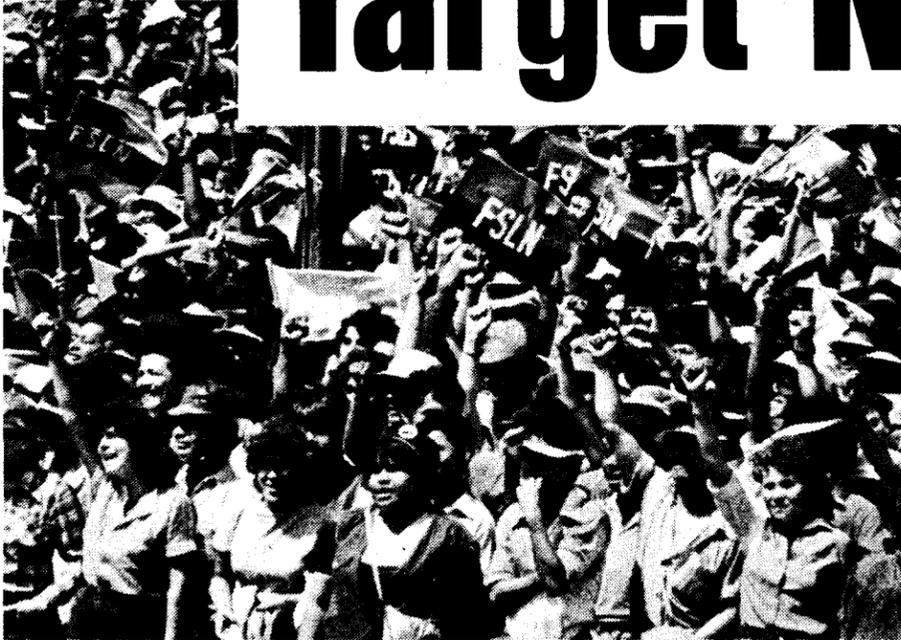
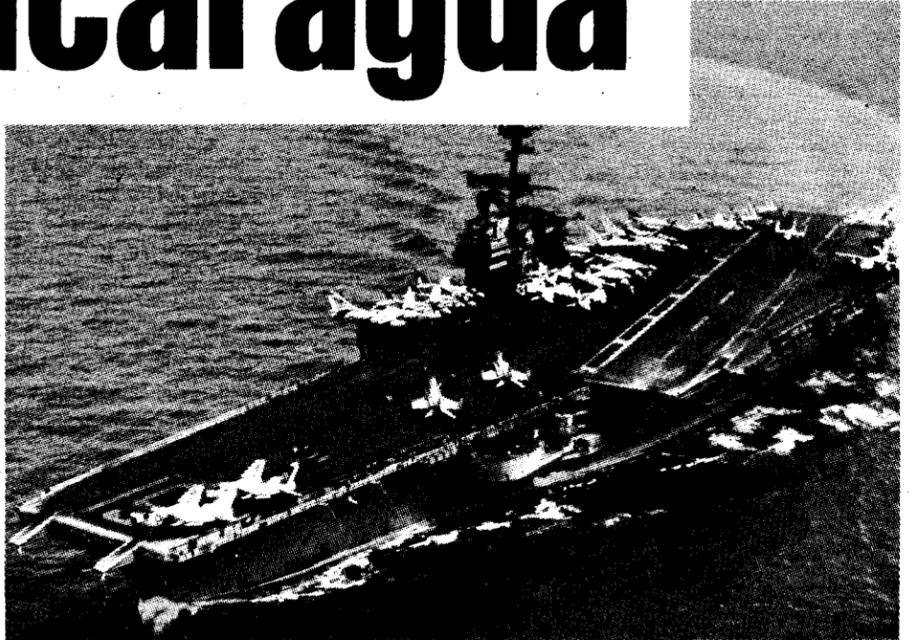


Drive Out Reagan with Labor Action!

U.S. War Maneuvers Target Nicaragua



Nicaraguan masses vow to defend the Revolution (left) as U.S. rehearses invasion.



U.S. Navy

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

The crisis of the Reagan administration is producing a chain reaction in Central America. For several years the war-torn region has been locked in a stalemate. In El Salvador: a standoff between leftist rebels and the government army, despite more than a billion dollars in U.S. aid to Duarte's death squad "democracy." In Nicaragua: the CIA's counterrevolutionary mercenaries, only capable of slaughtering defenseless peasants, holed up in their Honduran base camps under relentless pounding by the Sandinista Army. But things are shifting rapidly. Now that the

Iran/Contragate scandal threatens to turn off the spigot of "dollars of death" from their Yankee godfathers, the contras are coming apart. And in El Salvador, as we go to press the largest guerrilla action in years is reported, killing hundreds of government soldiers and a U.S. military adviser. And ominously, despite the disarray in the White House, the warmongers in Washington are preparing military action that threatens a *direct U.S. assault on Sandinista Nicaragua.*

From Day One, this administration vowed to "roll back Communism" in

Central America and overthrow the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime. They were looking for an easy win to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and get the anti-Soviet war drive rolling: "draw the line" in El Salvador, knock off Nicaragua, reconquer Cuba, restore capitalism in Poland and then on to "the source"—the Soviet Union. Reagan ordered the CIA to put together a secret army of former members of Somoza's National Guard. This became a "Reagan Doctrine" of global counterrevolution on the cheap, using Third World "surrogates" against Soviet-supported regimes from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan and Cambodia. But the gang that couldn't keep the bloody Somozaist dictatorship in power was impotent against the armed masses determined to defend their revolution. And in more than six years in office, the

Reagan regime has been unable to win over sectors of the bourgeoisie—much less build a base of popular support—for sending in American troops to smash a Third World revolution.

So the Reaganauts have been stymied. Their overt/covert operations run out of the White House basement grew increasingly desperate and bizarre until they were exposed in the Iran/Contragate scandal. And now that the Reagan ship of state is foundering, the rats are going overboard: CIA stooge Arturo Cruz quit as one of the contras' figurehead "leaders" the day before the House of Representatives approved a motion to postpone delivery of further contra aid. The Senate, now controlled by the Democrats, refused to block the \$40 million. But even Republicans on Capitol Hill agreed that this was the

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Sex, Drugs and Money

Gospelgate

To err is human, but a juicy scandal is divine—especially when it's a classic American tale of religious hysteria and hypocrisy, sex and money. TV evangelist Jim Bakker's Florida motel room tryst six years ago with a 21-year-old secretary in his Pentecostal ministry has blossomed into a real mudslinging "holy war" on the religious right. TV preachers hurl stones and scriptures at each other while scrambling for control of Jim and Tammy's "Heritage USA" evangelical Disneyland and their PTL (Praise the

Lord) ministry, also known as "Pass the Loot," and lately, "Pay the Lady." Enter Ronald Reagan's minister of morals, fundamentalist bigot Jerry Falwell, to save the plunging PTL stock from a "hostile takeover" by the forces of satan in the guise of fellow soul-saver Jimmy Swaggart. For secular humanists, we have to say the whole spectacle seems positively un-Christian. But more importantly, as Reagan is sinking, the religious right wing, apostles of the Moral Majority bigots and abortion clinic bombers,

TV evangelists
Tammy and
Jim Bakker.
Praise the Lord,
and pass the loot!



are in rough water.

The "Bible belle" from Babylon, L.I., Jessica Hahn, claims she was given a glass of "drugged wine" and thus couldn't "firmly resist" the reverend when he entered her motel room clad in a white terrycloth bathing suit. She also couldn't resist the \$265,000 in

hush money from PTL, though we assume she was praying all the way to the bank. Hahn's attorney is wealthy California businessman Paul Roper, who founded "Operation Anti-Christ" to expose corrupt TV preachers who fleece their followers and live like

continued on page 5

U.S. Concentration Camps for Palestinians

The seven Palestinians and a Kenyan arrested in Gestapo-style raids on their homes by federal agents in Southern California January 26 are being made a test case for the Reagan government's plans for a vicious anti-Arab witch-hunt. The eight, all well-established businessmen, students and working people, were shackled hand and foot and charged under the 1952 McCarthyite McCarran-Walter Act for allegedly "advocating world communism." They were accused of espousing the views of the radical/nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, simply on the basis of having literature that is publicly sold (see "Stop the FBI/INS Witchhunt of Palestinians!" *WV* No. 421, 6 February). In fact, this charge was the result of the failure of a ten-month investigation to reveal any proof of a supposed "terrorist" connection.

Held in solitary confinement for three weeks, all eight were released, five on their own recognizance, on February 17 by a U.S. immigration judge. The judge was enraged by the refusal of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to publicly present evidence for holding the eight without bail. Now the feds are appealing this decision, trying to railroad these victims of the FBI/INS vendetta back into the slammer until their deportation hearing on April 28.

Stop FBI/INS Witchhunt!



Los Angeles, February 17: Palestinian victims of anti-Arab witchhunt released from Terminal Island prison. Downs/LA Times

The purpose of this relentless persecution was revealed a few days after the eight were arrested in a story leaked to ABC News by an undisclosed source inside the INS. On February 18, ABC's *Nightline* show reported on an INS document, entitled "Alien Terrorists and Undesirables: A Contingency Plan," disclosing plans to round up thousands of Arab immigrants in the U.S. and herd them into an already prepared 100-acre

reserve adjacent to the Oakland Alien Detention Center in southwestern Louisiana. According to ABC reporter Marshall Frady, the "contingency plan was drawn up last year, reportedly after U.S. air strikes in Libya last spring." The document calls for seizing and holding without bond for secret deportation proceedings "alien undesirables and suspected terrorists of certain nationalities," mainly Arabs. Frady added that the site in Louisiana to "deposit Arab-born detainees" was designed to "house up to 5,000 aliens" and "can be activated in two to four weeks."

Concentration camps are by no means unique to Nazi Germany. They are integral to every imperialist war drive, especially in the U.S. During and immediately after WWI, thousands of

German Americans, antiwar socialists and anarchists were rounded up and imprisoned. Foreign-born radicals were deported. In World War II, 120,000 Japanese Americans were interned in concentration camps. Thousands of conscientious objectors as well as 18 leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and unionists were victims of the "thought crimes" Smith Act. The Cold War McCarran Act also provides for the mass roundup and detention of leftists, unionists, black militants, homosexuals and other "undesirables."

Today Reagan and his top cop Edwin Meese seek to regiment the American people for war by attempting to criminalize any political opposition to their anti-Soviet war drive abroad and all-sided social reaction at home. The INS contingency plan to round up Arab immigrants is part of the current war plans of America's state terrorists. The FBI/INS et al. are out to pick off and imprison any immigrants in the U.S. who are from countries targeted as "Soviet surrogates." One of the revelations to come out of Iran/ContraGate was Reagan, Meese & Co.'s plan to round up and imprison 400,000 "illegal aliens" upon a U.S. invasion of Central America. National Security Decision Directive 52, signed by Reagan in April 1984, authorizes a secret nationwide "readiness exercise" called "REX-84" for the arrest and detention of Central Americans.

The Reaganites' phony "anti-terrorism" scare has fueled genuine terror, from the bombing of Libya to the hideous October 1985 murder in Los Angeles of Alex Odeh, a leader of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination *continued on page 4*



TROTSKY

Lenin's "April Theses"

The February 1917 Revolution in Russia overthrew the tsar and gave rise to soviets, organs of workers political power. But the reformist and liberal leadership of the soviets turned power over to the Provisional Government headed by Prince Lvov, which was committed to continuing the imperialist war. Many Bolsheviks, including Stalin, gave support to this capitalist government "in so far as" it would carry out its phony promises. To break his



LENIN

comrades from the dogma that the Russian Revolution must be exclusively bourgeois-democratic, upon his return to Russia, Lenin proclaimed his famous "April Theses," rearming the Bolshevik Party for the October Revolution which changed the course of history.

1) In our attitude towards the war, which under the new government of Lvov and Co. unquestionably remains on Russia's part a predatory imperialist war owing to the capitalist nature of that government, not the slightest concession to "revolutionary defensism" is permissible....

3) No support for the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of all its promises should be made clear, particularly of those relating to the renunciation of annexations. Exposure in place of the impermissible, illusion-breeding "demand" that this government, a government of capitalists, should cease to be an imperialist government....

5) Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step—but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom.

Abolition of the police, the army and the bureaucracy.

The salaries of all officials, all of whom are elective and displaceable at any time, not to exceed the average wage of a competent worker....

10) A new International.

We must take the initiative in creating a revolutionary International, an International against the *social-chauvinists* and against the "Centre".

