

A Socialist ACTION



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House vote cranks up CIA/contra invasion



Impact Visuals/Rick Reinhard

The Central Intelligence Agency has been given the green light to take "day-to-day responsibility" for the estimated 20,000 to 30,000 contra troops camped in Honduras.

This military escalation has also been accompanied by a dramatic increase in the propaganda war against Nicaragua. A torrent of abuse has been directed against the Nicaraguan government for steps it has taken to curb the U.S.-sponsored counter-revolution.

The U.S. spy agency had been in charge

EDITORIAL

of the contra mercenaries in the early 1980s, but public outrage in 1984 over its operational responsibility for the mining of Nicaraguan harbors and its preparation of an assassination manual forced the CIA into the background.

Washington is desperately seeking to reorganize the contra forces in response to a series of setbacks. Numerous international press reports have described incidents of rape, torture, and brutality against the Nicaraguan civilian population during contra raids. Other reports have exposed widespread drug trafficking inside the mercenary camps.

Meanwhile, dismayed U.S. politicians complain that top contra commanders are siphoning millions of dollars of U.S. aid into their Miami and Honduran investment portfolios.

But money has never been the real problem for the contras, and there certainly isn't a shortage of it today. The Democratic and Republican Congressional politicians are pumping unlimited funds to revive a mercenary war which falters as it confronts massive and popular support for extending the social revolution inside Nicaragua.

The \$100-million House-approved aid bill is only one expense item. There are

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S. Africa Blacks defy assaults; U.S. sanctions fight heats up

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

The Black freedom movement in South Africa is facing its most severe test since the current upsurge began two years ago. The government's state-of-emergency decree of June 12 sent most Black leaders either to jail or into hiding. Despite the heightened repression, however, anti-apartheid activity continues at a boiling point.

According to a report by the Community Research Group in Johannesburg, at least 8400 opponents of apartheid have been arrested under the government's emergency measures. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) reported last month that some 2300 trade unionists, including over 200 union officials, remained in detention.

"Workers want to know why their democratically elected leaders are imprisoned, why union offices are closed or understaffed," a leaflet distributed by COSATU stated. "The industrial-relations system which workers have painstakingly established over the years has been rendered

almost unworkable."

The Black and non-racial trade unions have come to the forefront in organizing activities to combat the government's repression. A wave of political strikes began in late June among retail clerks, farmworkers, and food workers. The strikers demanded an end to the state of emergency and the release of union leaders from jail.



On July 3, thousands of workers at four diamond mines walked off the job. By mid-month, close to 20,000 gold and diamond

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LTV files bankruptcy; strike action planned

By MARIE WEIGAND

On July 17, the second largest steel corporation in the country, LTV, filed for bankruptcy under Chapter 11. Immediately, ripples coursed throughout the steel industry.

By filing for bankruptcy, the LTV executives were relieved of payments on all debts, pending reorganization of the company to become more profitable. They were also able to cancel all medical,

hospitalization, and life-insurance coverage for retired workers.

LTV Steel's 30,000 active and laid-off employees reacted bitterly to the announcement of the largest industrial bankruptcy in U.S. history. Less than four months earlier, LTV workers had ratified a new contract with a 20-percent cut in wages and benefits.

They had voted to approve the new labor agreement because of the company's threat

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SPECIAL: The Philippine Revolution Today, pp. 7-11



Star Wars means U.S. will strike first

By JIM HEAPHY

Jim Heaphy is the editor of *Space for all People* magazine. We are printing below major excerpts from Heaphy's presentation to a May 30, 1986, symposium on "The Movement Against Nuclear War and Nuclear Power." The symposium was sponsored by the San Francisco branch of Socialist Action.

I think it would be easy for most moderately informed supporters of the peace movement to see the connections between Star Wars [the Strategic Defense Initiative] and nuclear war. But the connections between nuclear power and Star Wars might be more difficult to see.

Ever since the very earliest days of the space age, the United States and the Soviet Union have been planning and implementing the use of nuclear power in space. Both programs started in the late 1950s.

In its use of nuclear power in space, the United States has basically concentrated on devices that are called RTGs—or radio-thermal generators. Without getting into a lot of technical detail, these devices are not nuclear reactors. Basically they are chunks of plutonium which give off heat to drive a thermocouple that generates electricity.

These devices are somewhat compact and don't have complex control systems. So they have some appeal for use in spacecraft. But the plutonium they run on is just about the most poisonous substance on the face of the earth.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has emphasized the use of actual nuclear reactors in its space program. To date it has launched 27 nuclear reactors into space. Twenty-five of those nuclear reactors are still in orbit around the earth. Two of them suffered catastrophic re-entries.

Nuclear accidents in space

I'd like to go into a little detail about the history of space- and nuclear-power accidents. The first and perhaps most severe space accident took place in April 1964. Back in the early 1960s, the U.S. government had a series of military navigation satellites called the transit series, and they were powered by RTG devices.

They launched one from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. The thing got about 95 percent of the way

into orbit and there was a rocket failure. When it re-entered the atmosphere it burned up, and all of the plutonium that was on that craft dispersed into the upper atmosphere over the Southern Hemisphere of the planet.

That single incident, which wasn't even reported to the public until it emerged in scientific journals about two-and-a-half years later, was responsible for between 5 percent and 10 percent of the plutonium fallout that resulted from all atmospheric nuclear testing during the 1950s and 1960s. So that was the first in a long string of space/nuclear-power accidents that have taken place.

These devices since then have been used basically for two purposes: First, to power military satellites in orbit around the earth. Second, to power planetary probes out into further reaches of the solar system.

The reason they use them for planetary probes is that the further you get away from the sun, the less intense the solar energy is. Solar cells—one of the more normal ways of powering satellites—are less useful. And so they have to rely more on nuclear power.

Apollo 13 explodes

All the Apollo spacecraft that landed on the moon had nuclear-powered devices. In 1970, however, there was a flight that was called Apollo 13. That was an unlucky number and that was the ill-fated mission.

When they were halfway to the moon, there was an explosion on the spacecraft and they thought they might lose the astronauts. What they did was to loop the spacecraft around the moon to use the moon's gravity to catapult it back toward earth.

They managed to save the astronauts, but normally they would have landed the nuclear device on the moon and left it there. Instead, they had to bring it back to earth with them. So they had the same situation they had in '64 except that this time the RTG device was in a protective cask and it survived entry through the atmosphere.

It did not burn up but fell into an ocean trench about a thousand miles off the Philippines—something like 29,000 feet deep. It is still there—far deeper than any submarines are capable of going.

The Soviets do not have a much better safety record, unfortunately. In the mid-1970s, they had a failure of one of their spacecraft shortly after launch with a nuclear reactor aboard. It burned up over the Pacific Ocean. The incident got virtually no publicity whatever.

Big publicity did take place in 1978, however, when one of their satellites re-entered the atmosphere over the Canadian Yukon. In that incident the nuclear reactor only partially burned out and large pieces of radioactivity were strewn all over the Canadian wilderness. If it had been a more widely populated area, it might have been an incident comparable to Chernobyl.

In 1982, they lost another one. The same thing happened, the reactor burned up in the atmosphere. The radioactive debris in that case came down over the Indian Ocean. None of the debris fell on land areas, however.

So that is the sordid history of the safety record of nuclear power devices in space. It is coincidental at this

point that the score is three to three. Both of the major space-faring countries have had three catastrophic failures.

The question of nuclear power is intimately connected to the Star Wars buildup. Star Wars would involve placing hundreds and perhaps thousands of space craft into orbit, some of which would be very large and would have massive power requirements.

Right now there is a very active program to develop a 100-kilowatt space nuclear reactor that could be flown by the early 1990s. They are moving on to developing even more massive nuclear reactors capable of being flown in space early in the 21st century.

Virtually all the military developments under the Reagan administration represent a systematic, coordinated, and fundamental shift in the strategic posture of this country. They hope to gain a capability to win in a nuclear war.

The only way even in the minds of the most manic militarists in the Pentagon that a decisive victory could be gained in a nuclear war is if there is an attack that is capable of blunting the retaliatory capabilities of the other side. That means a first strike against the Soviet Union, a disarming first strike.

Satellites and the first strike

To achieve first-strike capability, first of all, you have to destroy the opponent's early-warning system—primarily satellites in space. That means anti-satellite weapons. Second, you have to destroy hard targets like ICBM silos and command and control centers.

That means dramatic improvements in the accuracy of the missiles. We are talking about navigational satellites that can give the guidance information allowing a nuclear weapon to home in on its target. We are talking about very accurate satellite-mapping information programmed into the brains of cruise missiles. We are talking about using blue-grain lasers from satellites to detect submarines and destroy them.

We are talking about instantaneous worldwide command control so that military forces can be sent out on their mission with total coordination. That is possible only with satellite communication.

Star Wars is the keystone of this whole edifice of high-technology weapons systems—many of which are space based. Star Wars has the mop-up role of defense after the majority of the other sides' retaliatory capability has already been destroyed in a first-strike launch.

I don't believe that they are actually planning overtly to launch a first strike. But I believe that they are engaging in a systematic military buildup to convincingly demonstrate that capability in a crisis situation, in order to force the Soviet Union or any contender against U.S. power to back down in a crisis situation.

I feel that confronting Star Wars and building a movement to oppose Star Wars is needed to punch holes in the misty, superficial, emotional type of appeal "to defend our grandchildren" that Reagan has been putting out. If we can rip a hole in that facade, I think it would be a real defeat of Reagan's policies. I think that this must be done. ■

L.A. rally celebrates Nicaraguan Revolution

By KATHLEEN O'NAN

LOS ANGELES—On July 20, well over 1000 people joined together in a rally to end U.S. intervention and for self-determination throughout Central America.

This date was chosen to celebrate the 7th anniversary of the 1979 Nicaraguan Revolution. The rally sponsors included the Office of the Americas, CISPES, South Africa Support Committee, Guatemala Information Center, and the Nicaraguan Task Force. It was also endorsed by a wide range of groups such as Architects and Planners in Support of Nicaragua, the Alliance for Survival, the Labor Committee on Central America, and Socialist Action, to name just a few.

The event, which took place at Los Angeles High School Sports Stadium, was publicized with the slogan "Hands Off the Americas," satirizing the recent highly publicized event "Hands Across America."

The point was well made that joining hands with President Reagan will not solve the problems facing the American people; but rather that independent mass action by the people is needed to end U.S. intervention in Central America and to end U.S. support to the racist government of South Africa.

The rally, which included music, dance, and poetry, featured speakers from a wide spectrum of thought and background such as Bishop Walter Grumm and Sister Pat Krommer; Gus Newport, mayor of Berkeley; Ramona Ripston of the ACLU; Francisco Campbell, Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States; and Alexander Cockburn, well-known social and political commentator.

REVOLT IN SOUTH AFRICA

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A SOCIALIST ACTION PAMPHLET

Sylvia Weinstein for S.F. supervisor!

By MAY MAY GONG

SAN FRANCISCO, 1996—San Franciscans have witnessed many changes over the last 10 years.

Skyrocketing rents have been stabilized through strict rent-control laws, thus providing much more housing at affordable prices. There are now more and better schools for our children, and childcare is available free of charge. Downtown traffic and air quality have improved since public transportation was upgraded and made free for all. Quality healthcare is provided free for anyone who needs it. The war budget has been abolished and money has been given to find a cure for AIDS and to feed and shelter the hungry and homeless.

Of course it is not 1996 and these changes have yet to take place. But that is what Socialist Action's campaign to elect Sylvia Weinstein to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors is all about—to mobilize to make this future a reality.

Weinstein's campaign says that working people can and must organize themselves into a politically independent party, a labor party based on the unions, that will represent their interests. Weinstein's campaign offers San Francisco voters an alternative to voting for the Democrats and Republicans—those who are responsible for the attacks on working people.

Sylvia Weinstein is a long-time activist in the women's movement and the socialist movement. She has been a member of the

National Organization for Women (NOW) since 1973 and served on its San Francisco executive board from 1975 until 1982. She is active in the Reproductive Rights Committee of NOW and helped to build the March for Women's Lives in March of this year.

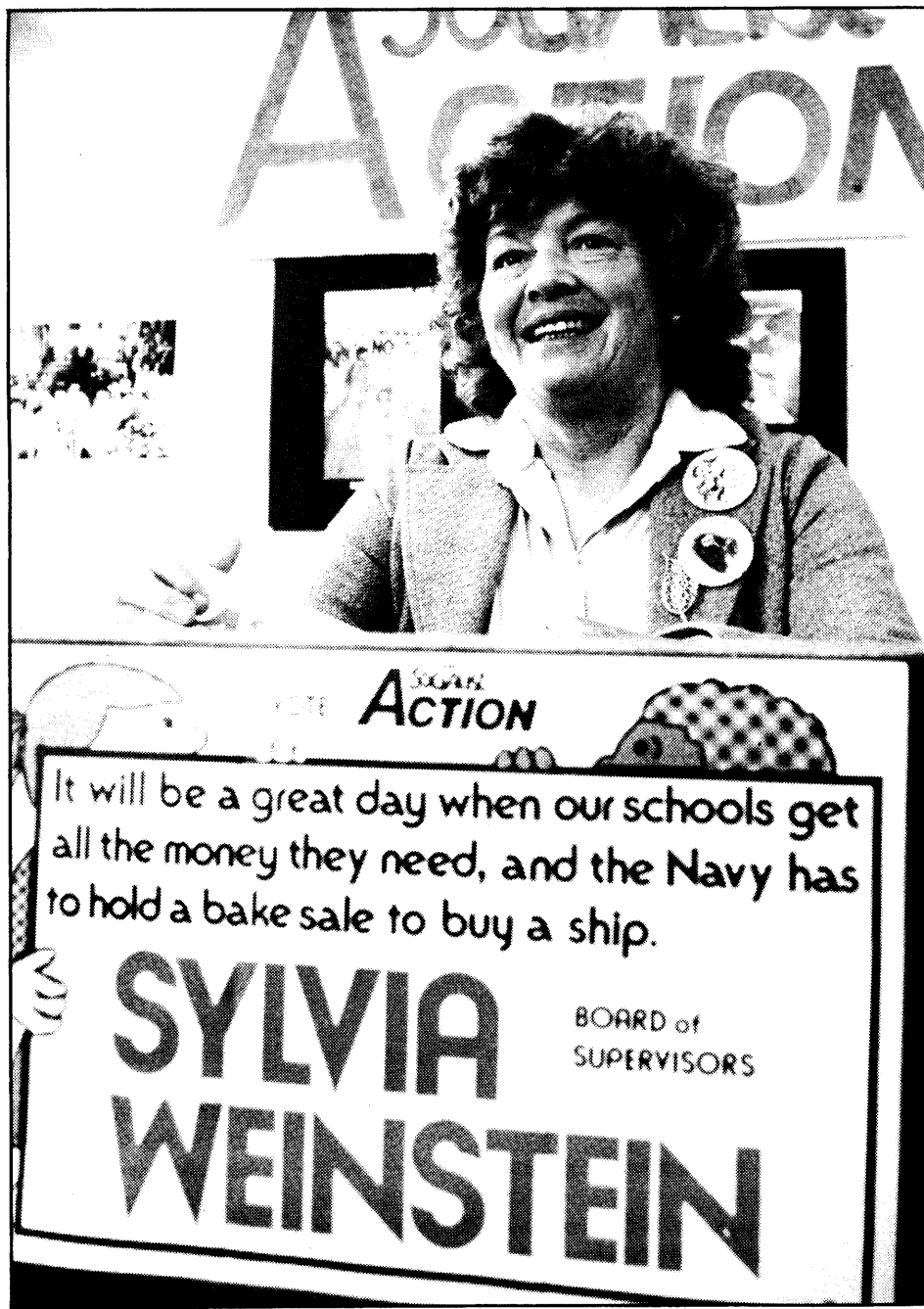
Weinstein is a leading proponent of expanding public childcare and served on the Childcare Initiative Task Force and the Health and Childcare Committee of the Commission on the Status of Women. She also served on the Children's Center Expansion Committee of the school district, which helped get increased funding for childcare on the heels of the passage of the Childcare Initiative.

Weinstein has organized several solidarity campaigns for workers on strike here in San Francisco and around the world, including Polish Solidarity. She is active in the struggles against U.S. intervention in Central America and against U.S. ties to apartheid in South Africa.

She has been a socialist since 1945. She is now a columnist for *Socialist Action* newspaper and a founding member of Socialist Action. A vote for her is a vote of protest against government by and for the rich and for a government by and for the working people.

Any donations and/or requests for more information should be sent to:

Sylvia Weinstein for Supervisor Committee, c/o Socialist Action, 3435 Army Street, Rm. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110, Tel. (415) 821-0458.



Socialist Action/Joey Ryan

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

"With The Bible on The Table and The Flag Upon The Wall" was a popular country-western song played day after day on the radio when I was a young girl in the 1930s. It was a reflection, especially in the Bible-belt South, of despair over the Depression and its terrible effects on the working class.

Good Christians could only understand this massive economic crisis as the curse of God upon an ungrateful population who defied God's will by sinning.

