

# A Socialist ACTION

Tawana  
Brawley,  
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50 CENTS

## Nine years after revolution, Nicaragua is still besieged

By CARL FINAMORE

Amid premature claims of an end to the contra war, there have been several reports of renewed military activity inside Nicaragua.

A week after the June 8-10 talks between the Sandinista government and the contra leadership broke down, battles between the army and mercenary forces resumed in remote regions of Nicaragua.

By June 23, seven battles had occurred, leaving 20 contras and three government soldiers dead. A government spokesperson announced that 40 civilians had been kidnapped by the contras during the week of fighting.

"I think it's time to go back and try to rebuild the military stick. Although we may not use it, at least we can show it is there," said former contra directorate leader Alfonso Robelo in late June.

From the outset, the chief negotiating strategy of the contras and their sponsors, the U.S. government, has been to renew the fighting if their reactionary demands were not satisfied during the peace talks with the Sandinistas.

Maintaining a credible military threat at the negotiating table was accomplished with the help of House Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Texas) and most other liberal Democrats who voted for the \$47.9 million aid package approved by Congress in March.

Since this legislation expires in September, a bipartisan congressional delegation has already called for more military funding. Wright has encouraged this by consistently assuring Reagan that "prompt consideration will be given to any military aid request" by the administration.

### The contras' negotiating ploy

During the final day of the latest round of talks, the contra representatives to the peace negotiations—led by Alfredo César and Enrique Bermudez, a former colonel under Somoza—raised new demands they knew

(continued on page 12)



Union members mourn death of co-worker killed by the contras last January. As the Nicaraguan Revolution celebrates its 9th anniversary, Reagan is again appealing to the Congress for renewed military aid to the contras.

## Steps toward labor unity spur S. Africa general strike

By ALAN BENJAMIN

On June 6-8, an estimated 3 million Black workers staged the largest and most effective general strike in the history of South Africa. The strike was called jointly by the 900,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the 400,000-member National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU).

The strike was called to protest the Feb. 24 emergency measures, which ban the activities of 17 anti-apartheid organizations, and the announcement of a new labor bill, the Labor Relations Amendment Bill, which severely restricts the rights of the trade unions.

The general strike was called a "peaceful protest" because the state of emergency does not allow the unions to wage an action of a political character.

In the working-class heartland of South Africa, the Transvaal industrial area around Pretoria and Johannesburg, the strike was 90 percent solid. All seven of the country's major auto-assembly plants were shut down by the strike.

### "Event with deep consequences"

One of the most important—though perhaps most overlooked—aspects of the strike was the fact it was called jointly by the country's two rival trade-union federations: COSATU, whose leadership is politically close to the African National Congress (ANC), and NACTU, whose leadership is politically close to the Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO)

and the Pan African Congress (PAC).

The significance of the joint call, the first ever issued by the two federations, was not lost on the South African capitalists and their media, however. The June 2 issue of the Johannesburg daily newspaper *The Star* referred to the joint call as "an event that will have deep consequences."

What made the united call possible was a

breakthrough in relations between NACTU and the ANC at a meeting held in Harare, Zimbabwe, on May 2-3, 1988.

The joint communiqué issued after the meeting states in part:

"The ANC and NACTU met in Harare from May 2-3, 1988, to discuss matters of mutual concern, including unity of the

(continued on page 10)

## U.S. government attempts to stop Christic Institute inquiry.

See story page 4.



# Are they really 'concerned' about drugs?



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

Drug addiction is no laughing matter in the United States. Thousands of lives have been destroyed and families ruined because of their use. Drugs are not new. Poor and minority communities have been plagued for years by drug users and drug dealers.

For the most part, drugs have been foisted on the Black community by white drug cartels raking in massive profits with the aid and protection of the police department of every large city.

The joke in Harlem is that any child could point out the corner pusher—but policemen could never find them. Usually just before election time there would be a major "drug" and "bookie" bust. Incumbent politicians, up for reelection, would "suddenly discover" that New York City was awash with bookies taking bets and drug pushers pushing drugs.

For weeks before voting time, headlines would scream about the latest arrest of the local bookie or drug pusher. As soon as the election was over, that was the last you heard about pushers or bookies until the next election campaign was upon us.

**A guy named Jack**

My experience was a personal

one. I worked as a waitress in a luncheonette on 86th Street in Brooklyn for a number of years. The local "bookie" was a nice old guy, probably in his 70s, named Jack. He hung around the restaurant most of the day, occupying a corner counter seat, waiting for bettors to come in. He didn't have long to wait.

On one side of the restaurant was a police station and on the other side was a fire house. The perfect place for a bookie to hang his hat! Jack had plenty of customers, from the fire chief to the police chief and all their underlings, plus the local merchants.

I worked there for a few months before I learned that Jack

book from the boss. I was afraid the cops would come in and take a look at my order book. They never did, of course.

Every election time, Jack would disappear for a few weeks. Then he would reappear after the election, saying that he had gone to the country for a vacation.

When Jack died, he had one of the biggest funerals in Brooklyn. The chief of police was the major speaker at his funeral. But the rest of us missed him too. He was not only a nice guy, he was also a good tipper.

**A sinister new "war"**

This so-called "war on drugs" engineered by Reagan and his "war dogs" is far more serious

them has the toughest drug policy. All of the legal policies are aimed not at the big drug pushers and dealers, but at the helpless victims of drugs—the users.

California Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy, who is running for the U.S. Senate against Senator Pete Wilson (R-Calif.), has just come up with his own plan to fight drugs. He proposes diverting \$1 billion from Star Wars to the "war on drugs" and cutting off foreign aid to governments found by the CIA to be involved in drug trafficking.

That's like telling the foxes to check the chicken house for chicken killers.

McCarthy also calls for "transferring" assets seized in drug arrests to so-called rehabilitation programs and mandatory drug education in the schools. He also calls for the death penalty for drug-related murders, increased wire-tapping, and random testing of people in transportation jobs—such as pilots, railroad workers, and truck drivers.

**Are they "concerned?"**

All of this would sound sincere if anyone in the government, either Democrat or Republican, had shown even the slightest interest in our health or welfare. The record of both parties gives the lie to their alleged concern for the "people."

For instance, Congressman Fortney H. Stark revealed that in the last 15 months, the Air Force has spent \$3.3 billion patrolling for drug smugglers and has come up with a grand total of eight drug dealers! How much housing and healthcare could have been provided with \$3.3 billion?

Stark also reported that 90 percent of the people who come forward voluntarily for drug treatment are turned away because of lack of space, resources, and lack of personnel.

"Concern" for our health is contradicted by the politicians' outrageous refusal to stop or even slow down pollution of our environment with chemical and nuclear wastes. According to the Radioactive Waste Campaign, a public interest group in New York City, radioactive pollution is of crisis proportions at all 16 of the Energy Department's weapons laboratories.

Plutonium, one of the most carcinogenic materials known, has been dispersed into the air or water at weapons stations near Dayton, Ohio; Santa Fe, N.M.; and Denver, Colo.

A two-year study by nine researchers concluded that there is "a pattern of gross mismanagement by the department, which is allowing radioactivity to leak out of the sites through soil, water, and air—in many cases intentionally."

Besides runaway pollution, the nation's healthcare is a disaster for the majority of our people and even worse for the poor. The AIDS epidemic remains unchecked and continues to spread because the federal government has failed to provide the funds for a massive research effort to find an effective treatment, means of prevention, or cure.

Meanwhile, infant mortality among Black children is rising. The gap between white infant mortality and Black infant mortality has widened from 64 percent to 98 percent since 1950. Infant mortality for all races in the United States is one of the highest in the major industrial countries.

The truth is that the so-called "drug war" will become, under this economic system, a "war against the poor" and a "war against the user." It will leave the contras and other "lovers of democracy" free to purchase and distribute their poison to the poor around the world.



was a bookie. I found out when he would sometimes borrow my order book, write in it, and then go to the phone.

My boss said that he was writing down bets in my book. That didn't bother me as long as a horse wasn't named BLT with Mayo. But Jack didn't complain when I told him to get his own

than the oldtime wars against bookies. This "war" is sinister and fraught with danger to the people of this country.

Although Reagan is given credit for this "war," the Democrats have jumped in with both feet. In fact the two crooked parties of capitalism are vying with each other to see which of

By TINA BEACOCK

CHICAGO—Some 75 union members armed themselves with the hard facts about apartheid and the role of South African unions at a conference here June 11.

The conference, "From Soweto, South Africa, to Chicago—A Fight for Union Rights and Human Rights," was sponsored by the Illinois Labor Network Against Apartheid, a committee recently launched by affiliates of over 30 unions in the area.

A 20-minute slideshow on the Shell Oil boycott, prepared by the United Mine-workers union, launched the day's program. The slideshow provoked some smiles when it described Shell's accusation against fired oil-workers; they stood accused of "hard-core trade-unionism!" Shell is the largest exporter of oil to South Africa.

The next speaker, Nomonde Ngubo,

## Chicago unionists hear anti-apartheid organizers

described the capacity of the labor movement to effect change in South Africa—and the importance of international solidarity.

Ngubo is now an international representative of the United Mineworkers union and organizer of the Shell boycott. She pointed out that South Africa produces 80 percent of the GNP of Africa and exports 60 percent of the continent's agricultural production. The population has a 70 percent literacy rate—yet the government maintains a virtual slave-labor system with apartheid.

Ngubo explained that "the labor movement has been a blessing for the anti-apartheid movement." Several mass mobilizations have taken place despite the state of emergency. She highlighted the strike by 300,000 miners in 1987 and last month's giant three-day strike that protested restrictions on the trade unions.

Workshops and final conference resolutions focussed heavily on sanctions. But one interesting workshop discussed a wide range of measures that U.S. unions have taken to support the fight against apartheid.

These measures include the International Longshore and Warehouse Union's refusal to handle South African cargo and the campaign—supported by the United Auto Workers union and the United Steelworkers of America—to free Moses Mayekiso, the imprisoned leader of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa.

Another example is the ad co-sponsored by the Illinois Labor Network and published in the Johannesburg Star that supported the June 16 stayaway in commemoration of the Soweto uprising of 1976.

The Illinois Labor Network also co-sponsored a march and rally held in Chicago on Soweto Day. The June 16 demonstration drew some 400 to the South African consulate.

For more information, write the Illinois

Labor Network Against Apartheid, c/o Machinists District 8, 1225 Harlem, Forest Park, IL 60130.



Closing date: June 26, 1988

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

## Calendar of Events

### Cleveland

'A Socialist View of Religion'

Speaker: Prof. Paul Siegel, author  
Friday, July 8, 8 p.m.  
Cleveland Hts. Public Library, 2345 Lee Rd.  
For info: 429-2167

'Blues Jam for Peace in Central America'

Sun., July 24, 4 p.m. on Peabody's Down Under  
Sponsored by Cleveland Central America Network and Cleveland Bay Area Musicians  
Admission: \$8  
\$4 Students & unemployed

### Boston

'The Legacy of Malcolm X: A Film

2 Showings:  
Thur. July 7, 11:45 a.m.  
U. Mass. (Harbor)  
Sat., July 9, 7:30 p.m.  
Cambridge YWCA.  
For info: 497-0230



# June 11: Largest mass demonstration this year



Over 60,000 marched in New York City on June 11.

BY CARL FINAMORE

A June 11 New York City anti-nuclear weapons march and rally drew an estimated 60,000 people, making it the largest U.S. protest to occur this year. A support action in San Francisco attracted 3000.

A coalition of national peace groups called for national actions on June 11 in New York and San Francisco to mark the opening of the Third United Nations Special Session on Disarmament (SSD III). Similar protests also occurred in 1976 and 1982 during SSD I and SSD II.

The New York June 11 demonstration was organized by the SSD III National Coalition. The San Francisco Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice began organizing for June 11 immediately after its successful April 30 march and rally, which drew 12,000 people.

Actions in both cities emphasized the international character of the struggle against nuclear weapons. Five hundred Japanese survivors (Hibakusha) of the Hiroshima/Nagasaki atomic bomb blasts led the New York march, with a smaller number also leading the San Francisco protest.

In a particularly dramatic moment at each rally, the Hibakusha raised the Peace Flame and called for an end to all nuclear weapons. The Peace Flame was ignited in Japan in 1987 by burning roof tiles left from embers of the atomic explosions.

In San Francisco, the Sisters of Mercy accepted the Peace Flame from the Japanese guests for placement in their Peace Sanctuary. Charlene Tshirhart, co-chair of the rally and a leader of SANE/Freeze, noted with shame "that the first atomic bombs destined for Hiroshima and Nagasaki were shipped from Hunters Point Naval Base in

San Francisco on July 16, 1945."

## Impact of New York action

The themes of the New York protest were "to abolish nuclear weapons, to stop military intervention and for economic development and social justice."

Several prominent speakers addressed the rally. Coretta Scott King, president of the Martin Luther King Center in Atlanta, called for cutting the world's military spending to "feed and provide decent housing for every person on earth."

Detroit Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, author of the 1982 Bishops' Pastoral Letter on Nuclear Disarmament, received rousing approval when he said, "We also want to end the greatest lie of all—SDI [Star Wars]."

Other speakers included Garrett Morris, former star of TV's Saturday Night Live; Rabbi Balfour Brickner of the Stephen

Wise Free Synagogue; and Edward Said, Columbia University professor and member of the Palestinian National Council.

It was also the first time that Stas Namin, one of only two government-sanctioned Soviet rock groups, performed at an American peace rally.

## What Next?

In San Francisco, organizers anticipated the small size of the protest because most activists were involved in the California Democratic Party presidential primary elections, which ended only four days before June 11.

Unfortunately, most peace, student, community, and trade-union activists still believe that supporting the Democratic Party presidential ticket is the best way to achieve genuine peace, jobs, and justice. These illusions temporarily preclude a large base supporting mass protests independent of capitalist parties.

These same election pressures affected the New York action as well. The large size of the New York City demonstration is, therefore, particularly impressive.

The chief lesson is that despite most organizing energy being diverted into capitalist electoral campaigns, a united and authoritative coalition would be able to mount a successful mass demonstration against U.S. intervention in Central America and the U.S. military nuclear threat.

It seems unlikely in the short run, however, that such a coalition will emerge. Neither the New York nor San Francisco coalitions plan to continue organizing mass protests in the fall.

Leslie Cagan, national coordinator of the SSD III National Coalition, reported that "there are no further plans for the coalition other than trying to raise money to pay our \$50,000 debt." [To help the SSD III coalition pay back its debt, you can write to 11 John St., Room 803, New York, N.Y. 10038, or call (212) 608-8155.]

The co-chairs of the San Francisco Bay Area Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice will also propose to a July 12 coalition meeting that the group refrain from organizing further mass actions until after the elections.

Thus, the biggest weakness in the anti-intervention protest movement remains — there is no authoritative section of the movement proposing a strategy of consistent mobilizations. ■

## What can you buy for 50 cents anymore?

Not much, that's for sure. You can't even buy a cup of coffee. But with your help, workers, students, and the unemployed will still be able to buy *Socialist Action* newspaper for the low price of 50 cents.

Unlike the capitalist-owned press, *Socialist Action* does not print the news just to sell advertising space. On the contrary, *Socialist Action* prints the news to expose the injustices of capitalism and to champion the struggles of the oppressed everywhere.

We put a *high* price on the truth—but we want to keep our newspaper at a *low* price so we can attract new readers.

