

A Socialist ACTION

AIDS testing
See page 3.



JULY 1987 VOL. 5, NO. 7 50 CENTS

U.S. military buildup in Persian Gulf intensifies

S. Korean uprising sparks solidarity



As massive protests continued in South Korea against the U.S.-backed military dictatorship, thousands of Korean-Americans and peace and labor activists staged demonstrations in various U.S. cities to demand an end to military rule in South Korea. Photo above: Demonstration in San Francisco on June 20.

With rare hypocrisy, President Reagan dealt a blow to the mythology of Soviet expansionism when he justified a major new military action against Iran. This "Alice-in-Wonderland" response came after Iraq, a current Soviet "ally," fired rockets killing American sailors.

Recent events—Contragate and the "reflagging" of Kuwait oil-tankers for the purpose of providing U.S. naval protection to an ally of Iraq—have greatly undermined the belief that U.S. foreign policy goals

Editorial

have anything to do with the "defense of freedom and democracy."

Naked imperialism is seen by growing numbers of Americans to be the policy of the U.S. government.

Perhaps nothing has done more to shatter illusions than the spectacle of President Reagan's sharp shifts of policy in the Persian Gulf.

These sudden—often embarrassing—shifts in U.S. imperialist tactics are the result of the growing world capitalist crisis, which erupts at its weakest points. Vulnerable places are those where imperialist interests conflict with those of their junior capitalist partners in the semi-colonial world.

The history of imperialist domination is replete with instances of divide-and-rule wheeling and dealing in the underdeveloped world.

England and France, old hands in the imperialist game of domination and exploitation, have historically augmented the raw industrial, financial, and military power at their disposal with "balance of power" tactics. The U.S. government, too, needs to play the conflicting interests of the local rulers under their domination against each other.

In the Middle East, the United States created and financed the state of Israel as an imperialist outpost against the Arab revolution and as a counterbalance to the Arab states of the region.

Another key U.S. ally in the region had been Iran under the oppressive dictatorship of the Shah. The Iranian capitalist class, like its counterpart in Israel, willingly

(continued on page 11)

Gov't attacks all labor in Teamsters takeover move

By CARL FINAMORE

In a move that represents a significant escalation in the government's anti-union drive, the Justice Department recently announced it was preparing an unprecedented lawsuit aimed at putting the 1.7-million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) under federal control.

The goal of the suit would be to ask a judge or jury to replace Teamsters President Jackie Presser and all 21 members of the union's national executive board with a government-appointed trustee.

Federal prosecutors contend that Teamster leaders have violated the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). The Justice Department first successfully used this law last year to impose trusteeship over Teamster Local 560 in New Jersey. Now it has decided to attempt a takeover of the whole international union.

The President's Commission on Organized Crime has also targeted three other unions for possible government interference. These are the International Longshoremen's Association, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, and the Laborers'

International Union of North America.

At first glance, it would appear to be a good idea for the government to clean up the Teamsters union. There is certainly a lot of evidence of criminal activity. But

(continued on page 5)

Special:
The hidden story behind Contragate. See pp. 7-10.



Why not quarantine the politicians?



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

The biggest danger facing the American people is not from AIDS but from the big-mouthed politicians. The right-wing Democrats and Republicans yell for testing and quarantine of AIDS victims, and the gutless liberal politicians stand silently by.

The Elmer Gantrys and bigots in the White House and Congress are yelling "FIRE!" in a crowded room, and there is nobody there with the courage to shut them up.

Both of my children were born before the invention of the polio vaccine by Dr. Salk. Every summer when they were small there was one panic after another.

We would take them to the beach or a children's wading pool only to find a sign of warning that it was closed due to an outbreak of polio. This would be followed by a warning to observe your children for at least 10 days to see whether they had a fever or headaches (symptoms of polio).

For 10 days, both I and my husband would check their temperatures several times a day. If they came down with a cold, we would rush off to the doctor.

The threat of polio was frightful. There was no cure or vaccine, and the only hope was that if they did contract polio, it would be a mild case. The dread disease left thousands of children handicapped for life or dead.

We would keep our children home, call the doctor, and also tell the parents of our children's friends if either of them had a temperature—just in case. And they warned

us when the situation was reversed. We had no fear of warning our neighbors.

What would you do?

But what if things were different? What if Congress and the president of the United States called for all



children with symptoms of polio to be removed from their homes and indefinitely locked away in some quarantine camp?

What if they demanded testing for all children who had been to a beach or wading pool? If the test showed polio anti-bodies, what if they ordered the children permanently removed to quarantine camps? What would you do?

I know that I would keep my children from taking such tests. I would lie to neighbors, friends, and medical personnel in order to protect my children from quarantine. There is no way that they would take possession of my kids without a fight. I'm sure that every parent would feel the same way.

Of course, that would have meant that the number of kids getting polio each summer would have shot up. The government wasn't that stupid then. But some in government want to do it now with the AIDS epidemic.

Education is needed

AIDS is certainly not as contagious as polio. Polio could be caught as easily as a cold. AIDS is transmitted only through blood or certain bodily fluids. We need more public education on this issue. We need testing of drugs—not people.

There is not one reputable medical expert who advocates forced testing and quarantine in order to halt the spread of AIDS. Yet the highest elected politicians from both parties are advocating forced (i.e., "routine") testing and even quarantine of those discovered to have the virus in their bodies.

This rhetoric is for the purpose of spreading gasoline on a fire. It is designed to appeal to the fundamentalist ya-hoos who claim Biblical grounds for their prejudice against gay people and who do not want to be confused by the facts.

We cannot depend on the politicians in the two capitalist parties to protect our (and it is *all* of our) human rights. They don't want to limit or cure AIDS, they want to make political gains from it.

We must depend on the massive action of millions of people who want to cure AIDS and end that disease once and for all. Mass united action in defense of the rights of those carrying the AIDS virus—and everyone else, for that matter—is our only hope of stopping the political tweedledums and tweedledees before they get us. ■

Our readers speak out

PLO strategy

Dear editor,

In the aftermath of a series of setbacks for the Palestinian liberation movement, partisans of that revolution have been assessing the PLO's strategy. Unfortunately, Ralph Schoenman's article in the March *Socialist Action* does not appear to me to be a very positive contribution to this assessment process.

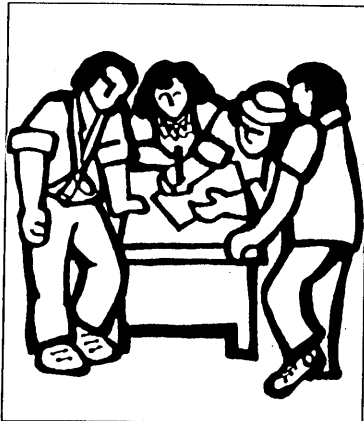
Schoenman concentrates his energy on assaulting key components of the PLO's strategy. For example, he questions the validity of the "two state" formula, claiming it is "unrealistic"—i.e., it will never be accepted by any Zionist faction.

Yet he fails to apply this same criteria of "realism" to his substitute formula of a "democratic and secular" Palestine. If acceptance by Zionism is his "realistic" criteria, then neither formula will ever be actualized.

Worse yet, Schoenman claims the "two-state" formula will lead to a Palestinian Bantustan on the Occupied Territories (OT). He fails to mention the PLO's position that a Palestinian state would have to enjoy the same legitimacy as any other in the world to be acceptable to it. Unlike Bantustans in South Africa, Palestinians would enjoy the representation of their popular leadership, the PLO.

The origin of the "two-state" formula was not a rejection of the long-term goal of a complete liberation of historic Palestine. First, it was a recognition that the focus of the conflict had shifted from Israel proper to the OT. Second, that the liberation of any part of historic Palestine would be a victory.

Finally, it was a way of



We welcome letters from our readers. Please keep them brief. Where necessary, they will be abridged.

signifying that liberation of the OT would not mean a reversion to Egyptian or Jordanian control but would remain in Palestinian control. Far from an implied "sell-out," the "two-state" formula correctly expressed the immediate and concrete tasks before a living movement.

William Baker,
San Francisco, Calif.

U.S. labor

Dear editor,

I think your May 1987 article "Where did the labor movement go wrong?" by Genora Johnson Dollinger is one of the best pieces of political writing I've seen in *too* long a time! She has a framework that few of us active in the labor movement have, due not only to her experience, but her perspective and her passion for the victory of the working class.

Particularly insightful for me

was her criticism of the short-sightedness and parochialism of the U.S. labor movement for settling for health plans and pensions for unionists alone and not fighting to extend these benefits to the *entire* working class.

Hopefully Genora and other retired comrades will write articles regularly as part of the process of "a new regrouping of those who care about America—and ALL its people."

I made copies of her article to share with my co-workers and I echo her sentiment that the "new upsurge will not come from the stagnant and incompetent leaders we have today"—both in the labor movement and those who attempt to sell out other movements as well!

Barry Boone,
SEIU Local 790,
Albany, Calif.

No analysis

Dear editor,

I must admit that I find *Socialist Action* one of the most refreshing breaths of air to come to the left in the U.S. in quite some time. But lately in reading your paper, I've been stunned by the lack of analysis and leadership apparent in the articles. It seems to me to be mere reporting and nothing more.

In your articles on Contragate, for example, you explained very well why there was a need for a cover-up to protect Reagan and Congress. But then you state what I believe to be an incorrect conclusion, when you say in the April issue of *Socialist Action*:

"The Tower report is a signal that the U.S. ruling class has set out to bring this affair to an end as speedily as they can get away

with." With this conclusion, you leave out the question of why there was a leak to begin with.

Nor do you ask some other very important questions: What are the forces behind the leak and why? Is there a struggle in the ruling class and, if so, what is the alliance of forces?

My view is that the right wing and the liberals in the ruling class have formed a coalition to expose the Reagan doctrine as the weak doctrine it is, given the fact that it could not deliver on its promises of returning the U.S. to its role as the world controller or retake the Soviet Union and all the worker and nationalist states.

The attempt to discredit the Reagan doctrine is becoming more and more apparent in the bourgeois media and in the recent testimony of General Secord. Who has Secord opened the barn door on? Why, the vice presi-

dent, the CIA, and the president himself. Secord states that he was told the vice president was appraised of the contra supply operation.

Now answer me honestly, does this seem like the actions taken to end an investigation? I think not, and I believe that there is a lot more to come out of this.

Larry Murdock,
New York, N.Y.

Enjoys paper

Dear editor,

I received one of your papers at the April 25 peace and justice march in Washington, D.C. I finally got around to reading it, and I enjoyed all of the articles.

Anna Boone,
Zephyrhills, Fla.

Socialist ACTION

Closing date: June 20, 1987

Editor: ALAN BENJAMIN
Asst. Editor: MICHAEL SCHREIBER

Staff: Paul Colvin, Suzanne Forsyth, May May Gong, David Kirschner, Hayden Perry, Joe Ryan, Kwame M.A. Somburu, Sylvia Weinstein.

Business Manager: DON MAHONEY

Socialist Action (ISSN 0747-4237) is published monthly for \$6 per year by Socialist Action Publishing Association, 3435 Army St., No. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110. Second-class postage is paid at San Francisco, Calif.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Socialist Action*, 3435 Army St., No. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110.

RATES: For one year (12 issues)—U.S. 2nd Class: \$6, 1st Class: \$9; Canada and Mexico 2nd Class: \$9, 1st Class: \$12; All other countries 2nd Class: \$12, 1st Class: \$24. (Canada money orders or checks should be in U.S. dollars.)

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of *Socialist Action*. These are expressed in editorials.



Business Week

Mandatory testing: No cure for AIDS epidemic

By NAT WEINSTEIN

Mass compulsory testing for presence of the AIDS virus is the latest diversionary tactic employed by the most audacious ideological leaders of the U.S. capitalist class.

There is a real difference of opinion, however, within the ranks of the ruling class over how to deal with this latest manifestation of the system's incapacity to solve society's problems.

One wing has seized on the issue of compulsory testing as grist for its mill. This wing, which includes important components of the capitalist establishment in both the Democratic and the Republican parties, specializes in exploiting the prejudices cultured by capitalist society in order to divide and rule.

Every difference is seized upon—race, religion, sex, etc.—to divert discontent arising from the real problems of capitalism toward convenient scapegoats. Bigotry of all kinds is systematically fostered and exploited to disrupt, in the final analysis, joint defensive action by its victims.

Split in capitalist class

Another wing of the capitalist class—the dominant one—is generally more artful and selective. It knows full well that universal, forced testing in capitalist America today serves no good medical purpose in dealing with the mounting threat of the AIDS epidemic. These capitalists realize that mandatory testing would be counter-productive.

Moreover, they are already concerned by the mounting medical costs of treating AIDS victims. These costs, for which most victims of AIDS cannot pay, will be borne by society as a whole, adding to the problem of the deficit national budget.

The professional right-wingers, however, have seized on the widespread fear of AIDS to advance their political agenda. Their call for universal compulsory testing is not motivated by real public-health concerns. It is intended to fan the flames of hysteria among people already on the edge of panic.

It is a substitute for genuine measures to meet the threat of AIDS. And it is an effective diversion from real solutions

because it *seems* to be a rational medical response to the deadly AIDS epidemic.

Testing: the traditional purpose

Testing to control the spread of a contagious disease has always been completely voluntary and truly routine. But the traditional, broadly accepted medical purpose of testing has always been to facilitate treatment of those found to be infected and alert all concerned to follow appropriate hygienic procedures to limit the disease's spread.

Testing for communicable diseases, for instance, is confidential and more or less

"A massive government funded Manhattan Project to find a cure for AIDS is realistic."

routine. Those found to be infected are given effective treatment and most often cured. There is no stigma attached to positive test results and consequently no one has cause to refuse such tests.

But there is, today, no cure for AIDS. Neither is there yet any means for ridding carriers of the dormant virus. The call for compulsory mass testing for AIDS, it is clear, has another non-medical purpose. It is promoted by a variety of right-wingers primarily to whip up hysteria against AIDS victims.

At present in this country, gay people, drug addicts, and their sexual partners suffer most from this epidemic. This provides a choice target for mischievous bigots.

Quarantine: Medical necessity?

The proponents of such testing refuse to provide guarantees of confidentiality. This results in loss of jobs and other economic hardships for those found to be carrying the virus. The logic of forced mass testing, where there is no cure nor means for ridding the body of the virus, leads to quarantining the 1.5 million people estimated to be carriers.

This adds up to permanent isolation of

AIDS virus carriers from economic as well as social life. The inevitable consequence of this is to condemn those millions of carriers of the dormant virus without enormous independent financial resources to life-long detention as pauperized wards of society.

This will inevitably result in mass evasion of such forced testing and in effect the opposite of that alleged to be intended. Carriers of the dormant virus will not know this for certain and therefore will be much less prepared to accept counseling on how to ensure the protection of those with whom they have more than casual contact.

The most important measure that can now be taken is to educate everyone—carriers or not—to avoid any careless attitude toward sexual intimacy and other forms of contact by which AIDS is transmitted.

The "responsible" capitalists

For the time being, the dominant capitalist policy favors education as the best means available to limit the spread of AIDS. They understand the fact that universal testing without guaranteed confidentiality would be medically counter-productive.

For the present, the dominant capitalists believe it to be dangerously wrong and unnecessary for the defense of capitalism to subvert public-health needs to these ends.

Perhaps more importantly, they know that the economic burden on the U.S. treasury of "quarantine" camps could push the economy, already tottering, over the edge into bankruptcy.

An editorial in the June 7 *New York Times* is typical of the present more rational ruling-class response to the steadily spreading AIDS epidemic:

"If there were an effective way to rid the body of the AIDS virus, widespread testing should begin immediately. Drugs for treatment of the overt disease are starting to become available, but no remedy for the virus exists. Then why test?..."

"There is an inevitable outcome to the logic of those who advocate dragnet testing of low-risk groups: quarantine. The idea is that society, facing a millennial plague, must be prepared to take unflinching measures. Once all carriers are identified,

they will somehow have to be put in detention."

But the editors of the *Times*, asserting that "detention camps would be a shrieking departure from American tradition," indicate that they do not reject this "solution" in principle. "That's a shocking idea," the editorial states, "but it's not foolish. Conceivably, it might one day be seen as brave."

This most authoritative mouthpiece for the ruling capitalists, unable to go beyond its well-reasoned opposition to "detention camp thinking," punctuates its criticism of the right-wingers' panic-mongering with a moral boost to their invidious logic.

"Manhattan Project" for AIDS!

The *Times*, along with the rest of the "responsible" capitalist rulers, cannot point the way to a real solution to the menace of AIDS—a crash program to find a cure, financed by the U.S. government. This is not a utopian dream, but a practical problem requiring only the mobilization of sufficient resources for the quickest solution.

The era of individual teams of scientists working in isolation to find medical and scientific solutions is long past. A new period was firmly established when American imperialism mobilized the country's physicists in a crash program to invent the atomic bomb in time to put it to use against its enemies during World War II.