Once again, the capitalist economic system of the United States, the strongest imperialist country in the world, is entering a grave crisis. Unemployment, hunger, inflation, and poverty stalk this nation. The living standard is falling for the working class while the wealthy live the lives of feudal lords and ladies.

The capitalist class has no ideology to explain this crisis to the vast majority of working and poor people. Once again, its politically bankrupt leaders must wrap themselves in the flag and, with Bible in hand, raise abstract, moral questions to conceal their social and economic impotency.

Moral questions place the responsibility for society's ills on the individual rather than on the capitalist system and government—where it belongs. That's why the capitalists encourage right-wing Bible-thumpers such as Jerry Falwell to provide a morality crusade as a diversion

from the real problems of society.

In the last few months we have witnessed the issues of drug testing, the AIDS hysteria, abortion, sodomy, and pornography turned into handles for a Salem witch hunt by the hypocritical moral moss-backs of the church, the courts, and the government.

Forced drug testing

Fifty percent of America's largest corporations listed in Fortune magazine are now testing their workers for drug use.

One man who had worked as a machinist for 11 years, with only three days absence in that whole time, was recalled to his job after a layoff. But first he was tested for drugs. He tested positive and was immediately fired. He had smoked a marijuana cigarette one month before in his own house.

He is blackballed from the industry and also denied unemployment compensation. Drug testing allows employers to hire and fire at will. They can use the test to get rid of militant unionists and anyone who stands up for their rights.

One head of a large corporation stated that "employers have the right to insist on a healthy workforce." As if they would begin testing for dental plaque—firing workers who don't floss regularly!

Of course, we can't test the boss after a three-martini lunch. Yet these are the bums who cause pollution of our atmosphere. Their factories spew forth poisonous chemicals—remember

Bhopal—which they refuse to filter out in their lust for profits.

The Supreme Court recently gave law enforcers the right to break into any person's bedroom to check on obedience to sodomy laws. And the Justice Department gave every boss the right to fire any worker who has AIDS or AIDS-related anti-bodies. In California the "La Roach" initiative compels testing for AIDS and penalizing its victims with firing and incarceration in concentration camps.

These methods of allegedly controlling the deadly AIDS epidemic are counterproductive. It will result in potential AIDS victims hiding from medical workers instead of seeking help and advice from them to limit the spread of the infection.

Meese's anti-porn crusade

For over one year, Attorney General Meese, in another front of the "moral" crusade, has had his Commission on Pornography searching every nook and cranny for "dirt."

Journalist Robert Scheer followed the pornography commissioners around for six months. In a report in the August issue of *Playboy* magazine he reveals the true character of these "good people."

Scheer reports: "On one occasion a woman commissioner was talking with one of the men [commissioners], who had loudly declared his belief that masturbation could lead to sexual disorders. He remarked offhandedly: 'Of course, none of this would happen if women learned how to

give a really good blow job.' When the woman objected, he said, 'That's a lot of feminist crap.'"

Why is the government giving these right-wing sewer-astronauts the right to push us around? Because they are preparing to mobilize the righteous hypocrites and other scum to defend the system against mounting popular discontent.

In the '30s it took an uprising of the working class to set the capitalists straight. The working-class answer to the false morality of the capitalist class was a mass fightback. Solidarity of the poor and oppressed became the "flag" of a rising, angry working class.

This generation of American working people will answer as our predecessors did in the 1930s, when millions sang:

*Long haired preachers come out every night,
Try to tell us what's wrong and what's right,
When you ask them for something to eat,
They will tell you in voices so sweet:*

*You will eat by and by,
In that wonderful world in the sky,
Work and pray, live on hay,
You'll eat pie in the sky when you die.*

We don't need their "pie in the sky." We can build a better world right here—right now.

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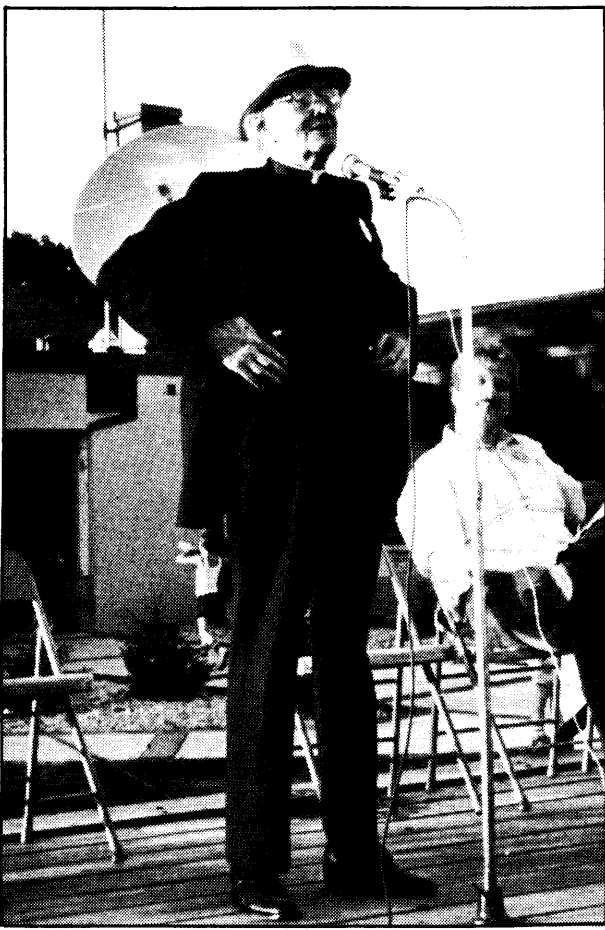
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Hear candidate Sylvia Weinstein

**Aug. 15, 1986,
8 p.m.
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Forum**



Msgr. Charles Owen Rice

The following are excerpts from a speech by Monsignor Charles Owen Rice to striking Hormel workers and supporters at Solidarity City, near Austin, Minn., on June 27.

Msgr. Rice is a long-time supporter of the union movement and was one of the first priests to walk labor picket lines in the 1930s during the CIO organizing drives. He was also a prominent opponent of the U.S. war against Vietnam and participated in many antiwar demonstrations. Msgr. Rice recently retired as pastor of St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church in Castle Shannon, Pa.

When I was a young priest, even before I was ordained, I was very much interested in the labor movement. We had a feeling toward the labor movement back in the 1930s, particularly toward the CIO, that it was an answer to more than the problems of the workers. We had a feeling that a union could do something for society as a whole. It could be the cutting edge of reform. That was before "bread and butter" unionism dominated.

Now in those days there was a powerful spirit among the unions. The intellectuals favored the unions, and many young people wanted to work for the unions. In those days it was seen as a beautiful cause, not just a way of enlightened selfishness.

One of the things that attracted me to P-9 was that you people had that old spirit. You felt that there was more

Msgr. Charles Owen Rice to P-9 rally:

'Unionism is standing tall'

to the union than just wages and working conditions. Solidarity was more than just a word.

Unionism is about standing tall. And it is about human dignity. As I talk to you people and listen, I hear indignation at being treated as if you were not human, as if you didn't have anything to say or contribute, as if you were like one of the machines.

What has happened at Hormel? This once was a company that worked you hard, paid you well, and was seen as recognizing you as human beings. But that changed. Not only has your dignity been taken away, but they want you to work harder for less money and less safety.

Back in the 1920s and before the turn of the century, employers had an anger at their unions. They had an anger that union men would dare to talk back, and dare to try to get more money. Sometimes they would say, in those days, that all these workers are interested in is money.

What is the employer interested in? What are the stockholders interested in—but money. Those of you who want more money are just good little members of the capitalist system and they should be glad.

Union with old spirit

I have run into people of the employing class in Pittsburgh, people who made money from money. They dismissed the plight of the steelworkers. If these workers' wages are cut, they said, it only means that they won't be able to have their motor boats, and they may not be able to fish and hunt so much, and they may not be able to have two cars.

Those saying this, of course, were people who had many cars and were always looking to advance themselves. These are people who are doing nothing for the economy. They are taking money out of it, stockbrokers, insurance people, lawyers. These are people who make a great deal of money shuffling papers, trying to outguess the stock market.

Those hard-hearted businessmen of years ago, it was thought for a while that their day was ended. But it is not.

We have an education to do. One of the reasons that P-9 appealed to me, the original P-9, was that this was obviously a group that had the old spirit, that was interested in the union as a cause and cared very much for human dignity.

Those of us who are at all liberal are worried about the type of persons Ronald Reagan has appointed to the courts. But the funny thing is, rarely could Reagan find a judge who could do a dirtier trick to you than Judge Devitt has.

The judgments against you by Judge Devitt reminds me of the old days, in the 1920s, when they would

enjoin anything. Things were so bad that Congress had to pass a law against this type of antilabor injunction. And here it is back again. I can't believe it—anyone connected with P-9, as I gather it, is threatened with a criminal action charge if you mention the word "boycott."

Now I am mentioning the word boycott. I have a P-9 button. I don't know whether Judge Devitt wants to make something of it—but if he does, he may.

In South Africa one of the nasty things is that they have passed a law so that almost anything you say or do can be declared illegal. If you are the wrong color you could have the stuffing beat out of you, or you may be killed. And even if you are the right color and have the wrong opinions you are in trouble. Do we want that here in Minnesota?

"You are not afraid"

The ugliness of this anti-labor injunction is this: The injunction is passed and the union is hurt, and then two months later the injunction is overturned. But the damage is done. That is the danger.

I don't think that tactic is going to work now, because I see determination. And I see courage in these faces. You people are not afraid. You are the loyal ones. You are the ones who love your brothers and sisters.

As for your union International, I can't imagine what they are about. You can give concessions forever, you can compromise forever, and there is never an end.

There are a few alternatives. You can fight hard as you are doing. You can give in a great deal, or you can go over and join the other guys. The latter is what your International has done. I would say it has betrayed you. Some of these people in the International are friends of mine. I don't mind if they hear it. It has betrayed you.

The solidarity of the workers is a beautiful thing. The fight you are engaged in is a fight for the consciousness of the American people. Ultimately, there are more of us than there are of them.

There is something that the United States of America stands for. That is the human dignity we spoke of, the rights of the individual, and freedom. There is no freedom if you are broke. Freedom of the press, freedom of expression means nothing because those with money and power can overpower you.

A union such as yours can stand against the power of money, if you stick together in solidarity. We need more and stronger trade unions. And we need your inspiration. You are a light shining in the darkness. You are a bright example, you brave men and women.

You are fighting, not just for yourselves, but for other working people, particularly in this country. May God bless you and give you success in this most difficult and important struggle. ■

Railroads ordered to rehire 1700 workers

By ART LECLAIR

PORTLAND, Maine—The railroad industry has its eye on developments at three small New England railroads—the Maine Central, the Boston and Maine, and the Delaware and Hudson—which are owned by Guilford Transportation Industries (GTI).

Guilford has served as a test-tube situation for the employers in their drive to dissipate the power of the rail unions in isolated local struggles. They hope to take on and smash the unions company by company, while relying on the courts to prohibit solidarity action on a national scale.

On July 11, unionists won a victory in the courts when U.S. District Court Judge Gene Carter issued a permanent injunction ordering GTI to rehire 1700 workers that

the company laid off from its three railroads. The injunction also prevents GTI from laying off any of its employees without court approval.

Judge Carter ruled that the company violated its agreement with the unions when it failed to reinstate the 1700 workers after an order by President Reagan put a halt to the 11-week strike by the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE) on the Maine Central. The Maine Central strike had spread to the government-operated ConRail system, threatening a shutdown of freight operations in 14 Northeast states.

Carter also ruled that GTI must give back-pay to all affected employees. However, he issued a delay order after Colin Pease, vice president of GTI, cried poor. The payback order will cost Guilford an estimated \$10 million to \$16 million.

On the same day that Guilford was defeated in Judge Carter's courtroom, however, the company pushed forward with its anti-labor objectives by abolishing all jobs covered by the Sheet Metal Workers Union (SMW) agreement. The SMW members were reclassified as "railroaders," with duties to be assigned by supervisors. Although the new maneuver was thrown

out by the courts, the company's contempt for the unions was made clear.

Meanwhile, in Washington, D.C., Guilford prepared its next move. GTI held a July 17 meeting with New England members of Congress to divert attention from its union-busting schemes. Company spokespeople raised the alarm of a nationwide strike by the BMWE on July 21, when the presidential back-to-work order was due to expire.

Guilford Vice President Pease begged the Congress members to help him and GTI owner Timothy Mellon—heir to the mammoth Mellon banking fortune—"defend" themselves from the "strike threat."

Andrew Malleck, vice president of the BMWE, says Guilford is trying to force a strike and make the union look like the provocateur, in hopes of getting Congress to strengthen the Railway Labor Act to prohibit secondary picketing. GTI wants the Taft-Hartley prohibition on secondary picketing to apply to the railroads, making picketing against rail carriers that handle scab cargo illegal.

BMWE President Ole M. Berg assured the employers that his union "wouldn't strike as long as good-faith negotiations continue."

The Berg leadership is once again willing to put its trust in a company which has repeatedly shown its contempt for the union. But railworkers have the power to defend themselves against the bosses' union-busting attacks. For this, nationwide solidarity actions by all railworkers

are needed—not reliance on the company, the courts, the politicians, the Railway Labor Act, or any presidential board. ■

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By FRANK FLANARY

MINNEAPOLIS—Speaking to a rally launching the Austin Emergency Appeal Legal Defense Committee on July 13 in the Twin Cities, Jim Guyette, president of the striking P-9 local, declared: "We've got an opportunity in Austin to find out what a felony riot is all about. A felony riot is when a bunch of people are singing union songs in front of a plant."

Sixteen people were arrested April 11, 1986, after the Austin police and their allies from surrounding jurisdictions attacked a peaceful demonstration on public property outside the plant gates of the Austin Hormel plant. Ray Rogers was pulled out of his car and arrested two miles from the scene of the demonstration. A warrant for Jim Guyette's arrest was issued. Guyette peacefully turned himself in the following Monday.

All 18 are charged not only with the gross misdemeanor of riot, carrying a maximum one-year prison sentence and fine, but also felony riot—with the possibility of an additional five years in prison and a fine.

Following the police attack, a riot was declared when a demonstrator attempted to return a smoke grenade to police lines, which injured no one but constituted a "dangerous weapon" in the opinion of Austin police.

Of the 18, only three are actually charged with specific actions—two for using "halt," a canine repellent often used by mail-deliverers, and one person for throwing a smoke grenade back to police lines. The 15 others are charged, in effect, with having simply been there.

Rogers and Guyette are also charged with second-degree assault, also a felony. Apparently this is for inviting people from around the country to attend four days of meetings and demonstrations to show the country the strike was alive and gaining support.

First Amendment rights

Speaking as the head of the legal defense effort, attorney Ken Tilson stated: "The police charges are an attack on the First

Twin Cities rally defends 18 framed-up P-9 strikers

Amendment rights of assembly of the 18 P-9ers and of workers everywhere who are at one time or another will be on strike."

Pete Kelly, president of UAW Local 160 in Detroit, declared, "This generation does not have the right to give up what so many other generations fought for. Being in jail for a picket violation is not any kind of disgrace. On the contrary, any trade union leader worth his salt should have many of these on his blotter in the police station."

Tony Mazzochi, past health and safety director of the OCAW international, drew a comparison between P-9's struggle and that of the Guysmar, Louisiana, OCAW local now on an anti-concessions strike for nearly two years.

Mazzochi stated: "The corporate bosses recognize the danger to them when BASF workers in Guysmar wear P-9 buttons, and P-9 workers wear BASF buttons in Austin. Among workers, there is recognition that this is a universal struggle; recognition that we won't turn back this attack unless we unite. That's why it's imperative—our existence depends upon it—that we unite around this struggle to destroy those charges."

Cynthia Burke, president of BRAC Local 1310 and one of the co-treasurers of the Austin Emergency Appeal, explained: "Some have suggested that the charges against the Austin 18 are just an over-reaction on the part of the Mower County authorities and have little chance of being sustained."

"But," Burke continued, "we cannot let the flimsiness of the evidence blind us to the fact that without an aggressive public defense there is a real possibility that some or all of the 18 will be successfully victimized. The Mower County attorney is acting on the part of powerful moneyed



Socialist Action/Baer

interests who are determined to punish members and leaders of P-9 for exercising their right to strike."

The Austin Emergency Appeal is a defense committee set up in cooperation with former officers of Local P-9 to collect and disburse funds in defense of the 18. Heading up the committee is Father Edward Flahavan, pastor of St. Stevens Catholic Church. Burke and Peter Rachlesf, professor of history at McAllister College in St. Paul, are the committee's co-treasurers.

Endorsers of the committee include Marty Zinns, president of the Minnesota National Education Association; Willis Croonquist, president of the Minnesota United Transportation Union; David Soul, actor; Ed Mann; Eugene McCarthy; Pete Seeger; Victor Reuther; Studs Terkel; Richard Ven-Venisti, a former Watergate prosecutor; Tilly Olsen, feminist writer;



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Above: Jim Guyette addresses P-9 support rally. Below: Cynthia Burke, pres. BRAC Local 1310.

and Meribell Le Sueur, feminist writer.