—V.I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution" (April 1917)

Return Dr. Mehdi's Passport!

U.S. Holds Arab American Hostage

22 March 1987

The Reaganate debacle comes in the context of an anti-Arab witchhunt in the U.S. as the government attempts to whip up support for new war moves in the Near East. For violating a ban on travel to Lebanon, where he had gone to negotiate the release of American hostages, Dr. M.T. Mehdi, secretary general of the National Council on Islamic Affairs, was stripped of his passport. Customs officers also seized his personal notes and papers. The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following telegram to protest this McCarthyite deprivation of a basic attribute of citizenship.

George Shultz
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

For humanitarian mission to free American hostages from Lebanon Dr. M. T. Mehdi is made hostage by State Department seizure of his passport. Government's anti-Arab racism deprives distinguished Arab American of citizenship rights. Demand unrestricted right of travel and return of all Dr. Mehdi's personal papers.

Partisan Defense Committee

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jon Lawrence

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stenberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

NUMBER 4 MARCH 1987

OAKLAND RALLY DEMANDS: "FREE GERONIMO PRATT!"

Demanding "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt! Down with FBI/COINTELPRO Frame-Ups!" over 200 union members and officials, Saturday, February 21 at Oakland's City Hall Plaza Park. Former L.A. Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt has been imprisoned for over 16 years, eight in solitary, for a crime he did not commit. He is a political prisoner. From San Quentin prison this courageous fighter for black the rally: "The fact of you coming together in workers' demands for Justice shows a really frightens the manipulators of labor as they are helpless when faced with the raw awesome power of the workers... My freedom would be a victory and a statement that to be a militant fighter for black liberation is not to be a criminal."

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CLASS-WAR FIGHTER OPINIONS 3

Students: Ally with Labor to Stop the Racists! Mass Protest Against Racist Attack at Columbia

An unprecedented wave of vicious race-hatred and violence has erupted on the campuses in Reagan's America. Klan-inspired cross-burnings at Southern colleges, Nazi swastikas in Chicago-area schools, and a full-scale race riot by a white mob at UMass Amherst are but a few shocking examples. This has produced justified wrath and large student protests. On March 22, a racist riot instigated by white Columbia University football players and fraternity members outraged this New York City campus. Four days later, over 1,000 Columbia students and others, including trade unionists and Harlem residents, joined in a mass, integrated anti-racist demonstration.

This kind of militant response to racist attacks is what's needed where racist scum have raised their heads on college campuses. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club participated in the March 26 demonstration, and in a mass meeting of anti-racist students held two days earlier. Black, white and Hispanic transit workers and students from City College joined our contingent, the largest at the demonstration. Alongside photographs of Frederick Douglass, and Union generals William Tecumseh Sherman and Ulysses S. Grant, a Spartacist sign proclaimed: "Finish the Civil War!" Other signs proclaimed, "Students: Ally with Labor to Stop Racist Attacks!"

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Young Spartacus Photos

Columbia students, campus workers, Harlem residents protest Ivy League racists on March 26. Left: SL honors Sherman, Grant, Douglass—Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state!

Anger Over Racist Killing by S.F. Cops

Police Radio Taped Execution

SAN FRANCISCO—Last May 10 two white undercover cops murdered Larry Lumpkin, a young black man, in San Francisco's Ingleside/Oceanview district. Yelling racial epithets, the cops just blew Lumpkin away in cold blood as he was trying to surrender. The racist killers were exonerated by the police chief, the district attorney and the so-called Office of Citizen Complaints (OCC), whose whitewash report released last January, and finally approved on March 26, has refueled black outrage over the atrocity. But the cover-up was botched—a series of leaks in recent months are exposing the bloody hand of the capitalist state. And in this city of racist Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein, the trail of blood leads to the top.

Not only were there witnesses; the killers inadvertently *broadcast and taped* their crime, leaving their radio transmitting to police communications, where such calls are routinely recorded. This damning evidence was leaked, causing an outcry in predominantly black, working-class Ingleside. The cops—Brian Olcomendy, son of a local judge, and James Miller, son of a police captain—claimed Lumpkin tried to run them over as they were arresting him on purse snatching charges. But witnesses

and the telltale tape exposed their lies. The cops, out of uniform and in an unmarked car, pulled up behind Lumpkin's car in an Ingleside parking lot and jumped out, brandishing their guns. "They never identified themselves as police," said Lumpkin's sister Shirley Henry (*San Francisco Examiner*, 30 January). The unarmed Lumpkin tried to drive away, but was blocked.

The tape records Lumpkin's desperate plea: "OK, OK, I'm cool, I'm cool," shortly before a cop's voice can be heard saying, "Nigger, you're dead," followed by gunshots. Lumpkin was killed instantly by a bullet in the back of the head, while still strapped in his seat belt.

This was a *Klan-style execution* by cops in a city police force crawling with bigots. When we exposed SF cops for displaying a Nazi swastika poster in a police van at an anti-apartheid demonstration in August 1985, Feinstein said this racist provocation was "stupid" but "minor." Lumpkin's murder and the subsequent cover-up comes at a time of similar police atrocities throughout the Bay Area. The killing of a black man by three drunk off-duty Richmond cops was ruled "justifiable" by a county D.A. in early February, and in January a federal judge threw out key parts of a years-long lawsuit against racist police

brutality in Oakland.

It took a petition signed by 1,000 Ingleside residents before the "watch-dog" Office of Citizen Complaints would even look at the Lumpkin murder. Local TV station KRON exposed the OCC's pressure on two of its own investigators whose draft report found Lumpkin's killing was "unjustifiable." One, Joan Kabouta, was removed from the case; the other was "sent back" to change the report's conclusion. Copies of the draft were destroyed. Even the Police Commission was reluctant to endorse such a crass whitewash, and delayed approving the final report until March 26 when the body split 3-2 in "conditionally accepting" it.

The FBI opened an investigation into the case in mid-March on the request of the Lumpkin family lawyer, who has filed a \$10 million lawsuit over the killing. The Black United Front and ACLU both called for an "investigation" by the state attorney general, and BUF co-chairman Larry Johnson-Redd earlier called for Feinstein to appoint a special prosecutor. That's police groupie "Dixie Dianne," who flew the KKK Confederate flag in front of her city hall until former Spartacist candidate for Board of Supervisors and Labor Black League activist Richard Bradley tore it down three years ago! And the FBI? That's the federal political police, the racist executioners of the Black Panthers, run by the sinister Edwin Meese III.

Like the hoax of a "civilian review

Larry Lumpkin: gunned down in cold blood by racist cops.



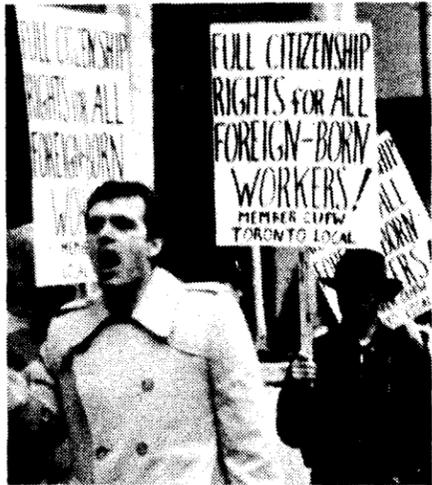
board" to "control" the racists in blue, "special prosecutors" acting for the state equivalent of Meese are a *diversion* meant to channel outrage against racist terror into empty schemes to "reform" Feinstein's stormtroopers. It will mean *more* black victims on the streets. As a "suspected purse snatcher," Lumpkin in the eyes of Reagan/Meese/Feinstein's cops "deserved to die." Black skin means you're guilty in racist America.

The racist terrorists in and out of uniform must be stopped with labor/black mobilizations! Put the killer cops in San Quentin and throw away the key! The heavily black longshore union that just shut down San Francisco Bay ports, the integrated ranks of the Muni transit drivers—this is where the power is to stop the racist killers. For a class-struggle workers party to organize proletarian power to stop the racist terrorists in their tracks! ■

Toronto Protest Demands: "Asylum for Refugees from Death Squad Terror!"

TORONTO, March 25—Forty people came out today to a protest called by the Trotskyist League of Canada demanding: "Political Asylum for Refugees from Death Squad Terror! Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign-Born Workers!" In February, Canada's borders were closed to desperate Latin Americans trying to escape deportation from the U.S. under new immigration laws targeting "illegal aliens." Arrogantly referred to as "bus people," thousands of refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala are being held in detention camps and hostels in U.S. border towns. Now Reagan's junior partners in Ottawa have come down with reactionary legislation aimed at keeping them out for good. The new immigration laws are a continuation of the racist hysteria whipped up against the 155 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees who risked their lives in a nightmare voyage last August in the hope of finding refuge in Canada.

Demonstrators at the TLC-initiated



Spartacist Canada

Labor must fight racist immigration laws!

protest chanted: "Asylum now for Tamil refugees! Smash Cold War racism!" "No deportations to death squad terror!" and "Down with racist immigration laws!" A member of the Toronto local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), whose first vice president Andre Kolompar had endorsed the protest, carried a placard calling: "For International Labor Action to Stop Racist Deportations!" The demonstration was also endorsed by union officials from the Canadian



Spartacist Canada

Trotskyist League-initiated demonstration in Toronto protests Canadian government's racist anti-immigration crackdown.

Union of Public Employees Local 2191 and the CUPW Vancouver local as well as prominent Canadian civil liberties lawyer Clayton Ruby. A letter of solidarity from Herman Stewart, manager of the Toronto District Council of the garment workers union which represents hundreds of minority workers, read: "The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) supports political asylum for the refugees from death squad terror. We demand full citizenship rights for all foreign born workers." Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a concentration camp survivor who has courageously fought in defense of women's abortion rights against vicious state persecution, also supported the demand for political asylum.

At a rally following the demonstration messages of solidarity from British mine workers and members of the Amalgamated Transit Union Locals 241 and 308 in Chicago were greeted with warm appreciation and applause. From the coal fields of South Wales, National Union of Mineworkers member Howard Hopkins telegraphed: "We in the trade union movement stand alongside Tamils who are now suffering the same victimization as we suffer." Organized labor must defend its foreign-born brothers and sisters against the capitalists' racist immigration laws. The British miners strike, a bitter 12-month battle in which blacks and East Indians were among the miners' foremost allies, demonstrated that class struggle is the road to uniting workers across racial and national lines.

Church groups, civil libertarians and others have protested the Tory govern-

ment's racist crackdown against refugees from Central and South America. Over 700 people came out to a pro-asylum rally in Toronto, March 8. At the same time Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney has hit an all-time popularity low of 22 points in the Gallup Poll, putting him behind even Reagan who is foundering in the biggest crisis of the "imperial presidency" since Watergate.

Simultaneously there has been a growing racist reaction against the refugees. As one radio host commented after an open line program on the issue: "Amongst us, I fear, there are many Archie Bunkers and Ku Klux Klanners. I'm hearing people say they want to keep Canada white" ([Toronto] *Globe and Mail*, 6 March). The "official" racism emanating from the halls of Canadian Parliament has fueled fascist terror. Last summer a former leader of the now defunct white-supremacist, paramilitary Western Guard mobilized a demonstration against Tamil refugees. Now, the government-appointed Deschenes Commission assigned to "investigate" the thousands of Nazi war criminals who have found safe haven in Canada has come out with a whitewash report exonerating, among others, 600 members of the Ukrainian "Galicia Division," which served as part of the Nazi Waffen SS, who are living in Canada.

As the Trotskyist League said in its special supplement to *Spartacist Canada*: "Labor has the muscle to spike the government's murderous anti-immigration laws and stop racist terror. But bringing this power to bear means breaking the stranglehold of the chau-

vinist misleaders of the union movement and the Cold War racists of the New Democratic Party." Sowing protectionist poison, the NDP social democrats' call for tougher immigration policies to "save" jobs only undermines any united class struggle against the racist, union-busting, strikebreaking bosses. This is echoed by "progressive" labor bureaucrats, "left" NDPers and liberals who rail against so-called "economic abuse" of refugee status.

Working-class militants must oppose the attempts to victimize foreign-born workers who are brought in to be superexploited during "boom" periods only to be thrown out when the capitalist economy slumps. Labor's task is to defend all the working people. Those who have made it into the U.S. or Canada should have the right to stay there—full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! And deport the Nazi war criminals and other counter-revolutionary scum who have been welcomed by Canadian and U.S. governments alike.