One team of scientists at a private laboratory, working eight hours a day exploring the variety of possible roads to building an atom bomb, might not have achieved its goal in 500 years. But a hundred teams of scientists and technicians—all gathered under one roof, sharing their information in a gigantic social effort—found a solution in less than five years!

Leaving aside for the moment the heinous consequences of the Manhattan Project, the principle underlying this huge government-funded concentration of scientists and material resources is simple and widely applicable—especially to solve such problems as the AIDS epidemic.

A race to reap the profits

Today, teams of scientists and technicians throughout the world are working in isolation from each other, and for the most part jealously guarding their discoveries from each other.

Their medical goals—to find effective treatments and ultimately a cure—are subordinate to their competing commercial interests. They are in a race to patent their discoveries first so as to reap the profits for the winning entrepreneur.

(The discovery of the means for determining the presence of the AIDS virus, for instance, was claimed by rival laboratories in France and in the United States and resulted in a bitter dispute between them for the lucrative commercial rights to the discovery.)

How many scientific teams capable of AIDS research are being wasted on second-rate pharmaceutical projects? How many such teams are being funded by the United States and other governments to find new biological and chemical agents for military use and other such destructive scientific "advances?"

A massive government-funded Manhattan Project to find a cure for AIDS is practical and realistic. It merely requires the allocation of the nation's vast resources to save millions of the world's people from the horrors of this epidemic.

The U.S. capitalist class—unstinting in its expenditures for death and destruction—dispenses funds for human needs, such as desperately needed medical research, with an eye-dropper.

This year, the federal government has authorized \$446 million on AIDS research, treatment, and education. This is less than half of what the government spends on one Trident submarine!

A social revolution to create a society that puts human needs first is long overdue. Only then would the resources of society be systematically and routinely focused on solving such medical problems as AIDS. ■

Bosses find new ways to bust unions

By MILTON ALVIN

Attacks upon the standard of living of American workers are taking place in several ways—some of them new.

Large corporate interests are consciously attempting to lower wage rates and reduce benefits won by union struggles in the period since the end of World War II. Entire industries have been relocated from the better-paid unionized parts of the country to lower-paid non-union areas in the United States and abroad.

It is unnecessary to list here the large number of instances where corporate demands for concessions from the workers have been agreed to by top union misleaders.

In recent years, corporations have had some success in imposing speed-up procedures, breaking down job classifications, and instituting a two-tier wage structure—in which newer workers receive lower wages than workers with more seniority.

Corporate mergers

The corporations have resorted to other means to lower their labor costs that are more subtle—and even secretive. These means include the corporate merger or buy-out of one corporate giant by another. When such an event is consummated, it almost always results in lay-offs of workers and reductions of income for those remaining on the job.

Some companies raise capital for a takeover by issuing "junk bonds." This is a way of borrowing that obligates the acquiring company to pay interest on bonds and eventually to pay off the bond debt itself. The amounts of money involved in such transactions can run into billions of dollars.

In the meantime, a company that has just swallowed another looks around for ways in which to reduce its interest expense. It sometimes sells off some newly gained assets to do so. This is usually accompanied by lay-offs of workers no longer needed.

A corporate takeover is also frequently an excuse for the company to declare that it is no longer bound by a union contract where there is one—thus leaving workers without protection.

Unions have been organizing to fight this kind of attack and some have gone to court to try to defend themselves. But to

rely on courts and reactionary judges to take a stand in favor of workers is a dubious proposition, takes years to settle one way or another, and reduces the union movement to the position of a supplicant without independent power.

To protect itself and the right to a job, unions will have to develop a fighting stance against the never-satisfied greed of corporate interests.

Companies file bankruptcy

One other way that the corporations avoid their obligations under contract with unions is the filing of bankruptcy applications. Chapter 11, under the laws, permits a company to continue operations—but ostensibly under the court's jurisdiction. This works out to the corporation's advantage, as its status allows it to abrogate union contracts or to wear out unions with endless negotiations.

At this writing, several very large corporations are operating under Chapter 11 provisions, including LTV, the second largest steel manufacturer in the country.

Writing in the *Los Angeles Times* on May 30, 1987, Harry Bernstein says, "In a move that made him a nationwide symbol of union-busting, Continental [Airlines] Chairman Frank Lorenzo abrogated union contracts by reorganizing the company under Chapter 11 of federal bankruptcy law. He laid off 75 percent of his employees and slashed the wages and benefits of those still on the payroll by about 50 percent."

Bernstein, who is the *Times'* labor expert, goes on to describe how other airlines have succeeded in cutting down the wages and benefits of their workers. Among other things, he mentions that the courts rejected a union request for arbitration and that "golden parachutes" were negotiated by airlines officers to cushion their retirement.

In one example, Bernstein says, "PSA Chairman Paul C. Barkley has about \$600,000 of stock options and will also get \$783,000 if he is put out of work by the merger." This refers to a proposed merger of PSA with USair.

Corporate plunderers

In another example of high-level plundering reported in the news, Chrysler President Lee J. Iacocca "earned" in the neighborhood of \$20 million last year. This staggering amount included salary,

bonuses, stock, and options.

By taking such huge sums of money out of what is presumably available, less is left to be paid to ordinary workers. If a corporate head is worth \$20 million a year, how much should a worker on the assembly line be paid?

If we assume that a Chrysler worker gets wages of about \$30,000 a year (gross amount before deductions), the company's president is paid 700 times as much. Unions should demand that the company justify this ratio by opening its accounting books for workers' examination.

Still another method used by corporation

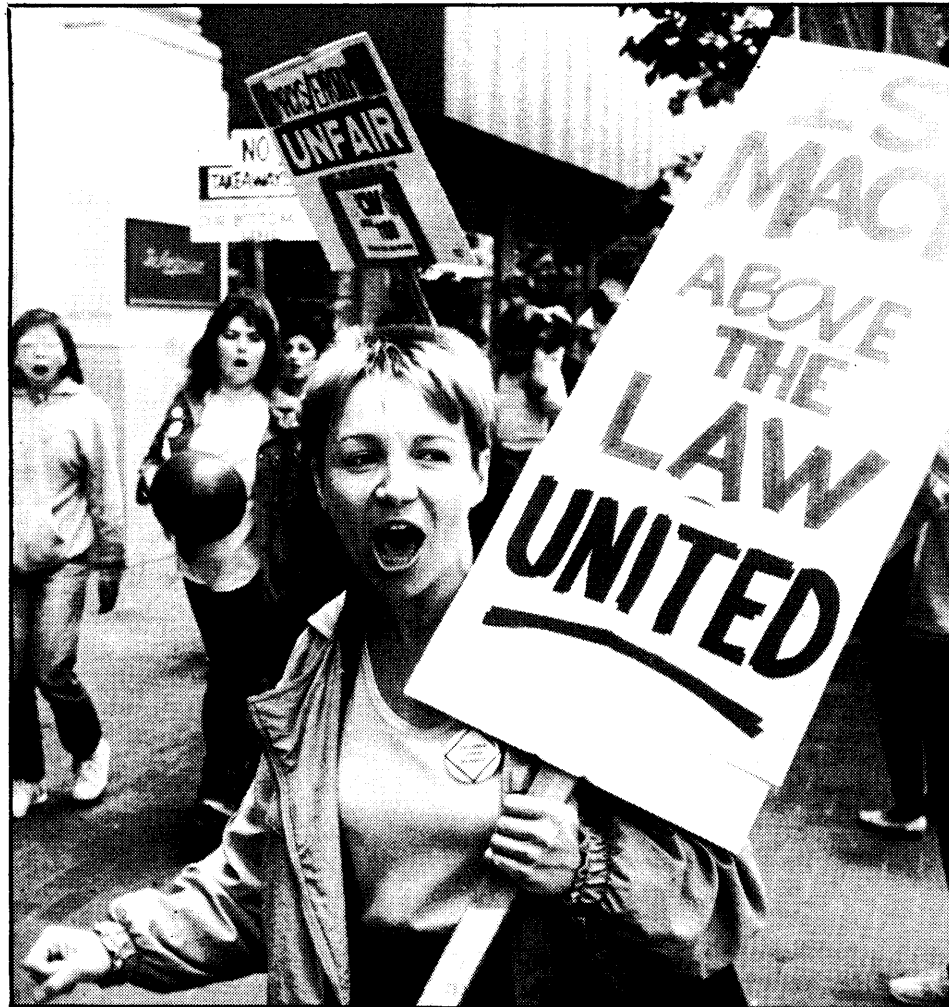
owners is to take money of accumulated pension funds to finance takeovers. This money is actually owned by workers and is being held for them until they retire.

But in cases where they can get their hands on it, corporate interests try to use it for takeover schemes. Some such incidents are also being contested in the courts but as in other lawsuits the odds are against workers and favor companies.

Open the books!

The demand to "open the corporate books" for the workers' inspection is legitimate and necessary and should be fought for. Workers should urge their unions to take up this demand to compel the corporations to try to justify such outrageous plundering of their assets as is now taking place.

This is one way to take a step to protect the rights of workers—including the right to a job. Eventually, as more business "secrets" come to light, working people will begin to see that they can run industry more efficiently and more equitably without the capitalist class.



Local 1100 Retail Clerks demand that Macy's and Emporium negotiate in good faith and stop take-aways during June 13 rally and picketline.

S.F. Retail Clerks fight concessions

By MAY MAY GONG

SAN FRANCISCO—Three thousand department store workers, members of Department Store Employees Union Local 1100, are negotiating with Macy's and Emporium-Capwell department stores in this city.

Contract negotiations began in early May. The current contract expired on May 31. Union members are now working without an extension of their contract—a first for Local 1100.

The only extension the employers would sign was one which prohibited sidewalk rallies and distribution of union leaflets to the general public. Local 1100 members in turn responded by refusing to give up their First Amendment rights and continued their spirited rallies and leafleting to Macy's and Emporium's clientele.

The employers are demanding enormous takeaways that would all but decimate the union contract. Some of their major takeaway demands are the following:

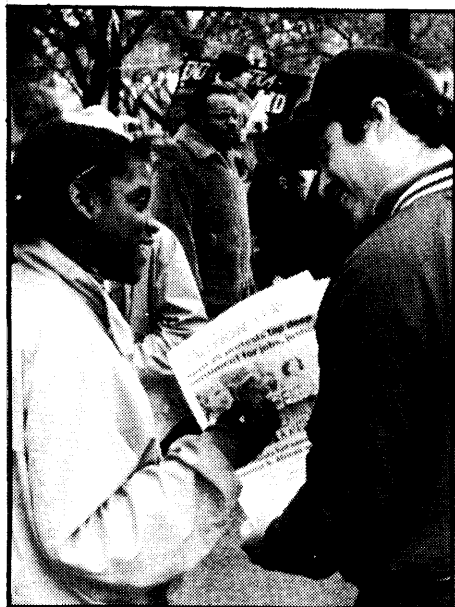
- six-day work week with no overtime (six days at six hours/day),
- straight-time pay for Sundays and holidays,
- eliminate five current holidays,

- right to fire for any infraction of a company rule,
- right of executives to do union work without restriction,
- right to change schedules with only 24-hours notice,
- elimination of any contract benefits for those injured on the job,
- elimination of contract protection against discrimination for race, sex, creed, or sexual orientation.

In addition to these demands, the employers have indicated that they will make further demands involving items such as seniority, jury duty leave, and pay.

Macy's and the Emporium have been conducting a well-organized union-busting campaign as illustrated by their takeaway demands, their refusal to sign a contract extension, and regular letters to union members attacking the efforts of the union negotiating committee.

These tactics however, have also served to unite Local 1100 members in their efforts to defend their hard-won rights. Local 1100 members are conducting their own campaign to cement their ties with other unions and community groups in the Bay Area. Plans are now underway for a solidarity rally to protest the increasingly widespread use of union-busting tactics.



Subscribe today to Socialist Action!

- 12 months for \$6.
- 6 months for \$3.
- Enclosed is a _____ contribution.
- Please send me more information about *Socialist Action*.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Tel. _____

Send to: 3435 Army St., Rm. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110.

... Teamsters

(continued from page 1)

should the U.S. government be relied upon to do the job?

To begin with, to call on the government to clean up corruption among top union leaders is like asking the burglar to catch the thief.

This is the same government which has earned distinction for its back-to-back productions of Watergate and Contragate. In fact, the government itself has recently been sued in a Florida court under the same racketeers act which the Justice Department is using to go after the Teamsters union.

The Christic Institute, which filed the suit, has thoroughly documented 25 years of illegal acts of terrorism by the U.S. government against foreign governments and leaders. [See article pp. 7-10.]

A large portion of Reagan's top administration officials, moreover, have been investigated for and/or convicted of graft and illegal activity.

A Teamster driver interviewed on television the day the Justice Department announced its lawsuit revealed his deep distrust of the government when he stated: "The government is corrupt, the PTL is corrupt...so who gives the government the right to intervene in our union?"

More important, this is the same



Jackie Presser

government that busted the strike of the PATCO air controllers in 1982 and that has used every opportunity to break unions and attack the labor movement.

Corruption isn't the issue

Did the government only recently discover mob influence in the Teamsters? Hardly. Mafia influence covers a 30-year period.

The last five presidents of the Teamsters

union—Dave Beck, Jimmy Hoffa, Frank Fitzsimmons, Roy Williams, and now Jackie Presser—faced criminal prosecution. Three of them landed in jail, one is presumed murdered, and another is awaiting trial.

Presser has never stood for rank-and-file election in his entire union career. This didn't seem to bother the government. Nor was the government concerned with the fact that Presser collected over half-a-million dollars in wages and benefits—some of it as an FBI informant.

Why then has the Justice Department decided to take over the Teamsters union?

The answer is not hard to find. The campaign against corruption offers the government a convenient pretext for intervening in unions—and the Teamsters union is an easy target. The government would like to set a precedent in this case to intervene in every union in the country.

Anticipating response from ranks

The government is also concerned that graft among Teamster officials is often so blatant that it threatens to ignite a broad membership response.

By anticipating this membership reaction and acting before it matures, the government can take charge of the "house-cleaning." This is accomplished by wrapping the various government committees and agents in an anti-graft and anti-corruption banner.

In these cases, the bureaucrats are unceremoniously dropped by their patrons. Jackie Presser's friendship with Reagan, Edwin Meese III, and other top government officials hasn't helped him. He's expendable.

The U.S. government only "discovers" the crimes and brutality of puppets like the Shah, Somoza, and Marcos once a revolution looms on the horizon. And so it is with Jackie Presser and his ilk.

What disturbs the bosses—and their government—is the potential of an awakening membership in the Teamster union.

Visible rank-and-file discontent against the Teamster bureaucracy has already surfaced in the union. Presser's 1983 proposed concessionary "relief rider" to the National Master Freight Agreement, for example, was rejected by 88 percent of the union's members.

Presser's attempt to ram through a quick 1984 United Parcel Service (UPS) settlement on 90,000 Teamsters was declared illegal after court action by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and several UPS workers.

And then something occurred last year which really began to show that the emperor perhaps didn't have any clothes. A rank-and-file slate won office in Grocery Drivers and Warehouse Local 138 in New York City. This large local was previously mob-controlled.

The new leadership organized elections of shop stewards for the first time. Incredible as it may seem, the local held its first local meeting in history. And the local didn't



Jimmy Hoffa

accept any concessions in its latest contract negotiations.

Response of Teamster activists

A discussion of the government's lawsuit is occurring among union members. The TDU steering committee is "currently investigating and discussing the issue and has recommended that information and debate be encouraged."

Discussion is good, but the steering committee's non-committal statement also indicates that there is a certain amount of confusion surrounding the issue of government trusteeship.

Many Teamsters—including leaders of the TDU—have supported the government's lawsuit on the grounds that it represents a "lesser evil" to the Mafia-influenced Teamster bureaucracy.

Some Teamsters, however, are not being confused by the government's anti-corruption campaign. Keith Gallagher, TDU member from Roadway Express in Scranton, Pa., writes in a TDU bulletin that, "intrusion by the federal government in running our union should be unwelcome. Instead, we need the right to vote for our top officers, and we need it now!" He asks "Could we really trust court-appointed personnel to negotiate our national contracts, or trust the Reagan administration after they crushed PATCO?"

Hal Leyshon, a freight driver and member of TDU's New York-New Jersey regional council, seconded these sentiments. He told *Socialist Action* that the "government collaborated with the mob to destroy Teamster rank-and-file democracy throughout the Midwest and sections of the South beginning in the late 1930s. The government and the employers wanted to destroy the union's capacity to continue winning better conditions for the workers."

Leyshon concluded: "Local 138's recent experience shows that it is possible for a mobilized and well-organized membership to take control back from the gangsters, corrupt officials, and labor fat-cats. None of it's going to be easy, but I'm for looking to the membership and not the government for the solution."

This is a dynamic that the government seeks to short-circuit. ■

Long history of gov't harassment



U.S. government framed up many militants during 1930's upsurge for union representation. FBI sent Teamster leaders to jail in 1941.

