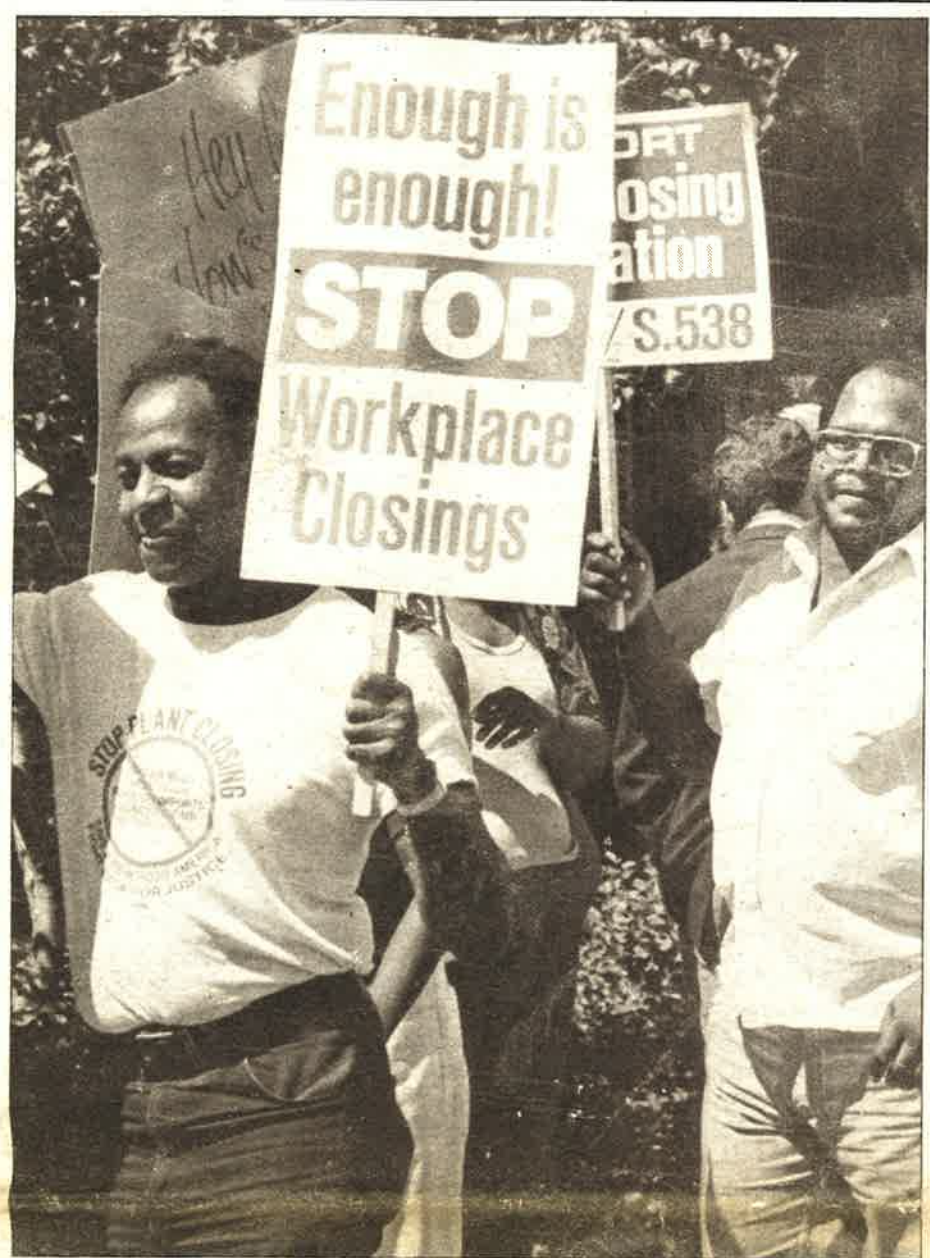




workers world

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

X-523



WW PHOTO

JOBS 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.

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WRONG-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.

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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.

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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."

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THE RIGHT TO RELAX

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

Centerfold



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 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 JCOS [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*

U.S. DESTABILIZATION IN PANAMA

For over a year, Washington has carried out a campaign against the Panamanian government. What's behind the U.S. intervention?

5

REPORT FROM NICARAGUA

Joy filled the air as Nicaraguans celebrated the 8th anniversary of their Revolution. But no one could forget the contra threat was nearby.

5

Atlanta Welfare Rights — still fighting after 20 years!

By Barbara Gail 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

WW PHOTO

Gov't to help Big Steel shut plants, lay off workers

By Shelley Ettinger

Quiet discussions are currently taking place in high ruling class circles regarding the future of the U.S. steel industry. The result could be a profound new attack on steelworkers with staggering repercussions for the whole working class, so the time is

now for the labor movement to prepare.

The proposal being debated within the Reagan administration is for a bail-out of the big steel companies by the federal government. Essentially, the government would pick up the tab for Big Steel to pare down, as an alternative to further bankruptcies like

those at LTV and Wheeling-Pittsburgh. Its prime sponsor is the American Iron and Steel Institute, a steel industry organ.

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 new: further massive layoffs, more concessions from the remaining workers, combined job classifications, and so on — all a means to strip down the operation and beef up revenues on the backs of the workers.

After all the concessions the steel companies have wrung from workers, government import quotas on foreign steel, tariffs, layoffs and plant closings, the bourgeoisie and government are thus conspiring to make steelworkers pay even more. That's despite steadily increasing productivity (about a half-million more tons of raw steel production in May 1987 than May 1986); in fact, it's the increased productivity that is emboldening the steel bosses to grab for even more at the workers' expense.

For all the Reaganites' talk about the free market, such open government intervention on behalf of the bosses clearly demonstrates the crucial role of the state in the capitalist economy. And, as was the case at Chrysler and Lockheed, only the workers will pay.

Pensions at risk

The federally-subsidized closings of over 20 million ingot tons of steelmaking capacity would have immediate devastating impact on tens of thousands of workers, retired workers and their families. At companies like Beth-

lehem Steel, which has already cut the workforce by 55% since 1981, from 83,800 to 37,500, even more jobs would be lost.

Subsidizing steel closings is expensive, in the hundreds of millions of dollars. Shutdowns cost an estimated \$75,000 per employee, for pension payments, management buyouts and early retirements, equipment removal, etc. — all to come from tax dollars.

The record of the Federal Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation (PBG) should serve as an alert to what is perhaps the most alarming danger in the bailout/shutdown proposal: the risk to current and future retirees' pension rights. In recent cases when steelworker pension plans were dumped on the PBGC, as at LTV Steel, the federal agency has claimed inability to pay and widened the attack on the retirees by cutting their benefits, instead of serving as a safety net, which is supposedly the PBGC's role.

If the government moves ahead and subsidizes a 20% cut in steel, it is unlikely that the PBGC will come through and secure the pension benefits of tens of thousands of additional retirees.

There are serious divisions within the ruling class about the steel subsidy proposal. In the steel industry, some of the smaller "mini-mill" operations are happy competing against the big companies. Outside steel, a wing of big business is opposed to spending any funds at all for workers' pensions.

The real question is whether the labor movement will take a decisive stand against more plant closings and layoffs in steel.

3,000 march in Watsonville for farm workers' rights

By Petra Guerra
San Francisco

The sounds of "Huelga!" 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 cannery workers at Watsonville Canning Company walked off their jobs and stayed out for 18 months until their demands were met.

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workers world

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Unemployed force their message on governor's meeting

9 arrested in action to demand moratorium on plant closings

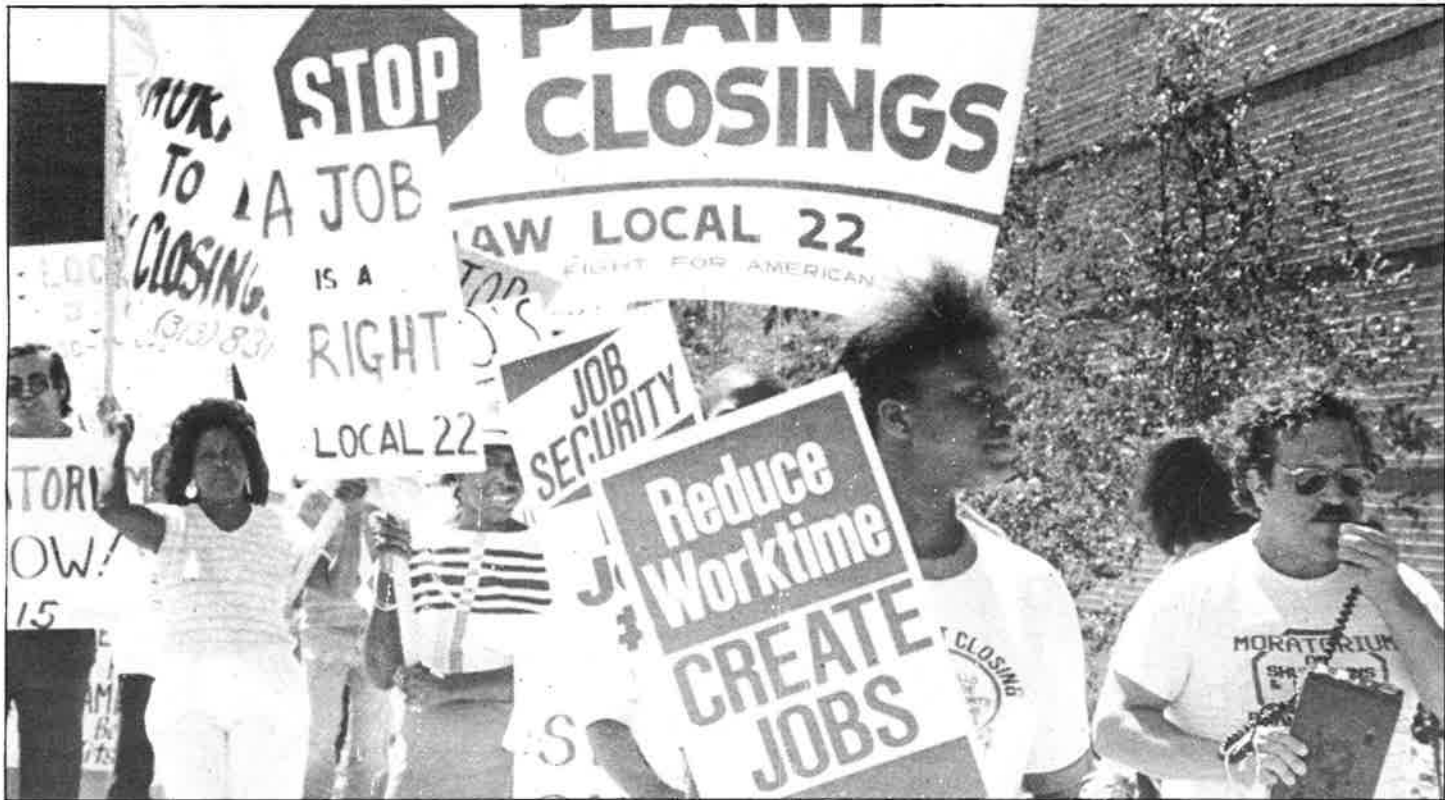
By Sherry Finkelman
Traverse City, Mich.