Unfortunately, because of recent postal rate increases, we've had to raise our subscription price. But we don't want to raise our cover price. And that's where you—our readers—can make a vital contribution.

In addition to your letters and news articles, we need your money. We are asking you to help us maintain our low cover price by making a monthly or yearly financial pledge to *Socialist Action* newspaper. The goal is to obtain pledges of \$25 or more from 100 *Socialist Action* readers by Aug. 4.

Can you help us? With your monthly or yearly pledge we can continue to reach out to working people with news and analysis that reflects the historic program of revolutionary Marxism. Become a *Socialist Action* sustainer today and help us keep afloat and continue to grow.



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Return to: Socialist Action, 3435 Army St., Rm. 308, San Francisco, CA 94110

By JEFF MACKLER

# Christic Institute lawsuit thrown out by federal judge

On June 23, a Federal District judge in Miami dismissed a landmark suit filed in 1986 by the Christic Institute against key figures who later surfaced in the Contragate scandal. The judge's decision will be appealed, according to Christic Institute general counsel Daniel Sheehan.

Emergency demonstrations called by the Christic Institute and its supporters were held in over 50 cities and towns throughout America to protest this transparent attempt to keep incriminating evidence against U.S. government abuses out of the news during the elections.

The government clearly has reason to be worried.

The Christic Institute, a public-advocacy law firm, has spent \$3 million on the case and has conducted about 75 depositions. There was a list of 2000 potential witnesses.

The plaintiffs in the suit are two U.S. journalists, Martha Honey and Tony Avirgan. These reporters conducted original research into illegal U.S. government funding of the contra operations after Avirgan was severely injured in a suspected CIA bombing on May 30, 1984. Avirgan was covering a press conference of contra leader Eden Pastora in La Penca, Costa Rica.

The lawsuit charges 29 defendants with criminal conspiracy (including the La Penca bombing), drug and arms trafficking, violations of the U.S. Neutrality Law, and other crimes. Among the defendants mentioned in the suit are many who later became implicated in the Iran-Contra scandal.

These include Lt. Col. Oliver North's assistant Robert Owen; retired generals Richard Secord and John Singlaub; bus-

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## The truth behind 'Contragate'

This book contains the facts of the most audacious legal action ever undertaken: the Christic Institute lawsuit against the U.S. government's 'Secret Team.'

'Assault on Nicaragua' includes an introduction by editor Rod Holt; speeches by Daniel Sheehan, general counsel of the Christic Institute, and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega; as well as an essay by Socialist Action National Secretaries Jeff Mackler and Nat Weinstein on the meaning of the revelations for the antiwar movement.

Miami Cubans into contra leader Eden Pastora's ranks; ... he was involved in the La Penca bombing and a subsequent plot to kill Pastora; and ... he had been under investigation in connection with drug trafficking operations."

filed by Daniel Sheehan documented the existence of a "secret team" collaborating at

the highest levels of the U.S. government.

This secret arm of the U.S. ruling class was directly involved in efforts to assassinate and overthrow leaders and governments whose policies the U.S. government opposed. For example, the Christic Institute brief exposed the role of U.S. government officials in the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, the organization of the Shah of Iran's death squads, and a decade-long effort to murder Fidel Castro.

As a result, there have been persistent government efforts to discredit the suit. Most of the defendants complain about having their "activities" so closely scrutinized. They claim that their "rights" to kill, sell drugs, and operate behind the backs of the American people have been violated.

For example, Maj. Gen. John Singlaub, the right-wing super patriot who organized secret and illegal aid to the contras, recently lashed out against the suit as an act of "legal terrorism."

But none of these ploys, nor the lower court's dismissal of the suit itself, can erase the illuminating facts of the case. We owe Honey, Avirgan, Sheehan, and the Christic Institute our continued support as they go through this latest episode of government disruption. ■

## Socialist Action calls third national convention

By ADAM WOOD

Socialist Action is holding its third national convention in the San Francisco Bay Area. The convention will begin on Thursday, Aug. 4, and last through Sunday, Aug. 7.

The national convention is the highest decision-making body of Socialist Action. Delegates from around the country, together with international guests, meet and discuss all aspects of the class struggle and issues facing working people in the United States and around the world.

The tasks and perspectives of socialists in this country will flow from these discussions, and the basic orientation of our party for the next period will be determined by the convention.

The convention is preceded by three months of written and oral discussion involving all Socialist Action members. Socialist Action branches elect delegations based on agreement with the different views

put forward during these discussions. The most democratic discussion possible is organized on all of the questions to be decided.

### 50 years of Fourth International

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the Fourth International, the world movement for socialism founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. To celebrate this anniversary, Socialist Action is holding a rally on Saturday, Aug. 6. [See centerfold.]

Many of the rally speakers will be present throughout the national convention, and workshops are being organized to give these revolutionaries ample time to share their insights and ideas with Socialist Action members and sympathizers.

In addition to Socialist Action members, supporters and friends will be invited by our branches. Socialist Action readers interested in attending the convention should contact the nearest branch for more information.

**'Throughout the trial there were numerous bomb and death threats against the plaintiffs...'**

nessman Albert Hakim; and John Hull, the notorious CIA agent who operates a contra training camp on his farm in Costa Rica.

### Original investigative report

It was Hull who filed a 1985 suit in the Costa Rican courts charging Honey and Avirgan with "injuries, falsehood and defamation of character" after they wrote a report exposing him as a CIA agent. The report had been commissioned by three U.S.-based press organizations.

According to Honey and Avirgan, "Hull works for the CIA and receives money from the U.S. National Security Council; ... he was instrumental in integrating... a group of

Honey and Avirgan also wrote that "Hull was involved in a 1985 plot to bomb the U.S. Embassy and kill the U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica and blame these actions on the Sandinistas, thereby providing a rationale for direct U.S. intervention against Nicaragua."

Throughout the trial, there were numerous bomb and death threats against the defendants and their witnesses. However, much to Hull's surprise, Honey and Avirgan were cleared of all charges in 1986. And the Costa Rican Supreme Court upheld the lower court's decision.

### Christic Institute suit

A week after this ordeal was over, Honey and Avirgan initiated their suit in Miami through the Christic Institute. Since then, hundreds of political meetings and media interviews have been organized by supporters.

Millions of people have learned the truth about the U.S. government's secret operations to subvert the majority interests of the American people. The original brief

## Socialists kick off S.F. election campaign

By ADAM WOOD

SAN FRANCISCO—Socialist Action kicked off its San Francisco city election campaign with a rally on Friday, June 26.

Joseph Ryan, socialist candidate for S.F. Board of Supervisors, and Sylvia Weinstein, socialist candidate for S.F. Board of Education, addressed the rally. Also speaking were representatives of the San Francisco Black Firefighters Association and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union Local 2.

Over \$4000 was raised to support the campaign during the fund pitch.

San Francisco is currently facing a \$179-million budget deficit, and the Democratic party politicians who run the city are forcing workers to pay the bill. Already a wage freeze has gone into effect for all city workers, and 400 have lost their jobs in what the *San Francisco Examiner* has called, "the largest lay-offs in San

Francisco's history."

Joseph Ryan and Sylvia Weinstein explained that the Mayor and Board of Supervisors are only doing their jobs as representatives of the corporations and banks that run San Francisco. If working people want to see education, jobs, and social services come before corporate profits, they are going to have to put up a fight, the socialist candidates said.

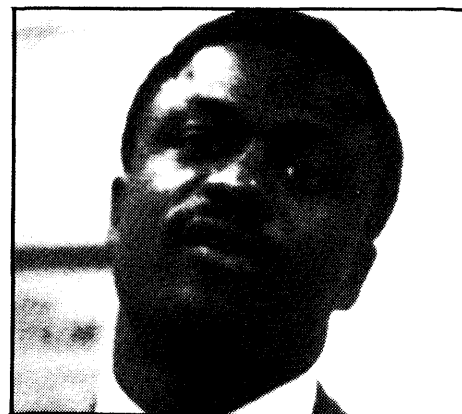
Jerry Butler of the Black Firefighters Association reported on the continuing fight for affirmative action in the San Francisco Fire Department.

Angie Fa of Local 2 told the rally about her union's fight for a fair contract with the city's hotels and restaurants. Both speakers thanked Socialist Action for the help given to these struggles.

Joseph Ryan remarked, "It's no accident that at a socialist election rally you have two activists from struggles in the union movement." ■



Angie Fa



Gerald Butler



Sylvia Weinstein



Joseph Ryan

Photos by Adam Wood/Socialist Action



## University workers on the move

# Victorious organizing drive at Harvard Univ.

By SANDRA RICE

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—On the night of May 17, the spontaneous chant of "union, union, union" reverberated throughout Harvard University's Sanders Theatre. The cheers were in response to the announcement of a union victory. Harvard's 3400 clerical and technical workers (C&Ts) had voted to form their own union, the Harvard University Clerical and Technical Workers Union (HUCTW).

The crowd was small—approximately 300 workers—but energetic. The margin of victory was tiny—44 votes. But workers and organizers present were still elated.

The victorious organizing drive of the new union (affiliated with the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) is potentially both a boost to existing drives and an inspiration for new ones. One can guess that this victory has bosses at Harvard and elsewhere nervous. Right next door at Boston University, clerical and technical workers are in the midst of a union drive.

After the vote, organizers and activists were anticipating immediate contract negotiations. But Harvard administrators—mindful of the drive's potential, the narrow margin of victory, and the general weakness of the new union—came up with plans of their own.

### Move to invalidate election

A week after the count, they moved to have the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) invalidate the election, citing the narrow win margin and alleging instances of union misconduct. Although less than a quarter of such challenges are won, a clear attempt has been made to discredit the union and to delay negotiations.

This is not the first time the Harvard administration has gone to the NLRB. Twice before, C&Ts confronted Harvard's bosses at the Medical Area—but they suffered narrow losses. In 1984, in an apparent attempt to further squash any organizing hopes, the administration appealed to the NLRB, which ruled that the whole campus—not one area at a time—could unionize.

Despite this ruling, despite the bosses' insistence that a union is unnecessary in an academic institution and could "damage Harvard's educational mission," many

employees realized that Harvard is like any other big corporate enterprise. Supporters of the union wore buttons reading, "You can't eat prestige."

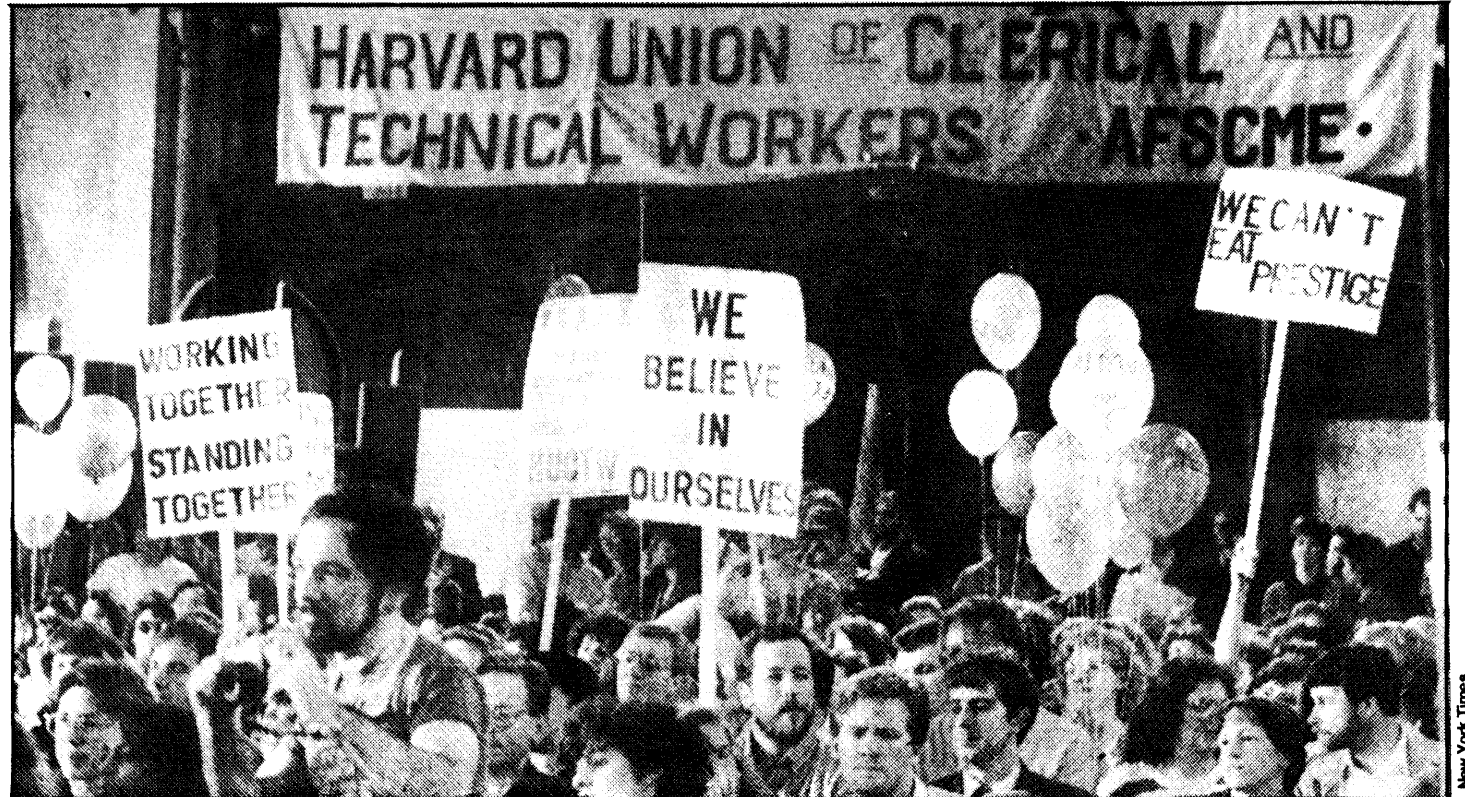
During the drive, union organizers raised important issues (such as daycare and comparable worth) that gained a hearing among the women that make up a majority of the workforce. Unfortunately, HUCTW stressed a technique of "one-to-one" organizing as opposed to that of mass mobilizations. "Strike" was known as the "S-word," and rallies rarely exceeded a couple-hundred activists.

This perspective will have to change in order to effectively combat and prevent future attacks by the Harvard administration. Confidence and solidarity among the workers can only be built by means of large-scale mobilizations and rallies.

Nevertheless, Harvard workers are learning the value of union membership. One worker said, "If we stand up for each other, we're also standing up for ourselves." Another employee of 24 years said, "Once you stand up for yourself, you can never sit down again." And the union does not intend to sit down.

Informational meetings on the contract are going on throughout the campus. It's exciting to hear Harvard workers voice what they believe a good contract should include—health and safety measures, good and affordable daycare, fully paid and decent healthcare, adequate pensions, and pay equity.

These are all things that workers everywhere deserve. The union will make Harvard a better place to work. ■



Harvard clerical workers rally for union recognition.

New York Times

By BARBARA PUTNAM

DETROIT—At the end of July, 905 campus workers at Wayne State University face the expiration of two-year concessionary contracts. The workers include members of United Auto Workers union (UAW) Local 2071, about 200 professional and administrative employees of UAW Local 1979, and members of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP).