Donations should be made out and sent to: Austin Emergency Appeal, P.O. Box 65673, St. Paul, MN 55165. ■

By JAKE COOPER

The following are major excerpts from Jake Cooper's speech to the July 13 P-9 support rally in the Twin Cities, Minn. Cooper has served as the chairman of the food committee of the Metro P-9 Strike Support Committee. He is a National Committee member of Socialist Action.

When the Hormel strike broke out, a group of rag-tag unionists—some non-union, some unemployed, and even a professor—decided to organize a campaign to give support to the Hormel workers. I think we have accomplished that.

The bosses have tried every kind of dirty trick they know to beat down the Austin workers. But the fact that we have a meeting like this today indicates that there are a lot of workers in this city who feel that for the Hormel workers to lose would be a terrible defeat for the entire labor movement in the United States.

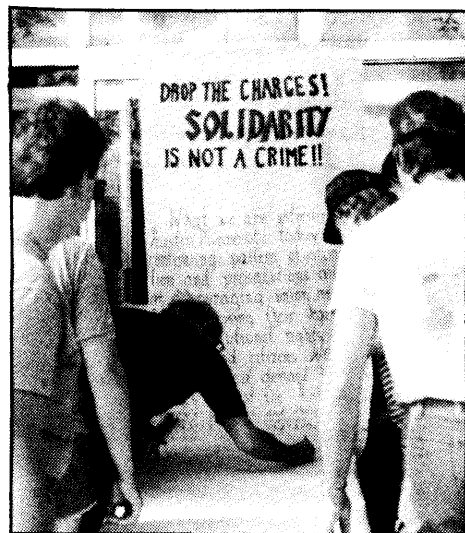
And where in the hell did Jake Cooper come from? I happen to be an ex-teamster who went through the 1934 strikes. I was a very young guy, barely out of diapers. But along with the struggles that took place in 1934, another tremendous struggle took place in Southern Minnesota—in Austin.

A bond grew between the Teamsters union and the Hormel local. The employers of the United States hated two unions in this area. One was the Hormel local, which wrested the best conditions of any packing-house union in the country. The other was the Minneapolis Teamsters union.

And what did they do to the Teamsters union in 1934? They did the same things they are attempting to do to [Jim] Guyette and [Ray] Rogers right now. I myself was framed along with 17 other people and was sent to prison because of the fact that we built one of the most effective unions in the country. We organized literally hundreds of thousands of workers. That is a fact that can be read in books.

One of the things I want to say is that

Veteran of '34 strike calls for labor party



Socialist Action/Baer

"A bond grew between the Teamsters and the Hormel local."

there were great sacrifices in the Teamsters' struggle. Two of the people who died were Ness and Belor. You will read about them. Others were 62 men, I believe, who were shot in the back on Black Friday in 1934. I want to tell you right now that I and others, and all of you together, are here to say that Ness and Belor did not die in vain—that this labor movement that we worked so hard to build will not be crushed.

One of the questions that you have got to ask yourselves is this: If the strike had been

just between the Hormel company and the workers in that plant, what would have been the outcome of that strike? If there had been a democratic vote in that situation what would have been the outcome?

The answer is obvious: The Hormel workers would have won hands down.

But on Sept. 24, 1985, the bosses got an injunction against the Hormel workers so that they could not picket in front of the plant gates. They stopped P-9 from getting within 50 feet of the plant on Feb. 14, 1986.

The labor movement has a contradiction in the fact that we fight against the company and against company unionism in the plant but we have yet to eradicate company unionism within politics.

How many times do we have to have a Governor Perpich haul in the National Guard, when it was clear that the workers had the power to win the strike at the Austin plant.

How many times do we have to have a St. Paul Mayor Latimer call in dogs in the American Can strike. Latimer had his cops there to bust up the picket line and he used such methods against other strikes as well. Both the Democratic and Republican parties have records that are rife with such union-busting policies.

In Austin they have just decided to run a labor man against Sheriff Goodnature. I think they are on the right track in Austin, and the union movement ought to get on the track of running workers against the parties of the strikebreakers. We should be organizing a labor party.

I want to conclude with this. Ness and Belor did not die in vain. It is our duty and the duty of our children to defend what we

have built. I promise you, and I know that you promise your children, and I know that we promise those who come after us, that the labor movement is not going to be wrecked. It is going to be built. Thank you. ■

P-9 strikers need money

Ray Rogers, speaking at the Austin Emergency Appeal rally on July 13, took advantage of the occasion to announce the start of door-to-door fundraising in the Minneapolis area for P-9ers and their supporters.

Rogers said the campaign would be conducted in the style of door-to-door political canvassing in which P-9's case will be explained and contributions requested. Money raised will be channeled into the new union's [NAMPU/P-9] hardship fund, its legal bills, and other needs.

Finances for P-9ers on strike have been almost completely disrupted by the courts and the UFCW leadership's seizure of all financial assets and bank accounts in the receivership action. [See July 1986 issue of *Socialist Action*.]

Also many strike activists were denied unemployment benefits when the UFCW International declared the strike over in June. Normally, workers who have been permanently replaced in a strike become eligible for unemployment benefits once the strike is ended.

Even for those P-9ers deemed eligible, those benefits will stop after Aug. 17, the anniversary of the walkout. Funds are urgently needed. Checks should be made out and sent to: Austin United Support Group, P.O. Box 396, Austin, MN 55912, Tel. (507) 437-4110. —F.F.

AIFLD road show hits bump in San Francisco Bay Area

SAN FRANCISCO—The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) is the official foreign-policy arm of the AFL-CIO. According to a publication of the Ecumenical Program for InterAmerican Communication and Action (EPICA), AIFLD receives about 90 percent of its funds from the U.S. government's Agency for International Development (AID).

It isn't surprising, therefore, that AIFLD functions as the mouthpiece for State Department policies in the labor movement.

After AIFLD representatives returned from one of the organization's many visits to Central America, AIFLD decided to take its "medicine show" on the road to drum up support for the Duarte regime in El Salvador and the contras in Nicaragua.

On July 15, AIFLD spokesman David Jessup and three leaders from AFL-CIO-supported unions in El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua appeared at a meeting hosted by the San Francisco Central Labor Council.

Jessup began the meeting by blasting the Nicaraguan government. Without attempting to offer the slightest evidence, he reeled off a long list of false charges. "Ration cards are only given to members of the Sandinista Defense Committees," he said. "The Marxist-Leninist ideas of the FSLN seek to absorb every independent organization into Sandinista-controlled mass organizations."

Jessup ended by asserting, "While Russian vodka and Bulgarian brussel sprouts could be seen everywhere, the people were being denied their basic material needs." But when it came to opposing U.S. government support to the murderous contras, the AIFLD leader feigned neutrality.

"The AFL-CIO doesn't support or oppose contra aid," Jessup hedged. Jose Espinoza, the Confederation of Trade Union Unification (CUS) leader from Nicaragua traveling on behalf of AIFLD, also tried to sound ambiguous on this question. But he gave the game away when he admitted CUS supports "dialogue with the contras."

AIFLD supports ex-Somocistas

Dialogue with the contras is also the top demand of the policymakers in Washington. Behind a democratic-sounding facade of "dialogue," AIFLD and CUS join in the campaign to legitimize the CIA-controlled ex-Somocista gang of murderers who comprise the contra forces.

The Nicaraguan government counters by saying they want dialogue with the real contra leader—the U.S. government.

If Jessup was antagonistic toward Nicaragua, he certainly showed great restraint toward the regime in El Salvador. "We support Duarte," said Pedro Regalado, secretary general of the AFL-CIO-supported construction union in El Salvador.

Yet, Regalado had nothing but harsh words to say about the major unions in El Salvador, which he described as "Marxist,



May Day 1986 rally in San Salvador organized by National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS). AIFLD road show is designed to attack the legitimate trade unions in El Salvador.

communist, and guerrilla-led."

No mention was made of the massive bombing campaign against the civilian population. No mention was made of the fact that names of all workers who vote in favor of a union in an organizing drive must be submitted to the government.

And, no mention was made of the fact

that AIFLD withdrew its financial support from another union, Popular Democratic Unity (UPD), after the union's general secretary criticized the Duarte government for failing to implement land redistribution and for "increasing the repression against legitimate trade unionists."

Finally, the barrage of unfounded

The following is a copy of a letter sent by trade unionists in the San Francisco Bay Area to the San Francisco Chronicle on July 22.

Dear editor,

We would like to comment on the statements of Jose Espinoza, leader of the [Nicaraguan] Confederation of Trade Union Unification (CUS), printed [in the *Chronicle*] on July 16, 1986. As trade unionists actively opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America, we attended a small meeting in San Francisco where Mr. Espinoza spoke.

His visit was sponsored by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), an official arm of the AFL-CIO which receives substantial funding from government sources.

Espinoza said CUS represents 25,000 workers. Yet in 1983 it only negotiated one of 227 labor contracts. Furthermore, the Nicaraguan Ministry of Labor lists its membership at 1700, the U.S. State Department puts its size at 3000, and the U.S. Embassy in Managua states CUS has 1532 members.

CUS is a small and unpopular union, not because of alleged union repression but because it does not join the majority of Nicaraguans in repudiating the mercenary CIA-directed contra forces.

The latest poll indicates Americans oppose contra aid by a two-to-one majority. Since 1983, the National Labor Committee for Human Rights and Democracy in El Salvador has organized 24 international unions who oppose U.S. intervention. Numerous anti-intervention

accusations which were levelled against the Nicaraguan government and the struggling unions in El Salvador had gone on long enough. Several other people took the floor.

Ignacio De La Fuente, business manager of the Molders Union Local 164, and Roger Scott, from the American Federation of Teachers Local 2121, criticized AIFLD policy as running counter to the sentiments of the majority of the American people. Recent polls show 62 percent oppose contra aid.

Carl Finamore, a representative of the Bay Area Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice, pointed out that "the unfounded accusations of terrorism made by AIFLD against the non-AFL-CIO-supported unions in El Salvador echo the lies spread by the Reagan administration and the Duarte government.

Finamore continued, "Instead of expressing solidarity with the struggling unions in El Salvador, AIFLD levels charges which have been used by the death squads to justify the brutal repression of unionists and their families." At that point, Jessup abruptly ended the meeting.

If AIFLD's campaign of misinformation hits your area, spread the word to anti-intervention unionists who may want to take a peek at the latest packaging of "Cold War" propaganda so reminiscent of the AFL-CIO's disastrous policy during the Vietnam era.

rank-and-file union groups also exist throughout the country.

Thus, the AIFLD/AFL-CIO position has more in common with the war powers in Washington than it does with its own union members and the American people. We do not believe the purpose of this visit was to establish ties between democratic unions of the United States and Central America, as your article stated, but to aid Reagan as he attempts to prepare us for the next Vietnam.

Signatures: Joe Berry, AFT 2121; Renato Larin, AFT 2121; Ignacio De La Fuente, Molders 164; Rudy Meraz, GCIU 583; Ellen Shaffer, AFSCME 3215; Pat Hendricks, SEIU 250; Carl Finamore, Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice. (All organizations are listed here for identification only.)

... LTV bankruptcy

(continued from page 1)

to file Chapter 11 if the contract was rejected. While the ink was hardly dry on the contract, however, LTV announced the temporary idling of large portions of its Cleveland Works—resulting in over 1700 layoffs.

LTV steelworkers feel betrayed. On July 24, close to 300 angry retired members of United Steelworkers of America Local 1011 threw up a picket line around the LTV plant in East Chicago, Ind., closing the plant. The following day, Steelworkers President Lynn Williams granted strike authorization to Local 1011.

LTV Steel was formed two years ago from the merger of J & L Steel and Republic Steel. Since that time, many top-level corporate officials, including former Republic Chief Executive Officer E. Bradley Jones, have accepted large lump-sum retirement benefits. This is the traditional golden parachute for executives who plan to desert the sinking ship.

However, for most of the 80,000 LTV retirees, the outlook isn't as rosy. Their medical insurance has been taken away, and even their pensions may be "in jeopardy," according to a company spokesperson.

WAGE CUTS IN STEEL:

	Hourly wages and benefits	
	Cuts	Total
USX*	\$3.07	\$21.00-22.00
LTV	3.60	22.80
BETHLEHEM	2.35	22.49
NATIONAL	1.51	22.21
INLAND	0.40	21.60
WHEELING-PITT	3.40	18.00

*Estimates based on latest USX proposal
DATA: Business Week

For many steelworkers, Thursday, July 17, was pay day. Word spread rapidly through the mills that many banks were refusing to honor LTV pay checks. Although company officials tried to assure everyone that the checks were good, banks refused to cash them until the next day, when they would have a chance to review the court order. Some banks refused even then, offering to hold the checks until they cleared.

Company officials have assured USWA

officers that the labor agreement—with all wages and benefits intact—will remain in full force. They add that there are no current plans to ask for additional concessions.

But LTV workers are taking such promises with a grain of salt. They note LTV's long history of lying to its employees, and the recent example of Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel—which used a Chapter 11 to lock out steelworkers and gain additional givebacks.

LTV's bankruptcy has shaken the entire steel industry. Any bankrupt company may use the concessions obtained under Chapter 11 to cut its costs below the industry average—and thus achieve the ability to undercut the prices of its competitors.

LTV's action will embolden the other companies to slash wages and benefits even more. And Bethlehem Steel has a "50-50 chance" of following LTV into bankruptcy next year, a stock-market analyst told the *Wall Street Journal*.

The industry's biggest company, USX (formerly U.S. Steel), is demanding wage and benefits cuts of at least \$3.07 an hour and work-rule changes that could cost 13,000 jobs. The 45,000 workers at USX have responded with a resounding "No."

On July 25, for the first time in 27 years, the steelworkers union voted overwhelmingly to strike USX this month if negotiations fail. Major industrial struggles loom in this basic industry.



A Mass Action Strategy for Peace, Jobs and Justice

This pamphlet by Carl Finamore discusses the road to building a mass movement to stop the warmakers. (24 pp., 75 cents; \$1.10 + postage)

Order from: Socialist Action, 3435 Army St., Rm. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110

International Outlook



A Marxist

Theoretical Review

AUGUST 1986

Which way forward for the Philippine revolution?



Photo/Peter Charlesworth

By SEAN FLYNN

"People's power" in the Philippines mobilized millions of workers, displaced farmers, and elements of the middle-class against the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. But the fruit of the "February revolution" is a capitalist government. The anti-Marcos "elite opposition" and the army headed by Juan Ponce Enrile, Marcos' former defense minister, are the key elements in the new regime.

The Philippine events demonstrate the ability of the local ruling classes to rebound from a seemingly hopeless political situation. But more important, they show that the ruling classes can do so only on the coattails of the mass movement.

Several left-wing organizations, including "democratic socialist" and "independent Marxist" groups, gave their support to Cory Aquino's pro-capitalist slate in the February presidential elections. These groups limited their electoral program to removing Marcos and saw their action as helping to "push Aquino to the left."

The bulk of the left, including the nationalist coalition BAYAN and the mass organizations under the influence of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), opted for a boycott of the elections. The CPP pointed out that the electoral process was fraudulent and that Aquino was a capitalist candidate.

Unfortunately, the forces advocating boycott failed to correctly gauge the rising mobilization of the masses, who saw the electoral process as an opportunity to voice their long-simmering hatred of the Marcos regime. Fighting for the right to freely participate in political action became the momentary focal point of the mass struggle.

Failing to pose a viable working-class alternative to both Marcos and Aquino, the boycott yielded leadership of the democratic struggle to Aquino and the elite opposition without a fight.

Reassessing the boycott

In the wake of the elections, left-wing political organizations have taken a critical look at the boycott. The CPP now calls the boycott a "major political blunder." The national council of Kadena, a large youth group within the BAYAN coalition, terms the boycott "a tragic error."

Unfortunately, the leaders of these groups appear to be

drawing the wrong conclusions, reasoning that "critical participation," i.e., voting for Aquino, was the only viable alternative. Today, this view extends to politically supporting Aquino against more right-wing figures in the government.

Thus, Leandro Alejandro, secretary-general of BAYAN, stated, "There's a great potential for the Aquino government to evolve into a more representative government. She's no nationalist, but she's a sincere liberal and will stand up for what she's said already." (*San Francisco Examiner*, March 3, 1986)

The CPP, for its part, calls for "constructive criticism" of the Aquino regime. "In our propaganda we agreed on no attacks on her [Aquino]," a CPP official told the *Examiner* on July 18. "We like her...And it becomes a public relations problem for her if the left supports her and she doesn't negotiate with us."

The CPP puts forward the view that there are "liberals and progressives" within the Aquino government that "recognize the legitimacy of fighting an unjust social system." In the May 1986 issue of the CPP organ, *Ang Bayan*, the party leadership advocates a friendly stance toward the liberal wing of the government, stressing that it "can be drawn to support the people's demands or can be neutralized."

The CPP states that one of its major goals is to be accepted as part of a "transitional coalition government" on an equal footing with the pro-capitalist parties and groupings. So far, however, Aquino has emphasized that she will never appoint Communists to her government.