July 26 — The National Governors' Association (NGA) here answered 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 militant picketline of workers, the unemployed and their families was confronting the governors' conference with a demand to stop layoffs and plant closings.

State troopers responded quickly and arrested nine demonstrators without warning. The protesters were charged with trespassing at the posh Grand Traverse Resort Hotel even though it is open to the public and half a million taxpayer dollars paid for the conference. As those arrested were driven away the demonstrators shouted, "Who are you afraid of? We demand jobs."

"These arrests are illegal and racist," stated Jerry Goldberg, an organizer for the Detroit Job Is a Right



"The arrests are illegal and racist," said organizer Jerry Goldberg following police action at protest outside governors' conference in Michigan.

WW PHOTO

Continued from page 3

Reagan appoints wrong-way AIDS commission

Insurance industry, ultra-right call the shots on panel

By Andy Stapp

President Reagan named his 13-member AIDS commission on July 23. As soon as you look at the list of people appointed to this body, you know that something is not right.

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, yet the list contains not a 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 all totally ignorant of the very subject they are supposed to make recommendations about.

That's the first impression. Then as your eye moves 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 Cardinal of New York, Reagan has found the country's leading gay-hater. The Cardinal is the guy who wouldn't let a man dying of AIDS get married in 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 people who have AIDS, but that's about all he has in common with them, besides an intense mutual dislike. On July 26, hundreds of gay men and lesbians picketed O'Connor, the man they call "the arch bigot."

O'Connor was on everybody's list of who should not be on an AIDS commission. Everybody but Reagan and the ultra-right extreme, 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. Walkins, 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 admiral's great experience in persecuting people for their real or imagined sexual orientation gives him top 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 Vos does give a lot of money to the Republican party.

Here we find Theresa 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 ultra-rightist 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.

And what of Cory Servaas, the publisher of the Saturday Evening Post? Besides sharing the president's reactionary world view, 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 this commission is all about. 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-billion 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 Greenspan, 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 in the demonstration. They 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 IGUANAs (Impatient Gays United Against Nuclear Arms).

In the Northeast area, national staffperson Michael Resendez 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., area, and a train from Rhode Island. Trains are also coming from Chicago and New Orleans. Resendez 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; locals of the American Federation of Teachers; the Massachusetts Tenants Organization; the Nov. 29 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 or to begin organizing in your city, contact the national office at (202) 783-1828.

Maine paper strikers prepare for statewide rally

By Donna Pound-Graves
Portland, Maine

July 27 — As the strike against the International Paper Company's Androscoggin Mill in Jay, Maine, enters its seventh week, members 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 fac-

tories and mills throughout the state, the company is demanding wage cuts of \$5,000-a-year per worker, the elimination of 500 jobs and an end to Sunday and holiday premium pay.

The Jay workers are already working an average of 65 hours a week, including a mandatory 39 Sundays a year plus all holidays except Christmas. And the company, which made record profits of \$305 million last year, is now demanding they work Christmas too.

'The morale is super'

Small wonder that 97% of the union contract vote was to strike. UPIU media director Marshall Holman told this reporter, "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 draw some 5,000 Maine workers. Among the strongest supporters have been the union members in nearby Rumford, 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 Meserve.

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 in the state.

Like the Local 14 flyer says, "This is a struggle between a greedy corporation 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 Latin."

Those outside the hotel had traveled from all over Michigan, from Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts to this site of the annual National Governors' Association conference. They were demanding that the governors put the welfare of the people before corporate profits by enacting moratoriums to ban plant closings and layoffs and to reopen shut down 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 shut-down) 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 All-Peoples Congress.

Many of the governors and their staff, who were on their way to the opening session of the conference (the theme was "Jobs — Putting America to Work"), came out of the hotel to see the unemployed and those facing layoffs 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 Suma Nance, an unemployed Puerto Rican woman who is disabled and legally blind; she had 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 Gavrielle Gemma, an organizer for the campaign. They had been singled out because they had confronted and "embarrassed" Michigan Gov. James Blanchard in the lobby of the hotel the previous day, forcing him to respond to the press on the governors' power to enact a moratorium.

Others arrested were Clayton Barclay, Chicago; Lizzie Love, UAW Local 599, Flint, Mich., founder of the

Jobs and Justice Fightback Committee; Gertrude Cooke from Detroit who is retired; Kevin Carey, unemployed from Detroit; Juliette Holder, wife of UAW 581 member James Holder; and Thomas Thorndell, AFL-CIO community service labor representative from Michigan.

Inside the resort, the NGA was being addressed by Lee Iacocca, chairman of Chrysler, which has closed seven plants in Detroit resulting in vast unemployment and devastation especially for the Black community. He was telling the governors that the way to make corporations 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 competition." "We are told that these closings are good for us, that our misery will mean U.S. corporations will become more competitive world wide; this is nonsense. Competition is a code word designed to decrease the work force and lower wages. Cost cutting, meaning plant closings, concessions and speed-ups have only meant enormous profits for the corporations and have not created or saved one job."

Every worker and family member who spoke during the rally, which was chaired by Annie Graham, Local 22 Detroit, expressed their anger and outrage and their willingness to continue 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 for bathroom and food and raised \$900 bail money within a matter of minutes; the many children who were there worked eagerly with the adults.

During the rally Jim Nelson, UE Local 506 from Erie, Pa., said, "We didn't arrive in this situation by accident; 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 grow."

Also Michelle Hawkins, 14, who had come with her three brothers and their mother Joyce Crutchfield, spokesperson for the A Job Is a Right Campaign and a laid-off worker from UAW Local 15, Detroit, said, "My mother is not a quitter, she'll fight till the end and I'm going to help her."

Funds are urgently needed to help cover the cost of legal expenses. donations can be sent to: A Job Is a Right Campaign, P.O. Box 08141, Detroit, Mich. 48208.



International Paper strikers: "This is a struggle between a greedy corporation and the people of Maine."

WW PHOTO: LIZA GREEN

On the picket line

Cal-OSHA cut. While OSHA has had a high profile nationally lately, the Reaganite moves to dismantle worker safety protection continue. In California, Gov. George Deukmejian unilaterally dismantled that state's job safety agency, Cal-OSHA, and declared that the federal government will henceforth oversee worker health and safety. Deukmejian's action cut Cal-OSHA's staff by more than half, leaving the entire private sector workforce without the stronger protection the state agency had enforced. California union leaders, characterizing the move as "defanging by the Reagan administration," have been in court for months seeking to block Deukmejian's attack, which directly goes against language in the state law that originally set up Cal-OSHA, but California courts have declined to stop "the Duke," also known for his assault on California's labor relations protection for farmworkers.

Postal worker settlement. More than half a million postal workers are to vote on a tentative contract settlement announced July 21. The workers, members of the Postal Workers and Letter Carriers, will take part in a mail ratification election on a four-year agreement that gives minimal wage increases of 2% in the first year and lump sums of \$250, \$300 and \$200 the following years. The tentative settlement does bar the U.S. Postal Service from hiring "casual" non-union workers for part-time seasonal work at lower pay and benefits.

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 company attack on the full range of contract 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 testing and threatening to shut down the Norwood plant and reopen at a non-union site. The Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers have called on the labor movement to support their strike with a boycott of playing cards made by the company or its Canadian subsidiary, International 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 and Tweety Pie struck for better pay and working conditions. The settlement gives a four-day work week, limits on the number of hours the actors must use their voices and a 10% wage increase.



Washington's role in destabilizing Panama

By Teresa Gutierrez

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 Col. Roberto Diaz Herrera, a pro-U.S. right-winger. This action took place several days after the Reagan administration suspended all military and economic aid to Panama, in what can only be seen 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 its 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 smear campaign in Panama and the U.S. calling for the ouster of both Panamanian leaders.

Such open intervention in the internal affairs of Panama by Washington, however, has nothing to do with concern for drugs or corruption.

What is at heart in Panama are vital U.S. military interests in this region. General Noriega, a nationalist, has refused to bow down to U.S. dominance. He has indicated that he will proceed with compliance of the 1977 Torrijos-Carter Treaty that calls for the U.S. to return the Panama Canal in the year 2000.

In addition, Noriega has refused to ally wholeheartedly with the U.S. government in its efforts to overturn the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua. On the contrary, he has actively participated in the peace efforts launched by various Central America governments and has continued friendly relations with Nicara-

guan President Daniel Ortega.

These are the issues that have caused the U.S. government to intensify their campaign of destabilization. For several months now, the Reagan administration has met with and assisted rich, pro-U.S. Panamanian businessmen and fanned the flames of reaction. When several anti-Noriega protesters were arrested last month, for example, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William Walker and U.S. Ambassador Arthur David met with Panamanian leaders to demand the prisoners' release.

The U.S. has not done the same in South Africa and demanded the release of Nelson Mandela. Nor has it done so for the victims of military dic-

tatorships like that in Chile where thousands of political prisoners are being held in the most brutal condition.

Several newspapers in this country have recounted incidences where U.S. military generals have met with pro-U.S. Panamanians, indicating the role this government plays in the internal affairs of this country. An influential Panamanian industrialist met with White House officials in June (Detroit Free Press, June 16). Gabriel Galindo also met in his own home with General Fred Woerner, commander of U.S. forces in Panama.

While the U.S. government and the right-wing businessmen deny that their constant intrigues are collabora-

tion against the current Panamanian government, it is evident that it is their unity that has caused such a crisis in Panama.

The extent of U.S. interference in Panama is unknown. It is also not clear how strong the anti-imperialist forces are in this country and how much they can withstand this intense U.S. pressure. Should General Noriega's government be toppled, however, it will be a major gain for U.S. imperialism in the battle for control of the Panama Canal. It would also be a setback for the countries of Latin America, especially Central America, who are struggling so hard to keep U.S. imperialism's bloody hands out of Nicaragua.

Report from Nicaragua: On the road to Matagalpa

By Dee Knight
Managua, Nicaragua

Dawn broke peacefully on the mountainous road to Matagalpa July 19. The roads were jammed with caravans of people coming north from Managua, east from Leon and south from Jinotega. Joy filled the air as Nicaraguans celebrated the 8th anniversary of the Sandinista Revolution's triumph and survival.

But the peace was far from complete. The roads were lined with soldiers who checked all vehicles heading for the celebration. Their presence was greeted as a guarantee against attacks on the caravan by contra forces who still operate in the region. The security battalion captured a U.S. "Red Eye" surface-to-air missile that was dropped by parachute near Matagalpa the day before the festivities. Nicaragua has no air force except a small squadron of helicopters; but all nine members of the

Sandinista National Directorate attended the celebration, and their helicopter could be seen departing when the rally was over Sunday. Perhaps Reagan's raiders hoped to decapitate the revolution in one desperate blow after failing to intimidate, isolate or crush the Sandinistas.

