

Complete the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Kill the Invaders!

As we go to press, U.S. imperialism has savagely escalated its bloody siege aimed at overthrowing the government of Nicaragua. On Sunday a radio transmitter of CIA-backed counter-revolutionary forces based in Honduras claimed that four towns had been taken in the central province of Matagalpa, only 70 miles from the capital of Managua. On Monday, March 21, defense minister Humberto Ortega, a member of the nine-man directorate of the Sandinista National

Liberation Front (FSLN), announced that 1,400 *contras* had launched a large-scale incursion into Nicaraguan territory. Some 1,200 are reportedly fighting government troops in the hills along the Honduran border (provinces of Jinotega and Nueva Segovia), while another 200 mercenaries, many of them former soldiers of the National Guard of bloody dictator Anastasio Somoza, are attacking in Matagalpa. Ortega declared that the invaders had been surrounded. But this massive

infiltration of anti-Sandinista commandos could be the spearhead of a counterrevolutionary Bay of Pigs II. It is the elementary internationalist duty of socialists to defend the Nicaraguan revolution against the U.S.-controlled *contras*.

It cost 50,000 lives to get rid of the hyena of Managua. The overthrow of West Point graduate Somoza in Nicaragua opened up the prospect for social revolution throughout Central America, that is, in the very "back-

yard" of U.S. imperialism. Soon a civil war in El Salvador was pitting leftist guerrillas against a rightist junta and its blood-drenched death squads. The recent visit to the region by anti-Communist ideologue Pope John Paul Wojtyla posed matters sharply: it is revolution or counterrevolution in Central America. The U.S. ruling class fears above all that the popular insurgencies will spill over into Mexico, now shaken by severe economic crisis. This naked imperialist provocation against Nicaragua is aimed at smashing revolutionary struggles throughout the Americas. With a knife at their throats, the masses *can* be mobilized. So long as the U.S. doesn't go all out, the Sandinistas should be able to beat anyone in the area, because they have the people with them. Workers, peasants and all the oppressed must join hands against the
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World Capitalist Crisis: Bleeding Workers, Poor, Bailing Out Wall Street

Bank Crash of 1983?

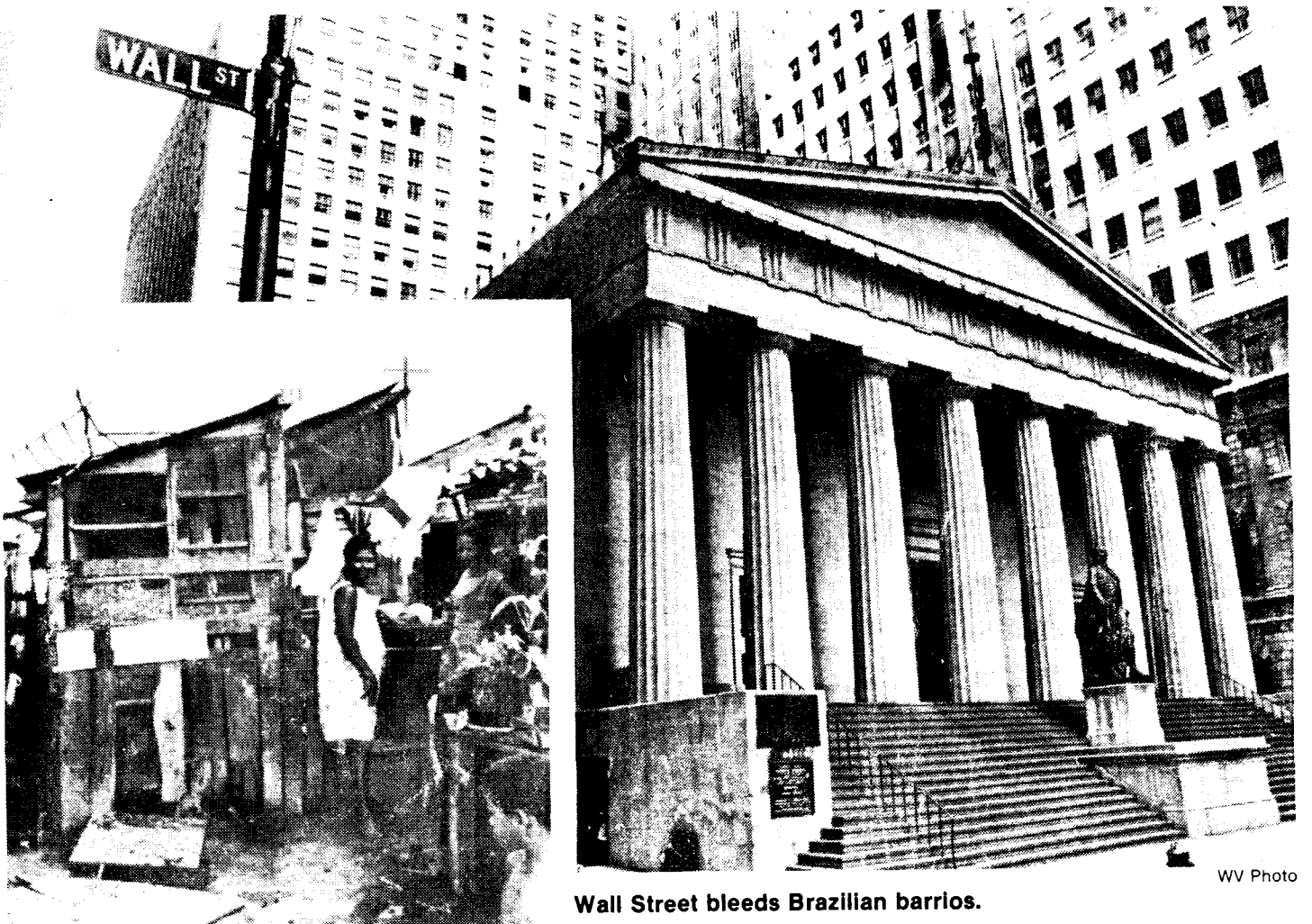
"The issue of global debt has come to the fore at a time of economic and financial strain, which is unparalleled in the post-World War II era and looks, in some respects, frighteningly reminiscent of the Great Depression."

—Morgan Guaranty Trust's
World Financial Markets,
February 1983

"Dr. Doom" is the highest-paid economist in the United States. That's the nickname of Henry Kaufman, chief analyst for the giant Wall Street bond dealer Philbro-Salomon. A colleague attributes Kaufman's superior predictive ability to the fact that "he is an incurable pessimist. When things go wrong, he's right, and things have been going wrong with great frequency the past five years."

For two generations Americans have been told that it—the Great Crash and the Great Depression—could never happen again. Keynesian stabilization policies and measures like unemployment insurance would prevent a sharp and prolonged fall in national income. Institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade would prevent a recurrence of the international financial chaos and trade wars of the 1930s.

But today respected capitalist spokesmen are speaking of a second Great Depression. Wall Street investment banker Felix Rohatyn: "I have been in business for 34 years and I believe we are facing the most dangerous worldwide economic situation of my professional experience." Wall Street investment banker Jeffrey Garten, former deputy director of the State Department's policy planning staff: "As Mexico,



Wall Street bleeds Brazilian barrios.

WV Photo

Poland and Argentina edge toward bankruptcy, world banking is likely to be presented with its worst crisis since the Great Depression." Former West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt: "...if we misread the signs of the times and continue to let the reins drag, our children will compare them with the catastrophe of the 1930s."

And indeed the Great Depression of the 1930s has become the standard of comparison for the state of the world capitalist economy. In the U.S. 30 percent of factory capacity lies idle as unemployment and bankruptcies are at the highest levels in four decades. Thirty-two million are unemployed in the advanced capitalist countries of

North America, West Europe, Japan and Australasia. The economies of the backward capitalist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which depend on exporting agricultural products and other raw materials, are ravaged as the prices of these commodities have fallen to the lowest levels in
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Cops Protect Nazis in Ann Arbor

ANN ARBOR, March 21—Fifteen Hitler-lovers and Klansmen were sent packing today with their Confederate and Nazi flags by 30 supporters of Progressive Labor Party (PL) and its front group, the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR). It all took place seconds after the fascists were escorted into Ann Arbor's City Hall Plaza by some of the scores of cops present in full riot gear. Unlike March 20 a year ago, however, when a labor-backed mobilization of 2,000, initiated by the Spartacist League (SL), drove the same "SS Action Group" out of town, this time only 200 anti-Nazi demonstrators showed up, tops, and the PL/InCAR militants suffered nine arrests.

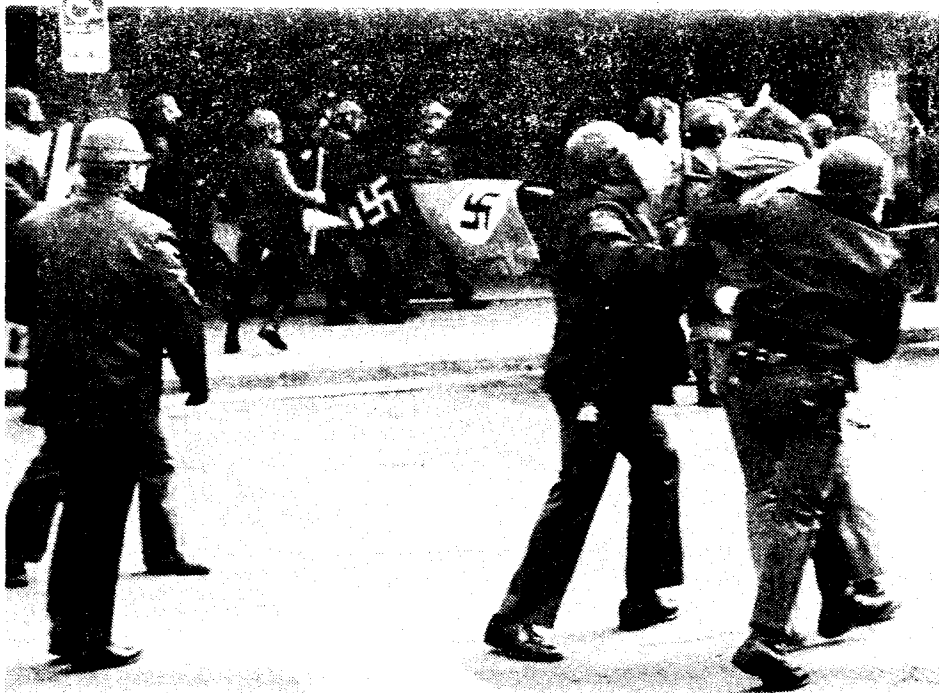
Dozens of the cops present—which included Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti police, the Washtenaw county sheriff's tactical squad, Michigan state police, University of Michigan security forces and the Federal Protective Service—waded into the PL/InCAR contingent, clubbing and brutally dragging off anti-fascist demonstrators with choke holds, including one who had stood still with his hands raised. The cops and city administration are determined to protect the fascist killers and throw the book at anyone who stands in their way. Drop the charges against the anti-Nazi demonstrators!

PL/InCAR supporters showed courage in implementing PL's adventurist "strategy" of substituting their small numbers for the power of the working class in combating the fascists. While we appreciate PL's exploits in taking out Klansmen and Nazis one-on-one, a lot of PLers must be thinking that it's not good to be beaten and jailed every week. And we have to observe, as Marxists, that you can win an occasional battle this way—but substitutionist sectarianism will never mobilize the working class to smash the fascist threat by organizing to overthrow capitalism. In contrast, the Spartacist League has been able to carry out our program of labor/black defense with striking success: Detroit, November 1979; San Francisco, 1980; Ann Arbor, March 1982; Chicago, June 1982 and last November 27 in Washington. In each and every case the Trotskyists were able to bring out hundreds and thousands of blacks and labor militants, backed up by the power of the unions, to stop the fascist terrorists in their tracks.

For the last month, the threat of the fascist provocation in Ann Arbor on March 20 has hung over the working people, blacks, Jews, students and gays of the area. The Nazis vowed to "break the red hold on Ann Arbor," calling for the freedom of Nazi mass killer Klaus Barbie and telling the press they were goose-stepping that day to back Rea-



WV Photos



Drop the charges against the anti-Nazi protesters!

gan's war plans in Central America. The fascists have made repeated incursions into the suburbs of Detroit in recent weeks; in Southfield, a largely Jewish suburb adjacent to Detroit, where they clandestinely appeared at the civic center; at the local ABC television station to protest the cancellation of Klan leader Bill Wilkinson's "debate" with Bobby Seale (which the SL was able to scotch by mobilizing representatives of black and labor organizations in a call-in campaign); and now Ann Arbor last Sunday. Their main target for intimidation and violence is the predominantly black population of Detroit and its integrated unions.

