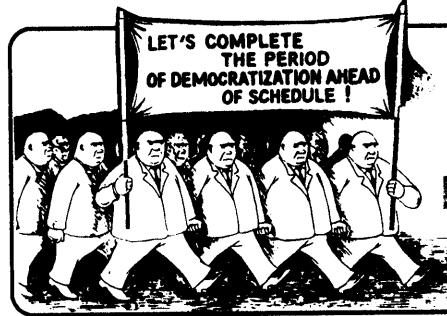


Socialist ACTION



Pravda
"discovers"
Leon Trotsky,
See pp. 8-9.

OCTOBER 1988 VOL. 6, No. 10 50 CENTS

Bush versus Dukakis: A sad state of affairs

Dukakis's 'miracle' - For whom?

By MICHAEL KOOPER

BOSTON—When January rolls around, Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts could be starting his new job as president. But all 125 workers at a Boston manufacturing plant—members of Machinists Union Local 1790—will start losing their jobs.

The Howden Sirocco Company of Scotland is closing the plant, which manufactures large fans for generating plants, and moving its operations to their Toronto facility.

This is the "Massachusetts Miracle" at work—a multinational company coming in to buy Boston businesses for the real estate, "while spitting out Boston workers in order to make a killing." That's how the director of the city's Economic Development and Industrial Corporation put it.

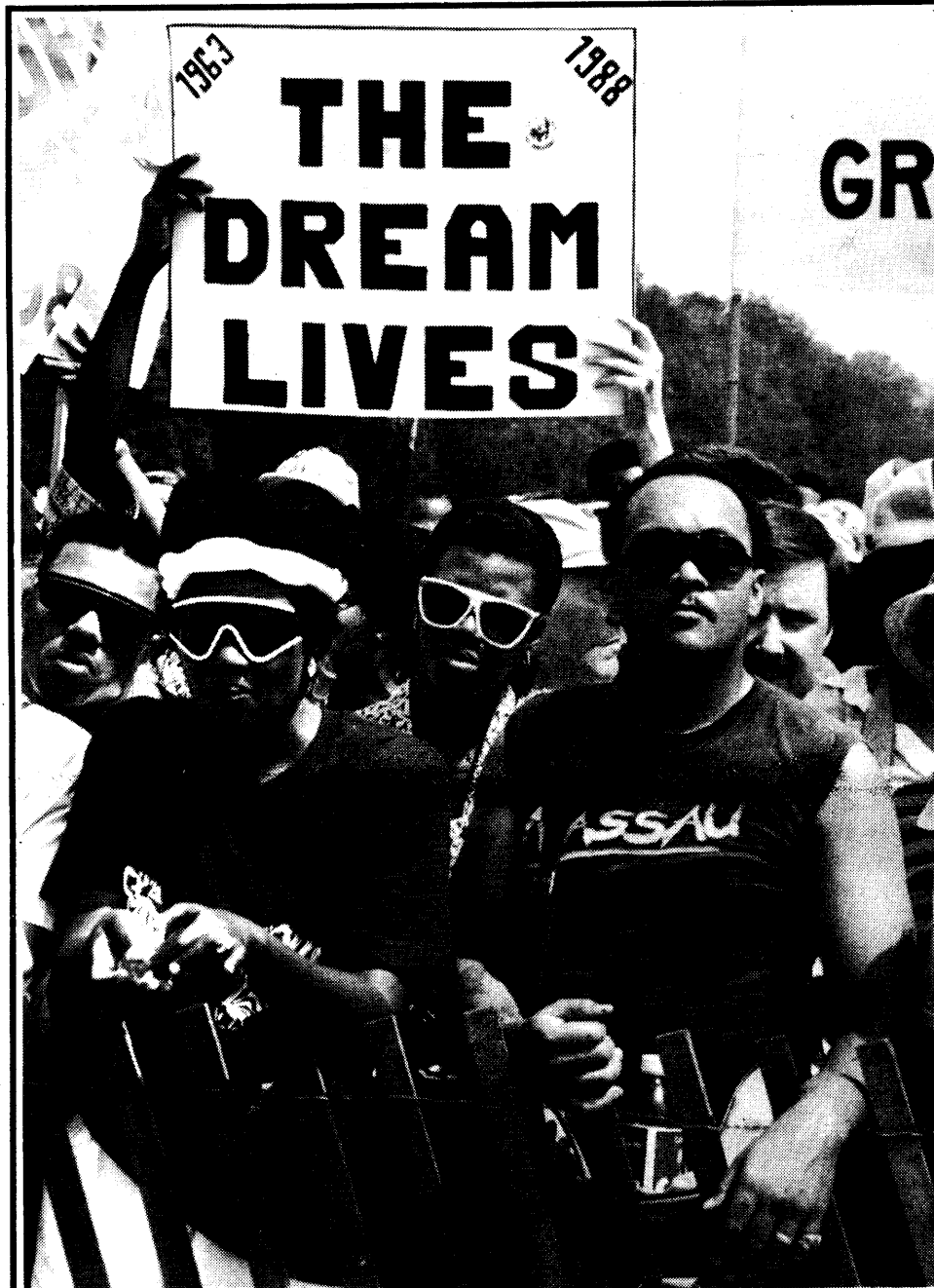
Anthony Mastandrea, the union local's business representative, put it differently: "I'm very upset and naturally I just feel we're losing more jobs in the state." He said it's unlikely his members, who average about \$11 an hour at the plant, will be able to find comparable jobs.

Mastandrea continued, "There is very little in manufacturing positions available. Burger King has a lot of jobs open." In fact, Massachusetts lost 96,400 manufacturing jobs between 1984 and early this year.

A job you can raise a family on?

There's no doubt that most people in Massachusetts can find a job, though. Burger King and McDonald's fight like hungry lions for entry-level employees, and offer as much as \$6.50 per hour with free food and college tuition credits.

But the widely extolled image of lucrative high-tech jobs fades when you look at the bulk of the new jobs: janitors, store clerks, fast-food servers, orderlies, and other low-paying service work. Hardly the "good jobs at good wages" the Duke talks



55,000 mostly-Black demonstrators converged on Washington, D.C., to demand "jobs, peace, and equality." See story page 3.

Rick Reinhard/Impact Visuals

about at every campaign stop.

And while overall Massachusetts unemployment hovers well below the national average at just above 2 percent, more and more Blacks and Latinos are falling below the government's so-called "poverty line."

From the perspective of the ruling rich,

the turnaround of the Massachusetts economy has been a welcome "miracle." Realtors have gotten richer, venture capitalists in high-tech have made a killing, and working people have been quieted with impotent social programs and the promise

(continued on page 6)

By JOSEPH RYAN

What if they gave an election and nobody came? True, while this scenario will not come to pass this November, one thing is clear: Nearly 50 percent of eligible voters will probably take a rain check when it comes to choosing between George Bush or Michael Dukakis for president.

The voters' indifference is confirmed by many registration workers, who complain that they are unable to reach their daily quotas. "There isn't too much excitement out there for registering to vote," one of them observed.

What is there to really vote for? The

Behind the Reagan era
"prosperity,"
See page 7.

election campaign has been nothing more than a PR-orchestrated personality contest, based on negative TV ads, between two candidates who essentially agree on all points.

Both candidates, after all, support a strong U.S. military machine, aid to the contras, and Star Wars. Both candidates support a "healthy" U.S. economy—"healthy" meaning a continuation of deteriorating living standards and lower wages for working people.

For many people, the televised Sept. 25 debate between Bush and Dukakis looked like a pillow fight between two fraternity brothers.

Despite the phony distinctions that Bush and Dukakis try to create between each other, the truth is that the current economic onslaught against working people has been a consistent hallmark of both Democratic and Republican administrations. It won't end with this election.

In their bones, millions of working people and the oppressed know that they will be the big losers no matter who wins the election.

The situation gets worse

In a just-published report by the Washington, D.C.-based Economic Policy Institute, these justifiable fears of working people are dramatically confirmed. The report, titled "The State of Working America," prefaces its detailed findings with the following generalization:

"The decline in real wages of American workers ... represents a worsening of the decline that began in 1973. ... From the end of World War II to 1973, wages rose steadily and briskly. Today, not only are they below 1979, they are below 1973 as well."

The report pulls no punches. In the richest country in the world, the report indicates, the workers are getting poorer and the rich are getting richer:

- Government claims of 4 percent unemployment are misleading. The real figure is 11 percent if you count discouraged workers and involuntary part-time workers.

- More than half the new full-time jobs

(continued on page 7)



Zbigniew Kowalewski discusses
aftermath of recent strike wave in
'Solidarnosc
at a
crossroads'

See pp. 8-9.

Your money...or your life!



By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

The U.S. government has spent over \$2.6 trillion on the military in the last seven years. Yet the amount spent on health and medical needs is a national disgrace.

The United States is the only industrialized country without a national health plan. Britain, France, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and all of the countries in the "Soviet bloc" have nationalized health plans.

This country ranks 17th in the

world in its infant mortality rate. The cost of private healthcare insurance continues to climb for all users—including senior citizens as well as members of union health plans. Most private health plans are increasing their deductibles, taking rising costs out of the pockets of our elderly and working people.

Catastrophe for elderly

In July of this year, Congress passed a "Catastrophic Health Act," which was supposed to be a boon for the elderly. It has actually turned into a catastrophe for the elderly. The Medicare coverage for senior citizens will cost \$4 more per month.

The new health coverage also imposes a 15 percent tax surcharge on social security income. By the year 1993, the income tax surcharge increases to 28 percent.

However, in its continuing efforts to be "fair" to both the rich and poor alike, the government has capped taxation of salaries at \$45,000. This

means that if you earn \$200,000, you will still be taxed for healthcare at the \$45,000 rate. All of the elderly with an income of \$25,000 or more will pay an income tax on one-half of their Social Security as well as on their regular income.

Even worse, many operations and medical needs have been cut out because of costs. So if you are elderly, do not expect hospitals to give you necessary life-saving operations if they are too "costly."

Cutbacks in AIDS care

The title of this article, "Your money or your life," takes on even more important meaning for people who have AIDS.

One of the few drugs that has proven to help in prolonging the lives of AIDS patients is AZT. This medicine costs from \$8000 to \$10,000 per year per patient. But federal assistance to help cover the cost of AZT is supposed to run out on Sept. 30 of this year.

The federal program covers this cost for those who do not qualify for Medicare and whose yearly gross family income is \$40,000 or less. Ten thousand dollars out of wages of \$40,000 or less is a big bite.

In California, the state has decided to continue funding for AZT treatments until at least December. However, the State Office of AIDS has said that no new AIDS patients may join the program after Sept. 30.

The associate director of the San Francisco Department of Public Health says there are about 30 new people a month who would qualify for AZT treatments from San Francisco alone. They will be turned down because of lack of funds.

To be turned away from one of the few treatments that could prolong life is nothing more than pronouncing a death sentence on AIDS victims. We need to prolong life as long as possible until a cure or vaccine is found—despite the fact that scientists say

that development of such drugs is some time off.

A national health plan

The death rate of AIDS victims is horrendous. To date in the United States there have been 70,208 cases of AIDS reported, including 19,773 this year. There have been 39,620 deaths, or 56 percent.

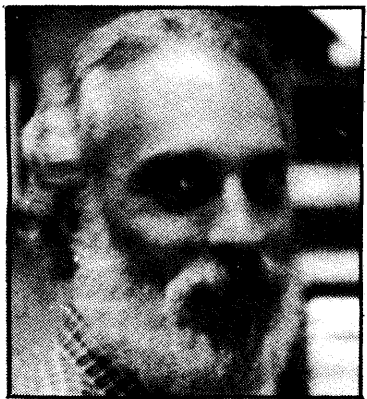
The victims were waiters, truck drivers, fathers, mothers, gays, straights, artists, teachers, infants, teenagers, young men and women, and senior citizens. In other words, they were humans who come from all walks of life.

They were taxpayers, just as are all working people. They, like all of us, wish the government would have spent \$2.6 trillion to save lives rather than spend \$2.6 trillion on death and destruction.

What we need is a national health plan which would cover every individual in this country and provide the health services necessary for everyone. ■

— Behind the lines —

Where have all the birds gone?



By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

I recently walked over 100 miles through the river valleys of the Wye and the Usk in South Wales. I was never alone. Armadas of swans and geese were everywhere. Huge grey herons waded through the shallows.

As I climbed from the waterways onto the upland moors, grouse and pheasants skurried into the brush. Hawks and kites wheeled overhead. At sunset, the gorges of the Black Mountains were filled with birdsong.

Almost unbelievably, these creatures that gave me so much pleasure are under attack. In Wales, their habitat is being systematically reduced by pollution, timber cutting, and intensive farming techniques.

Since the end of the Second World War, for example, Wales has lost 41 percent of its moorland, placing a great strain on the birds that normally feed and nest there. The heather moorland has been replaced by pasture for the wool and mutton industry. Commercial timber forests have replaced the thickets where pheasants and partridges used to find cover.

I spoke to Peter Evans, a noted ornithologist at the Edward Grey Institute in Oxford. Evans, a Welshman, told me that acid rain is having substantial effects on the bird population in his country. "The acidity of the rivers is changing," he said. "Stonefly, mayfly, and mosquito larvae,

which birds such as dippers live on, cannot survive in such acidity. So there's less food for the birds to take."

Britain, in fact, "exports" its acid rain through the use of towering smokestacks that allow industrial pollution to carry as far as Scandinavia and Germany. Filters are available for the smokestacks, but the filters, Evans points out, "cost money and would cut into profits."

Facing extinction

The first fully documented extinction of a bird species was in 1680, when the last giant dodo bird was wiped out. Since that year, about 130 species and local races of birds have been eliminated. The demise of at least half of them was due to the activities of people (hunting, destruction of habitat, and the introduction of diseases and poisons).

We can expect that the rate of extinction will accelerate in the near future if pollution and destruction of the environment are allowed to continue. This will, in turn, have further

catastrophic effects. Woodland songbirds, for example, eat huge quantities of insects that feed on crops or carry disease.

Imagine a world without songbirds! In the United States, many species have declined rapidly since 1980—and could vanish in several years. These include some of the best known backyard singers—the wood-thrush, the red-eyed vireo, and the scarlet tanager.

The destruction of the tropical rainforests has a great deal to do with the decline in the bird population. About half of the world's species of birds, and three-quarters of all North American species, migrate to winter quarters in the tropics. The Nature Conservancy estimates that 74,000 acres of tropical rainforest are cleared around the world every day.

Cheap hamburgers

I remember when, almost 25 years ago, I saw the coast of Haiti from the deck of a ship. Haiti looked like an emerald rising from the sea—covered with



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lush forests. Now, I am told, 95 percent of the tree cover in Haiti has been felled, as its population attempts to eke out a living from the land.

This pattern of despoliation is

being repeated throughout the Caribbean and South America. It is directly tied to the drive for profits by U.S. corporations.

Forests are cleared mainly to provide pasture for cattle. The meat is then exported to the United States. A hamburger made from Latin American cattle costs five cents less than domestic beef. The reason? The Latin American campesinos, often impoverished, can be hired for a fraction of the wages paid in the United States.

According to the Rainforest Alliance, one acre of tropical forest must be cleared for every five pounds of beef produced each year! Other forest tracts are destroyed to make way for coffee, banana, and sugar plantations—most of them either owned or controlled by U.S. corporations.

The U.S. capitalist class has created a tragedy of underdevelopment in the countries of Latin America. Now, as ecological catastrophe arrives on our doorstep (to use Malcolm X's phrase) the chickens are coming home to roost! The songbirds, sadly, may not be so fortunate. ■

Joseph Ryan: 'No on the Missouri'

"I urge San Franciscans to vote against Propositions S and R this November," said Joseph Ryan, Socialist Action candidate for the the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. "Prop. S will smooth the way for the U.S. Navy to homeport the battleship Missouri in the city. Prop. R will likewise welcome the Navy, but asks for a slightly better deal."