In September 1986, the clerical workers fought the concessions tooth and nail during a militant strike. Lifted on a strike wave that had been rolling through Detroit (including AFSCME Council 25 city workers and the public-school secretaries), the campus workers could have made historic gains.

But through no fault of their own, they did not. Their militancy and determination contrasted sharply with the passivity and treachery of the UAW heads.

On Sept. 4, 1986, three campus unions struck together with very enthusiastic and vocal pickets. But by 9:45 a.m., the AAUP leadership broke the tri-union coalition and settled for a concessionary contract that included a 60-percent cost to the employee for medical benefits—something they had agreed not to accept.

This hurt the strike tremendously and created bad feelings between the staff and the AAUP unions. A good many sympathetic professors, however, remained on the picketlines. The student council held a rally and denounced the AAUP leaders for sabotaging the strike.

By the last day of the strike, the Local 2071 strike committee was planning a large demonstration with support from other locals around Detroit. They planned to march across campus, sending strikers into the departments to bring out all workers and teachers in an effort to shut down the university.

These tactics and the explosive strength

# Wayne State workers face takeback drive

of the strike began to frighten the UAW tops and some local leaders. On Sept. 18, 1986, on the advice of the international union representatives, the local leadership settled for a concessionary contract.

### UAW tops urge concessions

The proposed contract included continued frozen step increases, continued merit pay—which was now to be worked into an "across-the-board increase" of 4.7 percent—medical costs of 60 percent to the employee, loss of longevity pay for higher seniority workers, increased parking fees, and negative changes in vacation accruals.

The ratification vote of the ranks was split right down the middle—253 for, 250 opposed. The real roots of the dissension in Local 2071, which has unfolded these last two years, is directly related to the role of the UAW international representatives in the strike and their policy.

The international officials concocted a court-injunction "bogey man" to convince members to go back to work. They feared the strike could completely get out of hand and threaten the cozy relations between the UAW officials and Democratic Party Governor James J. Blanchard's office. At the time, the UAW was conducting a campaign for Blanchard's re-election.

In addition, as a union steward aptly pointed out in the ratification meeting, if the UAW officials gave full backing to the strike, they would be on the spot to defend the Chrysler and GM workers from concessions as well.

It appears that the professors and graduate teachers are in no mood for more conces-

sions this time around. The issue of forming a coalition with the other campus unions will surely come up—as it has in the past.

### Workers and students infuriated

University President David Adamany's heavy-handed, top-down authoritarianism has created very serious morale problems among the faculty. Adamany, who earns more money than any other university president in Michigan (over \$132,000), has been well rewarded for his strikebreaking efforts.

Recently, the Board of Governors hiked up President Adamany's salary by 6 percent—retroactive to last year. At the same time, a tuition increase of 8 percent was approved. This has infuriated workers and students alike, and can be a starting point for unified struggle.

In addition, the university hired an outfit to reclassify all jobs—called the Hay Study. Since there have been no salaries attached to new job descriptions, no one is sure what the reclassifications really mean. Surely, this effort to erode the union and to pit workers against each other will be at the center of upcoming negotiations.

### A more democratic union

Over the last two years of continuous struggle, pressure has built for a responsive leadership, including the formation of "Concerned Members," a local grouping that met regularly, though never as a clearly defined caucus with a definite program.

This grouping has helped establish a

more democratic atmosphere and a keen desire not to accept any further concessions in the ranks. Many bones of contention remain, however. One big source of aggravation in the local is over-reliance on arbitration and other "higher authorities" versus mass forms of struggle.

A strike committee is already in place and has set up a phone tree in the zones. The education committee has held steward-training seminars, and a series of zone meetings have been held with the membership to determine contractual demands.

It is clear, however, that Local 2071 leaders are going to have to face up to a difficult situation without any bluffing. Today there is no broader city-wide strike movement to buoy up the struggle in these negotiations. There should be no over-estimation of the ability to involve several hundred new, mostly young, inexperienced people in the union.

A real test of leadership will be the ability to draw out the bitter lessons of the last contract round. The whole union can then proceed with confidence against an administration hellbent on breaking the unions and the very real prospect of future cave-ins on the part of the UAW international representatives.

On June 15, Students for Socialist Action held a forum on campus concerning the contract negotiations. Although there was a small turnout, the forum received a headline article in the campus newspaper, which has stimulated widespread discussion. ■

# Antiwar organizer, Trotskyist leader Fred Halstead: 1927-1988



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

By FRANK LOVELL

On June 2, 1988, Fred Halstead, a lifelong member of the American Trotskyist movement, died of cancer at his home in Los Angeles. He was 61 years old.

In a certain sense, Fred was born into the Trotskyist movement. His father, Frank Halstead, was a member of the initial Trotskyist organization in this country, the Communist League of America (CLA). But this fact had little or no influence on Fred's subsequent political development. His father died when he was a child and he grew up in the care of his mother.

When Fred joined the Los Angeles

branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1948, he had reached maturity and experienced first-hand some of the worst evils of capitalism, poverty, and war. He was a U.S. Navy veteran and he witnessed the "Bring the Troops Home" movement organized by American soldiers in the Pacific theatre at the end of World War II.

Fred joined the revolutionary Marxist movement at a time when an anti-communist "witch-hunt" atmosphere pervaded the country. This period, which spanned over a decade, was a difficult time for the SWP. But in spite of this, Fred was able to learn the lessons and skills that

would prepare him for the highpoint of his political life as one of the central leaders and organizers of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

## Becoming an organizer

One of Fred's early assignments as a party member was to help in a United Auto Workers (UAW) organizing drive of a plant in Los Angeles. Ernest Mazey, a leading member of the Trotskyist fraction in the UAW, had been sent by the union to help organize this plant. Working with Mazey, Fred learned some of the methods of industrial organizing and also furthered his understanding and appreciation of working-

class politics.

In 1953, he moved to Detroit, Mich., to help reconstitute the SWP branch there after the defection of his friend Mazey and others in the auto industry who had followed Bert Cochran in a split from the party that year.

In 1954, while still in Detroit, he played an important role in organizing strike-support activities for an embattled United Electrical Workers Union (UE) local at the Square D & Co. electrical-parts plant. At the time, Fred was working as a leather cutter in the upholstery department of a GM Fisher Body plant, and he was a member of the UAW.

This strike took place at the height of the McCarthyite "witch-hunt" period. The UE had earlier been expelled from the CIO because it was allegedly "communist-controlled," and strike-support activities by the UAW and CIO officialdom were dominated by fears of red-baiting.

Despite this, Fred was active in winning support for the 108-day strike and succeeded in organizing picketline reinforcements from his GM plant when the UE strikers were attacked by the police.

## Civil-rights and antiwar activist

At the 1954 SWP convention in Chicago, he was nominated—but not elected—to be an alternate to the party's national committee. At the following convention, he was elected to the national committee. Fred was later asked to relocate to New York to strengthen the staff of the SWP's newspaper, *The Militant*.

When the Black civil-rights movement began to unfold with the continuation of the 1955 Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, Fred was *The Militant* reporter on the spot. He was responsible for analyzing the struggle as it unfolded and became acquainted with many of the Black leaders of the civil-rights movement.

In the 1960s, Fred became an active participant in the anti-Vietnam War movement. He was a central player in the organization of massive demonstrations against the war.

In 1968, he was the SWP's presidential candidate and as part of his campaign he went to Saigon to interview American troops and reported their attitudes on the war.

One of the aims of the Halstead

(continued on next page)

A meeting in tribute to Fred Halstead took place on June 19 at the Letter Carriers Hall in Los Angeles. About 300 people attended the event, which was sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party. The following messages were sent to the meeting by Socialist Action members who had worked with Fred for many years.

## Man of action

Thousands of students and young revolutionists in the late 1960's knew Fred as a man of action.

We remember him at numerous Vietnam antiwar conferences and demonstrations emphasizing mass actions and the united front approach. We remember his opposition to dissolving the independent antiwar movement into capitalist electoral political campaigns.

And we remember his quiet voice grow louder, louder and louder, his face twisted and his whole arm extended, in a passionate defense of orienting toward the American GI's and the working class.

He was already in his 40's—old by our standards. But his voice articulated the militancy of a new generation of rebels. He taught us how to fight.

Thousands of young militants identified with him; and he with us. His experience and training in a revolutionary party prepared him for that role. And in that way, perhaps, he served best as a model for young people.

Many of us owe Fred a debt for serving as a national leader of the

# 'He taught us how to fight'

Vietnam antiwar movement. Some of us, in addition, will remember him for demonstrating the living relevancy of revolutionary Marxist ideas. These ideas, and his example, made Fred a vital part of our generation.—Carl Finamore

Carl Finamore is staff director of the San Francisco Bay Area Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice.

## 'Big Red' Fred

I first met Fred in 1946 at public forums of the Socialist Workers Party shortly after we were both discharged from the Navy at the end of World War II. We became close friends, sharing a room at his mother's house, attending UCLA, shipping out as merchant seamen for a while, and ultimately in joining the SWP.

I remember Fred as a big man—not only physically, but in his generosity toward his friends and the people he worked with. He had the capacity to feel passionately about the injustices of capitalism and the struggles of workers in every country.

My children knew him as "Big Red Fred." They and the coming generation of young militants in factories and on

campuses will find the record of his experiences in many working-class battles and his thoughts in books and pamphlets worthy examples in the continuing fight for a socialist future.—Paul Colvin

## Struggle continues

To family, comrades, and friends of Fred Halstead,

I fully share the sorrow felt by all of you at the death of Fred.

Fred will most certainly be remembered for the exceptional leadership he exhibited during the years of protest against the war by the U.S. corporations and their government against the people of Vietnam.

I met Fred soon after joining the Young Socialist Alliance in 1961.

In 1968, we shared the honor of being the Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, thus being able to carry the major political struggles of the 1960s (anti-Vietnam War and Black Power movements) into the political arena—nationally and internationally. Fred courageously presented views against the war to GIs in Vietnam and Japan

during the campaign.

Fred is gone, but like many before him, there is a legacy of inspiration, warmth and uncompromising commitment to social revolution. Let us continue that struggle.—Kwame M.A. Somburu (formerly Paul Boutelle)

June 14, 1988

To the Fred Halstead Memorial Meeting, Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear comrades,

We feel deeply the loss of Comrade Fred Halstead. Many of us worked side by side with Fred for years, in daily party work, in election campaigns, in defense of the Cuban Revolution, and especially in the movement against the war in Vietnam.

In that movement, Trotskyists played a key role in uniting the initially diverse opposition into a powerful mass united front against the war. Fred was in the middle of it all. Wherever the battle lines formed, whether in the decision-making or in the actions, or in the organization of defense guards for the big marches, there was "Big Red Fred" pushing the unifying Trotskyist slogans, "Bring the Boys Home!" and "Out Now!"

His book, "Out Now," gives the name Fred Halstead a permanent and well-deserved place in the history of the struggle against the Vietnam War.

He will be sorely missed, but not forgotten.

—Socialist Action Political Committee



# Socialist Action National Committee endorses SWP presidential ticket

By NAT WEINSTEIN

At its May 7-8 plenary session, the National Committee of Socialist Action decided to give critical support to Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. president and vice president, James Warren and Kathleen Mickells. The decision is a concrete expression of Socialist Action's principled stand in favor of independent working-class political action.

The SWP election platform puts human needs above profits. It is oriented primarily toward defending the interests of American workers in the face of the ongoing attack by the capitalist class.

A recent Warren/Mickells campaign leaflet features the demand for a 30-hour work week with no cut in pay as a key means for combating capitalist unemployment. Their platform also calls for a massive public works program to build and repair schools, clinics, housing, and transportation in order to provide more jobs and at the same time meet pressing social needs.

The Warren/Mickells platform also raises important social and political issues, advancing class interests such as affirmative action for Blacks and others who have suffered from racist hiring practices. It also calls for opposition to American imperialist military intervention throughout the world.

## Break with Trotskyism

However, while the SWP has maintained a principled stand in opposition to the American labor bureaucracy's shameful policy of supporting capitalist party candidates and is still on record in favor of labor breaking from the two capitalist parties and constructing an independent working-class party based on the unions, it is retreating from this principled stand internationally.

The SWP began its break from its revolutionary origins when in 1981 it publicly repudiated Leon Trotsky's Permanent Revolution, the highest theoretical expression of revolutionary Marxism today, and embarked on the road toward Stalinist "theoretical" rationalizations for postponing the socialist revolution to the distant future.

Leon Trotsky, who was along with V.I. Lenin one of the two principal leaders of the Russian October Revolution, has been reduced by the current heads of the SWP to the status of a secondary figure in Russian and world history and a virtual non-person in the history of the SWP.

Trotsky was the intransigent opponent of the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union and the founder of the Fourth International. He had adopted the SWP as his own party while in exile in Mexico, helping to educate the founding leaders of the SWP.

Even James P. Cannon, the undisputed central leader of American Trotskyism and

founder of the SWP, is also being gradually relegated to the shadowy corners of the party's history.

## Tail-ending the Stalinists

More recently, following the logic of this break with its past, the SWP has given political support in South Africa to the Stalinist-dominated, pro-capitalist African National Congress. (The ANC opposes Black majority rule and is programmatically committed to restricting African workers to demands which do not conflict with capitalist interests.)

The SWP has gone so far as to rewrite its political evaluation of the unfolding South African revolution. Its excellent

exclusive positions, and one or the other must ultimately prevail. Unfortunately, the SWP's trend away from revolutionary Marxism foreshadows further retreats and a more definitive abandonment of the principle of class independence.

## Centrality of class independence

The principle of class independence has significance that goes far beyond electoral policy. The logic of supporting capitalist politicians—even as a so-called lesser evil—inexorably leads to supporting capitalists on the economic plane as well.

More exactly, electoral class collaboration is generally a result, not a cause. It begins when labor bureaucrats myopically

working class, and vice versa.

Based on their false conception of class partnership, the bureaucrats advocate wage and benefit givebacks to keep "their" bosses from closing down their jobs. That's why they cry for protectionist trade laws—a policy that pits American workers against their brothers and sisters in other lands.

And the ultimate idiot logic of such *class collaborationist* policies is reached when labor and reformist bureaucrats support "their" capitalist government when it wages war—which in the last analysis is the pursuit of capitalist economic interests by other means.

But here, too, more is involved than the class immorality of pitting worker against worker: Givebacks don't save jobs; they only depress all wage levels!

Wage or benefit concessions to one's own employer to keep him from closing down jobs cannot save an inefficient enterprise from being ruined by its more efficient competitors. Besides, concessions generally lead to the more efficient capitalist insisting on the same sacrifices from his own workers.

This leads to a vicious circle of wage and benefit cuts, with each giveback whetting the capitalist appetite for more. Such a policy can only lead to economic disaster for all working people.

## Guide for effective action

The question of class independence is organically connected to another vital working-class principle—class solidarity.