The cops, city council and the mayor of "liberal" Ann Arbor vowed to guarantee that the Nazis would be able to carry out their obscene provocation. "Silence" editorialized the *Ann Arbor News*; "Stay Home" was the advice from the campus *Michigan Daily*. The Ann Arbor police chief displayed his riot helmet and baton and promised to "deal forcefully with any and all lawbreakers." Ann Arbor authorities were looking for revenge for the 2,000-strong demonstration which chased the fascist killers out of town last year. Sharing the bourgeoisie's hatred for the communists is a motley crew of reformists and centrists who have spent the last year violence-baiting or, alternately, cop-baiting the SL. Well, on March 20 they got a chance to show their stuff, and they brought out a tenth as many as last year. Led by this crew, for whom the "main enemy" is the Spartacist League (the KKK and Nazis run a distant second), the March 20 event was shaping up as a good chance for the anti-Spart "left" and the vengeful cops to "get" us. Well, it's not our approach to lead people into traps. So we forbore

direct intervention, while doing what we could to assist certain other action groups who wanted to get the god-damned Nazis. Because even in petty-bourgeois Ann Arbor, the land of college town beansprout totalitarianism, the fascists have no "right" to parade their flag of genocidal racist terror.

The All-Peoples Congress (APC), a popular-front outfit run by Sam Marcy's Stalinoid Workers World Party (WWP), took time out from its court suit demanding cheese from Reagan to organize a "unity" gab-fest to "protest" the Nazis. Joined by the small state-capitalist Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), the WWP/APC never had any intention of stopping the Nazis. The Marcyites waited on a street corner a block away and only marched into City Hall Plaza chanting, "We're fired up, ain't going to take it no more," after the Nazis had been loaded into their U-Haul truck and driven away. The APC "protest" was an irrelevant and pathetic anti-climax, with speakers urging the spectators to "write Washington" to protest unemployment. One APC speaker compared the poor and oppressed to fleas on a dog (!) and implored those who bothered to listen to "keep the dog itching until it scratches"!!

Joining the APC and the RSL on the popular-front podium was the cult-sect, Peter Sollenberger's and Leland Sanderson's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). These most ardent practitioners of the anti-Spartacist "Big Lie" slanders have opposed virtually every successful anti-fascist mobilization in the last several years because they have been led by the SL. This year the dozen or so Sollenberger groupies at the March 20 demonstration briefly joined

PL's picket line. But when the Nazis arrived seconds later the RWLers turned tail and fled to the other side of the plaza while PL confronted the Nazis. Later, RWL supporter Joe Graves, speaking from the APC podium, simply lied that "unfortunately" the RWL had arrived too late "to give the Nazis a proper reception." These scabbing centrists lack the courage to more than verbally participate in PL's adventurist bashes.

In March of last year 2,000 came out to stop the Nazis. Moreover the RWL and RSL insisted, contrary to every bit of evidence, that they, not the Spartacists, brought out the masses. But this year only 200 showed up. Well, which is it, Peter Sollenberger? Either there were really 2,000 there again this year—or you're a liar! What brought out 2,000 last year was the work of the SL, backed by sections of the Michigan labor movement. A number of other groups also attempted to get in on the act, trying to split the difference between liberals who wanted to let the Nazis march and the SL who called to "Stop the Nazis." (In the aftermath, the reformists and centrists claimed the SL had inexplicably "attacked" our own demonstration. Now, Sollenberger resorts to outright racist language—"Carpetbaggers on the Prowl"—seeking to belittle the SL-initiated mobilization of 5,000 mainly black protesters who stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27.)

At this year's Ann Arbor demonstration, the cops actually set the Nazis up for attack, then busted up and arrested the anti-fascist demonstrators. So PL jumped the sons-of-bitches, a good thing in and of itself, and got some misdemeanor and felony charges as a result. (Subsequently the felony charges were reduced to disorderly conduct, a misdemeanor; and the misdemeanors were reduced to disturbing the peace.) We helped them out with the bail money, some \$300, which they initially refused to accept. PL's strategy is substitutionist, not to mention sectarian, on all counts, but at least they got the fascists... this time. It's more than one can say of the RWL/RSL who walked off at the crucial moment.

On March 20 over a quarter of the crowd bought Spartacist literature spelling out our program of labor/black mobilization to stop racist terror. Many commented that the demonstration a year ago was more effective. (In Washington on November 27, PL/InCAR marched off in splendid isolation, while the RWL and RSL were two miles away together with the WWP/APC applauding for the liberal Democrats.) Not adventurist stunts nor pandering to the liberals will stop the fascist scum; only mass mobilization of the working class and the oppressed can stop the fascists. Free all PL/InCAR supporters—Drop the charges! For labor/black mobilization against the fascists. ■

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau
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Spartacist Candidate for Oakland City Council

Martha Phillips: Sitdowns Against Layoffs!

OAKLAND, March 19—Auto workers and warehousemen fighting for their jobs heard Martha Phillips, Spartacist candidate for city council member at large, kick off her campaign to bring the Trotskyist program of socialist revolution to the working people of this hard-hit, largely black and Latin proletarian city. That the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive means austerity and racist terror at home could not be clearer than in the East Bay area, where *official* unemployment is 14.6 percent, where Klan-infested police departments gun down and choke black people to death. Phillips was an organizer of the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27, and a central theme of the campaign is the need for revolutionary program and leadership to galvanize the power of labor and blacks as happened in D.C. that day.

Phillips brought her message of "Sitdowns, Not Souplines" to a series of union events, giving answers to the burning questions of how to fight unemployment, union-busting, plant closures and rampant police terror. She spoke to laid-off auto workers outside a February 22 meeting of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 in Fremont, where the membership overwhelmingly passed a motion submitted by the Militant Caucus calling for using every tactic necessary to defeat GM/Toyota plans to destroy union conditions at Fremont. On March 10, Phillips went to the East Bay Skills Center in Oakland where campaign workers distributed a statement which read in part:

"Fremont workers must be backed in their struggle against any concessions in wages and working conditions...."

"In Oakland neither the Lionel Wilson wing nor the Dellums/Riles wing of the Democratic Party have waged a fight against plant closings and layoffs. UAW workers and Bay Area labor can win only through militant class struggle whether it takes mass picketing or plant occupations. The fight against GM/Toyota's union-busting can spark mass labor action to bring down Reagan."

The statement was well received and ten auto workers, most of them black,

Martha Phillips supports Fremont auto workers in fight against GM/Toyota union-busting.



signed up to work on the Phillips campaign.

While UAW members, many of them black Oakland residents, are fighting union-busting in Fremont, members of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 here face a vicious deal between Democratic mayor Lionel Wilson's port commission and the Carnation company to shut down Carnation's plant on the Oakland waterfront, axing 160 jobs. On March 9 Phillips spoke at the candidates' night of the ILWU Joint Legislative Council. Speaking as a fellow unionist and victim of layoffs (she is a member of International Typographical Union Local 21 in Oakland), Phillips called on workers to "do whatever is necessary, up to and including a sitdown, keeping that plant open."

Spartacist candidate Phillips attended a City Council meeting on March 15 where a large group of Carnation employees showed up to speak. Workers eagerly received a campaign statement protesting the Carnation shutdown (see box) and expressed their outrage when Democratic mayor Wilson *refused to allow them to speak* during the agenda point on Carnation! While the Council set up

a committee to "study" the issue—really to cover up for the company with a cloud of hot air—workers told Phillips that machinery is already being taken out of the plant. While many Oakland workers and blacks still have illusions in the "progressive" Ron Dellums wing of the Democrats, Dellums' protégé Wilson Riles, Jr., voted along with the rest of them to silence the Carnation workers and see them thrown on capitalism's scrapheap.

Other candidates in the City Council elections reflect the bankruptcy of the reformist fake-left. The Democratic Socialists of America and the Communist Party are united behind the Dellums Democrat candidate Cassie Lopez in Oakland District 1. Pushing "minority-owned and locally-owned small businesses," Lopez calls for "changing the priorities of the police department." Martha Phillips says that the recent police murder of Patrick Mason, a five-year-old black child in Los Angeles, shows again the *only* priority the police have in this horribly sick society: to guard the capitalist order through bloody terror against black people and the working class as a whole! No to gun control! Disarm the police! Jail killer cops!

Also running for the at-large seat is

Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate Jan Gangel, with a program fit to make any militant worker or black person gag. The utopian reformist wailing for "human needs before profits," "elimination of the U.S. war budget," "make Oakland an anti-war city," and a "unilateral nuclear freeze" proclaims the SWP's faith in making the capitalist state "peaceful" and "humane." Needless to say, the SWP's non-union-printed election brochure breathes not a word about a workers government, revolution or socialism since the reformists hate revolution like sin. Comic relief is provided by Gangel's quirky references to "working farmers" (in Oakland?) and a call for flophouse reformism: "For a massive public housing program. Until then, use vacant hotel and motel rooms subsidized by the government!"

At the ILWU candidates' night a warehouseman supporter of the Phillips campaign challenged Gangel on the SWP's 1980 presidential candidate Andrew Pulley crossing a railroad union picket line. Gangel said that she didn't plan to cross any ILWU picket lines but that it is "not an absolute principle to not cross picket lines." A former teacher, she praised her party's scabbing in the 1968 New York City teachers strike. When asked about the SWP's policy of debating fascists, including with KKK grand dragon Metzger in San Diego, Gangel remained silent while her questioner, a local executive board member, was cut off.

The Spartacist candidate, however, replied: "You can't debate genocide. You can't debate with someone that while you're talking, they're probably wiring your car in the parking lot. The point is that there is a way to stop the Klan and the Nazis." Phillips was one of the organizers of the 19 April 1980 Spartacist-initiated labor demonstration that stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. Yet when she filed for city council, she noted "the city attorney didn't want us to be able to make points [in Phillips' election statement] about the Klan and the Nazis, to say what's needed is a labor/black mobilization. But we fought it and we won."

The Spartacist League says anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. The Phillips campaign is supporting efforts by longshoremen to build a West Coast port shutdown against Reagan's escalating intervention in El Salvador. Against the tawdry spectrum of the rag-tag American popular front, the purpose of the campaign by Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips is to raise the Trotskyist transitional program for socialist revolution as the program for struggle of the workers and oppressed minorities. ■

Fight to Save Carnation Jobs!

15 March 1983

Martha Phillips, Spartacist candidate for Oakland Councilmember At Large, issued the following statement today:

"Mayor Wilson's Port Commission and Carnation have made a dirty deal to close Carnation's Oakland plant on May 31. The plant isn't closing because the company is bankrupt or running away to some non-union state. It's a straight-out, profiteering business deal—the city gets some prime waterfront real estate, Carnation gets a bundle of money and 160 ILWU workers get the ax. With nearly 20 percent unemployment in Oakland and Alameda County ranking #1 in plant closures in the state, what chance do these brothers have of finding new jobs? Their lives mean nothing to the businessmen and the city administration.

"We say 'Sitdowns, Not Souplines!'

The labor movement must do whatever is necessary to stop this job-stealing deal and keep Carnation open. What's needed is a plant occupation by ILWU members supported by mass picketing by all Bay Area unions.

"Labor has the power to stamp this deal 'canceled!' In 1946 Oakland workers stopped the cops from scabberding at Kahn's Department Store (now Liberty House). They didn't beg. They said picket lines mean don't cross and shut down Oakland with a 54-hour general strike. The city manager came to them at 3:00 in the morning and signed an agreement—'no scabberding by the cops.' Remember the 1946 Oakland General Strike—workers never win anything except by struggle!

"The fight to save jobs at Carnation is not isolated. It is part of the fight

that must be waged by the labor movement to stop GM/Toyota's union-busting at Fremont, to stop runaway shops and plant closings, to win jobs for all!

"The Democrats like to blame Prop. 13 and Reagan for all the cutbacks and layoffs. Well, Reagan is certainly an enemy of labor and minorities, but the Carnation deal was made by Democrats! The Democrats are a party of capitalist austerity, racism and war no less than the Republicans. All over the country, Democratic mayors like Lionel Wilson, Dianne Feinstein, Coleman Young and Ed Koch have been slashing budgets, unleashing their cops on the ghetto poor and busting unions, long before Reagan! And millions of jobs have been lost under the program of 'Don't struggle—vote Democrat.'

"You can't fight Reagan with Democrats! As a socialist union militant, I'm running for Oakland City Council to say we need our unions to start fighting and we need a workers party with a program of class struggle to fight for a workers government."

Please send further information on the campaign.

I endorse the campaign of Martha Phillips for Oakland City Council.

Enclosed is \$_____ contribution to the campaign.

Help build the campaign! Call (415) 835-1536.

Name _____

Phone () _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to/mail to:
Spartacist Party Campaign Committee
408 13th St., Suite 260, Oakland, CA 94612

Defend Patricia Ridge!

Cop Killed Her Child, Now Black Mother Tortured

"My god, the cops blew away a five-year-old black kid!" exclaimed decent people all across the country when they learned of the cold-blooded racist killing of little Patrick Mason in his home on March 3. Even in the Los Angeles area, where daily cop terror has had numbing effect, the horrifying story of the child-killer cop has brought a torrent of shock, tears and anger. The light from this single gun blast illuminates the whole brutal, vindictive racist system—of the cowardly cops as demented shock troops in capitalism's war against black America.