Roots in Maoism

The CPP's current conciliatory attitude toward Aquino highlights the holdovers of the Maoist variety of Stalinism on the CPP. The CPP originated in a 1968 Maoist break with the pro-Moscow Philippine CP, the PKP. Initially oriented to rural guerrilla warfare, it distanced itself from China in the mid-1970s and has expanded its work to a variety of arenas including semi-legal activity in the urban centers.

The Maoist "people's war" strategy distorted the

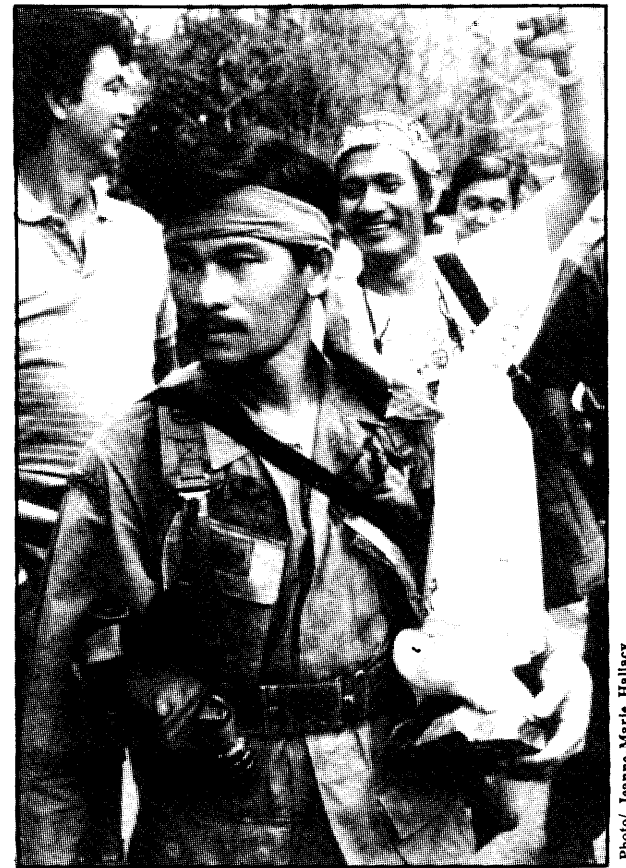


Photo/Associated Press

Marxist view of the role of armed struggle in the revolutionary process. Rather than seeing it as an organic development arising out of the need to defend the mobilizations of the workers and peasants around concrete demands, Maoist military practice was employed as a long-term strategy based on peasant armies divorced from the urban centers.

This strategy was combined with political alliances with the "national bourgeois" component of the capitalist class, which was considered a potential partner in what the Maoists called the "bloc of four classes."

Reflecting the influence of these views, the CPP could call for nationalizing foreign and monopoly-owned



Photo/Jeanne-Marie Hallacy

Filipino soldier defects from Marcos under the mass pressure of "people's power."

concerns while simultaneously stating: "Part of the workers' anti-imperialist struggle is an alliance with national capitalists. In concrete terms, the workers seek protection for local capital over those of foreign monopoly. The workers support a bigger voice for the national bourgeoisie in the economy and in the formulation of economic policies." (*Ang Bayan*, May 1986)

Importance of class independence

The ruling classes of the world are not at all unfamiliar with the phenomenon of mass mobilizations which threaten their rule. Wherever possible they seek to channel the anger and frustration of the masses into reformist electoral schemes designed to give the appearance of offering solutions to the problems of capitalist rule. History has recorded the tragic consequences resulting from the failure of the workers' organizations to maintain their political independence from these pro-capitalist formations and leaders.

The best example from recent history is the political support given by most of the Iranian workers' organizations to the "anti-imperialist" government of Khomeini. In the name of fighting against the "fascist" forces of the Shah of Iran and U.S. imperialism, the Iranian left aided Khomeini in reconsolidating the rule of Iranian capital. In time, the workers' movement was beheaded, disoriented, and finally demobilized.

In the Philippines, the uneasy truce between the different components of the capitalist class within the new government results from the common need to reestablish their control over a mobilized people.

This job is made easier so long as the workers and peasants retain illusions in Aquino's ability to fundamentally change the country's social and economic structures. To the extent that the CPP and the mass organizations it influences support Aquino, these illusions are deepened and the potential for the independent mobilization of the masses is weakened and ultimately crushed.

It is the power of the mass movement itself which compels Aquino to announce the reforms affecting the

(continued on page 10)

By NAT WEINSTEIN

Can fascism arise in the U.S.?

Fascism was the means by which crisis-wracked capitalism in Italy and Germany was saved from socialist revolution. The fascists saved capitalism by crushing the unions and the political parties of the working class. With workers' resistance smashed, there was nothing to stop the complete abolition of democratic rights and the most barbaric mass butchering in modern history.

Today, the movement associated with Lyndon LaRouche is emerging as the latest candidate for the role of American fascism. While it is far from settled who will ultimately get decisive capitalist backing for this role, it is important to understand the nature of this scourge, under what conditions it can grow into a major threat, and how to fight it.

Many who should know better have used the term as an epithet. Others have rationalized giving political support to one section of the capitalists by placing the fascist label upon another. In their concern to note differences between varieties of pro-capitalist currents, they have managed to blur the most important distinctions.

This is extremely harmful. It is imperative to know the difference between the fascists and other pro-capitalists so as to know *how* to effectively fight both. Repeated warnings of imminent fascist takeovers obstruct a timely response when the danger becomes real.

What is fascism? Is it merely the label to apply to an arch-reactionary, pro-capitalist movement? Is its distinguishing characteristic anti-Semitism, or racism in general? Is it an anti-democratic movement that has, as its ultimate aim, the use of physical force to stamp out all forms of opposition to capitalist injustice?

These are certainly features common to fascism. But they are shared by other capitalist political formations. One of the most important distinguishing characteristics of fascism, however, is its *seeming opposition to capitalism*.

Anti-capitalist and socialist demagogy

Normally the capitalist class prefers to rule on the basis of a system of political democracy. This is more efficient and productive from their point of view. But when it can no longer rule with the consent of the majority, the ruling class must resort to methods of political repression on a massive and nationwide scale.

The two main forms of rule by force alone are military-police and/or fascist dictatorships. (Every fascist dictatorship is also government by military-police rule. But not every military-police dictatorship is also fascist.)

When discontent caused by a major economic crisis reaches mass proportions, capitalism can be maintained in power only by the increasing use of naked force.

In extreme cases, such as in post-World War I-Italy and later in Germany, the normal agencies of state repression, the military and police forces with their parliamentary screens, are no longer able to do the job. Beleaguered capitalism needs to find a way to turn many of its desperate victims against the working class. Fascism requires a mass base to accomplish this aim.

Through the fascist agency, capitalism tricks the newly ruined middle class and sets it in motion against the workers. Also prone to this deception are the declassed and demoralized sections of the working class. With demagogic slogans calling for "revolution," the fascists enlist some of capitalism's victims in their war to smash the workers' organizations.

Fascism in Italy

The name itself originated in Italy. The fascist movement there was a spontaneous mass social movement based on millions of people suddenly ground into poverty by the severe crisis of Italian capitalism. The breakdown of the economic system convinced millions that capitalism was the source of their misery.

The Italian ruling class, threatened by a massive working-class offensive, heavily subsidized Mussolini's fascist bands. But the fascists could mount an effective counterrevolutionary offensive only when the workers' leaders failed to take resolute action to solve the crisis of capitalism. By placing false hopes in "anti-fascist" sections of the ruling class, the workers' misleaders alienated millions of potential allies who were looking for a revolutionary solution.

The reformist socialists at the head of the workers' organizations halted and dissipated the revolutionary momentum of the workers. The middle class, which had initially looked to the workers to resolve the crisis with revolutionary methods, lost hope. It turned in desperation to the fascists, who also seemed to offer a "revolutionary" solution.

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October 1917 workers' revolution in Russia, made the most thorough scientific Marxist analysis of fascism during its drive to power. In 1932, warning against an imminent Nazi victory, Trotsky explained how, 10 years earlier, Mussolini was able to defeat the workers. He wrote:

"Italian fascism was the immediate outgrowth of the betrayal by the reformists of the uprising of the Italian proletariat. From the time the [first world] war ended, there was an upward trend in the revolutionary movement



in Italy, and in September 1920 it resulted in the seizure of factories and industries by the workers.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat [the establishment of a new state based on the democratic organizations of the workers and their allies] was an actual fact; all that was lacking was to organize it and to draw from it all the necessary conclusions. The social democracy took fright and sprang back.

"After its bold and heroic exertions, the proletariat was left facing the void. The disruption of the revolutionary movement became the most important factor in the growth of fascism.

"In September, the revolutionary advance came to a standstill; and November already witnessed the first major demonstration of the fascists [the seizure of Bologna]." ("Fascism, What It Is and How to Fight It.")

In Italy, the anti-capitalist demagogy of Mussolini was directed at the banks associated with imperialism, primarily the British banks. Exempted from the fascist "anti-capitalist" rhetoric were the Italian "national" capitalists.

Fascism in Germany

In Germany, Hitler's anti-capitalist "revolution" was similarly focussed on imperialist banking interests, zeroing in on German capitalists who happened to be Jewish. At the same time, "national, patriotic" capitalists were portrayed as good guys.

The fascists erected a fantastic conspiracy theory in which international capitalism and communism were the cause of the people's misery since both had ganged up to further exploit and oppress the suffering masses.

Hitler, adding an anti-Semitic component to fascism in Germany, was able to divert the ire of the ruined middle class away from capitalism, the real cause of its misery, and vent it upon the local Jewish storekeeper, Jews in general, and the labor unions.

It is important to reemphasize, however, that the capitalist class does not play its fascist card until its back is up against the wall. It opens the door to the fascists only after an economic crisis has ignited a mass revolutionary workers' upsurge, and continued capitalist rule is at stake.

The boss class knows that a mass fascist movement cannot be built in periods of relative stability, when a majority of the people support the status quo, even with heavy infusions of money and other forms of support.

But capitalists tend to give discreet support to incipient fascist movements after signs appear that the economic system may be on the verge of a major breakdown. They also withdraw such support when capitalism restabilizes and the crisis doesn't materialize.

Farmers in the United States today are being ruined by the collapse of agricultural prices. Prices in the supermarkets stay high but farmers are unable to earn enough to pay their bills and are being foreclosed in increasing numbers.

A polarization is taking place among these natural allies of the working class, with the great majority looking to the workers for aid and assistance and a minority receptive to demagogues like Lyndon LaRouche.

Forms of American fascism

In the United States, a variety of candidates for American fascism have come and gone. The Ku Klux Klan was one of the earliest candidates for this role. It was a leftover from the post-Civil War period.

The Klan was created after capitalism decided to halt and roll back the democratic gains won by Blacks in the Civil War and during the period of Reconstruction. It was used to break up the alliance between poor white and Black farmers forged in this post-war period.

The Klan experienced a big expansion after the World War I economic boom attracted masses of Southern Black farmers to war jobs in the Northern industrial cities.

But, although the Klan again received a boost in the 1930s, when capitalism here entered its most serious economic crisis, it was not well-suited for the fascist role in the 20th-century world and was largely bypassed.



A number of... William... more up-to... models to...

Father C... fascist can... metropolit...

More ri... bands wit... emblems r... headway a...

All thes... War II re... crisis born...

More re... parroting... uniforms, ... understand... are unlikel...

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The LaRouche movement

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Insinuated throughout this extreme right-wing line is the theme of a pro-communist conspiracy that includes major, authoritative, capitalist institutions, as well as

that stock-in-trade scapegoat of fascism in America, the Jews.

The LaRouche movement has begun to recruit a different social type than during its leftist days. The typical LaRouche member is no longer a student-activist type, but is more apt to be a neatly dressed white-collar "yuppie." This reflects the more traditional middle-class layer which is most likely to provide the bulk of a fascist constituency.

The LaRouche movement is also known to have ties with C.I.A.-backed mercenaries who hire themselves out to assist bloody dictatorships in counter-insurgency training. According to recent disclosures, one such self-styled professional butcher runs a LaRouche military training ground. This camp could easily become a school for fascist strikebreakers and union busters when called upon to defend capitalist rule.

The LaRouche movement recently received dramatic national attention when two of its candidates won in the 1986 Illinois Democratic Party primary.

The LaRouche AIDS initiative

More recently, the LaRouche group gathered nearly 700,000 signatures and won a place on the California state ballot for an initiative which would wreak havoc on efforts to contain the AIDS epidemic.

The initiative, if passed, would do nothing to contain the spread of AIDS. It provides for Draconian penalties against the victims and potential victims of this dread infection. It is based on the discredited notion that AIDS is spread like the common cold.

The growth of the LaRouche movement is ominous evidence that layers of the middle class have already begun to look in the direction of a radical right-wing solution to today's problems.

What is the purpose of LaRouche's campaign against AIDS victims?

Obviously, it is an organizing tool for this incipient fascist movement. It has already succeeded in calling attention to itself as a pole of attraction for a future mass "radical" movement by playing up to one of the many backward capitalist prejudices, homophobia.

LaRouche is aided in this by the public's real fear of the spread of this epidemic—which in the U.S. happened to strike gays first. To capitalize on this, LaRouche must spread disinformation intended to create a hysterical witch-hunting atmosphere.

In addition to impeding sensible public-health measures which require a strictly factual education

campaign, the initiative would attack fundamental democratic and human rights. The real target of this attack goes beyond the victims of AIDS.

Like the current campaign for compulsory testing of workers' blood for evidence of drugs in the railroad and other industries, it is ultimately a weapon directed at the working class. Democratic rights today serve the class interests of workers. The current invasions of privacy provide an excuse for the curtailment of rights rather than a solution to social problems.

But the longer-term aim of the AIDS initiative is to put LaRouche in apparent opposition to the mainstream of the ruling class.

The dominant capitalists and their political representatives are supporting the campaign to defeat the initiative. They know that it would irresponsibly endanger the public health—capitalists are not immune to the AIDS virus—and otherwise cause more problems for them than any political advantage they would gain at this time.

If the AIDS initiative wins, LaRouche makes the greatest political gain. But even if it fails, he gains notoriety for his stance in seeming opposition to the political status quo.

The fight against AIDS, the fight against the witchhunting of AIDS victims, and the fight against incipient fascism requires a clear understanding of these related problems.

It is certainly necessary to roll up the largest vote possible against the AIDS initiative. But there must also be a clear educational effort to explain why capitalists or their political representatives cannot be relied upon to fight against fascism or for democratic and human rights.

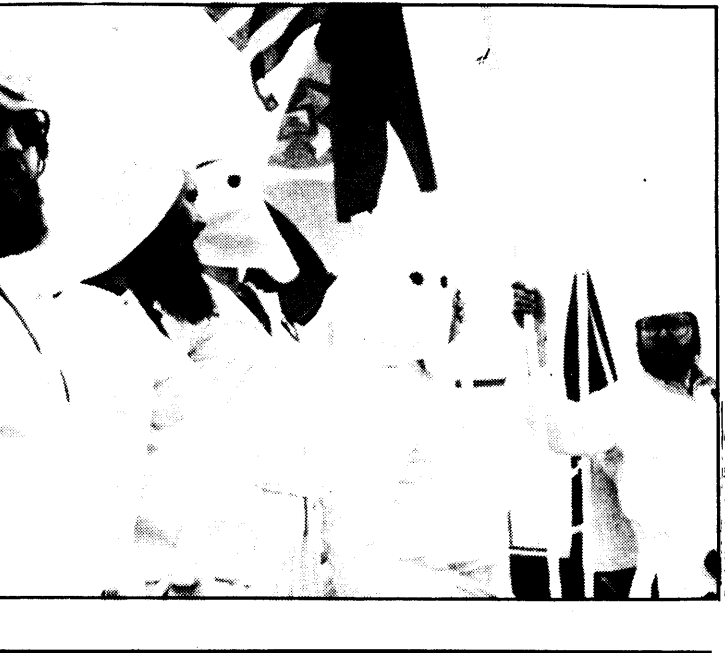
It should not be forgotten that while Hitler was defeated in repeated elections, he won in the streets. Fascism will be cultivated and nourished by the employing class when capitalism is shaken by a rising workers' movement resisting a coming economic crisis.

Fascist thugs will then seek to terrorize workers with physical attacks in the streets and on picket lines. They will be encouraged by the capitalists, who prefer fascist incursions on their rule to a mass workers' movement capable of reorganizing society in the interest of all humanity.

Fascism and its capitalist sponsors will be decisively defeated only in such confrontations. And for that, the lesson of history is painfully evident, the political independence of the working class and a workers' united front will be the only road to victory. ■



American Nazis in San Francisco in 1975. Imitation of German fascism will not be the vehicle for an American fascist movement.



The following are excerpts from the "28 Theses on the American Socialist Revolution and the Building of the Revolutionary Party," a resolution adopted by Socialist Action at its founding convention in October 1983.

The bipartisan character of the ruling class assault against American workers is becoming increasingly clear. But this does not mean that the ruling rich have reached a consensus on how to confront the American and world working class.