The U.S. government has directly interfered in the Teamsters union for decades. Both Democratic and Republican administrations have made the Teamsters union one of their prime targets. It is the largest union in the United States. Its members can shut this country down in a matter of hours.

During the great Midwestern organizing drives of the Teamsters union in the 1930s, for example, the Justice Department's FBI resorted to framing up militants on numerous occasions.

Teamster Minneapolis strike leader Farrell Dobbs summed up his experience during this period in the book "Teamster Politics": "Basically, the [government's] legal assault on the IBT was intended to curb militancy in its ranks..."

Dobbs should know. He and several other leading Teamster militants landed in prison in 1940 in a government frameup aimed at destroying the union. Dobbs had been a leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes and of the first successful Teamster over-the-road organizing drives.

The government often led "red-baiting," anti-communist crusades against militants. The Smith Act, which was invoked against Dobbs, targeted anyone who advocated socialist ideas. It was used extensively in the late 1930s and early '50s.

After World War II, the government—particularly the Justice Department—again threw its full resources into creating an anti-communist climate. This anti-union

atmosphere resulted in the expulsion of 11 "communist-led" unions from the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) by 1950.

The government's goal in these cases was to disperse the militant wing of the union movement.

The McClellan Committee

In the 1950s, with the aim of further weakening the union movement, the government conducted Congressional "investigations" into union corruption.

In 1957, reactionary Sen. Joseph McCarthy initiated a "Select Committee" to investigate "labor racketeering." This became the infamous anti-labor McClellan Committee. It focused almost exclusively on the Teamsters union.

But the "labor racketeering" of the Teamsters was simply a pretext which the government used to launch an all-out attack against the trade-union movement as a whole.

As a result of reactionary pressure from the McClellan hearings, for example, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer George Meany engineered the expulsion of the Teamsters from the national labor federation in 1957. This expulsion divided and greatly weakened the trade-union movement.

A few years later, the McClellan Committee's deliberations led to the passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin bill. This "killer law" further straitjacketed the unions through the imposition of new restrictions and government controls.— C.F.

Puerto Rican national convention sets goals

By W.I. MOHAREB

HARTFORD, Conn.—This city was host to the fourth National Puerto Rican Convention over the weekend of May 29-31.

The choice of site was significant for two reasons:

1) the ongoing legal proceedings against the Hartford 16—the pro-independence, pro-socialism fighters kidnapped from the island colony on Aug. 30, 1985, on trumped-up charges of conspiring to rob an armored-car depot;

2) and the prominence of Puerto Rican workers in several significant labor struggles in the region, including the 17-month Colt strike and a number of successful factory organizing drives.

A Labor Task Force panel attracted some 100 workers, organizers, and officials from a dozen or more unions. Several members

of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union were present.

Issues discussed on the panel included the rapidly declining standard of living of Puerto Ricans both in the United States and on the island, and the absence of representation in positions of responsibility in the unions. It was pointed out that approximately one-third of Puerto Ricans in the labor force are unionized, double the proportion of whites.

The panel strongly supported holding a North East Regional Puerto Rican/Latino trade-union congress in the spring of 1988. This was subsequently ratified by the convention as a whole.

The convention also supported a demonstration on Aug. 30 in support of the Hartford 16 and all Puerto Rican political prisoners, and took a stand against U.S. intervention in Central America and against the "English-Only" right-wing movement.

Goetz acquittal: Open season on Blacks

By MAY MAY GONG
and JOHN PALMIERI

"It's now open season on Black youths in New York City," says Assemblyman Al Vann of Brooklyn.

On June 16, Bernhard Goetz was cleared of attempted murder, assault, and reckless-endangerment charges in the December 1984 subway shooting of four Black youths.

The jury was made up of nine whites, two Blacks, and one Hispanic. Six of the jurors had been victims of crimes, three of them in a subway. After announcing the verdict, the jury asked Goetz for his autograph.

Of the original 13-count indictment, Goetz was only found guilty of illegal possession of a gun. Though the sentence for illegal gun possession could range to up to seven years in prison, Goetz has no prior criminal record and in all likelihood will serve no time in jail.

Goetz was riding in a New York IRT subway train when he was approached by a young Black man who asked him for five dollars. Goetz responded, "I've got five dollars for each of you." He then produced a gun and shot the youth and his three companions.

According to a statement Goetz gave soon afterwards, he walked over to Darryl Cabey, already wounded, and shot him again—paralyzing him and causing permanent brain damage.

Goetz's acquittal, coming on the heels of the recent Howard Beach gang-attack (in which Black construction worker Michael Griffith was beaten by a group of white teenagers and chased onto a freeway where he was struck and killed by an oncoming car) drives home the fact that Black people

are fair game for violence.

The Goetz verdict serves to drive home the message that if a white person feels a Black person may possibly commit a crime, then he or she may take any action that seems fitting.

According to Goetz, he "knew they would rob him because of the shine in their eyes and the smiles on their faces".

"It was proven that Goetz did the shooting and went far beyond the realm of self-defense," said Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP. He continued, "If a white youth had been shot in similar circumstances by a Black man while the youth was prone and defenseless, what would have been the outcome then?"

The outcome, no doubt, would have been a cry for the death penalty.

The Rev. Al Sharpton called on Blacks to form citizens' patrols to safeguard the subways. "Now that you can do by law what Bernhard Goetz did, we feel we have to patrol on our own to protect ourselves."

The reaction to the Goetz verdict, both pro and con, indicates that street crime is an issue of genuine concern to working people—especially to Blacks and poor people, who are the most frequent victims. Homicide is the leading cause of death among Black males aged 15 to 24.

Poverty, *per se*, is not the sole cause of crime. The high numbers of "white collar" crimes can attest to that. Yet we cannot dismiss the effects of discrimination, hunger, and despair—the elements of poverty—on crime.

Our energies must focus on eliminating these elements of social inequality which promote poverty and crime rather than calling for more jails, more police and more "Goetz-styled" vigilante killings to "deter" would-be thieves. ■

Gary Meseke: 1942 - 1987



Gary Meseke, a long-time socialist and union activist, died in Baltimore, Md., on April 10. He was 44 years old.

Meseke first became politically active during the civil rights movement of the 1950s and early '60s in Maryland. In 1962, he joined the Baltimore chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the youth organization of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Two years later, he moved to Boston where he became a central organizer of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

In 1968, Meseke was the YSA organizer at Kent State University in Ohio. When the

university administration attempted to outlaw the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) from the campus, Meseke and the YSA organized "Concerned Citizens of Kent" to protest the administration's attacks on democratic rights. Soon after, the SDS was reinstated at Kent State.

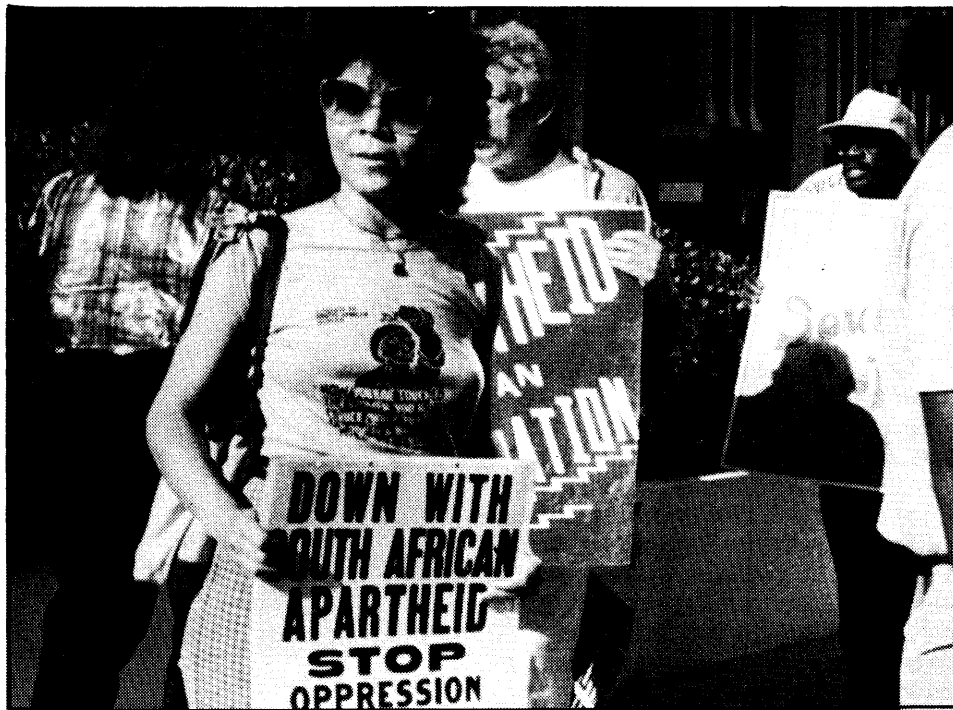
Meseke was also a talented and experienced trade-union activist—mainly as a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1304. In 1977, he was active in the Ed Sadlowski Steelworkers Fightback campaign. He also worked at the Todd Shipyards in San Francisco for a number of years.

Meseke was an active member of the YSA and SWP for 17 years. Though he did not remain an organized member of the Trotskyist movement, his commitment to the struggles of working people everywhere never wavered. He became a sympathizer of Socialist Action after its founding conference in October 1983.

Meseke will be greatly missed by all those who knew him and worked with him.—The editors

Alternative Press Center

1987-88 Directory of Alternative and Radical Publications.
Over 300 periodicals listed; \$2.00.
Write: Alternative Press Center,
P.O. Box 33109, Dept. N, Baltimore, MD 21218.



Kathleen O'Nan

L.A. demo marks Soweto anniversary

By KATHLEEN O'NAN

LOS ANGELES—Chanting, "Free the children now!" more than 300 people demonstrated on June 16 in front of the South African Consulate in exclusive Beverly Hills. The demonstration, which drew the support of several trade-union locals, church groups, and peace organizations, demanded an end to U.S. support of the apartheid regime.

June 16 marked the 11th anniversary of the Soweto uprising. In 1976, over 1000 people, mainly youth, were killed and thousands were arrested in the struggle to end apartheid policies which prevent the children of Soweto and all of South Africa from having equal opportunities in education.

Today the people of South Africa continue the struggle. Over 1 million workers and students participated in a nationwide general strike on June 16 to commemorate the Soweto uprising.

Last month, the racist apartheid regime extended the year-old state of emergency

laws under which some 30,000 people have been arrested and detained.

According to the Black Sash Organization and the Parent Detainee Support Committee, the number of children and youth placed in detention in the past year is between 10,000 and 16,000.

Bernard Walker, a coordinator of the Los Angeles Free South Africa Movement, which sponsored the June 16 demonstration, said:

"We are all here to gain some support to challenge the current administration on their policy on Southern Africa.

"One of the key things is to make sure that the people know that this administration in no way supports freedom movements, as they claim they do in Mozambique and in Angola, as they claim they do in Nicaragua.

"History calls them liars. Not one historical incident has ever occurred that proves they support any freedom movement of any people of color anywhere in the world." ■

Racist attacks under-reported

By KATHLEEN McGUIRE

"Birmingham, Birmingham—the finest city in Alabama." So goes Randy Newman's song. And it's true. But don't be misled. Racism is still rearing its ugly head.

A recent incident says it all. Kelvin Henry, a Black car dealer, was preparing to move into his new apartment in the all-white Eastwood Projects of Birmingham when he was confronted by 20 to 25 of his white, male neighbors. The next day he returned to find a note inside which read, "Nigger, there's going to be a war."

This threat was then followed by more confrontations. Henry was finally convinced to pack his bags. Days later he learned that his apartment had been burned and "KKK" painted in several places on the outside.

NAACP's Southeast Regional Director Earl Shinhoster says that racial violence "is the most under-reported act of violence against an individual." He continued, "Most victims don't report the attacks because they don't believe anything can be done."

Of course, neither Birmingham nor the Southeast in general have any monopoly on racial violence. Incidents such as the vicious Howard Beach attack in New York as well as numerous cross-burnings and hangings in the Contra Costa county of California serve to underscore this fact.

Ku Klux Klan marches are occurring

with increasing frequency. Last month in Greensboro, N.C., about 150 white supremacists held a parade through the town. This was the first Klan parade to be held since five anti-Klan demonstrators were killed in Greensboro eight years ago. (Anti-Klan activists far out-mobilized them, however, at a rally held the day before.)

Outrage against these incidents has spread throughout the Black community. On Jan. 24, over 25,000 took part in a Freedom March in Forsyth, Ga., to demand an end to racist attacks. Thousands more marched in New York after the attacks in Howard Beach.

Continued mass mobilizations of the Black community and its supporters are needed to send a message to the racists that "America will not be Howard Beach"—nor the Eastwood Projects of Birmingham. ■

Correction

In our June 1987 article, "Where is the Soviet Union going today," we neglected to credit Suzi Weissman, author of "The high-risk side of Gorbachev's *glasnost*" (*In These Times*, March 25-31, 1987), for background information and formulations used in our article.—The editors

Behind the cover-up: Contragate's hidden history

The historic Christic Institute lawsuit has uncovered an intricate web of illegal spying, covert action, dope-smuggling, and assassination that has been carried out by the U.S. government for decades. Not surprisingly, many of the same "players" are the ones testifying today at the Contragate hearings.

By JEFF MACKLER

Not long ago on the scale of human history, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels observed in the opening chapter of their "Communist Manifesto" titled "Bourgeois and Proletarians" that, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."

Today, a small group of people in the United States—a tiny minority called the capitalist or "bourgeois" class—seek to render this classic Marxist proposition obsolete. Through the carefully orchestrated congressional hearings on Contragate, they seek to camouflage their rule and cover up the fact that warkmaking in the United States and in all capitalist nations is the prerogative of the ruling rich and their agents in government.

The capitalist class would prefer to hide from public view the fact that a long succession of presidents—Democrats and Republicans alike—have functioned as their chief representatives in the pursuit of profit through war, terror, and genocide.

At the opening of the Contragate hearings, there was but a single question to be posed by the congressional "guardians" of law and order. Did President Reagan know that the top government officials in his National Security Council (NSC) were funneling money to the Nicaraguan contras?

The answer to this question soon became obvious when virtually every "witness" brought to testify at the hearings provided information to implicate the president, who continued to deny his involvement.

The American public was far ahead of the Congressional "investigators." National polls taken before the opening of the hearings indicated that more than 65 percent of the public believed that President Reagan was lying. This figure increased with each passing week.

Reagan was compelled to shift to higher ground. Admitting his intimate knowledge of the contra-arms shipments, he asserted that the Boland amendment, the legislation supposedly prohibiting such shipments, was limited in its application to the "intelligence" gathering agencies of the United States—such as the CIA.

The National Security Council, Reagan argued, was merely his personal advisory board, not a formal agency of the government. It was exempt from the Congressional ban and was therefore not prevented from organizing a massive flow of arms, planes, explosives, and other weapons to the professional murderers Reagan likened to the "Founding Fathers" of the United States.

While congressional lawyers and constitutional experts puzzled over the legal aspects of Reagan's claim, a little-known and unlikely candidate for the job of exposing at least a portion of the truth behind the coverup has begun to emerge.

Historic lawsuit

Daniel Sheehan, general council of the Christic Institute—a public-interest law firm and interfaith public-policy center in Washington, D.C.—has filed a lawsuit under the provisions of the Racketeer Influence and Corrupt Organization Act (RICO). The suit was filed in a Florida Federal District Court on Dec. 12, 1986.

In the suit, Sheehan and plaintiffs Tony Avirgan and

Portions of this article are based on material taken from an affidavit filed by Daniel Sheehan of the Christic Institute in December 1986. In some instances, formulations have been taken directly from the affidavit.

Although the Christic Institute's allegations have not yet been certified in a U.S. court of law, the charges presented are consistent with numerous published findings on this subject as well as the conclusions of the World Court and the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal.

Martha Honey, victims of one of the U.S.-instigated terror bombings, directly link the president of the United States to a chain of illegal terrorist acts against the people of Nicaragua.

But their suit does more. It demonstrates that the perpetrators of these crimes—including Reagan, the highest officials in the U.S. government, and their underlings—carry out vital aspects of the foreign policy



U.S. advisers in Honduras: Antiwar sentiment of American people forces U.S. to secretly finance "secret" wars against victorious revolution in Nicaragua and liberation struggles in Central America.

of the U.S. ruling class through a "Secret Team" which has functioned clandestinely over the past 27 years.

Sheehan's affidavit documents how this team—which is largely directed by the National Security Council, the real decision-making body of the U.S. ruling class—is responsible for a series of U.S.-sponsored acts of international terror. The lists begins with the 1961 invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs and runs through acts of individual assassination and mass murder in Vietnam, Laos, Iran, and Libya.

The suit focuses its central attention on the direct responsibility of the U.S. president and the "Secret Team" for the illegal terrorist activity of the Nicaraguan contras. It specifies some 79 sources of information, including past and present top CIA officials, a host of government agency personnel, contra functionaries, Costa Rican government officials, elected representatives, members of the clergy, and others.