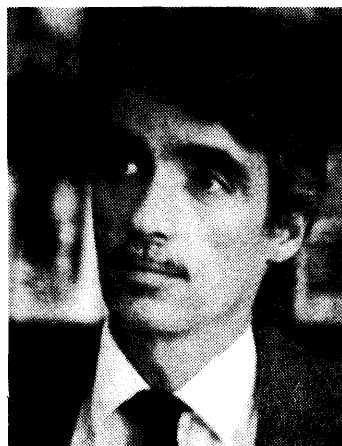
Ryan was speaking at an Oct. 1 public speakout against homeporting the nuclear-armed battleship in San Francisco, sponsored by the local branch of Socialist Action. He was joined at the podium by Saul Bloom, executive director of the Arms Control Research Center, and Jackie Cabasso of the Western States Legal Foundation.

Ryan refuted supporters of the ballot measures who insist that the Missouri will mean more jobs. He

pointed out that "many more plumbers, electricians, and carpenters could be employed for a longer period of time building the low-cost housing that the area desperately needs."

"I support jobs for construction, not destruction!" Ryan said. "The homeporting represents an attempt to further militarize San Francisco at a time when the labor movement, peace activists, and the oppressed communities have been demanding money for jobs, not war."

Ryan criticized the San Francisco Labor Council for supporting the Navy's plan. Such support, Ryan said, puts the labor movement in the same camp as the the local banks, real estate developers, and the U.S. Navy—one of the biggest employers of non-union labor in the country.



Joseph Ryan

In San Francisco this November, vote against the Missouri. Vote for human needs, not profits. Vote for the socialist alternative: Joe Ryan for Board of Supervisors and Sylvia Weinstein for Board of Education.

55,000 celebrate historic civil rights march on D.C.

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

"We still have a dream of a nation free of the cancer of racism and discrimination where Americans of all nationalities live together as brothers and sisters. We dream of a nation free of poverty and deprivation, where everyone can find a job at a decent wage and where the streets are no longer populated by hungry and homeless families. We still have a dream of peace. Now is the time to make real the dream of peace, justice, and equality for all. We will overcome."

These were the words of Coretta Scott King as she recalled the famous "I Have a Dream" speech given by her late husband 25 years earlier. Her speech summed up the mood of 55,000 demonstrators who gathered at the Lincoln Memorial on Aug. 27 to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the 1963 mass civil rights march on Washington, D.C.

The demonstrators, the majority of whom were Black, converged on Washington, D.C., from the South, Midwest, and East Coast. They came to celebrate the gains of the past 25 years and to demand social justice to halt the current economic impoverishment of millions of Blacks and other working people.

"We march for jobs, peace, freedom, and equality," proclaimed the most popular sign carried by the protestors. Others demanded an end to South African apartheid.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) President Joseph Lowery reminded the protestors that in 1963 not only were Blacks still denied the vote in some parts of the country, but they also were prevented from using such public accommodations as hotels and restaurants.

Lowery added, "We realize we've come a long way, but the gains of income of some of us are diminished by the decreased income of one-third of us. We've all gained the right to check into the Hiltons and the Hyatts, but too few of us have the means to check out."

United Auto Workers President Owen Bieber pledged that his union would continue to march as long as necessary. After describing the growing economic inequality which sees 31 percent of Blacks, including 43 percent of all Black children, living in poverty, Bieber stated, "That's not a dream; that's a nightmare."

However, despite the presence of Owen Bieber on the speakers' platform, official trade-union participation in the march was weak. With the exception of large contingents marching behind UAW and Hospital Workers Local 1199 banners, most trade unions failed to mobilize their membership. In contrast, groups ranging from the A. Phillip Randolph Institute to the SCLC to Black fraternities and sororities adjourned national meetings to participate in the march.

Many of the marchers proudly recalled their participation in both the 1963 and 1983 marches. Large numbers of students, many of them from predominantly Black colleges like Howard, Central State, and Hampton, participated. For many, it was their first demonstration.

Building efforts hampered

Since crowds at both the '63 and '83 marches were estimated at 250,000, many participants expressed disappointment at the relatively small turnout. A frequently heard complaint from marchers was that they had only learned of the demonstration a couple of days earlier and therefore didn't have time to help publicize it.

Unfortunately, national organizers were late calling the march and delayed issuing fliers while they debated whether to go ahead with the protest. This hesitation severely hampered national organizing efforts.

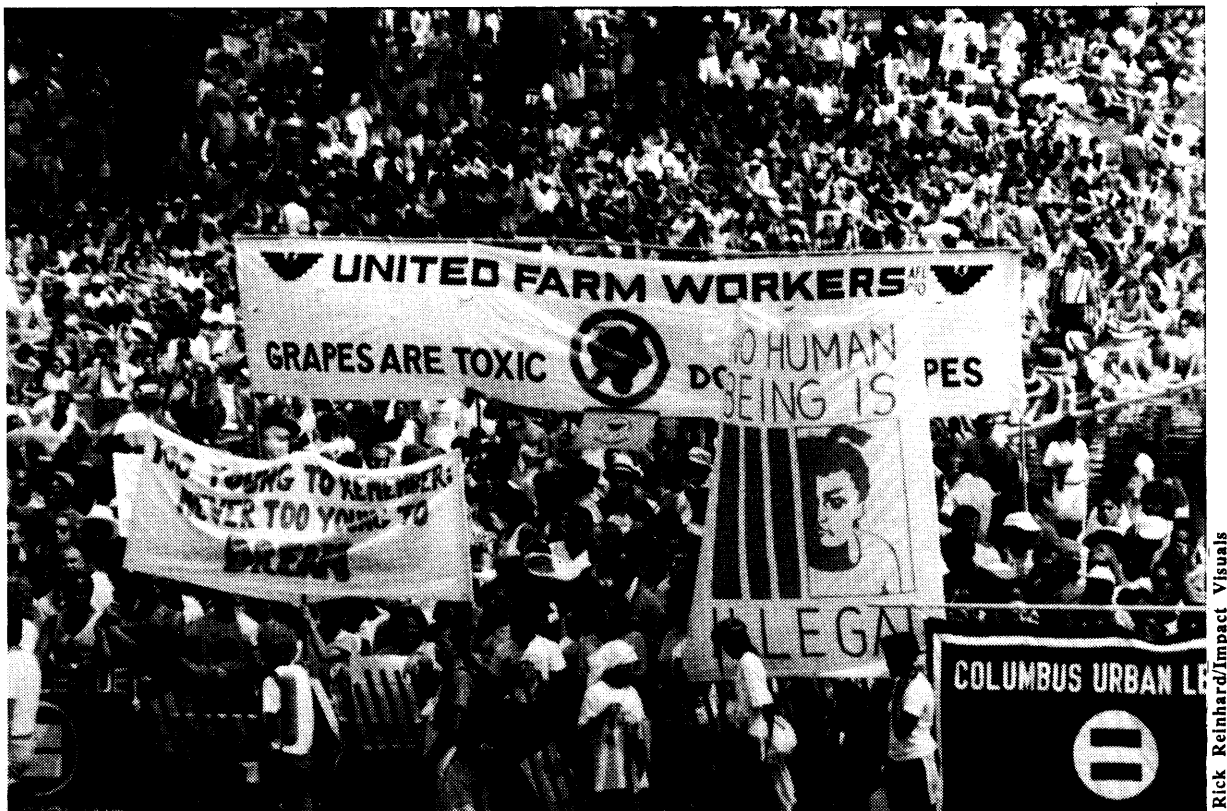
For example, Cleveland, which had sent 35 buses to the '83 march, sent only one bus and one van to the '88 demonstration. The march, however, was still a respectable size because many participants came from predominantly Black Washington, D.C., and nearby Baltimore, Md., where Black churches spearheaded the organizing and publicity efforts for the event.

"Register and vote"

At the rally, many speakers pointed to the real problems the protestors had come to oppose, but their only solution was to register and vote in the November elections. Although the march was officially "non-partisan," with both Michael Dukakis and George Bush invited to speak, organizers clearly intended to build support for the Democratic Party presidential ticket. At the same time, however, they wanted to pressure Dukakis into addressing their concerns.

The only Republican politician on the speakers' platform was Sen. Lowell Weiker (R-Conn.). George Bush cited scheduling problems for his inability to attend.

When Michael Dukakis spoke, demonstration organizers probably viewed his appearance as the high



Rick Reinhard/Impact Visuals

"Large numbers of students, many of them from Black colleges, participated. For many it was their first demonstration."

point of the rally. But this estimate was not shared by most participants, who interrupted his carefully prepared speech with polite—but unenthusiastic—applause.

Dukakis's speech was filled with empty rhetoric about marching for social justice, his commitment to the "golden sunshine of opportunity" for everyone, and the need to end apartheid in South Africa. Of course, lest anyone misinterpret his remarks, Dukakis urged people to maintain their faith in America and assured them that laws are already "in place to end discrimination if we work at it."

Jackson's subdued tone

Most demonstrators regarded Jesse Jackson as the star of the rally. When the lead contingent of the march passed by the onlooking crowd, shouts of "There's Jesse" rang out while Dukakis was largely ignored.

The tone of Jackson's speech was unusually subdued. He did not want to detract from Dukakis's earlier speech. Although he received the most enthusiastic response when he called for D.C. statehood and day-care funding, most of his remarks concentrated on attacks on Reagan and Bush. He urged his listeners to register and vote because "hands that once picked cotton can now pick mayors, governors, and presidents."

While Jackson failed to mention Dukakis's name in his speech, he made his support to the Democratic Party clear as he said, "George Bush is not in Washington today. He must not be here for the inauguration next January."

March organizers tried to further reinforce the illusion that change can be achieved through the Democratic Party by listing the elected offices now held by many of the organizers of the '63 march.

Confusion on the left

One of the most surprising political evaluations of the march was given by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). While the Sept. 9, 1988, edition of *The Militant*, the SWP's newspaper, failed to report on the demonstration, it quoted SWP presidential candidate James Warren at a speech he gave in Greensboro, North Carolina.

"The rally today in Washington, D.C., on the 25th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington ... has nothing whatsoever to do with struggle or building a movement," Warren said. "It was a campaign rally that promised to solve the problems of the Black middle class if they can mobilize Black working people to vote for Dukakis."

Unfortunately, Warren's statement highlighted only one side of the demonstration. While it is an undeniable

fact that the organizers of the rally supported the Democratic Party and used the speakers' platform to reinforce illusions, this is nothing new.

The organizers of the '63 and '83 marches, which the SWP helped build and supported, had these same goals. Not only was the '63 march called with the express purpose of pressuring Congress into passing a voting-rights act, but the speeches were even subjected to prior censorship to ensure they didn't step outside the framework of the two capitalist parties.

By characterizing the demonstration as simply the case of a Black middle class deceiving the Black working class, Warren fails to recognize that the overwhelming majority of participants were workers and students. Furthermore, the most positive responses came not to calls for voter registration, but to calls for decent jobs, housing, and healthcare for all.

The official call was not a call to a Democratic Party rally. It stated: "On Aug. 27, 1988, people from across our nation will once again March on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom and commemorate the Great March on Washington 25 years ago when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his famous 'I Have a Dream' speech to hundreds of thousands."

This call sums up the reason most demonstrators participated. They came not for a Democratic Party rally but to celebrate the real democratic gains of the past 25 years and to demand "jobs, peace, and freedom." It's the current Black leadership—and the trade-union bureaucracy—that tries to give these mobilizations a pro-Democratic Party flavor.

Rather than rely upon the Democratic Party, Blacks need to form their own independent political party to fight for these goals.

A mass-action strategy

Like the SWP did in 1963 and 1983, socialists should join with other supporters of civil rights to build and mobilize for these actions. Rather than stand on the sidelines, thereby giving up the field to pro-Democrats, socialists should use these activities to explain how the civil rights gains were won: through mass marches and rallies independent of the two capitalist parties.

Despite the failure of the leadership of the Aug. 27 demonstration to point the way forward, a majority-Black crowd of 55,000 demanding "jobs, peace, and equality" in a presidential election year is significant. It shows the deep-seated sentiment for real change and the potential for building a movement which could successfully address these issues. ■

Gov't intervention deals blow to railworkers' strike

By TINA BEACOCK

CHICAGO—Congress, which has special powers over the rail industry, imposed a settlement on Sept. 9 ending the strike by United Transportation Union (UTU) members against the Chicago Northwestern (CNW) railroad.

While senators, congress members, and the CNW called the settlement a compromise, the imposed Presidential Emergency Board (PEB) findings gave the railroad all it wanted—dealing a blow to rail labor as a whole.

As UTU General Chairman Don Markgraf said, "They put railway labor back 100 years and, consequently, the little man has been beaten down again through the corporations by the politicians."

The UTU, however, was not beaten by lack of militancy or solidarity, or by CNW's running trains with scabs. We were beaten by the strike-breaking role of Congress, which unanimously voted for the PEB with the active collaboration of the UTU international leadership. We didn't lose because of our own forces—but because we weren't allowed to use the force we have.

A new pattern for the industry

Congress imposed the PEB finding drawn up by three "neutral" Reagan appointees after a strike deadline in April was postponed. The PEB terms, called horrifying by Markgraf, don't call for the reduction of crews—as is the pattern on the other major railroads—but for the elimination of the ground crew (700 immediately and the rest through arbitration by another "neutral" party) and the establishment of engineer-conductor crews.

The PEB grants no attrition, no job protection except first chance at the gate, no train-length limits, and no productivity pay. It offers only the elimination of jobs, and a \$50,000 buy-out. Even that has a loophole, as the establishment of guaranteed extraboards allows the CNW to "regulate" the size of the workforce without paying a penny.

The PEB granted the CNW relief because, it claims, since it didn't have time to check on the railroad's finances, it would simply back them up.

But the Emergency Board and Congress weren't interested in knowing the special conditions of the CNW. They were setting a new pattern for the industry. Every major carrier will immediately be clamoring for equal concessions.

A candidate for union-busting

For various reasons—the perceived weakness of its unions, its anti-labor reputation, and its sky-high debt—Chicago Northwestern was a good candidate to carry out the first broadside in the industry's union-busting campaign.

CNW threatened bankruptcy and breakup, although its August 1988 figures boast a 1000 percent increase in net income to \$20 million in the second quarter, from \$2 million a year ago. It carried out an aggressive campaign to recruit scabs, through *Railfinders* and its own ads, and bragged it would run 80 percent of normal traffic during a strike.

President James Wolfe said, "We're not going to back away." CNW waged a campaign to get other unions to scab. It attempted to get the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE) to sign a "scab clause," an agreement to cross picket lines—which BLE members rejected.

CNW sent a ballot to all union and non-union employees two days before the August strike to vote on crossing the picket line. Only 49 out of 7000 ballots were returned.

As events unfolded, it became clear that the railroad was incapable of weathering any serious strike. In April, it was the CNW which appealed to Reagan to set up the Emergency Board. When the Board made its findings, the CNW had only to go



Tina Beacock/Socialist Action

through the motions of negotiation, confident that Congress would back it.

Congress backs the railroad

On Aug. 4, Congress intervened to back the railroad. As the midnight deadline approached, Sen. Paul Simon (D.-Ill.) worked out a deal; the CNW and the UTU would postpone the rules change and the strike until 9 a.m. to avoid inconveniencing the commuters.

By the time pickets went up, Congress was already in session passing a cooling-off period, sending the union back to work. But Congress' command performance was still to come.

On Sept. 9, the CNW again delayed implementing its rules. The UTU didn't strike until 9 a.m., allowing the morning commuter rush and the day shift to go in.

Even though the postponements and the common belief that we were about to be ordered back to work discouraged some, the ranks wanted a serious strike. The papers said the Aug. 4 strike had cost the company \$1 million. This one would be more effective, we hoped.

The PEB breezed through the Senate the night before, spearheaded by Sen. Simon, with unanimous bipartisan support. But the bill didn't come up in the House until the early afternoon. When news hit the radio that one congress member, Charles Hayes, had objected, a ripple of hope went through the picket lines. If the objection stood, we were out till the following Wednesday.

Hayes's objection, however, lasted exactly 20 minutes. He'd had it "explained" to him again, and the vote for the bill was unanimous.

Five-hundred-thirty five members of the House and Senate, led by Paul Simon, Illinois co-chair of the Mike "good jobs at good wages" Dukakis campaign—followed closely by all the Kennedys, Quayles, Hydes, and Conyers—had all fallen into line to strikebreak.

"Friends of labor?"

This put to a clear test the bankrupt strategy—pursued for decades by the union's misleaders—of relying on the politicians instead of our own capacity to shut down transportation to defend ourselves. With one of the largest legislative departments of any union giving away thousands of dollars of members' money to candidates, the UTU had been unable to secure the vote of a single "friend of labor."