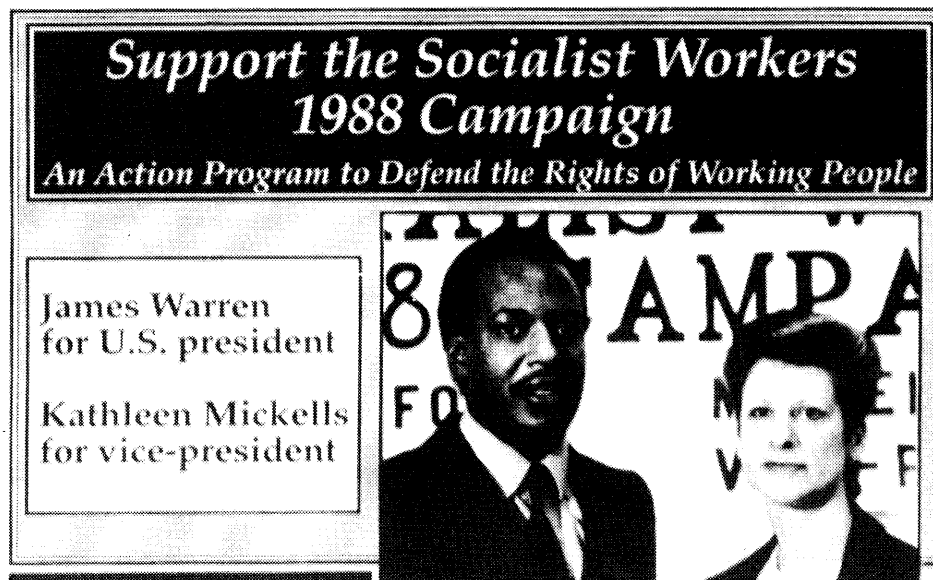
Class solidarity begins on the shop floor and is extended to unite all workers—regardless of their occupation, race, sex, or nationality—in a common struggle for common class interests.

For us in Socialist Action, class independence and proletarian internationalism are not mere abstract principles to be honored ceremonially only during election periods.

They are indispensable guides for effective day-to-day action on the job, in our unions—and when action is necessary in the streets of our cities to oppose capitalist war, racism, sexism, and economic and social injustice. In short, the strategy of class collaboration must be replaced by the strategy of class struggle.

This is why we remain committed to the goal of breaking labor from the strategy of partnership with capitalists and their political representatives. This is why we remain champions of the formation of a working-class party based on the unions—a labor party.

This is why we urge working people to take a small step forward this November by voting for independent working-class candidates for president and vice president, James Warren and Kathleen Mickells. ■



**'The SWP election platform... is oriented primarily toward defending the interests of American workers in the face of the ongoing attack of the capitalist class.'**

book on the subject, "South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt," by Ernest Harsch, has been revised in accord with its new line. The original version published in 1980 before the SWP's break from its past, has since been republished, *under the same title* with a diametrically opposed political line.

The SWP has backslid further by supporting class collaboration in the Philippines, where it gave *de-facto* political support to bourgeois President Corazón Aquino, and to the popular frontist (pro-capitalist) formation in Peru, the Izquierda Unida.

The contradiction between the SWP's support to class collaboration abroad and class independence at home cannot be maintained for long. They are mutually

identify the economic interests of the workers in their plant, or local, or industry, or city, or country with "their" employers' economic interests. This takes the generalized form of subordinating working-class interests to the bosses' "right" to make a "reasonable" profit.

The theoretical justification for this policy is based on the fallacy of a community of interest between capital and labor. Such a concept of "partnership" flies in the face of the most elementary facts of economic life: Since all profits are subtractions from the surplus value produced by workers, a rise in wages tends to reduce profits, and a lowering of wages tends to increase profits. In short, what's good for the boss class is bad for the

## ... Halstead

(continued from previous page)

presidential campaign was to convince the antiwar movement in this country that the great majority of soldiers wanted out, and could be the best and most effective allies of mass demonstrations centered around the slogans "Bring the Boys Home" and "Out Now!"

## Handbook for antiwar movement

A decade later, in 1978, Pathfinder Press published the book "Out Now!" written by Fred Halstead. The book is subtitled: "A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War." But it is much more than that.

Halstead's book is the only carefully researched and complete account of what happened from the first 1965 teach-ins until the end of the war in 1975.

These 10 years constituted one of the most dramatic decades in U.S. history. It

was a time when millions of citizens took to the streets with hope and determination to directly influence the course of history. In his book, Fred explains the social forces at work in this process, and in this way he was able to tell how and why it all happened the way it did.

Others who participated with Fred Halstead in the leadership of the antiwar movement dislike his account because he describes the divisions that developed in political terms that everyone can understand.

The result is a most useful handbook for those of the present generation who are trying—under vastly different circumstances—to understand and influence the course of history and stay the military might of U.S. imperialism.

## Anti-nuclear power movement

During the last 10 years of his life, Fred Halstead, while continuing to serve on the national committee of the SWP, gradually

ceased to play a prominent role in the affairs of the party. From time to time, however, he was called upon to advise in some area of SWP activity, and he occasionally wrote well-researched pamphlets on areas of work the party was involved in.

For example, after the Three Mile Island nuclear-power disaster in the spring of 1979, Fred wrote an educational pamphlet titled "What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power." He also played a leading role in thinking out SWP activity in the anti-nuclear power movement that developed in 1980.

During the 1985-86 Hormel strike, Fred went to Austin, Minn., and turned out a competent report on the events there, which appeared as the pamphlet "The 1985-86 Hormel Meatpackers Strike in Austin, Minn." This pamphlet is informative reading, but it scrupulously avoids drawing any political lessons about a strike struggle that was ultimately defeated by the

employers.

This was no accident of omission. By this time, the SWP had dropped what the Jack Barnes leadership considered its old "Trotskyist" baggage. Unfortunately, Fred went along with these new revisions, rationalizing them with the need for party stability and the lack of an alternative leadership.

He was present at the meeting of the SWP national committee in August 1983 when four members of that leadership body who had tried to defend the basic Marxist principles that Trotskyism stands for were suspended, gagged, and eventually expelled.

But Fred Halstead will be remembered primarily for his contributions. And that's how it should be. His role in the anti-Vietnam War movement, his excellent book on that struggle, his role as educator—and ultimately, his loyalty and devotion to the cause of liberation of the working class—are irrefutable testimony to a life full of meaning and fulfillment. ■

An evening with leaders of the world revolutionary movement

# CELEBRATING 50 YEARS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL



## Justice for Leon Trotsky!

Last month, the Soviet Supreme Court annulled the treason convictions of four leaders of the Russian Revolution who were imprisoned and executed following the Moscow Trials of the 1930s.

"The state which they were creating 50 years ago is giving them back their name," the government newspaper *Izvestia* commented as it announced the "rehabilitation" of Grigory Zinoviev, Lev Kamenev, Karl Radek, and Yuri Pyatakov.

Earlier this year, several other victims of the frame-up trials, most notably Nikolai Bukharin, were cleared of their "crimes."

The Moscow Trials were engineered by dictator Joseph Stalin to eliminate any opposition to his rule. The defendants were charged with a number of improbable activities, including work as agents of Nazi Germany and Japan.

Worn down by torture, Zinoviev and Kamenev confessed at their trial that they had participated in a plot to kill Stalin. The leader of the alleged murder ring was said to be Stalin's most implacable opponent, Leon Trotsky, who was in exile in Mexico.

The *Moscow News* points out in its issue of June 26-July 3: "The main defendant at the trial—in absentia, to Stalin's great dismay—was Trotsky, whom Stalin hated bitterly. Trotsky called Stalin the Revolution's gravedigger in 1926."

But the *Moscow News* fails to mention

that, as the Soviet bureaucracy begins a timid "reevaluation" of its history, the name and the work of Leon Trotsky remain "in absentia." Trotsky, second only to Lenin in prominence as a leader of the revolution, remains little more than a "non-person" in the official history books.

Trotsky's great "crime," in the eyes of the Soviet officialdom, is that he fought Stalin's counterrevolutionary acts without surrender. Stalin's heirs, who remain in power under Gorbachev, can never forgive him for that. To fully exonerate Trotsky would be to reveal his unceasing work for world revolution—which is anathema to Gorbachev and company.

An international campaign is being waged to demand that Leon Trotsky be restored to his rightful place in history and to obtain justice for all the victims of the Moscow Trials. Notable political and intellectual figures from around the world have endorsed the campaign.

This campaign will be the topic of a special presentation at the Aug. 6 Fourth International Celebration in San Francisco. Speakers will include Trotsky's grandson, Esteban Volkov, who has been working to clear Trotsky's name.

Paul Siegel, noted author and co-chairperson of the Moscow Trials Campaign Committee in the United States, will also speak at the Aug. 6 event.

Speakers:

### Rosario Ibarra

1982 and 1988 PRT presidential candidate (Mexico); first woman to run for president

### Saths Cooper

Former president AZAPO; chairman, National Forum of South Africa; close associate of Steve Biko

### Aura Beteta

Former Nicaraguan Consul in San Francisco

### Zbigniew Kowalewski

Author, "Give Us Back Our Factories: Solidarnosc and the Struggle for Workers' Self-Management in Poland"



### Jake Cooper

Veteran of 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike; personal guard for Leon Trotsky in Coyoacan, Mexico; imprisoned under the Smith Act in 1944

### Claudio Mangani

Representative, United Secretariat of the Fourth International

### Jeff Mackler

National Secretary, Socialist Action

### Sylvia Weinstein

Socialist Action candidate for S.F. Board of Education

with special presentations by:

### Esteban Volkov

Leon Trotsky's grandson

and

### Paul Siegel

Co-chairperson, Moscow Trials Campaign Committee

**Saturday, August 6, 1988 7:30 P.M.**

**First Unitarian Church**

**1187 Franklin (at Geary), San Francisco**

**Donation: \$8 For information and tickets call (415) 821-0458**  
**Sponsored by: Socialist Action and International Viewpoint**



Rosario Ibarra

## What is the 4th International?

Following the Russian Revolution of 1917, Lenin and the Bolsheviks built a new organization, the Third (Communist) International, to inspire and lead the struggles of oppressed people around the world.

But the failure of the revolution in the advanced capitalist countries and the ensuing period of demoralization allowed a bureaucratic clique headed by Joseph Stalin to consolidate control in the Soviet Union. Subsequently, the Third International became an instrument of Stalin's self-serving policies.

Following the collapse of the German Communist Party in 1933 (when Hitler was permitted to take power without a struggle), Leon Trotsky concluded that it was necessary to create a new international revolutionary leadership. "The Third International is dead," Trotsky wrote. "Long Live the Fourth International!"

The Fourth International was founded in 1938 by Trotsky and a small number of his co-thinkers. Their purpose in proclaiming the Fourth International was to build revolutionary Marxist vanguard parties in their own countries—and in every country of the world.

The goal of each section of the Fourth International was to win the allegiance of the working class and its allies, leading them in the overthrow of the rule of the international capitalist class and its agents, and in establishing the proletarian dictatorship as a tool for the creation of an international socialist society.

The Fourth International's basic programmatic foundations—which continue the revolutionary perspectives of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Leon Trotsky—have been proven valid with every major development of the international class struggle.

These principles remain the only expression of a rounded and complete perspective for the world revolution. They reject all theories of "building socialism" in a single country, as well as all forms of class collaboration.

Although the Fourth International remains a relatively small propaganda nucleus, its forces and influence in some countries have reached a stage where they can play a direct role in the living class struggle. This is the case of the Mexican Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), for example, which is supporting the presidential campaign of Rosario Ibarra de Piedra.

The Fourth International, despite its size, is the only tendency of the international revolutionary movement that functions as an international organization in more than 50 countries. This is not accidental. It is the product of education and training in internationalism from the very inception of the Trotskyist movement.

Socialist Action is in political solidarity with the Fourth International. It stands firmly on the program and traditions of the Fourth International and of the American Trotskyist movement, which was founded and led by James P. Cannon.



# 'Calling for divestment is punishable by life in prison'

The following is an interview with Akin Odulate, Special Topics Representative of the African Students Association (ASA) of the University of Southern California (USC). Odulate is 22 years old, a Nigerian, and a student at USC majoring in Critical Studies in the Cinema School.

The ASA membership consists of students from at least 11 African countries and Black Americans. They also work within the Students Against Apartheid coalition at USC. This interview was conducted on May 19, 1988, by Kathleen O'Nan for Socialist Action.

**Socialist Action:** Tell me about the African Students Association here at USC and what types of activities it has sponsored in the past.

**Akin Odulate:** The African Association was founded in 1904 by the African students on campus at that time. Its focus then was more on a community level rather than a campus level. It was a lot more social than anything else.

**S.A.:** Has the student movement throughout the United States in opposition to South African apartheid contributed to the change in the ASA's activities?

**Odulate:** Yes, I think it has. It has brought it more to the front of everyday life. There are people taking active mea-

sures against this. When I first joined, the focus for me was a moral one.

**S.A.:** How is the issue of South Africa taken up among students?

**Odulate:** Students are concerned specifically about this university's investments in South Africa. That is the most direct issue facing us on this campus.

**S.A.:** How heavily invested is the university in South Africa?

**Odulate:** Between \$26 and \$30 million. So most of the activities that we are undertaking are specifically to call for divestment in South Africa. The university formed a committee about two years ago to look into divestment. So far, the committee has met only once.

**S.A.:** I've heard that the South African government has shown its face on campus. Is this true?

**Odulate:** Yes. We got information before we had our last demonstration that the South African consulate was sending out observers to get pictures of any South Africans involved, so we ordered all South African students not to turn up.

**S.A.:** What are the laws of South Africa regarding South African students who discuss apartheid while they're abroad?

**Odulate:** Basically, you don't discuss internal policies of South Africa. South

African students are not supposed to get involved. Calling for divestment is punishable by life in prison.

I know of one incident where Black South African students in this country have been approached by South African secret police. So for a South African student, it's a very, very serious decision to make whether or not you're going to get active. A lot of them—and I don't blame them—would rather just stick to their books and do what they can.

**S.A.:** But more and more are becoming involved now. What impels them to do this now, as opposed to two years ago?

**Odulate:** The growing support that they're getting.

**S.A.:** What plans does the ASA have here for the future?

**Odulate:** Basically, we want to make sure the issue of South Africa is on everyone's mind and also to give the Africans on campus a better image. For instance, one professor said that Africans had a lot of AIDS because they were promiscuous.

When people feel that there will be no retribution for what they say about Africa, they feel they can take a free season on Africa and Africans. We took it up with this professor and wrote him a pretty strong

letter and we received a letter of apology.

**S.A.:** In the past few months, there have been some very successful demonstrations on the campus by Palestinian and other Arab students. Are these the types of demonstrations the ASA would support?