Sheehan's case has already withstood all efforts to dismiss it from court.

Ruling-class politics exposed

The suit has met the legal requirements to show "probable cause" to substantiate its allegations against 29 defendants. The list of defendants includes Contragate hearing witnesses Major Gen. Richard Secord; Major Gen. John Singlaub; businessman Albert Hakim; and Robert Owen, the man who functioned as Lt. Col. Oliver North's personal representative to the contras.

Other defendants include top CIA officials in four administrations, a number of professional assassins directly linked to the Mafia and organized crime, former terrorist supporters of Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista, and the central Colombian crime figures behind the

massive importation of cocaine into the United States.

Christic Institute attorneys, armed with a court order granting the right of 25 years "discovery," are proceeding through the information-gathering stage of the lawsuit. The material they have already presented implicates the Democratic and Republican administrations since Eisenhower in illegal terrorist and genocidal acts.

But what is unique about the lawsuit is not the fact that top U.S. government officials have been linked to organized crime and mass terror against other nations. This has been well documented by credible researchers in countless studies.

The uniqueness of this lawsuit, funded in part by church-based foundations, is its exposure of the functioning of the internal decision-making bodies of the U.S. ruling class—primarily the National Security Council.

The lawsuit demonstrates that the concerted and worldwide application of terror and violence against innocent people is not the product of conspiracies among demented individuals, but rather the carefully calculated

and historic practice of the ruling rich.

Although it is not its stated intention, the suit shows that a tiny minority in society, driven by the laws inherent in capitalist production, is compelled to employ the ultimate weapon of war against the peoples of the world.

A suit worthy of support

Daniel Sheehan and the Christic Institute are not newcomers to the field of political law and social struggles.

The Christic Institute handled the successful litigation in the Karen Silkwood case; the Brownsville, Texas, sanctuary trials; and the defense of Mayor Eddie Carthan against murder/frameup charges in Mississippi.

After the failure of all government "efforts" to dismiss the suit, the Christic Institute secured murder indictments against the Ku Klux Klan and members of the Nazi Party and Greensboro Police Department in North Carolina. Over the past decades, Sheehan has been centrally involved in some 60 important legal battles in defense of civil liberties and democratic rights.

While the chances of this current lawsuit achieving its stated goal of removing from public office all those found guilty of violating the laws of the United States are infinitesimal, the Institute's Contragate lawsuit merits the support of all those who struggle for truth and justice.

It is an important part of the ongoing struggle to inform the working people of this country about the real workings of capitalist government. The knowledge gained will be put to good use in the future as a new generation learns that a truly democratic society can only

(continued on page 8)

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

... Contragate cover-up



General counsel Daniel Sheehan (left) with journalist Tony Avirgan announcing suit

(continued from page 7)

be based on new institutions which guarantee the rule of the majority through its direct participation in government.

This is the socialist vision of future society; a society whose political and economic priorities are based on human need—as opposed to capitalist profit, greed, and war.

Cuba: The first contra war

In 1959, immediately after the revolutionary victory of the Cuban people led by Fidel Castro, Vice President Richard Nixon—with the full authorization of President Dwight Eisenhower—chaired a special committee of the National Security Council to organize a plan code-named "Operation 40." The purpose of the plan was to undermine, weaken, and eventually overthrow the government of Cuba. The plan included the use of right-wing pro-Batista Cubans.

In late 1959, Nixon and CIA Director Allen Dulles supervised the recruitment of expatriate, right-wing Cubans and set up two training bases—one in Miami, the other in Guatemala. The aim was to send these Cubans back to Cuba to set up guerrilla operations against Castro and to mount terrorist military attacks against the economic infrastructure of Cuba.

In early 1960, Nixon directed Howard Maheu, director of billionaire Howard Hunt's financial empire, to meet secretly with two men, Sam Giancana and John Roselli. These men represented former Havana Mafia "Don" Santo Trafficante, whose Havana casino, hotel, and prostitution operation was run by Resorts International, Inc., a Meyer Lansky Mafia company. Trafficante was Lansky's lieutenant.

It was agreed at this meeting that Nixon's secret NSC "Operation 40" would be supplemented by a private organization headed by Trafficante with the goal of assassinating Fidel Castro, his brother Raul Castro, Che Guevara, and five other Cuban revolutionary leaders.

The assassination squad, known as the "Shooter Team," was selected by Trafficante. Its members were Rafael "Chi Chi" Quintero, Felix Rodriguez (AKA "Max Gomez"), Luis Posada Carriles (AKA "Ramon Medina"), Rafael Villaverde, Raul Villaverde, Ricardo Chavez, Frank Fiorini (AKA Frank Sturgis), Rolando Martinez, and two other Cuban Americans.

Most of the above-mentioned are directly named by Sheehan as defendants in the Christic Institute lawsuit. They are charged with working directly with President Reagan's "Secret Team" in the illegal funding of the contra war in Nicaragua.

Bay of Pigs invasion

In the summer of 1960, when John F. Kennedy won the Democratic Party presidential nomination, he was briefed by Dulles of the CIA about "Operation 40." (1)

The order by the CIA against Fidel Castro, "Terminate with extreme prejudice," was pursued by the "Shooter Team" between 1960 and 1963. During this period several assassination attempts against Castro were carried out.

Contra bases were established by the CIA in the Escambray Mountains of Cuba in July 1960. These bases were supplied with incendiary bombs and other

explosives for use against Cuba's major urban centers.

Between January 1961 and April 1961, the low-profile guerrilla-infiltration strategy of "Operation 40" was transmuted into a plan for a full-scale invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs.

The invasion of April 1961 used the personnel of "Operation 40" and thousands of Cuban counter-revolutionary mercenaries trained under Eisenhower and Kennedy. These contras were armed with U.S. naval, air, and army weapons. Within three days of their April 17, 1961, landing in Cuba, the contra army was routed by an aroused Cuban population that included an armed militia of 250,000 workers and students.

By June 1961 Robert Kennedy regrouped the tattered remains of "Operation 40" and reinitiated the old low-profile guerrilla "raids" into Cuba. "Operation 40" was renamed "Operation Mongoose" and was continued by

subordinates was about to be indicted for smuggling arms to Libya.

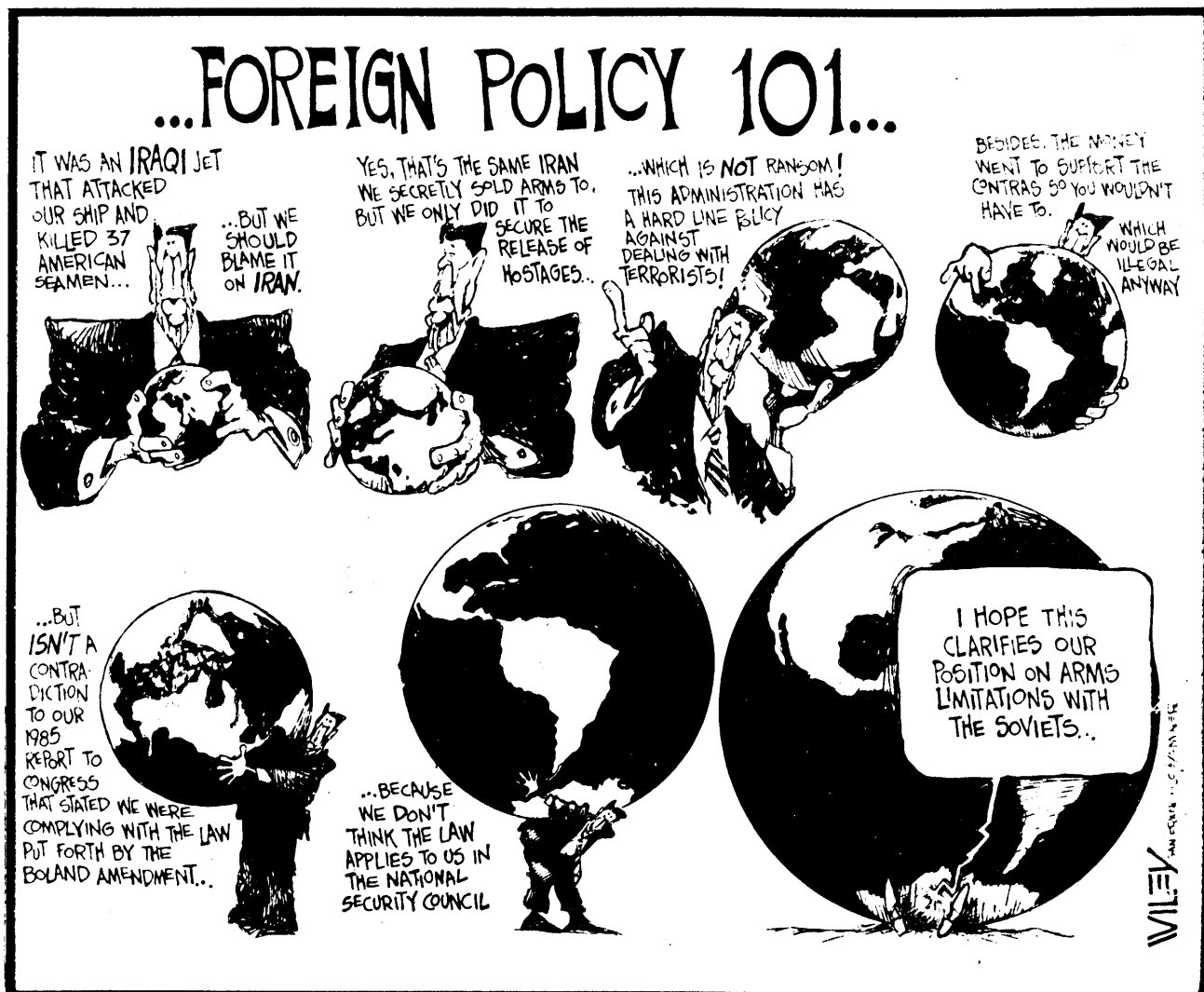
The assassination program was under the direct control of Shackley and Clines, who operated out of Laos. Between 1966 and 1975 the Special Operations Group in Laos, through the secret program funded by Van Pao's opium income, assassinated over 100,000 non-combatant village mayors, bookkeepers, clerks, and other civilian officials in Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand.

In 1968, Shackley was transferred to Saigon, where he became CIA station chief. At this time, Shackley's former associate in the "JM/Wave" operation in Miami, Santo Trafficante, flew to Saigon to meet Shackley's Laotian associate Van Pao.

They formed a partnership to import China White heroin into the United States. By 1969, Trafficante became the top U.S. heroin importer. Van Pao's financial contributions to the "unconventional warfare" project of Shackley and Clines increased correspondingly.

Overthrow of Allende in Chile

In 1972, Shackley was transferred to the United States, where he became chief of the CIA's operations for



the Kennedy administration until November 1963.

The supervisor of "Operation Mongoose" was 34-year-old CIA agent Theodore Shackley. His deputy was Thomas Clines.

"Operation Mongoose" functioned in a working partnership with Mafia lieutenant Santo Trafficante. The combined program, code-named "JM/Wave," was headquartered in a few small buildings on the campus of the University of Miami.

Laos—Mass murder and opium

In 1965, "Operation Mongoose" and "JM/Wave" were shut down and Shackley and Clines were transferred to Laos. Shackley became deputy chief of station for the CIA. Clines was his deputy.

Shackley and Clines provided air support for one Van Pao in a three-sided drug war for control of the illegal opium trade in Laos. Van Pao's competitors were mysteriously assassinated.

Shackley and Clines initiated a secret training program of Hmong tribesmen in "unconventional warfare." This included training in political assassination. By 1966, their special operations were financed by Van Pao.

In 1964, a multi-service group known as the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam—Special Operations Group (MACV-SOG)—was set up in Saigon. Commanded by Gen. John K. Singlaub, the group "supervised" political assassinations in Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand.

Serving under Singlaub in 1968 in Laos, was a second lieutenant named Oliver North, the same North who until his resignation a few months ago served as President Reagan's chief organizer of U.S. military aid to the contras.

The deputy air-wing commander for the group was then Air Force Lt. Col. Richard Secord, later promoted to the rank of major general. Secord resigned from the Air Force some 19 years later at age 54 when one of his

Central and Latin America. Clines went along as his deputy.

Shackley and Clines directed the project known as "Track II" in Chile, which included the assassination of Chilean President Salvador Allende and the overthrow by the Chilean military of the Allende government in September 1973.

In the course of this U.S.-organized coup, the Chilean military, headed by Gen. Augusto Pinochet, murdered some 10,000 Chilean worker, student, and peasant activists.

Vietnam genocide

In 1973, Shackley and Clines were transferred to CIA headquarters in Langley, Va., where Shackley headed the East Asia division of the CIA with Clines as his deputy.

They directed the "Phoenix Project" in Vietnam in 1974-75, a program designed to cripple the infrastructure of Vietnam after a U.S. troop withdrawal. This included the assassination of some 60,000 village mayors, treasurers, school teachers, and other "non-Viet Cong" administrators.

The program was financed by Shackley and Clines, again using Van Pao opium money. The opium accounts were administered by a U.S. Navy official in Saigon out of the U.S. Office of Naval Operations. The "bursar" for the Vietnam "Phoenix Project" was Richard Armitage.

Formation of the "Secret Team"

In 1973, Shackley, Clines, and Armitage made preparations for their own private, non-CIA, assassination and unconventional warfare program.

This preparation included smuggling large quantities of money from the opium fund out of Vietnam. The money was taken to Australia by Secord and Clines and secretly deposited in the Nugen-Hand Bank and other accounts accessible only to Shackley, Clines, and Secord.

This "Secret Team" also smuggled thousands of tons

of weapons, munitions, and explosives out of Vietnam into a secret arms "cache" in Thailand.

The money and arms collection were stored for future use.

Shackley's liaison officer in Washington, D.C., from the "Operation 40" committee in the Nixon White House was Eric Von Marbod, an assistant secretary of State for Far Eastern affairs. Von Marbod shared this information on the "Phoenix Project" directly with his supervisor, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Saigon was liberated by the Vietnamese people in April 1975. The Vietnam War was over, and the "Secret Team" shifted its operations.

Over 4 million Vietnamese were killed or wounded in the course of a war in which the U.S. government dropped more bombs than in the combined wars since the dawn of history.

But the personal and direct responsibility for the individual assassination of specifically selected Vietnamese non-combatants is with the leadership of the "Secret Team."

The Shah's paid assassins

Following the U.S. evacuation from Vietnam, Richard Armitage was sent to Teheran, Iran, by Shackley and Clines. His mission was to set up Iranian bank accounts for Van Pao opium money for the now so-called private "Secret Team." The function of the team was to seek out, identify, and assassinate socialist and communist sympathizers, who were viewed by the "Secret Team" to be "potential terrorists" against the Shah's government.

Shackley and Clines, still functioning as CIA agents but operating "privately" in the United States, supervised this secret assassination project from 1976 to the fall of the Shah in 1979. Shackley was then the assistant deputy director of operations for the CIA. Clines was his assistant.

In late 1975, they hired Edwin Wilson to take direct responsibility for the assassination program. Wilson worked out of the U.S. Military Mission in Iran as a so-called anti-terrorist specialist.

Wilson's other assignments included supplying arms and explosives to Libya, a project the "Secret Team" supposedly took on to foil alleged assassination efforts directed by Libyan President Mohammad Qaddafi.

At the same time, Wilson headed a CIA project to murder Qaddafi. This involved blowing up Qaddafi's personal airplane, a project which was actually carried out but which fell short of its goal when Qaddafi left the plane to place a phone call moments before the explosion occurred.

When Wilson's illegal arms sales to Libya were accidentally revealed, he was indicted by the U.S. government and jailed. Wilson is now serving a 50-year prison term in Marion prison in Illinois. He has requested immunity from criminal persecution in return for testimony confirming the illegal conduct of the "Secret Team."

His superiors, Shackley and Clines, were allowed to resign from the CIA by Carter-appointed CIA Director Stansfield Turner. After resigning from the CIA, Shackley and Clines continued to work with Secord as part of the so-called private "Secret Team."

Profits from arms sales

In 1976 Richard Secord was transferred to Iran to serve as assistant secretary of defense in charge of the Middle Eastern Division of the Defense Security Assistance Administration. In this capacity he was in charge of foreign military sales of U.S. aircraft, weapons, and military equipment to Middle Eastern nations allied with the United States.

Secord, however, did not arrange for the direct nation-to-nation sale of these weapons. Instead, by the use of a middle-man, Albert Hakim, an Iranian-born U.S. businessman, Secord purchased weapons from the U.S. government at the low "manufacturer's cost" and resold them at the higher "replacement cost."

The difference was pocketed by Hakim and Secord and transferred to Shackley's "Secret Team" accounts inside Iran and into the Nugen-Hand bank account in Australia.