The cost of the war has been tremendous: 43,000 casualties and an estimated \$3 billion in economic losses. (Nicaragua's population is just over 3 million. Imagine more than 4 million war victims in a country the size of the U.S., and the loss of 10 years' worth of economic growth.)

Strength of the revolution

But the military situation has turned distinctly favorable. The ranks of the contras have dwindled to 6,000 from their peak of 20,000. This is a political as well as military victory, because it has been the social measures of the revolution which have strengthened the Sandinista forces and eroded the counterrevolution. Agrarian reform, for example, has directly improved the lives of a million formerly landless peasants, and given them a very concrete reason to defend the revolution.

The recently established autonomy project for the people of the Atlantic Coast, repatriation, resettlements and

the amnesty law — these policies have eroded any mass base for the counterrevolution. Mass desertions from the contra forces occur frequently now, and Miskito Indians are returning to the eastern section of the country at the rate of a thousand a month from refugee camps in Honduras.

Invasion the main danger

President Ortega says the additional funds Reagan has requested for the contras cannot reverse their strategic defeat. But he says getting the funds would be a sign of Congressional support for the contra war, and would give a pretext to launch a direct military invasion.

If an invasion occurred, Ortega said, its effects would be felt throughout Central America and Latin America, in the U.S. itself and throughout the world — "because we are sure these peoples would not stand by with their arms crossed."

This combination of massive enthusiasm for the revolution at home and international solidarity is the foundation of Nicaragua's confidence and success. The justice of their cause and the support of progressive humanity offer the Sandinistas the opportunity to deal a strategic defeat not only to the contras, but to the big contras in Washington.

— NSC's secret army

Continued from page 1

the ISA's activities included: spying on Latin American heads of state, reprisals (a polite word for kidnaping and assassination) against Moslem camps in Lebanon, and providing intelligence to British forces fighting Argentina during the 1982 Malvinas War (the U.S. pretended "neutrality" at the time).

Operated inside Nicaragua

Against Nicaragua, the ISA not only kept up a steady series of murderous attacks, they organized direct U.S. involvement in the war. To this day the administration insists there is no U.S. military presence in Nicaragua. But according to the Herald news report, "U.S. helicopters and pilots flew saboteurs inside Nicaragua in 1983 and 1984. On two occasions in 1984, they provided covering fire with rockets and machine guns to protect the saboteurs' retreat against entrenched Sandinista defenders."

The official story was the contras did it. In a March 2, 1984, memo to then-National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, Lt. Col. Oliver North, the ISA's chief operative, said that "in accord with prior arrangements," the contras — and not U.S. units — "took credit for the operation."

Begun by Democrats, blessed by Pentagon

The ISA is a secret army of a secret government. The Pentagon and their

henchmen ran foreign policy at will, contemptuous of Congress and their own electoral system, in brazen defiance of their own laws. But Reagan and North don't deserve all the credit.

The NSC force was begun in April 1980, under the Democratic Carter administration. It was the brainchild of Air Force Gen. David Jones, who tried to reorganize the counterinsurgency forces that had failed so miserably in the so-called Iran rescue mission.

The Carter administration began the whole thing, which was later expanded under Reagan. And the Pentagon footed the bill.

Between 1980 and 1983, the Army channeled \$150 million in covert funds to start up the ISA "through a network of Swiss bank accounts, front companies and private contractors that were incorporated to help the unit operate secretly," according to the Herald.

It all points to the fact that the Reaganite conspiracy is a conspiracy of capitalism. Militarism, covert operations, murder, assassination and intervention abroad are the byproducts of a system in crisis and decay.

The people can't rely on Congressional "investigators" who three-quarters agree with Reagan and North in the first place and are only upset that they weren't included in the plans. Unmasking the Pentagon and the imperialist profiteers must be the work of the workers and oppressed people themselves, fighting in their own interests and independent of both parties of capitalism.



Sandinista supporters in D.C. The Nicaraguan ambassador to the U.S. spoke to over 500 supporters of the Sandinista revolution in Washington, D.C., on July 19. The meeting in the All Soul's Church commemorated the 8th anniversary of the overthrow of the brutal U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza.

Nicaraguan Ambassador Carlos M. Tunnermann reviewed the many impressive achievements made by the Nicaraguan people in areas of literacy, health care, education, land distribution, rights for women and hunger. Other speakers included the Rev. Ben Chavis of the United Church of Christ, Mrs. Elizabeth Linder (mother of slain American volunteer, Ben Linder), Dacajeweah of the American Indian Movement and cultural presentations from Norma Helena Gadea (Nicaraguan singer), Izalco (Salvadoran musical group), and Argentinian poet Alicia Portnoy.

Brian Becker

What's behind the massacre in Mozambique?

By Monica Moorehead

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

There is no question as to who carried out this cowardly deed. Survivors and eyewitnesses to the massacre have confirmed that Renamo (Mozambique National Resistance) was responsible despite repeated denials from its headquarters in Lisbon, Portugal, and from its racist apartheid backers 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 war-torn, impoverished country. The racist apartheid regime in South Africa has replaced the

former Portuguese oppressor. Now Mozambique is forced to direct all of its meager resources to militarily defend itself against Renamo's campaign of economic sabotage of key rail links and a genocidal 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 the Renamo terrorists 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.

Why has the right wing of 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 for the guerrillas of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, the national liberation movement seeking to overthrow apartheid. 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 capitalist world.

Along with developing its industry and commerce, South Africa has also developed its own gravediggers, a dynamic Black working class, dominating virtually every industry. These super-exploited workers can and have brought the apartheid economy to a standstill with militant strikes and work stoppages.

The South African and U.S. ruling class perish the thought of seeing a South Africa run by the workers for the benefit of the African people without a profit motive. These parasitical bosses and bankers will curse the day when all the wealth, the strategic minerals, vast arable lands, and industry, will be owned publicly by their rightful owners, the South African masses. A free South Africa will be a boost for

the entire African continent.

None of the underdeveloped countries in southern Africa are safe havens from any acts of military aggression and economic destabilization as long as the superprofits of the imperialist bosses are threatened with expropriation by the exploited and oppressed masses. Countries like Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and others will continue to be targeted by the U.S. and South Africa as long as the anti-apartheid struggles grow stronger in South Africa and in Namibia, a territory occupied by South Africa.

The recent massacre confirms 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 will never be allowed to develop.

The anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. and elsewhere must broaden its political perspective to not only support the national liberation struggles led by the ANC in South Africa and SWAPO in Namibia but to also condemn 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, according to a report by Reuters news agency. Hundreds more are counted as missing or injured. The government claims only 30 died. Jean-Rabel was described by witnesses from the area as "in a state of mini-civil war." The thugs who did the killing were identified by government officials as former members of the Volunteers for National Security, who were also called the "Tontons Macoute." This group carried out murder and torture to enforce the dictatorship of the Duvalier family until a widespread uprising forced Jean-Claude Duvalier to leave in February 1986. One of the popular complaints against the new U.S.-backed military government is that the threat continues from the 300,000 members of this fascist militia. The government, led by Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, is seen by the workers and peasants in Haiti as a tool for the multinational corporations, especially for U.S. interests. On the same day, July 24, the Namphy regime was the target of a protest by 10,000 unemployed workers in Port-au-Prince, the capital. Government troops fired to disperse the demonstrators.

Anti-apartheid leader slain. Agents of the brutal apartheid regime in South Africa killed Eric Mxolise Mntonga on the July 26 weekend. Mntonga was an activist in the United Democratic Front, a mass opposition coalition representing 2 million people, and a senior official in the Rail and Harbor Workers Union. Most recently Mntonga had played a key role in setting up a meeting between South African whites and the African National Congress (ANC) in West Africa from July 9 to 12. The meeting was held in defiance of a government ban on any open dealings with the ANC, which is the leading organization in the struggle against the fascist regime. Also murdered were Paul

DiKeledi and Cassius Make, two ANC leaders. They were gunned down by three white South Africans operating in the neighboring country of Swaziland. Eliza Augusta Tsinini, a Mozambican with DiKeledi and Make, was also killed. Cassius Make was the youngest member of the ANC's National Executive Committee. He was buried in Lusaka, Zambia, DiKeledi was buried with a defiant funeral in his hometown of Soweto. Meanwhile, the regime's repression has continued as the mass resistance is getting stronger. Another 13 leading UDF activists were arrested on July 24. It was the second round of such arrests in three days, bringing the total arrested to 22 UDF officials.

Duarte gov't near collapse?

A leader of the Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador in an interview July 21 with the San Francisco Chronicle asserted that the government of President Jose Napoleon Duarte is near collapse. Eduardo Garcia of the FMLN said, "The only thing keeping Duarte in power is military support and pressure from the United States." Duarte is losing backing 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, Garcia said. He added that Duarte's response to the growing demands by the people has been an "open, escalating level of repression — including letting loose the death squads." Garcia predicted the collapse of the Duarte government would result in U.S. military intervention in El Salvador or "the beginning of a process of negotiating a real political solution." Garcia is on a U.S. speaking tour to promote the FMLN's call for a pledge of no U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

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

main point 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 the 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 change in government last spring, the U.S. engineered a coup to restore the former, more compliant regime. Australian progressives report rumors that something similar is being planned for Palau, which has been administered as a U.S. 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 group UNITA which is fighting 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 racists. In fact, UNITA 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 Africa, Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko has denied the U.S. trans-shipments. Nevertheless, the New York Times reports that U.S. arms shipments to UNITA are sent to an abandoned Belgian air base near Kamina in Zaire's Shaba province. From there, a C-130 cargo plane shuttles the weapons to areas in Angola. At the base is a team of U.S. soldiers, led by a colonel. The Reagan administration admits giving \$15 million in arms to UNITA in 1986 and said they plan giving another \$15 million this year. Further millions were sent by the Saudi royal family, under pressure from former CIA director William Casey. With this aid, along with other secret support, Washington has proven itself to be allied with the Pretoria fascists against the people of Africa.



Workers and peasants demonstrating in San Salvador.



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Fight for the right to relax

"You've got to fight for the right to party," sang the Beastie 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 Beasties 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 condiment 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, exploitive labor — freedom to relax and enjoy life instead of sweat and slave — 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

Vacations

A worker's right

WORKERS WORLD SPECIAL • JULY 1987



How I didn't spend my summer vacation

A working mother takes a 'break'

By Jelayne Miles

"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 1980s, 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 Jase, I really had an opportunity to remember how hard it was to be a homemaker. 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 Champs-Élysées. 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



The writer and son Jase — Day Six, Cafe Vienna.

sick time available for every worker so parents don't have to use 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

(Continued on S4)

Boring, 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 Marrakesh, which is very tiresome if you've had your heart set on the Riviera.