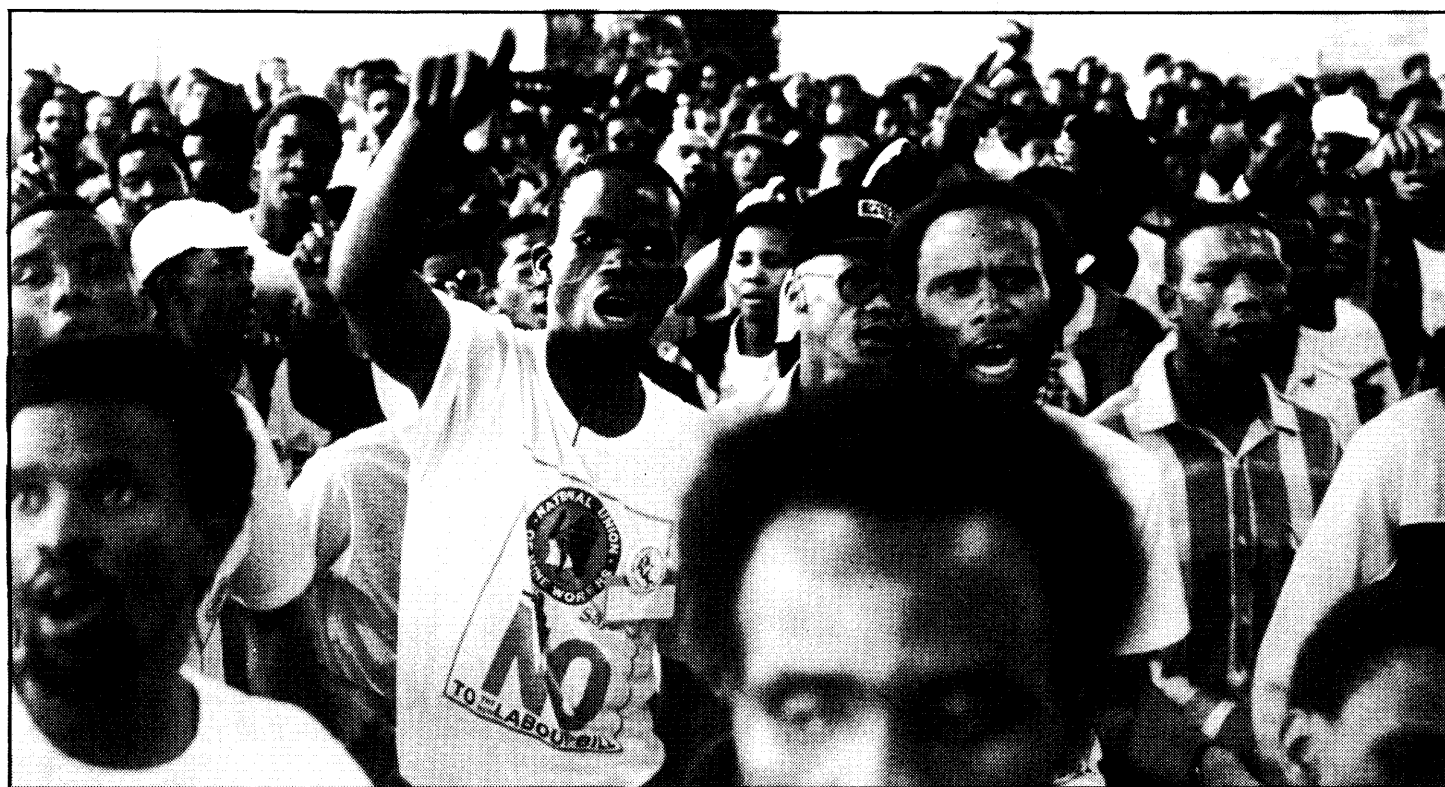
**Odulate:** Oh, yes. In fact, we've been working on a joint forum with the Palestinians. For the ASA, these are moral issues. We feel you come to a university to get prepared for life. You should be learning to decide what is right and what is wrong in life.

For apartheid to be going on and for the university to be actively investing in such a country—it's not as if they couldn't invest their money somewhere else and make just as much, if not more money. They could do that. But they refuse to do it.

They're telling us that they don't give a damn. But what they don't realize is that some day these African students are going to go back to their countries and become leaders of those countries in the future. And the impressions they take back now will be very important to the way America stands with Africa in the future.

**S.A.:** In the time that you've been in the United States, which has been less than a year, you have acquired certain impressions about the country. What is your impression about the American working class?

**Odulate:** My family was always very pro-American. But since I've been here, my illusions have been shattered. I see that the American government stands for one thing, and the American people stand for another thing. What America says and what America does are two different things. ■



National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) delegates at a special meeting of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) convened in May.

## Save the Sharpeville Six

Six young people from Sharpeville, South Africa, have been condemned to the gallows—convicted of murder and arson. The apartheid regime has refused to consider the appeals for clemency submitted by many heads of state, including President Reagan. The execution is scheduled for this month.

In the wake of the Sharpeville rent strike of September 1984, a government collaborator was stoned to death by an angry crowd. The defendants were charged merely with being in the vicinity at the time. Their convictions stand as an example of the Nazi-like principle of "collective guilt."

When two trial witnesses revealed that police had forced them to give false testimony, defense attorneys obtained a temporary stay of execution. But on June 13, a Supreme Court judge denied their appeal on procedural grounds.

The Sharpeville Six have only one legal course of action left open. They must obtain a pardon by either the chief justice of the Supreme Court or President P.W. Botha.

Time is running short. We must redouble our efforts to save their lives!

Trade unions, civil-liberties organizations—and all people around the world who support human rights—can join together in mass protest actions demanding freedom for the Sharpeville Six.

In addition, telegrams urging clemency should be sent to President P.W. Botha, the State President's Office, Private Bag X213, Pretoria 0001, South Africa. Send copies to Ambassador Dr. Piet Koornhof, Embassy of South Africa, 3051 Massachusetts Ave., Washington D.C. 20008. ■

## ... General strike

(continued from page 1)

labor movement. The meeting was held in a calm and friendly atmosphere....

"Both organizations recognized that unity in action is a prerequisite for the quick defeat of apartheid. To this end, both organizations agreed that it was imperative for the labor movement inside the country to strive toward unity with the eventual objective of a single labor federation."

[Following the meeting, the NACTU delegation issued its own press statement, which is printed elsewhere on this page.]

### United front advocated

It is also important to note that a specific trade union of COSATU, the Commercial and Catering Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA), played an important role in promoting trade-union unity by publishing and widely distributing a poster which stated:

"Fight the bill! Unity between NACTU and COSATU! United Front between COSATU, NACTU, AZAPO [Azanian Peoples Organization], UDF [United Democratic Front], and other progressive organizations. (Signed CCAWUSA, Johannesburg branch)

The development of these two mass labor

The following is the press statement by the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) on the May 2-3 meeting with the ANC.

A five-person delegation of NACTU, led by President James Mndawani, met with the delegation of national executive committee members of the ANC, led by Secretary General Alfred Nzo.

The meeting took place on the eve of the International Labor Organization conference against apartheid. Following an exposition of NACTU's formation, its principles and policies, the ANC explained their assessment of several urgent issues facing the oppressed and exploited in South Africa.

The meeting then discussed the urgent need for unity in action among all the mass democratic organizations operating inside South Africa. In exploring the basis of unity it was agreed that:

1) The Freedom Charter is not the prerequisite for unity.

2) All the legitimate organizations, of whatever persuasion, have a direct and meaningful role in the national liberation struggle.

3) Such a role has to evolve on a democratic and principled basis.

4) Unity within the opposition forces, including the trade-union movement, is essential in the present crisis.

5) NACTU reiterated its commitment to the establishment of unity in the working class.

6) The meeting agreed that there were more issues on which the parties agreed than those they disagreed on.

federations, and the prospect of further joint actions and a possible merger, has the South African ruling class sitting on a powder keg. As the three-day general strike attests, it has added a new dimension to the decades-long struggle against the apartheid regime. ■

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# Tawana Brawley case: The victim is turned into the criminal

Recently, Glenda Brawley invoked the age-old practice of seeking sanctuary in a church to avoid prosecution by Dutchess County New York officials. Brawley's actions merited continuous coverage by no less than *The New York Times*, which went so far as to note when she moved from one church to another.

While stating that the concept of sanctuary is no longer legally recognized, law-enforcement officers hesitated to remove her from the church and take this fugitive into custody.

What atrocities against the well-being of the people of New York have been committed by this "criminal?" Has she been involved in selling heroin to school children, mass murder, or armed robbery? Or is she perhaps a wanted white-collar criminal who has swindled the government, embezzled millions of dollars, or trafficked in illegal arms sales to some foreign government?

Brawley has done none of these things. Rather, she recently failed to appear before a grand jury which was supposed to be figuring out who was responsible for an attack on her 16-year-old daughter, Tawana.

## Attempts to discredit Tawana

Six months ago, Tawana Brawley was discovered wrapped in a garbage bag with chunks of her hair cut off. Her upper torso was smeared with animal feces, and racist epithets were scrawled over her body.

The Black teenager had been missing for four days. She gave an initial incomplete statement to the police indicating that she had been held captive and assaulted by up to six white men, one of whom had shown a police-like badge. She made identifications of three of the men—a county cop among them.

Her accusations have been met with nothing but scepticism by both the authorities and the major press. The focus of both local and federal officials has been on efforts to disprove Tawana's story—rather than to discover what happened to her and investigate those she identified as being among her attackers.

Articles in the press have discussed her family history and supposed character. Photos taken in the hospital were leaked to the press of Tawana, then 15, partially unclothed.

This type of coverage and cover-up by media and government officials is most reminiscent of the response a few years ago to the Atlanta Child Murders. As a committee of mothers of the missing and murdered children was formed, they and their children were vilified in the press.

Several parents were told their children must have run away. Other parents who had just buried children were accused of murdering them. All of the children were depicted as "street hustlers," doing anything and everything for a buck, bringing whatever horrors had occurred upon themselves.

Law-enforcement agencies did not even begin investigating the deaths as linked until the buildup of a national public outcry. With the national spotlight on Atlanta, local elected officials continued to spend their time in going after the leaders of the mothers' committee, claiming they had appropriated funds, and so on.

In the present case, little or no account seems to be taken that whatever the specifics may be, this young woman was discovered in a state which at the least indicates she suffered a very traumatic and devastating experience.

## A racist court system

With the state's machinery concentrating on attempts to undermine the plaintiff's credibility, the Brawley family, in consultation with two attorneys, has simply refused further cooperation with the state until a special prosecutor they can trust is appointed.

In what has been described as a "red-neck county," both the Dutchess County district attorney, William Grady, and a local special prosecutor excused themselves from the case, stating an unspecified conflict of interest.

The governor's appointee, Robert Abrams, the current state attorney general, hardly is one to inspire confidence—given his refusal to take aggressive actions

against those previously charged with racist acts in New York state. Soon after his appointment, he attempted to assign a D.A. to the case whom the Brawley lawyers had already rejected.

The Brawleys and the team around them do not expect justice from a racist and sexist court system. They view their nonparticipation as a method of exposing the bias of the corrupt judicial machinery.

While the course the Brawleys have chosen is understandable, their continued silence, along with the emphasis on one prosecutor over another, is stymying their supporters. The silence leaves a gap in public information, which gets filled with speculations and innuendos.

## Defectors from defense team

How easily this can be done has been demonstrated during the past month, when two former supporters went to government officials and the media with claims that the Brawley lawyers and advisers are doing everything from spying on each other to perpetrating a hoax on everyone.

State officials have urged the attorney general to investigate the attorneys rather than Tawana Brawley's charges. The grand jury is now reportedly doing just that.

And what is the substance of these statements by the defectors from the Brawley camp? Samuel McCleave was paraded through the media after claiming that he had been hired by a Brawley adviser to make secret tapes of discussions among them. He is now reportedly being indicted for perjury after his tapes, quickly presented to the grand jury, turned out to be blank.

After earlier alleging that the whole case was "a pack of lies," Perry McKinnon, a former cop who is now a security guard, in a six-hour interview with *The New York Times* on June 21 could only say that he still doesn't know what happened to Tawana Brawley last November, and he doesn't know whether the lawyers know.

Nevertheless, McKinnon quotes Brawley's lawyers as stating that they knew "they had no evidence" against some of the white officials accused. This is not a surprising statement, if true, given the relationship of forces—a young Black woman's word against white law-enforcement officers. Nor is it unusual for a victim of a crime not to have all of the proof needed to convict the attackers.

## Victim carries burden of proof?

What deserves comment is that the Brawleys, rather than the law-enforcement

agencies involved, are expected to make the case for the prosecution. Unfortunately, this is not so unusual either. Blacks and other minority groups are easily accused and convicted of crimes in this country with little or no proof being offered. It doesn't work well the other way around.

Nor is it unusual for any woman making an accusation of sexual misconduct in this society to have difficulty proving that she was attacked. Rape is just about the hardest crime to gather evidence for and to prove. The common assumption still prevails that a woman who is attacked "asks for it."

What is rare is for the victim of a crime to need lawyers to defend herself or himself. There is little question that had Tawana Brawley been born white and her attackers Black the scenario being played out would be very different. A quick look at the history books during any period of this country's history readily confirms this.

## Tactical errors

The Brawley lawyers are certainly attempting to use the case to further expose the racism inherent in U.S. life today and are taking a great amount of heat for this. Illusions that the court system is fair and impartial are just as dangerous to those fighting for social change as are illusions in politicians of the two-party system.

The lawyers deserve no condemnation for seeking to expose the system which serves the rich and not the workers of this country. However, the "non-cooperation" policy is backfiring and eroding support. The fight for one prosecutor over another has become a diversion delaying the case.

The lawyers, moreover, have not correctly assessed the meaning of the direct appointment by New York Gov. Mario Cuomo of State Attorney Robert Abrams

as special prosecutor. Abrams' appointment puts the responsibility directly on the highest elected officials in the state for any further attempts to sweep this case under the carpet and continue the cover-up.

Tawana Brawley's testimony before a grand jury would eliminate the excuses and allow supporters to demand that these officials use all of the force of the state to bring the guilty parties to justice.

## Importance of mobilizations

The mobilizations of people demanding justice for the Brawleys are the reason the case continues to be front-page news. In the Howard Beach case, similarly, mass street demonstrations forced the news media and the court system to respond to the public outrage. Some convictions were obtained.

The Brawley family is committed to seeking justice for Tawana. The best way to expose the perpetrators of this attack is to get out the facts of the case. Without the truth being known, the potential to mobilize large numbers of people is being lost.

Black, women's, and Latino organizations, labor unions, and all others dedicated to civil liberties and simple human dignity should support the Brawleys' cause and join in demanding an investigation and action by the appropriate authorities.

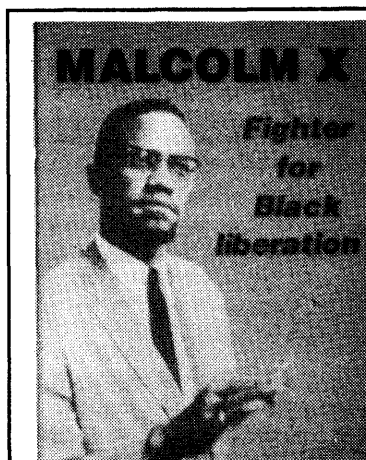
In the meantime, Glenda Brawley, who never should have been called to testify, still faces the maximum penalties of 30 days in jail and a \$250 fine for not appearing before a grand jury which her life experience told her not to trust for one moment. They're ready to put her into jail as soon as she leaves the sanctuary of the church.

Hands off Glenda Brawley!  
Justice for Tawana Brawley!



Tawana Brawley leaves the Brooklyn church where her mother was given sanctuary.

Frank Ziff/AP



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# Nicaragua wage-price measures undermine support for revolution

On June 14, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega lifted wage and price controls and once again devalued the currency, the córdoba, in a move most observers characterized as a further step toward reinforcing Nicaragua's market economy.

Speaking on nationwide television, Ortega said the economy could survive only by adopting measures "similar to those taken by capitalist countries." He said that from now on employers and workers would agree on wages independently, and prices would be regulated only by market conditions.

Ortega also announced that the government would remove subsidies on a dozen or so staples and products.

These new measures came exactly four months after the government instituted a series of sweeping economic and monetary reforms aimed at curbing the rampant inflation and boosting production. [For more on the February reforms, see the June 1988 issue of *Socialist Action*.]

