues to thrive in South Africa and in Namibia, a territory occupied by South Africa.

A recent massacre confirmed once again that the struggle to destroy apartheid is the key to the liberation of all southern Africa. As long as apartheid exists, southern Africa will fall prey to unbridled military attacks and repression.

The anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. and elsewhere must broaden its political perspective by not only supporting the national liberation struggles led by the ANC in South Africa and Renamo in Mozambique, but by condemning the fascist attacks supported by the U.S. and South Africa like the massacre in Mozambique.

International briefs

Haiti massacre. Fascist thugs hired by wealthy landowners ambushed and killed 300 peasants July 24 as the peasants were marching on the town of Jean-Rabel, 140 miles from the Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince, according to a report by Reuters news agency. Hundreds more are counted as missing in the neighboring town of Swazi- land. Eliza Augusta Teini, a Mozambican with DiKeledi and Make, was also killed. Cassius Make was the youngest member of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, the national liberation movement in South Africa.

Meanwhile, the regime’s repression has continued as the mass resistance in the Violeta township is getting stronger. Another group of UDFA activists were arrested on July 24. It was the second round of such arrests in three days with the total arrested to 22 UDFA officials.

Duarte gov’t near collapse? A leader of the Partido Marit National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador in an interview July 21 with the San Francisco Chronicle alleged that the government of President José Napoleon Duarte is near collapse. Eduardo Garcia of the FMLN said, "The only thing keeping Duarte in power is military support from the United States... and Duarte is latching back from all levels of Salvadoran society frustrated by the government’s inability to provide such basic social needs as housing, food, health care and education." He added that Duarte is "facing the growing demands by the people has been an open, escalating level of violence.—with the government... loosing loose the death squad." Garcia predicted the collapse of the Duarte government would result in military intervention in El Salvador or "the beginning of a process of negotiatiion."

Workers and peasants demonstrating in San Salvador.

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Palau rejects nukes. Another Pacific island group, Palau, is facing the threat of nukes with U.S. intervention. As in the case with Fiji, the


dominate at issue is the pressure from the U.S. Navy to get the right of passage for nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered ships. Recently, a vote among Palau’s 15,000 people rejected an agreement that would have stepped up U.S. aid in return for allowing the ships this passage. New Zealand and a number of Melanesian island republics in the South Pacific have barred such U.S. ships from their ports. When Fiji also considered barring the U.S. nuclear ships after a conference in government last spring, the U.S. engineered a coup to restore the former, more compliant regime. Some time ago, report rumors that something similar is being planned for Palau, which has been administered as a trust territory since 1947. Palau’s 200 islands lie east of the Philippines, between Japan and Australia, and are considered by the Pentagon to have strategic importance.

U.S. arms Angola contras. U.S. arms are being shipped through southern Zaire to the counterrevolutionary forces in Angola. A leader of the Angolan government, reports the New York Times (July 27), UNITA has received much of its weapons from the apartheid regime in South Africa and is considered to be a tool of the Pretoria government. An U.S. leader Jonas Savimbi visited Johannesburg last month where he counseled Black freedom fighters to end their struggle against the apartheid regime. Since UNITA is hated throughout Angola, Robomoto Seke has denied the U.S. trans-shipments. Nevertheless, the New York Times reported that U.S. arms shipments to UNITA are sent to an abandoned Belgian air base near Katumba in Zaire’s Shaba province. From there, a C-130 cargo plane shuttles the weapons to areas in Angola. A base in base in a Belgian air base near Kamina in Zaire’s Shaba province. From there, a C-130 cargo plane shuttles the weapons to areas in Angola. A base in base in a Belgian air base near Kamina in Zaire’s Shaba province. From there, a C-130 cargo plane shuttles the weapons to areas in Angola. A base in base in a Belgian air base near Kamina in Zaire’s Shaba province. From there, a C-130 cargo plane shuttles the weapons to areas in Angola.
Fight for the right to relax

"You've got to fight for the right to party," sang the Beatle Boys in a hit single earlier this year. Now, you could interpret that as a siren song to youthful decadence and retreat from struggle, just the opposite of what's needed. Or you could admit that those Beatle Boys just might have something there, that the basic sentiment is right.

Isn't it?

Doesn't everyone have the right to a decent life beyond the boundaries of work, work, work? Isn't an afternoon at the beach or an evening staring at the stars or a morning at a museum supposed to be part of life, too? What about dancing all night at a disco in a faraway city? Or visiting relatives or going to the zoo or camping? What's wrong with eating out, sightseeing, concerts, movies, stretching out with a big fat mystery novel?

The right to be lazy

A little over a hundred years ago, in a stinging satirical essay titled "The Right To Be Lazy," French Marxist Paul Lafargue described work under capitalism—wage labor—as "the most terrible scourge that has ever struck humanity." He foresaw a future, after the worldwide proletariat has built a new communist society, when "work will become a mere concomitant to the pleasures of idleness, a beneficial exercise to the human organism...wisely regulated and limited to a maximum of three hours a day...."

While Lafargue's blueprint of three hours' work a day may not be the solution to all of society's problems, the "right to be lazy" is a crucial, though often forgotten, element in the struggle. Put another way, freedom from meaningless, exploitative labor—freedom to relax and enjoy life instead of sweat and slaving—is part of what the struggle for socialism is all about.

Under socialism, workers could produce what all of society needs instead of making profits for a few parasites while the millions suffer. Technology could free workers to pursue whatever interests them, from creating art to studying science or languages, to training in athletics or music. Freed from the daily struggle to survive, we could all take a deep breath and reach for our full human potential, enriching ourselves and society as a whole.

That's what the Lawrence mill workers meant when they walked out on strike in 1912 demanding "bread and roses."

Vacations should be a right. But they're not; there's no law in this country mandating vacation time for workers. An astounding number have little or no vacation at all. Only workers in unions—just 18% of the workforce—have any guaranteed vacation rights at all. And that's because they fought for them.

Now, at the height of the U.S. vacation season, this Workers World special supplement focuses on vacations—who gets them, who doesn't, and how to win the right to relax.