By 1976, Hakim became a member and business partner of the "Secret Team."

Between 1976 and 1979, the "Secret Team" set up several corporations and subsidiaries around the world to conceal their secret operations. Through these corporations they laundered hundreds of millions of dollars of Van Pao opium money and pilfered profits from foreign military sales.

Somoza aided under Carter

In the spring of 1978, the "Secret Team" sent Edwin Wilson to Nicaragua to offer its "private" assassination squad to the Somoza dictatorship.

Their proposal was to assassinate the top leadership of the Sandinista revolutionary movement.

Wilson proposed a package totaling \$650,000 per year which was to include the services of five assassins at \$80,000 each and an annual expense account of \$250,000. One of the assassins was to be Rafael "Chi Chi" Quintero. The others were also members of the

1960 Nixon/Santo Trafficante "Shooter Team." Differences over the cost of the "Secret Team's" proposal prevented a firm agreement with Somoza at that time.

Wilson returned to Nicaragua to continue negotiations with Somoza a year later. This time the purpose was to arrange for the secret purchase of military equipment, ammunition, and explosives given that Somoza had been formally cut off from purchasing U.S. weapons by the Carter administration's invocation of the congressional Harkin amendment in January 1979. (2)

This amendment prohibited U.S. military aid to any government found to have systematically violated the human rights of its own citizens.

Rafael Quintero, representing the "Secret Team," finally negotiated an arms contract with Somoza on the Team's third trip to Nicaragua in early 1979. The contract provided for the illegal shipment to the Somoza dictatorship of weapons, ammunition, aircraft, and explosives.

In the period between the time of the signing of this contract and Somoza's departure from Nicaragua, a period of some six months, an estimated 60,000 Nicaraguan civilians were murdered by Somoza's National Guard. Before this shipment, the Guard had sufficient arms to last for only a few weeks.

Organizing the contras after Somoza

Somoza fled Nicaragua on July 17, 1979, to the island of North Clay, in the Bahamas. There he again met with representatives of the "Secret Team" to negotiate the illegal sale of their "private" weapons.

This sale enabled Somoza and his National Guard generals to begin what later became the "contra" war against the legally recognized (by the United States) government of Nicaragua. The planned secret war was identical to the one Shackley and Clines had organized against the government of Cuba between 1961 and 1965.

The "Secret Team," operating as business partners with Edwin Wilson in the Egyptian-American Transport and Service Co. (incorporated in January 1979), supplied weapons to the contras. They operated out of Honduras beginning in August 1979.

They later did the same in Costa Rica in 1983-84, operating out of the privately owned ranch of "Secret Team" member and CIA operative John Hull, a U.S. businessman. This arms supply continued through October 1986, with the exception of the period between June 1981 and March 1984, when the weapons were supplied directly by William Casey of the CIA.

The "field officer" of the "Secret Team" was Rafael Quintero, the man who met with the contras in Honduras and Costa Rica and ensured delivery of the weapons. Quintero operated out of the Miami-based Orca Supply Co., a company originally set up by Edwin Wilson. Quintero previously worked for Wilson as a professional assassin in Libya.

Reagan continues secret aid

When Reagan took office in January 1981, a series of White House meetings took place where it was decided to formally—but secretly—continue aid to the contras.

Involved in these meetings were White House Chief of Staff Edwin Meese, National Security Adviser Richard Allen, CIA Director William Casey, Vice President of the United States and Chairman of the NSC Task Force on Terrorism George Bush, and President Ronald Reagan. It was agreed that Casey and the CIA would continue the covert funding of the contras.

The "Secret Team" continued to supply weapons until June 1981, when the operation was officially but secretly taken over by the CIA.

In June 1981, Reagan signed a classified National Security Decision Directive expressly authorizing CIA Director Casey to undertake the financing, training, and military supply of the Honduran-based contras.

Reagan specified that this support was conditioned upon the contras forming themselves into a cohesive, centralized, and united force to which the CIA could channel support. This continued through 1982. During this entire period, Reagan expressly denied that the U.S. government was providing any support for the contras.

When pressed, Reagan claimed that there was only minimal aid to "interdict" supplies allegedly sent by the Sandinistas to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador.

The CIA assigned agent David McMichaels to prepare a report to document this alleged shipment of arms to the FMLN. McMichaels' report concluded that there was no evidence to document Reagan's claim. He was fired by the CIA.

In 1983 the CIA was caught and publicly exposed for mining Nicaragua's civilian harbors and for passing out manuals to the contras that openly advocated the assassination of Nicaraguan government authorities. Both these activities were violations of international law, according to the World Court. Reagan publicly stated that his objective was the violent overthrow of the Sandinista government to "prevent the establishment in Latin America of a Soviet military base."

Following the international uproar over the conduct of the CIA, Congress began to draft legislation to prevent

direct and indirect aid by the executive branch of the government to the contras. In response, Reagan, Meese, Bush, Robert McFarlane, and National Security Council Deputy Director Lt. Col. Oliver North met to devise another illegal plan to circumvent the congressional ban.

North turns to "Secret Team"

After the passage of the Boland Amendment, which ordered the cessation of all U.S. government aid to the contras, Lt. Col. Oliver North contacted the "Secret Team" to reactivate their military supply operations to the contras.

The plan was to have Robert Owen resume the secret support network that was operative prior to June 1981. Owen was the direct personal representative of Oliver North to the contras.

Owen, North, and their cohorts were also pressing to unify the competing contra groups in order to better persuade Congress to resume formal funding to the contras—which Congress eventually did, in defiance of international law and despite the ample documentation of the contras' terrorist record.

In the meantime, Owen's key assignment was to set up a series of private organizations to secretly raise funds for the contras. To this end he contacted Gen. Singlaub, who in turn set up the U.S. Council on World Freedom to begin the illegal collection process.

Another "private" source of arms for the contras was Thomas Posey and his Civilian Military Assistance organization. Posey's group worked directly with former members of the U.S. Armed Forces, current National Guardsmen, and anti-communist Cubans and Nicaraguans to organize and finance the contra army.

So-called surplus arms were obtained directly by Posey

(continued on page 10)



Retired Major General Richard Secord (USAF)



John Hull

... Cover-up

(continued from page 9)

from the 20th Special Forces Unit of the U.S. Army in Alabama. A "surplus" U.S. Armed Forces airplane was obtained in New Jersey for shipment of arms to Ilopango Air Base in El Salvador and then to Costa Rica, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

Posey's personal diary, part of the evidence in the lawsuit, detailed all this activity.

Reagan's secret directive

The effort to funnel aid to the contras through quasi-private sources like Posey was small scale when compared to projects formally but not publicly contemplated by the Reagan administration.

In April 1984, for example, President Reagan issued National Security Decision Directive #52, which authorized Federal Emergency Management Agency Director Louis O. Guiffrida to prepare a secret nationwide "readiness exercise" code-named "REX 84."

The program was to be designed to test the readiness of U.S. defense forces to accomplish two purposes:

- 1) to round up and intern in 10 federal detention camps some 400,000 Central American undocumented aliens in the event of a presidentially declared state of domestic emergency following a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, and;
- 2) to transfer hundreds of tons of small arms and other weapons from the Department of Defense to various National Guard units and then to various specially created State Defense Forces, formed by act of the state legislatures of Texas, Alabama, and Louisiana.

The weapons were then to be sent to secret contra training camps in the United States for shipment to the contras. Some of these camps were already operational and were observed by sources identified by the Christic Institute lawsuit.

Air strip and cocaine

A key component of the "Secret Team"/CIA contra aid program was the construction of a secret contra base and airstrip on a cattle ranch on Costa Rica's Nicaraguan border. Heading this program was "Secret Team" leader John Hull, whose private ranch became the staging area for contra operations.

Hull also headed a special unit of an "International Brigade" operating from his ranch. This group organized a plot to carry out a terrorist bombing of the U.S. Embassy in San Jose, Costa Rica. Included was a plot to assassinate the new U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica, Lewis Tambs. The idea was to blame the assassination on the Sandinista government, thus providing a plausible pretext for a U.S. invasion.

Hull's "International Brigade" also operated a program to ship large quantities of cocaine from Colombia to Hull's ranch. A specially lengthened airstrip was constructed for this purpose under the supervision of Rafael Quintero.

With the help of Cuban-American drug-traffickers Felipe Vidal and Rene Corbo, the cocaine—up to one ton per week—was then shipped to Miami, New Orleans, and Memphis, where it was sold. Part of the profits were diverted back to Hull, who used the money for the purchase of arms for the contras. The cocaine was provided to Hull by Pablo Escobar and Jorge Ochoa, Colombia's two largest cocaine exporters.

Richard Secord purchased the airplanes used by the



Tony Avirgan arrives at hospital after La Penca bombing. Martha Honey, his wife, is by his side.

contras to ferry weapons from Ilopango Air Force Base in El Salvador back to Hull's ranch in Costa Rica.

In late April 1985, the Costa Rican Rural National Guard raided a contra camp on Hull's property and confiscated large quantities of weapons, ammunition, and explosives. Several Nicaraguan contra mercenaries and several foreign mercenaries—including two Americans—were arrested. They confiscated weapons specifically purchased and registered by Thomas Posey in the United States.

La Penca bombing

With the failure of the CIA to unify the various contra organizations, the "Secret Team"/CIA collaborated with Adolfo Calero's Honduran-based contra organization, the National Democratic Force (FDN), in a plot to assassinate rival contra leader Eden Pastora. The CIA objected to Pastora's refusal to integrate his Costa Rican-based ARDE forces with Miami-based Cuban mercenaries and Calero's ex-Somoza generals.

The attempt to murder Pastora took place on May 30, 1984, at an ARDE press conference in La Penca, Nicaragua, called by Pastora to denounce the CIA. The attack was organized by John Hull and Costa Rican-based contras. The weapons and C-4 explosives were provided by Posey, Hull, and the "Secret Team."

The actual assassination attempt was executed by Amac Gilil, a notorious right-wing terrorist who had been previously employed by the secret police of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. Gilil was paid \$50,000 to carry out the Pastora assassination.

He received the potent C-4 explosive from John Hull at his ranch. Portions of the explosive were smuggled to Hull with the direct assistance of former CIA agents Theodore Shackley and Thomas Clines. Also involved in the smuggling of the C-4 explosive were Richard Secord and "businessman" Albert Hakim.

While Pastora was seriously injured in this effort, a number of journalists—including one American—were killed. Scores of others were maimed and otherwise seriously wounded, including American ABC cameraman Tony Avirgan who is, along with Daniel Sheehan, the prime initiator of the lawsuit against the "Secret Team."

Iranian arms deal

President Reagan, White House Chief of Staff Edwin Meese, CIA Director William Casey, Robert McFarlane, John Pointexter, and Lt. Col. Oliver North contacted the "Secret Team" to arrange for the illegal sale of weapons to Iran.

As in the past, the deal included manipulation of the price of these weapons in order to arrange for a profit to be used to purchase weapons for the contras. When their secret arrangements were accidentally revealed by a member of the Iranian government, a chain of events began to unfold which exposed an aspect of functioning of the U.S. ruling class which is not often seen.

The materials and resources of the Christic Institute have been made available to every member of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. Christic Institute attorneys have provided testimony to the various joint Congressional committees established to "investigate" what is called "possible" illegal activities by U.S. government officials.

As of this writing, the public Contragate hearings have been in progress for some six weeks—and virtually none of the information documented in the Christic Institute suit has been brought to the light of day. This is not surprising.

For the ruling class to disclose this information would be to expose to the world that mass terrorism is at the heart of the policy and practice of those who rule this country. For this reason, the public hearings cannot be expected to accomplish more than to limit the damage

already done to the credibility of the Reagan administration.

The growing mass movement against U.S. intervention in Central America can be expected to press for the truth to be told in this matter.

The fact that Reagan's appeal to patriotism to justify his illegal funding of the contra murderers has fallen flat is testimony to the growing antiwar sentiment in the United States. The red-baiting of the past, so often effective in blunting the truth put forward by American dissidents, has little effect today as tens of thousands take to the streets to insist that the government respect the will of the majority.

The Contragate hearings take place at a historic juncture in U.S. politics. Growing numbers of working people are moved to the streets to protest the simultaneous war moves of the ruling class and the concerted drive by this same class against the standard of living of American workers.

But there is another lesson to be learned from the exposure of the war crimes of the "Secret Team."

Despite the concerted use of terror by the most powerful nation on earth against the people of Vietnam, Laos, and Cuba, the warmakers were defeated. The unity of the oppressed classes of these nations was more than a match for the secret plots, assassination programs, and mass murders vent upon them by the ruling elite of the capitalist system.

In the end, the Cuban, Vietnamese, and Laotian masses prevailed—as will the Nicaraguan people.

But tragically, the price of victory of these revolutionary peoples was great. This price will be reduced for future generations as the American people learn by their own experience that their own independent organization in the political arena is a prerequisite for building a world of peace and justice here and everywhere on earth.

[For more information on the lawsuit write to the Christic Institute, 1324 North Capitol Street, NW, Washington D.C. 20002, Tel. (202) 797-8106.] ■

Footnotes

(1) The Christic Institute affidavit states that the Kennedy brothers were not briefed on the existence of the "Shooter Team." This is incorrect. Numerous sources, including a Jan. 19, 1971, *San Francisco Chronicle* article by Jack Anderson (p. 33) discusses the Kennedy brothers' involvement in authorizing the assassination team against Fidel Castro.

A secret Congressional staff report confirmed that Robert Kennedy had issued a "lettres de marque" [legal sanction] for the assassination team against Castro. ("Affidavit of J.S. (Jack) Martin and David F. (Dave) Lewis, Jr., sworn on March 1, 1968.")

(2) The lawsuit asserts that President Jimmy Carter and CIA Director Stansfield Turner were ignorant of this contract. This seems highly unlikely.

It should be remembered that Carter maintained Richard Helms as his ambassador to Teheran. Helms—who had been CIA director during the Johnson, Ford, and Nixon administrations—presided over Shackley's operations.

Carter, moreover, directed Gen. Heuser, director of NATO, to set up in Teheran the Council of Generals. For six months, Gen. Heuser sought to coordinate a coup in Teheran which had targeted tens of thousands of people for assassination.

In addition, under the Carter administration, the U.S. government and the CIA provided Roberto D'Aubuisson and the Salvadoran death squads with the intelligence files used to finger thousands of their victims. (Source: Allan Nairn, *the Progressive*, May 1984.)

If you support ...

- The antiwar movement
- The Nicaraguan Revolution
- The fight against racism
- A woman's right to choose
- An end to apartheid
- The fight for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe
- The need for a labor party
- A socialist America

... you belong in Socialist Action!

Contact the Socialist Action branch nearest you. See branch list page 15.

20 years after the Six-Day War

The following is an abridged version of an editorial which appeared in the June 15, 1987, issue of *International Viewpoint* magazine.

In the dawn hours of June 5, 1967, the Israeli Army struck at its three neighboring states—Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. After just six days of fighting, the Zionist command achieved its goals. It was a formidable military show of force by a state dedicated to war.

Israel occupied the last parts of the territory of the former British mandate of Palestine still remaining under Arab sovereignty: the West Bank, which had been annexed by Jordan, and the Gaza strip, which had been administered by Egypt.

To increase its military advantage against its most dangerous enemies, Israel seized "strategic zones"—the Sinai desert from Egypt, and the Golan Heights from Syria in the northeast. On June 10, the army of a state covering 8000 square miles controlled 39,950 square miles of territory.

Today, with only 4 million inhabitants, Israel has the world's seventh powerful air force.

United Nations partition

The 20th anniversary of this conquest inevitably brings to mind another date: the 40th anniversary of the Nov. 29, 1947, United Nations General Assembly vote that partitioned Palestine into two states—Arab and Jewish.

On that date, the Jewish state was given 55 percent of the territory, although the Jews—the overwhelming majority of them made up of immigrants fleeing the terror of European anti-Semitism—constituted only a third of the population and possessed just 6 percent of the land.

But even this flagrant injustice could not satisfy the chiefs of the Zionist armed gangs. In a few months of fighting and massacres, they added 2500 square miles to the 5500 square miles given to them by the United Nations. What is more, on the 8000 square miles they took over, they made sure that only a small minority of Palestinian Arabs remained.

The state of Israel was born. By a cruel irony of history, it bore within it some of the characteristic traits of Nazi Germany's



Israeli soldier guarding Egyptian prisoners in the Sinai, June 1967

"Brown Plague"—racism, militarism, and expansionism.

These features were compounded by another that was in total contradiction to the dreams of self-sufficiency of the more utopian Zionists—dependence.

Dependency on U.S. imperialism

Israel is the most extreme example of dependence in the world. No other state is as dependent—both militarily and economically—as the Zionist state is on U.S.

imperialism.

A state with such a small population (700,000 Jews in 1948), based on the expulsion of the Palestinian people, could survive only by maintaining a military force superior to that of its enemies and therefore out of all proportion to its own resources. Only U.S. imperialism had both the means and the motivation for supporting it.