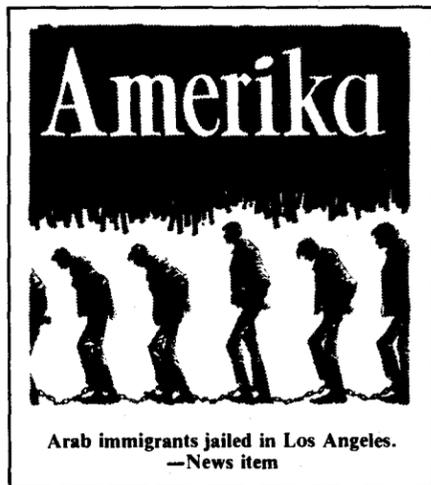
The demand for full citizenship rights is not to be confused with the utopian demand, raised from time to time by liberals and fake-leftists, to "open the borders." There is no such thing as a "fair" or "non-racist" immigration policy under capitalism. On the contrary, the call for open borders, if exercised in unlimited massive immigration, can come into direct conflict with the democratic right of nations to self-determination. The creation of Israel is a case in point. Born of the Nazi Holocaust and the closing of borders by the imperialist "democracies" to Jewish immigration, the Zionist state was carved out of the living body of the Palestinian people who were driven from their homeland by terror and mass population transfer. At the same time the call for open borders is an invitation to unrestricted imperialist expansionism. For example, an "open" U.S./Mexico border would enable well-financed American "colonists" to buy up Mexican enterprises and real estate.

As Marxist revolutionaries we are the foremost opponents of the imperialists' racist immigration policies. Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers will be one of the fundamental laws of a revolutionary workers state as it was in Lenin and Trotsky's Russia. But we also understand that the destruction of national borders will only become a reality with the achievement of socialism, as a result of the elimination of material scarcity. As Trotskyist League spokesman Jane Clancy concluded in her remarks to protesters: "The question of immigration and getting rid of racist immigration policies will finally be solved when the working people take power under the leadership of a party like the Bolshevik Party in Russia... Under socialism all they will call you is not 'deportee' but comrade." ■

Palestinians...

(continued from page 2)

Committee. James Zogby, director of the Arab American Institute, put Reagan/Meese's anti-Arab witchhunt in the context of their new McCarthyism: "Singling out Arabs, in effect, mutes criticism from those in the civil liberties community who don't want to be seen as soft on Arab terrorism." But organizations like the Arab American Institute and the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee rely almost exclusively on this "community" and bourgeois state agencies. Meese's "Justice" Department and the FBI have not made a single arrest in the Odeh case. Instead, the Meese police are in the forefront of the repression of minorities, immigrants, labor and the left, as is graphically demonstrated in the vendetta against the Palestinians in Los Angeles.



Arab immigrants jailed in Los Angeles.
—News item

Conrad/LA Times

Reagan's "Amerika": Gestapo-style raids, concentration camps readied for Arabs and Latins.

Defense of democratic rights is indivisible. The Spartacist League, assisted by the Partisan Defense Com-

mittee, won a modest but significant victory against the new McCarthyism. In a suit against Reagan/Meese's "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines," we compelled the FBI to concede that Marxist political principle and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or criminal enterprise. Above all, what contributed to this rare victory in the years of Reagan reaction was our Marxist understanding that the capitalist state, its cops and courts, cannot be reformed, and our forthright political stands, not least our opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive and "anti-terrorism" scare. In the labor movement the Spartacist League, almost uniquely, has struggled against the chauvinist poison of protectionism and fought for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers.

To fight the anti-Arab witchhunt, the latest manifestation of Reagan/Meese state terrorism, we appeal to the supreme court of the working masses

who hold the destiny of all the persecuted and oppressed in their hands. Drop the charges—Stop the FBI/INS witch-hunt! Down with the McCarran-Walter Act! ■

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Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

Gospelgate...

(continued from page 1)

kings (*Atlanta Constitution*, 27 March). Bakker, who resigned from PTL, charged he was caught in a honey trap manipulated by "treacherous former friends" and that Hahn was "very professional for 21... she knew all the tricks of the trade." (How does he know?) Meanwhile, *Penthouse* publisher Bob Guccione offered the lady 350 grand for a photo story, saying, "She's been doing God's work long enough, now we are asking her to do work for all humankind."

The Bakkers are currently hiding out at their palatial estate in Palm Springs, California, one of five around the country, while Tammy undergoes treatment for addiction to prescription drugs at the nearby Betty Ford clinic. As the scandal broke, Bakker's lawyer Norman Grutman charged that fellow Assembly of God TV preacher Jimmy Swaggart was trying to take over Bakker's empire, and began a list of Swaggart's misdeeds. Grutman threatened on ABC's *Nightline* (23 March) that if Swaggart didn't stop, "We're going to be compelled to show that there's smellier laundry in his hamper than the laundry he thought was Reverend Bakker's." Swaggart went on *Nightline* two days later, dodging and weaving and sounding like Reagan, shooting himself in the foot while it was in his mouth. Hypocrisy, thy name is televangelism.

Sharks Circling—"Let Us Prey"

Jim and Tammy Bakker's TV empire looked ripe for a takeover. Among the more high-living gospel circuit TV stars,



"God's hostage" Oral Roberts (left) rescued by Florida dog-track mogul. On right, Jimmy Swaggart, televangelism's hostile takeover artist?

"Oh Lord, won't you buy me a night on the town?"

Whether you call it "Gospelgate," "Godgate," "Heaven's Gate" or "Pearlygate," the bottom line is money. As columnist William Safire laid out the scenario (*New York Times*, 26 March):

"Jimmy Swaggart as Ivan Boesky, secretly to buy up the shares of PTL. The PTL management, with no time for a poison-pill defense, seeks a white knight in Falwell ministries but the junk-bond takeover crowd drives up the price with a warning that Falwell management might throw out the PTL board at the next triple witching hour."

The moral: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's mailing lists," Safire admonished. At week's end, Falwell and the hastily reassembled PTL board (including former Interior Secretary James Watt, axed by Nancy after he refused to let the "decadent" Beach Boys play at her Fourth of July bash) announced that PTL was doing just fine, with a



are negative when thousands come back addressed "Return to Sender."

Falwell, Pat Robertson and the State

The religious right is played out on many fronts, and its declining fortunes are intricately bound up with the "time of troubles" in the White House. Not only are the TV preachers' operations linked to the big conservative PACs (political action committees) like Richard Viguerie and Carl Channell's, they've had a direct line to the White House. Lt. Col. Oliver North is a fervent evangelical, attending the Church of the Apostle in Fairfax, Virginia, where they reportedly speak in tongues (in North's case, forked). It was his bright idea to present the Reagan Bible to the ayatollahs in Teheran (he even picked out the verse), perhaps figuring that Christian and Islamic fundamentalists have a lot in common. North, in linking Contra-gate to Gospelgate, managed the singular feat of extending the unholy anti-Soviet alliance from Pentecostal anti-Semites to neo-McCarthyite Ronald Radosh and professional Zionist Elie Wiesel. Lately, Reagan's "national hero" has become a cult hero of the religious right. Christian Broadcasting Network mogul Pat Robertson calls him a "sacrificial lamb" and prays for North frequently on his "700 Club."

The sinister Pat Robertson may be a main and intended casualty of this affair. For powers in the Republican Party are worried about his bid for the presidency and want to stop him before he fouls up things for '88. Despite his minuscule poll ratings, Robertson has already seized control of the Michigan Republican Party. He's a dangerous demagogue who in Hitlerite fashion declares abortion "racial suicide," declares South Africa is not ready for democracy, praises Salvadoran death squad leader D'Aubuisson as a "very nice fellow" and has funneled more than \$3 million to the Nicaraguan contra terrorists through his "Operation Blessing." His program, in the words of the



Reagan with White House minister of morals, "ayatollah" Jerry Falwell. Moral Majority targets everyone.

their lifestyle included matching Rolls-Royces and gold-plated plumbing in their expensive homes. "Why should I apologize because God throws in chandeliers, mahogany floors and the finest construction in the world?" he once said (*Houston Post*, 21 March). Yet in 1978 he nearly went under with massive debt, partly from construction costs for his \$100 million "Heritage USA" complex. Internal Revenue and FCC investigations of financing—to the tune of \$13 million in unaccounted PTL funds—were brushed off by Bakker with the suggestion that "the devil got into the computer." (Maybe Ollie North could try that one too.) Well, now we know where some of the money went.

In fact, mesmerizing ostentation was the essence of the Bakkers' feelgood "health and wealth" ministry. Tammy would appear on the set bedecked in jewels; she had her own cosmetics line, "Tammy Faye pantyhose," country record albums, etc. Other evangelical paraphernalia include "Firm Up With Jesus" aerobics videos ("One, Two, Leg up, Praise the Lord"). All that Marabel Morgan "Total Woman" business is the pathetic underside of fundamentalist dogma seeking to drive women back into domestic subservience. Poor Tammy, she was just about to publish a book called *Christian Wives*, with sex tips to keep husbands interested. "Jim has very seldom seen me without makeup and hardly ever in my life without my eyelashes," she wrote. But it didn't work. Turns out Jim Bakker was praying, as Janis Joplin's song goes,

good cash flow and a strong credit history, and they were negotiating refinancing. It sounded for all the world like a bunch of brokers announcing a new stock offering.

PTL is not alone in its troubles. Veteran Tulsa, Oklahoma evangelist Oral Roberts, one of the granddaddies of the gospel circuit, climbed his prayer tower to tell the faithful that god had personally told him he'd be "called home" if he didn't raise \$8 million quick. "God's hostage" Roberts got his dough (with a last-minute million from a Florida dog-track owner), but then said he needed even more for the operating expenses of his multimillion-dollar hospital complex (which has only a few score of its hundreds of beds occupied by paying patients).

The "electronic church" (including radio stations) still takes in over two billion bucks a year in small donations, all tax deductible. But their Nielsen ratings are slipping; from a high of just under 21 million viewers in 1974, they've fallen by about a million over the last three years. And their social program—subordination of the state to the revivalist Christian church—has been frustrated, because many Americans cherish the separation of church and state. Moreover, evangelism, like the pyramid games these shows resemble, is based on a proposition of continual growth—a sort of supply-side economics applied to religion. And their accountants are no doubt telling them that the marginal returns on sending computer-typed Letters to Corinthians

New York Times (29 March), is "not containing Communism but eradicating it." But his call for a theocratic dictatorship spells doom at the polls for the Republicans. Robertson is trying to let the winds of Gospelgate blow over his ducked head.

The one ray of gloom in this otherwise delightful exposé of fundamentalist greed and hypocrisy is that Jerry Falwell, founder of the Moral Majority, appears to have expanded his influence and financial base with this takeover. Falwell is a dyed-in-the-wool anti-Semite who poses arm in arm with Israeli premier Shamir; he's a racist who rebaited Martin Luther King and whose church in Lynchburg, Virginia is a "white church and will always be that way," according to his assistant minister at the Thomas Road Baptist Church (*New Yorker*, 18 May 1981). A decade ago it would have been inconceivable for someone like Falwell, a fundamentalist who insists on a literal reading of the Bible, to pick up a charismatic Pentecostal ministry stressing faith healing and miracles. It just goes to show politics is thicker than religion.

These New Right fundamentalist politicians are not like the Jehovah's Witnesses or the Amish in Pennsylvania who are very sincere in their religious beliefs and genuinely persecuted for it. The religious ultras are driven by a dangerous political program and they use religion to try to enforce reactionary conformity throughout the fabric of society. Their "holy terror" is intended to instill fear and ignorance and unquestioning loyalty in their war against "godless communism" and what they (including the president of the United States) call the Soviet "evil empire." Their program is for Armageddon in our time.

The holier-than-thou televangelists drip with cynical sanctimony: Falwell said on *Nightline* that "there's never been a moral episode in my life" (that's for sure). But history has seen this kind of thing before. The Nazis were big on purity, too, but things kept surfacing. There were those numerous dalliances of Reich propaganda minister Goebbels, including a not-so-Aryan lady; Hitler raged that Luftwaffe chief Göring was "corrupt and a drug addict," and complained that the atmosphere of debauchery around S.A. stormtroopers' chief Röhm wasn't exactly according to the diktats of *Mein Kampf*.

And while we're at it, we'd just like to recall Vicki Morgan, the beautiful mistress of Al Bloomingdale, husband of Nancy Reagan's best friend Betsy. Vicki was mysteriously murdered several years ago, and the reported tapes of her having sex with high-level Reagan appointees seem to have disappeared. Do the Meese police know where they are?