—Shelley Ettinger

How I didn't spend my summer vacation

A working mother takes a 'break'

"After a hard day with work and the kids, go ahead! Give yourself a vacation with a cup of one of General Foods International Coffees."

This TV commercial popped on the screen as I was trying to figure out if I could juggle a summer vacation this year. After taking expenses and childcare into consideration, I was left with two choices for my vacation itinerary: I could have a different International Coffee every night for six nights (there are six different varieties), or blow it all at once and have all six kinds in one wild, crazy splurge.

For working parents living under capitalism in the U.S. in the 1980's, a vacation is often just an exchange of one set of tasks for another. This is particularly true for single parents, most of whom are women.

Days 1-5: laundry and other thrills

During days one through four of my International Coffees Vacation with my three-year-old son, I really had an opportunity to remember how hard it was to be a homemaker-worker. And I thought about how the Reagan administration and the right-wing bosses portray housework and endless nurturing and sacrifice as the ingredients that make a woman's life exciting and fulfilling.

But I found that doing the laundry on a Wednesday instead of a Sunday was only a minor thrill—hardly comparable with a stroll along the Charles-Elysees. Even if I propped my feet up and savored a cup of French Mint as the clothes went through the spin cycle.

On the fifth day of my vacation, as I sipped on my Swiss Mocha, I thought about what a vacation would be like in a socialist society. I thought about the free childcare at the workplace and about the four-week annual vacations. And about the paid sick time available for every worker so parents don't have to see all their vacation time up when their children get sick.

I thought about how nice it would be to want to spend time with my son on a vacation that provided...
Boring, boring: the leisure class's quest for a good time

By Andy Stapp

Some people think that the rich are spoiled and selfish egoists who don’t know the first thing about the realities of everyday life for the rest of us. But is this true?

Take the question of vacations. A lot of rich people were planning to spend August in Monte Carlo. But this summer, Monte Carlo is as hot and muggy as, ugh, New York. And some of those villas don’t even have air conditioning, what a drag! Now they’ll all have to go to the Bahia Palace in Marrakech, which is very tasty if you’ve had your head in the sand.

Let’s face it — rich people get bored easily, which is something poor people and workers don’t seem to appreciate. They are the new entrepreneurs. When life is one long vacation, it’s hard to come up with new ways to amuse yourself.

Dracula and the Orient Express

Britain’s Prince Phillip has apparently tried his hand at self-entertainment by inviting vacation guests into the royal coach of his travelling train wearing plastic vampire teeth and telling them he isn’t a prince, but a count — Count Dracula. That’s okay for the first time, but it does get a bit tedious when he keeps it up, year after year.

One solution that wealthy people turn to is erecting mansions, so that when they get restless in one place they can quickly move on to another where everything is just the way they want it. The Vanderbilts, for instance, built a nice 250-room house on their 139,000 acre estate in Asheville, N.C., a place to really get away from it all. But they soon found that the spotless, shined grounds, stunning horse barns and the rest (fast became dull, dull, dull).

That’s the way it is for people with money. Thrilled to pieces one moment, cranky and listless the next. That takes care of the next two weeks, but then what?

John J. McCloy II is in even worse shape. His party in mid-July only went on for three days. It began at Victoria Station in London with a champagne reception for 100 guests and a 24-piece band dressed in Beeferfamily uniforms playing while they boarded the Orient Express. Everyone wore vintage 1920s clothes. The train arrived in Venice the next day for a champagne and caviar party on gondolas in the Grand Canal. Then on to the Gritti Palace Hotel, where they ate dessert: a five-foot pastillage of the White House made of spun sugar, marzipan and other sweets. But the problem then arose, as it always does: "What do we do now?"

The party will end.

Wealthy people like to talk about how socialism must ultimately flop "because lazy workers will refuse to do their fair share." They also worry that "idle hands will turn to mischief." They don’t like mothers who get financial aid for their children, calling them “welfare queens.” Most members of the U.S. Congress who are now scrambling to get out of D.C. for their long summer break and taxpayer-paid junkets around the world, agree with this, and often preach that “the free lunch is over” and “people must learn to live within their means.”

The wealthy vacationers staying at the Rio Palace Hotel on Copacabana beach don’t see Brazil’s starving children. The “shoppers” who hop over to Singapore for the day to pick up expensive jade jewelry “cheap” don’t bother themselves about the women and men dying on the street, anymore than they do about the homeless of Chi-
cago or Philadelphia.

But the Vanderbilts and others don’t go to Europe anymore — because they’ve been kicked out! That worries them. What will they do when the whole world tells them that the party’s over?

The right to a job and the right not to work

One of the most fundamental rights fought for by the labor movement is the right to a job, and one of the bitterest experiences for any worker is unemployment.

So where does the right not to work fit in?

In industry after industry — auto is a prime example — the bosses lay off thousands of workers who then turn around and impose mandatory overtime on those remaining in the plants. What if instead they provided reasonable time off for all the workers, in the form of vacation, personal leave days or other types of leave, a shorter work week, and so on?

The demand for jobs for all, for an end to layoffs and plant closings is just the other side of the demand for paid time off. Every worker has the right to both — a guaranteed job and a guaranteed vacation.

Socialism: Spas & sanitoriums

The socialist countries not only guarantee paid vacation time to all workers, they make it easy and relatively cheap to take a vacation trip or spend time at a resort. In the German Democratic Republic (GDR), for example, the population of less than 17 million took 12 million holiday trips in 1986.

Of these, 5.1 million were package holidays made available by trade unions and the nationalized enterprises. The others were exchange holidays arranged with the other socialist countries. Besides these, of course, there were also millions of youth at summer holiday camps or camping out.

If a working person in the U.S. is exhausted from the grind of the office or assembly line or the difficulties of life, there usually is no way out before a complete collapse. In the GDR, traditions and socialism have made another choice available: sanatoriums and spas.

Spas are resorts whose mineral springs are believed to have a healing influence, either drunk or bathed in. At any rate, three weeks of drinking mineral water and taking long walks in the country is usually more relaxing than driving a bus in rush hour or waiting tables or sitting in front of a VDT.