In turn, Israel was to serve as a mercenary state of imperialism, not only in

the Arab region but also from Sri Lanka to Africa to Central America.

These innate features of the Zionist state were to grow over the years. The 1967 war was to be a decisive point in this process. The peak would be reached 10 years later with the coming to power of Menachem Begin's Likud, an embodiment of the most narrow-minded chauvinist arrogance and racist disdain.

Likud's insane military expedition in 1982 was to reveal the naked reality of the Israeli state, stripped of the veneer of social Zionist hypocrisy. This was to result in a grave moral crisis, breaking the national consensus for the first time in war.

Tactical ruling-class divisions

Today, 20 years after the Six-Day War, the ruling class of the state of Israel remains divided on the means of maintaining control over the Palestinian territories conquered at that time.

The Likud advocates pure and simple absorption of the Occupied Territories into the Israeli state, with the maintenance of the existing apartheid system and the eventual expulsion of the native inhabitants. The Laborites, led by Shimon Peres, propose the creation of a Palestinian bantustan [reservation in South Africa], which would be administered by Israel's old crony, King Hussein of Jordan.

The Six-Day War dealt a mortal blow to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism, which were embodied by the Nasser regime in Egypt and the left Ba'athist regime in Syria. But the real fruits of the Arab defeat in 1967 only ripened 10 years later. This was when Sadat inaugurated the process of separate peace agreements with the Zionist state—the Camp David accords.

Before this point could be reached, the tempestuous rise of the armed movement of the Palestinian refugees in the countries bordering Israel had to be subjected to repeated blows from its "brothers"—the Arab regimes. This movement was crushed in Jordan in 1970-71. It was muzzled in Lebanon by Hafez al-Assad's Syria in 1976-77.

In a Middle East where reactionary winds are prevailing today, including those of Islamic fundamentalism, the resistance by the Palestinian masses to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is unquestionably the most important progressive mass struggle in the region.

But we are still a long way from the emergence of an independent movement of the working class that is able to transcend national borders and ethnic, national, and religious differences.

Unfortunately, the more distant a socialist perspective remains, the deeper the Middle East will sink into barbarism. ■

... Persian Gulf

(continued from page 1)

advanced its national interest by serving as the monkey's paw of imperialism.

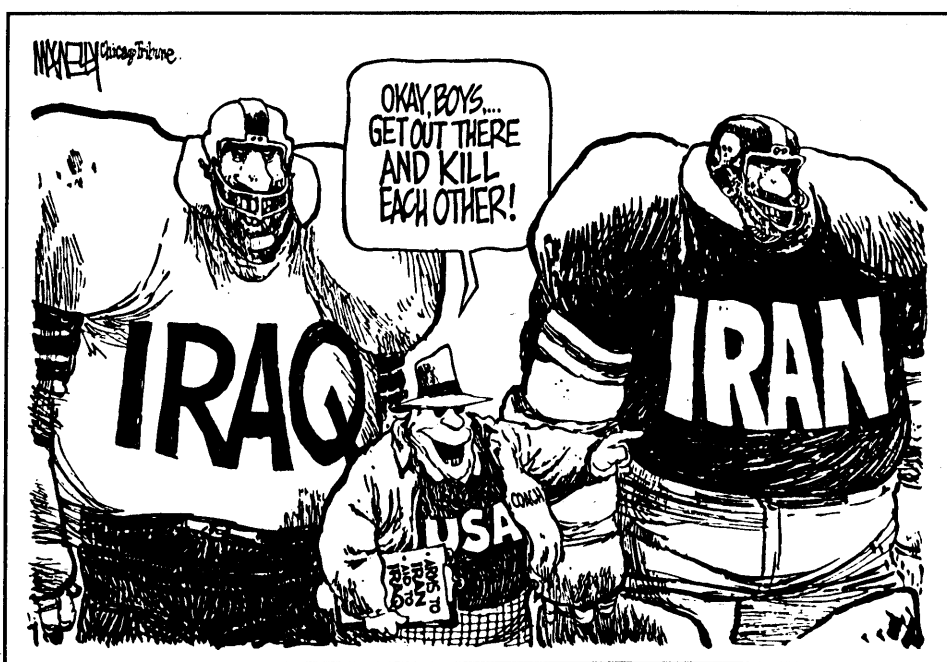
But the national interests of lackey capitalism in places like Iran are also in conflict with those of the region's masses of super-exploited workers and farmers. This was expressed in a series of revolutionary mass mobilizations that led to the overthrow of the Shah in 1979.

The Khomeini regime, which captured and contained the revolutionary explosion in Iran, seeks only to cut a new deal with the imperialist powers. It only wants a bigger share of the profits for Iranian capitalism—not the destruction of imperialist power over Iran.

Khomeini's basic strategy has been to ride the moral authority of a mass movement that overthrew the hated regime of the Shah. He aims to win influence over the anti-imperialist masses to gain hegemony over the oil-producing countries in the area.

Khomeini hopes to cut a new deal with imperialism over distribution of oil profits. The primary beneficiary of such a new division of the surpluses expropriated from Arab workers would, of course, be the capitalists of Iran.

The Iraqi rulers, however, also aspire to a dominant role in the redivision of the



spoils shared by local and foreign capitalists.

Both presidents Carter and Reagan stood by with silent satisfaction when Saddam Hussein led an Iraqi invasion of Iran. The war, which was aimed at halting the revolutionary upsurge in the region, could only reduce the bargaining power of the oil-producing states as a whole—not merely that of Iran.

The current military stalemate between Iraq and Iran is the best outcome for

imperialism. That's what Reagan means when he says he hopes neither side wins a decisive victory. For more than seven years, the U.S. government has done its best to prolong a war that has led to the death of more than 1 million young men and women.

Democratic and Republican moralistic prattling against dealing with "terrorist" Iran is mainly eyewash. When Reagan supplies weapons and military secrets to Iran against Iraq, it is no less in imperialist

interests than when he aids Iraq against Iran.

Reagan, or his successor, will come to terms with whoever emerges the "victor" in a bloody war which saps the strength of the oppressed masses on both sides.

In the meantime, U.S. Navy ships are in the Persian Gulf—on "the thin edge of the wedge" of military involvement, as one U.S. Army official told the *Washington Post*. The stage has been set for an incident that could be turned into a pretext for a U.S. military action against Iran.

U.S. warships out of the Persian Gulf!
Hands off Iran! ■

Distributors of Socialist Action in Canada:

Alliance for Socialist Action
229 College St., Suite 208
Toronto, Ontario
M5T 1R4
(416) 535-8779

Alliance for Socialist Action
Box 2728
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3C 4B3

Alliance for Socialist Action
Box 12082
Edmonton, Alberta

Alliance for Socialist Action
P.O. Box 76916 Station S
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5R 5T3

How barbarism triumphs when workers are defeated

The history of the 20th century has witnessed many tragic examples of barbarism following on the heels of defeated working-class revolutionary struggles.

The stupendous horror of World War II, for instance, was a consequence of defeats in Europe. Spain and France were two of the most outstanding of the missed opportunities for socialist revolution during the world capitalist crisis of the 1930s.

One recent example of a defeated working-class upsurge—an example which is described in detail below—is the 1975-76 Civil War in Lebanon.

A common feature of all these missed revolutionary opportunities was the policy of class collaboration implemented by the misleaders of the workers' organizations.

Class collaboration is when working-class parties join in political or governmental alliances with a wing of the capitalist class. The Stalinists and Social Democrats, the most cynical advocates of class collaboration, justify these alliances with "anti-fascist" or "anti-monopoly" capitalists in order to achieve maximum "unity against the right."

But programmatic alliances with so-called "progressive" capitalists can only be achieved by subordinating working-class solutions to the political platform of their capitalist partners. Such alliances

compel betrayal of this or that immediate interest of the laboring classes.

In the Spanish Revolution of 1936-38, for example, the Stalinists invented a new name—the Popular Front—to hide the class-collaborationist essence of their strategy. The Popular Front, which entailed a strategic

Introduction

alliance with "anti-fascist" capitalists, required the workers to oppose the peasants' demand for the land and the Moroccan peoples' demand for independence from Spain.

The Popular Front sapped and derailed the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants and ultimately paved the way for fascist counterrevolution.

In Lebanon, the organizations of the working class and of the Palestinian movement waged a courageous armed struggle against the right-wing Christian militias, which were backed by the United States and Israel. But their armed-struggle strategy was not aimed at mobilizing the

oppressed masses for the seizure of political power. Rather it was aimed at putting pressure on the ruling capitalist parties to "reform and democratize the Lebanese state."

The Lebanese Communist Party and the other left-wing Palestinian and Lebanese parties formed the National Movement in alliance with the capitalist party headed by Kamal Jumblatt. This alliance restricted the struggle of the oppressed to reforms within the limits of capitalism.

The left-wing organizations in the National Movement, moreover, failed to call on the workers and peasants in the adjacent Arab states to rise up against their capitalist masters. Such a call would have inspired the workers and all the oppressed in the region to come to the aid of the unfolding Lebanese revolution.

Instead, many of the components of the National Movement had illusions in the "progressive" Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. They looked to Assad to help them negotiate a reform of the Lebanese state. Of course, these hopes proved to be illusory. Assad ended up joining forces with the Lebanese fascists against the Palestinian and Lebanese workers and peasants.

The Lebanese Civil War of 1975-76 is of significance far beyond the borders of the Middle East. These events contain valuable lessons for working people in every country today.—The Editors

By W.I. MOHAREB and
ALAN BENJAMIN

What is behind the barbaric situation in Lebanon today?

Every day, it seems, the capitalist media are full of images of "mad" Palestinian or Lebanese Shi'ite "terrorists" who, it would appear, have nothing better to do than kidnap, stone, and kill every Westerner in sight.

When they're not focusing on "terrorism," the media portray the political landscape in Lebanon as one of irrational sectarian warfare among Christians, Muslims, Druze, and Palestinians. Images of Palestinian refugees fleeing Israeli or Syrian-backed Amal troops are commonplace, but there is little analysis that explains the roots of the conflicts.

It is no wonder that so many people find it hard to follow the ins and outs of the complex situation in Lebanon.

Of course, there is no shortage of destructive violence in this area. But what the capitalist media consciously hide in their "objective" news reports is the direct responsibility for the violence of the U.S. government and its Israeli and Lebanese agents.

The media fail to tell us, for example, that just one of the dozens of Israeli air raids against so-called "Palestinian terrorist camps" usually results in far more civilian deaths than all the kidnappings in Lebanon this century. They neglect to mention that the U.S. battleship *New Jersey* alone inflicted hundreds of civilian casualties in Lebanon in 1984 with its offshore cannonades.

The big-business media also fail to tell us that it is the United States and its various proxies, including the Israeli and Saudi states, which originally funded, armed—and in some cases directly mobilized—the Lebanese fascists and other right-wing formations most responsible for the carnage.

The only way to understand current developments in Lebanon is to understand the dynamics of the 1975-76 Lebanese Civil War. It was these decisive events which set the stage for all subsequent political developments in this war-torn land.

Barbarism in Lebanon

Lebanon today is a devastated land. The 1975-76 Civil War left tens of thousands of people dead, with at least double the number wounded. In addition to the dead and maimed—accounting for one Lebanese in 40—hundreds of thousands fled the



Syrian troops—shown here occupying Beirut—are being used to stabilize rightist regime.

country, and countless more were left destitute.

Since the 1975-76 Civil War, more than 40 percent of the housing stock has been destroyed. Unemployment is estimated at over 35 percent. The unemployment rate for the most oppressed residents—mainly the Shi'ites and Palestinians—is around 60 percent.

The present barbarism in Lebanon—and barbarism is the only word that accurately describes the situation—is the result of the massive defeats suffered by the Lebanese working class and its allies in 1976.

Late in 1970, Palestinian workers began to turn to revolutionary organizations that offered solutions to the misery and oppression they faced inside the Lebanese state. By late 1973, this radicalization was spreading to Lebanese workers.

The killing of two strikers by Lebanese state security forces in the course of the famed Gandour Chocolate workers' strike in the fall of 1972 dramatized this process. The killings were met by mass protests, student strikes, and a general strike.

April 1973 saw the largest mass demonstration in Lebanon's history—

250,000 people assembled for the funeral of Palestinian resistance leaders murdered by Israeli commandos with the obvious complicity of the U.S. Embassy and the Lebanese army and police.

The following month, Lebanese army tanks and planes bombarded slums inhabited by Palestinian and Lebanese workers who had protested this complicity. But this resulted only in further radicalization of the masses and exposure of the real class interests of the state.

Lebanese workers began to organize into trade unions at unprecedented rates. They also turned to their traditional organizations—like the Lebanese Communist Party—and to the Palestinian and Arab Stalinist formations in hopes of winning their demands. These included the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), and their respective Lebanese fraternal parties—the Arab Socialist Action Party (ASAP) and the Organization for Communist Action in Lebanon (OCAL).

The class polarization in Lebanon was reaching a feverish pitch. The rapid growth

of unions, revolutionary political parties, and militias—and the general strikes, political strikes, and mass urban protests—were the real (if downplayed) developments in Lebanon prior to the outbreak of civil war in April 1975.

For example, mass demonstrations throughout Lebanon in December 1973 were capped by a three-day political general strike in Tarabulus.

The Civil War, itself, was preceded by a dramatic strike of the fishermen of Saida.

A class—not religious—war

All the reactionary forces around the world—especially the U.S. media—portrayed the 1975 Civil War in Lebanon as a "religious communal war between Muslims and Christians." In reality, the Civil War was a class war.

The class character of the war was masked by the large overlap of class and religious lines. The Christian minority—particularly the Maronite sect—made up the large bulk of the oppressor class. It was guaranteed a dominant role in the Lebanese

(continued on page 13)

(continued from page 12)

government and state—a status created by France when Lebanon was a colony. The "Muslim" majority, estimated at 60 percent of the population at the time, was oppressed and exploited.

The Christian rightists—especially the Kataeb or Phalangists—looked to U.S. imperialism and the Zionist state of Israel for help in safeguarding their privileges against the Muslim majority. They also quite naturally opposed the demands of the 300,000 to 400,000 Palestinians in Lebanon. (It was, in fact, an attack by the Phalangist Party on a busload of Palestinians returning from a rally in April 1975 that touched off the Civil War.)

But it was the struggle of the workers and the peasants that gave this war its class character. In February 1975, the Saida fishermen won the support of the Palestinian workers in their struggle against the granting of a government fishing monopoly to the Protein Company. The mass of impoverished Palestinian refugees and workers were the natural allies of the Lebanese workers and peasants in their struggles.

It is important to note, furthermore, that while the bulk of the working class was Muslim and the strongest section of the capitalist class was Christian, the religious and class divisions were not identical. Many exploited Christian workers and many "Christian-led" organizations lined up on the side of the workers and the oppressed.

Crisis of leadership

The struggles of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses were truly heroic throughout the war. But despite pleas from the masses for their leaders to take power, none of the organizations of the working class and of the Palestinian movement had the program and resolve to lead a revolutionary struggle to victory.

In opposition to the right-wing Christian parties and their militias, the main left-wing and Muslim groups formed the Front of National and Progressive Parties and Forces—or National Movement. The dominant grouping in the front was the Progressive Socialist Party of Kamal Jumblatt. Jumblatt, a feudal aristocrat and a leader of the Druze community, was a representative of the more "enlightened" wing of the capitalist class.

Also included in the National Movement were the Lebanese Communist Party, the Arab Socialist Action Party, and the Organization of Communist Action in Lebanon.

The National Movement's program called for the reform of the state, a revision of the constitution, the secularization of the political system, and numerous economic reforms. The capitalist leadership of the National Movement headed by Jumblatt wanted to modernize the Lebanese state—



Donald McCullin

Palestinians being driven from their homes in Beirut in '75-76 Lebanese Civil War

not to abolish it and replace it with a new state based on the workers and peasants.

For this reason, the leaders of the National Movement refused to call for the formation of a united front of Christian, Muslim, and Palestinian workers against the capitalists and the Lebanese state. They refused to make the heroic resistance of the Lebanese workers and peasants a springboard for sweeping away the hated state apparatus. They refused to develop a network of councils of people's resistance.

In practice, the National Movement continually sought political compromises with the right-wing Christian forces. Throughout the Civil War, it backed up the legitimacy of the decrepit institutions of the capitalist state.

The Lebanese Communist Party, whose responsibility was particularly large since it had a significant mass influence, was the most consistent supporter of the National Movement. Faithful to a Stalinist conception of revolution by stages and alliances with the so-called national capitalist class, it fixed the framework of struggle as the defense of liberal capitalism.

In an interview with the French daily *Le Monde*, on Dec. 23, 1975, Karim Mroué, a leader of the Lebanese CP, stated the following:

"The program of the National Movement does not propose a change of political regimes, but rather simple democratic reforms within the framework of the capitalist system which we live under in Lebanon....Numerous representatives of the industrial and commercial employing class—and not just minor ones—have approved the content of our program..."