So, back to fundamentals: Charles Darwin and Karl Marx. ■

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Detroit Auto Bosses Raped America

Washington and Tokyo are on the brink of trade war. On March 27, the U.S. government dramatically raised duties on Japanese electronic products. The pretext: Japan's alleged breaking of a cartel arrangement to keep the price of computer chips high enough for U.S. manufacturers to compete. The administration's sanctions followed unanimous Senate and House resolutions calling for retaliation over "semiconductor dumping." It was the first unilateral American tariff action against Japan since World War II, and there are presently dozens of bills before Congress for further protectionist measures. In response, Japan recalled its ambassador to Tokyo for consultations, complaining that the United States is "unilaterally and unreasonably bashing and bullying Japan."

As U.S. industry goes down the tubes, Reagan has gone on the warpath to enhance "competitiveness" through increased exploitation. The response of the labor bureaucrats and Democrats is to scream for more protectionism and trade war, setting American and Japanese workers at each other's throats. Part I of "Japan Inc. vs. Wall Street" (WV No. 424, 20 March) exposed David Halberstam's recent book *The Reckoning* as a slick ideological apology for giveback unionism, and recounted how under postwar U.S. occupation, Cold War anti-Communism led to smashing the militant Japanese workers movement. As the capitalists and their labor lieutenants gird for trade war, Marxists call on American and Japanese workers to unite in revolutionary struggle to expropriate the masters of the two most powerful imperialist countries of the world.

PART TWO OF TWO

Why have vast sections of the Midwest been turned into a gigantic "rust bowl," as the bosses dynamite steel blast furnaces and raze auto plants, eliminating hundreds of thousands of jobs? One of the central themes of Halberstam's parallel history of Ford Motor Co. and Nissan is the ascendancy within Ford of the finance people over the manufacturing people, the men who actually made the cars and in many cases sought to make them better. Repeatedly, their requests to retool and modernize the plants were shot down and scaled back by the all-powerful finance boys, a bunch of glorified accountants. This is no isolated case. The rise of the business school-trained finance man over the plant manager occurred not only at Ford but throughout industrial America.

There was no lack of potential technological innovation. Halberstam recounts how in the late '50s Ford engineers developed a superior anti-rust painting technique called the E-coat process. It was immediately introduced into Ford's European operations, which

JAPAN INC. VS. WALL STREET



General Dynamics

F-16 fighters in production at General Dynamics plant. U.S. rulers' anti-Soviet war budget is wrecking American economy.

faced stiffer competition and were always more innovative. GM, Toyota and Nissan all purchased licenses from Ford to use the new painting technique. But the E-coat process was *not* introduced into most of Ford's North American plants until the late '70s. The finance department argued that the quality improvement was not worth the additional outlay—that is, not until Japanese cars, noted for their superior paint jobs, started flooding the American market.

This attitude, shared by GM and Chrysler, accounts for the stagnant quality and productivity of American auto makers. In fact, it took Detroit slightly *more* labor time to produce a car in 1981 than in 1970 (215 man-hours as against 205). In this same period the Japanese cut their production time almost in half, from 255 to 140 man-hours (Alan Altshuler et al., *The Future of the Automobile* [1985]). Japanese auto and other plants are noted for the

introduction of industrial robots. Yet such robots were *first developed* in the United States but have hardly been used here.

The Decay of American Industry

Halberstam describes the domination of the penny-pinching accountant in the American auto industry but cannot explain why. Ford's finance department always argued that a major capital investment program would reduce the value of the corporation's stock on Wall Street and threaten its AAA bond rating. This argument always carried the day with Henry Ford II, for Hank the Deuce measured his wealth not in the number of cars his plants produced but in the value of his stock holdings. *The Reckoning* points out how this preoccupation with stocks led old-line companies to make short-range decisions at the expense of the future. "Research and development were chopped back because they were expensive and cut into profits and hurt the way the company looked on its books."

But why should plant modernization reduce the value of a corporation in the capital market? Because, replied the Ford finance department, even if the new model were successful the additional profit may not offset the increased capital outlay. Although Halberstam is certainly unaware of it, he is describing here the basic contradiction of capitalism expounded by Karl Marx over a century ago, the law of the falling tendency of the rate of profit:

"... the rate of profit, being the goad of capitalist production (just as self-expansion of capital is its only purpose), its fall checks the formation of new independent capitals and thus appears

as a threat to the development of the capitalist production process. It breeds over-production, speculation, crises, and surplus-capital alongside surplus-population."

—Capital, Vol. 3

This is certainly a description of Detroit today with its half-used, dilapidated auto plants alongside a desperate mass of jobless workers.

But Japan, too, is a capitalist country. Doesn't the law of the falling rate of profit operate there also? Yes, but for the past half century the pattern of capital accumulation has been very different in the two countries. And this is key to understanding what Halberstam calls "the parallel stories of the Japanese ascent and the American malaise." During the decade of the Great Depression (1929-1939) American capitalism underwent a major *disinvestment*. Many factories were shut down and never reopened; machinery became hopelessly antiquated. It was only the onset of World War II, initially through orders for the rearming of Britain, that pulled the U.S. out of the Depression. World War II marked the greatest period of industrial construction in the history of American capitalism:

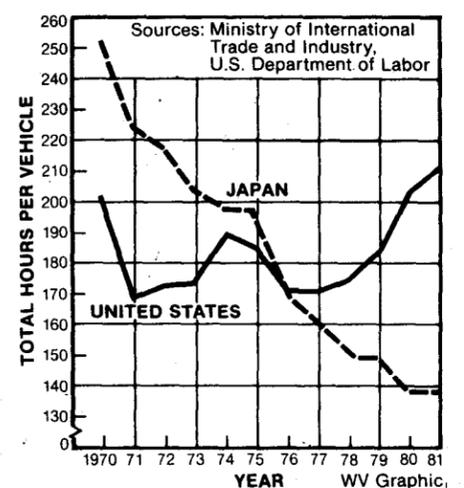
"Between 1940 and 1944 the total output of manufactured goods increased 300 per cent and that of raw materials by about 60 per cent. Investment in new plant and equipment, much of it direct investment by the government, is estimated to have increased the productive capacity of the economy by as much as 50 per cent."

—Alan S. Milward, *War, Economy and Society 1939-1945* (1977)

American industrialists emerged from the war with enormous profits which were ploughed back into their businesses. And when this wave of investment was exhausted with the sharp 1949 recession, the U.S. economy got a booster shot from the Korean War. By the mid-1950s the United States had one of the most modern industrial plants and highest ratios of capital per worker of any country in the world. Additional investment thus yielded relatively smaller returns. In other words, the rate of profit fell.

In the U.S. the Korean War boom marked the *end* of a major cycle of capital construction; in Japan it marked the *beginning*. The Pacific War (World War II) totally devastated the Japanese economy. The American naval blockade starved industry for raw materials while strategic bombing raids leveled factory after factory. In 1946 manufacturing output in Japan was *less than 30 percent* the level of the mid-1930s, in the middle of the world depression (N.S. Roberts, *Economic and Commercial Conditions in Japan* [1952]). The weak postwar recovery was stopped short and reversed in 1949 by the Dodge Line—a savage austerity program imposed by the American occupation authorities. In

Total Hours of Labor to Produce a Motor Vehicle



Tale of two economies.



Workers on Honda assembly line, Suzuka, Japan. While U.S. bosses plundered auto industry, Japanese capitalists invested in modern plant and equipment.

mid-1950, on the eve of the Korean War, industrial production in Japan was barely a third of what it had been in 1931.

The Korean War had an impact on the Japanese economy comparable to World War II on the American:

"The outbreak of the Korean War produced a sudden change in the situation. Japan became a supply base. As orders were concentrated in special procurements and munitions, exports grew rapidly along with worldwide military expansion. Markets boomed, inventory backlogs were sold out, and mining and manufacturing production also grew at a fast tempo from early autumn of that year [1950], for an increase of about 50% in the year after the war began."

—Yutaka Kasai, *The Era of High-Speed Growth* (1986)

Given Japan's relatively primitive and antiquated capital stock in the early 1950s, every million yen in new investment yielded very large returns. Between 1960 and 1983 Japan invested 30 percent of its gross national product (GNP) in new plant and equipment; the U.S. only 18 percent. Two decades of very rapid capital accumulation took its toll on the rate of profit in Japan just as it had earlier in the U.S. The annual growth in productivity plunged from 8.5 percent in 1960-73 to a mere 3.5 percent during the next decade (Jon Woronoff, *The Japan Syndrome* [1986]).

So how did Japanese industry wallop its American competitor in a period of *decelerating* productivity growth? Because American productivity growth, an

for example, and steel. These industries, which in America were having increasing difficulty competing for top engineers, were getting the absolute cream in Japan."

The war drive has not only starved American industry of brainpower but also of capital to retool. In 1982, a year combining the Reagan war buildup with economic depression, Pentagon investment in plant equipment was almost 38 percent of the combined plant investment of all U.S. manufacturers. By 1983, Lloyd Dumas estimates, "the book value of the stock of physical capital preempted by the noncontributive military sector was *more than 46 percent* the value of the combined stock of physical capital owned by *all manufacturing establishments in the United States!*"

The arms industry constitutes a huge protected market for American capitalists. Winning Pentagon contracts has little, if anything, to do with economic efficiency and much to do with personal connections and outright corruption. The arms industry provides a gigantic retirement village for this country's generals and admirals. Naturally, "competing" for Pentagon contracts is a lot easier for U.S. manufacturers than competing against the Japanese in the civilian market.

So the Cold War against the Soviet Union has helped lose the trade war with Japan. In fact, Japan now subsidizes the Pentagon. As a direct result of Reaganomics—cutting taxes to finance



U.S. Army



USAAF

U.S. atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (above) came after Japanese offer to surrender. This was the opening shot in anti-Soviet Cold War.

on its competitive efficiency but on state power, that is, on arms. The Japanese ruling class, far more than its American counterpart, is acutely aware of the connection between trade war and the shooting kind. That connection was burned into the memory of the Japanese people with the nuclear heat of Hiroshima.

One of Halberstam's heroes, Naohiro Amaya, a former top planner and trade negotiator for the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), has long argued that Japanese industry must accept some increased American protectionism for the sake of peaceful relations. "The alternative," Halberstam paraphrases Amaya, "was to become a samurai nation again, which would entail a huge defense bill that could threaten much of its prosperity." When a few years ago Amaya was trying to convince Nissan head Takashi Ishihara to go along with "voluntary" restraints on exports to the U.S., he warned the auto manufacturer: do not be like Yosuke Matsuoka. Matsuoka led Japan out of the League of Nations in the mid-1930s, an important symbolic step toward the Pacific War.

Amaya's line is pacifist utopianism. American and West European capitalism cannot and will not tolerate continuing huge Japanese trade surpluses, and Japanese capitalism cannot accept sharp cutbacks in its export markets. Something has to give. And in fact it already has. Published only last fall, *The Reckoning* is dated. Japan Inc. is today—right now—reeling under American protectionism, and Japan has already gone a long way to becoming once again a samurai nation.

Resharpener the Samurai Sword

The competitive devaluation of the dollar against the yen engineered by the Reagan administration—over 50 percent in the past year and a half—has the impact of a dozen protectionist trade bills in Congress. According to the Industrial Bank of Japan, at the current dollar-yen exchange rate Japanese manufacturing wages are the highest in the world (about \$10.50 an hour compared to \$9.50 in the U.S.). Japan is

being deliberately priced out of world markets.

The "yen shock" has shaken Japan's famous "lifetime employment" system. While this applies to only 15 percent of the labor force, socially it is very important for it embraces the big companies—Nippon Steel, Mitsubishi, Matsushita, Nissan—the Japanese equivalent of the Fortune 500. But now Japan Inc. is scrapping "lifetime employment" with the battered steel and shipbuilding industries leading the way. A few months ago the *Wall Street Journal* (6 November 1986) reported:

"Nearly every day, there is some disturbing announcement about loss of wages or jobs. Shipbuilders are closing down yards. Steelmakers are experimenting with 'rotational' layoffs. Japan's remaining coal mines are closing. The weaker auto makers are shunting workers into obscure affiliates or turning them into car dealers."

A spokesman for the Keidanren big-business federation, Kazuo Nukazawa, is worried that "company loyalty will be lost" if mass layoffs continue. It will indeed.