Heated debates and divisions have already surfaced over national and international policies. They are likely to increase. It is precisely the inability of the U.S. capitalist class so far to defeat the working class at home and abroad which is at the root of these divisions.

This is not the 1930s, where the severe economic depression was accompanied by the crushing defeats of the world working class in Italy, Germany, France, and Spain—resulting from the betrayals of the reformist

leaderships within the labor movement.

The U.S. ruling class under Reagan has moved forward on an increasingly reactionary course. But it is doing so in the context of an increasingly deteriorating situation for U.S. imperialism.

To achieve any long-term solution to its crisis, it must destroy the unions, effectively abolish democratic rights, and change the forms and institutions of class rule toward totalitarianism and fascism. It must also change the relationship of class forces on a world scale in favor of imperialism.

But this is not on the order of the day. On the contrary, the advance of the world revolution and the resulting crisis of reformism mean that the balance of forces is shifting to the disadvantage of imperialism. This will inevitably lead to major confrontations between the two contending social classes—both at home and abroad—and to explosive situations in the period ahead. ■

Can fascism arise in the U.S.?



in Italy, and in September 1920 it resulted in the seizure of factories and industries by the workers.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat [the establishment of a new state based on the democratic organizations of the workers and their allies] was an actual fact; all that was lacking was to organize it and to draw from it all the necessary conclusions. The social democracy took fright and sprang back.

"After its bold and heroic exertions, the proletariat was left facing the void. The disruption of the revolutionary movement became the most important factor in the growth of fascism.

"In September, the revolutionary advance came to a standstill; and November already witnessed the first major demonstration of the fascists [the seizure of Bologna]." ("Fascism, What It Is and How to Fight It.")

In Italy, the anti-capitalist demagoguery of Mussolini was directed at the banks associated with imperialism, primarily the British banks. Exempted from the fascist "anti-capitalist" rhetoric were the Italian "national" capitalists.

Fascism in Germany

In Germany, Hitler's anti-capitalist "revolution" was similarly focussed on imperialist banking interests, zeroing in on German capitalists who happened to be Jewish. At the same time, "national, patriotic" capitalists were portrayed as good guys.

The fascists erected a fantastic conspiracy theory in which international capitalism and communism were the cause of the people's misery since both had ganged up to further exploit and oppress the suffering masses.

Hitler, adding an anti-Semitic component to fascism in Germany, was able to divert the ire of the ruined middle class away from capitalism, the real cause of its misery, and vent it upon the local Jewish storekeeper, Jews in general, and the labor unions.

It is important to reemphasize, however, that the capitalist class does not play its fascist card until its back is up against the wall. It opens the door to the fascists only after an economic crisis has ignited a mass revolutionary workers' upsurge, and continued capitalist rule is at stake.

The boss class knows that a mass fascist movement cannot be built in periods of relative stability, when a majority of the people support the status quo, even with heavy infusions of money and other forms of support.

But capitalists tend to give discreet support to incipient fascist movements after signs appear that the economic system may be on the verge of a major breakdown. They also withdraw such support when capitalism restabilizes and the crisis doesn't materialize.

Farmers in the United States today are being ruined by the collapse of agricultural prices. Prices in the supermarkets stay high but farmers are unable to earn enough to pay their bills and are being foreclosed in increasing numbers.

A polarization is taking place among these natural allies of the working class, with the great majority looking to the workers for aid and assistance and a minority receptive to demagogues like Lyndon LaRouche.

Forms of American fascism

In the United States, a variety of candidates for American fascism have come and gone. The Ku Klux Klan was one of the earliest candidates for this role. It was a leftover from the post-Civil War period.

The Klan was created after capitalism decided to halt and roll back the democratic gains won by Blacks in the Civil War and during the period of Reconstruction. It was used to break up the alliance between poor white and Black farmers forged in this post-war period.

The Klan experienced a big expansion after the World War I economic boom attracted masses of Southern Black farmers to war jobs in the Northern industrial cities.

But, although the Klan again received a boost in the 1930s, when capitalism here entered its most serious economic crisis, it was not well-suited for the fascist role in the 20th-century world and was largely bypassed.

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...Philippine revolution



International Viewpoint (DR)

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labor movement and political prisoners. The same is true for her advocacy of negotiations with the CPP's New People's Army (NPA).

The revolution's goals

Removing Marcos was not the only goal of the Philippine revolution.

The liberation of the Philippine people from foreign political and economic domination was and remains a central aspect of the struggle.

The Marcos dictatorship represented a choice made by the Philippine capitalists to accept the economic development strategy foisted on the country by the World Bank. This included the massive penetration of imperialist capital and the imposition of austerity measures and military rule to guarantee profit.

Today, Aquino's finance minister, Jaime Ongpin, is reluctant to substantially break with this strategy. Breaking with the economic stranglehold of imperialism would require the mobilization of the Philippine masses, placing the Philippine government in direct opposition to the U.S. government.

This struggle, in turn, would set into motion a radical dynamic whose logic would go further than opposition to foreign rule. It is this anti-capitalist dynamic that the native ruling classes fear first and foremost.

Land reform is another key aspect of the struggle. It concerns not only a peasantry crushed by debt, depressed prices, and the encroachment of the multinationals, but also vast numbers of dispossessed farmers who constitute a miserably poor strata in the cities. Agriculture Minister Ramon Mitra, himself a landlord, has been incapable of going beyond the inadequate reform introduced by Marcos.

All of these tasks—political democracy, national liberation, and land reform—have historically been the purview of a "national democratic revolution." In the advanced industrial countries, all were achieved, to one degree or another, in the course of establishing the economic rule of capital.

However, with the advent of the modern imperialist era at the close of the 19th century and the corresponding imposition of capitalist market relations throughout the underdeveloped world, the previous possibilities for balanced growth and social progress were cut off. A dependent capitalism emerged in the former colonial world as imperialism required the subordination of the local bourgeois-landlord classes to a global economic network dominated by the industrialized West.

Due to this warped development, and because the working classes of the semi-colonial countries ultimately pose a greater threat than does foreign capital, even the most "nationalist" factions of the ruling class have been incapable of accomplishing the democratic tasks previously associated with the rise of capitalism.

This job has instead passed onto the workers and poor peasants of the underdeveloped countries, requiring their seizure of state power for a radical transformation of society in the interests of the majority of the population.

Anti-imperialist united front

The resolution of these unfinished democratic tasks in predominantly peasant societies such as the Philippines—where 60 percent of the population lives in rural districts—requires the creation of a strong worker-peasant alliance.

The loss of capitalism's original progressive dynamic was emphasized by the Communist International of

Lenin and Trotsky in its early conferences. "The long-drawn-out struggle with world imperialism...will demand the mobilization of all revolutionary elements. This is made all the more necessary by the tendency of the indigenous ruling classes to make compromises with foreign capital directed against the fundamental interests of the mass of the people.

"Just as in the West the slogan of the workers' united front has helped and is helping to expose the social democrats' sell-out of proletarian interests, so the slogan of an anti-imperialist united front will help to expose the vacillations of the various bourgeois-nationalist groups [and] help the working masses to develop their revolutionary will and to increase their class



Members of New People's Army (NPA). Aquino, despite talk of cease-fire, has continued to wage war against the insurgents.

consciousness..." ("Theses, Resolutions and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Communist International," *Inklings*, p. 415)

The tactic of the anti-imperialist united front and its relation to solving the democratic tasks of the revolution was distorted in the wake of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Communist movement under Stalin in the 1920s. It was transformed from a tactic designed to mobilize the masses in their own class interest, to a strategy to subjugate the masses in favor of a programmatic alliance with the so-called anti-imperialist bourgeoisie.

The actual experience of the Soviet Union showed it was possible to achieve a thorough-going land reform and other national-democratic tasks only through a socialist revolution under a workers' government supported by the peasantry. This required a decisive break with capitalism, including its "liberal" variants.

But the Stalinist regime, which aimed to curb revolutionary struggles in favor of "peaceful coexistence"

with world capitalism, mechanically assigned the democratic tasks to a distinct capitalist stage of the revolution that would precede the "socialist stage."

Under this scheme, the national-democratic revolution was to be led by a "people's front" coalition, which included the capitalist class. Keeping the bourgeoisie in the alliance required the soft-pedaling of worker and peasant demands whose logic challenges the capitalist system.

Rather than a tactic for discrediting the bourgeoisie, the Stalinist version of the anti-imperialist united front became a noose which subordinated the mass movement to the interests of the capitalist class, resulting in no revolution whatsoever.

Today the Philippine workers' movement confronts a popularly supported capitalist government. But isolation under these circumstances is not new.

After the February 1917 revolution in Russia, the Bolsheviks were marginalized by the accession to power of the widely supported Provisional Government. This government defended capitalist interests and the continued Russian participation in World War I. As in the Philippines, it rode to power on the coattails of a mass mobilization of workers, soldiers, and peasants.

Under the pressure of events, the Bolsheviks flirted with giving backhanded support to the new "democratic republic," a tendency halted only after Lenin led a fierce struggle to win the party to his "April Theses." Lenin demanded that the party strive to put an end to the capitalist regime and that it give leadership to the fight for a workers' government.

Had it not been for Lenin's struggle to reorient the Bolshevik party, the socialist October Revolution in Russia would not have occurred or, at best, would have been delayed.

Problems of the boycott

Given the inability of the workers' movement to pose a political alternative representing the fundamental interests of the Philippine workers and farmers, the vacuum was filled by Cory Aquino.

A call for an electoral boycott is a statement that the cards are so stacked against you that participation only gives credence to a rigged game. The success of any boycott is measured by the degree to which the electorate accepts this premise and abstains from voting.

The February boycott was a failure not because there was no fraud, but because the people believed their intervention could force a change in Marcos' script.

The "February revolution" itself arose out of the concentrated indignation resulting from Marcos' attempt to steal the election, a situation aided by Aquino's being the dictator's only opponent. Yet to suggest, as the CPP and others have done, that this justified a vote for Aquino ignores the very nature of elections for public office.

Not simply a public opinion poll, elections pose the issue of which class interests will be represented by the government. In the Philippines, consideration of the merits of a united front *against* the dictator for the purpose of boycotting fraudulent elections is one thing. It is quite another when this cross-class unity is expressed *in favor* of the candidate of the capitalist class. Such collaboration with the oppressor class makes the construction of an independent movement of the workers and peasants impossible.

Aquino's inability to represent the interests of the working people was underscored by her agreement to run under the banner of Salvador Laurel's conservative UNIDO party. The price for electoral unity was to play down the U.S. presence and the need for land reform.

BAYAN called a boycott only after Aquino refused to endorse a series of demands. But by this time, it was too late to request ballot status. Believing that only armed struggle could topple the dictator, leaders of the 2-million-member organization professed that the elections would be merely a "noisy game."

But BAYAN's hesitation to call for an alternative to Aquino also stemmed from its failure to recognize the importance of politically organizing the workers and farmers independently of the pro-capitalist electoral bloc.

If the mass organizations had explored the possibility of running a trade union or farmworkers' leader early on, they could have avoided leaving the field entirely to the capitalist opposition. The potential base for such an independent campaign was certainly present, given the millions who adhere to the trade union, farmers', and poor people's community groups.

A mass-action-oriented electoral campaign would have called for closing the U.S. bases, repudiating the foreign debt, genuine land reform, an elected constituent assembly, and other demands of the workers and farmers for democracy and social change.

The masses could have been mobilized in rallies, marches, petition campaigns, and other tactics around the fight for a place on the ballot. The refusal of ballot status under these conditions, when the masses were mobilized, would have then provided the basis for an active boycott.

CPP's armed-struggle strategy

The CPP's approach to the boycott stemmed from a view that elevates the role of rural armed struggle over

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that of urban mobilization. Thus, even after the February election, the CPP could write that "armed struggle is the principal form of struggle in overthrowing reactionary and fascist rule." (*Ang Bayan*, March 1986)

The CPP-influenced left believed that the Marcos dictatorship could only fall through armed revolution. Hence, elections could only be a diversion. The real showdown, according to the CPP, would come in three to five years when the New People's Army (NPA) had accumulated sufficient forces to launch the "strategic offensive."

As much as the workers and urban poor might sympathize with the NPA, they retain illusions in the ability of the Aquino regime to grant reforms. Their fight for everyday survival precludes rural guerrilla



Photo/Jeanne-Marie Halley

warfare as a viable course for them at this time at least. The formation and consolidation of their revolutionary movement will begin with independent mobilizations in their own workplaces and communities around their own demands.

While maintaining a defensive posture and refusing to surrender its arms, the CPP has nonetheless agreed to negotiations regarding its inclusion in the Aquino-Laurel-Enrile government as a key item to be discussed in cease-fire talks. This again reveals the CPP's mistaken confidence in the liberal wing of the capitalist class.

Only muted criticism has thus far been directed by the CPP toward the "progressive" Aquino wing of the government. The CPP's focus is to denounce those who are blocking the president's moves to "dismantle fascist rule."

The CPP did not criticize Aquino's call for an appointed, rather than elected, body to draft a new constitution—thus allowing the Marcos forces to demagogically raise the slogan of "democratic elections."

Every reform that the Aquino government undertakes under pressure of the mass movement—such as the freeing of political prisoners, restoring the writ of habeas corpus, and removing some Marcos-appointed officials—should be welcomed.

But this hardly warrants any political confidence in the ability of the liberal wing of the government to solve the ongoing problems of the Philippine people. And where the government already enjoys wide support, building an alternative political pole becomes all the more critical.

Today's tasks

Though the dictator is gone, the key structures and institutions of oppressive rule still remain. The continuing struggle for political democracy can be advanced not only by supporting the abolition of martial law institutions and the removal of Marcos appointees from the government, but also by calling for elections to local offices and to a constituent assembly.

Aquino says that elections would be too expensive. This is an excuse to hide the central government's shaky hold on the provinces, barely touched by the "February revolution" and where the mass organizations retain broad influence.

The call for land reform retains its urgency and can be coupled with demands by agricultural workers—particularly in the depressed sugar industry—for jobs and decent wages, and workers' control to safeguard these gains.

Given the weight of the multinational corporations in the plantation economy and agribusiness, and the domination of the peasant economy by the imperialist-controlled world market, such demands are directly linked to the struggle for national liberation.

The main symbols of the Philippine government's

subordination to imperialism are the \$26-billion national debt and the presence of U.S. military bases. Repudiation of the debt and the expulsion of the bases are central demands and can be tied to calls for the nationalization of foreign enterprises under workers' control.

The pressing need for jobs, housing, and medical care throughout the country links farmers and the urban poor with a workers' movement struggling to maintain its living standards and working conditions. And as the most concentrated social force in society, the workers in city and plantation can become the social axis for all of these movements.

But these and other demands must be concretized in a strategic focus, in the call for true people's power, a government of workers and farmers—without bosses, rich landowners, and generals.

The prospects for such a campaign are good. The May issue of *Ang Bayan* reports that twice as many workers went out on strike in the first four months of 1986 as in the same period in 1985. This indicates not only demands pent up by over a decade of dictatorship, but more important, widespread confidence born of the mass mobilizations that overthrew the Marcos dictatorship.

Marcos rebels granted pardon

The Aquino government has failed to seriously purge the government and army. Aquino's handling of the July 6-8 coup attempt by Marcos' vice-presidential running mate, Arturo Tolentino, should forever eliminate any doubts as to the class nature of her government. The pro-Marcos rebels were greeted by Aquino's representative, Defense Minister Enrile, with handshakes and pardons.

After the rebels surrendered, Gen. Jose Maria Zumel, a military leader loyal to Aquino, was quoted by the July 8, 1986, *New York Times* from a radio interview

Interview with Filipino peasant leader

Maria Rosario Felizco is a leader of the Central Luzon Farmers Union in the Philippines. Last year, she participated in the formation of the national union of small farmers and agricultural workers, the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP).

The following are excerpts of an interview with Felizco that first appeared in Internationalen, the newspaper of the Swedish section of the Fourth International. The interview was translated and edited by International Viewpoint.

Maria Rosario Felizco: For the majority of the people, democratizing the Philippines means recognizing their just demand for land.

But Cory has been very quiet about this question. Before the election, she talked most about the peasants getting better credits. Credits aren't much use when you don't have land to cultivate.

The poor peasants and agricultural workers have so far not seen any sign of change since Marcos' fall. It is the military that is most responsible for this. The power of the military is still very great in the rural areas.

The landless peasants, who make up two-thirds of all the people on the land, cannot be sceptical about the new government when they see how influential the big landowners are in it. They don't believe that they will get any land, and rightly so, because the landowners have always blocked every attempt at land reform in the Philippines.

But the land question is the problem that overshadows everything in the countryside. Those who have no land live as laborers or tenants. Either they pay up to 60 percent of the harvest to those who own the land they work, or they rent land and pay 25 percent of their incomes to the landowners, but then they have to pay all the expenses themselves.

In both cases this is exploitation because the landowner gets an income without working which is larger than the portion that the families who work the land can keep.

All the other problems in agriculture have to do with the fact that many people have no land. Since the poor farmers have nothing left after they have paid their rent and production costs, they are driven into the moneylender's net. Since few farmers own capital, the moneylenders can take from 20 percent to 400 percent on loans.