Ortega's decision to lift wage and price controls represents an open acknowledgment that the February reforms had failed to achieve their goals. Since February, the annual inflation rate has climbed to close to 2000 percent, while industrial production has dropped by 34 percent. Since March, according to government officials, over 6000 public employees have been laid off.

## Sharp attack on workers

Immediately after the price controls were lifted, prices of basic goods and services skyrocketed to unprecedented levels.

The price of a tank of cooking gas, which lasts an average family about one week, rose overnight from 45 córdobas to 400 córdobas. The price of a gallon of gasoline shot up from 15 córdobas to 175 córdobas. And the list goes on.

Yet while prices jumped an estimated 1200 percent in just two days, the desperately low wages went almost unaffected.

The Nicaraguan government, which is one of the major employers in the country, decreed an immediate 30-percent wage hike—which is next to nothing. The average wage of a public employee is approximately 2300 córdobas a month. The private producers, for their part, announced that wage increases would be contingent on increased production and profits.

## Protests from the workers...

The day after Ortega's speech, two pro-Sandinista public-employee unions—the National Teachers' Union (ANDEN) and the Health Workers Union (FETSALUD)—marched to Ortega's presidential office to demand substantial wage increases.

The Sandinista Trade Unions Confederation (CST), which organizes most industrial, construction, and transport workers, has come under increasing pressure from its membership to fight for wage increases.

Some CST union leaders interviewed in *Barricada*, the Sandinista National Liberation Front's daily newspaper, have

even called for a sliding scale of wages to keep up with the pace of inflation. This demand has been systematically rejected by the government.

Miguel Perez, a CST leader at the EMEMSA plant told *Barricada* (May 19) that "the CST should be more concerned about the economic needs of the working class" and "pay attention to see that the government fulfills commitments made to the workers."

## ...Applause from the bosses

Yet while the lifting of the wage and price controls was met with anger—often bitter and heated—by the working class, Ortega's declarations were greeted with praise and applause by the Nicaraguan capitalists.

Enrique Bolaños, the president of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), told the right-wing daily *La Prensa* that Ortega's June 14 measures were

resolve the economic problems we face...I am in complete agreement with the measures and I applaud them. I congratulate the government for having taken them."

The June 17 issue of *La Prensa* ran an editorial in support of the measures titled "Returning to Capitalism."

## Government at an impasse

The series of economic measures implemented by the Nicaraguan government in the past few months reflect the impasse of the government's model of the "mixed economy" (part public, part private).

The Sandinista government is acutely aware that the Nicaraguan capitalists are sabotaging the economy and contributing to the economic havoc in order to divert mass discontent against the government.

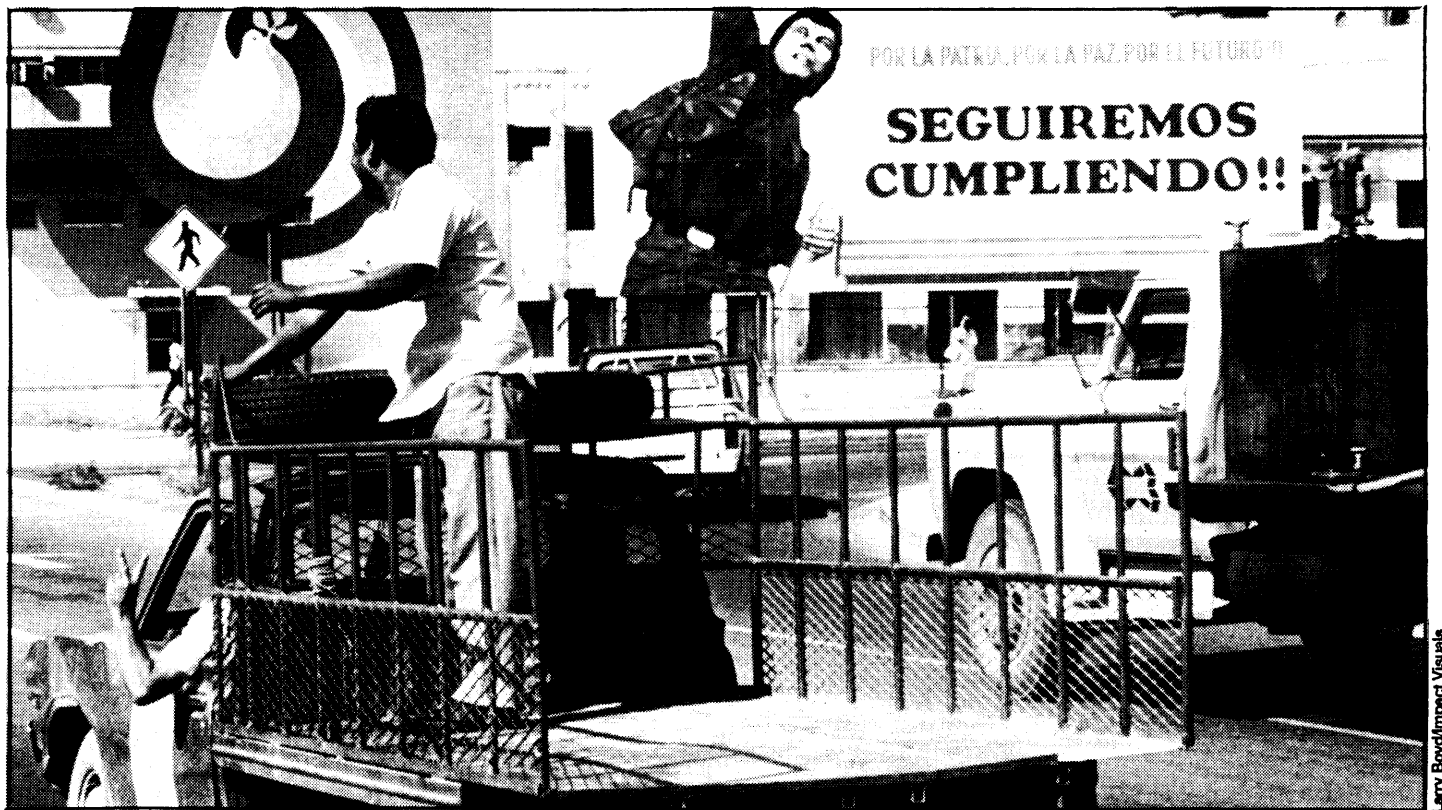
An article in *Barricada Internacional* (May 19, 1988), for example, notes that "the capital flight [by the large agro-export

Ortega and the Sandinista leadership have reiterated their commitment to the capitalist mixed economy.

In his June 14 speech, Ortega said, "For geopolitical reasons, we have not taken profound steps like those taken in Cuba, where private property has been abolished.... We cannot think of abolishing private property."

The "geo-political reasons" mentioned by Ortega appear to be a reference to the Soviet bureaucracy's public unwillingness to provide the economic and political assistance to the Nicaraguan Revolution that Ortega and the Sandinista leadership feel would be necessary to enable them to take the "Cuban road." Ortega has stated this much in the past.

But the Sandinistas, if they are to retain the allegiance of the workers and farmers of Nicaragua, have no alternative but to take the road the Cuban Revolution took in



Downtown Managua, 1986. Sign reads: "For the country, For peace, For the future: We will do our duty."

"timid and belated, but were headed in the right direction." He continued, "Now all that is needed is for the government to lift its monopoly on foreign trade."

Ramiro Gurdían, head of the National Union of Agricultural Producers of Nicaragua (UPANIC), was more forthright in his support of the measures. He told the pro-Sandinista daily *El Nuevo Diario* (June 16):

"I have to recognize that the government has imposed an economic plan which meets the current needs of our country. These measures are designed, for the first time, to

producers] totalled \$500 million in 1987, slightly less than export earnings that year. Credit was also used in speculative activities within the country...leading to an increase in production costs and the acceleration of inflation."

The government has also criticized the capitalist cotton and rice growers who have threatened in recent weeks to reduce planting and lay off workers unless the government agrees to raise prices for their products even further.

Yet despite all this evidence of open warfare by the capitalists on the revolution,

1960 when it embarked on a socialist course.

The capitalists in Nicaragua will settle for nothing less than the removal of the Sandinista government and the reversal of all the gains of the revolution. They—just as their international counterparts—cannot be counted on to help increase production to salvage the economy and the revolution.

By implementing austerity measures aimed at bolstering the market economy, the Nicaraguan government is only undermining its support among those who made the revolution. This is a recipe for disaster.

## ... Nicaragua

(continued from page 1)

the Sandinistas could not accept. This was a transparent attempt to set the stage for the renewal of the military campaign.

For example, the contra leaders demanded the immediate separation of the Nicaraguan army from the Sandinista government, an immediate general amnesty for all detained contras and ex-Somoza National Guardsmen, and the right to unrestricted political activity by contra forces.

According to U.S. lawyer Paul Reichler, who has been a key adviser to the Nicaraguan government throughout the talks, the Sandinistas were willing to make important political concessions to the contras in order to end the war. But they were only willing to do this in stages—not immediately, as the contras now demanded.

According to Reichler, the contras' decision to up the ante at the latest round of negotiations came as a surprise to him and to the Sandinistas. He told the press how

he had met secretly with contra leader Alfredo César in Washington, Miami, and Managua to work out all the details of a final settlement.

Reichler said that the political reforms and timetable put on the table at the June meetings by the Nicaraguan government had actually been drafted by César and approved by three other members of the contra directorate.

At the last minute, however, César and the other contra negotiators raised new demands, and thus the talks broke down.

Following the collapse of the talks, Humberto Ortega blamed Enrique Bermudez, the top contra military commander, for "sabotaging" the talks. He also denounced Alfredo César for bending to the pressures of the contra military brass and for reneging on his word. César responded by stating that his meetings with Reichler had been "informal" and therefore not binding.

## "Reconsidering military aid"

Predictably, after the negotiations broke down, contra representatives flew to Washington to demand renewed military aid. There they received a sympathetic

reception.

Chief contra negotiator Alfredo César emerged from these meetings in mid-June with congressional leaders emphasizing that the new contra-aid proposal was gaining bipartisan support.

"It's time for Congress to admit that we gave negotiations our best try, but so far they've failed miserably and it's time to reconsider military aid," warned Rep. Richard Cheney (R-Wyo.), who sponsored a bill that would have allowed the CIA to use its secret budget to fund the contras..

At the same time, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias accused the Sandinistas of "intransigence."

This propaganda offensive is calculated to strengthen the contras' hand at the negotiating table. And unless they receive more concessions from the Nicaraguan government, the mercenaries will undoubtedly resume their U.S.-sponsored marauding raids.

The anti-intervention movement will better respond to these threats once current illusions in the peaceful intentions of the Democratic Party and the Arias Peace Plan are cast aside.

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Marchers at June 4 rally in Chicago protest Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

# Israel's answer to Uprising: 'Expel the Palestinians'

By RALPH SCHOENMAN

An important story that went largely unnoticed was carried by *The Washington Post* on its front page on Feb. 7, 1988, under the headline "Expelling Palestinians: It Isn't a New Idea and It Isn't Just Kahane's."

Two Israeli journalists, Yossi Melman, diplomatic correspondent of the Israeli daily, *Davar*, and Dan Raviv, London-based CBS News correspondent, disclosed that barely two weeks after the end of the June 1967 war, secret Israeli cabinet meetings were convened to discuss the "resettlement of Arabs."

The information was obtained from private diaries kept by Ya'acov Herzog, director general of the Prime Minister's office. The official transcript of the meeting remains secret.

According to the *Post* article, Prime Minister Menachem Begin recommended the demolition of the refugee camps and the transfer of the Palestinians to the Sinai. Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir and Foreign Minister Abba Eban, both Labor Zionists, disagreed. They called for

the transfer of all the refugees "to neighboring Arab countries, mainly Syria and Iraq."

The 1967 cabinet meeting did not reach a decision.

"Sentiment seemed to favor Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon's proposal that the Palestinians ... should be transported to the Sinai desert," the *Post* article states. Accordingly, the Prime Minister's office, the Defense Ministry and the army jointly set up a "secret unit charged with 'encouraging' the departure of the Palestinians for foreign shores."

The secret plan was revealed by Ariel Sharon before a Tel Aviv audience in November 1987, when he disclosed the existence of an "organization" which for years had transferred Palestinians to other countries, including Paraguay, with whose government Israel had made the necessary arrangements.

These "transfers" were handled by the Israeli military governor's office in Gaza. When one of the transferees, Talal ibn-Dimassi, attacked the Israeli consulate in Asunción, Paraguay, killing the Consul's secretary, complications ensued:

"The attack in Paraguay put an abrupt end to the secret Israeli plan which the government had hoped would help solve the problem of the Palestinians by exporting them," the *Post* article states.

Over 1 million people were contemplated for "transfer." Only 1000 were successfully sent out.

Melman and Raviv emphasize that the relocation of Palestinians is not new "as the 1967 cabinet discussions show." They state that a similar scheme would be attractive to a growing number of Israelis "as they watch the recent uprising in the West Bank and Gaza."

## An option long considered

The authors acknowledge that the removal of the Palestinians has been the central focus of Zionist planning since the inception of the movement. They write:

"Since the early days of Zionism, resettlement has been an option for dealing with the problem posed by the large Arab population in the historical land of Israel."

Melman and Raviv recount a series of schemes which were designed to effect the removal of the Palestinian people. The East bank of the Jordan River [the state of Jordan] was contemplated, a scheme indicated in March 1988 in a full-page advertisement republishing a column by George Will which equates Jordan with Palestine.

Labor Zionists and Revisionists were united on the necessity to transfer the

Palestinians elsewhere. Vladimir Jabotinsky spelled out the various efforts made since World War I in a letter written in November 1939:

"We should instruct American Jewry to mobilize a half billion dollars in order that Iraq and Saudi Arabia will absorb the Palestinian Arabs. There is no choice: The Arabs must make room for the Jews in Eretz Israel. If it was possible to transfer the Baltic peoples, it is also possible to move the Palestinian Arabs."

By 1947, Labor Zionists and Revisionists joined together in the mass expulsion of 800,000 Palestinians. In 1964, a young Israeli colonel named Ariel Sharon instructed his staff to determine "the number of buses, vans and trucks required in case of war to transport ... the Arabs out of northern Israel."

In 1967, Israeli military commanders began the process.

"One general sent bulldozers to demolish three Arab villages near Latrun on the road to Jerusalem, expelling their residents."

Such an expulsion order was issued for the West Bank city of Qalqilya and then cancelled.

Since the Uprising began in December 1987, Michael Dekel of the Likud has taken up the call "to transfer the Arabs," and Gideon Patt, a government minister from the Liberal Party, has declared that the Palestinians should be placed on trucks and sent to the border.

Melman and Raviv conclude with the following prognosis:

"Kahane's message—expel the Pales-

tinians or risk losing control of the land of Israel—remains a potent one. And in the absence of a political solution to the Palestinian problem [*sic*], Israel may be pushed toward desperate measures."

## A warning by Sharon

It is in this context that Ariel Sharon's declaration of March 24, 1988, is to be assessed. Sharon stated that if the Palestinian uprising continued, Israel would have to make war on its Arab neighbors. The war, he stated, would provide "the circumstances" for the removal of the entire Palestinian population from inside Israel and from the West Bank and Gaza.