The pattern is well known: the cops blame their victims. But in this case their victim is a dead child. So now they have found another victim. Incredibly they are blaming the little boy's mother who—having had her only child mowed down—now faces a grand jury probe for everything from child neglect to homicide! According to the *Los Angeles Times* (9 March), "Police officials... uncovered no wrong doing by Sperl," the Orange County cop who kicked open Patrick Mason's bedroom door,

gun blazing, where the little boy had been at home alone quietly watching TV. Sperl claims he saw a gun, so "naturally" he pulled the trigger. Next to the small dead body was a small red plastic toy pistol. "Very realistic," claimed the police. Oh yeah? How many cops carry red guns?

So vile a deed, but the papers are filled with disgusting excuses for the child-killer cop. We read that Sperl claims he saw a "shadowy figure" in the darkened room and the TV glare, he heard a "clattering noise" and became "panicky." Now the newspapers say he is full of remorse. Bullshit! He went in for the kill. The Stanton apartment complex is considered "low income" and "anti-police." ("Low income"? Patrick's mother, Patricia Ridge, paid \$440/month in rent!) For the cops, these are code words for "race ghetto"—meaning it's open season on black and minority residents. According to the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (10 March), the cops have hit the complex 430 times in the past 27 months!

Why did the cops barge into Patricia

Ridge's apartment in the first place? They keep changing their story. First they said they were following up a complaint about Patrick's absence from kindergarten. Now they're claiming Sperl had no reason to expect a child in the apartment. This is a lie. It has been reported that Sperl, on his way into the apartment, was told by kids in the building that Patrick lived there! But Sperl was conducting a search-and-destroy operation in "enemy territory." If Patricia Ridge had been there that night, she might have been gunned down too.

As an LAPD commander noted, what Sperl did "would not have been against Los Angeles police policy" (*Herald Examiner*, 8 March). "What happened to Sperl could have happened to any officer in the field anywhere." But in an effort to cover up, Patricia Ridge was blamed for child neglect, because she was out working. When her lawyer brought a multi-million dollar damage suit against the police department, they escalated this to homicide charges. A grand jury has actually been convened



Patrick Mason

LA Times

(which "evenhandedly" will investigate Sperl too) and is actually considering bringing the grieving mother up on a *second-degree murder* rap! On what grounds? "By leaving her child in a life-endangering situation," said the Orange County D.A. Yeah—being black in America.

At the funeral Patricia Ridge carried a stuffed Teddy bear—it was all she had left to remember her son. Poor, black and single, she couldn't even afford to fly Patrick's body back to Chicago and bury him near her family, but donations were raised for the expense. Patricia Ridge had moved with Patrick to Orange County last August. She went off welfare and had recently gotten a \$100-a-week job charging batteries at a Sears auto center. She couldn't afford a baby sitter. She had gone through the yellow pages, but in Orange County Patricia Ridge couldn't find any child
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Cops Attack Black Family in Mourning

Racist Atrocity in Montgomery

On March 13, 1,200 black residents of Pontiac, Michigan rallied at the Newman AME Church to defend the Taylor family—including five United Auto Workers (UAW) members—victims of an outrageous racist assault and frame-up by the Montgomery, Alabama police. That same day 400 applauded members of the Taylor family in Warren, Ohio, and a similar protest and fundraising took place in Cleveland on March 20. And in Montgomery itself, on March 7 more than 1,000 outraged blacks rallied for the Taylors against the kind of racist American "justice" that Birmingham police chief Bull Connor liked best. At the Montgomery rally, the president of the Alabama Improvement Association said to the cheers of the crowd that the black community "is tired of being abused, harassed and accused of wrongdoings we didn't commit.... We are tired and we are here to fight!"

Behind this outpouring of angry protest there is a grotesque racist atrocity. On February 27, following the funeral of 68-year-old Annie Bell Taylor, some 30 members of the black family, including relatives who traveled all the way from Warren and Pontiac, gathered at a home on the outskirts of Montgomery. Shortly before midnight, 21-year-old Christopher Taylor went outside to move a car. Two white men drove up. One pulled a gun and said "Hey nigger, come here." One of the whites grabbed him but the young man broke free and ran for the house. A gun was fired and Christopher was shot in the hand. Thinking they were under Klan attack, the Taylors called the police. But the cops were already there. The two white men were "investigators" Brown and Spivey of the Montgomery police department.



Worrie Taylor (right) of Warren, Ohio and ten relatives face felony charges for defending their family against Alabama cops.

At no point identifying themselves, the cops kicked open the Taylors' door and, shouting racial epithets, again went after Christopher. Fortunately the family subdued and disarmed the would-be murderers. The racist terror, however, was just beginning.

Police reinforcements arrived and the entire family, an 83-year-old great aunt and small children included, was forced to lie face down in the mud outside. Some were made to crawl to police cars. Family attorneys charge that others were kicked, struck—one with a telephone—and choked. Twenty-six of the mourners were arrested and 11 were accused of a total of 60 charges including attempted murder (Brown was shot, according to family members, by another cop as he fled in panic from the house; Spivey was cut diving head first out a window), kidnapping (holding the cops on a couch until "help" arrived), and robbery (relieving the cops

of their guns). The police, of course, got immediate medical attention. Christopher Taylor's gunshot wound was untreated for three days. The Taylors were jailed, beaten and only on March 9 finally released after outrageous bonds totaling \$400,000 were posted. If convicted the Taylors could get life sentences.

Predictably, pistol-packing racist mayor Emory Folmar, whom "lesser evil" racist Democrat George Wallace defeated in the gubernatorial race, is backing his police to the hilt. In the words of one of the Taylors' lawyers, "he's police-state oriented" (*Detroit Free Press*, 14 March). Police chief Charles Swindall added, "The black subjects were acting in a manner of wild animals that had their prey on the ground." No wonder the Taylors thought Brown and Spivey were Klansmen. One can only imagine how many Taylors would be dead today if the two

cops had kept the upper hand. As black Montgomery city councilman Joe Reed put it, "If somebody burst into (Mayor) Emory Folmar's home in the middle of the night, he would shoot them on the spot and call it a 'good killing'" (*Detroit Free Press*, 13 March).

The Taylors have pointed to their phone call to the police station as proof of their innocence. The cops say they have no record of the call, claiming their automatic recording device "malfunctioned" during the crucial hours. One of the policemen's guns is also unaccountably missing.

Although the Montgomery police assault on the Taylors' home took place on an unlighted, dead-end dirt road, five of the arrested family members belong to UAW Local 594 (GM Truck and Coach) in Pontiac, close to labor/black Detroit and the birthplace of the Auto Workers union. In part that accounts for the publicity the case has received. But *action* is needed. It is imperative that the powerful and integrated labor movement, especially the UAW, actively take up the Taylors' defense—\$2,000 has already been collected in the plant—not just with money but by organizing protests nationwide against this atrocity.

In any decent society, the Taylors would already have gotten medals for courageously stopping a couple of racist thugs before they could start a killing spree. Instead the would-be killers are free and their victims are facing a monstrous frame-up. Labor militants and all defenders of democratic rights must demand: Drop the charges against the Taylors! Jail Brown and Spivey!

Behind the myth of the "New South" is the race-terror of the Folmars and Swindalls. Jim Crow will be buried once and for all only by the revolutionary alliance of blacks and labor. This was exemplified on November 27 by the 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which drove the KKK out of Washington, D.C. chanting "1, 2, 3, 4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5, 6, 7, 8—Forward to a workers state!"

Contributions for the legal defense of the Taylor family may be sent to: Montgomery Defense Fund, P.O. Box 3273, Pontiac MI 48059. ■

Black Democrat Harold Washington No Choice for Chicago Blacks, Workers

Jane Byrne, You Lost!

CHICAGO, March 20—In the wake of black Democrat Harold Washington's upset election victory last month, a racist backlash is whipping through Segregation City. Race-haters have been pushing first Republican Bernard Epton and now a write-in campaign for Mayor "Crazy Jane" Byrne as the "great white hope" to keep Washington from taking office. Viciously racist leaflets designed to incite trigger-happy cops are circulating in police stations while police superintendent Richard Brzeczek warns that if Washington becomes mayor Chicago won't be "safe" for whites. But for the huge black population, subjected daily to wanton brutality

the Democratic "primary" has been the real election in Chicago, and the April "general election" nothing but a rubber stamp. But now a section of the Chicago Democrats want to steal the election. Fearing the loss of the white racist and ethnic vote, they've decided in effect to call another election. Washington has the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives. Blacks have a right to elect whoever they want to office. Byrne and the bonapartist police better keep their hands off. The election of this Machine Democrat (in a fractured Machine) is no victory for black people—it will mean more of the racist austerity, strikebreaking and cop terror

Democratic ward committeeman." Yet Byrne's campaign at bottom is an attempt to keep the racist vote in the Democratic Party.

Blacks in the racist Machine have always been second-class citizens. When Boss Daley dropped dead they refused to appoint black alderman Wilson Frost acting mayor, even though he was next in line. Nevertheless, the Machine has always had its loyal black captains. Various fake-lefts heralded the Washington victory as the death knell of machine politics. Hardly. The Machine is fractured—no one has been able to keep things together quite the way Daley did. Some die-hard racist ward committeemen are refusing to work for a black boss and see Byrne as their best hope to keep patronage flowing. But the Democratic Party nationally, with hopes that the black vote will topple Reagan in '84, understands the need for installing a black front man to run Chicago.

A few days after the primary the Board of Trustees of the City Colleges met behind closed doors where longtime chancellor Oscar Shabat resigned five months ahead of schedule in order to appoint Loop College president Salvatore Rotella as a new chancellor for a three-year term. This meeting was rightly seen as a racist attempt to keep the chancellorship out of the hands of blacks given the prospect of a Washington victory.

The selection of Rotella provoked a student walkout throughout the City College system on March 16 and a rally in front of the School Board offices. The Spartacus Youth League at Loop participated in the rally raising the call for open admissions with full stipend to enable minority and working-class youth to attend school, as well as opposing the racist policies of the School Board which continue to exclude blacks, the overwhelming majority of City College students, from any say in academic matters. Solidarity with the outrage of black students who saw this as one more attempt to prevent blacks from enjoying the same democratic rights as whites in Chicago, we counterpose to support for black Democrat Washington the need to break with the racist capitalist parties and build a workers party to fight for black liberation through socialist revolution.

While Washington openly characterizes himself as "a product of the Machine," reformist pseudo-socialists are almost unanimously backing him as



Steve Kagan

"Crazy Jane" Byrne, the "white-in" candidate.

an "anti-Machine" candidate. Social-democratic *In These Times* (2-8 March) claims "the left" delivered the critical 6 percent white swing vote. The Democratic Socialists of America, house "socialists" of the Democratic Party, boast of 80 full-time Washington staff members, undoubtedly hoping for some "left wing of the possible" porkbarreling. The Stalinist Communist Party and the Stalinoid Workers World Party can't expect any patronage plums, but for them Washington is a godsend: a popular black Democrat to refurbish the party of Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter and George Wallace just in time for the anti-Reagan popular front in '84. Hardly a soul had heard about the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) "independent socialist" campaign until some Democrats offered them a million-dollar bribe to get off the ballot. SWP candidate Warren greeted Washington's victory (*Chicago Tribune*, 23 February), but now that their hand has been forced the SWP is trying to run a pro forma campaign.

The racists may not like the idea of a black mayor but Washington is doing all he can to prove his loyalties to the capitalist system. He has pledged to do exactly *nothing* about segregated housing and schools, *refusing* to come out for busing. Even the Reaganite *Chicago Tribune* has endorsed him. It is not the Machine but the working class and oppressed minorities (both blacks and Hispanics, the latter who overwhelmingly voted for Byrne in the primary) that lose in this election. But as the successful Spartacist-initiated mobilizations that kept the Nazis from marching in Chicago on June 27 and stopped the Ku Klux Klan in D.C. on November 27 show, there is a class-struggle road forward to black freedom. Black Democrats like Harold Washington and D.C. mayor Marion Barry are a roadblock to such victories because they oppose the independent mobilization of blacks and labor against their capitalist oppressors. We need to finish the Civil War, to build a revolutionary workers party leading all of the oppressed in the fight for a workers government. ■



Seed/Click-Skyline

Black Machine Democrat Harold Washington at St. Patrick's Day parade, doing everything he can to prove his loyalty to the capitalist system.

at the hands of Brzeczek's blue-shirts, this town has never been "safe."

Epton, a liberal Jewish Republican unheard of before the February 22 primaries, is considered "a legitimate contender for one reason only—because he is white" (*Chicago Tribune*, 13 March). And he's backed by former Byrne honchos such as Parks Commissioner Edmund Kelly and aldermen from racist enclaves on the Northwest and Southwest sides. Byrne, who lost the three-way Democratic race to Washington, flirted with the idea of running on the Republican ticket (Epton refused to step down), then announced a write-in candidacy. Now rumors are spreading about secret deals between Byrne and Reagan promising campaign money in return for Republican patronage jobs if she wins (*Chicago Defender*, 17 March).

Harold Washington won the election. Byrne, you lost! For over half a century,

blacks suffered under Boss Daley, Bilandic and Byrne. But this is supposed to be a bourgeois democracy, and Byrne lost.