In 1986, some 362,000 GDR citizens corresponded with 220 vacation sanatoriums. This is free of cost, as is all medical care. Of these courses, 153,000 were prophylactic. That means they were given before the worker got sick. Two-thirds of those treated were production workers. Having avoided collapse, the people could then take their normal vacation and enjoy it.

Vacations in western Europe

France, West Germany and the U.S. are all industrialized nations with high per-capita incomes compared to most of the rest of the world. All are capitalist countries where workers are exploited. In each there is a wide difference in income between rich and poor. Yet if you compared paid vacation time for workers in each of the countries you would be shocked.

In West Germany, the typical vacation is five or six weeks per year. In France it’s four or five. Most workers are guaranteed paid vacations for these periods, with an extra bonus thrown in for the West Germans.

In West Germany and France, Godfather-style trade unions fought for these vacations for the workers. In most of Western Europe, in fact, the one- and two-week holidays common in the U.S. are considered a modern form of barbarism.

Another way this difference can be quantified is in the number of hours worked per year. To take one big multinational as an example, IBM workers in West Germany, its U.S. employees worked 1,872 hours per year, its West German workers 1,660 and its French workers 1,042. Because of France’s Catholic history, there are many religious holy days that turn into long or extended weekends.

If you bump into any European tourists in the U.S. this summer, ask them how long their vacation is. Then tell them about yours and watch their mouths drop in horrified amazement.

John Catalinotto

Young people frolic in a human-made lake, formerly an open-pit mine, in the German Democratic Republic.
No vacation from racism, oppression

Summer's here and it's hot in the city. Workers are out from coast to coast trying to find relief from the everyday drudgery of life.

"I just need a couple of weeks," one says to oneself.

"Just two weeks to get away from work, from having to rush there every morning, to get away from the daily grind, from the boss who's constantly on my back. Just two weeks and maybe I can make it another year."

But in this period of vast unemployment and even more underemployment, who's got the money or the paid time off to get away? Only a very small percentage of workers, mostly white and better paid, can make plans to go to their many favorite places, such as the Bahamas or Cancun.

Of course, that even smaller percentage of the population — the ruling class — can always afford to "get away from it all."

Third World, on the other hand, can never get away from racism. Women can't get away from sexism; lesbians and gays can't get away from bigotry; the disabled can't get away from built-in barriers; and the poor ard the homeless can't get away at all.

Racism, oppression never take vacation.

Racist, sexist and oppressive attitudes are so instilled and so institutionalized throughout the capitalist world that not even on the question of vacation can workers enjoy the fruits of their labor.

Many a working class family thinks, "How great it would be to take the kids and get away for a few days, see new sights, eat out every evening!"

But who can afford it? Not Latinx, Black, Asian or even Third World people who are the most exploited, the worst paid and have the fewest job benefits, including vacation leave.

Even for those who manage to save a few extra bucks and are able to go somewhere on vacation, the backward ideas of this society still haunt the overseas everywhere they go. Third World people still experience the worst service and blatantly racist treatment in hotels and restaurants in many places. They are constantly confronted with the attitude of, "What are you doing here? This is not where you belong."

Paradise for bosses, exploitation for workers in Jamaica

For most working-class people in the Third World, vacations are a commodity priced far out of reach — a privilege reserved for the rich.

In a tourist haven like Jamaica, for instance, many resorts — most of which occupy prime real estate — were formerly government owned and operated. Under the progressive Manley government in the 1970s, workers were encouraged to take their vacations in Jamaica and were offered greatly reduced rates. The significant reduction in cost made these vacation spots more accessible to Jamaican workers, as could be seen by the positive response to the plan.

Today, however, under the pro-U.S. government of Edward Seaga, most hotels and resorts have been turned over to private investors from North America and Europe. Consequently, the tourist industry, which is the leading producer of foreign exchange for the Jamaican economy, is once again geared toward attracting white middle-class vacationers from the U.S., Canada and Europe. And, worse still, tourism is geared toward massive exploitation of the Jamaican worker.

Poverty wages, multinational profits

Most hotel workers make wages below the poverty level. The average weekly rate of pay for hotel workers is $40 Jamaican, which is equivalent to $8 U.S. Moreover, virtually all tourism-related services, such as car rentals and most of the airlines that fly to the country, are U.S.-owned and operated. At the present rate of exchange ($1.00 U.S. = $5.50 Jamaican), these corporations, the only true beneficiaries of the tourist industry, are able to realize massive profits.

These profits, made from the exploitation of Jamaican workers, are rarely left in the country to aid in its development. As a result, the Seaga administration has had to shore up the island's police force and army in order to try and quell the touristic tide of demonstrations, protests and strikes.

Weed tourism profits not exported to foreign banks, they could be returned to the local economy, creating better housing, health care, education and jobs. As it is, the unemployment rate now stands at over 30%.

It is a contradiction of capitalism and class society that workers who need most to take a break from the drudgery of work are least likely to be able to afford decent vacations due to insufficient time off or low wages, particularly in those very Third World countries where these workers create huge profits for the tourism industry.

The degree of capitalist exploitation corresponds directly to how much vacation time is received and to whether or not one could actually afford a decent vacation given a low salary. Thus, for many workers, and particularly for the unemployed, a vacation is but an abstraction often dreamed of but rarely realized.

Unlike those societies being forged under socialism, where vacations are not only a right but are affordable, the tourist industry in capitalist society is but another tool of exploitation of workers, particularly the toiling masses of the Third World.
Hospitality workers — serving the cake, fighting to eat it too

Picture Julie McCoy, cruise director on TV’s “The Loveboat.”

The model service employee, Julie is enthusiastic, energetic and always eager to meet the needs of every passenger. Her job is a whirlwind of glamour and excitement, from meeting and greeting the rich and famous to strolling after hours on romantic moonlit ship decks.

Unfortunately, for the hundreds of thousands of hotel, restaurant, transportation and other workers in the vacation and tourism industries in this country (what the bosses call the “hospitality industry”), this scenario is only a television fantasy that distorts rather than offers an accurate chronicle of their work lives.