The various currents in the Palestine Liberation Organization—from the majority Al Fatah of Yasser Arafat, to the PFLP, to the DFLP—also gave varying political support to the National Movement.

Syrian-PLA intervention

On two brief occasions, in January 1976 and again three months later, the working class in Lebanon stood in a position to assume power.

On Jan. 19, 1976, a major split occurred in the 18,000-man Lebanese army. Lieut. Ahmed el-Khatib refused to follow orders

from his high command and called for the secularization of the Lebanese state. Within weeks, between 60 percent and 70 percent of the old army had joined el-Khatib's rebel Lebanese Arab Army.

The central instrument of the capitalist class—the Lebanese army and police—had collapsed. And the fascist militias were all but defeated.

By mid-February, over 60 percent of the country had come under military control of the forces of the Palestinian resistance, the National Movement, and the Lebanese Arab Army.

It is in this context—in order to shore up the crumbling Lebanese capitalist state—that the Syrian government of Hafez al-Assad intervened on the side of the Christian right-wing Phalangists.

Assad feared that a revolutionary victory of the Lebanese and Palestinian workers and peasants in Lebanon would extend into Syria itself. He wanted to preserve a balance of power favorable to the Christian rightists and to assert his control over the Palestinian liberation movement.

Assad had already signaled his support for the Lebanese fascists. Phalangist leader Pierre Gemayel was welcomed in Syria in December 1975 with all the pomp due an official leader of state.

In January 1976, Assad sent in units of the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) stationed in Syria to intervene militarily in Lebanon against the armed resistance of the workers and the oppressed. These PLA units were under the direct command of the Syrian regime.

At no time did the Fatah leadership of the PLO publicly oppose the sending of PLA forces to Lebanon. Yasser Arafat and the PLO leadership had long considered Assad to be a "privileged ally" in their struggle.

On Jan. 22., the Syrians imposed a ceasefire with the goal of allowing the Phalangists the necessary time to regain their strength. But the truce could not hold, and by March the Syrian government was compelled to send in military units of Saiqa, a "Palestinian" formation under the control of the Syrian state, to put down the Lebanese resistance forces. The PLA forces had bent to the pressures of the Lebanese

resistance and had become unreliable from Assad's point of view.

Syrian invasion

Despite Syria's efforts, the ceasefire and the repeated military interventions by the PLA and Saiqa were unable to bring class peace to Lebanon. The resistance movement was continuing to advance. So on May 31, Assad ordered an invasion of Lebanon.

Radio Damascus claimed that the "assistance" of Syrian troops in Northern Lebanon had "led to the establishment of law, the calming of the situation, and a stop to all sorts of fighting."

This was not the case. The Syrian invasion aroused vehement opposition among the Muslim majority and its Palestinian leftist allies. Hundreds of Palestinian fighters were killed when Syrian forces bombarded Palestinian refugee camps.

In July and August 1976, the entire population of the Palestinian refugee camp of Tal al Zaatar, including the Lebanese poor, rose up against the combined attacks of the Christian Phalangists and their Syrian allies. Their determination showed the depth of the revolutionary struggle of the Palestinian masses. But they were brutally massacred by the forces of reaction.

Assad's invasion of Lebanon was warmly applauded by the Ford administration and by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The White House issued a statement June 1 saying that "the Syrians have played a constructive role in Lebanon."

Assad's blow against the Lebanese and Palestinian masses was also given a boost when Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin arrived in Damascus on June 1, just as the main body of Syrian troops was entering Lebanon. On June 4, Kosygin and Assad issued a joint communiqué praising the role of their respective governments in the Lebanese crisis.

Significantly, the Syrian forces rode into Lebanon on Soviet-supplied tanks and troop carriers.

All the counterrevolutionary forces worldwide—from Washington to Damascus to Tel Aviv—intervened in Lebanon to defeat the heroic struggle of the Lebanese and Palestinian workers and peasants.

But the critical factor in this defeat was the vacillation, reformism, and opportunism of the existing leadership of the working class within Lebanon and internationally. As a result, Lebanon since mid-1976 has been in the throes of reaction; a reaction that was deepened by the bloody 1982 Israeli invasion. ■

Defense effort for Warschawsky

By ADAM WOOD

On Feb. 16, 1987, Israeli authorities raided the offices of the Alternative Information Center (AIC), seized its printing facilities, and arrested the center's director, Michael Warschawsky.

The AIC's publication, *News from Within*, is a respected source of information on the treatment of Palestinians in Israel.

Warschawsky was released on bail on March 17, following an international protest campaign. He must now appear before police three times a week. If convicted of the charges of "collaborating with terrorists," he could face up to 23 years in prison.

A Committee to Defend Michael Warschawsky and the Alternative Information Center in Israel was recently formed. Endorsers include Professor Philippa Strum and Rabbi Balfour Brickner, president and vice president of the American-Israel Civil Liberties Coalition, and Professor Noam Chomsky.

Contributions or telegrams protesting the closing of *News from Within* and the arrest of its director can be sent to: Committee to Defend Michael Warschawsky and the Alternative Information Center in Israel, Topping Lane, Norwalk, Conn., 06854. ■

International Viewpoint

Balance sheet of the Afghan war



Subscribe to International Viewpoint!

A biweekly magazine published under the auspices of the Fourth International.
Introductory sub: 3 issues for \$3.
Six-month subscription: \$25.
One-year subscription: \$47.
3435 Army #308, S.F. CA 94110.

By CLIFF CONNER

Rosa Luxemburg, a film by Margarethe von Trotta, featuring Barbara Sukowa as Rosa Luxemburg.

For revolutionary socialists, the second decade of the 20th century was the best of times and the worst of times.

The high point occurred late in 1917 when one of the less prominent of the European socialist parties led the world's first successful proletarian revolution in Russia. The low point had been three years earlier, on Aug. 4, 1914, when the mightiest socialist party of them all—the German Social Democratic Party (SPD)—suddenly betrayed its Marxist heritage and collapsed as a revolutionary force.

On that day, the SPD's parliamentary delegation voted to approve funding for the German government's imperialist war plans. Four years later, the SPD itself would become the governing party in Germany and would use its power to suppress a massive revolutionary uprising of the workers.

These momentous historical events form the background of a new film focusing on the most important of the revolutionary leaders—Rosa Luxemburg. The film deserves high grades for historical accuracy and artistic quality. Barbara Sukowa, who plays the title role, won the Best Actress prize at last year's Cannes Film Festival.

The film's main shortcoming, in my opinion, is its tendency to oversentimentalize Rosa Luxemburg and to play up her "vulnerability."

In one objectionable scene, Luxemburg blurts out something suggesting that her political activity was a product of frustration due to lack of fulfillment in other aspects of her life. Whether or not the scriptwriter found that line somewhere in Luxemburg's correspondence, it is essentially a distortion of her revolutionary commitment.

Nonetheless, von Trotta's portrait of Rosa Luxemburg is a sympathetic one. "Rosa," says Sukowa, "was different from the characters I usually play—probably the only woman I've played who is not neurotic."

Other historical figures who come on screen or are mentioned include August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht, Clara Zetkin, Carl Legien, Philipp Scheidemann, Friedrich Ebert, and Eduard Bernstein. A full appreciation of the film requires some familiarity with the roles played by some of these people in the SPD's decline and fall.

A mass revolutionary party

From modest beginnings in 1875, the German Social Democratic Party rose to become the largest political party in the country on the eve of World War I. It claimed a million members, 90 daily newspapers, and the votes of more than one-third of the electorate.

Social Democratic sports clubs, women's organizations, youth groups, consumers' cooperatives—even singing clubs—provided the day-to-day focus of culture for the German working class.

What made this an historically unique social phenomenon was the SPD's explicitly Marxist revolutionary program. The point of departure of its 1891 Erfurt Program was the "ever bitterer class-war between bourgeoisie and proletariat."

What a shock it was, then, when the party's 110 delegates to the Reichstag voted unanimously in favor of war credits for the capitalist government.

The Aug. 4, 1914, vote also marked the collapse of the Second International. Since the German SPD was by far the International's strongest component, its defection alone would have sunk the International. In addition, however, most of its other sections—most importantly, the French—also lined up in support of their respective governments' war efforts.

As Rosa Luxemburg noted, this made a mockery of the International's slogan, "Workers of the world, unite!" Instead of uniting, the German and French workers would fight and kill each other with the blessing and encouragement of their own socialist parties.

The seemingly inexorable growth of the SPD vote (from 3 percent in 1871 to 10

Red Rosa's fight for revolutionary socialism

percent in 1887 to 20 percent in 1890 to 35 percent in 1912) led some to believe that one day it would surpass the 50 percent mark and the party would take over the government.

Reformism and revisionism

This stimulated the growth of a purely parliamentary tendency within the SPD—a moderate wing that began to eschew any radicalism that might frighten middle-class voters.

Another center of reform politics was developing in the SPD-led trade unions. Membership statistics indicate the unions' explosive growth—from 277,600 members in 1890 to 1,344,000 in 1905 to almost two-and-a-half million in 1914.

The unions developed their own insurance system covering strike pay, sickness, accidents, and unemployment—thus becoming wealthy organizations and gaining a vested interest in the maintenance of capitalism.

The issue arose as to whether the unions were to remain subordinated to party policy and the long-range goal of social transformation. Central union leader Carl Legien believed that the unions should stick to the task of improving workers' wages and working conditions—and even promote friendly relations with "reasonable" employers.

A rise in labor militancy occurred in 1905. Union leaders tried to dampen it, in particular trying to hold back the growth of a coal strike in the Ruhr. But the strikes spread rapidly.

Meanwhile, the Russian Revolution of 1905 broke out, taking the form of mass political strikes. Similar actions began to occur spontaneously in Germany. The SPD revolutionaries led by Rosa Luxemburg, inspired by the events in Russia, grew stronger. They demanded that the party call and lead political strikes.

The conservative labor leaders were appalled by the idea; their desire to cut their ties with the party intensified. At the SPD's Mannheim Congress in 1906, the union leaders demanded and won recognition of their independence from party control. In fact, although it was not openly acknowledged, the trade-union leaders had begun to control the party.

The great revisionist debate

Meanwhile, in the SPD itself, the leadership was also becoming more conservative. By 1914 the party, trade-union, and related apparatuses had grown tremendously, numbering approximately 3500. A hierarchical leadership structure and a large paid staff began to crystalize into a permanent bureaucracy with social interests different from those of rank-and-file party members.

These conservatizing tendencies found partial expression in the "great revisionist debate" that raged in the SPD, and through it in the International, from 1898 through 1903.

In 1898, Eduard Bernstein, a leading party intellectual who had been a close associate of Friedrich Engels, published a series of articles that sharply challenged the Marxist basis of the party's Erfurt Program.

In essence, Bernstein held that Marx's negative prognosis for the capitalist system had not come to pass; capitalism seemed, after all, to be capable of producing lasting peace and prosperity.

The workers' movement, according to Bernstein, should therefore drop its aim of overthrowing capitalism and instead should work to improve the lives of workers within the capitalist system. In his most famous statement, Bernstein asserted: "The final goal, no matter what it is, is nothing; the movement is everything."

This message was in harmony with the outlook of the trade-union officials and other conservatizing elements in the party. It was disturbing, however, to the vast



Rosa Luxemburg

majority of rank-and-file members and to those party leaders who understood that the SPD's *raison d'être* was its goal—socialism.

Rosa Luxemburg was the first to challenge Bernstein. Before long, however, August Bebel, Karl Kautsky, and others joined the battle. When votes were taken, Bernstein seemed to be an isolated figure. But beneath the surface, Bernstein's natural allies were simply keeping mum for the time being.

"Not a revolution-making party"

Between the outright opportunists and the revolutionary faction known as the "Rosa group" was a large center tendency best exemplified by the long-time number-one leader of the SPD, August Bebel.

Bebel was certainly no mean-spirited bureaucrat, but his concept of the socialist revolution was not one that required the party to take revolutionary action. The socialist revolution, he believed, would not be *made*, it would *happen*. Capitalism's internal contradictions would inexorably lead it to self-destruct; then the socialists could pick up the pieces and reconstruct society on a new basis.

Karl Kautsky summed up this view most succinctly when he described the SPD as a "revolutionary but not revolution-making party."

The main task for the party, then, was to exist—to survive the capitalist crash intact. Whenever spontaneous mass actions began to break out, the Bebel leadership would seek to channel them into indoor rallies and away from street demonstrations that might come into conflict with the police.

In the crucial period leading up to August 1914, this tradition of self-restraint at all costs served to demobilize the SPD ranks and to frustrate all attempts at actions against the government's war moves. If there were to be a fight, the mighty SPD would enter it with its hands tied behind its back.

The "Rosa group" was a relatively small but influential revolutionary faction in the SPD led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the son of SPD founder Wilhelm Liebknecht.

The approach of war

As the war approached, Luxemburg and Liebknecht attempted to rouse the party into action. They led an uphill fight against the government's moves toward war. The central SPD leadership, however, resisted. On the other hand, it did not attempt to resist the rising tide of chauvinism in German society.

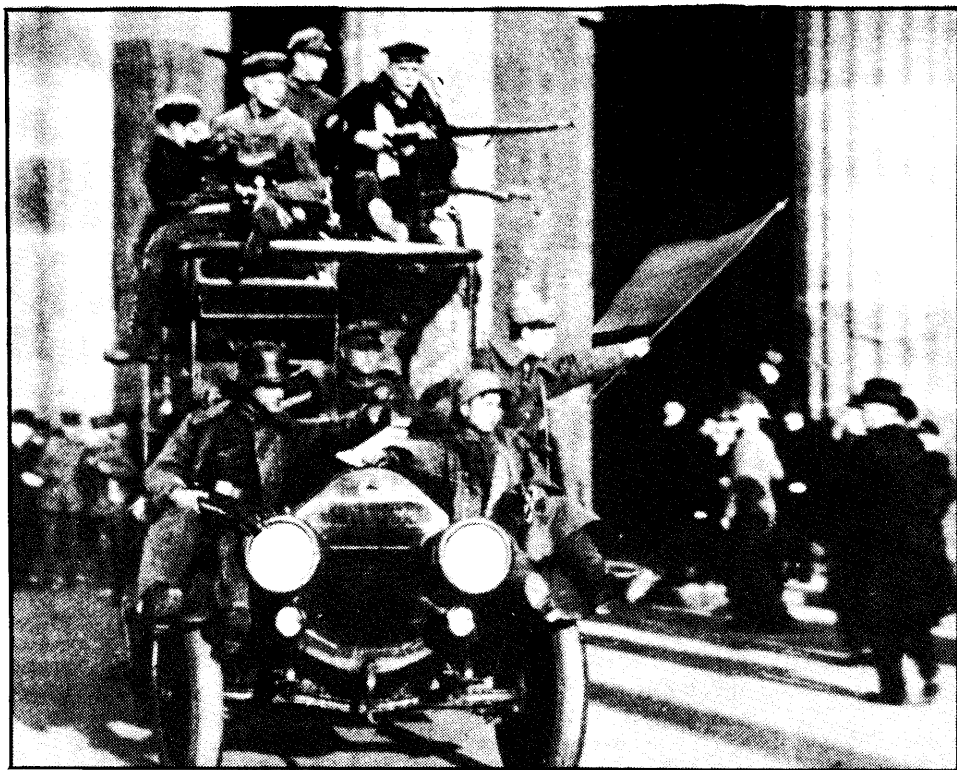
The triumph of German nationalism among the German workers at the outset of the war was not a foregone conclusion. Had the SPD waged a serious campaign against the saber-rattling government, it would have undoubtedly suffered a temporary loss in popularity. But that it ultimately would have been successful is indicated by how quickly the nationalistic fervor evaporated during the course of the war.

In 1913, the government presented a record-breaking military expansion bill to the Reichstag. SPD tradition demanded "not a penny, not a man" be approved. But this bill included a new twist: The money was to be raised by direct rather than indirect taxation.

Since the SPD had long demanded direct taxation as more equitable for the working class, a majority of the party's parliamentary fraction wanted to vote for the bill. Their rationale was that if they voted against the bill, the military appropriations part would pass anyway, but the money would be raised by indirect taxation.

Rosa Luxemburg charged, prophetically, that "you will get yourself into the situation where, if war breaks out...you will then logically support the approval of war credits." Nevertheless, the SPD delegation voted to support the bill. For the

(continued on page 15)



German soldiers and sailors, back from the front, fly the red flag at Brandenburg Gate in Berlin in November 1918.

(continued from page 14)

first time, the SPD was on record as a supporter of government arms spending.

The SPD votes for war

Thus, the stage was set for the final act. In late July 1914, with the outbreak of war imminent, Social Democratic trade-union leaders paid a secret visit to the Reich Office of the Interior.

They proclaimed their loyalty to the government, and in return were reassured that the government would not outlaw them during the war; on the contrary, it would welcome their cooperation in banning strikes for the duration of the war.