Byrne's candidacy is spearheading a racist mobilization. Chicago blacks hate Byrne for her high-handed racism, from sending in her cops to evict blacks from Cabrini Green to her South Side "stop and search" cop terror in February 1982 to refusing to appoint blacks to the overwhelmingly black Chicago Housing Authority. Even Byrne's former political adviser and strategist Don Rose commented, "the write-in campaign itself is an exploitation of the racial issue predicated on the idea of an angry and motivated white population" (*New York Times*, 18 March). At the forefront of Chicago's so-called "angry and motivated" racists are the Marquette Park-based Nazis who endorsed Byrne the following day. These fascist filth are also publicly campaigning for office in nearby Morton Grove.

The bourgeois press is portraying Byrne's move as a break from the Democratic Machine. Most of the Democrats in Chicago in fact have closed ranks around Washington (including Cook County sheriff Elrod, County Board chairman Dunne, County Democratic Party chairman "Fast Eddie" Vdolyk, Congressman Rostenkowski). So has the national Democratic Party, including House speaker O'Neill, presidential frontrunner Mondale, Teddy Kennedy and Democratic national chairman Manatt. Washington announced that he was "thunderstruck" by Byrne's candidacy and declared "we expect 100 percent support from every

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Bank Crash of 1983?

(continued from page 1)

three decades. The volume of world trade is contracting for the first time in the postwar period as protectionist pressures are active in virtually every capitalist country.

Add to this bleak economic scene the spectre of a chain of major loan defaults collapsing the international financial system like a house of cards. The conservative and widely respected London *Economist* (11 December 1982) projected that if even one major debtor country, such as Mexico or Brazil, fails to meet just its interest payments (forget about the principal),

"...it would send a hurricane through Wall Street; it would cause the certain collapse of a number of American banks; it would set the price of gold flying; it would produce political chaos in the defaulting country; and, worst of all, through a crisis in confidence, it would put off hopes of a world economic recovery."

Earlier, the *Economist* (16 October 1982) ran a cover story titled "The Crash of 1982?"

For some time the possibility of worldwide capitalist financial collapse has been a subject of popular fiction. Paul Erdman's *The Crash of '79* caused quite a stir. Now the finest minds in the financial community are spinning out scenarios for a new Great Crash. A few months back the *Wall Street Journal* (10 November 1982) did a tongue-in-cheek

Party "big spenders" while the Democrats and union bureaucrats blame "Reaganomics" and the Japanese, spreading the nationalist poison of protectionism. But economic crises such as we are now experiencing are inherent in the boom-bust cycle of capitalism. The hard times of mass unemployment and bankruptcies are but the flip side of the "good times" of speedup and wild speculation, and it will remain so as long as production is for profit rather than social need. The bourgeoisie would have loved to mark the centenary of Karl Marx's death with a celebration of crisis-free capitalism, but it's hard to do so when there are mile-long job lines and cheese lines, and even the *Wall Street Journal* is spinning out scenarios for a crash. It is up to the working class, which produces the surplus value that is the life-blood of capitalism, to put an end to the system that brings misery to the millions, and billions to Wall Street. Expropriate the expropriators through socialist revolution!

Winning and Losing the "Recycling" Game

The present international financial crunch has its direct origins in the collapse of the so-called Bretton Woods monetary system when in August 1971 Nixon ended the convertibility of the dollar into gold. Freed from the "discipline" of the fixed exchange rates, most



David Rockefeller (right) with one of the sheiks of OPEC, Bahrain's Sulman. Partners in exploiting the world.

mies of the oil consumers which could cause a worldwide recession...."
—reproduced in *Years of Upheaval* (1982)

Believing that the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. was a mere temporary setback on the road to Persian world domination, shah Pahlavi was quite unperturbed about the effect of skyrocketing oil prices on the Western economies. But in the end it didn't do him much good either.

While Western bankers were publicly denouncing OPEC for ruining the world economy, they were doing everything possible to climb aboard the gravy train. Some like the Rockefellers and Mellons were already in on the act through their ownership of Exxon, Gulf and the other Sisters. Between 1973 and 1975 oil company profits jumped from \$6.80 to \$8.20 a barrel. Soon every big moneyman in the Western world was scrambling to get a share of Arab petrodollars and re-lend it at higher interest. This was known in the trade as "recycling."

Needless to say, Arab oil money was not recycled to those countries which most desperately needed it, to the starving masses of the Indian subcontinent and most of black Africa. The petrodollars were re-lent mainly to other oil producers (Mexico, Nigeria, Venezuela) and to a few of the most developed Latin American countries which were also expected to benefit from commodity price inflation: Brazil (iron ore and coffee) and Argentina (grain and meat).

The big borrowers assumed that in a world of permanent inflation they could always pay back with cheaper dollars. The banks assumed they would always get their money, even if its real value was somewhat depreciated. This was not so terrible, since most of their own liabilities to their depositors were also in fixed money terms (not indexed for inflation).

The recycling was done mainly through the Eurocurrency market (foot-loose money-capital, mostly dollars, held outside its home country). Interestingly, the Eurocurrency market was invented by the Russians. In the early 1950s the Soviet-owned Moscow Narodny Bank in London and Banque Commerciale pour l'Europe du Nord in Paris decided not to deposit their dollar holdings in the U.S. for fear they might be confiscated at the height of the Cold War/McCarthyite hysteria. Thus did the Communists—"The focus of evil in the modern world" according to Reagan—start a revolution in international capitalist finance.

During the past decade one-third of all Eurocurrency loans have gone to Latin America. In 1982 Latin American countries owed the banks \$200 billion, twice as much as all countries in Asia and Africa combined. Another \$100 billion is owed to official government agencies. Last year the debt service for Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Chile and Venezuela was over 100 percent of their export earnings. Interest payments alone amounted to over 40 percent of export earnings for Brazil, Argentina and Chile and almost 40 percent for Mexico (Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski, "Latin American Debt," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1982/83).

Pride of place in the world debtors league—at \$80 billion—belongs to Mexico. When fabulous oil deposits (second only to Saudi Arabia's) were discovered off Mexico in the mid-late 1970s, a veritable army of Yankee bankers descended upon Mexican officials and capitalists to offer them a deal they could not refuse. With much justice, one Mexican official recently exclaimed to the *Wall Street Journal* (22 October 1982), "Those bastards got us into this hole. Now they're trying to bleed us for everything we have." One of the bastards in question defended himself by arguing that this was like blaming the candy store for your cavities. To this the *Wall Street Journal* commented acidly, "it is more appropriate to say the bankers were like pushers supplying a drug addict."

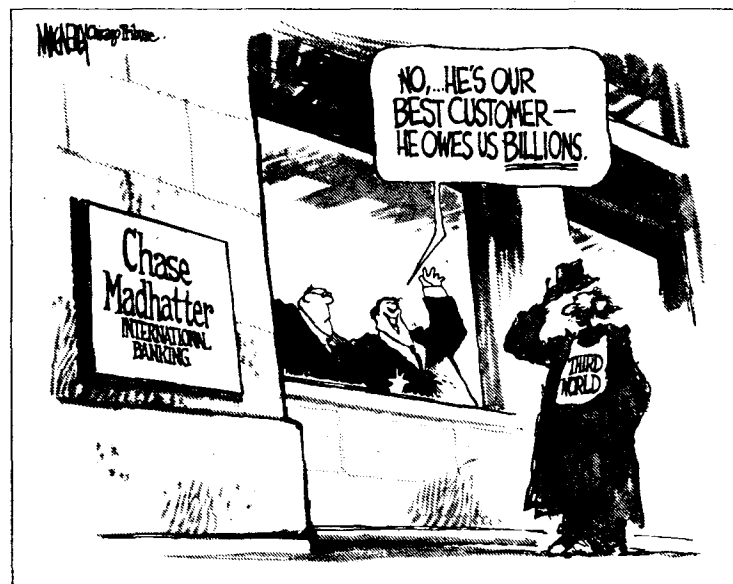
Even after the world oil market weakened and the Mexican economy was obviously in trouble, the bankers kept pushing high-interest short-term loans. As late as December 1981, just months before the roof caved in, Manufacturer Hanover's man in Mexico City assured the financial world that, "The tremendous oil revenues—more than 70 percent of the total income—also enable Mexico to insulate itself from many of the problems plaguing other developing nations" (*Byline*, December 1981).

What is involved here is not simply idiot optimism and greed unrestrained by foresight. Wall Street knew that the U.S. government would not let any of the really big banks go bust. Paradoxically, the greater the loans to Mexico, the greater the impact of a default, the greater the likelihood of a government bailout. John Maynard Keynes observed that if you owe a bank a thousand pounds and can't pay, you're in trouble. But if you owe the bank a million pounds and can't pay, then the bank's in trouble. We can add that Chase Manhattan and the others have a friend at the U.S. Treasury to whom they take such troubles. The million Ghanaian workers brutally expelled from Nigeria, the Mexican workers and peasants now facing savage austerity measures have lost the recycling game; the Wall Street banks have not.

Puncturing the Oil Price Boom

Even if the price of oil and other commodities had remained relatively high, interest rates relatively low and the advanced capitalist countries had not suffered a depression there was no way that Mexico, Argentina et al. could have repaid their loans as scheduled. In the past few years the Latin American economies have been hit by a succession of blows which turned a rescheduling problem into a financial catastrophe.

The first blow was the election of Ronald Reagan as president of the United States. This anti-Communist fanatic has financed a massive arms buildup designed to incinerate the Soviet Union by the unusual, not to say unorthodox, method of lowering taxes. To restrain the inflationary impact of the huge budget deficits, the supply of money and credit was squeezed hard. The predictable result was that real



How Business Week views world financial scene.

version, "World Banking Bust: One Plot for a Tragedy in 8 Scenes and 12 Days." Scene six is set in Buenos Aires:

"Hector Aquinas-Marx, the finance minister of Argentina's new Socialist-Labor government, assembles a group of foreign bankers and announces that Argentina is repudiating its \$55 billion of foreign debt. This is a profound shock to the bankers, who for one thing thought that Argentina had only borrowed \$40 billion."

While the *Wall Street Journal* might indulge in gallows humor, there is nothing to laugh about for the tens of millions of working people whose lives are being destroyed by the workings of the capitalist world market.

The politicians and ideologues of American capitalism are forever selling the line that "free enterprise" is the ticket to prosperity. A year before the bank crash of September 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression, Herbert Hoover declared confidently, "We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land." In the 1950s liberal economist John Kenneth Galbraith wrote *The Affluent Society* proclaiming that depressions were a thing of the past. Today, Depression USA is here, and the possibility of far deeper economic crisis arising out of an international financial collapse is no longer being denied by leading capitalist figures.

The Reaganites blame Democratic

capitalist governments went on a spending spree. Budget deficits were financed by running the printing press. Balance-of-payments deficits were "adjusted" by currency devaluation, which further fueled inflation. The inflationary world boom of 1971-73 set the stage for the subsequent oil price explosion.

In the wake of the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), dominated by Saudi Arabia, in collusion with the Anglo-American and Dutch oil cartel (the "Seven Sisters") quadrupled the price of oil. Then five years later the Arab sheiks and the Seven Sisters, taking advantage of the mullahs running amok in Iran, doubled the price of oil. (For a historical analysis of OPEC and its effect on the world capitalist economy, see "World Oil Blow Out," *WV* No. 236, 20 July 1979.)

Imperialist spokesmen have routinely blamed the OPEC "oil shocks" for all the ills of the world capitalist economy. Henry Kissinger set the tone when in December 1973 he protested in Nixon's name to his good friend the shah of Iran:

"The President is greatly concerned over the destabilizing impact that the price increases agreed to at Tehran for Persian Gulf crudes will have on the world's economy and the catastrophic problems it could pose for the international monetary system. Not only will it result in raising the prices of manufactured products, but it will have [a] severe repressive effect on the econo-

interest rates (subtracting the inflation rate) went through the ceiling. Shortly after Reagan took office, former West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt angrily spoke of "the highest interest rates in Germany since the birth of Christ, as far as real interest rates are concerned."

The effect of "the highest interest rates since the birth of Christ" was especially disastrous for the debt-ridden economies of Latin America. In the late 1970s real long-term interest rates were in the 2-3 percent range. This was a major factor inducing Mexican and Brazilian capitalists and officials to borrow in a big way. The Eurocurrency dealers, however, protected themselves by incorporating into most of these loans the new-fangled device of floating interest rates. In the past few years real interest rates have floated up to the 7-8 percent level. In other words, the interest burden on Latin American debtors has increased 300 to 400 percent in the past five years!

And while interest rates have now reached historic highs, the world slump has driven export prices for primary products to historic lows. Over the past two years the world-market price of foodstuffs has plummeted by 32 percent, of metals by 19 percent and of fibers by 17 percent (*Economist*, 15 January).