Congress members who experienced momentary electoral discomfort for voting

against labor were given cover by the UTU international officers.

At the last UTU convention, while campaigning for re-election, President Fred Hardin had promised the moon and stars to the UTU members on the CNW, including the authority to extend the strike to secondary pickets, shutting down a railroad a day if necessary. But as the deadline approached, it became clear that the international mis-leadership would prefer any solution to an effective strike.

When asked at a regional UTU meeting to mobilize the national legislative department against the imposition of the PEB, Hardin refused, saying the state-legislative departments, scattered around the country, could lobby if they wished.

When asked about mounting an effective strike, Hardin said secondary pickets would only cause Congress to pass a law against them—which is like saying, the donkey won't get hit as long as it doesn't bray.

Why follow a suicidal course?

Why did the UTU international officers take this suicidal course when it will clearly be faced with the demands of every major railroad to match the terms of the CNW settlement?

In the first place, UTU members now have the right to vote on contracts. Any such outrageous settlement as the PEB would have been turned down flat by the UTU ranks. Imposed by Congress, no vote was necessary. Hardin's hands are clean.

Secondly, the only serious alternative to

accepting the CNW's demands would involve the mobilization of the membership to strike—not just for a few hours, and not just against the CNW, but against Congress. This would necessitate the mobilization of the union's members, and a mobilized and educated membership does not tolerate ineffective or treacherous leadership for long.

Many UTU members were frustrated when the bill passed and they were ordered to take down the pickets. As one member, Gerry Muntges, told the press, "Everytime we try to get something done, Congress steps in and kills it."

We must recognize our power!

What happens on the CNW now depends on what happens on the other major railroads. It's clear we have the power to defeat the settlement, as even the short strike on the CNW demonstrated. While some say, the CNW didn't run trains because they expected the settlement, the opposite is true: The CNW had to get the settlement because they *couldn't* run trains.

Unlike the airline industry, where PATCO was isolated and smashed, railroad unions have a strong tradition of solidarity. Even with very little maneuvering room, pickets in the brief strike were able to shut down the railroad from stem to stern for hours.

One can only imagine the electrifying effect it would have had if instead of pulling down the pickets, the union leadership had refused to recognize Congress' strikebreaking law.

Some UTU members compared the imposed settlement to the Polish government's suppression of Solidarnosc. The other side of that comparison is that the recent strikes in Poland offer a powerful example of how to answer undemocratic anti-union laws!

There will continue to be those who insist we must lobby *more* politicians. The unanimous bipartisan rush of the politicians to oppose us gives a deafening answer to this proposition. We can only rely on our own forces.

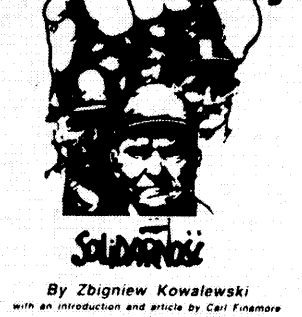
The treacherous role of the UTU International officers demands their replacement. But we need to assure that we don't get other "go-fers" for the railroads in their stead.

To do this, the rank and file of the UTU and the other railroad unions have to organize. We have to organize all those who agree that it is necessary for the unions to recognize the power we have in the strike weapon and that we are prepared to use it.

We have to organize to defend ourselves against the corporations, the politicians, and all those who would aid them in "setting back rail labor 100 years." And we must be organized to win the democratic control of the unions by the rank-and-file membership. ■

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Wayne State workers reject offer

By BARBARA PUTNAM

DETROIT—United Auto Workers Local 2071, representing 908 clerical workers at Wayne State University, is continuing a strike that began Aug. 25. In a move that surprised everybody, members of Local 2071 turned down a proposed settlement on Sept. 21.

Meanwhile, about 608 professors, members of the American Association of University Professors, who struck with Local 2071, reached a tentative agreement and returned to their classrooms on Sept. 20.

The strike was provoked largely through the actions of administration president David Adamany, who is notorious for his anti-union positions and his confrontational style ("Unions aren't necessary in an academic setting").

Long before negotiations, the administration cooked up a strategy to force the staff to accept the anti-union Hay system of reclassifying jobs, short-term (read "two-tier") appointments, and more administration-conducted merit evaluations.

According to Adamany's philosophy, workers' and professors' salaries were to be tied to state appropriations. They used a 1-percent to 2-percent salary offer as a battering ram. But these things were thrown off the table by the strength of the strike.

"Just like the '60s"

Local 2071 was forced to respond when, during negotiations, the administration hired 52 "replacements" (read "scabs") to begin working in the event of a strike. Not only that, but the administration demanded that clerical workers who normally handle registration *train* the scabs.

Infuriated by this outrage, the workers walked off the job, and Local 2071 then called a strike. On Adamany's direct instructions, five union picketers and a representative of the international union were roughed up and arrested by campus police.

Immediately, the strike mushroomed. The professors walked out, and the local labor movement responded. There were several mass rallies and a huge publicity campaign against the arrests. Later, Adamany was forced to drop the charges of "trespassing," because Wayne State University is a public institution.

Student groups organized sympathy rallies and the professors organized teach-ins. Many remarked that the campus was "just like the '60s." As support for the strike grew and as the tactics became more militant, a tentative agreement was given.

Terms of the agreement

The offer contained, most importantly, a 4.2-percent across-the-board pay raise in the first year (based only on a median salary of \$16,000) and 3.2 percent in the second year. It also gave workers 2.5-percent in equity pay (a gesture towards step increases long frozen).

Gone were the Hay classification study, the short-term appointments, salaries tied to state appropriations, and the 1-percent to 2-percent salary offer.

Professors got a similar offer: 4.5 percent across the board in the first year and 3



NYU workers end strike

By ELIZABETH CAMPBELL and BELLE KENNEDY

NEW YORK—Clerical and technical workers at New York University (NYU) began to return to work on Sept. 19 after waging a militant three-week strike for pay equity and an agency shop.

In a mass meeting, union members voted by a large majority to approve the proposed three-year contract. The settlement provides for a 5.5 percent across-the-board pay raise this year, which is close to the university's original offer. But it also offers additional compensation to workers at the lower end of the pay scale.

"We feel we won," said Peter Filardo, treasurer of Local 3882 of the United Staff Association, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers. "Our focus has been to address the issue of equity, and this moves us in that direction."

The membership of Local 3882 is 70 percent women and 50 percent Black and Latino. These lowest-paid workers sought pay equity with the mostly male workers who work on comparable jobs—such as elevator operators, security guards, and porters—and who earn about \$2000 more per year.

Unfortunately, the union failed to gain an agency shop in the settlement. An

agency shop would have meant that all workers who benefit from the union have to pay union dues or their equivalent.

USA was formed in 1978. After a strong organizing drive last spring, the union has over 920 members. The vote to strike was almost unanimous.

Students and faculty formed strike-support committees. Some faculty members held classes off campus; many donated a day's worth of pay to Local 3882's hardship fund. Several other unions—the Teamsters and those of UPS, AT&T, and Bell Telephone—refused to go through the picket lines.

Inside the university, though, things were more difficult. There are five separate bargaining units at NYU, and the other four crossed the picket lines. The fight in the future will be for a single campus-wide union; as it is now, the university administration pits working people on the campus against each other.

It's been a hard fight for Local 3882, but the union has taken an important step forward. The campus and residents of the Lower Manhattan community (for many of whom NYU is the landlord) are now well aware of the union's existence. And the experience the NYU workers have gained will be put to use in all future struggles.

percent in the second. Although they did not get their demand for an agency shop (all professors would pay dues to the union or if they didn't like the union, would contribute to a fund for students), the professors felt they received at least a decent compromise.

The professors' bargaining committee had a policy of openness to the membership from the beginning and had no trouble presenting a tentative agreement to its members in a realistic way. However, this did not hold true for Local 2071. Out of 908 workers, only about 500 stayed off the job

throughout the strike. The rest either continued working or stayed home.

In a confused and emotional meeting of 379 members of Local 2071, the agreement was turned down 221-158. Those who voted "no" did so for mixed reasons. There was a sharp feeling that the union leadership has not been honest with the membership. Thus, the vote was more a vote of "no confidence" than a realistic assessment of the strategy and tactics of the strike. A thorough-going evaluation of tactics and strategy is sorely needed now.

Autoworkers vote for 'New Directions'

By KEVIN FITZPATRICK

DETROIT—On Sept. 2, in a special election, Jerry Tucker was elected director of Region 5 (eight states in the South Central United States) of the United Auto Workers union (UAW).

Tucker is head of the "New Directions" movement, and his defeat of incumbent Kenneth Worley marks the first time in 40 years that someone not a member of what nowadays calls itself the "administration caucus" will sit on the UAW's International Executive Board (IEB). Worley was the most senior member of the IEB.

In 1948, the late Walter Reuther consolidated his control of the UAW, banishing all serious opposition and setting out on a course of red-baiting and "labor-management cooperation." For these last 40 years, the IEB has been the Reuther caucus, and the Reuther caucus has been the IEB.

So when a controversial question arose, the democratic and open meetings of the IEB were simply suspended, a meeting of the Reuther caucus took place and the IEB was reconvened—with the decisions already made.

In the immediate post-war period, Reuther and his associates could still present themselves as progressives, and win real, but limited, gains for the UAW membership. With the ending of the boom in the 1970s, this situation has ended.

Since 1978, the administration caucus has presided over the wave of concessions and layoffs that have severely weakened the UAW and caused immense damage to its members. "New Directions" arose in response to these last 10 years.

"A restless membership"

In its September 1986 "New Directions Movement Report," the origin of the opposition is expressed: "A number of elected local union leaders had begun to feel a personal sense of frustration, and rising pressure from a restless, dissatisfied membership."

On this basis, Jerry Tucker was selected to run against Worley for the regional director's post. But at the 1986 convention of the UAW, Tucker lost by a mere 16/100 of a vote—after a whole series of dirty tricks and sordid maneuvers, including racist attacks, by the official UAW leadership.

These tactics were so obvious that "New Directions" went to court, after exhausting UAW channels, and got the new election ordered.

"New Directions" has tapped into a groundswell of anger and militancy. Tucker talks about his family connections with the American Railway Union of Eugene Debs and with the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World. At the same time, he adds cautiously: "We seek to humanize (capitalism). We seek to make it a little more benevolent."

There is no question that autoworkers, and many other unionists besides, are eagerly seeking *new directions*. The question is—and our experiences in the struggle will determine the answer—whether this movement can provide a true and steady compass for the future.

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The hidden history of Zionism

by Ralph Schoenman

... Dukakis's 'miracle' - For whom?

(continued from page 1)

of at least some job waiting for them if they needed it.

One economist, James Howell, has gone off the deep end to call the state's economic experience "a dramatic revitalization that was the second most significant step in market capitalism" (the first being the English Industrial Revolution).

But unemployment in Massachusetts has not been driven down by the policies of Dukakis. This has been the result of a combination of factors:

- the presence of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and its spawning of thousands of new high-tech companies which employ ex-industrial workers from higher-paying jobs;
- a 1980 ballot initiative that slashed property taxes, creating an alleged favorable "business climate;"
- and the outrageous cost of housing.

(Massachusetts consistently ranks first or second in housing costs in the United States, with the average home costing around \$170,000, and apartments—when they can be found—priced hundreds of dollars per month above most other cities).

In fact, housing costs are a major deterrent to those thinking about moving into the state to take advantage of the "miracle." As Barbara Anderson, head of the Citizens for Limited Taxation, said, "It's not hard to keep unemployment down when population growth is near zero and nobody is moving into the state."

Putting welfare mothers to work

One of the Duke's great "successes" has been the Employment and Training-Choices (E.T.) program, which forces mothers on welfare into the workforce. This "model program" is supposed to compassionately fix the nation's welfare mess. Capitalist politicians, business leaders, and even some social reformers think it's great.

Teresa Arnott, a University of Massachusetts economist, looks at it differently. Last year in *The Nation* magazine, she said of E.T.: "Welfare mothers are used like immigrants used to be, as cheap workers in a short labor market. ... The program takes welfare recipients and serves them up to the business community on a silver platter." No wonder the capitalists are backing it.

E.T., Arnott continued, "accepts the marketplace and all the values that go along with it—the racism, the sexism, the differential wages for women, all the inequalities."

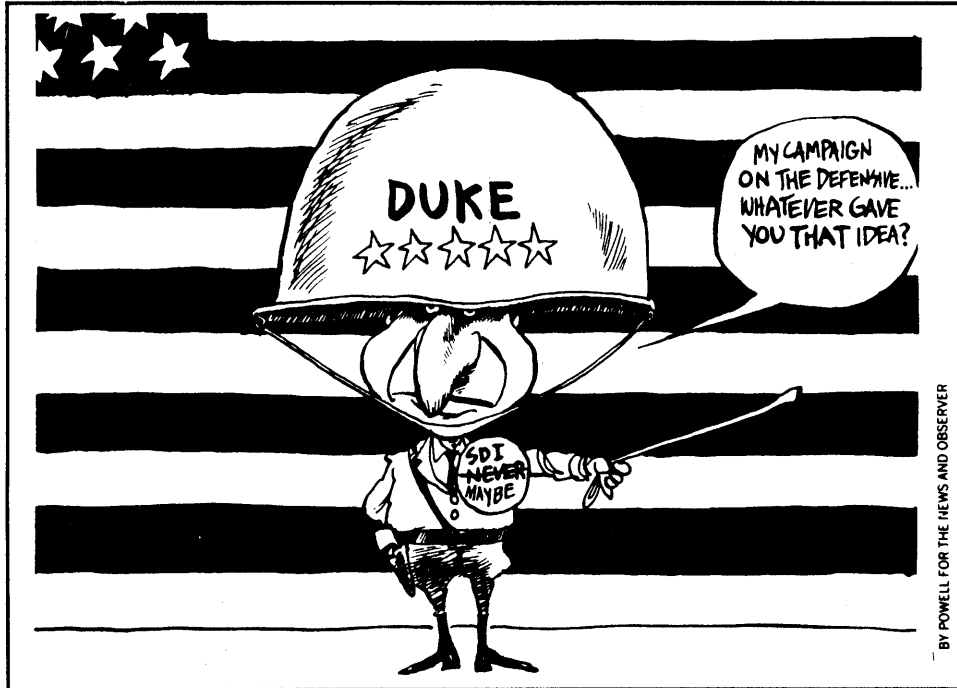
About 40 percent of the women in E.T. end up back on welfare. The rest are given jobs with wages way below what's needed to raise a family in Massachusetts. More than half of the E.T. "graduates"—even those with jobs—live below the so-called poverty line.

Plant closings law

Another Dukakis "innovation" is his plant-closings law. He likes to talk about how the law protects workers and their communities, but this "consensus-building" law, like many of the Duke's laws, lacks any enforcement mechanisms.

The law is supposed to resolve issues through a consultative process. Business likes it because it brings stability and predictability, supposedly cutting down on wildcat strikes, boycotts, and general labor unrest.

Despite the Dukakis campaign literature, the Massachusetts Mature Industries Act never gave workers in plants that were closing "the right to 90-days notice." The act relies on voluntary compliance. And the number of workers who received no



notice of plant closings has risen in the state, up to 75 percent.

The number receiving 13 or more weeks of severance pay from their employer remained at 1 percent, while those receiving no severance pay has risen to 86 percent. Tom Gallagher of the New England Equity Institute puts it this way: "There is less to the law than meets the eye. It provides no sanctions against employers who willfully ignore the law and fail to provide benefits mandated by the state."

Defense and foreign policy

One mustn't ignore the most hypocritical factor in the economic miracle: defense contracts. The latest massive arms build-up, which began under Jimmy Carter, drove the Massachusetts economy to new highs. To this day the state's prosperity is propped up by research into and the manufacture and sale of the weapons of war.

The Duke's recent turnaround in favor of funding research on Star Wars shows that he's no dummy. MIT and businesses here provide the backbone of that research, and the Duke can ill afford to alienate those in his own backyard on their bread-and-butter issue.

When he was only a governor it was easy to pay liberal lip service to the call for a halt to SDI, but now that he's a real presidential candidate the requirement to stake out a clearer position on "defense" issues puts him on the spot. He's even gone so far as to state that he would, "of course," deploy SDI if it were called for.