Let's face it — rich people get bored easily, which is something poor people and workers don't seem to appreciate or have any understanding of. 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 Philip 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 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 Vanderbilt family, for instance, built a nice 250-room house on their 119,000 acre estate in Asheville, N.C., a place to really get away from it all. But they soon found that the spotless, shaded 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.

For this August, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt has organized a 16-day "Saratoga Safari" for family and friends. 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 Beefeaters 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 care about the homeless of Chicago or Philadelphia.

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

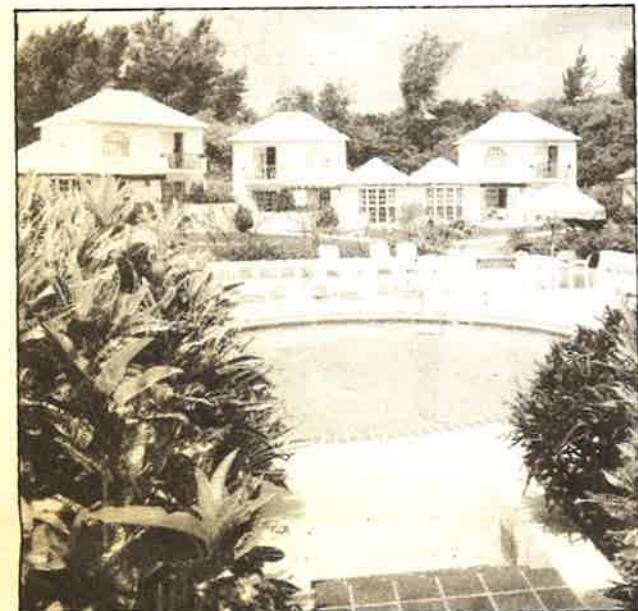
The right to a job and the right not to work

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 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.



Life can be so tedious in settings like this.

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. Some 210,000 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 completed courses at spas or 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.



Young people frolic in a human-made lake, formerly an open-pit mine, in the German Democratic Republic.

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 might 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, Marxist-led 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 measured is in the number of hours worked per year. To take one big multinational as an example, IBM found out that on the average, its U.S. employees worked 1,873 hours per year, its West German workers 1,660 and its French workers 1612. Because of France's Catholic history, there are many religious holidays 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.

No vacation from racism, oppression

By Teresa Gutierrez

Summer's here and it's hot in the city. Workers from coast to coast turn their thoughts to getting away from it all and figuring ways 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 damn bills, 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 people, 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 and 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 Latino, Black, Asian or other 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 oppressed 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."

The tourist industry assures that only a certain group of people in society are able to enjoy vacation luxuries. By charging high prices throughout — from hotels to restaurants to airfares — they purposely exclude many sectors of the working class.

This industry and everything involved with taking a vacation is just one more example of how ruling class ideology permeates the system. The many ads for vacation "hot spots," the commercials for airlines, credit cards, resorts and so on, all project a careful image for ruling class propaganda.

Black people in Jamaica, for example, are portrayed in a racist manner as willing and eager hosts for wealthy white tourists there for sun, fun and service. Women are no more than sex objects used to sell some product. Couples on vacation are mainly white and always straight. Not even when chilling out on vacation can a lesbian or gay couple be free to express their love for each other free of harassment.

But just as health care, a job and many other basic needs should actually be a right for all and not a privilege for the few, so too is a paid, extended vacation a right that all workers deserve. The struggle for national liberation, from the Caribbean to Hawaii to the whole world, will one day claim that right for all workers.

Ship Name	Duration	Price
Bermuda Star (Pan. Reg)	7 day Caribbean	\$845
The Two Bermudas Atlantic (Lib. Reg)	7 day Caribbean	\$855
Ocean Princess (Pan. Reg)	7 day Caribbean	\$875
Bermuda and Chesapeake Bay Sails from Philadelphia	7 day Caribbean	\$925
Canada Star (Pan. Reg)	7 day Caribbean	\$1175
Nordic Prince (Nor. Reg)	7 day Caribbean	\$1525
Shella Solaris (Greek Reg)	10 day Caribbean, Kias FREE port tax only	Save \$250 per person 8/9
M.S. Caribe (Pan. Reg)	7 day Caribbean	\$895
Costa Riviera (Ital. Reg)	7 day Caribbean	\$965
NCL (Bah. Reg)	7 day Caribbean	\$995
Holland America (Neth. Reg)	7 day Caribbean	\$1195
Eastern & Western Caribbean	8-14 day Carib. - Mexico, Trans-Canal	Save up to \$600 per couple. Book by 11/30
Silmar Cruises (Lib. Reg)	7 day Caribbean	\$1245
Song of America (Nor. Reg)	7 day Caribbean	\$1245

Paradise for bosses, exploitation for workers in Jamaica

By Pat'Chin

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 hotels employ workers at 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 tourist-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

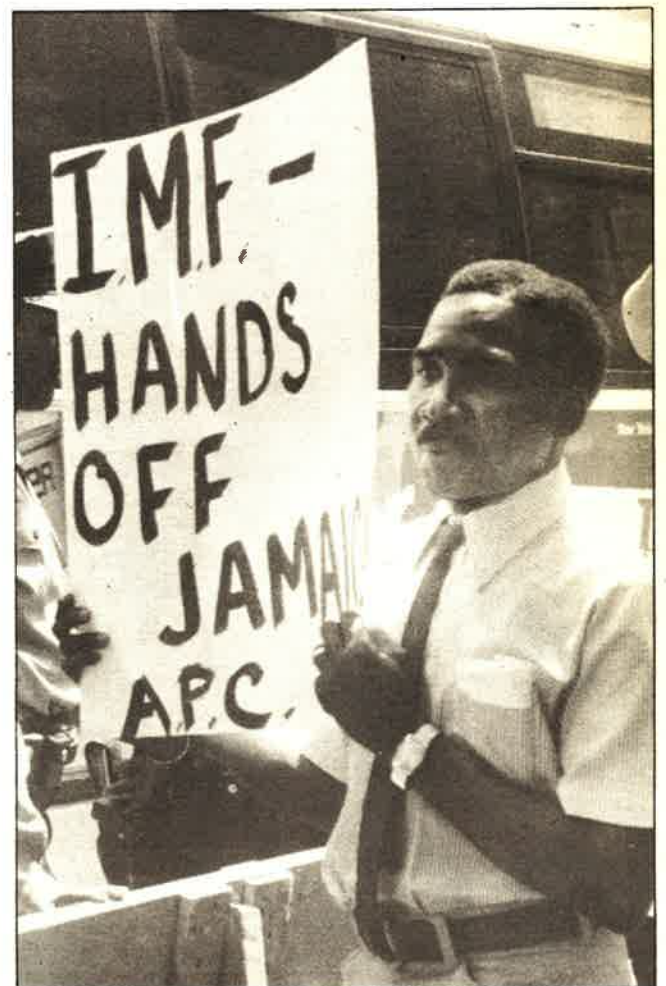
rising tide of demonstrations, protests and strikes — indeed, all indications of workers fighting back.

Were 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.



Picketline at Jamaican consulate in NYC targets international bankers' ripoff of Jamaican workers.

Hospitality workers — serving the cake, fighting to eat it too

By Lisa Comer

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 exerting. 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 do 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' demands for concessions.



Carl Icahn, head of TWA, for one, believes that it is the responsibility of the workers to make the airline 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 45% of their wages and benefits, in givebacks.

That strike by the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) 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 lines several times in the last few years demanding an end to exploitive 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 inhuman 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 surrounded. 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 pate.



Kitchen worker.

— Working mother

(Continued from S1)

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 smurf cards. 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. After all, 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.



Resort workers picket outside Caesar's Palace, Las Vegas.

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Conditions for Asian workers — no prosperity

By Lydia Bayoneta

South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore are often cited as "success stories," and words like "economic miracle" are used to describe them. The countries of East Asia and Southeast Asia are often hailed by U.S. big business as models of economic growth.

Developing countries are urged to follow their examples. And in this country, the so-called "threat" of economic competition from these countries has been used as a reason to cut wages and benefits.

Taiwan and south Korea are said to have the world's fastest-growing economies as measured in Gross National Product (GNP). Over the past two decades, Taiwan's increase in GNP is among the top three in the world. Similarly, Singapore and, to a lesser extent, Malaysia and Indonesia have experienced high levels of economic growth.

The glowing reports about these economic trends have all contained warnings about imminent reversals and downturns. Nevertheless, it is claimed that south Korean and Taiwanese textile and light electronics industries have kept their competitiveness in world markets during a time in which the same industries in both Japan and the U.S. were in decline.

In 1986, the south Korean automobile Hyundai was widely marketed overseas, and today south Korea is ranked as one of the world's most efficient steel producers. Combined with the high-rise buildings, four-lane highways, modern airport and seaport facilities, south Korea gives the impression of a modern technological and industrial society. The conclusion is supposed to be that the people of these countries are experiencing prosperity.

Economic growth on the backs of workers

What most of these reports fail to take into account is that this "economic success" has been achieved through the super-exploitation of Asian workers. The key to economic growth has been the complete unimpeded freedom for Western and Japanese big business combined with repressive labor policies. Virtually all of the non-socialist developing countries of Asia are political dictatorships, subservient to U.S. and Japanese imperialism.

In south Korea, independent labor unions are outlawed; labor organizers are fired, blacklisted and arrested. In Singapore, unions are referred to as "house unions," firmly under the dictatorship of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. Similar conditions prevail in Taiwan.

Wages in these countries are low: less than \$9 per day in Taiwan (for 10 hours), \$3 per day in south Korea. In Singapore, real wages have remained frozen for 6 of the past 10 years — 60% of Singaporean families live on less than \$600 per month, with an average of five people per family! Housing for workers is so expensive in south Korea that many workers not only work, but sleep in shifts; while one shift is working the others are sleeping in their rooms and beds!

Export economies imposed by imperialism

Low wages and benefits in Asia are described as a necessity to increase exports and make payments on the large international loans which have been forced on these countries by international banking interests through their pliable dictatorships. South Korea alone pays over \$6 bil-

lion per year in foreign debt service. Taiwan exports over 50% of the total goods and services which it produces (GNP) — mostly to pay foreign debt service!

This emphasis on exports has been used by some in the U.S. to try to convince American workers that Asian workers are threatening their jobs through imports. In reality the exports of most of these countries to the U.S. market are part of a conscious policy of the international investment capitalists, primarily from the U.S. This policy is aimed at drastically lowering the wages and working conditions of workers in all the countries, including the U.S. and Japan.

From the perspective of the Western bourgeois economists Asia is to labor what the Middle East is to oil — an enormous reserve to be tapped and exploited for the purpose of making profits. Also, with the exception of socialist countries such as Vietnam and China, almost all the countries of Asia are directly or indirectly dominated by foreign countries both economically and politically.