That these are not idle remarks or restricted to Sharon became clear when Yossi Ben Aharon, director general of the office of the Prime Minister, declared in Los Angeles:

"Israel has acquired a reputation of not waiting until a potential danger becomes actual."

Ben-Aharon was referring to the acquisition by Saudi Arabia of silkworm missiles from China intended to menace Iran. The Israeli declaration was taken very seriously by the Saudis, President Mubarak of Egypt and the Reagan administration, inducing a "flurry of diplomatic activity."

The March 23, 1988, *New York Times* reports:

"The Reagan administration has expressed its concern that Israel not conduct any pre-emptive attack on Chinese-built missiles purchased recently by Saudi Arabia. ... Israel has not given a definitive reply to the Administration's appeals to refrain from attacking the Saudi missiles. The missiles ... were discussed during Mr. Shamir's visit to Washington last week."

Within two days of Ben Aharon's statement, Hosni Mubarak warned Israel that Egypt "would react to an Israeli attack on Saudi Arabia's new medium-range missile sites as 'firmly and decisively' as if it were an attack on Egypt itself."

This statement was followed by Mubarak with a second declaration in what was described as "a deepening crisis."

"Mubarak told reporters that he took a 'grave' view of reports that Israel was considering a preemptive air strike to destroy the missiles. ... 'This is a grave, grave matter. An Israeli attack ... would blow up the entire peace process. I warn against any attack on Saudi Arabia which is a sisterly and friendly country.'"

These public responses by President Mubarak indicate that the possibility of an Israeli adventure, intended to provide cover for expulsion of the Palestinians and to fragment Saudi Arabia, the paymaster of the Arab regimes, is not an idle one.

The timing of *The Washington Post* story of Feb. 7, 1988, may be more than fortuitous. The Israeli authorities have no answer to the uprising of the Palestinian people other than intensified repression. ■

## Free Syrian political prisoners

Since last August, the Syrian government has ordered the arrests of hundreds of left-wing oppositionists. The Hafez al-Assad regime has been working to create a climate of fear in the face of a steep drop in the standard of living.

The repression has been concentrated against the Communist Action Party (CAP), which has over 330 members and sympathizers in prison. Several have been severely injured by the beatings and tortures inflicted by Syrian authorities.

These prisoners have not participated in any violence. They are in prison because of their ideas and their attempts to express their ideas in action.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International has been participating in a solidarity campaign on behalf of the CAP prisoners and other left-wing victims of repression in Syria. Signatures—particularly from trade unions and political organizations and from the literary and academic world—are being gathered on a petition.

The petition demands an end to the torture, the immediate release of the prisoners, and public trials held in the presence of observers from international democratic organizations.

For copies of the petition or for more information, write to *International Viewpoint*, 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil, France. ■

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by Ralph Schoenman

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# Agee's 'On the Run' details CIA harassment campaign

By MARK HARRIS

*On The Run*, by Philip Agee, Lyle Stuart Inc., Secaucus, N.J., 400 pp. \$19.95.

George Bush thinks this man belongs behind bars. Five NATO nations have seen fit to expel him. The U.S. government has revoked his passport. The mainstream media has denounced him as a "gutless, traitorous rat," a "swine," even a "soiled bit of flotsam from the 1960s."

The man is Philip Agee, and there are few people the CIA loves to hate more.

Agee's 1975 book, "Inside the Company: CIA Diary," exposed the method behind the madness of myriad CIA covert actions. A former operations officer, Agee spent 12 years with the agency (he left in 1969) and was privy to voluminous inside knowledge of CIA dirty work. It made him an expert at covert operations. It also made him indignant—and eventually he quit.

With the nation smoldering in the heat of the Watergate scandal and the Vietnam War,

## BOOK REVIEW

Agee's revelations were fuel on a fire of public disillusionment with Washington politics. There was more than a little heat at CIA headquarters, too, as "Inside the Company" climbed the bestseller list. What had the CIA fuming, however, had little to do with literary criticism.

Agee had broken the oath of silence demanded of every CIA employee. He had revealed secrets. He had named names. He had with methodical precision documented a litany of crimes that stood as a powerful indictment of U.S. foreign policy.

The CIA responded to Agee's indictment in words with a threat of indictment in court. CIA Director William Colby, and his successor George Bush, both pressed the Department of Justice to prosecute Agee for revealing classified information. The CIA, however, was persuaded to drop the case. Why? The agency had committed major illegal acts against Agee, and it feared these crimes would be made public in the course of a criminal case.

Still, the CIA has hardly lacked for imagination in hounding and harassing Agee. It has, in effect, kept him "On the Run," which is not surprisingly the title of Agee's autobiographical account of his post-CIA days.

### "The North American way"

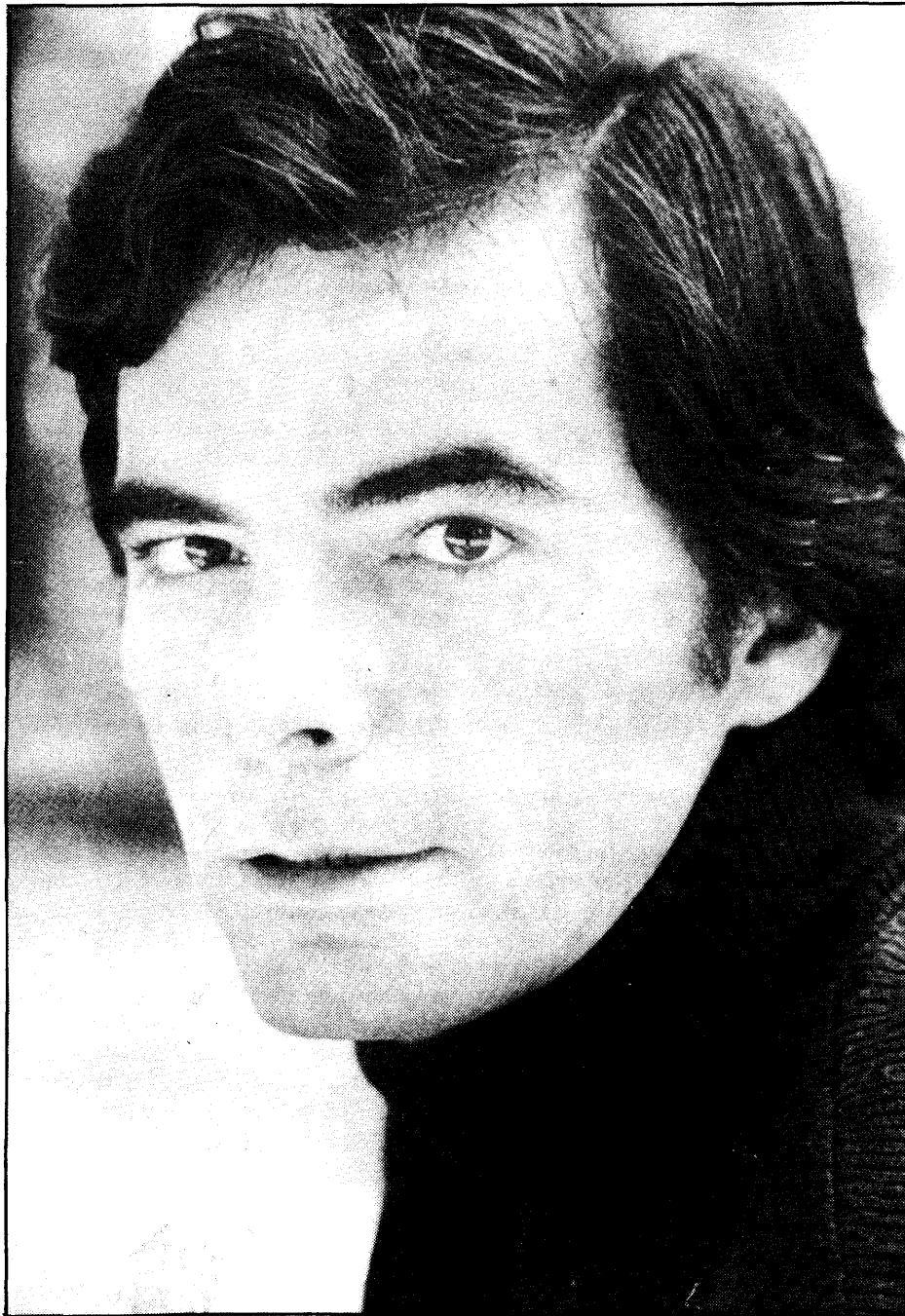
Agee went to work for the CIA in the late 1950s, full of naive enthusiasm for the cloak-and-dagger world of spies in the service of truth, justice, and—most important—the (North) American way. It was a time of U.S. concern toward the growing influence of the Cuban Revolution in Latin America, and in response President Kennedy had initiated the *Alliance for Progress* in 1961.

The United States had discovered the virtues of "freedom" and "democracy," and a chorus of propaganda began trumpeting the promise of U.S. support for liberal reform and economic development in Latin America.

Agee believed that promise then. But rhetoric and reality were playing their tune on two different keys. Reform "American-style," as Agee began to learn, rang true only in its utter hypocrisy.

In Ecuador and Uruguay, where Agee was stationed, the CIA's noble defense of the "free world" was maintained by the most ignoble means of covert subversion: instigating riots, torturing leftists, bombing churches, bribing politicians, buying journalists, infiltrating political organizations, setting up phony political fronts.

The CIA's critical role in the military coup in Brazil in 1964, and the U.S. invasion a year later of the Dominican Republic were further confirmation that Washington would resort to the most brutal



Philip Agee

repression to preserve the imperialist status quo.

Agee finally left the CIA in 1969, disillusioned but with no great plan to expose the agency. Gradually, his maturing political views led him to a closer identification with progressive and revolutionary movements, and he decided to reveal what he knew.

### Undercover agents in Paris

The CIA, as expected, went on full paranoid red alert when it learned of his intentions. Agee later learned that the CIA, during a six-year period in the 1970s, accumulated an average of 18 pages a day of information on him.

But the CIA did far more than just engage in the passive collection of information. The Department of Justice, in fact, while reviewing the CIA's request that it indict Agee, gave serious consideration to prosecuting certain CIA officials for their crimes against him.

"On The Run" provides some clue to what fate the CIA may have had in mind for Agee. While writing "Inside The Company" in Paris, Agee was befriended

by two undercover agents. One was "Sal Ferrera," a writer for "underground" publications, and the other was "Leslie Donegan," a rich American student.

They helped Agee prepare his manuscript, transcribed tapes, loaned him a "bugged" typewriter, and even gave him money to live on.

The two kept the CIA informed of Agee's activity and, he believes, were probably setting him up for disaster. Agee discovered the "bug" in the typewriter and soon left Paris for London. Sal and Leslie then tried on some pretext to lure him to Spain.

The CIA had tight relations with the Franco security forces, and the extraordinary diligence with which Sal and Leslie sought to persuade him to travel there led Agee to suspect that something nasty—a drug bust, kidnapping, or assassination—may have awaited him.

"On The Run" recounts Agee's humorous run-in with Leslie Donegan a few years later. Somewhat coincidentally, Agee learns that Leslie—her real name is Janet Strickland—is working at the International Labor Organization in Geneva, Switzerland. Armed with his most sinister smile, and

two photographers, he surprises her in her office. She runs shrieking from the room, her cover blown.

### A charge of "murder"

Janet Strickland is actually only one of some 2000 agents Agee has publicly exposed. CIA apologists have, naturally, responded to Agee's efforts to pierce the CIA's veil of secrecy with cries of treason—and in one case—murder. The case involved Richard Welch, the CIA station chief in Athens, Greece, who was assassinated in 1975 by an obscure left-wing group.

Welch's name had previously appeared in *CounterSpy*, an anti-CIA journal started by Norman Mailer, Agee, and others. President Ford blamed Welch's death on "CIA defectors" who had named names.

The big-business media also took its cue. A "Sixty Minutes" report blamed Welch's death directly on Agee, falsely claiming that Agee had worked with him in Latin America. The CBS news program refused to air Agee's rebuttal, instead featuring a still photo of Agee while host Morley Safer indulged in ominous speculation that perhaps Agee had worked for the KGB all along.

As hysteria over the case died down, and as the media lost interest, key facts later emerged in a Congressional investigation. The group that killed Welch had been trailing him and his predecessor for months. CIA headquarters had warned Welch not to move into his predecessor's house because it was well known as a CIA residence. Welch had ignored the warning because it would lengthen his commute to work.

Welch's killers knew his every movement, and that knowledge had nothing to do with his name appearing in *CounterSpy*, or the *Athens News* for that matter, which had also published his name prior to his death.

### The "anti-Agee bill"

Agee, of course, was not attempting to get CIA agents killed, only to neutralize their effectiveness. And his efforts have not been without success, a fact Congress acknowledged when it enacted the Intelligence Identities Protection Law in 1982.

This law, also known as the "anti-Agee bill," makes it a crime to identify a covert agent—even if the information was unclassified, lawfully obtained, and the agent exposed was engaged in illegal activity.

"On The Run" is worthwhile reading. Agee rejects the notion that the "excesses" of the CIA are aberrations of an intelligence community out of control. Rather, he argues with conviction that the CIA's illegal covert operations are a natural outgrowth of a foreign policy that champions any corrupt oligarchy, military dictatorship, or police state that fosters a "friendly climate for investment" by U.S. business.

He states frankly that those who oppose his actions are simply following in the tradition of John Jay, the nation's first chief justice, who held that "the people who own the country ought to govern it."

"CIA employees hardly own the country," Agee concludes, "but as a secret political police they certainly help those who do." ■

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# Alcohol: No. 1 drug problem in the U.S.

By MYA SHONE

In July, the state of California will add alcohol to its list of toxic chemicals. Mya Shone discusses below the biological and social impact of alcohol consumption.

Contrary to the commonly held view, the drug most abused in the United States is not cocaine; nor is it crack or heroin.

"The No. 1 drug problem in this country is alcohol, and it is costing society \$120 billion a year." This statement from Michael Jacobson, executive director of the Center for Science in the Public Interest, is echoed by virtually all health professionals.

"Alcohol is involved in more than 66 percent of the nation's homicides, 50 percent of rapes, and up to 70 percent of sexually aggressive acts against children and adults," reports Joseph Califano, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

One-half to three-fourths of auto accidents—including 50,000 deaths per year—involve alcohol. One-third of general hospital admissions nationally stem from alcohol abuse. One out of every four families is affected by excessive use of alcohol.

## A nation of users

Among the men, women, and children in the United States, 18.3 million people are "heavier drinkers." They consume more than 14 drinks each week (1 or more ounces of alcohol per day)—with 12.1 million evidencing symptoms of alcoholism.

Over 80 percent of the 12 million college students, most of whom are under the minimum drinking age, imbibe alcoholic beverages, with as many as one in six considering themselves to be "heavy drinkers."

Alcohol use and abuse begin at an early age. Most high-school students (56 percent) started drinking when they were in the 9th grade or earlier. By the time they become high-school seniors, 41 percent report periodic binges.