Reality: low pay, long hours

The day-to-day reality on the job is low pay, long hours, few or no benefits, demeaning treatment from bosses and customers, and work that is often physically exciting. Paid vacations are a rarity for these workers; in the case of restaurant workers who make sub-minimum wages and rely on tips to survive, a paid vacation is meaningless anyway. After all, $2.35 per hour would at best enable you to sit at home and watch “Loveboat” reruns!

While these oppressive conditions hinge on the fact that a staggering majority of the hospitality industry labor force is unorganized, those in unions have had to fight tooth and nail to even a little bit better. Despite the fact that the service sector as a whole, and tourism in particular, is a growth industry, pulling in huge profits, the unions are currently engaged in fierce battles against the bosses for concessions.

Carl Icahn, head of TWA, for one, believes that it is the responsibility of the workers to make the air- line profitable. Icahn took $250 million in concessions from TWA pilots and machinists two years ago, but the flight attendants walked out on strike rather than give up another $88 million, or 46% of their wages and benefits, in givebacks.

That strike by the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFPFA) showed that the workers who must serve vacationers, business travelers, etc., are ready to fight for their right to make a decent living at it. It also demonstrated the character of the U.S. work force today — in which white men are no longer the majority and women and Third World workers are increasingly leading militant labor struggles.

Changed working class leads struggles

A number of other recent strikes did, too. Casino workers in Las Vegas and Atlantic City waged extremely spirited strikes when they were told they would have to accept pay and benefit cuts because the casino conglomerates, which virtually own those two cities, couldn’t survive on the more than $240 million per month the casinos bring in.

Restaurant workers in San Francisco and hotel workers in New York City also walked out in the last two years. In both cases a totally multinational rank and file, including many undocumented workers along with other Third World workers, women, and lesbians and gays, led the fight with innovative street tactics, picket lines and demonstrations.

Even workers at both Disneyland and Disney World, hyped as the fantasyland of “all-American” vacations, have been on the picket line several times in the last few years demanding an end to exploitative low wages and unsafe working conditions. Those Mickey Mouse uniforms may be cute and funny, but the workers inside them are serious about fighting against exploitation and inhumen working conditions.

All these workers are specialists in giving comfort, sustenance and pleasure to others, but are paid near-poverty wages and never themselves experience the luxury and wealth with which they are surround. They clean the boardrooms but are barred from making decisions, prepare and serve the cake but never eat it, carry people to their vacation destinations but never have the opportunity to get away from it all.

Except, of course, when they organize and walk out, leaving the rich to slice their own pie.

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—Working mother (continued from 51)

a safe and stimulating environment for him and left me personal private time.

Isn’t that what a vacation is really supposed to be all about? A break for the worker?

Day six: slaying the dragon

Day six was Cafe Vienna day. We went to the playground and played in the sandbox, practiced the ABCs and played catch and smartcards. Jase was great with the alphabet and was really proud that he could recognize his written name. I was proud of him, too, and felt really lucky to be his mother.

Later, several other women and kids came into the area of the park where we were playing. We knew some of them from the neighborhood. Jase ran off to play with the kids.

I was thrilled to have some grown-up women to talk to. Two of them were on vacation, too. One of them had three kids — 12, 7 and 3. We talked about everything from daycare to gentrification of the community, birth control and child development. We laughed a lot and had a really great time. Sonya, mother of three, had to leave early to pick up her oldest from day camp. The rest of us decided to leave, too, because the kids were getting cranky and needed naps.

Joan and I figured while the kids were sleeping we could clean out our closets. Afterall, when would we have time when we’re not on vacation?

That night I put lots of cream and sugar in my Cafe Vienna and shared it with Jase. We told each other stories about swordfights and dragons. I told one about the bourgeoisie dragon who among other things gobbled parents’ vacations. He said when he grew up he and all the other kids would slay that dragon. I said I knew they would.
Korea is focal point of U.S. strategy

By Sue Bailey
Washington

This is the last of two articles based on a July 15 interview with Minn Chang, a constituent with Young Ko- reans United.

"The United States has made a fundamental decision that we are a Pacific nation, and that we will remain a Pacific power and a force for peace and stability in the region. Our region's future is indeed in the Pacific. . . . Let no one misread the past or misjudge our resolve."

— Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, June 1985

The Pentagon says that it is buying "peaceful and defensive" with the $169 billion of our taxes spent in south Korea since 1945. It costs $2 billion each year just to keep 45,000 American service members and 100,000 South Koreans on the Korean peninsula.

For the reason that the massive U.S. military presence, says Minn Chang of Young Koreans United, is that "Korea has become the focal point of U.S. military strategy especially as it relates to their conflict with China and Japan." The Reagan administration's military buildup over the past six years has concentrated on "regional sea-power"—especially in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. As then Secretary of Defense John Lehman declared in 1981, "Nothing below clear superiority [over China and Japan]."

In the Pacific, the Navy's strategy is known as "offensive defense." What this means is that the U.S. possesses two types of nuclear weapons—"offensive" and "offensive." The former are concentrated on "regional sea-power"—especially in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. As then Secretary of Defense John Lehman declared in 1981, "Nothing below clear superiority [over China and Japan]."

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Sinking policy

The U.S. now has 17 warships in the Persian Gulf area. British ships are there, too. And now France is sending an aircraft carrier group after weeks of diplomatic battle with Iran. Out of the corner of the eye, one can see that the U.S. and France are not a team. Last week the U.S. Navy and Royal Navy had a collision in the Gulf. Neither side of the two navies has any ambitions to dominate the U.S. Navy fleet in the Gulf. But the strategic situation in the Gulf is changing. The U.S. Navy has handed over the Gulf to the Royal Navy. This is the first time in history that the U.S. Navy has handed over the Gulf to another power. The Royal Navy is now in charge of the Gulf. The U.S. Navy is still in the Gulf, but it is not the dominant power. The Royal Navy is now the dominant power in the Gulf. The U.S. Navy is now in a defensive position in the Gulf.