OPEC managed to postpone a similar free fall in oil prices only through a severe cutback in production. But even the sheiks of Araby could not long defy the laws of the capitalist world market. It costs about 50 cents to produce a barrel of oil in the Arabian peninsula. Until last week it sold for \$34, a markup of a mere 7,000 percent. Supermonopoly profits of this magnitude cannot last forever. \$34 a barrel for Saudi Light spurred the development of high-cost oilfields such as the North Sea (production cost about \$20 a barrel) and the substitution of other fossil fuels (natural gas, coal). On top of these micro-economic changes came the world depression, producing an oil glut which finally cracked the OPEC pricing cartel.

Between 1979 and 1982 oil production in the OPEC countries fell 30 percent, from 30 to 18 million barrels a day (mb/d). The Research Group of Petroleum Exporters' Policies estimated that 5 mb/d were lost to non-OPEC oil producers (Mexico, Britain, etc.) and to other forms of energy, while 3.5 mb/d was the drop in demand caused by the world slump. In addition the oil companies drew down their stocks in anticipation of a price cut.

By last summer two OPEC members, Nigeria and Iran, were heavily "discounting" their oil to maximize revenue; the former to pay its overdue import bills, the latter to finance its *jihad* against the "little Satans" of neighboring Iraq. The oil price war got



Striking Mexican workers demonstrate outside the presidential palace last November as IMF-ordered austerity slashes living standards.

underway in earnest last month when Britain and Norway cut their prices and Nigeria followed suit openly breaking with OPEC. To salvage something from the wreckage the Arab sheiks agreed to cut the benchmark price of Saudi Light from \$34 to \$29 a barrel and reallocate production quotas. No one thinks this will end the price war. Indeed, it is not likely even a cease-fire.

Bailing Out the Banks

One might expect that the disintegration of OPEC would be greeted by imperialist spokesmen with unrestrained jubilation. Sheik Yamani and his kinsmen have finally got their comeuppance. But, in fact, the response of Wall Street and the City of London to the oil price war has been decidedly mixed. Bankers know that for every cut of a dollar in the price of a barrel of oil, the greater the chances that Mexico as well as Venezuela and Nigeria will default. One World Bank economist predicts: "If oil falls below \$25 a barrel, Mexico would have no choice but to declare a moratorium on its debt, which, in order to keep a couple of major U.S. banks afloat, would require an infusion of capital from the Fed" (*New York Times*, 13 March). And it is not only the big international moneymen who gambled that the oil boom was a sure thing. The largest U.S. bank to go bust recently, Penn Square of Oklahoma City, did a booming business with Southwestern wildcatters who drilled too many dry holes.

The fears of the financial community were caught by the respected Wall Street economist Sam Nakagama:

"In the long run a plunge in oil prices might be a very good thing for the world economy. But in the short run it could be a devastating shock. And unfortu-

nately, we all live in the short run."
—*Business Week*, 7 March

With its usual archness the *London Economist* (11 December 1982) observed: "It is not surprising that a number of heretical bankers have become stronger advocates than Sheik Yamani of higher oil prices." Those who appreciate the ironies of history and the contradictions of capitalism will note that some of the same imperialist spokesmen, Henry Kissinger for one, who used to attack OPEC for destabilizing the world economy are now warning of the dangers of a too sharp fall in oil prices.

Whenever a big corporation faces bankruptcy or a bank a major default, these capitalists' first instinct is to latch onto the public teat. "If my firm folds, this will have grave repercussions for the national (world) economy," is the standard refrain. Wall Street financiers are now singing this tune in the high C range. An especially vocal advocate for a great international bank bailout is Felix Rohatyn, partner in the Wall Street investment bankers Lazard Frères and a Democratic Party brain-truster. Rohatyn gained a reputation as a capitalist Mr. Fixit as head of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) which has squeezed New York City for the banks. He is now campaigning for a "worldwide MAC" which would take over and repay the bank loans on the one hand, and bleed the population of the debtor countries on the other.

Rohatyn points out that the basis for such an operation already exists in the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the world bankers' cartel:

"The IMF can be seen as a worldwide version of MAC...."

"The IMF, in exchange for financial assistance designed to restructure debt, demands that the countries it helps (!) institute stringent anti-inflationary measures. It asks for currency devaluations to stimulate exports, reductions of local subsidies for foodstuffs and other products, less support for nationalized industries, and lower domestic budgets."

—"The State of the Banks,"
New York Review of Books,
4 November 1982

Rohatyn's solution: strengthen the financial base and powers of the IMF.

The annual meeting of the IMF in Toronto last September—"there's the smell of the 1930s in the corridor talk," reported one participant—witnessed an unusual alliance of bankers and "Third World" ministers demanding a substantial increase in its funds, between 50 and 100 percent. "An increase in the I.M.F.'s resources would put the Mexican and Argentine problems in a much better perspective," declared Robin Leigh-Pemberton, chairman of London's National Westminster Bank. It would for him. More money for the IMF "would be a confidence builder for the international financial system," echoed an executive vice president of the Union

Bank of California (*New York Times*, 9 September 1982).

The Reagan administration initially dragged its feet over IMF refunding, and the U.S. delegation were odd men out at the September conference. Treasury secretary Donald Regan pleaded that not a dime could be spared from the trillion dollar Pentagon budget, that was sacrosanct:

"We cannot do everything. We cannot be the defender of the Western world, as we know we are, and have high defense expenditures and at the same time run the domestic social programs that we have been running and give as much financial aid abroad as we have."

Another U.S. official stated bluntly before the IMF conference: "We don't believe in free lunches for the Third World" (*Euromoney*, August 1982).

It took a few months for the bankers to get through to the Reaganites that the free lunch was *not* going to the "Third World" but to themselves. We own the "Third World," you idiots, the Rockefellers and Morgans told the president's men. Despite all its "free market" rhetoric and attacks on the sinfulness of the modern world, this right-wing Republican administration dares not gore the ox of the Eastern monied establishment. On occasion the Wall Streeters have to apply a two-by-four to the thick skulls of the Reaganites, but this always works. For example, last summer when Jaruzelski's Poland skipped a payment on loans guaranteed by the Department of Agriculture's Commodity Credit Corp., the Treasury duly picked up the tab to avoid forcing an international default. The *Commentary* crowd, Albert Shanker and the other "AFL-CIA" types screamed that Reagan had sold out the crusade against Communism for the bankers' filthy lucre. But the bankers' filthy lucre is what capitalism is all about.

By December Reagan, Regan & Co. predictably did an about-face and are now proposing that the Treasury give the IMF \$10 billion to buy the Rockefellers and Morgans a free lunch. And that's just for openers. The money the IMF is lending to Mexico and Argentina is going right to Wall Street and the City of London as interest payments. So add to the trillion dollar war budget billions more to bail out the banks. And that means higher taxes, higher interest rates, more savage cutbacks especially for the old and the poor.

While preaching the virtues of nineteenth-century American capitalism, the Reagan regime is planning to run budget deficits over the next five years greater than the cumulative budget deficit in the previous 200 years of the American federal government! This massive government borrowing will cripple private capitalist investment, aborting any possibility for a strong or sustained recovery. Despite a recent upturn in economic activity, the latest *Business Week* (21 March) survey indicates that real investment in new plant and equipment will *fall* by 9 percent this year. Some recovery!

A recent *Business Week*/Louis Harris poll of 600 top-level corporate executives also indicates that only 3 percent (who must have spent the past two years on another planet) think that Reagan's handling of the budget is "excellent," while 65 percent grade the president "fair" to "poor." These capitalist managers are not concerned with fiscal orthodoxy in some ideological sense but with the financial health of their *own* businesses. And the overwhelming majority of those interviewed believe that they will have trouble competing with the Treasury for money-capital if government borrowing is anything like the huge amounts now projected. Their answer is not to cut the military—here they're in basic agreement with Reagan—but to take an ax to Social Security entitlement programs. Let the aged, the unemployed, the black ghetto poor pay back the Bank of

continued on page 8



One million Ghanaian migrant workers are driven out of Nigeria as the oil price boom collapses.

Setboun/Sipa

Strange Sprouts in Barnes' Yard

THE MILITANT

There was a time when the opportunism of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at least made sense from the standpoint of reformist recruitment. Petty-bourgeois student youth could join the SWP/YSA in the late '60s and early '70s and enthuse over the then-fashionable guerrilla movements, feminism and black nationalist rhetoric. But ever since those youth graduated to the McGovernite Democratic Party in 1972, the SWP has had a hard time finding attractive "vanguards" as a substitute for the working-class struggle against capitalism.

In 1979 the *Militant* began enthusing over the reactionary ayatollah Khomeini of Iran, but the lack of a mass movement of American Islamic mullahs proved to be an insuperable obstacle. While ayatollah Jack Barnes purged the last of the old-time SWPers, who vaguely remembered that Trotskyism is supposed to have something to do with the working class, he conjured up a new "vanguard": the "family farmers." This will prove to be almost as fruitful as the movement of American mullahs.

So suddenly the SWP's *Militant* is a "workers and farmers" newspaper: "Farmers' struggle: who are its allies?... Family farmers reap bitter harvest... Farmers' protests slandered" cry the headlines. To buttress their new opportunist appetite, the SWP regurgitates the American populist image of the struggling "family farmer," eking out a meager living in battle against the giant cartels of grain speculators, railroad magnates and bankers. Last year Doug Jenness presented the SWP line in a huge document spread over six solid pages of the *Militant* (*International Socialist Review*, July 1982), sliding deceptively from a description of the super-oppressed Chicano/black/Puerto Rican migrant laborers into a discussion of the "farmer-workers." He concluded:

"They [the family farmers] create a product with labor done with their hands and those of their families.... The ruling class attempts to convince them that, as farmers, they are businessmen with interests different from and opposed to labor. But they are not capitalists who exploit labor, not even small capitalists. They are independent, exploited commodity producers."

Shades of *Grapes of Wrath*, and images of Okies sitting on the doorsteps of their

run-down shacks. But this is an absurdly outdated picture of the American farmer, who since World War II has not only greatly diminished in number but has become a relatively privileged stratum of the American petty bourgeoisie.

Even though Barnes has now explicitly repudiated Trotskyism (see *WV* No. 321, 14 January), the SWP still tries to justify the current line by references to the Trotskyist Transitional Program of 1938, which among other things calls for a "workers and farmers government." For Trotsky this was nothing but "the popular designation for the already established dictatorship of the proletariat," while for the ex-Trotskyist SWP of the '60s it became a codeword for petty-bourgeois regimes like Castro's in 1959-60, before the capitalists were expropriated, or the Nicaraguan Sandinistas. Now under Barnes it is being extended to appeal to a relatively affluent sector of the petty bourgeoisie and even small capitalists, pretending that Iowa is Cuba. Trotsky ridiculed the attempt to apply the workers and farmers government slogan to Germany in the 1930s, analogous to the U.S. today, asking:

"Where, in Germany, is there a revolutionary peasant movement?... When we speak of a workers' and peasants' government then we confuse the farm laborer, the agricultural worker, who in Germany is a thousand times more important to us than the abstract 'peasant' or the 'middle peasant' who is hostile to us.... We can only neutralize the intermediary layers of peasants by rallying the proletariat under the slogan of a workers' government."

—Leon Trotsky, "An Explanation in a Circle of Friends," September 1931

The slogan of a workers and farmers government had some validity in the 1930s in the U.S., when there were about ten million "family workers" on the farms (plus another three million or so "hired workers," according to the Department of Agriculture), but it is absolutely absurd in the U.S. today, when the "family workers" have declined to about 2.4 million and farming has become big business. In fact, American agriculture has a higher ratio of capital investment per worker than the steel industry. The typical farm in the U.S. requires an investment of

\$100,000 to \$500,000 or more, and the average annual gross income per farm was about \$68,000 in 1980. Furthermore, 40 percent of all American farmers hire labor; half of those employ three or more workers and so basically live off the exploitation of others. While the SWP keeps trying to draw analogies with Castro's Cuba, they are not dealing with super-oppressed campesinos in the U.S.!

To be sure, there are some oppressed farmers struggling under a mountain of debt who merit working-class defense against foreclosure, but to advertise the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) as a movement of oppressed "family farmers," as the *Militant* tries to do repeatedly, is like calling the American Medical Association a movement of oppressed doctors. But of course social reality has never deterred the *Militant* from prettifying its latest "vanguard." When the social-democratic paper *In These Times* (ITT, 19-25 January) merely noted that the "militant" co-founder of AAM, Jerry Wright of Colorado, made right-wing comments about "the international Jewish-Bolshevik cartel," the *Militant* (11 February) launched a lengthy counter-attack asserting that the ITT article was just another "smear" job on the AAM

Small farmers make gains with Cuban revolution

The following article is reprinted from the December-January 1983 Cuba News, a publication of the Cuban Embassy in Grenada, an island in the Caribbean.

The small farmers were among the ranks of the first to be divided up the sugar and put them into the hands of the small farmers and the state.

Farmers' struggle: who are its allies?

LaRouche program is not the way forward

BY CHESTER NELSON

It is not uncommon these days to see

organized strikes. Black and Puerto Rican

workers were targeted for their abuse.

Family farmers reap bitter harvest



SWP: "vanguard" for small farmers?