On Aug. 4, the entire SPD fraction—including Karl Liebknecht—cast its votes in the Reichstag in support of war credits. The pressure on SPD delegates to vote as a unified bloc was enormous; any delegate who dared to "break discipline" would risk personal ostracism and political isolation.

Later, however, on Dec. 3, 1914, Liebknecht cast his historic lone vote against war credits. Twice more, in March and August 1915, Liebknecht would stand alone. His lone votes made him a rallying point for the antiwar forces that ultimately would rise up and put an end to the war.

With the vote on Aug. 4, 1914, the career of the SPD as a revolutionary party definitely ended. The extent to which this came as a surprise can be gauged by Lenin's initial reaction. He thought the reports of the Reichstag vote were "disinformation" spread by the German general staff.

Rosa Luxemburg gave voice to the opinion of revolutionaries everywhere in her assessment of the SPD from that moment as "a stinking corpse." She and Liebknecht initiated an organized faction within the SPD that would evolve first into the Spartacus group and later into the KPD, the Communist Party of Germany.

War and revolution

When the anticipated quick German military triumph failed to materialize, patriotic enthusiasm rapidly turned into disillusionment. War weariness was most strongly felt among supporters of the SPD.

A section of the SPD leadership—including Hugo Haase, George Ledebour, Karl Kautsky, and Eduard Bernstein—began to give expression to the mass antiwar sentiment and organized an opposition current. The oppositionists were expelled from the SPD on Jan. 16, 1917.

On Easter 1917, the expelled oppositionists established the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD), which took about 40 percent of the SPD membership. The Spartacus group—which had also begun to attract a mass following—joined the USPD in an effort to win it to a revolutionary perspective.

As Germany's war losses mounted and its military position deteriorated from bad to hopeless, the mood of the German workers turned decisively revolutionary. The battle fronts collapsed, and General Ludendorff, who had been the *de facto* ruler of

Germany, fled the country on Oct. 26, 1918.

On Oct. 28, naval commanders ordered a last-ditch, all-out naval battle in the North Sea. But the sailors mutinied and joined the workers of Kiel in a revolutionary uprising.

On Nov. 4, the governor of Kiel resigned, and the Workers' and Soldiers' Council took power in the town. The German revolution had arrived and it began to spread like wildfire. The Free Republic of Bavaria was proclaimed in Munich on Nov. 7.

On Nov. 9, the revolution reached Berlin. Hundreds of thousands of workers downed their tools and joined huge throngs of demonstrators who had poured into the city from the suburbs.

The SPD is handed power

The Kaiser fled over the border to Holland. The Chancellor, Prince Max von Baden, resigned, announced the Kaiser's abdication, and handed the government over to Friedrich Ebert as head of the largest Reichstag party, the SPD.

Von Baden, however, was giving away power he had already lost. The real political basis of Ebert's authority was to come from the revolution itself. Workers councils were elected in the factories and soldiers' councils in the barracks. An Executive Committee of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils claimed full power throughout Germany, as the workers occupied all the government buildings.

On Nov. 10, the Berlin Workers' and Soldiers' Council made Ebert head of the government. Although the SPD's influence over the workers had declined during the war, the revolutionary upsurge had refurbished its image as "the party of August Bebel," who had died in 1913.

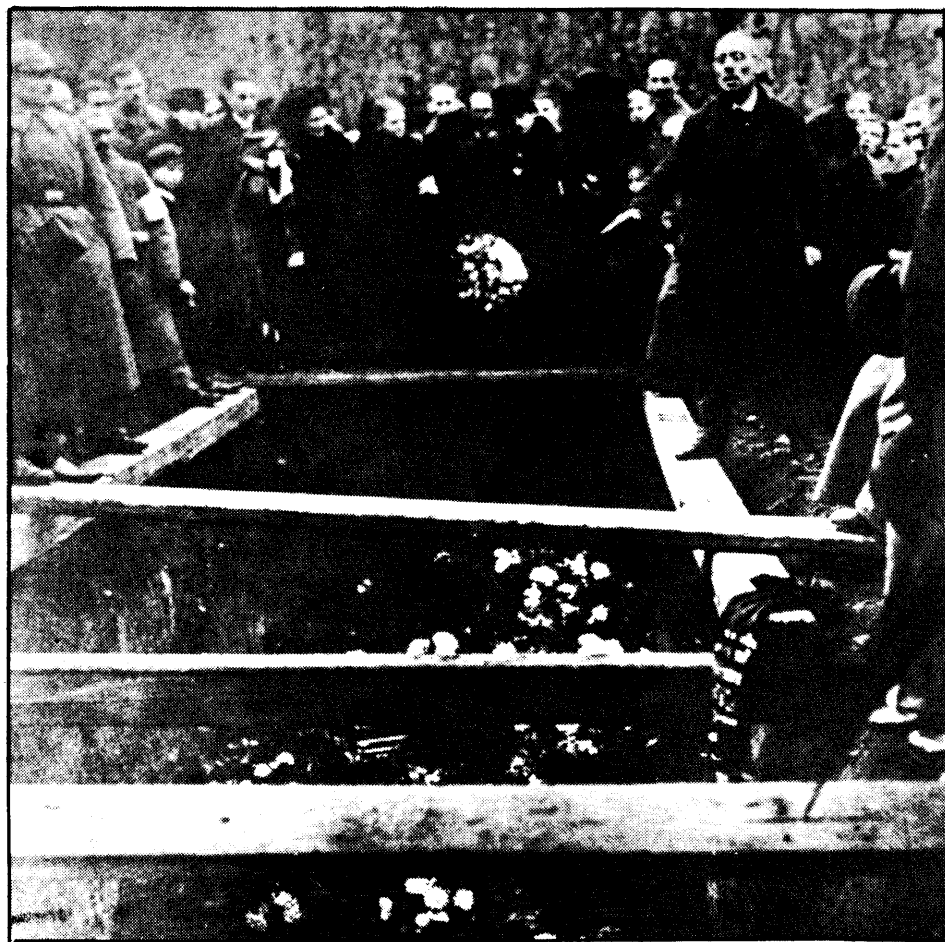
Thus did the reformist SPD leaders find themselves—against their will—in sole possession of state power in Germany. Party leader Philipp Scheidemann had wanted to maintain the monarchy, but realized that it was no longer possible. Instead, he proclaimed the birth of the German Republic and became its prime minister.

"A Free Socialist Republic!"

Meanwhile, Karl Liebknecht led a massive demonstration to the Hohenzollern Palace, where he declared the foundation of the Free Socialist Republic of Germany. If mass enthusiasm had determined the choice between Liebknecht's socialist republic and Scheidemann's bourgeois republic, Liebknecht's might have won.

Scheidemann and Ebert, however, still had the organized power of the old state apparatus in their hands. Perhaps more important, they were able to woo the centrist USPD leaders into sharing responsibility for the government of the new republic, which gave it more credibility in the eyes of the radicalized workers.

The new SPD/USPD government, the "Council of People's Commissars," reestablished the old, discredited regime—



Karl Liebknecht speaks at the gravesite of revolutionary workers killed in the fighting. Two weeks later, he and Rosa Luxemburg would be brutally murdered.

but in a new socialist disguise. On Nov. 10, Ebert concluded a pact with General Groener, restoring, for all practical purposes, the authority of the old military leadership. The old state bureaucracy was also retained virtually unchanged.

Birth of the KPD

These events caused a crisis in the USPD. In December, the USPD members resigned from the government. Left oppositionists called a national conference in Berlin on Dec. 29, 1918, out of which the Communist Party (KPD) was born with a program written by Rosa Luxemburg.

Two weeks later, Gustav Noske's Free Corps arrested and assassinated Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

Barabara Sukowa, who plays the Luxemburg role in the film, explains that "Rosa was the first victim of National Socialism; her murderers later rallied around Hitler." While that is true, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the criminals were not simply "rightists" but were *reformist socialists*. The murders were ordered by SPD leaders.

The USPD rank and file began to see "Social Democrat" as synonymous with "cop" and started looking to revolutionary Russia for inspiration. The great majority of the ranks joined the KPD in June 1920, transforming it into a mass Communist Party. Most of the abandoned USPD leaders later—in 1922—returned to the SPD.

The KPD, in its early years, seemed to offer a revolutionary alternative to the SPD. As the Third International (formed at the initiative of the Soviet Bolshevik Party) succumbed to Stalinism, however, the KPD followed suit. Stalin's popular-front policies, ironically, required the KPD to do what it had condemned the SPD for doing—collaborate with capitalist parties.

In spite of the fact that in Weimar Germany both the KPD and the SPD would collaborate with nonsocialist forces, they

would not collaborate with each other. It was this sectarian refusal to unite in self-defense against the Nazi onslaught that made Hitler's rise appear so easy.

Germany and Russia

In summary, out of the First World War a workers' revolution emerged in Germany—placing power in the hands of the workers' representatives, the SPD. But the SPD gave it back to the capitalists. No social transformation took place.

A similar attempt had been made by the Menshevik Party and other reformist socialists in Russia. A revolution had given power to the workers' and soldiers' councils ("soviets"), in which the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionary Party held a majority. They insisted, however, on sharing power with ministers representing liberal capitalist parties in a provisional government.

When the provisional government betrayed its pacifistic promises, the war-weary Russian people turned to the revolutionary antiwar faction. The Bolsheviks took power, but did not give it back, and withdrew Russia from the war as promised.

The key factor that determined the different outcomes of the German and Russian revolutions was that in Germany there was no disciplined revolutionary party of the Bolshevik type that could concentrate and coordinate the revolutionary forces.

That is not to say, however, that Luxemburg and Liebknecht should be faulted for not doing in Germany what Lenin did in Russia. The Bolsheviks' reformist opponents were nowhere near as powerfully organized as the SPD apparatus that the German revolutionists faced.

For revolutionists today, the lessons to be learned from our predecessors' defeats are no less valuable than those learned from the victories. Von Trotta's film "Rosa Luxemburg" brings to life a revolutionary defeat second to none in importance. ■

Where To Find Us

Boston Socialist Action
P.O. Box 1046 GMF
Boston, MA 02205
(617) 391-7087

Chicago Socialist Action
P.O. Box 257848
Chicago, IL 60626

Cincinnati Socialist Action
P.O. Box 37029
Cincinnati, OH 45222
(513) 272-2596

Cleveland Socialist Action
P.O. Box 6151
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 429-2167

Detroit Socialist Action
P.O. Box 19613
Detroit, MI 48219

Grand Rapids Socialist Action
P.O. Box 3505
Grand Rapids, MI 49501

Los Angeles Socialist Action
P.O. Box 60605
Terminal Annex
Los Angeles, CA 90060
(213) 250-4608

Minneapolis Socialist Action
P.O. Box 14087
Dinkytown Station
Minneapolis, MN 55414

New York Socialist Action
P.O. Box 20209 Ca. Finance
693 Columbus Ave.
New York, NY 10025

Phoenix Socialist Action
P.O. Box 5161
Phoenix, AZ 85010
(602) 263-5190

San Francisco Socialist Action
3435 Army St., Suite 308
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 821-0458

Pro-slavery document:

No reason for Blacks to celebrate Constitution

By KWAME M.A. SOMBURU

When the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia 200 years ago, Black people—over one-fifth of the non Native-American population—were not represented. Most Blacks were slaves. They were "represented" only as *property*.

The body of the convention was composed of Southern planters and Northern merchant capitalists. Their discussions concerning slavery pertained only to their own interests.

The Southern planters were powerful enough to acquire a Constitution that not only protected slavery but strengthened it. They obtained a 20-year extension of the slave trade, a fugitive-slave law, and the provision that three-fifths of the slaves be counted as the basis for taxation and political representation.

The South Carolina delegate, Gen. Charles C. Pinckney, reported with satisfaction to the South Carolina ratification convention that:

"By this settlement we have secured an unlimited importation of Negroes for 20 years. Nor is it declared that that importation shall be stopped; it may be continued. We have a right to recover our slaves in whatever part of America they may take refuge. In short, considering all circumstances, we have made the best terms for the security of this species of property it was in our power to make."

So the Constitution was basically a slaveholders' document, and the United States was founded upon the institution of slavery.

"To control the governed"

James Madison, considered to be the "Father of the Constitution," twice president of the United States, and a profound student of history and government, said this in Essay 51 of "The Federalist Papers": "In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: You must first enable the government to control the governed."

Who were the governed? The lowly status of Blacks was such that they could not qualify to be considered "governed," whether slave or free. The slaves had no more rights than mules, pigs, or dogs. And the free Blacks had limited rights and an ephemeral, precarious existence.

Madison gave a comprehensive summation of his political views in Essay 10 of "The Federalist Papers." He said that the primary function of government is the protection of property, and the "different and unequal faculties of man for acquiring property."

So the recognition of class struggle did not originate with Karl Marx! Over 50 years before the writing of "The Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Frederick Engels, James Madison pointed out: "Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society."

I would like to add, what about those who are considered property?

"The dangers of insurrection"

Blacks were not considered men or women. But the framers of the Constitution realized that their Black beasts of burden—as well as poor, propertyless whites—might revolt. So the Constitution empowered Congress "to provide for calling



forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

Historian Charles Beard points out that Madison skillfully took advantage of the slaveholders' fear of slave rebellions to make a point—while appearing to slight that fear. Madison stated:

"In dealing with the dangers of insurrection, I take no notice of an unhappy species of population abounding in some of the states who, during the calm of regular government, are sunk below the level of men; but who, in the tempestuous scenes of civil violence, may emerge into human character and give a superiority of strength to any party with which they may associate themselves."

The successful use of Black soldiers by the colonists during the Revolution must have been acutely observed by Madison. As early as December 1775, George Washington said, "Success will depend on which side can arm the Negroes faster."

Over 5000 Blacks eventually served in the Revolution and made a significant difference in the winning of the war. Likewise, the almost 200,000 Blacks that served in the Union armies during the Civil War were a decisive factor in the Northern capitalists' victory. It can be seen then, that Madison had perceptive hindsight as well as prescience.

Blacks organize for their rights

Even free Blacks in the North suffered from the hostility and indifference of white society. They began to realize that organization was necessary in order to have any effect against their oppression.

Groups such as the African Society and the African Lodge in Boston and the Free African society in Philadelphia were able to achieve modest successes considering the powerful entrenched interests opposed to social change.

Shortly after the Revolution, Paul

Cuffee, the 21-year-old son of a former slave, angered Massachusetts authorities by refusing to pay his personal tax. He believed that "no taxation without representation" meant that Blacks should be exempted.

But the tax collector said "pay or jail." Cuffee paid, but sent a petition signed by a group of Blacks to the Massachusetts legislature demanding immunity from tax laws because Blacks had "no voice or influence in the election of those who tax us."

Because of the petition, Blacks were eventually granted on paper the same political privileges shared by other Massachusetts citizens.

Political rights stifled

In subsequent years, however, free Blacks were disenfranchised in most of the states. The rise in economic power of the Southern planters—"Cotton was King"—was reflected both in their growing political dominance in national politics and the stifling of the limited political power of Black people.

The right of Blacks to vote was taken away in Georgia in 1789, Kentucky in 1799, Maryland in 1809, Connecticut in 1818, New Jersey in 1820, Pennsylvania in 1830, Tennessee in 1834, and North Carolina in 1835.

Virginia and South Carolina refused the vote to free Blacks from the founding of the Union. Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi entered the Union denying Blacks the franchise.

Laws were passed in the closing decades of the 18th century severely restricting the freeing of slaves. This development was due to the fear of the growing number of free Blacks and their influence on their enslaved brethren. Some were illegally captured and re-enslaved by roving gangs of whites.

In 1797, four free Blacks left the South and filed a petition with the House of Representatives. The petition sought federal protection for themselves and freedom for

their relatives—who had been freed, kidnapped, and resold into slavery. The petition stated in part:

"We beseech your impartial attention to our hard condition, not only with respect to our personal sufferings as freemen, but as a class of that people who, distinguished by color, are therefore with a degrading partiality considered by many, even of those in eminent stations, as unentitled to that public justice and protection which is the great object of government."

But the House of Representatives could not represent Blacks and the white ruling classes at the same time. They were not "impartial," and their "great object of government" was not "public justice and protection."

The "competitive partnership"

The Constitution that the House of Representatives is sworn to uphold was a compromise agreement among the three leading classes that fought the British government—the Southern slaveholders, the Northern commercial capitalists, and the petty-bourgeois proprietors of town and country. Major power was shared by the Northern capitalists and the Southern planters.

With the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, a new social partnership was established among the ruling classes as a result of their combined revolutionary struggle for independence.

Unity against the white and Black masses and disunity because of disparate economic factors laid the basis for a "competitive partnership" of vultures North and South for the spoils taken from the British.

That contest continued for 72 years—with vacillations, retreats, and compromises—until it finally exploded into civil war. In the end, the Southern planters with chattel slavery were overcome by the Northern capitalists with wage slavery. ■