When the president couldn't get the elected members of Congress to fund lethal aid to the anti-Nicaraguan contras because of widespread public hostility to this policy, he simply bypassed Capitol Hill and okayed the gun-running by executive decree. The administration is now testing the waters to see if it can get away with putting an ultra-reactionary judge on the Supreme Court by using the same method. On July 27 Robert Dole, a Senate Republican leader and close ally of the White House, suggested that Reagan simply place Bork on the court, without bothering with Senate hearings. By sometime during August when Congress is in recess. The president has this power, Dole explained, adding that the idea was offered "fool for thought." Indeed, the first thought that is likely to strike anyone is that such an action reduces even the pretense of democracy to a sham. It is clear that the U.S. Constitution gives the Senate at least as much power in picking Supreme Court justices as it gives the president. Dole's "sit him now, confirm him later" scheme smells like one of those "secret retroactive intelligence findings" Reagan utilized in the Iran-contra scandal.

The Democratic Party leadership, which controls the Senate, says it's against Reagan-ism. They have the votes to kill this Bork nomination if they wish, especially given his record against free speech, abortion rights, trade unions, school desegregation, civil liberties for gay and lesbian people, prisoners and environmentalists. Judge Bork may actually be the most right-wing jurist ever appointed to the Supreme Court in the past two centuries, which is really saying a lot, considering the very conservative history of that institution.

That Reagan would choose such a discredited figure and then toy with the notion of seating him without confirmation hearings, is a sign of desperation. The president wants a man like Bork to buttress the forces of reaction, chauvinism in particular, at a time when U.S. imperialism's fortunes are slipping.

Washington is being challenged everywhere, from the revolutionary movements in the Phippines, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, the Middle East and south Korea to Central America and South Africa. And that is a historic reality which can't be reversed, whatever the ultimate fate of Robert Bork.

Letters

FBI harassment

August 8, 1987

ArmenianAmerican...I had sent a letter to the Soviet mission asking them to help find a Soviet pen pal who I had been corresponding with. I had sent the letter to the embassy, and from what the agent told me during this conversation, it appears that the FBI had intercepted the letter and read my letter to the embassy.

The agent began the conversation by asking me that I don't have any idea because the FBI likes to check up on everybody who has contacted the Soviet embassy, and he assured me that they don't unwittigly give state secrets to "friends" who, unbeknownst to them, are KGB agents.

But wait — it gets better. When he said "contacted the Soviet embassy," I had momentarily forgotten about the letter and thought that he was referring to the more recent (relative to when I sent the letter) telephone calls. He asked me whether or not I had received anything from my pen pal. At that time, I had not, although I had sent some gifts to them, so I told him that the lack of response must be because the KGB must have intercepted my letters or their letters to me.

The FBI agent responded by saying in a defensive tone of voice, "Oh, we don't intercept mail," and instantly I thought to myself, "Why is this guy so guilty? I never said the FBI does anything!"

But wait — it gets even better. Near the end of the conversation, I said that my interest in the Soviet Union was cultural, not political, and he asked if I was studying Russian. When I said "no," he clearly exploded and majorized me, and I replied that my major is in mechanical engineering.

The FBI agent clearly knew that I was a university student, something that I had mentioned in my letter, which means that (in all likelihood), the FBI had opened and read my letter.

Sharen Keim
Tuscon, Ariz.

The long walk

Stricken with a pain in my right side which prevented me from sleeping, lying, walking or sitting without moaning, I decided against my normal instincts to take my chances at the local hospital's emergency room. I arrived just before 2 a.m. I was pleased to see that a television was available to entertain the waiting patients, an amenity that the Rexall Supermarket didn't have. I wasn't so pleased that we all had to see a few movies.

Well, I should give the Beth Israel staff credit where it's deserved. Those who came in suffering from an asthma attack, a chest attack, and one person who later on had a respiratory arrest, were attended to immediately. The babies got to see the new Star Trek III with a much shorter wait. But we other moderatly ill had to wait five hours or more.

I tried to comfort myself with the thought that if I had been home the pain wouldn't have allowed me to relax away. I was admitted at 6 a.m., got to see a doctor at 8 a.m. By that time the pain, which the doctor believed was caused by a kidney stone, had subsided. Perhaps it had passed. In the time I waited, three people attempted to sign up for this hospital's drug de-tox program, which has a reputation of being a no-sell. They were told to come back during the day and sign up for the waiting list. There wasn't any room. My problems seemed minor in comparison, at least after the pain had gone.

This was no horror story. But there must be a way to improve the speed of service. Or at least get a VCR for the waiting room.

John Ricardi
New York

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

$5.95
For package

Describes how this development is accelerating the shift to lower paying jobs and to more women and Third World workers.

Order from World View
46 W. 21 St, N.Y., N.Y. 10010
Civil war and imperialist intervention brought devastation and even famine to the Soviet republics. It launched a drive for food. But at the time, the Soviet Union had to bring back capitalist market relations to avert a collapse. Here, Party workers write and print a newspaper, “The Collective Farmer,” from the back of a truck during harvest in the Ukraine in a heroic attempt to bridge the gap between workers and peasants.

We reserve for later articles an analysis of how this may operate in the USSR.

Nevertheless, suffice it to say that in the purely formal sense these joint ventures or partnerships subjects to Soviet workers, just like workers everywhere in the capitalist countries, to the process of capitalist exploitation in that the profit derived from such a joint undertaking represents the subjugation of wage labor to capital. It is the unpaid labor of the workers that constitutes the profit for the capitalists. This is so despite the fact that the venture may have an excellent beneficial effect on the Soviet economy.

Mathias confines himself to the conclusion that the reform program "may not be a guarantee of quick profits but it justifies cranking up the corporate jet for a flight to Moscow to do battle with the West for doing business in a new environment."

That in substance is the view of the bourgeois. Only one requirement: embargoing on a new era of testing out the significance of the reforms, particularly as they refer to the delicate matter of foreign trade and, in a broader sense, to the whole scope of the relations between socialism and capitalism.

Monopoly of foreign trade

Just what is the monopoly of foreign trade, and how significant is it in a socialist republic? In particular, what did it mean in the 1920s for the young workers’ and peasants’ government in the USSR, and in the 1980s?

The monopoly of trade has always meant the centralized control by the Soviet government of trade relations, especially with the advanced capitalist countries. It has been intimately connected to the socialist planning principle of improving the ratio of ownership of the means of production, was indispensable to building socialization of production.