The economic crisis caused by the "yen shock" has been intensified by a government austerity program combined with a feverish military buildup. Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is a Japanese-speaking Ronald Reagan. A former naval officer during the Pacific War, he is a rabid militarist and also a racist pig. As one critical observer put it, "the overweening desire of the [Nakasone] government is to boost the defense budget to the detriment of everything else" (Woronoff, *The Japan Syndrome*).

While military spending has been increasing at a Reagan-like 6 to 7 percent a year, social welfare, health, education and public works have all been cut back. To help pay for the arms bonanza Nakasone is auctioning off the state-owned railroads and telephone company to private hands. And, as in Reagan's America, in Nakasone's Japan runaway military spending is retarding technological progress. For example, the government-financed "Superspeed Project" to build the world's fastest computer is now foundering, in large measure due to the budget cutbacks.

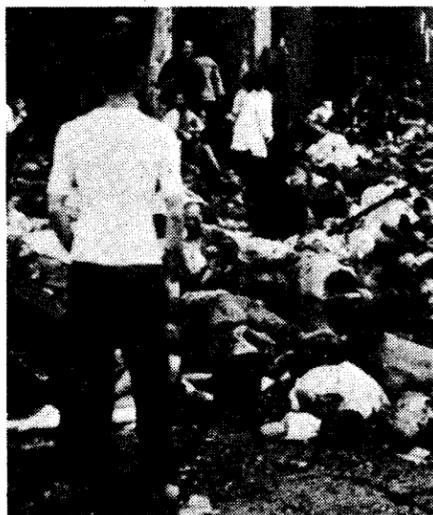
Early this year Japan breached the symbolic 1 percent barrier of GNP for military spending. A number of economists maintain that Japan already spends more than that; they've just cooked the national account books to show less. The important thing, however, is that the Japanese economy is of such a size that even 1 percent of it has built up the seventh largest military establishment in the world and the fifth largest navy. That navy is now committed to policing the sea lanes up to 1,000 nautical miles from Japan.

Who is resurgent Japanese militarism directed against? The conventional answer in both Tokyo and Washington, and also Moscow, is the Russians. Certainly, the Japanese ruling class is fiercely anti-Soviet, claiming the Kuril Islands which the Russians occupied in the last days of World War II. Japanese revanchism toward the Kurils has been a basic obstacle to a peace treaty between Tokyo and Moscow, which would formally end the state of war between

continued on page 8



Kyodo



China Photos

State-sponsored chauvinism in Japan: (left) racist prime minister Nakasone visits Shinto war shrine 15 August 1985 glorifying imperial Japan's rape of China, including slaughter of 100,000 in Nanking, 1937 (right).

anemic 2 percent a year in 1960-73, has been dead in the water, *less than half a percent*, over the past decade! While Japan Inc. has lost its former dynamism, American industry has committed suicide.

Arms and the Economy

Does the different pattern of capital accumulation and its effect on the rate of profit adequately explain Japan's competitive superiority over the U.S.? Not entirely. The other major and striking difference in the two economies is the burden of military spending: 7 percent of GNP for the U.S. as against 1 percent for Japan. While World War II and the Korean War boosted industrial construction in the U.S., since then the huge Pentagon budgets have drained American industry of productive resources.

A careful study by liberal economist Lloyd Dumas estimates that from 25 to 30 percent of all U.S. scientists and engineers are employed in the military sector (*The Overburdened Economy* [1986]). And although Japan has about half the population of the U.S. (120 million compared to 220 million), in the early '80s its schools produced *10-percent more* engineers. Thus Japanese civilian industry employs over 50 percent more technological cadre than its American competitor. Halberstam notes that in the 1950s:

"Because Japan had no defense industry... and not even an airplane industry, the best engineers of a generation were being funneled into other, seemingly more prosaic sectors, like automobiles,

the biggest arms buildup in peacetime U.S. history—the United States has in the space of a few years gone from being the world's biggest creditor to its biggest debtor, with Japan Inc. taking over Wall Street's former role. As one liberal Reagan critic put it: "supply-side economics" means foreigners supply the goods, foreigners supply the capital. And three-quarters of the \$200 billion U.S. foreign debt is owned by Japanese capitalists, most of it in Treasury bonds and bills.

In the final analysis, however, Japan's access to the American market and the associated export of capital depends not



Kokuro union members march in September 1986 against sale of state-owned Japan National Railways to finance Nakasone's war budget.

Japan Inc...

(continued from page 7)

the two countries. However, the revival of Japanese military power is not directed solely against the Soviet Union.

A New "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"?

"We never thought they would come back," exclaimed an elderly Filipino construction worker building a Japanese factory near Manila. In his youth he and his entire village were rounded up at gunpoint by Japanese troops and forced to build a bridge for them. The *zaibatsu* (big Japanese monopolies) are certainly back in Southeast Asia, though for the present without their army. However, as a leftist Philippine historian, Renato Constantino, warned: "We should be aware of the long-term implications of increasing Japanese economic penetration—the specter of Japanese militarism which may spearhead another invasion if Japanese interests in this part of the world are threatened."

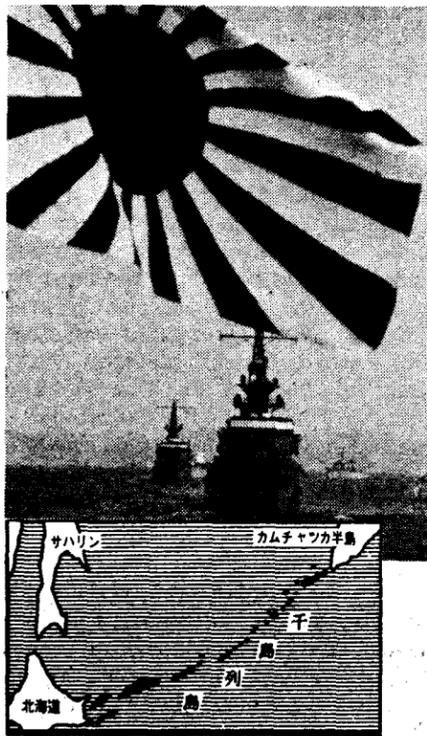
—quoted in Jon Woronoff, *Japan's Commercial Empire* (1984)

Japanese interests amount to one-third of all foreign investment in that part of the world. Japan Inc. is the number one foreign investor in Indonesia and Thailand, number two in the Philippines and Malaysia. Well-known Japanese products which flood world markets are made *not* in Japan but rather in its East Asian neocolonies. Matsushita produces many of its TV sets and air conditioners in Malaysia, Yamaha its sporting goods in Taiwan, Minebea its miniature ball bearings in Singapore and Thailand, TDK its magnetic tapes in Taiwan and South

share of world manufacturing exports fell from 23 to 14 percent between 1957 and 1983, in this same period the share of the *foreign subsidiaries of American multinationals* rose from 6 to 10 percent.

Contrary to Halberstam, South Korea is not Japan's Japan. Economically speaking, it is more like Japan's Mexico: the main haven for the runaway shop. Significantly, 15 percent of South Korea's Hyundai Motors, which recently launched its cars into the American market, is owned by the foremost of Japanese *zaibatsu*, Mitsubishi. However, unlike Yankee imperialism in Mexico, Japan *shares* its South Korea neocolony with another imperialist power. American industrialists also have runaway shops in South Korea, not to mention the 40,000 U.S. troops stationed there. When two imperialist powers both have interests in the same backward country, the stage is set for conflict and war.

The struggle for Korea has played a special role in the history of Japanese imperialism. Japan fought its first imperialist war, against China in 1894-95, to detach Korea from the decadent Manchu dynasty. A decade later it fought its second imperialist war, against tsarist Russia, to defend its Korean sphere of influence from Russian designs. The destruction of the tsarist navy at the battle of Tsushima Straits marked Japan's arrival as a major imperialist power, and touched off the Russian Revolution of 1905. Japan formally annexed Korea in 1910, its first colony on the Asian mainland. And it was from Korea that Japanese troops invaded Manchuria in 1931, setting down the path to the Pacific War with the United States a decade later. Korea and Manchuria became major sources of raw materials and arenas for



Top: Wallis/JB Pictures, Map: New Times, Moscow
Japanese ruling class seeks to take strategic Kuril Islands, vital to Soviet defense, from USSR.

any settlement within the framework of an imperialist carve-up which gave Japan slightly more than it had been granted at Washington in 1921-22. It was America which turned down the Japanese proposal for a summit meeting between Premier Konoe and Roosevelt in autumn 1941.

—Jon Halliday, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism* (1975)

The Japanese attack on the American fleet at Pearl Harbor in December 1941 was not a prelude to an invasion of North America. Tojo and his fellow militarists were not that crazy. By a punishing military blow against the U.S. in the Pacific, they hoped to force Washington to accept Japan's Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japan's rulers woefully underestimated not only the industrial power of American capitalism but also the appetite of its rulers—above all Franklin Roosevelt—to control the entire globe. Having provoked Japan into the Pacific War through the oil embargo, U.S. imperialism ended it with one of the most cold-blooded atrocities in modern times: dropping the first nuclear weapons on the defenseless civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Reckoning to Come

Japan has certainly come a long way back from the irradiated rubble of Hiroshima, but the U.S. is now blocking the path to further ascendancy. Many would argue that a new Pacific War between Japan and the U.S. is unthinkable despite sharp and increasing economic tensions. The Japanese ruling class, they reason, especially with its claim on the Kurils, is just too anti-Soviet to act as anything but a partner of the Pentagon. However, imperialist alliances and enmities are not permanent; they change as the balance of forces and perceived interests change.

Consider U.S. imperialism and Red China. In the 1950s-60s Washington viewed Communist China as the ultimate "evil empire," worse than Russia. For its part, the Mao regime denounced Khrushchev as soft on U.S. imperialism. However, already in 1969, after a bloody border clash between Russian and Chinese troops, the Spartacist League wrote: "we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal with China" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 9). Two and a half years later Nixon and Mao embraced as U.S. warplanes bombed North Vietnam.

Likewise, some ideologues of Japanese imperialism would like to strike a deal with the Soviet Union, even talking of "joint development" of Siberia. In his July 1986 Vladivostok speech, Gorbachev held out the prospect of "open links" with the capitalist states of the Asia-Pacific region. However, Moscow



Burton Holmes

Port Arthur, 1905: Japanese officers view scuttling of Russian fleet. Tsarist defeat in Russo-Japanese War led to 1905 Revolution in Russia, Japan's emergence as a leading imperialist power.

Korea, and so on.

The present "yen shock"—a form of American protectionism—will spur additional Japanese investment in low-wage East Asia. Purely as a result of exchange-rate shifts, in the past year relative wages in Taiwan have fallen from one-fifth to one-seventh the Japanese level. Halberstam totally miscomprehends and misrepresents Japan's economic relation to the so-called newly industrialized countries (NICs) of East Asia. He views them as Japan's rivals, not its neocolonies. In particular, Halberstam singles out South Korea as doing to Japan what Japan did to the United States:

"Because the Japanese—through ambition, desire and discipline—had triumphed over wealthier and presumably lazier societies, they dreaded that the same thing would be done to them. As they had pursued the Americans, so other Asian nations now pursued them, using the same formula."

Because he views global economics as a contest of national wills, Halberstam cannot get it through his head that the interests of Japanese capitalists are not the same as the interests of Japanese society. Likewise with the U.S. The decay of industry in America is *not at all synonymous* with the decline of American industrial capital. While the U.S.

investment by the *zaibatsu*. As Lenin wrote in his work *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917):

"Typical of the old capitalism, when free competition held undivided sway, was the export of goods. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of capital."

The Great Depression triggered a wave of trade protectionism (e.g., the 1930 Smoot-Hawley Tariff in the U.S.) which cut off Japanese exports to Western markets. Japan responded to this trade war by seeking to penetrate and ultimately take over the Asian colonies of the Western imperialists (British India and Burma, French Indochina, the Dutch East Indies, the American Philippines). In addition to military and economic means, the Japanese rulers also appealed to anti-colonial Asian nationalism. To counter Japanese expansionism, the Western imperialist powers first resorted to intensified economic warfare. In July 1941 the U.S., British and Dutch embargoed Japan's oil supplies without which it could not survive. Still the Japanese rulers did not want war with the U.S.:

"Japan was, on the whole, eager to reach a settlement and offered considerable concessions to this end. America could certainly have reached a tempor-

is acutely aware of resurgent Japanese militarism. The collectivized economy that was the historic achievement of the October Revolution is just as antithetical to Japan Inc. as to Wall Street. And indeed, all the evidence indicates that the KAL 007 spy plane provocation against the Soviet Union, which brought us to the brink of WW III, was a joint U.S./Japanese/Korean operation.