By law, of course, it is forbidden to take more than 12-percent interest. But all too often, the local government representatives, moneylenders, and landowners are the same people. Even for state loans, you can pay up to 45 percent.

What makes the situation worse is that more and more land is being taken from the poorest farmers, most swallowed by the plantations of multinational companies.

According to the law, no foreign firm is supposed to own more than 1000 hectares of land. But Dole owns 30,000 hectares. Del Monte owns 24,000 hectares, and so on.

They force the small farmers off land already under

broadcast in the Philippines: "We are appealing to citizens to unite so that we can fight communism together."

For the moment, the capitalists have decided to rely on the moral authority of the Aquino government to mollify the anger of the masses. But as the government's reform image wears thin, the capitalists will turn to increased repression to defeat the mass movement.

Over 1000 people have already died in skirmishes with Aquino's army. The Task Force Detainees defense organization reports that nearly 500 political prisoners remain in provincial jails.

With an independent orientation, the mass movement of workers, farmers, and urban poor can once again seize the initiative. As Agriculture Minister Ramon Mitra admitted, the regime "will enjoy a honeymoon, maybe another six months. But within that time we'll have to deliver or else people will be out on the streets again." (*San Francisco Examiner*, March 3, 1986)

A successful movement to achieve the unsatisfied demands of the "February revolution" requires a firm resolve to maintain its independence from any section of the ruling class.

First and foremost, this process necessitates the building of a revolutionary socialist party which strives to strengthen the struggles of the workers and farmers and helps give them an independent expression at every juncture.

As the masses become conscious of their own power and confident that their own mass organizations constitute the basis for democratic rule, the socialist revolution will be posed in the Philippines. The oppressive rule of the tiny minority will be challenged by an organized people ready to rule in their own name. ■



Photo/Jeanne-Marie Halley

Peasant woman: Aquino army killed her husband.

cultivation because there is no longer any "fallow land" to take.

Those left without land have no choice but to go look for work on the plantations.

The minimum wage is 39 pesos, two dollars a day, and it is estimated that the minimum for supporting a family is 110 pesos. So, even two incomes are not enough to sustain a family, and the children usually work—especially on the sugar plantations.

A child can be paid as little as eight pesos a day. So the plantation owners prefer child workers.

Internationalen: The KMP calls for distributing the land free of charge.

Felizco: The poor have already paid for their land many times over by their rents or their starvation wages.

Agriculture can only develop if the farmers own the land and control production. And it is only by working together that the small farmers can improve production and market their products without being cheated.

Internationalen: But no land reform is in sight.

Felizco: Last year, something called the "balanced agricultural development strategy" was launched. It was backed by the World Bank. The proposal was that the Philippines should rely on its agricultural resources for development. In the rulers' version, this meant that foreign investment should be increased in agriculture—with the result that more land would be taken from the poor peasants and become plantations.

We protested strongly against this idea. Now Ongpin is proposing a development strategy that in principle is the same. Nothing has changed. We were dumbfounded. But really, we should not have been so surprised. Ongpin himself is a big businessperson. The same, more or less, goes for Cory Aquino, whose family owns 6,000 hectares in sugar plantations.

We know that a strongly organized movement is the only power we have when we deal with the authorities. And if there is going to be any real change, it is going to have to come from us ourselves.

It is going to take time to win. Millions of poor people have yet to be organized. But we are on the right road and we have already come quite a way. ■

U.S. double-think exposed at World Court hearing

By HAYDEN PERRY

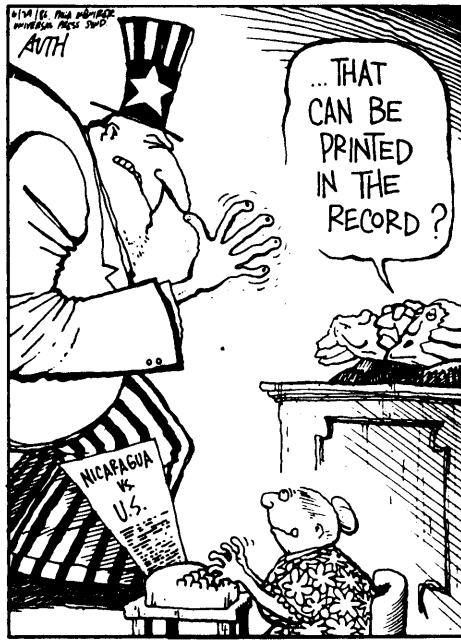
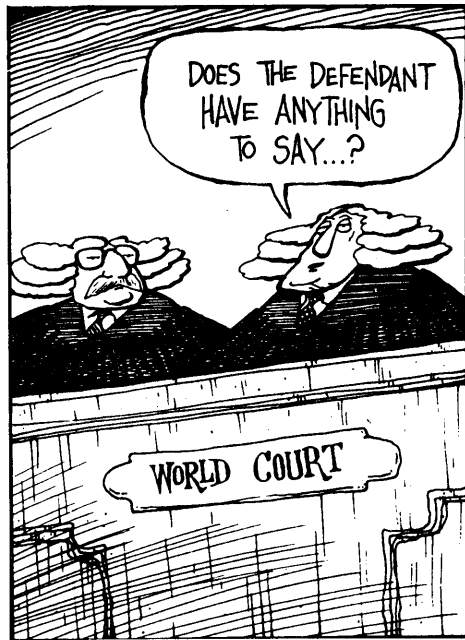
The U.S. government has been tried in absentia and found guilty. On June 27, the International Court of Justice (World Court) ruled the United States was violating international law by a series of acts of aggression against Nicaragua.

The Court listed specific acts—such as supporting the contras, mining Nicaraguan harbors, and publishing a manual of terrorist techniques—as a breach of the obligations under international law not to intervene in the affairs of another state.

The Court declared that the United States must immediately cease and refrain from all such acts. Furthermore, the United States is under obligation to make financial reparations.

The Reagan administration did not deny the charges, nor did it attempt to justify its actions. It said, in effect, it was none of the World Court's business what the United States was doing to Nicaragua. Of course this blunt rejection was couched in the softer language of diplomacy and international legalese.

The U.S. government assembled a battery of eminent jurists to scour the international law books for precedents and technicalities. Straining logic, U.S. jurists argued that Nicaragua had appealed to the United Nations for help, so it could not go to the World Court as well. They also maintained that when one party to a dispute



objects, the World Court loses all power of adjudication.

Finally, the lawyers for the United States threw a last desperate argument. They claimed that "adjudication is inappropriate and would be extremely prejudicial to the existing dispute settlement process." The role of murder and pillage by the contras in the "settlement process" was not mentioned. Nor did Reagan's lawyers mention an earlier appearance of the United

States before the World Court.

At the time of the hostage crisis with Iran in 1979, the United States gave a completely opposite point of view. Despite Iran's decision to boycott the World Court, President Carter's lawyers cited chapter and verse to convince the Court that it should hear the case.

Does the World Court have jurisdiction? Yes, of course, the Americans argued. In fact, "it is not necessary for a state

requesting such measures to establish conclusively that the Court has jurisdiction."

They then made their case even stronger, arguing, "The Court's jurisdiction is obligatory where the parties have not resorted to other means of settlement."

What about the United Nations having prior jurisdiction? Carter's lawyers argued, "The fact that one of the political organs of the United Nations is dealing with a particular dispute does not militate against the Court's taking action on those aspects of the same dispute which fall within its jurisdiction."

Finally, the Americans assumed a lofty moral tone. Even if Iran had reservations about the Court's jurisdiction, they argued, "There is no reason why, if Iran had any defense to make in this proceeding, it should not have appeared here to make it."

This argument, presented in 1979, did not impel the Reagan administration to appear with its defense against Nicaragua's charges in 1986. And the World Court had no power to force its appearance.

The World Court is impotent because the major powers want it that way. When they set up the second World Court in 1946 (the first one died in 1945 with the League of Nations), the major states excused themselves from its compulsory jurisdiction. They also denied the Court any power to enforce its verdicts. No major power today is ready to yield sovereignty to a world government.

While the verdict cannot be enforced, the World Court's ruling has given a moral victory to Nicaragua. The U.S. government's aggression is recorded for all the world to see. The decision has given one more tool to the antiwar movement in its campaign to reverse the U.S. government's criminal policies.

... U.S. war on Nicaragua

(continued from page 1)

several others. The CIA is estimated to be supplying \$400 million a year to the contras "off the record" through some "creative bookkeeping." Congress also voted to grant \$300 million to Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador through the government's Agency for International Development (AID).

In addition, it is estimated that \$100 million has already been spent financing military exercises in Honduras involving over 40,000 U.S. troops in mock invasions of Nicaragua. The United States maintains an extensive military network inside Honduras of nine airfields, two radar stations, roads, tank traps, fuel-storage areas, air-intelligence installations, and facilities for the rotating corps of 1200 U.S. troops.

Hysteria and slanders

So, the financial commitment of the government to overthrowing the Sandinista government is enormous. But military actions are not enough. The U.S. government has fueled a propaganda war to undermine the popular image and broad support for the goals of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

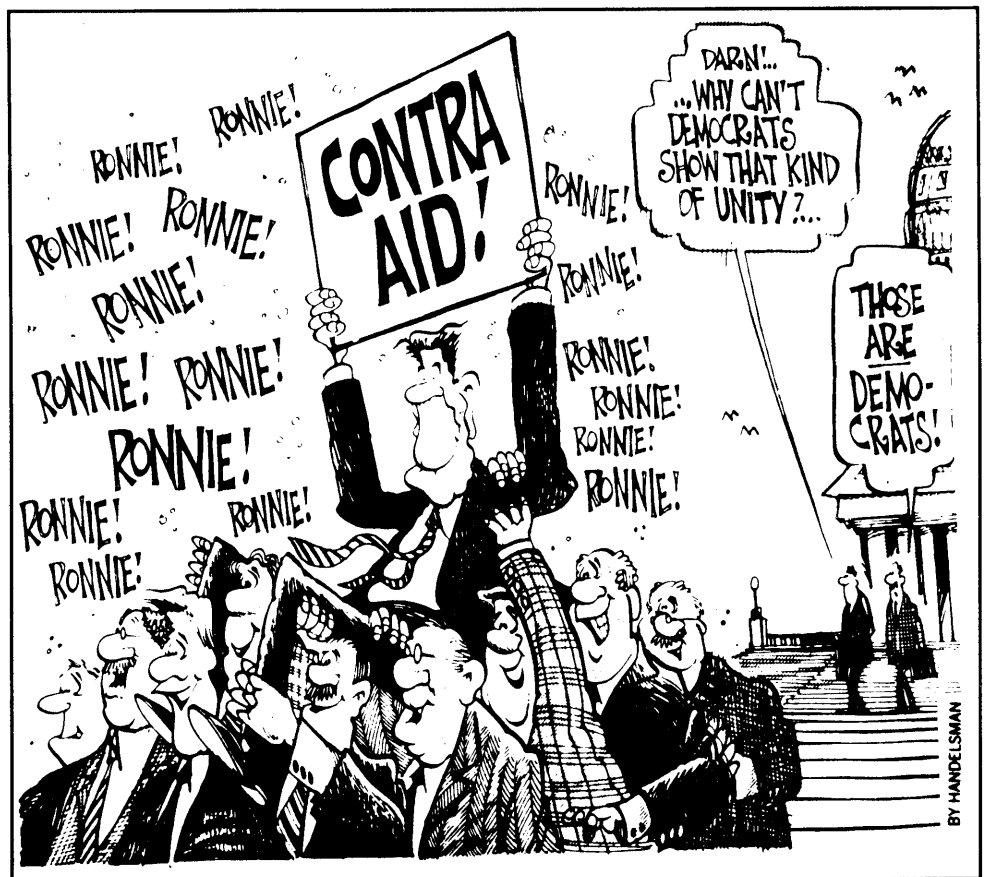
Whereas *The New York Times* had

previously urged Reagan to go slow in granting more contra aid, recently its lead editorial screamed about "The Sandinista Road to Stalinism." As the U.S. war machine gears up, other "liberals" will undoubtedly oppose Nicaraguan defense efforts.

President Daniel Ortega called the U.S. House-approved contra aid vote a virtual declaration of war against Nicaragua. In response to the increased destabilization campaign, the Nicaraguan government moved to restrain some of the most vocal pro-contra organizers in the country. *La Prensa* newspaper was closed down, Father Bismarck Carballo was denied re-entry, and Bishop Pablo Antonio Vega was expelled from the country.

On July 15, 1986, *La Voz De Nicaragua* reported that Bishop Vega had openly embraced contra leaders, urging them to act "with decision and bravery." *The New York Times* noted that Vega met with contra chief Adolfo Calero and later quoted Vega as saying that if Nicaragua is invaded it would have been provoked "by the invasion the other side [Soviet Union and Cuba] is carrying out."

Similarly, Father Carballo reportedly campaigned openly for contra aid during his



visit to the United States before he was denied re-entry into Nicaragua.

Aside from calling for dialogue and appeasement with the contras, *La Prensa* has often published false reports. Its fabricated stories were not only designed to inflame the population, but to actually begin to organize them into specific destabilization actions.

For example, it once completely invented a story that there was a sugar shortage. This led to a flurry of hoarding which, indeed, did create a shortage and a minor panic inside the country.

Join fall antiwar protests

Despite all this, the contras have failed to gain a popular base inside Nicaragua. Instead, the politically weak, exiled former rulers have had to function through the official church under Miguel Cardinal Obando y Bravo, *La Prensa*, opposition bourgeois political parties, and small AFL-CIO-sponsored unions such as the 2000-member Confederation of Trade Union Unification (CUS).

None of these internal instruments of the contras have been sufficient to counter the mobilized power of the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, who remain committed to carrying out the social revolution.

The determination of the people of Nicaragua to resist U.S. aggression must be matched by the mobilization of the American people. Polls indicate opposition to contra aid is running at two to one.

But the politicians in this country neither represent the interests nor the sentiments of the American people. None of the Democratic or Republican party politicians can be relied upon to stop the escalating "Cold War" scenario so reminiscent of the Vietnam era.

Just as we did to end the Vietnam war, we must appeal directly to the American people to help us build a massive movement capable of thwarting the plans of the warmakers in Washington. We urge our readers to join in demonstrations, rallies, and picketlines organized this fall to protest contra aid and U.S. intervention.—The Editors

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IMF decrees more austerity for Mexican workers

By HECTOR TOBAR

When the name of Mexican President Miguel De La Madrid was announced on the public loudspeaker at the opening ceremonies of the World Cup Soccer Tournament, the crowd of more than 110,000 people began booing.

The crowd's whistling and jeering lasted eight minutes. When his name was announced a few minutes later, the jeering began again. The noise was deafening. When the president returned to the same stadium a few days later to attend the opening game of the Mexican national team, his presence was not announced to the crowd.

This was only the most dramatic and publicized expression of mass discontent with the government and its inability to resolve the country's worst economic crisis of this century. Inflation reached 25 percent in the month of April alone. The price of oil, the country's leading export, has fallen 50 percent this year.

In the last three years the peso has lost approximately 75 percent of its value in relation to the dollar. There is concern among U.S. and international officials that Mexico may stop making interest payments on its \$98-billion debt unless it can borrow billions of dollars more from official sources such as the International Monetary Fund. On July 22 the World Bank and the International Bank For Development agreed to lend Mexico another \$3.6 billion.

The government's response to the crisis has been to cut back subsidies on basic foodstuffs and to sell or close several state-owned enterprises. It recently closed one of the country's largest steel mills, putting 14,000 men and women out of work.

Like every economic crisis, the recession in Mexico is an assault on the standard of living of the working and peasant classes. Wages have plummeted, following a 15-year pattern. The average worker today earns 30 percent less in real wages than in 1970.

Growing militancy

One result of the crisis has been a growing militancy on the part of the working class.

On May Day, the powerful Mexican Union of Electricians broke with a longstanding tradition and marched twice, first in the official demonstration in the Zocalo, and then with the independent unions to the Monument of the Revolution.

In March, 25,000 striking teachers marched from Oaxaca in southern Mexico to Mexico City, protesting the control of their union by the pro-government labor bureaucracy.

The left-wing magazine "Proceso" referred to the month-long World Cup



soccer tournament as a "truce," an excellent opportunity to cool some of the social tensions caused by the economic crisis. Soccer is Mexico's national sport and is followed passionately by millions of fans. The government and the mass media urged all Mexicans to unite behind their national team in its quest for the world championship.

In the weeks prior to the World Cup, however, various community organizations protested the diversion of government funds from the reconstruction of housing destroyed by the earthquake of last September to preparation for the tournament.

In Ciudad Nezahuacoytl, a sprawling slum on the outskirts of the capital city that has been neglected by the government for more than 20 years, the government paved streets, installed drinking water, sewers, and public telephones in 20 blocks surrounding the "Neza 86" stadium—site of various World Cup games. But it continued to allow the rest of the area to remain under the same substandard conditions.