Farmers' protests slandered

'In These Times' echoes lies of big-business media

BY DOUG JENNESS
The January 19-25 issue of *In These Times*, which identifies itself as an "independent socialist newspaper," carried an article by Timothy Lange headlined "Right wing rebels: tactics drive first from modernizers."...
The following day the Rocky Mountain News carried the news with blazing headlines that read "Farmer in protest had long history of organized work..."
The *Militant* campaign in the '80s against the AAM has been a success in many ways. It has helped to bring farmers' struggles to the attention of the working class and to expose the SWP's role in the movement.

Bank Crash of 1983?...

(continued from page 7)
America's Mexican loans as well as pay for the Trident submarines. That's the American capitalist party line, Democratic and Republican.

Will Mexico Explode?

While the IMF-organized bank bailout will further weaken and depress the U.S. economy, the main victims will be the working people of Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and the other debtor countries. At the same time, the U.S. imperialists know that imposing austerity on Mexico, in particular, is a dangerous game. It could provoke a massive social upheaval on the southern border of the bastion of the "free world." The dominoes of revolution in Central America could topple northward. Democratic Party super-hawk Henry "the Senator from Boeing" Jackson worries:
"My concern from the beginning has been that Mexico is the ultimate objective of those forces seeking to destabilize countries in Central America. Mexico's the ultimate target."

"There are severe problems in Mexico that could be utilized in an effort to destabilize it. Serious unemployment. Unrest. Corruption. The financial problems. It's all there."
—*New York Times*, 1 March

When the Wall Street bankers and their hirelings in Washington look across the Rio Grande, they see the peril not only of a \$80 billion default but also of social revolution.

Despite these political fears, the laws of the capitalist world market dictate austerity for Mexico. In his inaugural speech of December 1 the new president, Miguel de la Madrid declared: "The first months of the Government will be arduous and difficult. The situation requires it. The austerity is obligatory." Within weeks prices were raised for all goods and services provided by the state, including electricity, telephones, road and rail transportation, urban transit. Consumption (value-added) taxes were doubled and income taxes increased 10 percent. Subsidies were slashed for a broad range of consumer goods, including such basic foodstuffs as beans and corn tortillas.

Entire industries have been crippled, especially those which depend on imports of raw materials and intermediate goods. The country's foreign exchange reserves are being swallowed up

by interest payments. The *Wall Street Journal* (11 March) reports:

"By making dollars expensive—and scarce through rationing—the government hopes to force firms to import less and export more....
"So for them, the government's fiscal cure is going to mean no raw materials, no products to sell, no money to pay the bills—and bankruptcy."

Even central bank director Miguel Mancera admits that "in some cases this may mean bankruptcies." Meanwhile, all major government construction projects have been canceled or suspended. And if oil prices really crash, the current austerity will seem mild compared to what will happen.

How much will the Mexican working class with its powerful trade unions take? That is the question being asked on Wall Street and in Washington as well as in the elegant villas of Lomas de Chapultepec. In January U.S. ambassador to Mexico John Gavin (yes, the former Hollywood actor) cabled his bosses a warning of possible labor trouble ahead. Gavin came back worried after meeting with the *businessmen's* organization Concanaco, an umbrella group of local chambers of commerce. Concanaco officials pointed out that "the real value of the minimum wage would be lower in 1983 than in 1970," and predicted "this would be

difficult for organized labor to accept and absorb" (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 January). Clearly, Mexico has become a social volcano.

The standard brand of nationalist populism peddled for decades by Mexican and other Latin American radical demagogues is powerless before the current world capitalist crisis. If a nationalist regime in Mexico or Argentina were to repudiate its debts to Wall Street and the City of London, imperialist retaliation would bring these dependent capitalist economies to their knees. There is no solution for the Latin American masses short of workers revolution and the establishment of socialist economic planning on a continent-wide scale.

Mexico, in particular, could be the Achilles heel of American imperialism. When actor-ambassador Gavin worries that the leftist insurgencies sweeping Central America could "spill over" into Mexico, he is expressing a real fear for the capitalist order and a real possibility for the workers and oppressed. A socialist revolution in Mexico with its oil wealth and strong industrial proletariat and, not least, its organic ties to the millions of Chicano workers in the United States would be a powerful blow shaking the final domino in the world capitalist system. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Angry Auto Workers Say:

No Sweetheart Deal at Fremont!

OAKLAND—Three weeks ago laid-off members of UAW Local 1364 vowed to fight by any tactics necessary the GM/Toyota plan to reopen the Fremont plant without recalling union workers and under open shop conditions. Since then, a thousand high-seniority Fremont workers came demanding action at two "informational meetings" called by the UAW International. They were angry as regional representatives bullied, lied and evaded questions from the floor about the fate of Local 1364 and its members.

In Oakland on March 10 Region 6 International rep Earlie Mays said that GM/Toyota is a "new company." This buys the auto bosses' line that the "new company" has no contractual relations with the old workers. One angry worker at the Oakland meeting yelled at Mays, "New company means no union, right?"

Local 1364 members made their position clear in the February 27 local meeting when they voted overwhelmingly for a motion raised by class-struggle oppositionists of the UAW Militant Caucus stating the UAW must use "every tactic necessary" to guarantee rehiring with seniority and no standard contract. The entire Bay Area labor movement must join the UAW in ensuring that nothing moves in or out of that plant until laid-off UAW members are recalled and a decent union agreement is signed.

The International's policies were responsible for the Fremont workers losing their jobs without a fight in 1982 when the GM Fremont plant was closed. At that time the Militant Caucus fought for a sit-down strike against the closure. The sellout policies of the International threaten to prevent a fight to get those jobs back in '84.

At the meeting in Oakland Earlie ("yakkety yak don't talk back") Mays made the International's position clear: there's going to be concessions and the name of the game is productivity. Members in attendance told *Workers Vanguard* Mays lectured the workers to be "more productive, learn to come to work, and start chinning the bar." He warned that GM is compiling individuals' absence records right now in preparation for the Fremont hiring. To underscore the point he cited the case of a Fremont worker rejected for a job at the GM Oklahoma City plant on the grounds of absenteeism.

Solidarity House spelled out its

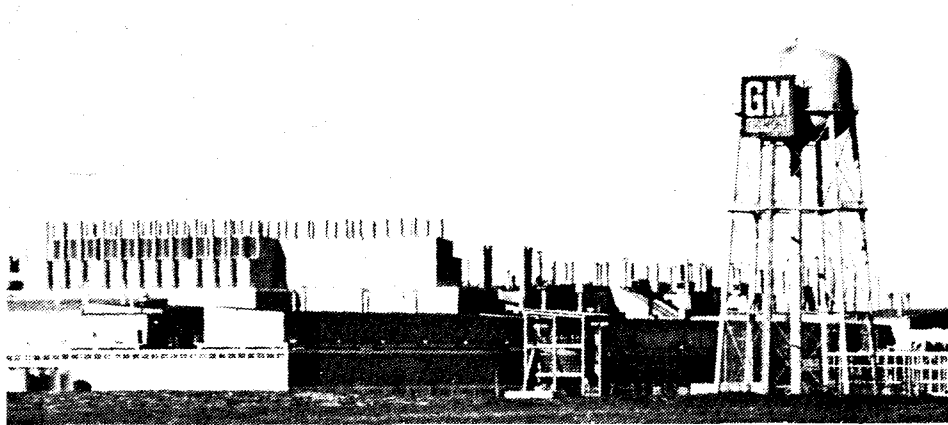
position in an article in the San Francisco *Examiner* (13 March): "Although the Fremont local has demanded that all rehiring be strictly on seniority basis, UAW headquarters spokesman Peter Laarman [UAW assistant director of public relations and publicity] said it appeared likely the union will make concessions to allow the new company flexibility in hiring and work rules" (our emphasis). So the message from Solidarity House to the Fremont workers is that when and if you get your jobs back, you're going to have

workers, those with work injuries and above all union activists. This prescription for union-busting must be defeated.

At a second "informational meeting" in Fremont, International representatives tried to rule the explosive GM/Toyota deal off the agenda altogether and entertained only questions on benefits and individual cases. But this meeting too erupted in angry shouting matches between the members and officials on the podium over forced relocation of high-seniority workers to GM jobs in Oklahoma on the threat of

The Fremont GM/Toyota deal is the payoff for Fraser, but for the union it's the kiss-off. American manufacturers, including Chrysler which now wants a partnership with the Japanese, are looking for small-car technology and new ways to drive down labor costs, mainly by gutting the unions.

Ford Motor Company and the UAW International recently agreed on a sweetheart contract featuring imitation-Japanese "lifetime job security" in Chicago's Local 551. Like GIS, "lifetime" means until September 1984 or



WV Photos

Supporter of the UAW Militant Caucus (right) campaigns for union to take whatever actions are necessary to ensure that laid-off union members are recalled on basis of seniority when shut down Fremont plant reopens.



to bust your ass, and the International will make sure that you do.

The Local 1364 leadership has formed a united front with the International against the membership. The formerly competing bureaucratic cliques have now combined into a single caucus called, appropriately enough, the "Administration Caucus" and issued a campaign leaflet calling for "unity with the International." When he's face to face with the membership Mays has to talk out of both sides of his mouth to make it sound like he is uniting the members for a seniority recall when what he is clearly trying to do is line up the Fremont workers behind Fraser's sellout.

The International is groveling to GM and Toyota for representation on literally any terms. Fraser is begging the auto bosses to take concessions and he is prepared to go along with the companies' declared intentions to first hire whom they want and afterward hold union certification elections starting from scratch. It's no secret who the companies would weed out: older

losing their Guaranteed Income Stream (GIS) benefits.

A Detroit *Free Press* (18 March) article "UAW Meeting Erupts Over GM Transfers" reported workers were angry over the forced relocation and demanded to know about jobs at the reopened Fremont plant. It quoted union militant Karen Allen, "Why are you guys so willing to send people to Oklahoma when they've put in so many good years here and there are jobs here?" A leaflet by Allen and the UAW Militant Caucus urged:

"Every tactic necessary must be used, from mass picketing to seal off the plant, stopping any non-union labor from going in for any work, to plant occupations.... Our bottom line must be that nothing goes in or out of that plant until GM and Toyota agree that all hiring will be laid-off UAW members, strictly by seniority, with full contract rights on wages and working conditions."

After this angry reaction, Owen Bieber, Doug Fraser's designated heir for the UAW presidency, is to try his hand next at shoving this stinking deal down Fremont workers' throats at yet another "informational meeting" in Fremont March 22. The cop role of Solidarity House was expressed most clearly by the auto union chief joining management while wringing multi-billion dollar concession contracts out of the membership. When he retires from his UAW position in May Fraser is staying on the Chrysler board of directors.

The implications of the union-busting drive at Fremont go far beyond its immediate victims. If it succeeds in a big industrial union local and labor stronghold like the Bay Area, the bosses will export it everywhere. The Fremont plant is scheduled to open when the present national UAW contract expires in September 1984, and massive take-aways here are intended to set a pattern for the national negotiations. Already the Steelworkers union has adopted a mammoth wage-cutting concessions contract in the mold of the 1979-82 UAW givebacks.

Toyota, Nissan Motors, Honda and other foreign manufacturers are setting up shop in the U.S. to avoid protectionist penalties like those proposed in the UAW-sponsored "local content" bill.

the loopholes come to light, whichever comes first, and it is tied to unlimited forced overtime and seniority busting. The Local 551 membership rejected it overwhelmingly March 19.

The Fremont story is far from finished. The bosses want to turn the clock back 50 years and make auto plants into the racist, anti-union hell-holes they were in the 1930s. As limited as it is, what seniority means is protection from racist, chauvinist, anti-union discrimination and slave-driving by the bosses. That is what the UAW tops are willing to give up with their genteel phrases like "concessions on work rules and hiring." Fremont is the prototype, only this time instead of Ford's private army of company thugs to terrorize and discipline the workers, Fraser, Bieber and their flunkies are promising to play that role.

The UAW's shameful cooperation with the GM/Toyota scam may provoke the thousands of angry auto workers ready to fight for their jobs to kick aside the sellout Fraser gang. What's needed is a class-struggle opposition to lead that fight. There must be a massive labor mobilization to stop the union-busting at Fremont. No sweetheart deal! Unchain the UAW! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office

Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor

c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland

P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston

Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland

Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit

Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston

Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles

Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison

c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York

Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) 543-4300

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.

210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver

Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area

Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tues.: 5:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 427-0003

New York City

Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 593-4138

Killer Cop...

(continued from page 4)

care center that a poor black woman could afford. The government is closing the few federally funded day care centers, cutting back on aid to dependent children. Like hundreds of thousands of mothers, Patricia Ridge had been forced to choose between food, shelter and clothing for her family on the one hand, or day care. There is no way in this society she could afford it all. And then the state sends its killer cops after the children.

Every morning mothers leave their children at home agonizing over the possibility of a home accident, a boiler explosion, robbery, the all-too-common landlord arson. Now poor mothers must understand that the killer cops not only have a license to kill on the streets, their children are not safe from them even in their own bedrooms. The "ladies" of the Junior League who have nannies and maids for their offspring get real haughty about the "irresponsibility" of working mothers with their "key children." But Patrick Mason was sitting at home watching TV! And for that they're going to bring his mother up on murder charges!