Whether expressed in resurgent militarism or "yen power," there is no question that Japan's ruling elite is in an aggressive and self-confident mood. Witness the ominous revival of state-sponsored chauvinism directed against Japan's victims in the Pacific War. A new history text for high schools, authored by ultrarightists, whitewashes the crimes of Japanese militarism in Asia. Korea is said to have "agreed" to its annexation by Japan in 1910; the killing of 100,000 Chinese by Japanese troops in Nanking in 1937 is referred to as the "so-called Nanking massacre." On a state visit to Peking a few years ago, Nakasone enraged Chinese students by honoring the Japanese war dead killed during Japan's rape of China in the 1930s and '40s.

This government-sponsored revival of national chauvinism is not directed solely at Russia and the colonial victims of the former Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Addressing a study group of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party last September, Nakasone praised the high intelligence level of the Japanese and then went on to a disgusting racist remark that "the level in the United States is lower because of a considerable number of blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans." At the same time, a best-selling Japanese writer, Masami Uno, declares that "America is a Jewish nation" and that Jewish-dominated interests have begun "a targeted bashing of Japan" such as the recent surge of the yen against the dollar (*New York Times*, 12 March). Uno is no isolated crank either. Over 80 anti-Semitic books are reportedly now in circulation in Japan!

Behind these racist attacks is the growing resentment and antagonism of Japanese ruling circles toward their American rival. Last summer the Hong Kong-based business journal *Asian Finance* (15 August 1986) wrote: "For the first time since World War II, there is in Japan today a phenomenal swell of anger against US economic policy and its implications for the rest of the world. No matter whether Washington notices it or ignores it, Tokyo's mounting resentment is as unprecedented as it is potentially dangerous."

A counterpart to the growing anti-American sentiment within Japanese ruling circles is the far more virulent and widespread anti-Japanese hysteria in the United States. This hysteria is fueled above all by the union bureaucracy and "friend of labor" Democratic politicians. Last month Democratic Senator and declared presidential candidate Joseph Biden told the AFL-CIO executive committee: "If I were President today, I would be saying to the Japanese ... we're not going to start a new round of protectionist wars, but the dollar's going to continue to fall. It's going to continue to fall until it breaks your

Workers Beware:

Protectionist Poison

The main enemy is at home!

"The main enemy is at home!"
—WV No. 315, 15 October 1982.

back." (If the dollar continues to fall, it will trigger a flight of foreign capital, most of it Japanese, that will also break the back of the American economy.)

Yet the situation now confronting the working class in the U.S. and Japan is strikingly similar. Both face far-right governments committed to militarism, economic austerity and union-busting. Nakasone, by privatizing the Japan National Railways, is out to break the railwaymen's union, Kokuro, one of the strongest, most militant and left-wing unions in postwar Japan. For example, in 1960 Kokuro stopped the trains in a nationwide protest against renewal of the military treaty between Tokyo and Washington. Now Kokuro militants who oppose privatization are being victimized (forced to clean toilets and pull weeds in railyards). A number of these workers have committed suicide. But the desperation could well spark an explosion of class struggle in Japan, especially with the mass layoffs in basic industries such as steel and shipbuilding.

In the U.S., the AFL-CIO fat cats whip up protectionist frenzy, primarily against Japanese workers, precisely to prevent explosive class struggles that would drive them out of their Bal Harbour, Florida golf carts. Anti-Asian race-hatred has been a constant theme of American labor fakers since Chinese workers slaved on the railroads in the 19th century. And the bourgeoisie has used jingoist calls for tariffs, embargoes and trade war to bind the proletariat to its class enemy in preparation for imperialist war, while fostering racist terror against foreign-born workers at home. In 1864, the first workers International, the International Workingmen's Association, was founded in a fight against such social-chauvinism. As Karl Marx noted in his inaugural address:

"Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workers of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all

Members of the Eastern Bureau at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Moscow, 1922. Front row: Sen Katayama (center); Ho Chi Minh (left). Back row, center: M.N. Roy.



their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts."

Today, the United Auto Workers (UAW) tops have hired themselves out as company cops, spewing protectionist poison over the airwaves with TV ads to "keep America strong" with an "Active Trade Policy" (*UAW Solidarity*, February 1987). And the reformist left tags along. In response to a wave of plant closings by GM, the Communist Party USA calls on Congress "to take emergency action to halt the continuing export of capital and jobs" (*People's Daily World*, 12 February). In stark contrast, the genuine communists—Trotskyists—have a proud record of opposing chauvinist class-collaboration. Against the Toyota-bashing and Pearl Harbor Day anti-Japanese demos by the AFL-CIO, we proclaimed: "Workers: Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!" (*WV* No. 416, 21 November 1986).

For PR purposes, the labor fakers and their "left" water boys occasionally talk of international labor action. What they mean is a bunch of bureaucrats sitting down to a dinner in Amsterdam and passing empty resolutions. Real solidarity is joint action. Thus during last fall's East Coast dock strike, the

Spartacist League/U.S. sent a telegram to Korean and Japanese steel unions declaring:

"International labor solidarity can be key to victory in U.S. longshore strike. Oppose protectionist hysteria setting Japanese and American workers at each other's throats. Steel workers and dock workers must act together against union-busters from Wall Street to Tokyo. Japanese, Korean unions: don't increase steel exports to United States during ILA strike."

—*WV* supplement,
2 October 1986

Just as the UAW tops seek to protect "our market," the reformist fake-lefts side with "their" bourgeoisie in trade war and imperialist war. Thus in World War II, the Stalinist Communist Party in the U.S. cheered the imprisonment of Japanese Americans in concentration camps, and expelled their own members of Japanese descent. The then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, however, courageously came to the defense of the horribly persecuted Japanese Americans. Today the Spartacist League continues the Trotskyist tradition of revolutionary internationalism (see "The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps," *WV* No. 139, 7 January 1977).

The First International was founded

upon not only common workers action against the employers, but defense of the Polish insurrection of 1863 against tsarist autocracy, and the mobilization of English labor in support of a Union victory in the American Civil War against the slavocracy. That the black question is key to revolution in the U.S. was well understood by the pioneer of Japanese working-class socialism and communism, Sen Katayama. Katayama came to the United States in 1884, where he lived for eleven years, working his way through college. He attended Fisk University, a black school in Nashville. Katayama was a founder of the Communist International, and at the Comintern's Fourth Congress (1922) he aggressively championed black freedom. Claude McKay, the radical black intellectual, wrote in his 1923 essay "Soviet Russia and the Negro":

"When Sen Katayama of Japan, the veteran revolutionist, went from the United States to Russia in 1921 he placed the American Negro problem first upon his full agenda. And ever since he has been working unceasingly and unselfishly to promote the cause of the exploited American Negro among the Soviet councils of Russia."

—Wayne Cooper, ed., *The Passion of Claude McKay* (1973)

The fight against imperialist war is at the heart of the struggle for workers revolution. At the 1904 Amsterdam Congress of the Second International, held in the year of the Russo-Japanese War, the delegates elected Sen Katayama and Plekhanov as their joint presidents. It was a moving demonstration of socialist internationalism as the representatives of the two warring countries clasped hands on the platform. The continuity of Marx's international proletarian solidarity exists today in revolutionary Trotskyism. Urgently required is a world party of socialist revolution, the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International, to lead the working class to victory against the capitalist exploiters on both sides of the Pacific. ■

GM...

(continued from page 12)

Fraser joined the Chrysler board of directors in the 1979-80 givebacks, almost a third of the union membership has been slashed. And the business press eagerly predicts another 25 percent of the UAW, 170,000 workers, will go in the next three years (*Business Week*, 1 December 1986). The new Honda and Nissan assembly plants are non-union, and black Detroit has been decimated—after the planned GM closings only two assembly plants will remain in the city.

Local unions have been whipsawed against one another in competition for a shrinking pool of jobs, as the auto makers impose "team production" and new "work rules"—better known on the line as brutal speedup. GM/Toyota's Fremont, California plant grinds out 50 percent more cars per man-hour than the industry average—not because of high technology but through pure sweat and blood. At the new Flatrock, Michigan Mazda plant (formerly Ford's Michigan Casting foundry) over 100,000 applicants are being "screened" to see if they are "suitable for the team" for an expected 3,500 jobs. And UAW chief Bieber, loyal successor to company cop Fraser, is destroying tens of thousands of his members' jobs as he whips up support for the American bourgeoisie's trade war.

Tailing the UAW bureaucrats at the March 21 rally were a host of fake socialists, from the red, white and blue protectionists of the Stalinist Communist Party to a clot of grouplets who try to pass off anti-Sovietism as Trotskyism. The dubious David North's Workers League passed out a leaflet (no union bug) with paper criticisms of the UAW officialdom while calling on auto workers to attend this protectionist, pro-Democratic Party event. A featured speaker was former UAW International

Bitter Fruits of Betrayal

The Carter/Reagan years have been characterized by an all-sided assault on blacks and labor. From the mass firing of PATCO to the hideous massacre of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia, the racist rulers of this country get off on crushing minorities, poor and working people. The long list of isolated and defeated strikes—Arizona copper miners, Hormel meatpackers, TWA flight attendants—can be laid on the doorstep of the labor bureaucrats atop the mass industrial unions. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 1985 and 1986 there have been only 52 and 65 major strikes (of more than 1,000 workers) respectively, the lowest level since World War II. And the working class is paying a horrible price:

- Union-busting two-tier contracts were imposed on almost one million workers in the last two years.

- COLA was terminated or suspended for 372,000 union members in 1986.

- Medical benefits were reduced for 700,000 workers in 1985, and another 425,000 in 1986.

- Industrywide contracts were destroyed in auto, steel, longshore, canning and forest products.

- In the last ten years the number of workers under major union contracts in private industry has fallen by 3.5 million.

This tells the story for only the unionized working class. The unorganized, disproportionately minorities and women, face far more brutal exploitation. This is the price of playing by the bosses' rules. The enormous power of the American working class can be unleashed—by driving out the labor traitors and forging a leadership for hard class struggle.

hack Victor Reuther. Brother of long-time union president Walter Reuther and infamous as the UAW's European representative and CIA bag man during the 1950s, Victor Reuther was an architect of the class collaboration which led directly to the union-busting givebacks, beginning with Dodge Main in 1979, that have devastated the UAW and the entire labor movement. What an indictment of the reformist left that they are arm in arm with this professional anti-communist labor traitor!

Reuther is the broker for the "New Directions" lash-up of out-of-office bureaucrats like Jerry Tucker of the St. Louis-based Region 5, who are capitalizing on auto workers' anger at the

UAW tops' wholesale givebacks in local agreements, where locals are set against each other in obscene bidding wars for jobs. Chief among these is the infamous "Saturn Agreement," in which GM demanded and got massive concessions from the Bieber gang before the company even broke ground on a new "Japanese-style" plant. But Tucker and Reuther are every bit as protectionist and loyal to the Democratic Party as the current Solidarity House regime.

Auto workers have been ground down under the vicious anti-labor offensive of the Reagan years. With Reagan down the tubes, workers throughout the industry have a chance to strike back in defense of their jobs—but only

through a fight against the company cops in Solidarity House. While the U.S. and Japanese bourgeoisies unite in joint ventures to squeeze the shrinking UAW membership, the UAW misleaders push the racist poison that Japanese auto workers are the enemy! And under the banner of "Buy American," Reagan, to the applause of Democrats and bureaucrats, is going to price color TVs and VCRs out of a worker's home.

Instead of begging in the halls of Congress and all this protectionist crap, auto workers need fighting international solidarity! As we wrote when GM announced its plant closings last fall, at the same time it fired the striking workforce at its Port Elizabeth, South Africa plant and sent the brutal apartheid cops against them:

"A class-struggle leadership in the UAW would shut down the entire GM chain with militant strike action and plant occupations in solidarity with the courageous South African auto workers and in defense of the jobs of American workers. Such a leadership would oppose import quotas designed to rob Japanese and Korean workers of their jobs, and would appeal to these workers for their support by not boosting exports during a strike. But such a perspective requires a militant, internationalist leadership...."