Despite its faithful payment of debt interest and its implementation of a rigorous austerity plan, the ruling party in Mexico, the Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI), has also come under attack from the conservative, pro-business right—both in the United States and Mexico.

PAN claims fraud

Supporters of the conservative National Action Party (PAN), in the northern border state of Chihuahua, accused the PRI of electoral fraud. The PRI was declared the winner in 65 out of 67 elections for mayor in the state and a landslide winner in the election for governor.

The PAN has responded by organizing mass demonstrations and protests throughout the state. Five thousand PANistas blocked traffic for two hours on the Pan American Highway in Ciudad Juarez. Several operators of "maquiladoras," U.S.-built assembly plants that employ Mexican labor at sub-minimum wages, shut down their factories for brief periods.

These attacks by the "ultra-right" are evidence of a growing split in ruling circles about the nature of Mexico's political

system and its response to the economic crisis.

The PRI has brought political stability to Mexico for 40 years by developing a monolithic party-state apparatus in which labor unions, peasant organizations, and even business groups are controlled by the

government. Such a system is authoritarian and corrupt by its very nature. Favoritism, nepotism, and the use of political power for personal gain are common.

The PAN and its allies feel that this system is outdated and in need of change. Their agenda includes a vast streamlining of the state bureaucracy as well as a closer alliance with the United States in both foreign and domestic matters.

Fear losing control

There are limits, however, to how far the ultra-right is willing to go to achieve its agenda. Traditions of working-class and peasant militancy are strong in Mexico, and any mass mobilization can easily escape the ability of capitalist politicians to contain it.

Even in Chihuahua, where the PAN has relatively strong support, the right is exercising caution. A plan to involve 80,000 "maquiladora" workers in a protest against the government was dismissed by the factory owners as potentially dangerous. An owner of a "maquiladora" told the *San Francisco Examiner* that the idea didn't make sense from the PAN's pro-business perspective.

The PRI has also come under attack from abroad. In May, a U.S. Senate Foreign Relations sub-committee began hearings on drug trafficking and corruption in Mexico. Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America Elliot Abrams testified that the U.S. government is "deeply troubled by widespread drug-related corruption."

In response to the U.S. Senate hearings, the Mexican government organized a march "in defense of national sovereignty" that was attended by 65,000 people in Mexico City.

Some, but not all, major left parties boycotted the demonstration. The Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), which recently elected seven members to parliament, called the demonstration "a false anti-imperialist struggle." In a statement released after the march, it said, "We believe that supporting the Mexican government is at present the worst manner in which to oppose imperialism."

The PRT and other left parties call for concrete actions in defense of Mexico's economic and political sovereignty. The most important of these demands is a call for a suspension of payments on the foreign debt.

... S. Africa

(continued from page 1)

miners had joined the strike action. Workers at eight chemical plants also went on strike for the release of their union leaders.

The strike actions reached a high point on July 14. Hundreds of thousands of Black trade unionists and students responded to a joint call by COSATU and student groups for a nationwide "day of action" against the state of emergency.

The students were demanding an end to government measures designed to bar student "radicals" from attending classes. The recent announcement that Black students will be required to carry special identity cards was greeted with derision. "If they want to give us identity cards, we will burn them before the eyes of the system," one student told reporters.

The work stoppages were strongest in the industrial districts of the Eastern Cape, where about 90 percent of the Black workforce stayed off the job. The General Motors assembly plant in Port Elizabeth was shut down for two days.

Participation remained relatively weak in many industrial districts of the Transvaal and the Western Cape and in the mines, however. The movement's ability to organize has been set back—however temporarily—by the new emergency measures. The state of emergency gives Pretoria a short breathing space while the Black movement strives to rebuild its organization.

Reagan opposes sanctions

In trying to buy time, the South African regime has been encouraged by the refusal of President Reagan and British Prime

Minister Margaret Thatcher to call strong economic and diplomatic sanctions. COSATU has called the United States and Britain "the strongest allies of this intransigent government."

The South African racists offered special praise for President Reagan's warmed-over "constructive engagement" speech of July 22. Reagan cited everyone from Prime Minister Thatcher to "the teachings of the Gospels" to justify his refusal to mandate punitive sanctions.

"The South African government has a right and responsibility to maintain order in the face of terrorists," Reagan emphasized, thus echoing the same arguments that the apartheid regime uses to explain its state-of-emergency decree.

Most members of Congress—mindful of public opinion in an election year—felt it necessary to immediately distance themselves from Reagan's speech. Nevertheless, none of the proposals up for debate in Congress call for *full* punitive sanctions—which would include a halt to imports of South African minerals used in the U.S. armaments industry.

Anti-apartheid activists in this country should have no confidence in the ability of Democratic and Republican politicians to substantially alter U.S. policy. The method that Black people are using in South Africa—mass protest—is the same that must be used in this country to achieve change.

The labor movement, Black organizations, and student groups must take the lead in building an authoritative nationwide coalition that can call massive protests in the fall. On June 12, close to 100,000 people marched against apartheid in New York. On June 28, some 250,000 marched in London. These demonstrations point the way forward.

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Alice Peurala: Fighter for labor's rank and file

Socialist Action is proud to salute the memory of Alice Peurala, the first woman president of a United Steelworkers of America basic steel union local in the United States. Disagreements with some of Alice's political views never diminished the great esteem and respect we had for her.

In one of the last interviews granted by Alice, which appeared in the May 1986 issue of Socialist Action, she summarized her view of the problems faced by workers today.

"We need to take a stand," she said, "that workers won't take any cuts in the benefits they've struggled 50 years to win. Now, the union's stand is to compromise. It's been proven this won't save jobs and prevent shutdowns. We need to turn this around."

The following is a contribution from one of our readers who was a close personal friend and co-worker of Alice's.—The Editors

By CAROLYN JASIN

Alice Peurala, an unrelenting union fighter for the working class died of cancer, in her home, on June 19, 1986. She was 58 years old.

Alice made union history when elected president of United Steelworkers of America, Local 65, in 1979. She was the only woman president of a basic steel production and maintenance local union in the international.

After her victory, in answer to an interviewer's question asking if being a woman helped her campaign, she remarked, "No, I don't think it had much to do with it. There are 7000 men in the plant (U.S. Steel Corp., South Works) and 500 women. I won because people know I'm a fighter."

At that time Local 65 was part of the 130,000-member District 31 covering Chicago/Gary. It represented the largest concentration of steelworkers in the United States and Canada.

In the 1970s, steel mills in this area were swept in a wave of reform led by Ed Sadlowski (also a past president of Local 65). This resulted in an unsuccessful 1977 challenge for U.S.W.A. International President. Sadlowski's Fight Back slate campaigned for membership control of all union affairs. This way members could combat the union leadership's collaboration with the bosses.

Alice was hired in the mill in 1953. She was always active in union politics, supporting I.B. Abel against the "tuxedo unionism" of David McDonald in 1965.

While she was working in the metallurgical department as an observer, U.S. Steel denied Alice a promotion which would have enabled her to work a steady day shift with weekends off. As a single mother of a daughter, Alice needed a day shift. Instead, U.S. Steel promoted the men Alice had trained. Alice, without union support, filed a sex-discrimination suit in Federal Court under the Civil Rights Act



against U.S. Steel. She won an out-of-court settlement in 1969.

In her new position as products tester, Alice had to cover the entire 15-city block mill. Her plant-wide activity for militant unionism developed into a caucus, "Steelworkers for Change." She ran for recording secretary in 1970 and grievor in 1973. She was elected a division grievor in 1976 and was repeatedly elected delegate to the union's International convention.

Alice was an outstanding fighter, defending what she believed in with a driving dynamism unequaled by most humans. An example of her determination to confront U.S. Steel was when she had to oppose two other candidates for the 1979

presidency. One of them was John Chico, the incumbent who was endorsed by Sadlowski.

Her upset victory in that election, however, was not shared by her running mates on the Steelworkers for Change ticket. Once elected, Alice withstood unrelenting pressures from her opponents on the executive board to discredit her.

During the Iranian revolt against the Shah of Iran and U.S. interference in Iranian politics, opposition members falsely circulated a mill rumor claiming Alice had authorized \$10,000 from the union treasury to be given to the Khomeini regime. They called a special membership meeting to denounce Alice when she was out of town. A lynch-mob atmosphere permeated the union hall. The membership rescinded a previously endorsed civil liberties resolution defending Iranian nationals in this country.

Alice was an inspiration to women in the mills. This was evident by a standing ovation and chants of "Alice, Alice" in tribute to her at a U.S.W.A. Chicago/Gary Women's Conference. Women were so proud of her.

Alice established union committees that were open to all, promoting union democracy at all levels in the union.

Alice courageously spoke and organized for many social and political causes in contrast to the craven conduct of union officers who subordinate their careers to AFL-CIO treachery.

During Peurala's re-election bid, massive layoffs started hitting the steel mills,

throwing thousands out of work. Plant closings became a common occurrence.

In this election, her opponent blasted Alice in a leaflet saying, "We've done all the marching that we're going to do for you Alice. We intend to spend 100 percent of our time in the office right here at South Works representing local 65."

Further, her opposition accused her of "being concerned only with herself—getting her photograph in the newspapers and her image on TV. In short, she's nothing but a media junkie!" Alice, running on a Fight Back slate to combat contract concessions, narrowly lost the election.

In 1985 Alice was vindicated by the steelworkers in her mill. While recuperating from a mastectomy, she campaigned again to be Local 65 president and was resoundingly elected to that position.

With unbelievable personal fortitude, Alice ran for Chicago/Gary District Director in October 1985. Predictably, she lost that race since it was common knowledge she was undergoing chemotherapy for a recurrence of cancer.

Alice described herself as politically "independent." She endorsed many liberal Democratic Party candidates but, remarkably, maintained her staunch support for the needs of working women and men. Alice was one of the few union leaders who dared to criticize Chicago's Mayor Jane Byrne for betraying her campaign promise of a contract for Chicago firefighters, forcing them to strike.

Mayor Harold Washington attended her wake. The *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Reader*, and *New York Times*, as well as local radio news stations, acknowledged Alice's death. A memorial meeting is scheduled for July 27 at Local 65's hall.

Alice's epitaph reads: "Do not go gentle into that good night, rage, rage against the dying of the light."—Dylan Thomas ■

Athletes drug testing: An attack on right to privacy

By CAROLE SELIGMAN

Sportswriters who speculate about forced drug testing of professional athletes often ignore the fundamentals of the problem. Mandatory drug-testing programs, such as the one recently announced by football Commissioner Pete Rozelle, violate the right of privacy and the right not to have the boss controlling one's time off the job.

The cocaine-induced deaths of basketball star Len Bias and football defensive back Don Rogers are being used by the team owners not so much to push education and rehabilitation for drug users but to campaign against the players' rights.

Baseball pitcher Steve Howe was just fired from the San Jose Bees (where he had been sent down from the majors for drug use) based on a positive test for cocaine use after eight previous negative tests. Such tests are often unreliable.

Newspaper editorials have made flimsy

excuses for forced drug testing of the football, basketball, and baseball players. After all, it is argued, "they are paid such huge salaries." Or, "they are role models for America's youth."

But these excuses fail to justify what the capitalist class hopes will set the trend for widespread required drug testing in the workplace. Should such a practice come about, the bosses will have another weapon to use in the daily class war between themselves and the workers.

Under a ruling in the federal courts, forced drug testing is already being foisted

on workers in the rail industry. The result is arbitrary firings and disciplining of these workers. Government employees may be next in line for forced testing, according to the recommendations of the president's Commission on Organized Crime.

Widespread drug use is a symptom of a society where a lot is going wrong for a lot of people. Drug abuse like alcoholism—also rampant in American society—is one available means of escape.

Only a deep-going, revolutionary change in society and all of its institutions—schools, places and conditions of work, and government—will make possible a rejection of drugs and alcohol. Such rejection can only be voluntary.

In the meantime, the unions and all supporters of civil liberties need to fight against any invasion of our right to privacy. ■

Sailor victimized for refusing AIDS test

By ADAM WOOD

On June 23, Naval Petty Officer 2nd Class Philip Nolan was found guilty of refusing to take a blood test for AIDS required of all naval personnel. On May 6, Nolan also refused to leave with his ship, the aircraft carrier John F. Kennedy.

Nolan's sentence was 45 days in confinement, reduction to the lowest enlisted rank, and a bad-conduct discharge.

Nolan is the first person to defy a new military regulation, which requires all members of the Armed Forces to undergo a blood test for AIDS. The test is supposed to "ensure the health of military personnel." This claim sounds a bit hollow, however, considering that there is no conclusive evidence showing that AIDS can be transmitted by casual contact.

Nolan's defense stated, "What is being challenged is Petty Officer Nolan's and every other citizen's right to privacy." As for refusing to deploy with his ship, Nolan testified that he had been threatened by his

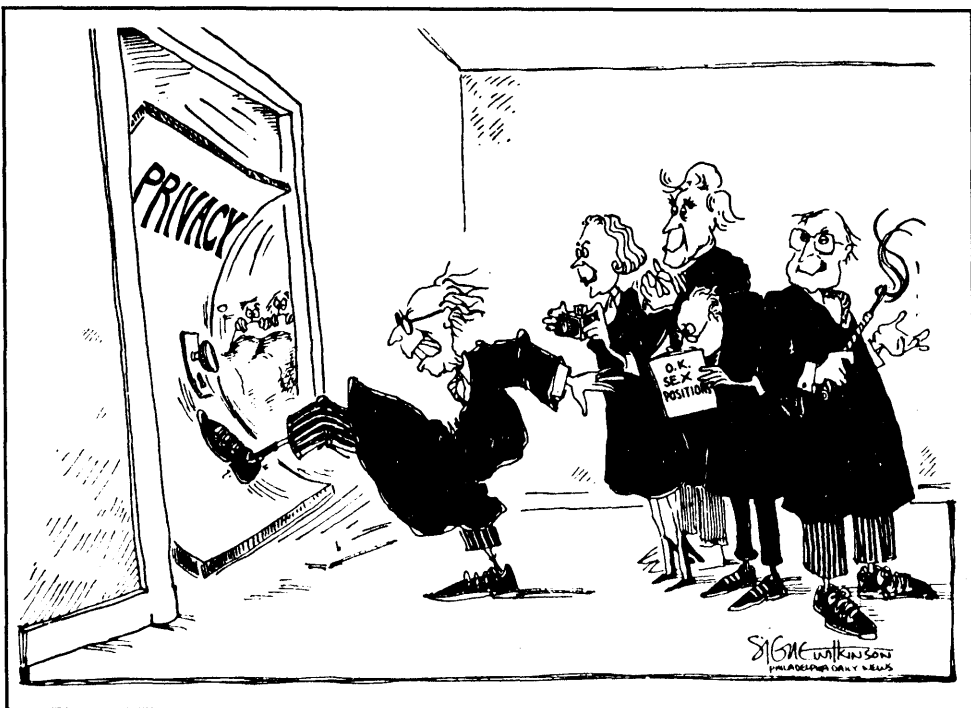
commanding officer, Cmdr. Alan M. Gemmil.

Gemmil had told Nolan, "We'll take care of you as soon as you get on that boat." Gemmil's threat shines a little light on the real reason for the new military regulation.

The mandatory blood tests enforced by the Armed Forces serve to intimidate and silence all homosexual personnel. In this respect, it resembles the LaRouche AIDS initiative on the ballot in California, which requires testing, registration, and quarantine of all those exposed to the AIDS virus in the civilian population.

Both measures put the blame for AIDS on the victims of the disease rather than demanding that the government allocate sufficient funds to find a cure.

Entering the military does not remove a person's citizenship or constitutional rights to privacy and protection from unreasonable search and seizure. Philip Nolan was the first to stand up against this unconstitutional military regulation. Assuredly, there will be more protests in the future. ■



By GRETCHEN MACKLER

Over 1 million signatures have recently been gathered in California to support an initiative on the November ballot (Proposition 63) declaring English the official language of the state. If passed by simple majority, this initiative would provide a basis for attack on many government services to bilingual and non-English speaking people.

Proposition 63 requires California state legislators and officials to "take all steps necessary to ensure that the role of English as the common language of the State of California is preserved and enhanced." Any one living or doing business in California could sue the state to enforce the law.

English-only measures are a nationwide phenomenon. U.S. English, a proponent of English-only laws, is seeking to place similar laws and initiatives on the ballots of Alabama, Idaho, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, Iowa, Kansas, New Jersey, Washington, Wisconsin, Florida, and New York.

In Miami and surrounding Dade County, a similar law was passed in 1980. This law restricted the official use of Spanish and Creole. The law was taken to such petty extremes that it prevented a local zoo from identifying the animals in any language other than English.

Bilingualism's positive effects

The main targets of Proposition 63 are the growing bilingual programs, presently in their embryonic stages in the California public schools. California's growing Latino population is portrayed by proponents of Proposition 63 as a threat to the Anglo majority, who fail to understand the positive effects of bilingual education.