The Dukakis defense policy calls for building up conventional forces—those forces most likely to be called upon for escapades like the invasion of Grenada and

the Persian Gulf fiasco. At a recent news conference he articulated his turnaround on the nuclear freeze, a position he once spoke out strongly for in Massachusetts. He wants to "take on the leadership of the Soviet Union."

Dukakis continued, "We are united in our commitment to a strong, effective and credible nuclear deterrent, strong, well-equipped and well-trained conventional forces, and to a strong America that ... is No. 1."

Dukakis speaks out of both sides of his mouth as he promises to balance the budget and reduce the deficit, and as he makes it clear that we can expect our tax dollars to go for building more weapons for use in U.S. adventures around the globe, including Central America.

While Dukakis once called the contra war "illegal and immoral," he has had nothing to say about recent attempts by Senate Democrats to provide more aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolution. He wants to derail Republican attempts to manipulate the "differences" between himself and his running mate, Lloyd Bentsen, on contra aid.

The Duke and sexual politics

Dukakis has had one encounter with "sexual politics," and it's been a disaster for him ever since. Back a few years ago, *The Boston Globe* reported that two exemplary foster parents, a gay male couple in Boston, were housing two homeless children.

Before the day was out Dukakis ordered the children removed from the home, and then issued a new foster-care policy: Two-

parent, married, heterosexual families were to be the priority recipients of foster children.

Gays were, and are, outraged. And so are many feminists and liberals who supported Dukakis in the past. The new policy illegitimizes unmarried couples, whether gay or straight. Gays and their supporters have challenged Dukakis frequently on the campaign trail on this issue.

The Duke and organized labor

On Aug. 24 the AFL-CIO leadership endorsed Dukakis, once again turning to a Democratic "friend of labor" who will, they hope, help it win strikes, organize, stem the tide of contract concessions, and enforce safety on the job.

Many of these labor misleaders believe that the union retreats of this decade have been a byproduct of Republican rule. But how much do they really believe it?

Ten years ago Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO president, said: "When the Republicans are in, business wins because it owns the party. When the Democrats are in, business wins because it extracts the price of 'business confidence.' That price usually includes the sacrifice of the main elements of ... labor's program." Is it any different today?

Democrats began backing off from "labor's program" before the endorsement. In the one Dukakis position paper on labor issues released so far, there is no mention of the union leaders' major concern: labor law reform. The AFL-CIO wants to penalize unfair labor practices more severely, accelerate union election procedures, and permit certification based on signed authorization cards.

But in the Dukakis position paper, the candidate stresses "quality of worklife" and other "employee participation" efforts that promote increased productivity and product quality—with or without the existence of a union. And this year's Democratic platform is the first one in 40 years that doesn't call for repeal of the Taft-Hartley "right-to-work" laws that bust unions in more than 20 states.

What road for labor?

As usual, the Democrats clearly pose workers with a critical choice: Continue to vote for the so-called "friends" who really represent the bosses, or break with the twin parties of capitalism and form a labor party. A labor party, based on the unions, would stand independent of the bosses, speak for all the oppressed, and work to establish a government of the workers where human needs come before profits.

George Bush is right when he characterizes Michael Dukakis as just another Democrat cut from the same cloth. George Bush should know, because he's really no different. They both represent the capitalists, and they both represent a dead-end road for the U.S. working class. ■

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By AL LUNDFORD

YONKERS, N.Y.—This city, the fourth largest in New York state, has become, in the words of Federal Judge Leonard Sand, "a national symbol of defiance of federal civil-rights orders."

Yonkers has spent millions of dollars on every possible legal maneuver to preserve segregation in its housing and schools. On Sept. 10, however, the city council finally approved a court-ordered plan to desegregate the city's housing.

The vote came one month after Judge Sand levied large fines against the city and four city-council members who had attempted to block the plan. By September, the fines had mounted up, and the city was taking steps to implement a series of service cutbacks and layoffs of municipal workers.

Legal moves to desegregate Yonkers began 13 years ago when Winston Ross, after a lifetime of racial oppression in Yonkers, filed a segregation complaint with the school board. Getting nowhere, he went to the state and then to the federal government.

After another five years, the Justice Department finally filed a suit, later joined by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), against Yonkers.

In 1985, Judge Sand found Yonkers guilty of four decades of intentional segregation in housing and schools. For the first time—and 31 years after the Supreme Court outlawed segregated schools—a government suit linked housing and school segregation.

Gerrymandering, discrimination

The Yonkers case was both more clear-cut and the officials more intransigent than

Yonkers racists forced to desegregate housing



Black residents of Yonkers confront racists who oppose desegregation of housing.

in other cities. The city council never expected the laws to be enforced. The city was forced to admit that it had gerrymandered the voting districts so Blacks couldn't dominate a district, and that it had discriminated in hiring city workers.

This January, a majority of the city council agreed to a consent decree to build 200 units of low-income public housing and 800 units of middle-income housing. The pro-segregationist forces, which had been organizing for years, mobilized; council meetings were drowned out by shouting and anti-segregationists and

council members received death threats.

By June 1, the council had halted all action on housing. On Aug. 1, the council defied the court by rejecting part of the housing plan.

The segregationists charged that Yonkers already had a higher share of publicly assisted housing than any other community in suburban Westchester. They also pointed out that the more affluent neighboring communities of Bronxville, Scarsdale, and Hastings had no public housing or discrimination suits filed against them.

The demagoguery mounted as segregationist leaders appealed to white working people to mobilize against Blacks and liberals. Councilman Longo stated, "It is a typical case of the hypocrisy of the rich and elitist looking down on those who must work for everything they have." Councilman Fagan joined in, "The revolution has started and working people have to rise up!"

Government winks at racism

There is a resurgence of overt racism in the white petty-bourgeoisie and working class as a means to vent their rage over their economic insecurity. This has provided the bosses with a ready battering ram to attack the democratic rights of the oppressed while undermining the working-class movement.

This is complemented by the government's approving winks to anti-segregation forces. Blacks remain angry

that most leading Democrats, including Governor Mario Cuomo, sought to avoid the issue.

Judge Sand called on Governor Cuomo to remove the recalcitrant city-council members from office. Instead, Cuomo indicated that he was sympathetic with those who opposed housing desegregation. He said he believed that their opposition was undoubtedly for economic, not racial, reasons. Thus he acted to legitimize the arguments that serve as a cover for the practice of racial oppression.

All of this occurs in the context of a deepening housing crisis in the New York metropolitan area. Even in this last period of the "Reagan recovery," poverty is increasing for the more oppressed layers of working people, providing a breeding ground for crime and drugs.

The struggle in Yonkers is not finished yet. Some city-council members are still opting for changes in the housing plan. What is necessary to win the fight is a broad movement for more and better housing and schools and decent jobs for all at union wages.

A united-front-type coalition is needed—which would include the NAACP, the unions, and all those who support democratic rights—to mobilize in the streets against the segregationists and to help direct the cries of Yonkers' Black people for empowerment into forms of independent political action.

... Sad state

(continued from page 1)

created between 1973 and 1985 were low-paying jobs. By 1987 average weekly earnings had dropped to the wage level that prevailed in the 1960s.

- Children are the fastest growing population beneath the poverty line, especially among Blacks, Latinos, and single-parent female households. Incredibly, nearly 50 percent of Black children live in poverty.

- Twenty percent of American families have zero worth in terms of financial assets.

- The report also documents who has profited from this misery: The wealthiest 10 percent of Americans now own 86 percent of all financial assets and 57 percent of the nation's net worth.

A program to solve the crisis

Many working people realize that Dukakis and Bush have no solutions for this social crisis. On the contrary, both these candidates and the political parties they represent are responsible for the growing gap in the distribution of America's wealth.

The only way to solve this crisis is to formulate a program that represents the

interests of working people. This should include:

- Break from the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties of the ruling rich. Form a labor party based on the unions to fight for all workers, the unemployed, and the oppressed.

- Fight for a 30-hour week with 40-hours' pay to make more jobs available.

- Institute a massive public-works program to provide full employment at union scale.

- Guarantee full cost-of-living escalator clauses for all workers to offset the erosion of income through inflation.

- Defend and extend affirmative-action programs to overcome the systematic discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, other oppressed minorities, and women.

Socialist Action stands on this program.

The best way to express your support for this program in these elections is to cast a vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party: James Warren for President and Kathy Mickells for Vice President. We urge you to vote for them.

Behind the Reagan era 'prosperity'

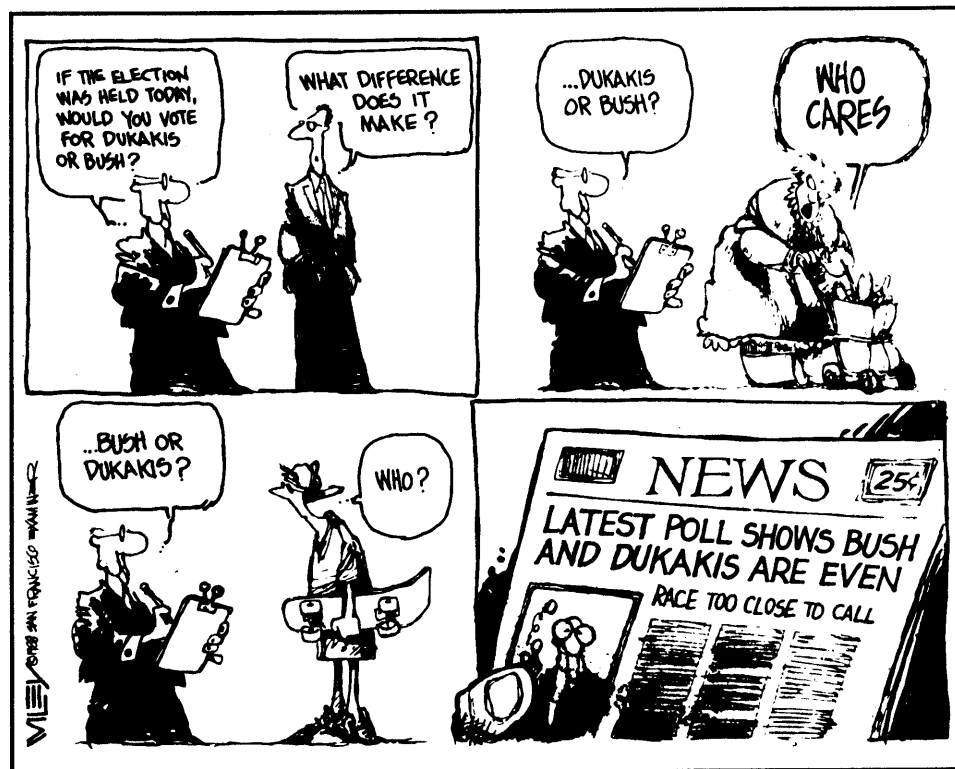
By CHARLIE ADAMS

George Bush has been touting the "prosperity" of the Reagan era as his trump card in the current election year ballyhoo. He constantly refers to the 17 million jobs created under the Reagan administration and points with pride to a Gross National Product (GNP) which has expanded for 70 months as of this writing.

If measured against the depths of the manufactured depression of 1982, he has a point. In 1982, median household income fell to \$22,480 in constant 1985 dollars. In 1985, using the same standard, it rose to \$23,618.

What Bush is trying to do is claim that a recovery from a recession is "prosperity."

A closer look at trends which affect



working people's lives reveals a picture which is far from the rosy one painted by Mr. Bush. The \$23,618 median family income of 1985 is a significant drop from the all-time high of \$25,447 recorded in 1973.

Using another measure, average weekly earnings per worker (this time measured in constant 1977 dollars), workers made \$187 per week in 1970 and only \$170 in 1985. Another and perhaps more relevant figure is that the 1985 family income of \$23,618 was achieved with 54.6 percent of wives working, while the 1973 median of \$25,447 was the result of only 44.6 percent of wives working.

The government does not keep figures for "family workweek." However, using figures on marital status, occupation, and the approximately 70 percent of men's earnings which women suffer under, we can approximate a family workweek of 72 hours in 1985 and 67.5 in 1973.

In short, even with more family members working, and hence a longer family workweek, the standard of living has fallen absolutely in comparison with 1975.

Country wisdom

A farmer in the Midwest recently bought a television set. He complained to the salesman: "I have a big problem with this TV set. No matter what channel I turn on, I get only Dukakis or Bush."

"No problem," said the salesman. "We'll send out a technician."

After an hour, the technician came back to the farmer's house and reported: "I have found the problem. The aerial was attached to the windmill, and the television was grounded to a manure spreader."

Another question to ask is: Who is getting the benefit from the 70 months of economic growth? Using Department of Commerce figures for March 1986, the bottom 60 percent of families (that's you and me) earned 32.4 percent of the national personal income while the top 20 percent alone earned 43.5 percent.

For a number of reasons, including a lack of leadership, workers have been picked off factory by factory, shop by shop, and office by office to accept a lower standard of living.

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At our Aug. 6 rally in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Fourth International, we launched a \$30,000 fall fund drive. To date, we have collected \$12,000.

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Strike wave sweeps Poland; Solidarnosc at a crossroads

On Sept. 26, Poland's authorities chose a new prime minister, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, a veteran Stalinist known for his hard-line opposition to the legalization of Solidarnosc. It is expected that Rakowski's views will set the tone at the upcoming "round-table" negotiations between Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak and Lech Walesa.

Through these negotiations, the leadership of the Stalinist Polish Unified Workers Party (PUWP) is hoping to coopt the top leadership of Solidarnosc into agreeing to work within the 1982 law on trade unions. This law, drafted after martial law was imposed and Solidarnosc was banned, limits the right to strike and lays down strict rules on what constitutes acceptable trade-union activities.

According to this scenario, Solidarnosc would be recognized in some form within the official Stalinist trade unions in return for its support to this law. In other words, Solidarnosc wouldn't be legalized at all. Forfeiting its independence from the regime, it would be dealt a powerful blow.

In the article printed below, Polish author and activist Zbigniew Kowalewski discusses the meaning of the August 1988 strike wave in Poland and the dangers facing Solidarnosc in the negotiations with the Polish regime.

The article appeared in the Sept. 7-13, 1988, issue of Rouge, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, the French section of the Fourth International. It has been translated by Socialist Action.

By ZBIGNIEW KOWALEWSKI

On Sept. 1, 1988, close to 3000 young workers from the Lenin shipyard marched in the streets of Gdansk. In this manner, they concluded their 10-day sit-down strike. "There is no freedom without Solidarnosc," they chanted, taking up the demand they had raised when they occupied the shipyard in May 1988. This demand was raised by strikers throughout Poland.

Their numbers were three or four times greater than on May 10. In May, they had



been the last in the country to end their strike. This time, they were the ones to call on the other strikers, who were still holding out, to go back to work. But their call was issued half-heartedly and with great bitterness.

Many among the marchers spoke of betrayal on the part of their leadership. Lech Walesa encountered serious difficulties when he sought to impose his return-to-work order on the strike committee and, later, on the mass of strikers, most of whom were 20 years younger than him. It

1988 strike movement. What the bureaucracy fears, in reality, is a wave of future strikes that could result in the dynamic of a general strike.

The degree of decomposition of the regime is already such that future struggles are sure to be on the horizon. After the recent strikes and student demonstrations, the state apparatus and the ruling Polish Unified Workers Party (PUWP) have been gripped by a feeling of powerlessness. The impression is that the bureaucracy is increasingly unable to govern the country. The new strike wave only confirmed the predictions of the most pessimistic bureaucrats who had to admit publicly that they saw no end in sight to the "vicious circle" of strife.

The king has no clothes. Gen. Kiszczak—the chief of police and one of the main architects of the military crackdown of December 1981—has now concentrated in his hands all the instruments of repression ... and of political initiative. It is he, the man responsible for deciding when the workers shall be crushed, who has been chosen by the central committee of the PUWP to meet with public enemy No. 1, the electrician from Gdansk, Lech Walesa.

Walesa had set forth two conditions for such a meeting to take place. He wanted to be met not as a simple citizen but as the president of Solidarnosc, and he wanted to discuss the legalization of the trade union.

No commitments

Things, however, did not proceed as Walesa had hoped. In the official communiqué, issued at the conclusion of their meeting, there was no mention made of the roles or titles of the two negotiators. Gen. Kiszczak, it was stated, met with Lech Walesa; it was not the Minister of the Interior who had met with the president of Solidarnosc. Worse still, no commitment was made by the bureaucracy to even promise future negotiations to legalize Solidarnosc. The third witness at this meeting, the Catholic Church, had to publicly acknowledge this fact.