Last week Patricia Ridge filed a \$20 million wrongful death claim against the city of Stanton and against Sperl. Her lawyer Richard Farnell explained she had been forced to quit her job because of the emotional trauma of her son's murder. Patricia Ridge deserves all she can get from the killers of her child, but no amount of money can make up for this hideous act of racist murder.

The racism of the child-killer cops is matched only by their cowardice. Even in war, soldiers know the killing of children is a shameful thing. A 1959 West German movie, *The Bridge*, portrayed the last-ditch defense of a town on the Rhine by a squad of youth. They are blasted away by the American tanks. But the tough sergeants were struck with horror when they saw that the dead defenders were no older than Boy Scouts. Another example: in the movie *Dr. Zhivago*, there's a scene where some young cadets just out of the academy are sent by the Whites up against the Bolshevik cavalry. The victorious Bolsheviks are sick later to see the young bodies lying on the open field. Or in Mexico in 1847, when U.S. General Scott marched with his

malaria-infected troops from Veracruz into Mexico City. The final battle was the scaling of the fortified hill of Chapultepec. On the crest stood the Mexican military academy valiantly defended by 100 boy cadets, *Los Niños*, who made a suicidal stand shouting "Viva México!" The American troops were mortified. But the L.A. killer cops are something else.

To engage in the slaughter of children, you have to be pretty degenerate—like Somoza who grooved on the fact that in the last days of his rule they killed 50,000 people in the cities, rounding up and shooting every boy age 14 and over. Or at the height of Stalin's purges, when the government authorized the execution of children down to the age of 12. The French Stalinists cynically defended this horror, arguing that children mature fast under socialism! The Nazis, of course, had no compunction at all about killing women or children of "inferior" races—witness the bodies upon bodies piled up live by the SS Einsatzgruppen in mass graves at Babi Yar. The victims weren't seen as human. This kind of fascist mentality is now being seen in L.A. It was Chief Darryl Gates who last year said blacks die more often from choke holds than "normal people." This is a chilling indication of the rising line of racism in America.

As Orange County Deputy D.A. Tony Rackauckas told the press, "We're going to take to the grand jury the question of whether or not the police officer Anthony Sperl was below that high standard of professional conduct we have a right to expect." And just what are those "high standards"? The killer cops of Signal Hill, where black college football star Ron Settles was "hanged" in his cell after being picked up on a traffic ticket? The L.A. sheriff's deputies who just last April blasted nine-months pregnant Delois Young in the stomach and chest, killing her unborn child, when she opened the door at 2 a.m.? To say nothing of the kill-crazed LAPD who have strangled to death and shot down in cold blood dozens of innocent black victims in the past few years—and not one single killer cop has ever been convicted.

The savage murder of Patrick Mason has sparked repeated demonstrations and protests. Outraged telephone workers of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Los Angeles CWA Local 11502 raised a motion in their union meeting demanding all charges and

Stop Racist Deportation of Haitian Refugee!

NORFOLK—Belinor Janvier, a 23-year-old refugee from "Baby Doc" Duvalier's hellhole dictatorship, is currently being held in the Virginia Beach jail while the racist Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) prepares his "transportation papers" back to Haiti—that is, a near-certain death sentence! Janvier escaped to the United States via boat in August 1981, where he and thousands of other impoverished and desperate Haitian refugees were imprisoned in INS concentration camps. Shortly before his "parole" period to apply for political asylum ended, the INS picked him up and on March 8 an INS judge ruled him "excludable and deportable." We demand Belinor Janvier be freed at once and given immediate asylum. Anybody who made it into this country has the right to be here! Full citizenship rights for all foreign

workers!

The Haitian Refugee Task Force of Norfolk and Virginia Beach, supported by the Norfolk NAACP, have taken up the case. Janvier's attorney is seeking to have the case reopened as the only legal recourse to stop his deportation back to the vindictive clutches of Duvalier's Tonton Macoutes, the brutal death squads. The Haitian Task Force asks that telegrams and letters defending Janvier's right to stay in this country and urging the judge to reopen the case be sent to: Judge Joan Arrow-smith, c/o Immigration and Naturalization Service, 25 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20538, with copies to Haitian Task Force, P.O. Box 4548, Virginia Beach, VA 23454. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a telegram, and urges *WV* readers to support this life-and-death case.

investigations against Patricia Ridge be dropped, the killer cop be jailed, and the local donate \$500 to the Patrick Mason Memorial Fund. MAC supporters told *WV* that the exec board instead passed a mealy-mouthed resolution and donated \$250 to the fund. A Partisan Defense Committee telegram to the Orange County D.A. has demanded all charges and pending charges of Ridge be dropped and Sperl jailed.

In the ghettos and *barrios* of Southern California the kill-crazed police with their TAC squads and strike forces have singled out blacks and minorities for target practice. This mammoth killer elite with their 12-gauge shotguns and armored half-tracks, their cattleprods and choke holds, has an infinitely renewable license from the ruling class to kill blacks in Reagan's America. Statistics released last week show the LAPD kill rate is running 100 percent(!) higher than a year ago this time (*Herald Examiner*, 11 March).

It is necessary to build a strong labor/black defense effort to mobilize the workers movement, minorities and other targets of cop terror. It's not a question of impotent review boards to

investigate the murders *after* the cops have kicked in the door. Reformist schemes like "community control" of police, or other calls for more black cops are patently absurd in Los Angeles where black mayor ex-top cop Bradley fronts for the racist massacre in the interests of the bourgeois class.

As for that cowardly killer Sperl with all of his "remorse": he should be made to pay for his unspeakable crime. Justice would be High Noon with the mother of that small black child given a 9 mm. Browning with a 13-round clip with one in the chamber, and the cop a toy pistol. A big realistic one so he can even pull the trigger during the duel. And just to make sure it's a fair fight, the eyeholes in his Klan hood can be cut very big so he can see well.

Sperl better be long gone by the time the working class takes state power. Him and FBI informer Gary Rowe (who was involved in killing the four black Sunday school girls in Birmingham), and the plainclothes cops in Montgomery, Alabama who recently shot and terrorized black mourners and are now trying to jail their victims for attempted murder. If they aren't, they'll wish they were. ■

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

counterrevolutionary threat.

It is an open secret that Washington has been funding the Somozaist mercenaries. Only last month the Honduran government staged provocative joint maneuvers together with U.S. forces only 15 miles from the Nicaraguan border. CIA monies have also been flowing to the anti-Sandinista organization of Miskito Indians and its leader, Steadman Fagoth Müller. And now, at the same time that the Somozaists are attacking from the north, followers of former FSLN Comandante Zero (Edén Pastora) have moved into Nicaragua from Costa Rica (*Los Angeles Times*, 22 March). The Sandinistas have deliberately played down the counterrevolutionary threat: "Don't worry about the attempts to take these small towns," said army commander Ortega. "The dangers reside in the fact that the American imperialists are using the Honduran government as a puppet against the Nicaraguans." But while the FSLN constantly denounces U.S. ploys to provoke a war between Nicaragua and Honduras, the narrow nationalism of the Sandinistas is an obstacle to victory in what is becoming a Central American-wide civil war.

Clearly the U.S. imperialists are



Franken/Syigma

"No pasarán"—they shall not pass.

counting on their agents inside Nicaragua—in particular the capitalists who still control 60 percent of the economy thanks to the FSLN's utopian attempt to build a "mixed economy." In the face of the counterrevolutionary mobilization of the last several days (more than 250 dead since Pope Wojtyla's visit), the FSLN was forced on Monday to seize Milca S.A., the Nicaraguan bottlers for Coca Cola, whose former owner was using the

profits to finance the counterrevolutionary FDN (Nicaraguan Democratic Front) and recently met with U.S. assistant secretary of state Thomas Enders. What about the capitalist press and the rest of the capitalist "fifth column" which Somozaists and ex-Sandinistas like Pastora are both counting on? The Nicaraguan bourgeoisie must be expropriated as a class, and pro-capitalist elements ruthlessly driven out of the government. Revolutionary communists call for workers control, expropriation of the capitalists, forging a Trotskyist party built in struggle against the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Sandinistas, to install a workers and peasants government.

In the face of the counterrevolutionary threat engineered from the highest levels of the U.S. government, it is urgently necessary to defend the democratic gains of the popular insurrection that toppled the Somoza dictatorship and extend them to a struggle for workers revolution throughout Central America. The CIA-financed *contras* are gunning down Nicaraguan youth, workers and peasants. But the Sandinistas are running a "roach motel" for counterrevolutionaries ("they check in but they don't check out"). For every one of these mercenary killers the FSLN takes out, there will be that many fewer *gusanos* roaming the streets of the United States, pushing drugs and

attempting to assassinate diplomats. Just remember the role of CIA-trained anti-Castro Cubans in the murder of Orlando Letelier, who had been foreign minister under Allende. His is one of many deaths that must be placed squarely at the doorsteps of the United States government.

But the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the FSLN is not the road to victory over powerful American imperialism. Appeals to the UN—that imperialist "den of thieves"—will prove no more effective than they were in the face of Bay of Pigs I, John F. Kennedy's attempted invasion of Cuba in 1961. The Sandinistas have systematically repressed socialists and combative unions at home, in order to preserve their precarious "détente" with the domestic capitalists. But now more than ever a revolutionary working-class offensive is necessary to defend the gains of the anti-Somoza revolution against Yankee imperialism. Here, in the "belly of the beast," we fight for labor action against Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! We demand that Cuba and the USSR send all necessary military aid to Nicaragua, especially modern jet aircraft, urgently needed to counter Honduran/U.S. invasion attempts. Smash Somozaist/CIA counterrevolution—For workers revolution, from Nicaragua and El Salvador to Mexico and beyond! ■

In Jail Since 1980 General Strike

Free Salvadoran Workers Leaders!

More than 1,000 trade-union officials have been assassinated by the police, army and ultra-rightist death squads in El Salvador. Hundreds of unionists are in prison. In this front-line state of Reagan's "free world," strikes are illegal under the state of siege, all public union offices have been shut down and numerous labor organizations have been dissolved by government decree. Key industries have been militarized (making work stoppages punishable by summary court martial) and in the "free trade zone" of San Bartolo, where workers for multinational corporations are paid \$4 a day, all union activity is outlawed. Those labor organizers who have not been jailed or gunned down have gone underground or into exile. And yet the Salvadoran working class has not been broken or suffered decisive defeats. During 1979-80, urban workers were the vanguard of repeated mass mobilizations and general strikes. Today once again labor is raising its head in struggle against the genocidal U.S.-backed regime. Thus international solidarity with the embattled Salvadoran workers is strategically vital for revolution in Central America.

In a tiny country where nearly 50,000 people have been executed since October 1979, where no one is safe from sudden brutal murder, the prisoners in government jails with macabre names like Nueva Esperanza (New Hope) may seem to be the lucky ones. But the overwhelming majority of the 709 known political prisoners (many of them unionists) in El Salvador have been viciously tortured. Repeated beatings in the head, kicks in the testicles, pistol barrels rammed into the anus, women raped and stripped naked for humiliation, electric shocks applied to every sensitive area of the body: these are some of the common techniques taught by former army intelligence major "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson, head of the White Warriors Union death squad and now president of the Salvadoran "constituent assembly," who got his nickname from his favorite means of interrogation. While Reagan beats the drums over the detention of counterrevolutionary Solidarność leaders in Poland, his Salvadoran puppet regime murders and jails hundreds of trade

unionists, along with thousands of peasants and youth. Labor and the left everywhere must demand freedom for all the victims of the bloody rightist repression in El Salvador.

Largely due to imperialist investment in the short-lived Central American Common Market, El Salvador has the largest urban working class in the isthmus. The number of workers in manufacturing and construction more than doubled between 1971 and 1978, reaching 19 percent of the labor force (compared to 42 percent in agriculture). This was reflected in a wave of militant labor struggles. At the beginning of 1979 women textile strikers adopted the tactic of holding the management hostage to prevent army attacks. Soon their example spread. In March bottling plant workers occupied their installations and locked up several company executives. When several strikers were killed the electrical workers union, STECEL, won the strike by cutting off power to the entire country for 55 minutes. A week later STECEL struck again, blacking out El Salvador for 23 hours and winning 93 out of 95 demands. This escalating spiral of labor militancy, together with the impact of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua, led to the October 1979 "human rights coup" sponsored by the U.S. State Department. The first act of the new military/civilian junta was to break up the sit-down strikes.

But escalating repression did not halt the mass unrest. On 22 January 1980 more than 200,000 people demonstrated in San Salvador at the call of the Coordinadora Revolucionaria de Masas (CRM) in which left-led unions played a major role. An attack by army sharpshooters left more than 100 dead. On March 17, the CRM staged a one-day general strike against repression that was reported 70 percent effective. When rightist gunmen assassinated Archbishop Romero a week later, tens of thousands protested in the streets; National Guard and police fired on the crowd, officially killing 26. Still, a second general strike on June 25-26 was a dramatic success, with all factories, transport and 90 percent of businesses closed. A third general strike was called for late July, then postponed to mid-

August. However, most of the left opposed any attempt at insurrection (and those who talked of an uprising hinged it on participation by sections of the capitalist army!), so that the strike was purely passive. As a result, the military was able to dominate the streets and forced petty-bourgeois sectors (notably bus owners and shopkeepers) to break ranks. The strike was defeated.