It was designed to protect the USSR from the ravages of penetration by the capitalist countries. It was necessary to guard against attempts to weaken the sovereignty and independence of the USSR and to make sure that the unbridled forces of the capitalist world market did not overwhelm the country, particularly at a time when it was weakest and was just barely emerging from the cruelty and destructive nature of civil war and imperialist invasions.

How it was regarded by the Bolsheviks and by Lenin in particular is shown by the fact that while the New Economic Policy (NEP) restored the capitalist market on an international basis to the denationalized small enterprises, at the same time it made sure to preserve state ownership of the basic means of production and retained complete control and sovereignty over foreign trade. Only the central government was permitted to engage in export and import.

The Soviet government from the very beginning was of course interested in continuing commerce and trade with the capitalist world as an urgent economic necessity. But while the New Economic Policy is widely regarded, and correctly so, as a partial restoration of capitalism and especially of the free market, it nevertheless made sure to maintain centralized control of foreign trade along with the state ownership of the basic means of production.

Labor-New Economic Policy

Here it is necessary, in the interest of seeing the recent developments in the USSR in historical perspective, to briefly review the main elements of the New Economic Policy. This will give us a better understanding of the reason of the monopoly of foreign trade, so as to be able to discuss whether it is still necessary in the light of the regulation of foreign trade.

The significance of the monopoly of trade are not really that important.

The clearest, most lucid exposition of Lenin's view of the NEP was given in his report to the Second All-Russian Congress of Political Education Departments on Oct. 17, 1921 (V.L. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol. 33).

This was a severe rebuke to those who had first proposed the New Economic Policy and had had plenty of time to listen to many debates and discussions on it.

Lenin was very frank about the disastrous economic situation facing the Soviet State. He made no attempt to minimize or evade the problems. He spoke about the urgent need for state capitalism without any way trying to embellish or prettify it.

"Partly owing to the war problems that overwhelmed us and partly owing to the desperate position in which the Republic found itself when the imperialist war ended," said Lenin, "we made the mistake of deciding to go over directly to communist production and distribution. We thought that under the surplus-food appropriation system the peasants would provide us with the required quantity of grain, which we could distribute among the factories and thus achieve communist production and distribution."

Weeding out the people after so much havoc and ruin was thus the top priority. Food for the workers and the mass of the population to deal with the over-riding problem of hunger and even famine took their toll. Hence the need to turn to the surplus food. But this turned out to be disastrous.

Lenin continues: "In attempting to go over straightforward to communism we, in the spring of 1921, sustained a more serious blow from the financiers than any defeat inflicted upon us by Kolchak, Denikin or Pilsudski. These were the leaders of the capitalist revolutionary armies supported by the imperialist countries."

Famine forced return to capitalist market

What was this retreat?

"The New Economic Policy means substituting a tax for the requisitioning of food; it means reverting to capitalism to a considerable degree," Lenin once said. We know. Concessions to foreign capitalists (true, only very few have been accepted, especially when compared with the number we have offered) and leasing enterprises to private capitalists definitively mean restoring capitalism, and this is part and parcel of the New Economic Policy.

"The issue in the present war is, who will win, who will first take advantage of the situation. Now it is we are allowing to come in by the door, and even by several doors (and by those who are, and who open without us, and in spite of us), or, proletarian state power?"

For Lenin, it is the survival of the Revolution. It is "who will take the lead." The lead in winning the war, restoring the capitalist market.

"We must face this issue squarely — the question of the extent to which the capitalists succeed in organizing first — in which case they will drive out the Communists and that will be the end of it. Or the proletarian state power, with the support of the peasantry, will prove capable of keeping a proper rein on these gentlemen, the capitalists, so as to direct capitalism along state lines, and in a way that will be subordinate to the state and serve the state."

Lenin is not for postponing this move to the masses.

"Our Party must make the masses conscious on the whole of the difference between anarcho-capitalism and anarchic commodity exchange. We ourselves must see clearly that the issue in this struggle is: Who will win? Who will gain the upper hand? and we must educate the workers and peasants see it clearly."

Despite the many factions and debates on this question along with this fundamental change in policy — not only because of the change in this question but because they felt it was correct.

Lenin made no attempt to propitiate the bourgeoisie

In this talk, Lenin spoke in the same clear and unambiguous language always about the proletariat and peasantry. Profound class irreconcilable.
Continued from page 8

oncallability against the bourgeoisie was in every line. He wasn’t afraid that the bourgeoisie, whom he was offering enormous con-
cessions, would be antagonized by the way he was doing it. "I knew," he said, "because he was supremely aware that whatever they decided to do would be backed up by the masses. That would bring interest and not on any attempt on his part to propitiate them. He was, after all, the leader of the international and strategi-
gist of the proletarian revolution."

NEP brought success
and new problems
So what was the result of the NEP? It was a resounding success. In the first place, the economy was restored to the level it had virtu-
ally collapsed during the intervention and Civil War. Before the NEP the output of heavy industry had fallen to only 10% of what it had been before the war. (The Soviet Industri-
alization Program, Alex-
ander Erlich, Harvard University Press.)

The next, the Bolsheviks could say to the imperialists, “We see it, we did not, with-
standing your hope that we would col-
aplomacy without any assistance from you.”

The people of the struggle in the Soviet republics, however, did not know how to proceed from the restoration of industry to the construction of social-
ism. But the very success of the NEP had brought with it acute problems. Some were familial, that is, they accompanied the revival of the capital-
ist market and commodity production. The NEP was not by any means an economic revolution. Instead, it was essentially a reversal. Even a small change in the pattern of consumption would already affect the rich and middle peasants and the poor. It brought into prominence spe-
cialized producers, importers, mer-
chants and small-scale industry, which, as Lenin said to later to the State Planning Central Committee in his absence tragically made a decision which was an act of the most serious harm for foreign trade (E.H. Carr, “Socialism in One Coun-
pal.”) The Soviet Union would retain its sole influence in the field of foreign trade. When Lenin learned of the decision, he deplored it, but in December, the Central Committee rescinded its decision.

During that whole period, Lenin had vigorously fought for an electrifi-
cation project as a fundamental ele-
ment of socialist construction. The way he put it was that electrification plus Soviets would equal socialism.