Walesa's sudden recognition was not due solely to the importance of the August 1988 strike wave. In the official communiqué, issued at the conclusion of their meeting, there was no mention made of the roles or titles of the two negotiators. Gen. Kiszczak, it was stated, met with Lech Walesa; it was not the Minister of the Interior who had met with the president of Solidarnosc. Worse still, no commitment was made by the bureaucracy to even promise future negotiations to legalize Solidarnosc. The third witness at this meeting, the Catholic Church, had to publicly acknowledge this fact.

In the end, Walesa returned to Gdansk

empty-handed, though he was convinced, against all evidence to the contrary, that he had opened a path toward negotiations. His longstanding hope is that the bureaucracy will agree to discuss once again with Solidarnosc—or rather with him "as one Pole meeting with another," to use Walesa's favorite expression.

In the meantime, Kiszczak obtained the only thing he wanted from the meeting: He got Walesa to call off the strikes. His other objective was to derail the young generation of radical rebels who are yearning today to smash the system of bureaucratic rule and oppression. It was this generation that took the lead in the strike protests and that has a support network in the universities.

Still, even though the radicalizing youth have joined the ranks of the anti-authoritarian movements such as Liberty and Peace or the fledgling Polish Socialist Party (PPS), they still do not have a leadership that can match their degree of combativity and determination. And the void created by this lack of leadership is becoming alarming.

There is one simple but cruel lesson, even though it is a lesson that is often forgotten: A negotiator should only discuss publicly with the enemy while he or she is under the direct control and supervision of the masses—as occurred in Gdansk in August 1980.

A substitute, such as the Catholic Church, is worth what all substitutes for workers' democracy are worth: Nothing. From his meeting, Walesa did not even obtain a pledge from the authorities that no striker would be persecuted or fired. All that he got was a vague commitment from the Catholic hierarchy to guarantee the safety of the workers.

Prior to the negotiations with Walesa, in the middle of the strike wave, the Catholic Church had demanded that the regime reestablish trade-union pluralism and that it respect the dignity of the workers. Apparently, the Church got the word from the Vatican that its prolonged conciliatory attitude toward the regime was responsible for the loss of its prestige and influence among the Polish masses. Hence, with this new approach, the Church has come out reinforced from the recent strike wave. It will undoubtedly attempt to use this authority for its own interests, which are not the interests of the independent workers' movement.

Dangers of a pact

But the dangers are not limited to this. The "moderate" wing of the anti-bureau-

Hear about the fight of the Polish workers!

Zbigniew Kowalewski, renowned Polish author and activist, will tour 12 U.S. cities in October and November to speak on "Solidarnosc: The Struggle for Workers' Democracy in Poland."

Zbigniew Kowalewski U.S. tour schedule:

Boston:

Thurs., Oct. 15, 1 p.m., Suffolk Univ. Rm. to be announced.
Sun., Oct. 16, 7:30 p.m., Old Cambridge Baptist Church, 1151 Mass. Ave, Cambridge. \$3.
Mon., Oct. 17, 1:30 p.m., Univ. of Mass. Harbor Campus, Video Screening Rm, Wheatley (For info., call 617-497-0230)

Detroit:

Wed., Oct. 19, 7 p.m., Wayne State Univ., Student Center Bldg., Rm Hilberly A.

Cincinnati:

Thurs., Oct. 20, 7 p.m., Univ. of Cincinnati, 502 Swift Hall
Fri., Oct. 21, 11 a.m., U. of C. 425 T.U.C. (call 513-272-2596)

Cleveland:

Sat., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m., Cleve. State Univ.
Rm. to be announced.

Youngstown:

Sun., Oct. 23, 7 p.m., International Organization of Odd Fellows Hall, 14 South Main St., Hubbard, Ohio. (For Ohio info., 216-429-2167)

Chicago:

Tues., Oct. 25, 7:30 p.m., U.E. Hall, 37 S. Ashland. Donation: \$3.

Minnea./St. Paul:

For info. on Oct. 26-28 meetings in this area, call 612-430-1476.

Kansas City:

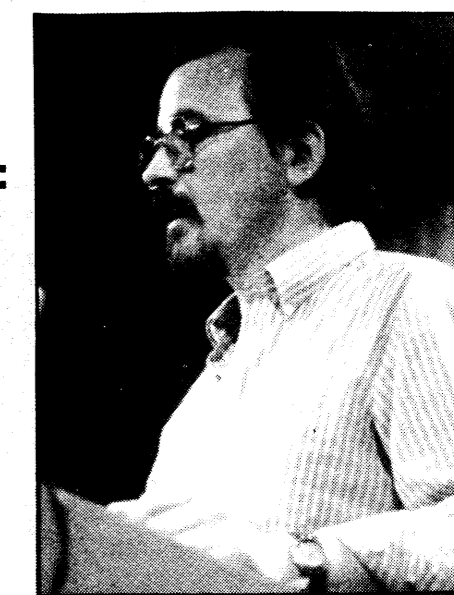
Mon., Oct. 31, 9:40 a.m., Penn Valley Community College, K.C., Missouri. Campus Center, Rm. 503.
Mon., Oct. 31, 1:30 p.m., Johnson County Community College, Rm G.B. 137, Overland Park, Kansas. (For info. on other meetings, call 913-384-6528.)

Los Angeles:

For info. on Nov. 1-4 meetings in this area call 213-250-4608.

San Francisco:

Sat., Nov. 5, 3 p.m., "Struggle For Socialist Democracy in Poland and the Soviet Union." Lecture and film showing of "Ten days that shook the World." 3435 Army, Rm. 308. Donation: \$5 (\$8 includes dinner)



San Francisco (Ctd.)

Mon., Nov. 7, 10 a.m., Humanities Rm. 248, S.F.S.U.
Wed., Nov. 9, 12 noon, Stephens Rm. 422 U.C. Berkeley. (For more info. on S.F. meetings, call 415-821-0458.)

Baltimore:

Thurs., Nov. 10, 7 p.m., Towson State University (For info., call 301-296-3391)

New York:

Fri., Nov. 11, 7:30 p.m., Location to be announced. (For more info. on Nov. 11-14 meetings in New York area, call 718-499-5961.)

What is behind Pravda article on Leon Trotsky?

By CARL FINAMORE

Only a short time ago, the name of Leon Trotsky was forbidden in the Soviet Union. He was a non-person. His photographs were absent from public view, his written texts were banned, his many revolutionary contributions were denied.

Even Trotsky's office at the historic Smolny Institute, nerve center of the 1917 Russian Revolution, was sealed closed. The famous photograph of two soldiers standing guard before the Soviet's Military Revolutionary Committee office remained for everyone to see during public tours of the Smolny, but the strategist who organized the insurrection from that room was never heard from.

For two generations, the door was closed on the Bolshevik leader of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, chief commander of the Red Army, and chief left-oppositionist opponent of dictator Josef Stalin. But now, there have been some sounds from important Soviet officials that the squeaky hinges on that

closed door may be opening.

In the past few months, several different sources inside the Soviet Union have called for a reevaluation of Trotsky's role.

In late June, leading anti-Stalinist historian, Dr. Yuri Afanasyev, made the first public call for the rehabilitation of Trotsky and the publication of his writings. Dr. Afanasyev is director of the Institute for State Archivists, which has recently become a center for investigations into Stalin's record of abuses.

"It is very strange," Afanasyev said, "that professors and teachers try to criticize Trotsky when they have never read a word that he wrote. The same is still true of Bukharin and Kamenev and Zinoviev." Also in June, Otto R. Lacin, an economist and editor of the Communist Party journal *Kommunist*, said that Trotsky "deserves a [civil] rehabilitation. He was neither a spy nor a murderer, nor did he commit any criminal offenses."

But Lacin made an emphatic distinction when it came to Trotsky's political role. He said that "we must also not forget that he

repeatedly came out against Lenin and against the general party line. An objective definition of his role in our history will not lead to L. Trotsky's political rehabilitation."

Then, in early September, a senior historian and general in the Red Army opened the door wider than ever before. Colonel General Dmitri Volkogonov wrote in the Communist Party's official newspaper, *Pravda*, that Trotsky was "not the enemy of the revolution and socialism" but rather the enemy of Stalin.

He identified Trotsky as the most popular leader of the Russian Revolution after Lenin and implied that Trotsky was killed on orders from Stalin. Yet, referring to Trotsky, Volkogonov titles his article "The Demon of the Revolution."

To bury Trotsky, not praise him

These and other assessments of Trotsky appearing in the official Soviet press, though genuinely significant developments not seen in the last six decades, are still colored by contemporary bureaucratic



motives.

Volkogonov's assessment is a good example. Because of his close connections with the ruling stratum, his writings provide the closest glimpse so far of the kind of "rehabilitation" the Soviet bureaucrats have in mind for Trotsky.

Volkogonov is currently writing what will be the most complete and the most critical biography of Stalin yet to appear in the Soviet Union. Trotsky is mentioned several times in the preface. But most of Volkogonov's references are new attacks against Trotsky's anti-Stalinist fight; in fact, he sometimes uses language reminis-

cent of the original slanders flung by Stalin.

Volkogonov writes: "In 1927, L. Trotsky published 17 volumes of his works. In creating his 'works,' this politician, full of energy but not endowed with great literary talent (!), invariably showed-off before the mirror of history, trying to justify his pretensions to leadership in the Party...."

"No one else in the world wrote as much caustic, malicious, insulting, lampooning, and belittling material about Stalin as Trotsky did. In this way, he showed his true colors even more openly: He was not fighting for the truth but only for himself,

the dictator who never was."

Volkogonov brushes aside Trotsky's political ideas by painting his historic anti-Stalinist struggle as a power fight between two despots. But then he goes to some lengths to excuse Stalin.

After condemning Stalin's "unforgivable political mistakes," Volkogonov cautions the reader to remember that Stalin was in the leadership "in which the foundations of everything on which we stand today were created." Presumably, the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union should be grateful to Stalin for this.

Volkogonov walks a tightrope trying to keep criticisms of Stalinism within strict limits. But he slips. His observation that Stalin created the "foundations of everything on which we stand" is actually an admission that the current regime is rooted in the same bureaucratic, parasitic machine which Stalin built.

These undeniable links to the past foster deep concerns among those in top government circles. They fear that the massive repudiation of Stalin's crimes will lead to a sweeping indictment of the existing regime.

The "democratization" period called *glasnost* is, therefore, being carefully orchestrated by the bureaucrats. Official tolerance for alternative socialist viewpoints is still severely limited. The ruling Stalinist Communist Party wants to head off, in particular, any groups supporting

the revolutionary program advocated by Trotsky.

As a form of preventative medicine, Volkogonov discourages any investigation of the historical record of the anti-Stalinist Left Opposition. He assures us that "Today, one can assert that if Trotsky had taken the helm of the Party, it could have expected even greater ordeals, ordeals fraught with the loss of socialist gains—especially because Trotsky did not have a clear and scientific program of building socialism in the U.S.S.R."

Other published opinions are even further removed from the truth. In their rush to kneel before *perestroika* reform economic policies of the ruling bureaucracy, some "researchers" have aimed salvos at Lenin.

According to *The New York Times* (June 7, 1988), one leading Soviet journalist, V. Selyunin, left "little doubt that Lenin himself set the stage for what followed him."

A Soviet historian, N.P. Popov, was quoted as saying that the concentration of excessive power in the hands of the Communist Party started under Lenin, and that this paved the way for Stalin's creation of "the perfect totalitarian state."

Collision with Lenin, Trotsky

The central leader of the Bolshevik party, V.I. Lenin, was acutely aware of the growing bureaucratization of the Soviet state machinery.

Since April 1988, they have been in a state of upheaval.

Next door, in the land of the "Big Brother," the bureaucratic *perestroika* "reforms" have not yet provoked a mass reaction from the soviet workers. But the oppressed nationalities are beginning to raise their heads in a number of soviet republics. And if the demand of trade union pluralism—of independent unionism—becomes anchored in the struggles of the oppressed nationalities, this could unleash a dynamic which would have immense repercussions in Poland and provide a new impetus for struggle by Solidarnosc. ■

How can the Nicaraguans advance their revolution?

By ALAN BENJAMIN

In late July 1988, the Nicaraguan government sent a telegram to Mexico's ruling-party candidate, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, to congratulate him for his "victory" in the country's July 6 presidential elections.

But Salinas de Gortari, the candidate of the Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI), was not the winner in these elections, though this was the official result. He won by unprecedented fraud against his main bourgeois challenger, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, who ran on a populist program.

All the supporters of Mexican capitalist "stability," fearing that a Cárdenas victory would destabilize the Mexican political system, came to the support of Salinas de Gortari. This includes the imperialists, of course, but also the Soviet bureaucracy and the international social democracy.

Unfortunately, albeit for different reasons, the list also includes the Cuban Communist Party and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua.

The decision to give support to a capitalist politician in Mexico who has been repudiated by a majority of Mexico's workers and peasants—hundreds of thousands of whom continue to march throughout the country to protest the fraud—represents a serious political mistake on the part of the Nicaraguan FSLN.

This mistake is consistent with the FSLN government's past practice of giving political support to the Mexican regime.

For example, during the 1982 Mexican presidential campaign, FSLN Commander Jaime Wheelock toured Mexico to support the candidacy of PRI candidate Miguel de la Madrid, a man who went on to become one of the country's most despised presidents for his ruthless attacks on the Mexican working class.

Wheelock went so far as to praise Mexico's corrupt one-party capitalist system for being "a true model of socialist democracy." (quoted in *Bandera Socialista*, June 1982)

Breaking Nicaragua's isolation

The Sandinistas and their international supporters argue that the Nicaraguan government must seek allies in the European social democracy or among Latin American states to break out of the isolation imposed by the U.S.-contra war. "The revolution must survive," they say, "and it is legitimate to use diplomacy to block the aims of U.S. imperialism." Such reasoning is one-sided and therefore incorrect.

It is of course legitimate for the Nicaraguan government to engage in diplomatic maneuvers aimed at providing additional "breathing space" for the revolution. No one should question the fact that the Sandinistas have a gun at their head and that they may have to make serious political concessions to the imperialists at the negotiating table. We surely cannot fault them for this.

(Our main task in this country is to minimize—and ultimately put an end to—the concessions U.S. imperialism can wrench from Nicaragua by building a mass movement against contra aid and for Nicaragua's right to self-determination.)

But what the Sandinista leadership fails to understand is that the political maneuvers of the Nicaraguan government should not obscure or violate the political principles of the party at the helm of the revolution. For the leadership of the FSLN, party principles are adapted to the practical negotiating postures of the government. This is a mistaken view the Sandinistas have borrowed from the Cuban Communist Party.

Arias "peace plan"

Shortly after the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian workers and peasants to power in October 1917, the Bolshevik-led government had to agree to the rotten peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk.



Nicaraguan soldiers on a patrol near Honduran border. The Sandinistas have downplayed the class conflict inside Nicaragua, stressing national unity against the U.S.-backed contras.

Under the treaty, the Soviet Union had to give up extensive territory—notably the Ukraine—to Germany.

But the Bolshevik Party never gave political support to the treaty, even though it understood that the Soviet government was compelled to sign it. It condemned it, and it warned its international supporters to do likewise.

Unlike the Bolshevik leadership, whose diplomatic maneuvers were always conducted within their major objective of advancing the world revolution and truthfully explaining their actions to the world's workers, the Sandinista government has given full and uncritical political support to the Arias "peace plan."

But the Arias plan, which the Sandinistas cannot be faulted for having to sign, is not favorable to the Nicaraguan Revolution. It has not led to the disarming of the contras, even though the Sandinistas have abided by all the plan's provisions.

In fact, in the name of the plan, the contras and their international supporters are demanding greater and greater political concessions from the Sandinistas. Their aim, through this plan, is to set into motion a logic of concessions they hope will lead inevitably to the reversal of the revolution.

The Arias plan, moreover, is aimed at stabilizing the other capitalist dictatorial regimes in the region. It explicitly denies any legitimacy to the revolutionary forces in the rest of Central America, thereby

contributing to the isolation of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

Consequences in Mexico

By giving political support to this "peace plan," the Sandinista leadership has incorrectly fueled illusions in the capitalist backers of the plan, such as the Mexican government.