During the 1960s and 1970s, a new strategy for exploiting developing countries was developed and spearheaded by such agencies as the World Bank, IMF and soon adopted by most of the big multinationals. Instead of the raw materials and markets of developing countries, the foreign reaping profits solely from controlling

monopolies began to relocate different phases of their production operations in those parts of the globe where they were most profitable, e.g. manufacturing the labor-intensive parts in Third World countries and then shipping the component parts to their home countries for final processing and sale.

Under this scheme, there was industrialization by foreign capital, but not for consumption in the host countries. Instead, the industries, either owned or with strong ties to big Western or Japanese corporations, produced solely for export, taking advantage of the cheap labor. This "Export-Oriented Industrialization" strategy was made practical by the growth in the 1960s and 1970s of

global transportation, communication, and information systems. But it would not have worked for the imperialists without maximum freedom for foreign capital, hence the repressive governments and conditions for labor in these countries.

If the growth of export-oriented industries in places like Korea, Taiwan or Singapore sometimes seem to "compete" with U.S. industries, it should be remembered that this is not only a part of the development of capitalism, but part of a conscious economic and political strategy by international imperialism. U.S. and Asian workers should look for new opportunities for solidarity which will undoubtedly come.



Philco-Ford workers in Taiwan. Working 10-hour days for about \$1 an hour.

Korea is focal point of U.S. strategy

Sue Bailey
Washington

This is the last of two articles based on a July 15 interview with Minn Chung, an activist with Young Koreans 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 nation's future does indeed lie 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 "peace and stability" with the \$189 billion of our taxes spent in south Korea since 1948. It costs \$2 billion each year just to keep 45,000 troops at 40 military installations on the Korean peninsula.

But the real reason for the massive U.S. military presence, says Minn Chung 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 the Soviet Union."

The Reagan administration's military buildup over the past six years has concentrated on increasing sea-power — especially in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. As then Navy Secretary John Lehman declared in 1981, "Nothing below clear superiority [over the Soviet Union] will suffice."

In the Pacific, the Navy's strategy is known as "offensive defense." What this means is that the U.S. wants to project its power to the shores of the Soviet Union. Between 1980 and 1983, the U.S. Pacific fleet of forward-deployed surface warships almost doubled, from 21 to 40.

This is the context for understanding south Korea. As Minn Chung explains, the "active duty combat troops and the more than 1,000 nuclear weapons — which are on

Korean soil without the consent of the Korean people or by way of any parliamentary process — are part of the U.S. worldwide military strategy. As indicated in the 1983 Defense Department guidelines, Korea is part of the Pentagon's multiple-retaliatory tactics or, in other terms, horizontal escalation plans."

What does this mean? "If there is a conflict," answers Minn Chung, "in some part of the world between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, like in the Middle East, the U.S. will open another front in some other place to divide Soviet forces and attack them at their weaker points. The Korean peninsula is one of those places." This was confirmed in a 1986 speech at the Naval Academy by the Department of Defense chief of Policy and Planning.

U.S. army 'plays' nuke war 'games'

From February to May of this year, the annual U.S.- south Korea joint military exercises, known as "Operation Team Spirit," involved about 200,000 troops in what amounts to a mock invasion of the northern half of Korea with an emphasis on nuclear, chemical and electronic warfare. This is compared to 46,000 troops when these war games were started in 1976 under the Carter administration. Team Spirit exercises play an important role in maintaining the razor sharp war tensions in the region.

"If the United States was to initiate a war in Korea as part of its strategic plans," explains Minn Chung, "they could use as much as 30 megatons of nuclear weapons in Korea. This is more than enough to kill all of the Korean people — both north and south combined — which is about 60 million people, and turn the entire Korean peninsula into a radioactive ash. This nuclear strategy of the U.S. threatens the very existence of the Korean people."

Koreans in Hiroshima, Nagasaki

The Korean people have already been victims of U.S. nuclear aggres-

sion. Minn Chung said, "During World War II, 100,000 Korean people had been taken by the Japanese imperialists to work in military installations near Hiroshima and Nagasaki under forced labor conditions. Of these, half are thought to have died immediately or shortly after the U.S. dropped atomic bombs on the two cities; the remaining suffer from radiation exposure. The U.S. has never apologized or even mentioned the tragedy of the Korean people nor has Japan done anything to make up for what they have done."

Instead, the U.S. is creating the possibility for another nuclear tragedy. This time on the Korean peninsula itself.

The global strategy of the U.S. military goes hand-in-hand with U.S. corporate and banking interests. A 1981 article in the Wall Street Journal said: "When we measure the near-optimized markets of Europe and its 250 million persons against the 1.5 to 2 billion people of the Pacific Basin alone, Europe seems a puny affair."

To carry out its global military strategy and to protect U.S. economic interests in Asia, the U.S. has occupied the southern part of the Korean peninsula. But the Korean people view the role of the U.S. military as an obstacle to achieving their freedom. The massive demonstrations that have taken place in south Korea in the recent period have demanded "U.S. troops out of Korea."

Minn Chung concluded by saying, "It is time that people in the United States find out more information about Korea. The suffering that has been imposed on the Korean people is as great as that imposed on the Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Filipino and South African peoples. Korea was one of the first places the U.S. intervened to protect its own corporate interests — now we hope that the people in the U.S. will intervene in the affairs of the government and stop the U.S. intervention in south Korea and support our right for self determination."

EDITORIALS

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.

One week of escort duty and one floating mine have shown that the U.S. Navy is suited more to provoke a Gulf of Tonkin-type incident than to guarantee safe passage of oil.

What prompts these new moves toward a wider war in the Middle East?

Ten years ago the U.S. was entrenched on both sides of the Persian/Arabian Gulf. In Saudi Arabia, a dependent king. In Iran, then a nation of over 35 million, oil-rich and already partly industrialized, was a client ruler, the shah. The region seemed safe both for continued exploitation and for military domination by the Pentagon.

Since then the shah was overthrown in a mass, revolutionary struggle. Attempts by presidents Carter and Reagan to talk, bribe and shoot their way back into Iran have so far been unsuccessful. And while the class interests of the workers and peasants throughout the Middle East have yet to break through, the imperialists find their efforts to restore their former domination of the area constantly frustrated.

And so they play this dangerous game.

Now, after six-plus years of the Reagan military buildup and big talk about "standing tall," the U.S. rulers are still kept out of their former Iranian stronghold. At the same time they have greatly diminished control of the former Middle East banking center in Lebanon and must rely on Israel as their surrogate military power.

Not to be left out of the battle for influence in this strategic region, the French ruling class has ordered its warships there. Like Britain, France is an ally of U.S. imperialism against the oppressed Arab and Iranian people. But it is also a rival for economic control. And it has a special interest in the outcome of the Iran-Iraq war. During this war, French weapons manufacturers have sold billions in arms to Iraq, which will only be able to repay the French loans for these arms if the war ends without an Iraqi defeat.

Despite numerous official voices in Washington, Paris and London warning of the

danger, ships, planes and troops have been ordered to the firing line. The bosses and bankers have sensed that the gulf war is at a turning point, and no risk stops them from wanting a hand in its outcome and a crack at the spoils.

Sneaking in Bork

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 methods. 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 confirmation proceedings, sometime during August when Congress is in recess. The president has this power, Dole explained, adding that the idea was offered as "food for thought."

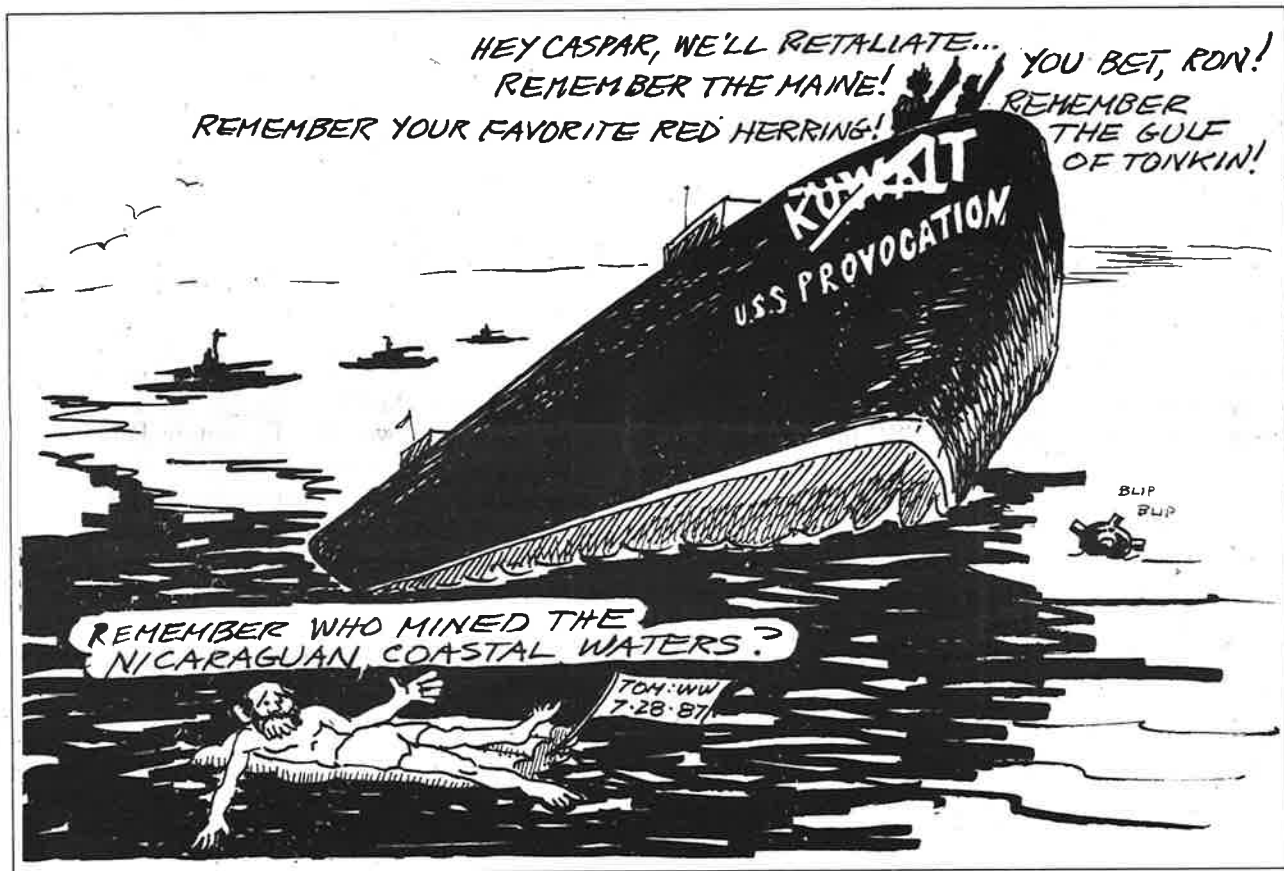
Indeed. The first thought that is likely to strike anyone is that such an action reduces even the pretense of "democracy" to a sham. It is clear that the U.S. Constitution gives the

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 Reaganism. 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 rightwing 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, and militarism in particular, at a time when U.S. imperialism's fortunes are slipping.