—*WV* No. 416,
21 November 1986

And instead of Midwest auto workers just walking away from their jobs when GM padlocks the gates, a solid plant occupation could galvanize an industry-wide fight to take back the givebacks. It took sitdowns to build the UAW—it will take sharp class struggle to save it. Above all, what's needed is forging a revolutionary workers party that will fight for a workers government to end the criminal insanity of capitalist production—where hundreds of thousands of workers are thrown on the scrap heap in order to pad profits—and replace it with an internationally planned socialist economy. ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

"last dollar" for the contras unless something changed dramatically in Nicaragua. And with the Tower Report behind them, with "moderate" Howard Baker installed as prime minister, the administration seems hell-bent on doing just that. Because for them, time is running out.

So in late March, Pentagon officers announced a mammoth military exercise, code-named Solid Shield, deploying 50,000 troops in the southern U.S. and throughout the Caribbean and Central America. The maneuvers, by far the largest ever held in the region, are scheduled for May as a "show of force" in conjunction with a contra "spring offensive," and "to simulate an American response to a request from Honduras to help fight Nicaraguan forces," according to the *New York Times* (22 March). Included will be paratrooper battalions from the 82nd Airborne at Fort Bragg, North Carolina; helicopter troops from the 101st Airborne at Fort Campbell, Kentucky; and Marine amphibious units from Camp Lejeune, North Carolina.

Even more ominous are the naval "maneuvers." Not only will Coast Guard units be put under Navy command by presidential order, for the first time there will be a "simulated evacuation" of the garrison at Guantánamo, the U.S. naval base in Cuba. Why an evacuation? Clearly what's involved here is setting up for a naval blockade of Cuba, whether for practice or for real. And the number of 50,000 military personnel leaves out a lot of units that are already deployed. There are more than 20,000 American soldiers between Panama and Honduras, including a dozen units around the canal and eight U.S.-built airfields in Honduras. Army engineers in Costa Rica have just completed Bailey bridges providing a coastal highway for rapid access from Panama to the Nicaraguan border. The U.S. battleship *Iowa* has been patrolling off Nicaragua's eastern coast and numerous state National Guard units have been maneuvering in Honduras.

There has been an endless succession of training maneuvers over the last five years. Clearly, one of their main purposes has been psychological warfare, to rattle the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) leadership. But this time, with upwards of 75,000 American troops involved, all the forces will be there for a full-scale U.S. assault on Central America. These are the same units mentioned in a detailed *Los Angeles Weekly* article last December that laid out extensive U.S. plans for an invasion of Nicaragua which "prior to the current White House troubles... would likely have occurred—and may still occur—by April" of 1987. A high-ranking Green Beret officer said that the preferred invasion scenario was "coming off a training exercise." And as the *New York Times* (19 February) commented about the last airborne maneuver, "Had the paratroopers flown on for about an hour more, they could have parachuted into Managua."

Will they do it? The Joint Chiefs of Staff, gun-shy after U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat at the hands of the heroic Indochinese, are on record against a U.S. invasion. But that does not exhaust the administration's "options." One possibility would be a rerun of the U.S.' April 1986 attack on Libya: a bombing run over a Nicaraguan military airfield, to claim destruction of a "Soviet base," along with terror bombing of Managua—and with no ground troops involved they force the Democrats to take a position. The National Security Council is also studying a naval blockade of Nicaragua, a move called for by Democrat Mondale in the '84 election campaign. But if the war-crazy Reagan regime does try an assault, it could backfire big-time: This



May Day, 1984: Nicaraguan workers urgently need a Bolshevik party to lead fight for power.

won't be a Grenada: the Nicaraguans will fight, block by block, producing high casualties.

Above all, the consequences inside the U.S. could be explosive. The "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well—the American working people are deeply hostile to another Third World military adventure against a popular revolution. Consistently throughout the Reagan years, polls have shown a 2-to-1 majority against contra aid, and four out of five Americans opposed to sending U.S. troops to Central America. Yet today, even after Reagagate, a sizable majority think it is likely or highly likely that "their" government will send in the Marines. The racist labor-haters in power, who for the last six years have gloried in busting unions and taking food out of black babies' mouths, are in turmoil and vulnerable. There is mass revulsion against the U.S.' dirty war against Nicaragua, but the organizers of the April 25 peace crawl want to channel this into pressuring the Democratic-controlled "contra Congress." Defense of Nicaragua means driving out Reagan through sharp class struggle!

Sandinistas Conciliate Counterrevolution

As Reagan's Nicaragua policy collapses, saner elements among the imperialists are looking around for another way to strangle social revolution in Central America. Their ploy is the "peace" initiative named after Costa Rican president Oscar Arias. This is the current embodiment of the "Contadora" proposals, attempts by Latin American rulers to disarm Nicaragua by diplomatic means. Last month, the U.S. Senate went on record supporting the plan by a vote of 97 to 1, and the Democrats have made this the centerpiece of their neo-"containment" alternative to Reagan's failed "rollback" policy. Dangerously, the FSLN leadership has shown interest in the Arias plan which calls for "broad dialogue" with the political opposition, i.e., the internal counterrevolution. It would also require "disarmament of the irregular forces," such as Salvadoran guerrillas and Nicaraguan militias, 300,000 peasants and workers, men and women under arms.

Meanwhile, the Sandinistas are moving to patch things up with the elements of the bourgeois opposition. Ortega sought reconciliation with the church hierarchy, holding talks with Cardinal Obando y Bravo last September. In November, the FSLN greeted a Catholic eucharistic congress while the government transported and housed thousands of peasants, and publicized the event. Under orders from the Vatican, the "contra cardinal" is keeping a low profile and the papal nuncio has taken over. In response to the Arias plan Sandinista interior minister Tomás Borge said that the reactionary, U.S.-financed *La Prensa* could reopen if there were a cease-fire, even if this voice for the internal contras "would still be a spokesman for the United States." And

the Spanish weekly *Cambio 16* (2 March) reports that Sandinista representatives have met in Mexico City with top contra leaders Cruz and Arturo Robelo.

Ever since coming to power at the head of the popular uprising that overthrew the tyrant Somoza in 1979, the FSLN has sought "peaceful coexistence" not only with Yankee imperialism internationally but also with its local agents, the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. This policy is expressed in the Sandinista trinity of "political pluralism, mixed economy and non-alignment" which was just consecrated in the Nicaraguan constitution that was signed into law January 9. Calling for "national unity," the FSLN made a number of concessions to the reactionaries in order to gain a consensus. And in fact the constitution was adopted with the support of a majority of the bourgeois opposition, including right-wing Conservatives. On the left, only the small Marxist-Leninist Party voted against.

The constitution reflects the contradictory character of the petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime itself. Thus the Preamble calls for "the institutionalization of the achievements of the Revolution and the construction of a new society that eliminates all forms of exploitation and achieves economic, political and social equality among Nicaraguans..." Yet the Fundamental Principles assure the continuation of exploitation, not to mention inequality, by guaranteeing private property—i.e., capitalist ownership of the means of production. Thus most of the constitution's promises are pie in the sky; its guarantees to the capitalists mean it could be the legal framework for the consolidation of a bourgeois state.

While revealing the appetites of the Sandinista leaders, these developments are hardly decisive. Nicaragua is under



Spartacist League demonstrates in New York: "Crush the Contras!"

siege, militarily and economically, by implacably hostile U.S. imperialism. All of the FSLN's offers to cut a deal are rejected. Moreover, Daniel Ortega mentioned in his speech at the constitution rally a fundamental obstacle to counter-revolution: "The people have hundreds of thousands of rifles. If the people don't want this government, they can do away with it. What better proof of democracy?" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 January). Yet while the masses have guns, the bosses have economic power. The only way to abolish exploitation is through achieving the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The urgent need in Nicaragua today is to complete, defend and extend the Revolution.

For a Workers and Peasants Government!

When the Sandinista Army marched into Managua on 19 July 1979 following a bloody weeks-long popular insurrection, it marked the destruction of the existing capitalist state. The National Guard, the pillar of the Somozaist regime, fled in terror. The initial governing junta included leaders of the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie, including the widow Chamorro and future contra leader Robelo. But the guns were in the hands of the FSLN, and that was decisive. This petty-bourgeois, radical-nationalist regime was not committed to defending either bourgeois private property or the collectivized property of proletarian rule. However, as bonapartists, they were committed to defending their monopoly of armed force, and they quickly disarmed the urban militias.

The economic structure of Sandinista Nicaragua was established almost instantly. The only significant nationalizations were of the properties of Somoza and his cronies. Since it was a one-family state, however, this represented about 40 percent of the entire economy. From 1979 to 1984, the Nicaraguan economy had the highest growth rate in Central America, due to international aid and the recovery from the tremendous destruction left by Somoza's "razed earth" war against the people. But the toll of U.S. imperialism's economic war on Sandinista Nicaragua, the CIA's contra war and Reagan's 1985 trade embargo has dramatically escalated. As a result, agricultural exports fell, manufacturing production fell, consumer imports fell, inflation skyrocketed to 700 percent a year, and workers' incomes fell to the point where Nicaragua today has a "survival economy."

The most important economic fact about Nicaragua today is the spiraling growth of a black market. Speculation and hoarding have become so prevalent that they threaten to overwhelm the "official" economy. Tens of thousands of people are involved, from street vendors to managers siphoning off products of their own factories and institutions. Salaries are so low that many enterprises pay in kind, with a few yards of cloth or a pair of shoes every month, which are then sold on the black market. When one Managua textile factory abandoned payments in kind, a fifth of the workforce quit because they couldn't live on their wages. The governor of Managua, Carlos Carrión, told the London *Guardian* (18 February) that the deformities are so severe "they could lead to the disappearance of the working class, the decomposition of our social base and, eventually, impede the very development of the revolution."

The economy has become the Achilles' heel of the Revolution. The FSLN seeks to keep the wheels of their "mixed economy" turning by bribing the remaining capitalists with dollar incentives and investment credits. But the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie refuses to invest, squirrels its profits (and sons) abroad, and uses its dollar subsidies to fuel the black market. With its social base endangered, the Sandinistas in 1985 adopted a "New Economic Policy"

favoring the peasantry. Previously land reform had been limited to setting up cooperatives and state farms on estates seized from the Somozaists, and encouraging export production. Now the FSLN started handing out parcels to peasant families: more than twice as many individual allotments were granted in the last six months of 1985 as in the previous six years. By the end of 1986 nearly 80,000 peasant families had received land, not by expropriating the big landlords, for the most part, but by breaking up state farms.

In 1984 the contras were getting support from land-starved peasants who couldn't sell their produce at a profit; by 1987 all observers agree that the countryside has become a bastion of support for the Sandinistas. But in the cities, the workers are reduced to pursuing *bisnes* (moonlighting) in the black market to make ends meet, while absenteeism soars and productivity plummets in the factories. The 1987 Sandinista economic plan vows to "reduce differences between the city and the countryside," certainly a strategic revolutionary objective. But in the absence of a collective economy, the only way this can be accomplished is by reducing the working class to total penury. The balance sheet of the capitalist "mixed economy" is subsidies for the rich, massive scarcity, inflation and unemployment for the workers. It is a fatal contradiction threatening the survival of the Revolution.

One of Washington's main objectives is to "bleed" Nicaragua to the point that—they hope—after an invasion, the populace would not rise up against a U.S. occupying force and puppet government. The imperialists grievously miscalculate the reaction of the Nicaraguan masses. But the danger of demoralization is real. The way to finish off the contras is to expropriate the capitalists, the internal fifth column, who are the bankrollers and the social base of the counterrevolution. The mouthpiece for Yankee war propaganda known by the workers and poor of Nicaragua as "La Prensa" must be seized by the workers. This requires a Bolshevik vanguard that fights to politically break the masses from the Sandinista holy trinity that ties them to their exploiters. A Nicaraguan Trotskyist party forged on the program of permanent revolution, fighting for a workers and peasants government and for the international extension of the Revolution, is the key to victory.

As the Reagan regime goes down, as the war increasingly engulfs all of Central America, both the possibility and urgency of building such an internationalist leadership are heightened. Even in the quintessential banana republic of Honduras, today transformed into a "landlocked aircraft carrier" for the Pentagon, there have been workers' marches demanding contras and U.S. bases out. Next door in El Salvador, the Duarte regime is hanging by a thread, opposed by both big business and a militant labor movement, while the FMLN guerrillas are again on the offensive, proclaiming: "Duarte is weaker than ever.... Everyone to battle." The battle for Central America extends far beyond the narrow strategic isthmus. Mexico is already seething, with hundreds of thousands of students on the march and workers' strikes mushrooming. And in the U.S. itself, the Reagan administration may find out that not all wars push up presidential polls.