In Mexico, the FSLN's support to the ruling party and government was expressed concretely at a binational solidarity conference held Feb. 3, 1988, in the border city of Mexicali, Baja California. The conference was called to demand that the Mexican government, one of the world's major oil producers, send free or low-cost oil to Nicaragua. The gathering was organized by the local Committee in Solidarity with Nicaragua and Central America and was actively supported by the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International.

The Mexican government, under pressure from the U.S. State Department, had cut off vitally needed oil shipments to Nicaragua in 1985 when, as a result of the U.S.-contra war, the Nicaraguan government had fallen behind on its oil payments.

Unfortunately, despite the claims of many conference participants that such a demand could mobilize hundreds of thousands of Mexican working people in the streets—and even force the government to renew its oil shipments—Raúl Cuadra, a Nicaraguan leader in charge of solidarity

work in Northern Mexico, told the Mexicali gathering that he was opposed to putting pressure on the Mexican government to send oil to his country.

The Mexican government, Cuadra said, is a friend of Nicaragua because of its support to the Contadora peace process and the Arias plan. As a result of his intervention, the conference failed to issue a call for oil to Nicaragua. Conference participants, though disturbed, were unwilling to challenge the authority of the representative of the Nicaraguan government.

Revolutionists of action

The Nicaraguan Revolution is under siege. Every reactionary force in the world—from the imperialists, to their national bourgeois partners, to the Soviet bureaucracy—is trying to strangle it.

The Sandinistas are trying to do their best within the framework of their nationalist approach to world politics. The agrarian reform, the nationalization of important sectors of the economy, and the arming of the masses represent important gains for the Nicaraguan people.

After over nine years of war, the Sandinistas have not surrendered to the imperialists' demands, despite all the pressures. The revolution's energy has been sapped, but it is still alive.

The Sandinistas are archtypical "revolutionists of action" who have displayed a capacity to go beyond their limited strategic goals in their genuine commitment to advance the interests and well-being of the masses.

But their political weaknesses are very real. And it does no service to the Nicaraguan Revolution for revolutionists in Nicaragua or elsewhere to cover up or justify these weaknesses.

Extension of domestic policy

The Sandinistas' mistaken foreign policy is an extension of their domestic errors.

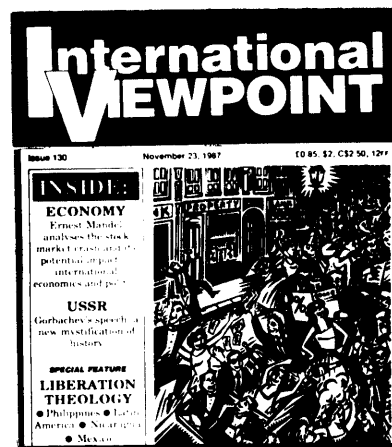
Fundamentally, the Sandinistas lack confidence in the ability of the working class and the rural toilers to wield political power in their own name and through their own democratically controlled institutions of workers' democracy—both in Nicaragua and on a world scale.

This has led the government to persist in maintaining a policy of "national unity" with the Nicaraguan capitalists. According to this policy, it has been necessary to subordinate the class conflict inside Nicaragua to the needs of national defense against the U.S.-backed contras. This has meant giving the capitalists major economic concessions to gain their support.

The Sandinistas also believe that they must maintain a capitalist mixed economy as a way of stimulating economic production and obtaining credits from the Latin American and European bourgeoisies.

Contrary to the hopes of the Sandinista leaders, however, the capitalist agro-export sector, which still controls the dominant sector of the economy, has not contributed "patriotically" to production. Though they have received immense state subsidies and other incentives, these capitalists have refused to invest productively in the economy. In 1986 and 1987, in fact, the flight of capital and the losses due to

(continued on next page)



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S.F. police injure UFW leader Dolores Huerta



Carl Finamore/Socialist Action



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

Dolores Huerta's son, Emilio, demands that cop be fired.

By ADAM WOOD

On Sept. 14, San Francisco police officers viciously attacked a demonstration outside a fund-raising dinner for presidential candidate George Bush. Among those injured was Dolores Huerta, vice president of the United Farm Workers union. Huerta, a 54-year-old grandmother, suffered two broken ribs and required surgery to remove her ruptured spleen.

The following day Richard Chavez, a Farmworker leader and brother of Cesar Chavez, reported, "People don't realize how close she came to dying. The doctors said she was 20 minutes away from bleeding to death."

Howard Wallace, field representative of the UFW, was with Dolores Huerta at the demonstration. He gave this report to *Socialist Action*:

"The demonstration was large and peace-

ful when we arrived. The sidewalks were clear. We located a radio reporter at the front of the demonstration and tried to get an interview for the Farmworkers.

"Then the police began a sweep and corralled demonstrators against the wall of the hotel. People who tried to disperse were forced to go with the crowd. Once the police had everyone corralled, they began to lunge into demonstrators with their batons. One cop began to ferociously attack Dolores.

"The police file footage of the demonstration makes it look like the cops were on vacation—it shows little brutality. This footage is contradicted by the press footage, which shows the police attacking frightened demonstrators."

The mayor and chief of police have ordered an investigation of the attack. However, Police Chief Jordan told reporters that he believes "proper protocol was in place"

and that the police used their batons in accordance with "methods approved by the department."

Statements such as these make it obvious that the police department and the mayor's office have no intention of conducting a serious investigation.

A rally to honor Dolores Huerta was held on Monday, Sept. 26, at the SEIU hall in San Francisco. About 250 people attended. Farmworker leaders are currently preparing major lawsuits against the city.

Boycott grapes!

Dolores Huerta attended the Sept. 14 demonstration to attract media attention for the grape boycott organized by the UFW. The Farmworkers are demanding that growers stop using toxic pesticides in the fields. Many farmworkers have suffered fainting, loss of sight, and even death as a result of working with poisonous

chemicals.

The attack on Dolores Huerta and the 36-day fast by Cesar Chavez have brought national attention to the struggle of the Farmworkers. To continue the momentum, UFW supporters are picketing supermarkets which carry non-union grapes. They are dramatizing the struggle by continuing the fast launched by Cesar Chavez.

In Los Angeles, for example, actor Martin Sheen is picketing stores which carry non-union grapes for 36 consecutive Saturdays. Local chapters of the National Organization of Women in California are launching three-day fasts in support of the Farmworkers. In Providence, R.I., 150 students at Brown University began fasting on Sept. 27.

In San Francisco, the Farmworkers are planning a major march and rally on Nov. 19. The event will feature Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, who will be making their first major public appearance since their injuries.

The Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice is co-sponsoring the Nov. 19 event. If you are interested in helping the UFW in San Francisco, call 441-5008. ■

... Nicaraguans

(continued from preceding page)

economic sabotage nearly equalled the combined losses due to the contra war.

Economic aid from the European and Latin American governments, moreover, has been doled out with an eye-dropper. For them to provide any significant aid and investment will require what they call a "political climate conducive to investment"—and that can only mean further inroads into the conquests of the revolution.

Harsh austerity measures

The Sandinista policy of "national unity," on the other hand, has compelled the government to enact economic policies that make the workers and peasants bear the brunt of the war. Specifically, the government has implemented a series of austerity measures that affect the poor while providing generous subsidies to the rich. And mass discontent is on the rise.

At a "Face the People" in June 1988, union leader Guillermo Delgado told President Daniel Ortega that the workers are becoming increasingly angered by the government's policies: "The major preoccupation, the question all the people have, is why are there no products in the secure [state] channels," Delgado said.

Delgado went on to note that the big farmers sell for a profit to the private markets while refusing to sell to the state. "Yet they are getting juicy subsidies," he continued. "Every time we go to deepen our revolution, the subsidies get bigger, and their [the capitalists'] behavior gets worse. When are we going to put an end to this generosity of subsidizing our enemy?" [quoted in "Economic Crisis Sparks Struggle, Debate," *Central American Reporter*, September 1988]

Greater numbers of Nicaraguan workers and peasants are demanding the confiscation of properties of capitalists who sabotage and decapitalize.

At the same time, the Nicaraguan masses

are beginning to openly challenge the top-down methods of functioning of the Sandinista leadership and the state administrators.

In June 1988, for example, when the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) leadership attempted to remove a local union leader at the Toña brewery after he had called for a one-day protest strike against management, the workers lined up behind their union president and denounced the "vertical demonstrations of force" of the top CST officials. (quoted in *Radio Prisma*, Managua)

Demands for workers' democracy

In Nicaragua, there is no meaningful participation by the masses in the major decisions affecting their lives. In the factories and farms, instead of workers' control, what exists is a kind of co-determination, with limited worker participation in management decision-making. Final decision-making power rests with the owners and/or the government-appointed administrators—not with the workers.

This is equally true of the society at large. *Envío*, a journal published by the Central American Historic Institute, a long-time supporter of the revolution, is obliged to recognize in its June 1988 issue that the government's austerity measures were implemented without popular participation in their development.

The edicts, *Envío* writes, are an "economic package without the people." It went on to note "the current breach that is separating the technocracy that formulates the measures from the people who have to live with them."

A permanent National Assembly (or Council) of representatives of factory and peasant assemblies, of the mass organizations, of union delegates, agricultural cooperatives, artists, soldiers, and inhabitants of the shanty-towns should be organized to formulate the nation's major policy decisions and direct the course of the

revolution.

In this manner, however difficult the choices before them, the masses could feel they are full participants of the revolutionary process.

No easy solution

Obviously, there is no easy solution to the plight of the tiny Nicaraguan economy and to its legacy of capitalist anarchy and colonial backwardness.

Deepening the revolution by proceeding on a socialist course and instituting a planned economy is a vital necessity for the Nicaraguan Revolution today.

But even if Nicaragua were to break with the capitalist mixed economy, it would still not be able to break out of the straitjacket of underdevelopment imposed on it by the international capitalist system. Nicaragua cannot develop its economy in any meaningful way within the confines of its own

borders.

Nicaragua's fate, in the short and long term, is tied to the struggles of revolutionary people throughout the world who seek to replace capitalism with a system of social organization and production rationally planned to meet human needs.

Nicaragua can only find the road to genuine economic and social development through the extension of the revolution to the other nations of Latin America and, ultimately, to the developed capitalist countries.

These interrelated views in support of a planned economy, workers' democracy, and proletarian internationalism are not "pie in the sky." They represent a political program, the program of the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky, whose implementation in Nicaragua is becoming a very practical necessity if the revolution is to survive and move forward. ■

Revolutionary speeches now available on tape



Ernest Mandel

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Leon Trotsky's speech on the Founding of the Fourth International (12 min.), and Esteban Volkov, Trotsky's grandson's, speech to Socialist Action 50th anniversary rally (23 min). [Transcripts of speeches included.]

Tape 2:

Ernest Mandel's speech to Socialist Action Forum in S.F. on April 13, 1988, on the "Meaning of the Stock Market Crash." (72 min.)

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Crisis in Yugoslavia: The failure of 'market socialism'

By HAYDEN PERRY

Mass protests are shaking the state of Yugoslavia, the first workers' state established in defiance of Stalin and his Red Army.

Workers by the thousands have gone on strike. These are workers who presumably control their factories under the system of "self management." Slovenes, Croats, and Serbians have poured into the streets by the tens of thousands to protest national or ethnic discrimination by a government that has failed for 40 years to build a multinational state with equality for all.

In 1987, Yugoslavia had 1570 strikes, involving 365,000 workers. On June 17, 1988, over 4000 workers from the Zmaj machinery factory marched seven miles to the parliament building in Belgrade to protest wage cuts and corruption among high-placed bureaucrats. As they invaded the building they yelled, "Throw the thieves out!"

Fueling the unrest is an economy that is in shambles. There is a \$20-billion foreign debt, a federal debt of almost the same size, and an inflation rate of 200 percent. Three regions have declared themselves bankrupt, unable to pay their share of the foreign debt or maintain their industrial plant.

Meanwhile, over a million workers—15 percent of the workforce—are without jobs. Many are young people who have never had a job. Those who are working earn wages that fail to meet basic living costs. Average wages are the equivalent of \$150 a month. A four-member family must spend that much on food alone. There is a pervading sense that "Things simply cannot go on like this."

This conclusion is all the more bitter to those who have believed the "Yugoslav way" to socialism was the answer to the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European workers' states. Yugoslavia is also an object lesson to those workers' states trying "market socialism" to get out of economic difficulties.

The Tito-Stalin break

At the end of World War II, Tito and the leadership of the Yugoslav CP (CPY) had undisputed leadership and authority in the country as a result of their record in the struggle against Nazi occupation. Stalin, however, demanded that the CPY maintain capitalism and a bourgeois government in Yugoslavia. This was the result of the agreements between Stalin and the major imperialist powers at Yalta and Potsdam.

But Tito and the Yugoslav CP refused to be tied down to Stalin's agreements. They drove out the capitalist representatives from the government and, in 1947, proceeded to nationalize the major sectors of the economy. At the same time, Tito moved to establish greater independence from Stalin and the Soviet Union. This helped spur Stalin to break with Tito in 1948 and launch an all-out effort to isolate and break Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav CP had to move fast to firm up its political and social base. The ideology of the party leadership, however, was nationalist rather than internationalist. They claimed that Yugoslavia could arrive at socialism by its own national path, similar in essence to the "socialism in one country" established in the Soviet Union under Stalin, although different in form.

Historians say Tito and other leaders reread the Marxist classics after their break with Stalin. They ran into references to the state "withering away" on the road to socialism. But after decades of workers' power in the Soviet Union, they observed, the state was more powerful and repressive than ever. Yugoslav socialism must take another road, they determined. Decision-making must be put in the hands of workers at the point of production, on the factory floor.

Thus, in June 1950, was born what

looked like a system of workers' self-management. With workers' councils in the plants and self-management councils in community and government agencies, a network of self-managed institutions cover the entire country. The workers would appear to have the reins of power in their hands.

Workers do not control

But self-management was born with grave bureaucratic deformations. A plan designed to energize the initiative of the workers was imposed on them from above—without their direct participation. A monopoly of political power was retained

growth was based on capitalist money.

Pursuing an anti-Soviet policy, the United States lent or gave Yugoslavia \$40 million in this period. (By this time, Tito had endorsed imperialist aims throughout the world. In the early 1950s, for example, Tito supported the U.S. war against Korea.) International loans were offered, and, later, nearly a million Yugoslavs working abroad sent foreign currency home.

This inflow of foreign money concealed, for a while, a basic contradiction. Tito set about to build socialism in one country. But he headed a state in which only the means of production were socialized. Distribution was still subject to bourgeois

that few worker delegates could understand; especially after eight hours on the job. So the power of self-management on this expanded level slipped out of the hands of the workers.

Control was also slipping out of the hands of the national regime in Belgrade. New five-year plans were still drawn up, but the six national republics decided how they would carry them out. Communes and districts preferred to push their own projects, ahead of national goals. The geopolitical nature of Yugoslavia has made relations between the republics and the two provinces a problem that has not been solved in 40 years.

For hundreds of years the area was dominated by foreign powers: Austria in the north and the Ottoman Empire in the south. Unity among the ethnic groups was discouraged by the conquerors. Language differences were fostered.

One language—two alphabets

Serbia and neighboring Croatia have a common language but use different alphabets. Those using the Latin rather than the Cyrillic alphabet think of themselves first as Croats, and only second as Yugoslavians.

This tendency is exacerbated by the higher level of development in the north. Croatia and Slovenia can generate the capital to expand their industries. Macedonia and Montenegro must be subsidized by national funds. These funds can only come from the surplus generated in the north, where local provincial interests collide with the needs of the nation as a whole.

Appeals to socialist consciousness have only limited effects. In the '50s a spirit of self-enrichment replaced the socialist elan of the civil-war days. Tito's own life style did not engender a spirit of sacrifice. He lived in splendor, on an island estate, in palatial townhouses, and hunting lodges.

Lavish life styles

Lesser bureaucrats emulated Tito with Mercedes cars and country villas. It is not surprising that the factory worker thought more about acquiring a car than aiding the poorer Yugoslavs in Bosnia.

At the district level, techno-bureaucrats engaged in empire building. They expanded their plants and built new ones with little regard to national needs. The result was low productivity and plants running at a loss. In one year losses ran to \$600 million—to be made up by the national treasury.