Washington is being challenged everywhere, from the revolutionary movements in the Philippines, 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

Around the beginning of 1986, I had sent a letter to the Soviet embassy asking them to help me find a Soviet pen-pal who likes traditional Slavic folk-dance as I do, and, as in any "looking for a pen-pal" letter, I gave a brief description of myself, in which I said I was a mechanical engineering student (sounds subversive, doesn't it?).

On July 15, 1986, I received a phone call from an FBI agent concerning my contact with the embassy, and from what the agent said during this conversation, it appears that the FBI had intercepted, opened and read my letter to the embassy.

The agent began the conversation by telling me that he called me because the FBI likes to check up on everybody who has contacted the Soviet embassy, to make sure that they don't unwittingly 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-pals. 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 to them 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 acting so guilty? I never said the FBI did 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 majoring in Russian studies. When I said "no," he asked what I majored in, and I replied that my major is in mechanical engineering.

So, this 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
Tucson, Ariz.

The long wait

Stricken by 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 night emergency room.

I arrived just before 2 a.m. I was pleased to see that a television was available to entertain the waiting patients and their friends. But it wasn't so pleasant that we all had the time 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 heart attack, and one person who later on had a respiratory arrest, were attended to immediately. The babies got to see the pediatrician with a much shorter wait. But us other moderately 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 anyway. 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 good reputation. 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 Riciardi
New York

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

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The Soviet reforms and the capitalist market

By Sam Marcy

(Second in a series.)

July 27 — The crucial issue we are considering in these articles is not the scope and magnitude of the proposed technological restructuring of Soviet industry. Among socialists and communists it is a given that, consistent with its ability, the USSR must develop or, where it can, import the highest forms of technology in order to advance socialist construction and avoid falling far behind the capitalist countries in such a critical area.

The questions are, what is the economic content in the evolution of some of these reforms and what are their social consequences? Let's examine some of the peripheral issues that loom large as far as the Western capitalist countries are concerned, for example, some of the reforms that pertain to the monopoly of foreign trade.

As we observed last week, Professor Marshall Goldman, one of the many bourgeois analysts who study the Soviet Union, has already flatly asserted that "the monopoly of foreign trade is broken and selected enterprises and industries can now arrange their own export and import" ("Gorbachev's Challenge," page 264).

Undoubtedly there has been a breach of the monopoly of foreign trade. Whether this represents the beginning of a long-term process of development cannot at the present time be determined. Suffice it to say that as of January 1987, as many as 20 ministries, along with more than 60 large enterprises, were authorized to negotiate export and import arrangements on their own with foreign buyers and sellers. By no means, however, can one say that the USSR has opened the flood gates to capitalist penetration.

How the bourgeoisie see it

In fact, the bourgeoisie as a whole take a far more cautious, more cunning view of it than does the professor. Take the approach of former Republican senator Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland, who visited Moscow in February and wrote an OpEd piece on the Soviet trade reforms for the New York Times of July 20. Mathias was one of a high-level delegation from the Council on Foreign Relations that included former U.S. secretaries of state Henry Kissinger and Cyrus Vance as well as other senators and representatives. They met with Soviet authorities, including General Secretary Gorbachev.

Mathias offers no judgment on whether the reforms will bring about "enduring relationships" between the U.S. and the USSR or are "simply a revisiting of Lenin's 'necessary retreat' to capitalism" (a reference to the New Economic Policy inaugurated in 1921).

He finds "promising for American business" the Soviet Union's "developing interest in joint ventures with the West A typical joint venture will be structured with a 51% Soviet share and 49% percent foreign participation. Foreign capital contributions may include know-how, equipment, technology and similar assets. The Soviet capital contribution may include real estate, buildings and the labor force."

Joint ventures in oppressed countries

Of course, joint ventures have been a typical technique used by the imperialist multinational corporations in the oppressed countries to the great advantage of themselves and to the great detriment of the workers. These joint ventures or partnerships, as they are called here, are an instrumentality by which the imperialists gain control over the economy of a country.



Civil war and imperialist intervention brought devastation and even famine to the early Soviet Republic. Lenin's New Economic Policy, launched in 1921, 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 subject 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 overall 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 assess the potential for doing business in a new environment."

That in substance is the view of the bourgeoisie. They see themselves as embarking 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?

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 and, together with the public ownership of the means of production, was indispensable to building socialism.

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 destructiveness 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 internal basis and denationalized many 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 its 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 over foreign trade along with the state ownership of the basic means of production.

Lenin's 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 real meaning of the monopoly of foreign trade, so as to be able to discuss whether it is still necessary or whether the new regulations concerning trade are not really that important.

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

Feeding the people after so much havoc and ruin was thus the top priority. Food for the workers and the mass of the population came to be the overriding problem as hunger and even famine took their toll. Hence the requisition from the peasants of the surplus food. But this turned out to be disastrous.

Lenin continues: "In attempting to go over straight to communism we, in the spring of 1921, sustained a more serious defeat on the economic front than any defeat inflicted upon us by Kolchak, Denikin or Pilsudski." These were the leaders of the counterrevolutionary armies supported by the imperialist countries.

"The surplus-food appropriation system in the rural districts," continued Lenin, "this direct communist approach to the problem of urban development, hindered the growth of the productive forces and proved to be the main cause of the profound economic and political crisis that we experienced That was why we had to take a step which from the point of view of our line, of our policy, cannot be called anything else than a very severe defeat and retreat."

Famine forced retreat 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 extent — to what extent we do not 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 definitely 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: the capitalist, whom we are allowing to come in by the door, and even by several doors (and by many doors we are not aware of, and which open without us, and in spite of us), or proletarian state power?"

The whole question, says Lenin, is the survival of the Revolution. It is "who will take the lead." The lead in what? In restoring the capitalist market.

"We must face this issue squarely — who will come out on top? Either 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 channels and to create a capitalism that will be subordinate to the state and serve the state."

But Lenin is not for prettifying this move to the masses.

"Our Party must make the masses realize that the enemy in our midst is anarchic 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 make the broadest masses of workers and peasants see it clearly."

Despite the many factions and groupings in the party, they all went along with this fundamental change in policy — not only because of the prestige of Lenin but because they felt it was correct.

Lenin made no attempt to propitiate the bourgeoisie

In this talk, Lenin spoke in the same vein as always about the proletariat and peasantry. Profound class irrec-

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— Soviet reforms and capitalist market

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oncibility against the bourgeoisie in every line. He wasn't afraid that the imperialist bourgeoisie, to whom he was offering enormous concessions, would be antagonized by the way he was presenting his views, because he was supremely aware that whatever they decided to do would be based on their greedy, predatory self-interest and not on any attempt on his part to propitiate them. He was, after all, the supreme tactician and strategist 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 its pre-war level after having virtually collapsed during the intervention and Civil War. Before the NEP the output of the Soviet economy had fallen to only 14% of what it had been before the war. ("The Soviet Industrialization Debate, 1924-28" by Alexander Erlich, Harvard University Press.)

Now the Bolsheviks could say to the imperialists, "See, we did it, notwithstanding your hope that we would collapse, and without any assistance from you."

The next phase of the struggle in the Soviet Union concerned itself with how to proceed from the restoration of industry to the construction of socialism.

But the very success of the NEP had brought with it acute problems. Some were familiar phenomena that usually accompany the revival of the capitalist market and commodity production.

The phenomenon of unemployment, while not enormous, was already making itself felt. More serious was the growing differentiation between the rich and middle peasants and the poor. It brought into prominence speculators plus a sharp increase in merchants and small-scale industry, which, as Lenin was to say later, develops capitalism daily and hourly. It rekindled the confidence of the surviving members of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intelligentsia and the old officialdom. All were for pushing the NEP program further and further in the direction of expanding the bourgeois free market.

Either the country had to go forward and open up the era of socialist planning or it would fast develop into a capitalist economy. The question was still, who would prevail?

Impact of world capitalist expansion

In a sense, what we see happening today, so far as world capitalist development goes was happening then. The world capitalist economy, after a brief recession from about 1921 to 1923, had gone into a phase of relative stability, that is, capitalist expansion. Having broken the back of revolutionary struggles in Germany and Hungary (and later the British general strike in 1926), the bourgeoisie had stabilized its rule and the imperialist economies were headed for what then seemed to them dizzying heights, especially in the United States.

The attraction of the world capitalist market in a period of expansion had its repercussions in the Soviet Union. Completely shelved was the historical experience of the capitalist cycle of development showing that the greater the capitalist expansion, and often the longer it lasted, the greater and more universal would be the collapse that was sure to follow.

Struggle to institute socialist planning

In 1924, immediately after Lenin's death, when the Soviet economy had been restored to its pre-war level, the question was how to proceed. Leaving inner-party issues aside for the

moment, the struggle outside the party was between those who were for taking resolute steps to develop the country along socialist lines with a planned economy, and those who wanted to continue with the capitalist market economy.

It should be mentioned that during the entire period of the NEP, government economic plans on one scale or another were drawn up and discussed. The principle of planning had not been abandoned by anyone in the party. The issue was when and at what tempo should it begin, and what time span would be most practical for an overall, comprehensive economic plan.

During that whole period, Lenin had vigorously fought for an electrification project as a fundamental element 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. They viciously attacked Gosplan, the data-collecting agency which at that time was the embryonic form of what was later to become the central planning agency. All the bourgeois elements — former landlords, merchants, speculators, former czarist officials, old bureaucrats, bourgeois technical and economic experts — concentrated their attacks on Gosplan and also on the Ministry of Foreign Trade, which had the responsibility for maintaining the monopoly of foreign trade.

Attacked planning in name of 'inefficiency'

Inefficiency, bureaucratism, overcentralization, 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 administration, health and welfare. In reality, the attacks weren't against inefficiency, bureaucratism and overcentralization. They were attempts to abolish these agencies.

The severest critic of real bureaucratism and inefficiency was Lenin himself, but from a wholly different class point of view — that of strengthening the young Soviet republic. The bourgeois attacks were always from the viewpoint of abolishing the early beginnings of planning and the monopoly of foreign trade.

The speculators were all anxious to stretch out on their own to the world capitalist market, but the monopoly of foreign trade stood in their way, as did the beginning of planning.

These bourgeois elements never tired of singing about the glories of the capitalist expansion abroad. If only the USSR would permit them to trade freely, the USSR would once again become an exporter of grain and agricultural products as it had been in czarist times, they said, and would make great headway — forgetting that this was precisely what had made

czarist Russia a semi-colony of Western imperialism.