As in March, STECEL was the backbone of the August strike. The government responded with a barrage of repression against this advanced sector of the Salvadoran workers. It was decreed illegal for public employees to strike. When they did anyway, 60 STECEL members were fired. Demanding their reinstatement, the electrical union seized nine major power plants and blacked out the country for a day, placing bombs in key machinery. The government responded by issuing decrees militarizing public services and dissolving STECEL. Moreover, the entire 17-man executive board of the union, including Hector Bernabé Recinos (head of the FENASTRAS union federation), was arrested. The "politico-military" organizations of the left, who at first denied that the general strike was a failure (while doing no more than engage in some target practice by neighborhood militias), were unable or unwilling to act. Set up and abandoned, the electrical workers have languished in jail ever since.

Imprisoned trade unionists in El Salvador have received scant public attention. Last fall when several leaders of the opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) were arrested there was an international outcry; there was little notice, however, of the five union leaders who were "disappeared" at the same time. Recently an academic fact-finding group visited political prisoners in the Ilopango and Marion prisons, interviewing 23 members of the ANDES teachers union, all of whom had been tortured. In the U.S. a "Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador" has been set up by liberal and social-democratic union presidents such as the Auto Workers' Fraser and the Machinists' Winpisinger. But the strategy of this bureaucratic body, like that of the

Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and various reformists (SWP, CP, WWP, etc.), is to pressure the Reagan administration for a "negotiated settlement." Their "defense" efforts consist of impotent petitions to the U.S. government asking Defense Minister Garcia to release the prisoners. A similar campaign of post-cards to General Garcia is being waged by the FDR to free guerrilla commander Montenegro, architect of the brilliant January 1982 raid on the Ilopango air force base.

While the popular frontists seek a negotiated sellout of the heroic struggle by the fighters on the battlefields, in exchange for a few ministerial portfolios and promises of reforms, the Spartacist League (SL) calls for military victory to the leftist insurgents. Workers revolution is the only "political solution" that can free the Salvadoran masses from the suffering imposed by half a century of murderous military dictatorship.

In the U.S., the SL calls for class-struggle labor action demanding the freeing of jailed union militants Hector Recinos, STECEL general secretary José Arnulfo Grande, José Arturo Valencia, Jorge Alberto Hernández, Orlando Dagoberto Machuca, Francisco Ramos Zamora, Arcadio Rauda, Jorge Alberto Artiga, Chedor Loamer Ascencio, Santos Rivera Calzada and the rest of the STECEL executive committee. Mobilizing the social power of labor is vital in freeing these Salvadoran workers leaders.

And where the reformists ludicrously transplant their "write your Congressmen" ploy to the bloody terrain of Central America, the Trotskyists of the SL call for hot-cargoing all military goods to the rightist butchers! Now in the face of the sharp escalation of U.S. intervention, it is urgently necessary to mount effective union action in solidarity with our class brothers and sisters struggling against American imperialism and its Salvadoran puppets. The SL supports the call, raised by militants in the West Coast longshoremen's union, for a one-day port strike against the U.S. war on El Salvador (see accompanying article). For class-struggle workers action to free the victims of rightist terror! ■

Port Shutdown...

(continued from page 12)

like promises from the bloody junta of phoney elections or that their death squads "reduce" the murders of innocent men, women and children.

It sounds like Vietnam all over again. Anticipating the increased U.S. military assistance Salvadoran government troops are already planning a campaign similar to "Operation Phoenix" used in Vietnam, whereby whole villages known to support the Salvadoran rebels are to be "liquidated" and the entire populations "re-located" (most likely into mass graves) under the supervision of the new U.S. "advisors". This is a program for mass murder.

The Vietnam war went on for over ten years—from the "counterinsurgency" Green Berets of Kennedy to the B-52 carpet-bombing of Johnson and Nixon. That genocidal war continued so long because not *once* during that entire period did any union in the American labor movement take organized action in the form of political strikes against

U.S. intervention! The ILWU opposed that war. But Bridges' policy forced longshoremen to load those ships with bombs, guns, ammunition and everything else throughout the entire war. One dock strike then would have had more political impact than a hundred peace demonstrations.

In El Salvador there has been systematic repression of the trade unions. Every union hall in the country has been bombed by government forces. Union leaders and activists are systematically arrested, tortured, killed or "disappeared." Strikes are brutally smashed by the army. Many unions have simply been dissolved by the government. Yet Reagan's chief advisor on Central America, Jeane Kirkpatrick, who just returned from El Salvador, has nothing but praise for the bloody junta in El Salvador, which she characterizes as a "moderately authoritarian regime." Reagan and this war criminal Kirkpatrick hate unions and are giving our Salvadoran brothers and sisters a bloody lesson in the kind of "democracy" they would like to use against the labor movement here. Do not forget the union brothers who were shot dead in San Francisco in 1934.

Prayer vigils, peace marches, student protests, or letters to Congressmen won't stop the U.S. war drive in El Salvador. Only organized labor has that kind of power. It is urgent that we use that power. For a 24-hour shutdown of every major West Coast port!

Frederic Addison	Local 10
Wesley Arceneaux	Local 10
Joe Blea	Local 10
Al Broussard	Local 10
Exec. Board	
Caucus & Conv.	
J.C. Foreman	Local 10
David Garland	Local 10
Carl L. Gilbert	Local 10
Stan Gow	Local 10
Exec. Board	
Caucus & Conv.	
Juan Gudino	Local 10
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Eli Johnson	Local 10
H.S. Kapoor	Local 10
Howard C. Keylor	Local 10
Exec. Board	
Raul Longoria	Local 10
Frank Mallia	Local 10
William McKnight	Local 10
Brian McWilliams	Local 34
A.J. Mitchell	Local 10
Jaime Ortiz	Local 10

R. Richardson	Local 10
John Romo Jr.	Local 10
Frank Teixeira	Local 10
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Alt. Steward	
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Stop U.S. Aid to Central American Butchers!

For a One-Day Port Shutdown!

The Yankee imperialists must be stopped *now*, and the American working class has the power to do it. In the last five years, more than 120,000 people have been killed by U.S.-backed dictators in Central America. Now, speaking to the assembled capitalists of the National Association of Manufacturers on March 10, Reagan announced a major escalation of U.S. intervention: pumping in hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to his butchers, tripling the number of American military "trainers" in El Salvador and stepping up covert action against Sandinista Nicaragua. The current large-scale attacks by counterrevolutionary mercenaries inside Nicaragua are part of this operation, whose ultimate targets are Cuba and the Soviet Union. Their immediate target is to completely purify Central America, wiping out all insurgencies.

From the beginning of the fighting in Central America, the Spartacist League (SL) has called for labor action against U.S. intervention. In particular, we raised the demand for "hot-cargoing" all military goods to the rightist juntas. Similarly, a decade ago we called for labor strikes against the Vietnam War. It is necessary to fight imperialist war with class struggle at home, not impotent "peace" crawls and liberal pressure tactics. In recent years, demands for a union boycott of military shipments to rightist regimes—from Chile to South Africa to El Salvador—have been raised by class-struggle militants in the West Coast longshore union (ILWU). Now in the face of Reagan's attempted Vietnamization of Central America, militants in the San Francisco Bay Area ILWU have initiated an emergency call for a *24-hour shutdown of all West Coast ports* to oppose Reagan's war drive. We wholeheartedly support this urgently necessary action (see leaflet printed below).

Such political strike action would have a powerful effect on the American ruling class and send shock waves

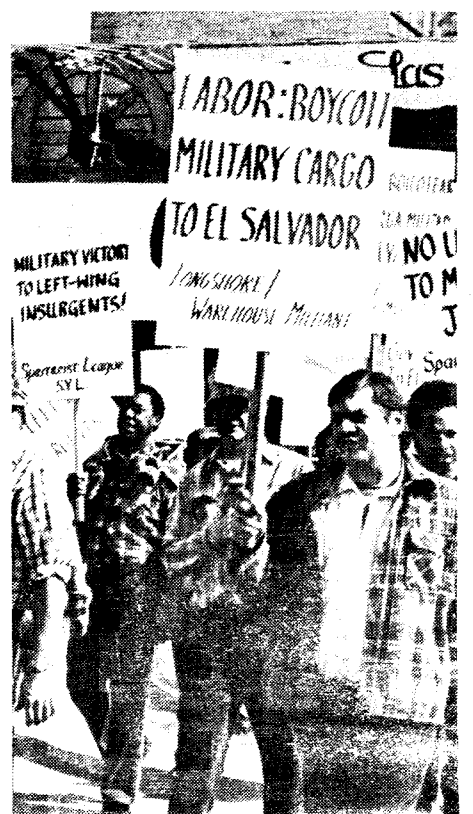


West Coast longshore militants (right) demand: labor must boycott weapons shipments to Salvadoran butchers (left).

through the workers movement. The French bourgeoisie has not forgotten how Marseilles dockers dumped arms bound for the Rif War (against Moroccan independence fighters) into the Mediterranean. In El Salvador the local oligarchy has been proud of butchering its own population, even refusing aid from U.S. warships offshore during the 1932 *Matanza* (massacre) while Marines were occupying Nicaragua next door. Today, however, Central American rulers from Guatemala's "born-again" dictator Ríos Montt to Salvador's death squad leader D'Aubuisson are vitally dependent on their U.S. overlords. While the reformists appeal to the imperialist liberals for a compromise "political solution" to the civil war, class-conscious workers have an oppor-

tunity to land a blow against all the capitalist oppressors.

It's a bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive; the Democrats and Republicans just squabble over the tactics. While liberal "doves" wring their hands about "our side" losing, socialists seek to do everything possible to help *our* side—the workers and peasants of Central America—win their struggle for liberation from misery and murder. If the genocidal Salvadoran army and Somozaist *contras* are not crushed, any ceasefire will just lead to more massacres as the death squads continue their grisly work. We call for military victory to the leftist rebels and workers revolution. We say defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in Central America. It's an elementary matter of class solidarity



WV Photos

with our brothers and sisters under imperialism's guns. They must not fight alone! Reagan talks about falling dominoes, Vietnam style: first Nicaragua, El Salvador next and soon they'll be on the Rio Grande. Well, let's give him some hot class struggle north of the border as well!

For Ronald Reagan, U.S. workers are the enemy just as much as Salvadoran peasants and the Soviet Union—he wants to give us all the PATCO treatment. His Madam Chiang Kai-shek, Jeane Kirkpatrick, would just as soon see American unionists shot down on the picket lines as her "moderately authoritarian" dictators slaughter the Central American masses. There must be a labor offensive to *bring Reagan down through mass strike action!*

For Labor Action to Stop Reagan's War on El Salvador

In 1932, direct U.S. military intervention in El Salvador crushed an insurrection against the repressive dictatorship. After the unsuccessful insurrection, the army carried out a massacre of 30,000 workers and peasants as an act of bloody revenge. Since then the U.S. supplied army of El Salvador has propped up a series of brutally repressive landlord-dominated dictatorships.

Recent dramatic battlefield victories by the rebel insurgents threatens the final destruction of this blood-drenched army that has run El Salvador for the past 50 years. The U.S. backed Salvadoran government, which has murdered at least 50,000 men, women and children

since 1979, is on the brink of collapse. It is urgent that the rebel forces achieve military victory to save the working people and peasants from the "peace of 100,000 dead" promised by the Salvadoran army and death squads.

In a desperate attempt to rescue his butchers from military defeat, Reagan is pushing for a massive escalation of U.S. intervention in El Salvador. He is demanding a military and economic assistance package totaling \$408 million that includes \$136 million for arms and ammunition. More than \$1 billion has been poured into the region in the last three years. Reagan is also demanding a sharp increase in U.S. military "advi-

sors." Next it will be the Marines.

Our brothers and sisters in El Salvador desperately need immediate help from the American labor movement! International labor solidarity demands that the ILWU organize a 24-hour shutdown of every major port on the West Coast to oppose Reagan's war drive!

The ILWU is already on record against the U.S. war in El Salvador. The November, 1980 International Executive Board policy on El Salvador stated: "The ILWU strongly protests any further U.S. military, political or economic assistance to the military government of El Salvador which has imposed a virtual reign of terror over its people." The International Officers further stated on December 22, 1980: "...the ILWU announces that it will refuse to handle any and all military cargo or so-called 'riot control' equipment being shipped to El Salvador."

The time for organized labor action is

now! Reagan is talking about the Salvadoran junta running out of ammunition in a matter of several weeks. That is his deadline and he expects to meet it. Every indication is that these "emergency measures" will be pushed through Congress rapidly with the Democrats insisting only on certain "conditions"—

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**Free
Salvadoran
Workers
Leaders!**

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