Tito's answer to this problem was "market socialism," with the banking system holding industry's funds and making loans based on potential profits. Now plant managers had to cut costs and show a profit before they could get a loan for expansion. Unprofitable plants were allowed to go bankrupt.

This led to unemployment. Nearly a million workers left Yugoslavia to become guest workers in Germany and other countries. Their remittances home helped with the balance of payments, but these vigorous workers were building capitalism abroad instead of socialism at home.

Inflation set in when prices were left to market forces, and the foreign debt rose ever higher. The national plan was further undermined. The state monopoly of foreign trade was threatened as local enterprises made their own deals.

Federal control exerted

Actually the federal government could not leave the economy entirely hostage to market forces. It had to intervene to set price controls on some necessities. It had to intervene in the banks to direct investment to underdeveloped regions, and it had to take control of the foreign exchange earned by local enterprises.

Bureaucrats in Croatia and Slovenia protested any restrictions on their freedom to profit from market forces. In resisting,



Yugoslavia is made up of six national republics and two autonomous provinces. In recent months, Slovenes, Croats, and Serbians have poured into the streets to protest discrimination by a government that has failed for 40 years to build a multinational state with equality for all.

by Tito and the Yugoslav CP.

The CPY, trained in the school of Stalinism, followed many of Stalin's methods of political control. Repression of political dissidents—to the left of the CPY as well as to the right—has been a constant feature of the regime for 40 years.

Tito limited the power of the workers' councils by imposing an appointed director to run the plant. Workers' control over wages and the budget was circumscribed by federal decrees and directives. Some workers felt they had so little power it was scarcely worth the time they spent in endless meetings.

Nonetheless, 1950 marked a turning point in Yugoslav history. All Soviet aid was withdrawn and Yugoslavia was left to its own resources. As one of the least developed countries in Europe, Yugoslavia had to make a tremendous leap to catch up. The first five-year plan, dictated by the Soviet leadership, was only half fulfilled, but it laid the basis for the industrialization that turned a backward peasant nation into a modern state.

The peasants were permitted to withdraw from the Soviet-style collectives and cultivate their own small farms individually. The rural population began to decline as newly built factories turned former peasants into industrial workers.

Economy grows rapidly

Despite Stalin's sabotage, the Yugoslav economy expanded at a rate of 13 percent a year from 1950 to 1960. But much of this

norms of price and profit.

Moreover, the underdeveloped Yugoslav nation was subject to the more powerful capitalist world economy. As the country turned to the West, it found that Yugoslav productivity was too low to be competitive on the world market. By 1961 only 62 percent of Yugoslav imports were balanced by exports.

Control decentralized

Up to 1950, the economy was directed from Belgrade, and the enterprises, with their workers' councils, could only mechanically follow a national plan. But this proved unworkable. It was impossible to supervise every enterprise.

Plant managers usually limited their goals to meeting quotas. They often found it cheaper to buy parts abroad rather than manufacture them at home, and their plants became mere assembly lines for foreign products. The effect on the balance of trade was disastrous.

In the '50s, control was transferred to communes and districts. Producers' councils and people's committees supervised the operations of enterprises in their area. Workers were represented on these councils twice: once as producers and again as consumers. They were able to outvote the peasants who were more numerous.

Workers' self-management now had a much larger scope for operation. But here the managers and experts who dominated the factories reappeared as "techno-bureaucrats." They dominated council meetings by expertise and technical jargon



'Yugoslav self-management was born with grave bureaucratic deformations. ... Tito limited the power of the workers' councils by imposing an appointed director to run the plant.'

they fueled Croat nationalism.

The contradiction between "laissez-faire socialism" and national planning led to the promulgation of the third constitution in 1974. The proclaimed intent of this constitution was to disperse power widely so that no ethnic group or economic strata could dominate. An elaborate structure of Chambers of Associated Labor, Chambers of Local Communities, and a Chamber of Nationalities was set up.

Workers' power delegated

But a glaring contradiction was posed by the system of elections. Workers voted only once at the bottom of a pyramid of power. The body they elected nominated and elected a higher body, whose members elected a still higher body.

This system of delegated power enables the sole political party, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), to control elections ever more tightly as the highest legislative stages were reached. Atop this pyramid of power sat Tito as "Party Chief and Head of State for life." Since Tito's death in 1980, a "Group Presidency" of six representatives of the six republics has taken his place.

The party itself is entangled in contradiction. In 1952 the Communist Party was renamed the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This was to suggest that the party would no longer dominate political life, but serve as an educational body to imbue self-management committees with socialist consciousness.

Things did not work out this way. When the Croatian national movement threatened the power of the LCY in 1970, Tito came down with all the force of the monolithic party he headed. At another time, two of Tito's closest collaborators, Milovan Djilas and Aleksandar Rankovic, were purged for challenging party doctrine. Far from "withering away," the LCY, to this day, has been the ultimate authority in any crisis.

The experimental nature of much of Yugoslav politics has fostered much discussion of Marxist theory. Beginning in 1963 the Marxist philosophical journal *Praxis* challenged many official policies. It was tolerated for 12 years till it was finally shut down in 1975.

Students and workers protest

The universities have been a source of

much dissent. For a long time students were apathetic, concentrating on personal careers. But the events of 1968 woke them up. The prospect for many students is bleak. There are few jobs. Many have earned advanced degrees only to wind up as laborers in German factories.

Yugoslav students have paraded with banners proclaiming, "Workers we are with you" and "There is no Socialism without Freedom, and no Freedom without Socialism." Today youth in Slovenia are expressing dissent within the ranks of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the youth section of the LCY. They are campaigning for the legal right to strike.

The workers are striking without this legal right because the burden of austerity is being loaded on them while the bureaucrats are still driving expensive cars and building holiday villas. The Yugoslav trade unions are no help. Like Stalinist unions elsewhere, they are concerned only with increasing production.

The scope of the anger against the Yugoslav bureaucracy was most clearly evidenced at a Sept. 22, 1988, demonstration of about 70,000 Serbians over the ethnic conflict in Kosovo. A *New York Times* article on Sept. 23 captured the sentiments of the crowd:

"We don't want imposing villas, planes, yachts, and private beaches," said Vojislav Radunovic, the union leader at the railroad car factory in Kraljevo. 'You are not our comrades,' he continued [referring to the authorities], 'because you do not line up at dawn to buy so-called people's bread. You don't share our destiny on the first, second, or third shift. You don't go down in the mine shafts. You don't climb high to build bridges. You are not our comrades.'"

The *Times* article continued: "'The people should judge them!' was a shout that rose from the crowd, which responded enthusiastically throughout the meeting. 'Thieves,' the crowd roared. 'Down with those who sit in armchairs.' One of the hundreds of homemade posters being held high proclaimed, 'Down with the socialist bourgeoisie.'"

Indeed, austerity is being imposed by foreign creditors as well as Yugoslav bureaucrats who are desperately seeking loans and capital abroad. They have accepted a loan of \$490 million from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with its onerous demands for austerity. This means

wage freezes and loss of food subsidies.

Yugoslavia looks partly to the Eastern bloc. These countries welcome Yugoslav products but do not have the products Yugoslavia needs. So Yugoslavia competes with Poland and Hungary for the Western capital they all want. This means yielding more and more concessions to capitalist interests.

Propose stock sales

To tap the millions held by guest workers in foreign banks, the government proposes to sell bonds and shares in enterprises and institute forms of mixed ownership. This carries Yugoslavia another step back on the road to capitalist penetration.

But there are obstacles on this road. Foreign investors will not aid the underdeveloped South. They want short-term profits. They won't raise wages, or control inflation. And foreign capital exacerbates the North-South dichotomy that is tearing the country apart.

The national government tries to exert its

authority. However by yielding to the forces of "market socialism," it has already lost many of its levers of control.

One firm lever still in the hands of the government is the army. It is now being thrown into the fight—not directly, but through "Committees for General Peoples Defense" (SPD). Together with the police-controlled "Social Self Protection (SSP), the army is exerting pressure in the factories and on public life in general.

Military in the workplace

Police and military pressure is not primarily exerted on the Croatian bureaucrats but against factory workers and rank-and-file dissidents. They are reaching into the factories and arresting potential strike leaders. It is estimated that a thousand political prisoners are now in jail.

Workers must wonder how "self-management" could degenerate into military discipline. But self-management was not real so long as the workers had no real political power. The right to form independent trade unions and independent workers' political parties must be an immediate demand. Workers' councils that truly control the economy would then be possible.

Workers would distinguish between the right of the Croatian people to a national culture and civil rights, and the efforts of Croatian and Slovenian bureaucrats to cut loose from federal control. This latter road of "laissez-faire socialism" can lead to a Slovenian-Croatian mini-state dominated by Western capitalism.

The workers of Yugoslavia have a chance to escape this trap. Forty years of experimentation with various "roads to socialism" has developed a population open to change and fiercely resistant to dictatorship. They can see that they have a common struggle with the workers of Poland and the other Eastern-bloc countries. Their victory could lead to meshing all workers' states in an economic plan that transcends national boundaries.

Demands made by the student movement indicate the lines of struggle. They call for:

- "Measures to rapidly reduce the great social inequality in our community.
- "Action against the accumulation, in non-socialist fashion, of private property.
- "A long-term perspective for the development must be adopted, based on the right to work.
- "Destroy the the bureaucratic forces that fetter self-management and development.
- "Halt all attempts to transform individual labor into individual or group capitalism.
- "Prevent speculation on social or private property."

Yugoslavia serves as an object lesson in the pitfalls of "market socialism" that workers in Poland, China, and other workers' states should learn from. Yugoslav workers may also give lessons in taking power back into their own hands. ■

Socialist Action Forums

Cincinnati:

Oct. 5, 7 p.m.:
"The Young Karl Marx,"
U. of C., 418 TUC.
Oct. 12, 7 p.m.: Film:
"Labor's Turning Point"
U. of C., 418 T.U.C.

Los Angeles:

Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m.:
"Trotsky and the USSR
under Gorbachev."
Speaker: Alan Benjamin,
editor, *Socialist Action*.
Palms Recreation Ctr.,
2950 Overland Ave.

San Francisco:

Oct. 14, 8 p.m.:
"The Greenhouse Effect:
Is There a Way Out?"
Speakers: Prof. J.B.
Neilands, biochemist,
U.C. Berkeley, and Ralph
Forsyth, *Socialist Action*.

Oct. 28, 8 p.m.:

"Struggle of the United
Farm Workers."
Speakers: Karen
Schieve, Local 1100
UFCW, and Howard
Wallace, Field rep. UFW.
S.F. forums held at 3435
Army St., Rm. 308.

Boston:

Oct. 21:
"The Struggle for Irish
Liberation Today."
Speaker: Gerry Foley,
editor, *International
Viewpoint*. U. Mass,
Harbor Campus. Room,
time to be announced.
Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m.:
"The National Question in
the Soviet Union Today."
Speaker: Gerry Foley.
Cambridge YWCA, 7
Temple St.

**Detroit:
Midwest
Educational
Conference**

Nov. 12-13:
Wayne State University

Film: "Labor's Turning
Point," with introduction
by Jake Cooper, veteran
of the 1934 Minneapolis
Teamsters strikes.
"What Malcolm X Would
Say Today."
Speaker: Kwame M.A.
Somburu.
"Nicaragua: Is the War
Over?"
Speaker: Carl Finamore.
"What is Socialism?"
Speaker: Barbara
Putnam.
(Rooms to be announced)

Rally in Brazil solidarizes with Palestinian struggle



Mya Shone/Socialist Action

Over 300 people attend rally in Sao Paulo, Brazil, calling for an "End to All Aid to Apartheid Israel, For a Democratic-Secular Palestine." Rally speakers are (from left to right): Joel Oliveira, Pres., Cabinet-Makers Union of Sao Paulo; Hassan El Amlah, Pres., Federation of Brazilian Palestinian-Arab Organizations; Ralph Schoenman (standing), Exec. Dir., Palestine Campaign; Julio Mey, translator; Arlindo Chinaglia, Pres., Union of Doctors, Sao Paulo; Maria Emilio Boito, rally organizer; Fawzi El-Mashimi, P.L.O.; Ailton Soares, PDT candidate for mayor of Sao Paulo; Luiz Eduardo Greenhalgh, National Directorate, Workers Party (PT); Aldo Rabelo, Communist Party of Brazil (PCdoB); Jorge Coelho, CUT (Confederation of Trade Unions); and Carlos Noronha, Brazilian Communist Party (PCB).

By MYA SHONE

SAO PAULO, Brazil—A 30-foot banner over the stage of the Cabinet-Makers' Union Hall proclaimed, in Portuguese, "End All Aid to Apartheid Israel, For a Democratic and Secular Palestine."

The occasion was a rally on Aug. 26 in defense of the Palestinian people sponsored by the Union of Doctors of Sao Paulo.

Three hundred people filled the hall to hear a panel of speakers, including Ralph Schoenman, executive director of the Campaign to End All Aid to Israel/For a Democratic Secular Palestine, representatives of the P.L.O., and various Brazilian political and union organizations.

The Campaign to End All Aid to Israel/For a Democratic Secular Palestine published a full-page statement around its two central demands in the March 13, 1988, issue of *The New York Times*. The signatories included 300 intellectuals, artists, community activists, and unionists from the United States, as well as over 100 signatories from 14 other countries, including Brazil. [See statement in April 1988 issue of *Socialist Action*.]

Among the speakers at the rally were Fawzi El-Mashimi, vice-deputy of the P.L.O. in Brazil; Luiz Eduardo Greenhalgh, a member of the National Directorate of the

Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores/PT) who is currently the PT candidate for vice-mayor in Sao Paulo; and Jorge Coelho, a representative of the Confederation of Trade Unions (CUT), Brazil's largest and most militant union federation.

"Organize a delegation"

In his keynote presentation, Schoenman highlighted the international support for *The New York Times* statement.

Dr. Rodolpho Repullo Jr., an orthopedist, described the oppression and brutality a Brazilian team of doctors witnessed while working for three weeks in Gaza during the Intifada, the uprising of the Palestinian people that is now into its tenth month.

In the closing speech to the rally, P.L.O. representative Fauzi El Mashimi emphasized the importance of *The New York Times* "End All Aid" statement. He called on the rally participants to organize a delegation on Sept. 16 to the U.S. consulate to deliver a copy of the statement with all its Brazilian endorsers. Sept. 16 is the anniversary of the 1982 massacre of Palestinians at Sabra and Shatila.

Support grows in Brazil

The rally in Sao Paulo was the first event in what was to become an intensive

10-day schedule of meetings, lectures, and interviews with the press and radio about the "End All Aid" statement and Ralph Schoenman's new book, "The Hidden History of Zionism."

The National Union of Students at the University of Sao Paulo sponsored an evening at the History Amphitheater. Alberto Handfas, the student union president, introduced our lecture with a coherent analysis of the significance of the call for a democratic-secular Palestine.

The leadership of the Workers Party (PT), a party of over 500,000 members that grew out of the strike wave of industrial workers in 1979-80, invited Schoenman and myself to address the PT's International Secretariat. A two-and-a-half-hour discussion took place, with topics ranging from conditions of struggle in Palestine to the structure of power in the United States.

Newspapers and radio stations from Rio de Janeiro and Brazilia, as well as Sao Paulo, interviewed Schoenman on the purpose of the Campaign statement and the plight of the Palestinian people.

Folha de Sao Paulo, the city's leading newspaper, carried two stories: "Declaration of a state will not resolve the Palestinian question, declares writer," and "Gore Vidal and Linus Pauling support a campaign against aid to Israel." *LEIA*, a literary journal, is among the magazines running lengthy interviews.

The Palestinian community

The Palestinian community in Brazil was enthusiastic about the "End All Aid" statement and the publication of "The Hidden History of Zionism."

We had a series of meetings in Brazilia, the nation's capital, with Dr. Farid Suwan, the P.L.O. representative in Brazil, and his associate Fawzi El-Mashimi. They intro-

duced us to Brazilian legislators from a wide variety of parties such as the PDT of Brizola, the PSDB, and the PMDB. The legislators with whom we met all expressed their support for the demands of *The New York Times* ad.

The Union of Doctors, in coordination with the P.L.O., sponsored a lecture in Brazilia. The audience, including ambassadors from many Arab states, was extremely moved by the presentation of both my slideshow "The War in Lebanon: An Inside View" and Schoenman's lecture, which followed.