In return, they were saying, the imperialist bourgeoisie would be willing to sell industrial equipment, if only the market mechanisms were expanded and allowed to take their course. If Russia returned to its traditional role as an exporter of raw materials, then it would develop spontaneously through the free market, as had happened in the capitalist West.

You see, the remedies of President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher are just old poison in new bottles!

The bourgeois elements were fearful, however, of the workers. They didn't dare attack the state ownership of heavy industry because that would expose their role very clearly, so they made Gosplan and the Ministry of Foreign Trade the butt of their criticism. They couldn't in any case try to dislodge the workers from the ownership and control of metals, oil, mining, etc., where they were firmly in command.

In October 1922, when Lenin was already ill from his first stroke and could not attend many meetings, the Central Committee in his absence unfortunately made a decision which relaxed the monopoly of foreign trade. (E.H. Carr, "Socialism in One Country," Pelican Books.) The Soviet Republic had until then always maintained its exclusive role in the field of foreign trade. When Lenin learned about this decision, he protested. Soon enough, in December, the Central Committee rescinded its decision.

All of this showed how great the pressure from outside the party had become with the revival of the capitalist market. It caused severe divisions within the party. How to deal with the enormous problems arising out of the market economy as against the planned economy became the axis of this struggle.

Kulaks force crisis over food prices

In economic terms, it appeared a crisis was developing as a result of a lack of correspondence between agricultural and industrial prices. The peasants now had the right to dispose of their produce. The government no longer requisitioned it as during the period of war communism, although it did collect a tax in kind. The well-to-do peasants, popularly known as the kulaks, led what amounted to a sit-down strike on a nationwide level in an effort to get higher prices for their products at a time when the government needed to lower them in order to finance industry.

The government authorities felt these price demands were utterly unacceptable under the circumstances of the urgent necessity to retool industry and set the stage for socialist construction.

This became known as the scissors crisis, since the prices of industrial goods and agricultural goods were going in opposite directions. The Soviet government had to shift prices in favor of industry. The problem was that the well-to-do peasants who possessed vast marketable surpluses of grain and other commodities refused to sell them on the basis of the Soviet government's proposals. The kulaks therefore tried to sabotage the government's plans and tried to reduce their output, leaving the government unable to utilize the revenue to develop industry.

Collectivizing the peasantry

What the kulak attempt amounted to was the wholesale national obstruction of the development of socialist planning. It was not long before the idea of collectivizing the peasantry by means of restricting the capitalist market began to appear on the agenda.

Viewed in historical perspective, the stubbornness of the rich peasants, their determination to hold the Soviet government by the throat, was bound to get a rude reaction.

Marx, Engels and the Soviet government in its earlier days had conceived of the collectivization of the peasantry as a gradual process. Building cooperatives, showing the superiority of socialist industry, offering the collectives the incentives of modern industrial equipment such as tractors, showing the superiority of state farms over both individual and collective farming, would over a period slowly and gradually reduce the domination of the kulak element over the peasantry and their challenge to the Soviet government.

But especially after the beginning of comprehensive planning, it became impermissible to let the situation go on or to capitulate to the kulaks. One may differ as to whether the collectivization had to take the road it did, whether the method of rapid, compulsory collectivizing was not altogether excessive, an overkill which also did a great deal of harm and took an enormous toll of the peasantry, creating problems which have their echoes even today. Nevertheless, the collectivization of agriculture, that is, a change in the mode of production from private to collective ownership, was a profoundly revolutionary development.

The very dimensions of the crisis, in which agricultural and industrial prices were moving in opposite directions, showed there was a broader problem: the existence of an enormous private sector in the economy. Agriculture, with its millions upon millions of peasants, stood in contradiction to the sector in the hands of the Soviet state. Such a crisis was bound to have a severe and wrenching effect in the party and would grow sharper the longer the party delayed making a firm choice.

Thus began in earnest the choice for the planned socialist economy and the launching at last of the first five-year plan in 1929. It was a watershed, a real turning point for the Soviet economy and for the destiny of the Soviet Union itself, and it constituted a world historic triumph for socialist construction.

Workers pay price for high-tech revolution in West

Regardless of how developed technology may be in the Soviet Union today, the world capitalist economy still holds attraction in its present phase of relative capitalist expansion. In the field of high technology it seems to be growing by leaps and bounds, exploiting the whole world in its acquisition of technological knowledge, often robbing even the less-developed countries of their trained experts through the so-called brain drain, which seems to continue unabated. The USSR, on the other hand, is still faced with a virtual economic blockade imposed by the imperialists, who have set various restrictions on its import of technology.

Those without a historical approach see the Soviet Union at a very great disadvantage, particularly because the rapid scientific-technological revolution in the principal imperialist countries seems to outdistance the USSR, leading to a call for drastic measures within the Soviet Union to overhaul its economy.

Often forgotten is the havoc being unloaded in the capitalist countries on the backs of millions and millions of workers, for whom the high-tech revolution has brought nothing but unemployment and a cut in living standards.

But the present capitalist expansion is only part of a phase in world capital-



Economic crisis brings changes to Ireland

Sinn Fein leader says Republican movement is now stronger

By Lallan Stein

Martha McClelland from the Sinn Fein Center in Derry, Ireland, recently visited the offices of Workers World newspaper in New York City.

Our interview with McClelland began with a discussion of the current wave of immigration from Ireland to the U.S., the biggest since the 1950s. McClelland spoke on why the promise of industrial-technological development has fallen flat.

The Irish government in Dublin

— Soviet reforms

Continued from page 10

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

This in turn would lead to contraction of the capitalist market and a slowdown in the development and acquisition of high technology, enabling the Soviet Union to once more take advantage of the capitalist crisis as it did during the period following the 1929 economic collapse. An enormous drop in the price of raw materials and then industrial goods enabled the Soviet Union to purchase the latter from the West at a time when the capitalists were more hard up for sales than they had been during the previous expansion of the capitalist world market. This helped the Soviet economy overall even though it also affected the price of their exports of agricultural products and raw materials.

Today the imperialists can demand and get extortionate prices in some high-tech commodities because of the relative economic expansion. But this growth is by no means even. In industries like agriculture, petroleum and coal, the capitalist market has still not recovered. With the development of what's now called the global economy, capitalism is even more vulnerable to collapse; its anarchic forces are bound to manifest themselves independently of the will or desire of the capitalists.

The Soviet reforms which permit 20 ministries and 60 enterprises to trade independently and which promote 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 largest industrial power in the world. Some of its scientific achievements even outdo the bourgeoisie, as in outer space, where the USSR 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 and the significance of the world capitalist market are merely manifestations of domestic issues, rather than independent initiatives not related to the internal situation. It is to this question that we will address ourselves in subsequent articles.

Sooner or later, when the capitalist crisis breaks out in full force, which it is sure to do with an accompanying contraction of the capitalist market, the firm pillars of Soviet state ownership 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.

started a big economic push in the 1950s to attract U.S. and European corporations. These companies moved to Ireland to take advantage of one of the cheapest labor pools in Europe. Instead of building up the Irish economy, however, they have depleted it.

Since 1972, when Ireland became a member of the European Economic Community (EEC), 80% of the native industry has collapsed. McClelland noted that Ireland now has the highest per capita foreign debt in the world, some \$2,900 per person. The banks are pushing even more loans on Ireland because there has been no talk so far of suspending repayment even though the working class is being devastated economically by them.

Acts like a U.S. state

Through the Industrial Development Authority the Dublin government pays for U.S. and European companies to open factories in southern Ireland. McClelland described the Irish Free State as a neocolony with a capitalist government which acts as if it is a U.S. state.

The big transnational corporations which set up in Ireland don't give the Irish workers any technical training or even place them in managerial jobs; they just offer a low paying wage. The transnationals move on when they find another country with a lower pay scale, leaving the workers jobless. McClelland talked about how long it will take to rebuild the Irish economy from the ravages now being inflicted on it.

She said that young people with education and skills are leaving Ireland and they will never return. In Northern Ireland every family has someone who has left for abroad, and in the South it is even worse. Because the Dublin government recently conducted cutbacks in social service, many of the health service workers are leaving. They'll get jobs in the U.S. and make more money. But their problems are far from over.

Most of these Irish immigrants are undocumented. McClelland talked about the recent tragic deaths of Mexican immigrants who suffocated in a train boxcar on the Southwestern desert. She said Irish immigrants don't suffer on the same scale as those



Martha McClelland PHOTO: JOHN CATALINOTTO

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

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

The Hillborough agreement between the British and the Irish governments has done nothing to stop the repression in the six English-occupied counties of northern Ireland. Far from relieving "the nightmare of the northern nationalists," McClelland said, "some 1,200 families have left their home in the last 18 months, intimidated by the fascists."

Sinn Fein stronger

This is making Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican movement grow stronger than ever, McClelland said. The recent election victory of Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams has shown this. Sinn Fein is moving to build their base in the south. Throughout Ireland they are becoming more involved in community struggles like the women's movement, the fight for improved housing and a campaign against drugs. Sinn Fein is also active in the trade union movement.

The unions have two major problems. 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-Britain basis, sometimes in the same factory. These unions are often accused of having "no teeth." Sinn Fein is working to changing that.

The U.S. government has made it nearly impossible for Irish Republicans to get visas to travel to the U.S. Sinn Fein is rallying the Irish-American community against the visas restriction. They want to be here so that they can support a developing Irish immigrant movement. They are also building a divestment campaign around the McBride Principles which demand U.S. companies 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, McClelland said. Talking about the international solidarity work of Sinn Fein, she said they want to help build support for the ANC among Irish-Americans as well as building support for other liberation struggles such as the Puerto Rican 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 demonstration on Aug. 30.

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:

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CALENDAR

BUFFALO, N.Y.

Fri., July 31: Korea — The real issues. Summertime series of talks and films on socialism. Free. 8:00 p.m. At 349 Niagara St., call (716) 855-3055.

Fri., Aug. 7: Film — "The life and times of Rosie the Riveter." Summertime series of talks and films on socialism. Free. 8:00 p.m. At 349 Niagara St., call (716) 855-3055.

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.

DETROIT

Sat., Aug. 1: Report from Cuba. A class discussion in the Workers World Party Marxism Series. 6:00 p.m. At 1947 Grand River, call (313) 962-4979.

PHILADELPHIA

Fri., July 31: "Whose Constitution is it?" Featured speaker is Gary Wilson, managing editor of Workers World newspaper. Workers World Forum. 7:00 p.m. At Tabernacle Church, 37th and Chestnut Streets, call (215) 626-8704.

SAN FRANCISCO

Sun., Aug. 9: The Constitution then and now — A Marxist view. First of three part series. Workers World Party meeting. Public welcome. 7:00 p.m. At 2489 Mission St., No. 30, call (415) 826-4828.

Sat., Aug. 15: Barbecue fundraiser at El Rio club. Relax under palm trees. All 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 Constitution then and now — A Marxist view. Second of three part series. 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 then and now — A Marxist view. Last of three part series. Workers World Party meeting. Public welcome. 7:00 p.m. At 2489 Mission St., No. 30, call (415) 826-4828.