The outright bourgeois elements were of course opposed to socialist planning. For example, the first Gosplan, the data-collecting agency which at that time was the embryonic form of central planning we know today. All the bourgeois elements — former land-
lords, merchants, speculators, former
czarist officials, old bureaucrats, bourgeoisie technical and economic experts — combined their attacks on Gosplan and also on the Ministry of Foreign Trade, which had the responsibility for maintaining the monopoly of foreign trade.

Attacking planning in name of ‘inefficiency’

Inefficiency, bureaucraticism, over-
centralization, and so forth — these were the masks behind which the attacks were made. This bore strong resemblance to the way big business here attacks government agencies like OSHA, the Social Security admin-
istration, health and welfare. In reality, the attacks weren’t against ineffici-
ency, bureaucraticism and overcentral-
ization. They were attempts to abort the)

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Economic crisis brings changes to Ireland
Sinn Fein leader says Republican movement is now stronger

By Laila Stein

Martha McClelland from the Sinn Fein press office recently visited the offices of Workers World newspaper in New York City.

McClelland began with a discussion of the current wave of immigration from Ireland to the United States and how this movement has affected the Irish economy.

Newly elected Dail member from republican Sinn Fein, McClelland spoke on why the promise of industrial-technological development has not been realized.

The Irish government in Dublin

Sinn Fein leader says Republican movement is now stronger

Continued from page 10

by a development. A repetition of capi
talist collapse on a more enormous and destructive scale than in 1929 is just as possible if not probable.

This in turn would lead to contrac
tion of the capitalist market and a slowdown in the development and acquisition of high technology, enab
ing the Soviet Union to once more take advantage of the capitalist. As it did during the period following the 1929 economic collapse. An enor
mous drop in the price of raw materi
als and then industrial goods enabled the Soviet Union to purchase the latter from the former for prices far lower than the capitalists were more hard up for sales than they had been during the previ
ous period of the capitalist world market. This helped the Soviet econo
my overall even though it also af
tected the price of their exports of agricultural products and raw materi
als.

Today the imperialists can demand and get extortionate prices in some high-tech commodities because of the relative scarcity of these products, but growth is by no means easy. In indus
ties like agriculture, petroleum and coal, the capitalist market has still not recovered. With the development of what’s now called the global economy, capitalism has become even more vulnerable to collapse; its anarchic forces are bound to manifest themselves independently of the will or desire of the capitalist class.

The Soviet reforms which permit 20
ministries and 60 enterprises to trade independently of the state have in
curred joint ventures or partnerships with imperialist companies have their parallels in the early reforms during the period of the New Economic Policy, notwithstanding the virtual transformation of the Soviet Union since then. Instead of being on the verge of collapse, the USSR is now the second most powerful country in the world. Some of its scientific achieve
ments even outdo the bourgeoisie, as in the case of the successful launch of Sputnik. 1957 opened the way as long ago as 1957 and has consistently maintained its lead.

As in that earlier period, however, the problems with the monopoly of foreign trade persist. Since the world capitalist market is merely manifestations of domestic issues, rather than independent factors, they are not related to the internal situation. It is to this question that we will address ourselves in the next few issues of Workers World.

Sooner or later, when the capitalist crisis breaks out in full force, which it is bound to do, a repetition of the contraction of the capitalist market, the firm pillars of Soviet state and ship of the means of production, of the planned economy and of the monopoly of foreign trade will be seen as more formidable levers in dealing with the capitalist world economy than any kind of dangerous opening to it can ever be.

Join us in the struggle

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

Attractive, affordable apartments in Harlem, Bedford, and the Lower East Side.

CUBA: A new wave of solidarity.

Workers World Party is on the front lines of the struggle to improve the lives of Cuban workers and the people of Cuba.

Workers World Party is a revolutionary socialist organization that fights for workers’ rights, the end of imperialism, and the liberation of all people from exploitation and oppression.

The party is committed to the struggle for a world without war, poverty, and inequality.

Join us in the struggle for a better world!

MARATHON: A new wave of solidarity.

Workers World Party is on the front lines of the struggle to improve the lives of workers in the Marathon, Florida area.

Workers World Party is a revolutionary socialist organization that fights for workers’ rights, the end of imperialism, and the liberation of all people from exploitation and oppression.

The party is committed to the struggle for a world without war, poverty, and inequality.

Join us in the struggle for a better world!

CALANDAR

BUFFALO, NY

Friday, Aug 13: Keynote — The real issues. Summertime of talks and films on socialism. Free. 8:00 p.m. At 349 Niagara St, call (716) 855-3505.

Friday, Aug 17: Film: "The Time and Tide of Rosie the Riveter." Summertime of talks and films on socialism. Free. 8:00 p.m. At 349 Niagara St, call (716) 855-3505.

Saturday, Aug 18: Public housing and the homeless. Summertime of talks and films on socialism. Free. 8:00 p.m. At 349 Niagara St, call (716) 855-3505.

Friday, Aug 24: The fight against concessions, layoffs, and plant closings. Summertime of talks and films on socialism. Free. 8:00 p.m. At 349 Niagara St, call (716) 855-3505.

CHICAGO

Sat, Aug 15: The anti-war struggle — pacifism of the kind. Free. Call (312) 480-2100 for location.

Sat, Aug 29: Film: "With Babies and Banners." The great First St-draft of 1917. 8:00 p.m. At 3725 S. Central, call (312) 489-2929.

Sat, Aug 27-31: "Occupied Palestine." A documentary portrait of Palestinian struggle for self-determination. 7:00 p.m. At 1460 N. Milwaukee St, call (312) 489-2929.

Sat, Aug 28: Eyewitness Battle — the struggle against racist condition at large. 8:30 p.m. At 1460 N. Milwaukee St, call (312) 489-2929.

DETROIT


PHILADELPHIA

July 31, 2001: "What is Constitution? It is Feat
ureless. Radicals in Gaston County manage "Race to the Bottom." Workers World newspaper. Workers World Forum. 7:00 p.m. At Taboraune Church, 37th and Chestnut Sts. Call (215) 636-8704.