## Biological impact

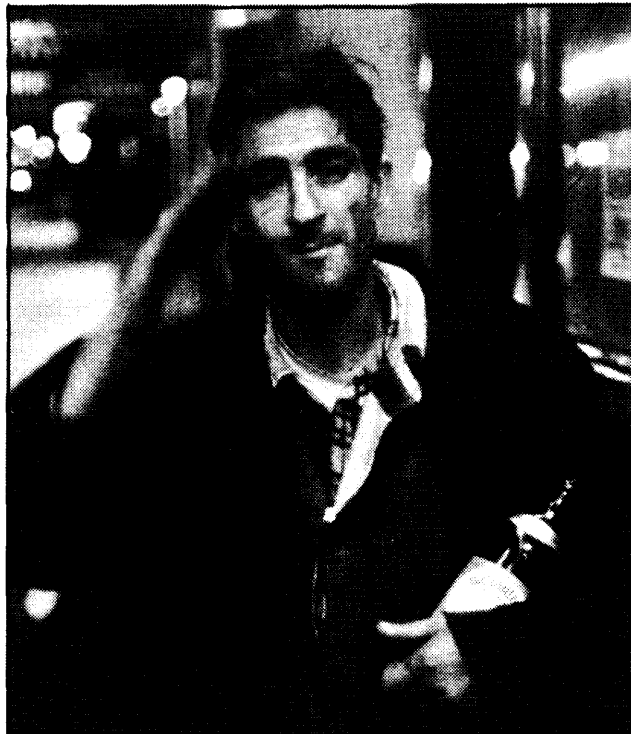
Alcohol is the only drug soluble in both fat and water. As such, it invades every part of the human body, affecting virtually every cell and every biological pathway.

Brain cells (neurons), of which we have billions, send electrical and chemical signals which control cognition, consciousness, and almost all behavior. These neurons release molecules called neurotransmitters, which carry information to specific receptor sites on neighboring neurons.

If the messages are disrupted, as they are with the introduction of alcohol, so are the human emotions and the behavior they control.

The neuronal membranes (cell walls) adapt to chronic exposure to alcohol. They rigidify as the fats within them firm up from increasing cholesterol.

Consequently, a person becomes less sensitive to a given dose of alcohol, but the membranes become dependent for normal functioning on an ever-increasing supply of alcohol, which acts as a solvent allowing the electrical and chemical signals to flow.



Alcohol also leads to the deterioration of the liver, pancreas, stomach, and the immune system. It has been tied to cancer of the esophagus, breast, and liver—as well as to cardiovascular disease.

Fetal alcohol syndrome, occurring in infants whose mothers drink "heavily," is the third leading cause of birth defects and is presumed to be the primary cause of retardation in the United States. Yet alcohol consumption remains a significant factor in everyday life.

## Poisoning for profit

Alcohol generates enormous profits for major American corporations, putting most of them into the Fortune 500. Americans spent \$51 billion on alcoholic beverages in 1980 — 7.5 percent of the total expenditure for non-durable goods.

Corporate producers expend currently over \$1 billion on advertising. Their marketing suppresses the dangers of alcohol, imbuing alcoholic beverages with an image of total harmlessness, reinforcing drinking as the social norm.

Sophisticated advertising campaigns are designed to create heavy drinkers as well as to develop brand loyalty.

Robert Hammond, Director of the Alcohol Research Information Service, spells this out:

"If all 105 million drinkers of legal age consumed the official maximum 'moderate' amount of alcohol (less than 2 drinks), the industry would suffer a whopping 40 percent decrease in the sale of beer, wine and distilled spirits."

Youth are particularly targeted, even before they reach the legal minimum drinking age. "Let's not forget," asserts a marketing executive, "that getting a [college] freshman to choose a certain brand of beer may mean that he will maintain his brand loyalty for the next 20 to 35

years. If he turns out to be a big drinker, the beer company has bought itself an annuity."

## Instrument of social control

Alcohol consumption ("drinking") is taken for granted in our society. It is the social norm. People drink both "to relax" and to escape problems. This behavior, as we have shown, disables people in both the short and the long term through a process of disorientation and debilitation.

The impact of alcohol consumption in the United States is evident in the social statistics: \$120 billion in economic costs; 100,000 deaths each year; and the relationship between alcohol and murder, rape, and child abuse.

Alcohol is an overwhelming instrument of social control because it debilitates the entire population.

In England during the 18th and 19th centuries, the despair and misery of pauperized working people was at once sustained and diffused by cheap alcohol.

Slave masters in the American colonies and the newly formed United States tried to subdue their rebellious slave population through the introduction of alcohol.

The expeditionary forces of the U.S. government during the 19th century were calculating in their distribution of alcohol to Native Americans because of the disarray, demoralization, and diminished capacity to resist that followed in its wake.

## From Soweto to Harlem...

Alcohol as an instrument of social control is aptly illustrated by this example from South Africa. Mazisi Kunene, a noted African poet and former director of finance for the African National Congress, described to this author the introduction of spirits into the Black townships.

Prior to the Soweto uprising in 1976, the sale of liquor was forbidden in the townships, and only home-brewed beer of low-alcohol content was available. But after the uprising, liquor stores were opened and located on practically every block.

Concomitantly, the manufacture of home-brewed beer was banned. Mazisi Kunene stresses that alcoholism subsequently emerged as a problem.

Liquor stores are similarly predominant in the Black communities of this country. Dick Gregory, noted comedian and social activist, describes walking through the urban slums that dominate our cities. One often has to travel miles to find a food market, he relates, yet either a bar or a liquor store is found on almost every street corner.

## Manipulation of the oppressed

Working men are the predominant drinkers in our society, both in number and the amount of consumption. Beer is the beverage of choice and the beer industry celebrates in its advertising the toiling of the average worker and focuses on male comradery.

"In beer marketing," says Michael Roarty, an Anheuser-Busch vice president (AB is the largest beer producer), "the name of the game is reaching the male consumer. Seventy percent of all beer is consumed by 20 percent of the population, and it's male dominated."

Class hegemony has always entailed manipulation of the oppressed, whether through infusing mass culture with chauvinist and racist values, glorifying the police and state authorities, or encouraging dependence on futile individual outlets for anger and despair.

The ruling class is willing to sacrifice decreased productivity for the enormous profits to be made from the sale of alcohol and the social control that results from the destabilization of working people. ■

## Our readers speak out

### Vietnamese Trotskyists

Dear editor,

I am writing to you about a campaign calling for "justice to be done to the Vietnamese Trotskyist leaders" of the 1930s and 1940s, demanding the republication of their writings in Vietnam and free access to documents about their history.

The campaign follows the recent similar campaign for the names of the Moscow Trials victims to be cleared. [See pages 8-9 in this issue.]

The campaign was initiated by the Vietnamese Trotskyist Group (Groupe Trotskyiste Vietnamien, part of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire in France) and a number of other Trotskyist organizations. I personally am a member of the Workers Revolutionary Party, which is supporting the campaign.

An appeal has been drawn up as the basis of the campaign. We are

building up a list of signatories to the appeal from many people, including intellectuals, former participants in the anti-Vietnam War movement, and from the working-class movement in Vietnam itself.

Simon Pirani,  
Glasgow, Scotland

### Support

The campaign that Simon Pirani refers to is being carried out on behalf of the Vietnamese Trotskyist leaders who were executed without trial after being arrested by the Vietminh in 1945.

These men—including Ta Thu Thau, Tran van Thach, Nguyen van So, Phan van Hum, Phan van Chanh, and Huynh van Phuong—had a great following in the Saigon working class through the 1930s. They played an important role in the trade unions and the Indochinese Congress, and several took leading parts in the 1945 uprising against colonial rule.

The Vietnamese government and Communist Party have refused to comment on the evidence that the Trotskyist leaders were murdered.

But the government has used slander to try to justify the arrests of the Trotskyists. For example, the latest edition of a Vietnamese government publication, "The August 1945 Revolution," states that the Trotskyists were "Japanese spies" and "saboteurs."

For a copy of the appeal and for additional information, contact the Groupe Trotskyiste Vietnamien, BP 746 75532, Paris Cedex 11, France.

### Detached

Dear editor,

Living in the desert Southwest leaves me with a sense of detachment from the struggle. That means that the paper *Socialist Action* and related pamphlets are even more valuable to me. I plan to extend my subscription as well as become a sustainer.

Let me say that Alan Benjamin's article in the June paper entitled "Nicaraguan Revolution at critical crossroads" cut through the maze of propaganda put out by both opponents and uncritical supporters of the Sandinistas. It got to the essence of the matter in a clear, cogent, and convincing style.

S.P.,  
El Paso, Texas

### Good Luck!

Dear editor,

Good luck on your fund drive! Every time that I receive *Socialist Action*, I believe that it is the best ever. Then I receive the next issue, and it is even better! Keep up the good work.

Harold Schonbrun,  
Chicago, Ill.

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# Mexico presidential elections: Socialist Rosario Ibarra challenges ruling party



Rosario Ibarra campaigning in Northern Mexico. She will be speaking at Aug. 6 rally in San Francisco. See pp. 8-9.

By RUDY ZAVALA

On July 6, when millions of Mexicans go to the polls to elect a new president, there will be only one candidate on the ballot who genuinely represents the interests of the oppressed majority of the population. That candidate is renowned human-rights activist Rosario Ibarra, presidential candidate of the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) coalition.

"Rosario," as she is commonly known throughout the country, will be the only one to seriously challenge the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which has been in power since 1929. Her campaign calls on working people to mobilize independently against the capitalists and the PRI government.

Rosario, who is a two-time Nobel Peace Prize nominee and a deputy in the parliament for the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), the Mexican section of the Fourth International, has attracted thousands of supporters to her election rallies and to her openly socialist program.

PRT leader Hector de la Cueva told *Socialist Action* that more than 300,000 people have attended Rosario's campaign rallies. This is a far greater number than in 1982, when Rosario ran for president on the PRT ticket. In 1982, Rosario officially obtained 1.8 percent of the vote, just enough to win parliamentary representation, though the PRT insists she actually won 8 percent of the 23 million votes.

De la Cueva also noted that sizable mass organizations, such as the 90,000-strong Committee for the Victims of the Earthquake (CUD) and the National Revolutionary Civic Association (ANCR), have endorsed her campaign this time.

Rosario's campaign has also received some international attention. The March 1988 issue of *Ms.* magazine, for example, devotes a full page to "Mexico's First Woman for Prez."

The article highlights Rosario's mammoth work in defense of Mexico's political prisoners and the disappeared. [Rosario is a leader of the National Front Against Repression.] It also notes that "Ibarra and the PRT are working for legal abortion and equal rights for women" in a country where "women are not readily accepted into

politics and where less than 20 percent of elected officials are women."

Rosario's election campaign will close with a mass rally on June 26 in the downtown Zocalo (main square) in Mexico City. An estimated 50,000 people from all over the country are expected to attend.

#### A new phenomenon

A great deal of media attention has been devoted in recent weeks to the candidacy of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, the son of ex-General Lázaro Cárdenas, the populist president (1934-40) who nationalized the oil industry and extended the agrarian reform program.

Cárdenas, who is running as the candidate of the Authentic Revolutionary Party of Mexico (PARM), has mounted a significant challenge to the hand-picked PRI

candidate, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, who is expected to win the election with approximately 55 percent to 60 percent of the vote.

Cárdenas' candidacy is considered a new phenomenon in Mexican politics. He recently won the endorsement of Heberto Castillo, the presidential candidate of the Mexican Socialist Party (PMS), who stepped down to "ensure that a president of the left could finally be elected."

Cárdenas is the former PRI governor of the west-coast state of Michoacan. He and a current of dissidents known as the "Democratic Current" were expelled from the ruling PRI for opposing the "dedazo," that is, the behind-the-scenes selection of the party's presidential successor.

Since his expulsion from the PRI, Cárdenas has cultivated the populist image

of his father and has sharpened his demagogic oratory skills. But his challenge to the ruling party is extremely limited. He is for reforming and "modernizing" the ruling PRI, not for overthrowing it.

Cárdenas' campaign manager is none other than Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, the former general secretary of the PRI. This is the man who was responsible for decades of fraud, corruption, and repression.

#### Resisting reformist pressures

The election campaign of Rosario Ibarra is the only one in the camp of the working class which has not been thrown off course by the emergence of the charismatic Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas.

Rosario and the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) have been very clear in characterizing Cárdenas as a bourgeois-nationalist politician and an obstacle to the development of an independent, revolutionary movement in Mexico.

"I wouldn't even walk down the street with Cárdenas!" is how Rosario commonly expresses her disdain for a man whom she calls a "fake dissident," a "fake democrat," and a "member of the ruling PRI family, which is an irreconcilable enemy of Mexico's working people." (from her inaugural speech on Nov. 22, 1987)

But Rosario and the PRT have also been sensitive to the fact that Cárdenas is drawing mass audiences to his rallies. They are aware that this represents a rejection of the PRI and a quest for a new political program on the part of the workers and peasants.

Sergio Rodriguez, a leader of the PRT, summed up the PRT's approach as follows in an interview published in the French-language *Inprecor* (May 9, 1988):

"We must take the initiative to reach out to the masses who are looking to Cárdenas, proposing united actions with them and their leadership around concrete issues such as increasing wages, cancelling the foreign debt, etc.

"But we must not forego building an independent, autonomous, and revolutionary mass movement. It is only by creating an alternative independent pole that we will bring the masses who are attracted to Cárdenas for healthy reasons toward socialist conclusions."

#### Electoral fraud expected

In the meantime, the July 6 elections are certain to be plagued with massive fraud. PRT leader Hector de la Cueva told *Socialist Action* that a broad front against the election fraud is already coming together. It includes parties on the left and right wings of the political spectrum.

The idea of forming such a front arose after a number of clandestine factories were discovered printing PRI ballots that would be illegally stuffed in the boxes at election time.

Rosario's campaign has already been attacked and harassed by the government and the police. Two PRT peasant organizers and active supporters of Rosario's campaign, for example, were recently killed by local police in the northern state of Sonora.

The PRT leadership expects that the government may attempt to commit massive fraud against the Rosario Ibarra campaign and the PRT in order to remove the PRT's electoral ballot status. This is a possibility we in the United States must be seriously attentive to.

## 'Rosario' draws crowds in Baja California

By BRAD JUDD

TIJUANA, Mexico—Rosario Ibarra, presidential candidate of the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) electoral coalition in the July Mexican election, has campaigned across Mexico reaching every corner of the country.

As the only candidate of the independent revolutionary left with ballot status, she is challenging the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the capitalist-reform campaign of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. Her campaign is actively supported by the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), the Mexican section of the Fourth International.

Rosario's campaign tour to Baja California in early June illustrates the extent of the effort to reach every part of Mexico with her message.

Rosario Ibarra traveled to Tijuana during her tour. She was greeted at the Tijuana airport by her supporters. A long auto caravan then brought the candidate downtown to the center of Tijuana, where four streets had been

blocked off for the rally. For an hour, local PRT candidates had been warming up the crowd, which had grown to hundreds as the anticipation built.

Before Rosario spoke, local candidates—including Catalino Zavala and Urania Isis—and national PRT leader Edgardo Sánchez set the spirited tone. Rosario spoke of the need of workers to elect their own representatives and of the electoral fraud her campaign anticipated and had already begun to actively oppose.

The crowd responded repeatedly with enthusiasm—especially the members of Cucutac, a mass organization of homeless and slum residents. Rosario spoke about the problems of the states along the Mexico-U.S. border, focusing attention on the repression of unions in the region.

Rosario later spoke in Ensenada and Mexicali, where she continued to put forward her open socialist program, winning more workers to a socialist platform and future.