Labor, blacks, students: U.S. war moves in Central America must be fought, not by begging the Democrats, but through militant class protest, including political labor strikes against a Yankee invasion. Reagan is already down, but he is a wounded and dangerous beast. Now is the hour to strike, to take back the givebacks and cutbacks, to drive out this viciously racist Reagan regime with sharp class

Columbia...

(continued from page 3)

"Transit Workers Demand Labor/Black Action to Stop Racist Terror!" and "The Klan Doesn't Ride in Moscow!" The Spartacist banner read, "From Soweto to Harlem—Smash Racist Terror!"

As the campus discotheque closed its doors at 2:00 a.m. on March 22, black Columbia student Mike Jones was assaulted by a white football player who had subjected him to physical intimidation and racist verbal harassment on several previous occasions. This was the signal for a racist riot, as white jocks and frat rats set upon and beat any black male they could get their hands on. The bourgeois press (including the campus *Spectator*) portrayed the attack as a "brawl," but a black woman who witnessed the scene described what happened: "There were about 20 white students. They were crazy. There were only about eight blacks. Mike was getting stomped into the concrete and mud. Those white students were out for blood. We were sure someone would get killed." Black Columbia security guards who attempted to intervene were themselves attacked by the racists. Mike Jones had to be treated at a hospital for injuries to his legs and arms.

Black student leaders responded immediately, organizing a demonstration of 200 students that marched through "Fraternity Row" that afternoon. Four days later, demonstrators chanting "No justice, no peace!" again rallied in front of the Sigma Chi Alpha fraternity house, home of two ringleaders of the racist mob. Black student leader Tanaquil Jones explained some of the history of this racist frat:

"Their Southern affiliates burn crosses on college campuses. A few years ago, members of this fraternity beat a homosexual student with a 2x4, and fractured his skull... [in 1983] they held a woman here, tied her down against her will, and sexually molested her."

Jocks and frat rats threw water and eggs at the demonstrators from windows up above, emboldened by the protection of a large contingent of police. Tanaquil Jones noted that the police "are never on the side of the oppressed—never. Their job is to protect the state, and racists.... That's what they get paid to do." Indeed, the NYC cops play an active role as *perpetrators* of racist murder, as illustrated by the cop murders of Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs, covered up by the city administration and given legal sanction by the courts.

The Ivy League race-terrorists at Columbia don't know where they are—this university is in the middle of *Harlem*. Black student leaders have stressed this connection, as well as Columbia's role as slumlord of the community. Recently the university attempted to evict a Hispanic woman Columbia employee from her university-owned apartment; as compensation, university president Michael Sovern (who is a member of Mayor Koch's homeless task force) offered her a list of homeless shelters! Black students have also sought out and won the support of campus workers organized by AFSCME Local 1199 and UAW District 65, as well as other student organizations and community organizations in Harlem.

On April 4, anti-racists will again assemble at Columbia, this time for a march through Harlem. The militant, integrated protest in response to the racist attack at Columbia comes at a time when cop bonapartism and lynch mob terror have put New York City on the razor's edge, and Koch's police commissioner is already threatening a long, hot summer. During the prolonged divestment blockade in the spring of 1985, a march through Harlem was diverted to a church for an electoral rally for black Democrat C. Vernon Mason. *Conduct a demonstration of anti-racist outrage by*

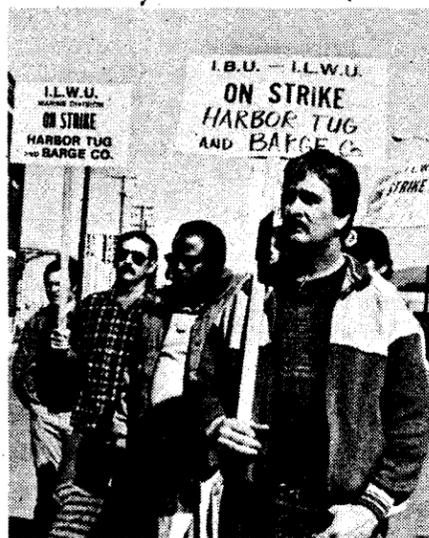
capitalist politicians can only postpone the day when the *racially integrated labor movement*, in alliance with the ghetto, will mete out richly deserved justice to race-terrorist scum, from the ivied walls of Columbia to Howard Beach, Queens. At a mass meeting of over 500 students on March 24, Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Cheri James was applauded when she said: "The response to acts of racist terror like this should be to shut down the campus! These racists are the same people who will be trying to break up the picket lines of union 1199 when they go out on strike.... It's the working class which has the power to smash racist terror." ■

West Coast Dockers...

(continued from page 12)

scabs rushed into a company van and crashed through a gate to flee the scene. Several vehicles had their tires flattened and the workers then withdrew in good order. The dock was shut down.

Though company officials rushed to the bosses' court to get an injunction



WV Photo

Waterfront unions rally in defense of boatmen's strike, Port of Oakland, February 22.

limiting pickets, and a port arbitrator labeled the walkout "illegal," the workers had carried the day. As we go to press, the Operating Engineers—having discovered that strikebreaking can be hazardous to your health—have said they will not cross the IBU picket lines again. The barges remain unloaded and longshoremen say they will shut the port again if Crowley tries it.

The Bay Area port shutdown is *exactly* the kind of action needed to win the IBU strike and spike the ongoing offensive against all waterfront workers. The IBU struck Crowley February 6 when the employer refused to accept union concession offers of up to 27 percent in wages, benefits and manning scales, demanded the elimination of the union hiring hall and set out to break the union. Crowley staffed its tugs with strikebreakers including members of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association. The shippers have been circumvent-

ing the strike by calling in non-Crowley tugs when IBU pickets show up or ILWU members refuse to work. Shipping has not been markedly reduced.

In the March 20 port strike members were acting in solidarity with their IBU union brothers and letting the bosses know they will not tolerate this threat to their union. The PMA bosses have never reconciled themselves to the gains of the 1934 general strike, which firmly established the ILWU on the West Coast and was one of the three key class battles which paved the way for the industrial unions of the CIO. In recent months the shippers have greedily watched developments in the southern Atlantic and Gulf ports, where the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) has accepted massive erosion of its jurisdiction and wages due to the growth of non-union operations. In last year's ILA strike from Maine to Virginia, the militancy of the ranks was betrayed when the ILA leadership accepted a two-tier wage agreement. PMA president William Coday threatens that management has "a firm determination that there must be similar changes in direction on our own coast" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 March). The ILWU itself has made significant concessions to scab operators on the West Coast: in the Seattle and Puget Sound ports Alaskan cargo is now handled by non-ILWU and non-union workers. And just as the ILA tops' collaboration with the bosses paved the way for substandard contracts, former ILWU president Harry Bridges accepted the destruction of thousands of longshore jobs with his "mechanization and modernization" contracts in the early '60s.

Now the PMA is gunning for the union hiring hall. The *Chronicle* article quotes a "labor-management" study which "called into question the equal sharing of jobs. It recommends more permanent positions for longshoremen and less dispatching from hiring halls—issues that may bring to mind the strike of 1934." The membership of the ILWU correctly understands that they will have to fight to preserve their jobs. But the ILWU leadership of Jimmy Herman & Co. do not want to shut the ports down. They *fear* a major confrontation with the shipowners and the government, even when the U.S. president who ushered in the recent era of union-bashing can barely remember he's still in the White House. One ILWU official said, "Should we take on the whole country? What if it fails?" (*Chronicle*, 31 March).

What about some real class struggle and *winning* for a change? It took reds to organize the general strikes of '34—SF, Toledo and Minneapolis. The "downtown" Democratic politicians are *enemies* of labor. We need a class-struggle workers party today. Labor should sock it to Reagan, and the ILWU's port shutdown showed it can inspire a Bay Area labor counteroffensive against years of concessions and givebacks: Shut down maritime! Screw the injunctions—For mass picketing! Make the waterfront 100 percent union! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Win West Coast Tug Strike—Shut Down the Ports!

1,000 Dockers Run Off Scabs

ILWU Action Sparks Shipyard Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, March 31—The six-week-old strike of 600 tugboat workers, members of the Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU), exploded here March 20 when hundreds of longshoremen stormed a dock to run off strikebreakers and shut down every port on San Francisco Bay. Inspired by the militant action of members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), yesterday 300 plumbers at Todd and other shipyards in San Francisco struck to the cheers of 1,500 other yard workers who observed their picket lines. "We ain't going through. This is what we need to get the unions back together," a union official said (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 March). The ILWU action bloodied the maritime bosses in a test of strength on the waterfront, with the ILWU's contract with the Pacific Maritime Association expiring June 30. Longshoremen must *extend* this action by shutting down the ports! For a Bay Area-wide maritime/waterfront strike! IBU, longshore, seamen, shipyard workers—all out together! Link up with Teamsters, railroad and airline workers—nothing moves!

Crowley Maritime, one of the largest



Fink/Times Tribune

ILWU pickets rout scabs at Redwood City port, March 20.

tugboat and shipping companies in the country, upped the ante in its drive to crush the IBU. Late on the night of March 19, it had three barges belonging to a subsidiary, Hawaii Marine Lines, towed under cover of darkness from an Oakland pier to the less used Port of Redwood City. The barges had sat in Oakland for over a week as longshoremen refused to unload them. Monitoring ship movements with picket boats

and by radio, the IBU (affiliated to the ILWU) called on their union brothers.

Early the next morning, pickets began gathering at the Redwood City pier. Anger grew as the scabs of the Operating Engineers Union, hired by Crowley to replace the ILWUers who normally work the overhead cranes, began unloading the \$5 million cargo of canned pineapple and automobiles. At 11 a.m., some 1,700 ILWU members walked off

the job, shutting down all longshore work in the Bay, and nearly 1,000 of these gathered in Redwood City. Sixty cops from seven different Bay Area jurisdictions, some clad in riot gear, were called in to protect the strikebreakers. But militant longshoremen weren't having it. About 2 p.m., 200 workers, some carrying 2x4s, stormed the front gate and headed for the wharf. A dozen

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UAW Tops Beg Democrats, Push Protectionism

GM Job Massacre

For Industrywide Strike Action!

Nine thousand members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 594 struck GM's Pontiac Truck and Bus plant on March 26. Over 3,000 local members are among the 30,000 GM workers being thrown on the street in the next year, as the auto giant closes eleven plants in Michigan, Missouri, Ohio and Illinois. Incredibly, the Local 594 officials didn't even mention the mass layoffs, limiting "negotiations" to disputes over "strikeable" issues—which doesn't include the wholesale elimination of jobs! Though the strike was touted as the first "showdown" of the auto contract period, the UAW bureaucrats called it off after two days. The bosses' press applauded the settlement, but nothing is settled for Truck and Bus workers, and tens of thousands of others facing plant closings and mass layoffs. What's

needed is industrywide strike action coupled with plant occupations to defend their jobs now!

Prior to the strike in Pontiac, 3,000 UAW members attended a "Stop Plant Closings" rally in Detroit on March 21. The mainly black workers came from threatened plants throughout the Midwest, looking for answers to the mass layoffs at GM. The crowd was fed a rehashed Solidarity House diet of begging the Democrats for legislation and bashing the Japanese. Organized by bureaucrats from Fleetwood UAW Local 15 (which GM will start closing in June) and supporters of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP), the rally didn't even have a *pretense* of militant labor struggle. The Marcyites pleaded with Reagan (!) and Congress to declare a "moratorium" on plant closings.

Featured speakers were black Democrats Jesse Jackson and Congressman John Conyers, who sits on the WWP's popular-front "A Job Is a Right" campaign. Jackson obscenely dismissed the wave of racist terror from Howard Beach to colleges across the country, with the incredible assertion that since racist violence was "illegal" he wasn't worried about it.

Since UAW president Owen Bieber was busy once again crawling to Washington, Region 1-A director Ernest Lofton spoke for Solidarity House. He pleaded with the capitalist politicians that "workers have a right to be informed" when they are going to be thrown on the street. His "America first" chauvinism was loud and clear: "We need protection for American workers in America, and then we start worrying about the rest of the world." This is the chauvinist poison that killed Chinese American Vincent Chin on the streets of Detroit five years ago, when a racist Chrysler foreman bludgeoned



Hartley/Detroit Free Press

Strikers picket Pontiac, Michigan, GM plant March 26.

him to death screaming, "Because of you, little motherfucker, we're out of work."

Workers at GM and throughout auto are taking a pounding as the 1987 contract negotiations approach. Since the industrywide contract was ripped up and former UAW president Doug

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