42 Años de Dictadura en Corea del Sur

Por Rosa de la Torre

Desde principios de junio se han suscitado las manifestaciones más grandes en la historia del pueblo de Corea del sur. Se iniciaron manifestaciones estudiantiles que fueron brutalmente reprimidas por la dictadura de Chun Doo Hwan. El pueblo, al ver la reacción del gobierno decidió salir en apoyo de los manifestantes. El funeral del estudiante Lee Han Yol muerto a consecuencia de heridas recibidas en una manifestación se convirtió en una demostración de apoyo por más de un millón de personas. En carros salieron desde Seoul hasta Kwangju pueblo natal del mártir fallecido. La carretera desde Seoul hasta Kwangju se vio poblada por simpatizantes.

La importancia de este hecho radica

en que sucedió después de que el régimen de Chun había cedido a las demandas populares. Chun liberó a más de 300 presos políticos y anunció la amnistía de otros 2,300. Fue una victoria para el pueblo; pero no lo suficiente para engañarlos, ya que es bien sabido por el pueblo coreano que la dictadura puede volver a sus tácticas más represivas.

El pueblo de Corea del sur sabe bien quien es el responsable y verdadero agresor. En las calles se oyen gritos de "¡Tropas de EE.UU. Fuera!" y de "¡Reunificación!"

El 8 de septiembre de 1945 las tropas de EE.UU. invadieron Corea del sur, apenas tres semanas de haber terminado la Segunda Guerra Mundial y después de que el pueblo coreano se había liberado de los colonizadores

japoneses. EE.UU. no reconoció 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 lanza una campaña anti-comunista contra Corea del norte donde la guerrilla bajo el líder Kim Il Sung lleva acabo reformas socialistas. Durante la Guerra Coreana (1950 - 1953) los Estados Unidos bombardeó el territorio salvajemente. 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 que dieron su vida en Corea, sin saber que realmente era para que las corporaciones explotadoras pudieran encontrar su "milagro económico," se cuentan muchos soldados de nacionalidades oprimidas de los EE.UU. Un porcentaje muy elevado de puertorriqueños, de mexicanos y de negros forman parte de esas 54,000 muertes.

A pesar de su poder militar, los EE.UU. no pudo detener la revolución en Corea del norte pero sí convirtió a Corea del sur en una colonia de los EE.UU. bajo ocupación militar.

En la actualidad, ¿Cuáles son los resultados?

Hoy día, los obreros de Corea del sur tienen la jornada de labor más larga que se conoce en los países industriales, 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 reunificación de Corea, que salgan todas las tropas extranjeras del territorio (el norte no tiene tropas extranjeras) y convertir a Corea en un territorio libre de armas nucleares (el sur tiene más de 1,000 proyectiles nucleares).

El movimiento en Corea del sur continúa su paso revolucionario y nosotros debemos apoyar sus demandas: "EE.UU. fuera de Corea del sur" y "Reunificación."

Un Trabajo es un Derecho

Por Carl Glenn

Para combatir la ola de cierres de fábricas y los despidos masivos que padece la clase obrera de los EE.UU., se ha formado una organización que está exigiendo una moratoria nacional de cierres y despidos. La organización, Campaña Nacional — Un Trabajo Es Un Derecho (CNTD), fue fundada por activistas del movimiento sindical y líderes de varias organizaciones comunales, y está empleando tácticas diversas e imaginativas para lograr sus objetivos.

El 26 de julio la CNTD llevó a cabo una manifestación de más de 125 personas en Traverse City, Michigan, donde se efectuó la conferencia de gobernadores estatales de todo el país. El gobernador William Blanchard de Michigan, anfitrión de la conferencia, apenas había salido de la cámara legislativa en Lansing donde propuso cortes presupuestarios en servicios sociales, fondos para escuelas, etc. debido a los cuantiosos cierres de fábricas, que invitó a los jefes de Ford, GM y Chrysler a asistir a la conferencia como los invitados de honor, apesar de

ser los mismos causantes de los cierres de fábricas.

El propósito de la acción política de la CNTD según los organizadores, es exigir una cesación inmediata de los cierres de fábricas y también para dar a conocer a los gobernadores que existe un movimiento creciente, en pie de lucha, que se compone de los obreros más afectados.

Pero en vez de convidar a los obreros o sus representantes, se ordenó un ataque policiaco contra los manifestantes sin provocación alguna. Siete de los nueve arrestados fueron negros a pesar de que nada más que la mitad de los manifestantes eran negros. Una de las víctimas fue una mujer ciega puertorriqueña.

Mientras Lee Iacocca, presidente de la Chrysler, pronunciaba un discurso a los gobernadores, una manifestante en la acera fuera del Hotel Grand Traverse Resort explicó que la corporación Chrysler había cerrado siete fábricas en la ciudad de Detroit produciendo un efecto devastador particularmente en los barrios negros y latinos de esa ciudad. "Nos dicen," siguió ella, "que saquemos provecho

de los cierres, pero esto es absurdo. Son las corporaciones que están sacando ganancias más grandes que nunca y nosotros sufrimos."

A la vez que la crisis se profundiza, la Campaña Nacional se ramifica y establece una red nacional de comités locales por todo el país.

La Campaña acaba de abrir una oficina nacional. Para prestar ayuda, participar en la lucha o pedir más información, se puede comunicar con la Campaña Nacional — Un Trabajo Es Un Derecho: 103 W. Alexandrine, Detroit, Mich. 48201, (tel.) (313) 831-1333.

Protesta Mapuche en Chile

Por Lucinda Sintierra

¡Cerca de 100 indios mapuches provenientes del sur de Chile viajaron a la capital, Santiago, esta semana, para defender sus tierras sagradas afectadas por una legislación que consideran lesiva a los intereses indígenas.

El gobierno del dictador General Augusto Pinochet, que no podría existir sin el respaldo del gobierno de los EE.UU., continúa el despojo de tierras indígenas al igual que sus antepasados, los colonizadores españoles.

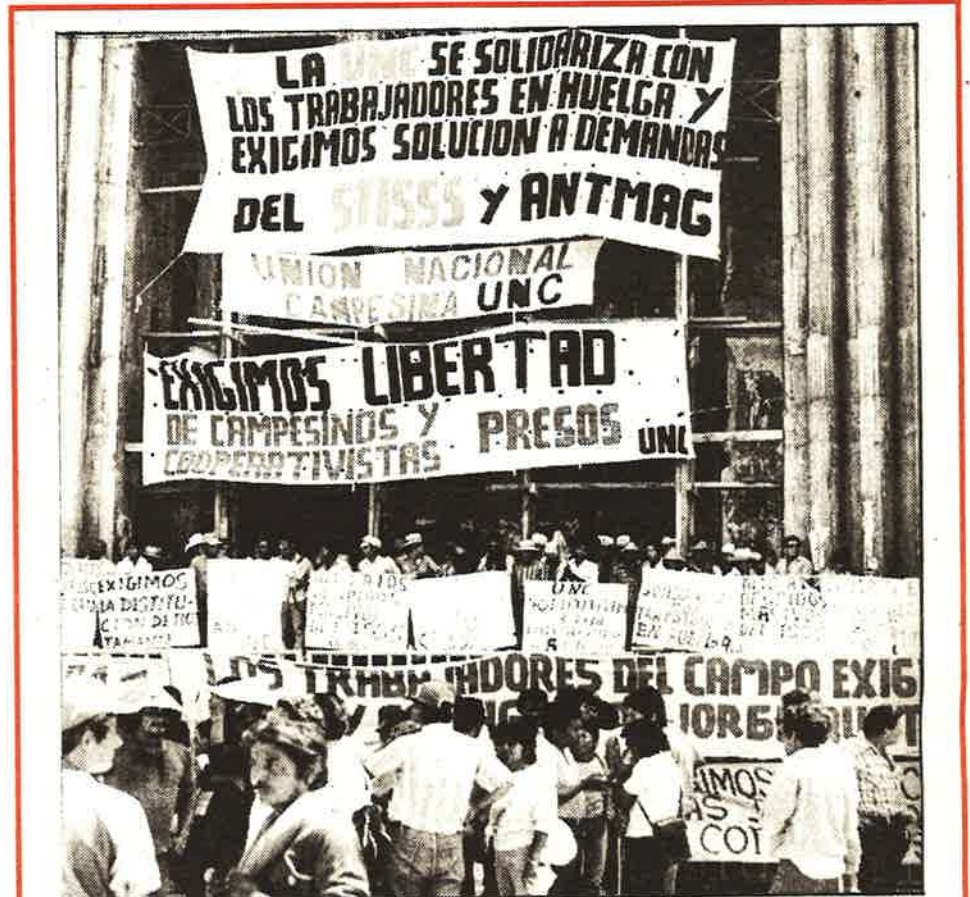
Ad Mapu, principal organización indígena que organizó este viaje, se dedica a defender los derechos indígenas. Elisa Avendaño, vicepresidenta de Ad Mapu, dijo, "No somos guerreros, pero cuando nos pegan en una mejilla no dejamos que nos peguen en la otra." Los mapuches llegaron a Santiago a entregarle a Pinochet un documento con sus quejas. Esto es

solo una pequeña parte de una lucha muy prolongada que han llevado a cabo como respuesta a la usurpación de sus tierras y por su derecho a la auto-determinación.

En Santiago los recibieron policías antimotines que les cortaron el paso con carros lanzagua y lanzagases, impidiéndoles marchar hacia la sede gubernamental. Solo tres dirigentes, escoltados por policías pudieron entregar el documento en una oficina de trámites.

El presidente de Ad Mapu, José Santos Millao, explicó "queremos llamar la atención sobre el problema del pueblo mapuche," y "queremos evitar el exterminio de nuestro pueblo." Aseguró que miles de indígenas corren el riesgo de perder sus tierras. Para la mayoría estas tierras son su única fuente de alimento y los pocos ingresos que tienen.

Hasta hoy el gobierno de Pinochet no ha respondido a los planteamientos de los mapuches.



¿Está por caer el gobierno de Duarte? Eduardo García, un líder del Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional, en una entrevista con el diario San Francisco Chronicle, aseguró que el gobierno del Presidente José Napoleón Duarte está por caer. Explicó, "Lo único que mantiene a Duarte en el poder es el apoyo militar y presión ejercido por los Estados Unidos."

El gobierno de Duarte ya no es capaz de siquiera proveer al pueblo con las necesidades básicas como trabajo, vivienda, comida, educación o atención médica. A las demandas del pueblo Duarte responde con aún más represión, y esto incluye las actividades de los escuadrones de la muerte que ya han matado y brutalizado a tantas miles de personas.

García predijo que si el gobierno de Duarte cae los EE.UU. intervendrán en El Salvador o será el comienzo de un proceso para una solución realmente política.