SAN FRANCISCO

Sun, Aug 5: Constitution and now. A Marxist meeting. 7:30 p.m. At 2449 Mission St, No. 30, call (415) 826-4098.

Sat, Aug 11: Bar of wine fundraiser. No cover. Rico Club. Relax under palm trees. All you can eat. All you can drink. Best wine in town. 7:00 p.m. At 2449 Mission St, No. 30, call (415) 826-4098.

Sun, Aug 12: Constitution and now. A Marxist meeting. 7:30 p.m. At 2449 Mission St, No. 30, call (415) 826-4098.

Sun, Aug 26: Constitution and now. A Marxist meeting. 7:30 p.m. At 2449 Mission St, No. 30, call (415) 826-4098.

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Martha McClelland

Photo: John-Carolynn

from Mexico and Central America but that they do suffer injustice. They can’t get social benefits; they can’t stay in and build families. And at the same time there are no jobs for them to go home to.

To the north, in Ireland there is 65% to 70% unemployment in the Republican ghettoes. A high rate of heart disease is directly linked to conditions poverty and they have the highest infant mortality rate among countries belonging to the EEC. There is also a severe shortage of housing.

The Hillbilly agreement between the British and the Irish government has done nothing to stop the repression in the six English-occupied counties of Northern Ireland. Fin and Fal through “the nightmare of the north ern nationalists,” McClelland said, to help 200,000 families in the home in the last 18 months, intimi dated by the fascists.

Sinn Fein stronger

This is making Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican movement grow stronger even today, McClelland said. The recent election victory of Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams has shown this. Sinn Fein is moving to build their bases and make it probably impossible to sustain the large scale of the Sinn Fein movement.

In the United States they are being more involved in community struggles like the women’s movement, the fight for affordable housing and a campaign against drugs. Sinn Fein is also active in the teachers movement.

The unions have two major prob lems. The first is unemployment. The second is the three-way split in the Irish unions. They are organized on either an all-Ireland, all-Northern Ireland or all-Olympia basis, sometimes in the same factory. These unions are often accused of having “toothless.”

Sinn Fein is working to change that.

The U.S. government has made it more difficult for Irish immi grants to get visas to the United States. Sinn Fein is rallying the Irish American community against the visa restriction. They want to be here so that they can support a developing Irish American liberation movement. They also are developing a divestment campaign around the McGree Principles which say the EEC. Those in Northern Ireland stop discrimination against nationalists.

Finally, there is enormous support in Ireland for the African National Congress (ANC) freedom fighters of South Africa. The new win ning about the international solidarity work of Sinn Fein, she said they want to help 200,000 families in the ANC among Irish-Americans as well as building support for other liberation struggles such as the Pugica Rango political prisoners who are on trial in Hartford, Conn. If we were here instead of being barred by the Reagan administration, she said, we would all be in Hartford at the demonstra tion with the ANC.
Protesta Mapuche en Chile

Por Lucinda Sintierra

Cerca de 100 indígenas mapuches provenientes del sur de Chile viajaron a la capital, Santiago, esta semana, para defender sus tierras expulsadas, que consideran lesiva a los intereses indígenas.

El gobierno del director General Augusto Pinochet, que no podía existir sin el respaldo del gobierno de los Estados Unidos, contempló el desplazamiento de indígenas al igual que sus antepasados, los colonizadores europeos.

Ad Mapu, principal organización indígena que organizó este viaje, denunció la defensa de las tierras indígenas en cuestión. El gobierno no aceptó el documento de cambios en las tierras por echange.

El presidente de Ad Mapu, José María Silva, explicó: "Queremos llamar la atención sobre el problema de las luchas mapuche, y que queremos dar un giro al término de estos. Pero estos son nuestro futuro y nuestro presente. Está la muerte que ya mató y brutalizó a tantas miles de personas. García predijo que si el gobierno de Duarte cae los EE.UU. intervendrán en El Salvador y que el gobierno de Duarte no ha correspondido a los planteamientos de los mapuches. EE.UU. no reconocen la independencia de Corea y con su apoyo se instaló la dictadura militar de Syngman Rhee en Corea del sur. Entre 1945 y 1950 las rebeliones en Corea del sur fueron brutalmente aplacadas por las tropas japonesas y de EE.UU. Más de 100,000 coreanos fueron masacrados. El gobierno de los Estados Unidos lanzó una amenaza anti-comunista contra Corea del norte de donde sale la guerra bajo el lider Kim II Sung lleva acabo reformas sociales. Durante la Guerra Coreana (1950 - 1953) los Estados Unidos bombardeó el territorio salvaje. Dejan caer más bombas de las que utilizaron en toda Europa durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Un sin número de coreanos perdieron la vida además de 54,000 soldados de las fuerzas armadas de los Estados Unidos. Entre los quearon su vida en Corea, sin saber que realmente era para que las corporaciones explotadoras pudieran encontrar su "milagro económico," se cuentan millones de soldados de nacionalidades oprimidas de los EE.UU. Un porcentaje muy alto de puertorriqueños, de inmigrantes de negros forman parte de esas 54,000 muertes. A pesar de su poder militar, los EE.UU. no pudo detener la resistencia en Corea del norte pero lo convirtió en Corea del sur en una colonia de los EE.UU. bajo ocupación militar. En la actualidad, ¿Cuáles son los resultados? Hoy día, los obres de Corea del sur tienen la jornada de labor más larga que se conoce en los países industrializados, además de tener el porcentaje más elevado de accidentes de trabajo a nivel mundial.

A su vez, ¿Qué pasa en Corea del norte? El pueblo apoya su gobierno, los estudiantes asisten a clases, y los obreros a sus respectivos trabajos. Corea del norte es un país estable que ha logrado grandes avances para su pueblo. Además, por largo tiempo ha propuesto la reanudación de Corea, que salgan todas las tropas extranjeras del territorio del norte que no tiene tropas extranjeras) y convertir a Corea en un territorio libre de armas nucleares (el sur tiene más de 1,000 proyectos nucleares). El movimiento en Corea del sur continúa su paso revolucionario y nosotras debemos apoyar sus demandas: "EE.UU. fuera de Corea del sur" y "Reanudación."