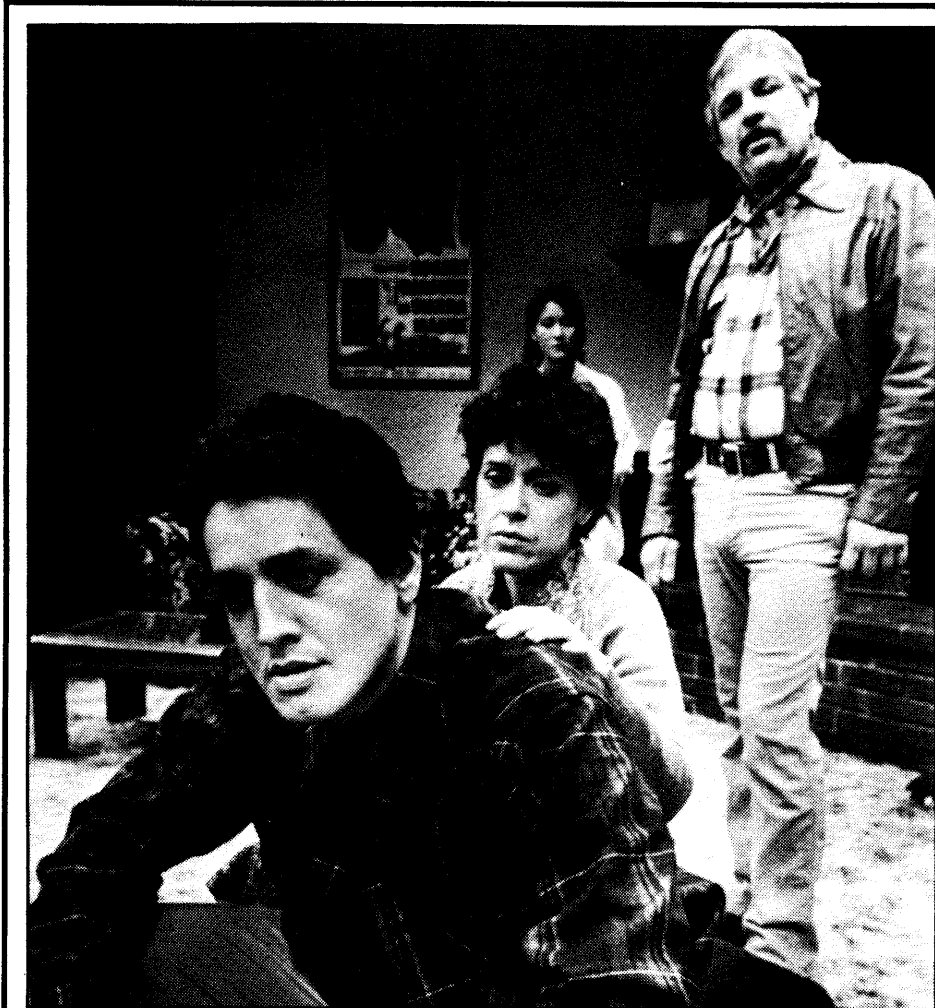
Recent research clearly shows it is unnecessary to practice what is known as "subtractive" bilingualism, the theory that non-English speakers must lose their first language in order to acquire English.

Research into bilingual programs shows that instruction in one's native language results in no loss to the development of academic skills in a second language.

A three-year study conducted by Kenji Hakuta, a psycho-linguist at Yale University, found that a substantial group of bilingual Hispanic kindergarten-through-sixth graders scored higher on tests of mental flexibility and exhibited the ability to consider alternative solutions to problems better than children who spoke only in English.

The more the children used both Spanish and English, the greater was their intellectual advantage in the skills underlying reading ability and non-verbal logic.

Racist initiative targets bilingual, non-English voters



Scene from El Teatro Campesino's "I Don't Have to Show You No Stinking Badges," written by Luis Valdez. El Teatro originated in 1965 as a farmworkers' theater during the grape-pickers' strike in Delano, Calif. "Badges" completed a five-month run in Los Angeles and now goes on a national tour to Washington, D.C., and Jupiter, Fla. It opens in San Francisco after the first of the year.

Photo: R. Kaufman

Fluency in a second language, whether it be English, Spanish, Chinese or French, is not a betrayal of "American" allegiance. In fact, to be formally educated in this society requires at least three years course work in a language other than English.

Racist motives

Why is there such contempt toward the usage of non-English native languages? The "logic" put forth by the authors and proponents of this racist initiative, such as the English First Committee and U.S.

English, makes no reference to any scientific research. Rather they choose to utilize hateful and slanderous accusations.

For example, they claim that immigrant students get their high-school diplomas without learning decent English; that radical activists have been caught sneaking illegal immigrants to the polls on election days and using bilingual ballots to cast fraudulent votes; and that the National Education Association, the nation's largest teacher's union, uses bilingual education as a means to force schools to hire more

teachers and swell the union ranks.

Ignorance and hatred are obvious in the statements of "English-only" proponents like Stanley Diamond, chair of California U.S. English: "We have Hispanic politicians who have an unstated or hidden agenda to turn California into a bilingual, bicultural state."

Ironically, the initiative contains not one penny for expanding English classes. In large urban areas such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Jose, adult education for people anxious to learn English or basic literacy skills is severely lacking.

Contrary to racist stereotypes, which portray bilingual or non-English speaking people as a parasitic burden who refuse to learn English, a recent study shows that 98 percent of a group of Latino parents interviewed said it was essential for their children to read and write English well.

Proposition 63 is not just a misguided attempt to preserve English as a common language. Proponents of the initiative are expounding racist attitudes toward the many natives of and immigrants to California who don't speak English.

It fuels the exploitation of recent or undocumented immigrant workers. By building anti-immigrant bigotry, groups like the English First Committee and U.S. English, hope to blame social problems such as unemployment, poor educational facilities, illiteracy, and low wages on a convenient, powerless scapegoat.

According to recent studies by both the conservative Heritage Foundation and the Rand Corporation, "Immigrants as a whole improve the nation's production, pay taxes, do not depress wages and use fewer services than the national average."

Proposition 63 is similar to the California LaRouche AIDS initiative because it masquerades as a common-sense solution to a real problem (the needs of non-English speaking people, the AIDS epidemic), but it is based on misinformation and ignorance. These initiatives victimize already vulnerable and oppressed groups of people and pit them against the rest of the population.

Bilingual services are vitally needed in many areas of our society. Equality and justice are served best when people are informed and educated, regardless of the language required.

Dineh removal postponed, but harassment continues

By ADAM WOOD

Public Law 93-531 was passed by the U.S. government in 1974. The alleged purpose of the law is to settle a land dispute between the tribal councils of the Hopi and Dineh (Navajo) tribes in North-eastern Arizona. These councils are not elected by the people but are appointed by the Department of the Interior.

P.L. 93-531 calls for resolving the land

dispute by removing 10,000 to 14,000 Dineh people from lands they have lived on for centuries. If necessary, the National Guard is to be used. About 1.8 million acres of coal-rich land will be affected. The law also calls for opening up the land to Standard Oil and Peabody Coal for strip-mining.

The Hopi Council's attorney, John Boyden, began suing the Dineh Council for mineral rights to Big Mountain in the late 1960s, while he was still employed by Peabody Coal. Traditional Hopi leadership refuses to recognize this council and has expressed its solidarity with the Dineh against relocation.

Recent events have pushed back the July 7, 1986, removal deadline, but the problem remains. On May 20, 1986, Ross Swimmer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs asked that the Department of the Interior push the relocation back 18 months. He also requested \$20 million in tax money in order to continue relocation measures. The money was granted.

Swimmer acknowledges that BIA-relocation measures include "harassment" of the Dineh people—but he promised that this would stop. Roberta Blackgoat, a Dineh elder, and Big Mountain support groups, however, claim the harassment continues.

According to the Big Mountain Support

Group in Berkeley, Calif., water supplies have been poisoned and diverted from both livestock and residents. Fences have been erected without consultation, and livestock have been reduced to 10 percent of the original level through confiscation and individual purchases.

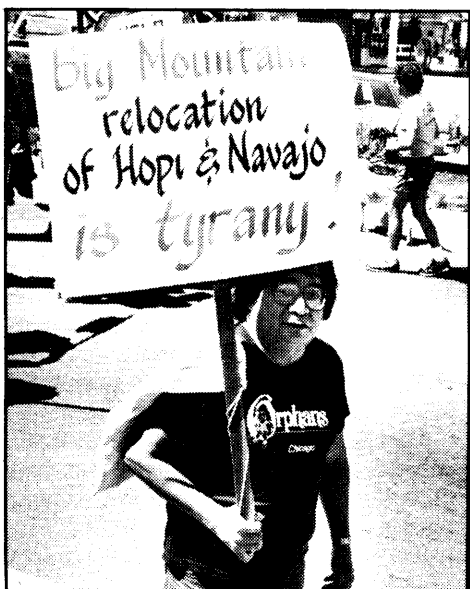
The overall effect is to starve and demoralize the remaining Dineh off the land. The number of BIA officials on the land has doubled in the last few months.

All government hearings on the relocation so far have been conducted without the consultation of the traditional leadership of either tribe. Elders are either barred from hearings, or the hearings are held in locations which make it impossible for the elders to attend. In this manner, the

government keeps the majority of the Hopis and Dineh from having any voice on a question affecting both nations' future.

Millions that could have been used to fight unemployment or AIDS are being spent on destroying a people's way of life, and more is on the way. Although the forced removal is postponed, the National Guard hangs like an ax over the Dineh nation's head. The need for a broad movement against relocation becomes more and more imperative.

If you want to help or want more information contact: Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee, 2501 N. Fourth St. Suite 18, Flagstaff, AZ 86001, Tel. (602) 774-5233.



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Official U.S. policy: 'Keep the public disinformed'

By MARK HARRIS

A stretch of California desert and the airspace above it is declared a "national security area"—possibly for several years to come—after a radar-evasive F-19 "stealth" fighter crashes on July 11. The Pentagon imposes an extraordinary news blackout, refusing to admit the aircraft even exists.

Some 22 million documents are added to classified government files last year as the "black"—secretly funded—portion of the U.S. defense budget grows by eight fold over the last five years.

CIA Director William Casey threatens to prosecute *The Washington Post* and the National Broadcasting Company for reporting government "secrets" revealed in the trial of alleged Soviet spy Ronald Pelton.

The Defense Department and CIA adopt a "disinformation" policy to feed the public deliberately false information on U.S. military projects.

As these developments indicate, U.S. military/foreign policy is becoming increasingly shrouded in secrecy. The reason, however, is no secret—the bipartisan policy of the Democratic and Republican parties continues to shift toward a growing reliance on such time-honored techniques as coups, military strikes, invasions, and assorted CIA "dirty tricks" to achieve its objectives.

That's why President Reagan, as spokesman for America's ruling rich, prefers to keep a curtain of secrecy lowered on nearly every aspect of his administration's military and foreign policy decisions.

The trend toward ever-greater secrecy should come as no surprise, of course, considering how U.S. policy is carried out in Nicaragua, Libya, and elsewhere. Real government policy would not stand up so well should it reach the full light of public scrutiny.

As Secretary of State George Shultz put it, with non-diplomatic candor: "We have to get over the idea that covert is a dirty word."

Deception and lies

At the Defense Department and CIA, the drive toward greater secrecy falls under the rubric of "disinformation," or what Pentagon publicists prefer to call "impeding the technical data flow" on U.S. weapons programs. To the rest of us it has another name—lying.

It is, of course, a practice of long standing, but this year it has been elevated to the status of official policy, as *Aviation Week & Space Technology* reports in its issue of March 17, 1986.

The idea is ostensibly to fool the Soviets concerning the true state of U.S. military preparedness. But it is not incidental that the American people, who are expected to support every increase in military spending because "the Russians are ahead of us," are also victims to such deception.

A Defense Department official explained that "disinformation can be injected at every stage of a weapon program." In fact, it is not even limited to existing weapons programs. The policy includes releasing data on weapons that do not even exist.

One of the most favored disinformation techniques, according to *Aviation Week*, involves mixing truth with fiction—spreading false information about existing programs in combination with other facts that are accurate. "This gives the Soviets a lot more to worry about," says the defense official.

Significant among those programs that do exist and are earmarked for deception is the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars). In a related report, Flora Lewis reveals in a



U.S. soldiers forced to stare at nuclear explosion during tests in Nevada in 1952. Disinformation policy kept these men from knowing that many would contract cancer in later years.

New York Times column (Dec. 4, 1985) that scientists involved in Star Wars research tests have been forbidden to publicly discuss any tests that fail. They are free, however, to speak out on tests that succeed—although several independent scientists critical of the program report that nearly every test has so far failed to perform up to par.

A Livermore Lab physicist, Ray Kidder, complained to the press that "the public is getting swindled by one side that has access to classified information and can say whatever it wants and not go to jail, whereas we [the skeptics] can't say whatever we want."

Cooperative mood in Congress

As U.S. policy shifts toward more reliance on covert action by the CIA and other intelligence agencies, even the ineffectual congressional oversight committees set up in the 1970s to monitor intelligence activities have become an annoyance to the Reagan administration. It is considering legislation to abolish such oversight committees, despite the fact that the Senate and House committees have provided "almost unbroken support" for the CIA, as *The New York Times* recently noted (July 7, 1986).

These "watchdog" committees have, in fact, overseen a tripling of the intelligence budget in the last decade, while covert actions have more than doubled in recent years.

Of course, despite the cooperative mood in Congress toward the military/intelligence establishment, there's always the chance that false information could get passed to Congress as a result of the

disinformation policy. A Defense Department official reassures us, however, that "there are channels on the Hill that can be used to get the correct information to the people who need to know." Naturally, the CIA and Defense Department will be the ones deciding which people "need to know."

Roy Godson, an associate professor of government at Georgetown University and a paid government adviser, admits that the disinformation program represents "a dangerous precedent" because, by its very nature, it consciously misleads the American people. Still the professor is all for it, despite the fact that the "U.S. democratic political system" makes such a policy difficult to implement.

For one thing, Godson says, too many people would have to be aware that false information is being circulated. For such a program to be effective, it would have to be "a tightly held secret." Unfortunately for the fomentors of falsehood at the CIA and Defense Department, we live in what the professor calls a "very information-porous system."

An "information-porous system." That is what the democratic traditions of American society are reduced to in the Pentagon-bureaucrat mentality—a minor irritant to be maneuvered around, if not bulldozed over, in the name of "national security."

Aviation Week, in noting an "increased emphasis" on disinformation tactics, cites the existence of a 6-in.-thick disinformation primer making the rounds at the Defense Department. The handbook includes advice on providing "false or misleading information" at press interviews.

Still, if deception doesn't work, CIA

Director William Casey is not above throwing his weight around to keep the media more directly in step with administration policy.

Casey has made repeated threats to prosecute *The Washington Post*, the National Broadcasting Company, and other media sources for reporting "secrets" alleged spy Ronald Pelton gave to the Soviet Union. Curiously, the "classified" information the CIA chief is so worried about was publicly reported on NBC News several months ago—without a whimper of protest from the CIA or the administration.

Credibility gap

There certainly may be a credibility gap at the CIA, but there's no gap in logic as far as Casey's intentions in this case. The top spy in Washington is more worried about media disclosures that may serve to foster public debate over the administration's policies than in any revelations that allegedly compromise "national security."

It's all somewhat ironic, considering that the big-business media conglomerates hardly need any help disinforming the public. *The Washington Post*, for example, has admitted it suppressed material on the Pelton case and on U.S. military strikes against Libya under pressure from the White House.

Consider, too, the almost total news blackout of what Alexander Cockburn called in *The Nation* (June 1, 1985), "the most ferocious aerial war ever seen in the America's"—the Salvadoran Air Force's bombing campaign against the civilian population of that country.

This campaign—which has dropped more than 3000 tons of U.S.-made bombs—has displaced more than 20 percent of the population from their homes and killed some 2000 people since 1984. Yet as Project Censored, a media watchdog panel, reports, the story ranks as the number one under-reported news story of 1985.

Consider also U.S. policy toward Nicaragua. While Ronald Reagan was getting misty-eyed during the Statue of Liberty celebration—undoubtedly cheered by the House of Representatives' approval of another \$100 million for the contra war for "freedom" and "democracy" in Nicaragua—the reality of what U.S. policy actually stands for went nearly unnoticed in the U.S. media.

On July 3, a truck carrying 33 Nicaraguan civilians—including 12 children—hit a land mine on a road about 160 miles northeast of Managua. The explosion instantly killed all but one of the passengers. The land mine was believed to have been a U.S.-made M15 contact mine.

At the same time, the contra radio station in Honduras was warning listeners in Nicaragua not to take polio vaccine administered by government health workers because it is a "communist brainwashing fluid."

Death, destruction, and disease—this is what lies beneath the surface of Ronald Reagan's pious pronouncements comparing the "noble" cause of the contras with that of the American Revolution in 1776.

The strategic interests of America's rulers are motivated by one cardinal rule—safeguard corporate profits, foreign investments, and governments friendly to "U.S. interests"—no matter how reprehensible their record of repression.

That is why U.S. foreign policy requires subterfuge, secrecy, outright lies, and a compliant media—to keep the American people from getting wise to the brutal reality that lies behind the democratic facade of U.S. foreign policy. ■