The slideshow is an eyewitness account of the massacre of Sabra and Shatila, the destruction and siege of Beirut, and the devastation of the Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon.

The P.L.O. also asked us to participate in their booth at the 10th Biennial Bookfair, held in Sao Paulo from Aug. 26 to Sept. 4. Approximately 1 million people attended this 10-day event. Requests kept pouring in for a Portuguese-language version of "The Hidden History." To date the book is available in English and French.

The lessons of Brazil

The broad support in Brazil for the demands of "End All Aid to Israel—For a Democratic-Secular Palestine" is of particular importance today, when increasing pressure is being exerted on the P.L.O. to legitimize the Zionist occupation of Palestine.

It is an indication that increasing numbers of people throughout the world are beginning to understand that there can be no justice for the Palestinian people so long as the repressive Zionist state remains afoot.

The efforts of the Brazilian people in support of the Palestinian struggle should energize us all to speak out more forcefully than ever in demanding: "End All Aid to Apartheid Israel, For a Democratic-Secular Palestine!"

The Brazilian signers listed in *The New York Times* ad are the following:

Regis de Castro Andrade, Director of Research, Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies; Raymundo Faoro, historian; Florestan Fernandez, sociologist, PT National Deputy; Prof. Paolo Freire, author "Pedagogy of the Oppressed;" Dr. Anna Volochko, Director, Community Medicine, Sao Paulo; and Prof. Francisco Weffort, Prof. Sao Paulo University.

Other signatories whose names did not arrive in time for publication in the *Times* include:

Organizations—Confederation of Trade Unions (CUT); National Association of Professors of Sao Paulo; Union of Doctors of Ceará; Bankworkers Union of Sao Paulo; Teachers Union ABC Paulista and Campinas; Nurses Union of Sao Paulo; National Workers Front (FNT); and the National Union of Students (UNE).

Individuals—Prof. Paulo Douglas Barsotti, Univ. of Campinas; Vitor Buaziz, Nat'l. Deputy, PT; Arlindo Chignália Jr., Pres., Union of Doctors, Sao Paulo; Prof. Mauricio Trachtenberg, Univ. of Campinas; Hélio Bicudo, Nat'l. Directorate, PT; Jacob Bittar, Nat'l. Directorate, CUT; Robson Moreira, Pres., Journalists' Union, Sao Paulo; Paulo Schilling, CEDI; Francisco dos Santos, Pres., CUT, Brazilia; Luis Carlos Monia, Pres., Brazilian Communist Party, Sao Paulo; Maria José dos Santos Rossi, Pres., Assn. of Brazilian Nurses.

Michel Warschawsky Israeli activist faces treason charge trial

On Oct. 19, the trial of Michel Warschawsky, the director of the Alternative Information Center (AIC) in Israel, enters its most decisive phase. Warschawsky and the AIC are charged with "services to an illegal organization and support for a terrorist organization."

Warschawsky and his co-workers were arrested on Feb. 17, 1987. Their arrest marks the first time that the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance of 1948 has been used to suppress an Israeli journalist. The trial was opened on July 5 with a reading of the indictment.

The accusation against the AIC and Warschawsky concerns written material that they have allegedly distributed. But these "subversive materials" used as evidence are journals available to every member of the Israeli Knesset.

While a year ago an acquittal may have been likely, the situation has changed radically since the Palestinian uprising. The Israeli government has declared a total war on the Palestinian people and on any political expression of their views.

Key elements in this policy are the administrative detention of some 3000 political cadres, deportations, and the outlawing of the People's Committees. In order to be effective,

this repressive policy has to extend to Israelis who offer political or material aid to the uprising.

Average sentences are 10 times more severe than they were a year ago. Acquittals are getting rarer.

The most striking example of the dangers facing Warschawsky is the sentence received by four peace activists who met a P.L.O. delegation in Romania. They were handed 18-month sentences, six months of which had to be served in prison. This judgment may have a direct effect on Warschawsky's trial.

Another element that has to be taken into account is the trial of the members of the *Derech Hanitzotz* group, who were charged with joining the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Under torture, the defendants made admissions of "guilt" that they have now retracted. Both the *Derech Hanitzotz* and the Warschawsky cases are before the same court.

In San Francisco the Ad-hoc Committee to Defend Michel Warschawsky is sponsoring a picketline at the Israeli consulate, 220 Montgomery St., on Wed., Oct. 19 at 5 p.m.

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Why capitalism fouls things up

By BRIAN SCHWARTZ

Viewing ABC's Sept. 8 news documentary on the "Poisoning of America" fired up the furnace of rage and hate in me—and probably in thousands of other American workers—about the wanton destruction of our environment by corporations, aided by servile bureaucrats who run the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

This agency, supposed to protect our environment, actually serves to defend corporate crimes against our water, land, and air.

TV celebrity Hugh Downs, standing in front of the American flag, posed environmental problems as merely an American phenomenon. (We'll conveniently forget the Bhopal victims of Union Carbide, and a nearly deforested Europe.) But he failed to convince us that the U.S. government will correct this problem.

In spite of the tough exposures of Republican graft in the EPA and sincere pleas for Americans to join together and start saving our environment, we know for a fact that the capitalists and the two political parties they control—the Democratic and Republican parties—are incapable of cleaning up their operations.

Hugh Downs and his gang can rave for the action they

want. They can show schemes Congress is trying to concoct to stave off environmental disaster. But private industry demands that these schemes be "cost-conscious" and profitable for them—even in the face of imminent disaster. They have obstructed—and will continue to obstruct—any serious effort at resolving our environmental crisis.

Echoes hopelessness

The "Poisoning of America" echoes the hopelessness of the movie "The Day After," which we remember for causing panic among the American people, who were compelled to contemplate the horrific possibilities for mankind if nuclear weapons were detonated.

The panel discussion following the showing of "The Day After" consisted of a bunch of old, stupid Republicans and Democrats harping about national defense, and rationalizing the need to keep producing earth-destructive devices.

The people who run this country produce films like these in order to appease the American people, who are demanding an end to this foolishness. "The Day After" produced nuclear paranoia. But it did not lead to the destruction of any nuclear weapons standing by to fulfill

their apocalyptic mission.

So too will the "Poisoning of America" broadcast fail to produce any genuine efforts at ending environmental destruction. All we have to do is go behind the scene to see why this is so.

"How much will it cost?"

Profit-making is the primary concern of the capitalists as they confront the problems of the environment. Their attitude is reflected in the remark of one Wall Street analyst, who said: "The 'greenhouse effect' has got to be a long-term plus for Chronar" (a growing corporation). This remark suggested that there might be large profits to be made by providing energy alternatives to fossil fuels.

Another analyst warned, however, that "it usually takes an awful long time to turn basic energy supplies around." This statement reveals that the capitalists are not sure that large investments into energy alternatives will turn a sure profit. In the meantime, it looks like we're going to have to endure unbearable heat and drought—with its accompanying famine, since you can't grow crops in the dust.

Hugh Downs quoted Jacques Cousteau's son as saying, "Mankind is throwing an orgy today which will have to be paid for by our children tomorrow." This should be amended to read: "A parasitic minority is throwing an orgy..."

The uppercrusts, from castles in Europe to penthouses in Hollywood, have smugly and irresponsibly hoarded the goodies that society has to offer. The rich are the plunderers and the polluters.

Ask workers whether or not air pollution should be stopped, and they will shout in unison, "Cease at once!" Then ask a capitalist and he will shirk and cower, and in a snivelling voice ask, "How much will it cost?" ■

...Curtis

(continued from page 16)

and then lying about it. Curtis's lawyer was denied the right to impeach Gonzalez's testimony by showing that he had lied under oath in the past.

Contradictions, inconsistencies

The "eyewitness" testimony against Curtis was not supported by physical evidence. For example:

- The state's expert criminologist stated under cross-examination that there was no exchange of pubic hairs between Demetria Morris and Curtis. He also testified that there was no physical evidence on Curtis's clothes, like hair, that indicated he had physical contact with a person who was Black. There was no dirt from the porch found on his underwear, and no seminal fluid was found on him or Demetria Morris.

(The porch where the alleged attack took place was littered with dog hairs. While dog hairs were found on Demetria Morris's clothes, *no dog hairs* were found on Curtis's clothes.)

- Inconsistencies in the testimony of Demetria Morris became apparent at the trial. In earlier statements, Morris said that she thought the attack occurred around 8:00 p.m., shortly after she received a mysterious phone call from a man. Curtis testified that he was at the Los Compadres bar at

that time, talking to friends about the protest meeting that occurred earlier. One of them, Brian Willey, confirmed this under oath.

- When Morris described her attacker to hospital authorities, she said he was 5'6" and had smoke on his breath. Curtis is 6'2" and doesn't smoke.

- Furthermore, the prosecution failed to prove any previous link, association, or contact between Demetria Morris and Mark Curtis. And after a seven-month investigation, the prosecution was unable to produce any evidence that could impugn the testimony given by character witnesses on Curtis's behalf.

A "hanging jury"

After all testimony was given, irregularities in the jury deliberation process began to occur.

- One juror, James Garcia, who was the only Latino on the jury, asked to be excused on the completely irrelevant ground that he was familiar with some of the places mentioned, such as the United Mexican-American Cultural Center and the Los Compadres Bar. This happened just before the jury was sequestered. Judge Perkins granted this request and seated an alternate over the objections of defense attorney Pennington.

- Judge Perkins refused the jury's request to have a portion of testimony re-read to them.

- A trial observer saw one of the jurors standing with members of Demetria

Morris's family.

- Judge Perkins ruled against a defense motion for a mistrial after the jury had been deliberating for two days; a long period of time in a case like this. Shortly thereafter, the jury returned its guilty verdict.

Mark Curtis is innocent!

There should be no confusion about the stakes in this case. The democratic and scientific principle that the accused is innocent until proven guilty *beyond a reasonable doubt* was grossly violated by the prosecutor, judge, and jury.

The evidence cries out that Mark Curtis is an innocent victim of a gross miscarriage of justice. The evidence strongly suggests, furthermore, that Curtis was framed up because of his vigorous activity in defense of democratic and human rights.

Mark Curtis was well known to the FBI and Des Moines police as an uncompromising opponent of social injustice and a resolute defender of the oppressed. The facts clearly establish a powerful motive for a frame-up.

During the trial, Judge Perkins and the prosecution made it virtually impossible for the defense to present evidence that Curtis was the victim of such a conspiracy.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee will continue to fight for Curtis's freedom. They have raised over \$60,000, and numerous supporters from the labor, peace, civil rights, and women's movements have endorsed this campaign. Their efforts should be supported unconditionally.

While he was on tour recently to publicize his case, Mark Curtis told a rally in Pittsburgh, Pa., why it was important to support this fight:

"An injury to one is an injury to all is one thing. The flip side is that a victory for me is a victory for all of us."

Free Mark Curtis! ■

The following is the text of a letter sent by the Political Committee of Socialist Action to the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party:

The frame-up of Mark Curtis, a leading member of your party, is an outrageous and ominous attack on the civil liberties of everyone; especially those in the workers' movement and others fighting against capitalist exploitation, oppression, and injustice.

The Political Committee of Socialist Action wants you to know that our party stands ready to do what we can to help fight this latest offense against democratic rights. We are ready to help in the defense of Mark Curtis in any way we can within the limits of our modest resources. Initially, we are offering to help gather sponsors for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and to help organize public meetings, forums, and any other assistance the SWP and the Mark Curtis Defense deems will be useful.

Our readers speak out

El Salvador

Dear editor,

Three leaders of the Bank Workers Union were arrested in El Salvador in the middle of August accused of being "terrorists." Their union forms part of the Revolutionary Trade Union Federation (FSR), which opposes the Duarte government and calls for the social transformation of El Salvador.

The leaders arrested are: Jorge Alfonso Aguilar, secretary general of the Bank Workers Union; Mario Ramirez Nunez, chief steward; and Jose Aguirre Gomez, organizational secretary.

A picket line demanding their freedom took place on Sept. 24 in San Francisco in front of the Banco Agricola Comercial de El Salvador. This is the San Francisco branch of a major bank in El Salvador where the workers are organized by the Bank Workers Union.

This picket line was sponsored by: CONICA (Committee for No Intervention in Central America) and CADENA (Network of Solidarity with Chile and Latin America).

For more information on how you can help secure the release of the four trade unionists, contact CONICA. Telephone (415) 285-9564.

J.D.,
San Francisco

Romania

Dear editor,

Last month Greg Guckenburg and I spent two weeks mountain climbing in Romania. Your readers may be interested in observations regarding travel in an "Eastern Bloc" country.

Trotskyists know Romania as a deformed workers' state, but it is popularly called "socialist" by Romanians and Westerners alike. It is certainly not socialism.

We arrived a few days before the

national holiday, Aug. 23. On this day in 1944, the Nazis were defeated with the help of the Red Army of the Soviet Union. All public buildings were draped with red banners and pictures of the President-for-life, Nicolai Ceausescu.

To us, the public display was appropriate for a holiday analogous to July 4, but Romanians, being affronted year-round with slogans and pictures of Ceausescu, seemed to ignore the extra fanfare.

On our first weekend, we observed citizens of Bucharest going about their business much as any urban population on the summer weekend, except for the long lines in front of the single-item food stores and the department store shelves almost bereft of consumer goods. The worldwide depression of the early '80s marked a downturn in Romania's standard of living from which they have not recovered.

We observed many manifestations of a mismanaged economy—

electricity shortages, lack of pollution control on cars and factories, unavailable industrial parts and inferior raw materials, collectivized agriculture with much hand labor, a black market in currency, and to my great shock, laws against abortion and birth control.

The parasitic leadership seeks to export much, import nothing, and expects Romanians to do without.

A privileged bureaucracy with a president who grandiosely resides in the former royal palace sits atop a discontented populace.

Many Romanians speak English, as did many of the East Germans and Czechs who frequented the trail. Americans are so unusual we were often asked why we would leave our own country where the mountains are higher. Then the questioners would make reference to dislike of their present governments and make favorable comments about Polish

Solidarity and Soviet *perestroika*.

Mary Hillery,
Arrowsic, Maine

Good Bet!

Dear editor,

Reader Kathy Setian in the August *Socialist Action* reported that the information gleaned from reading *Socialist Action* enabled her to win a bet from a co-worker. Her letter closed with a plea, "Perhaps socialists should place more bets."

I place bets frequently when selling our newspaper at demonstrations and at Cal. State University in Long Beach. I offer prospective buyers their money back if they are not satisfied that the paper is intellectually stimulating and provocative. The quality of our paper is such that I have never been asked for a refund. Keep up the good work.

Bill Wilner,
Long Beach, Calif.

Free Mark Curtis! Framed-up political activist convicted by Des Moines jury

By JOSEPH RYAN

An outrageous political frame-up has been perpetrated in Des Moines, Iowa.

On Friday, Sept. 14, Mark Curtis, a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), was convicted by a jury of third-degree sexual abuse and first-degree burglary.

Curtis was accused of attempting to rape Demetria Morris, a 15-year-old Black woman, in her Des Moines home at approximately 9:00 p.m. on March 4, 1988. Curtis states that the only time he has ever seen this young woman was at a deposition hearing—almost two months later—on May 30.

After the verdict was read by an all-white, nine women and three men jury, Curtis was handcuffed and taken to the Marion County jail. At a sentencing hearing scheduled for Oct. 21, he faces a mandatory 25 to 35 years in prison.

Moreover, Curtis, 29, will have to stand trial again on Oct. 10 on charges that he assaulted police officers who brutally beat him the night he was arrested.

The Des Moines-based Mark Curtis Defense Committee and defense attorney Mark Pennington will immediately file an appeal.

During the seven-month period preceding the trial, Curtis and his supporters waged an international defense campaign to have the charges dropped and the police who beat him prosecuted.

Curtis, who was an employee at the Swift meatpacking plant in Des Moines and a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431, believes he was framed up by local authorities because of his political activities, which included protesting against local cases of police brutality.

Anatomy of a frame-up

The kangaroo court which convicted Curtis was the culmination of an elaborate frame-up scheme by local police to victimize a political activist. This conviction represents a dangerous and ominous precedent which gives the police a green light to frame-up other political activists.

Mark Curtis's version of events the night of the alleged rape have been corroborated by witnesses:

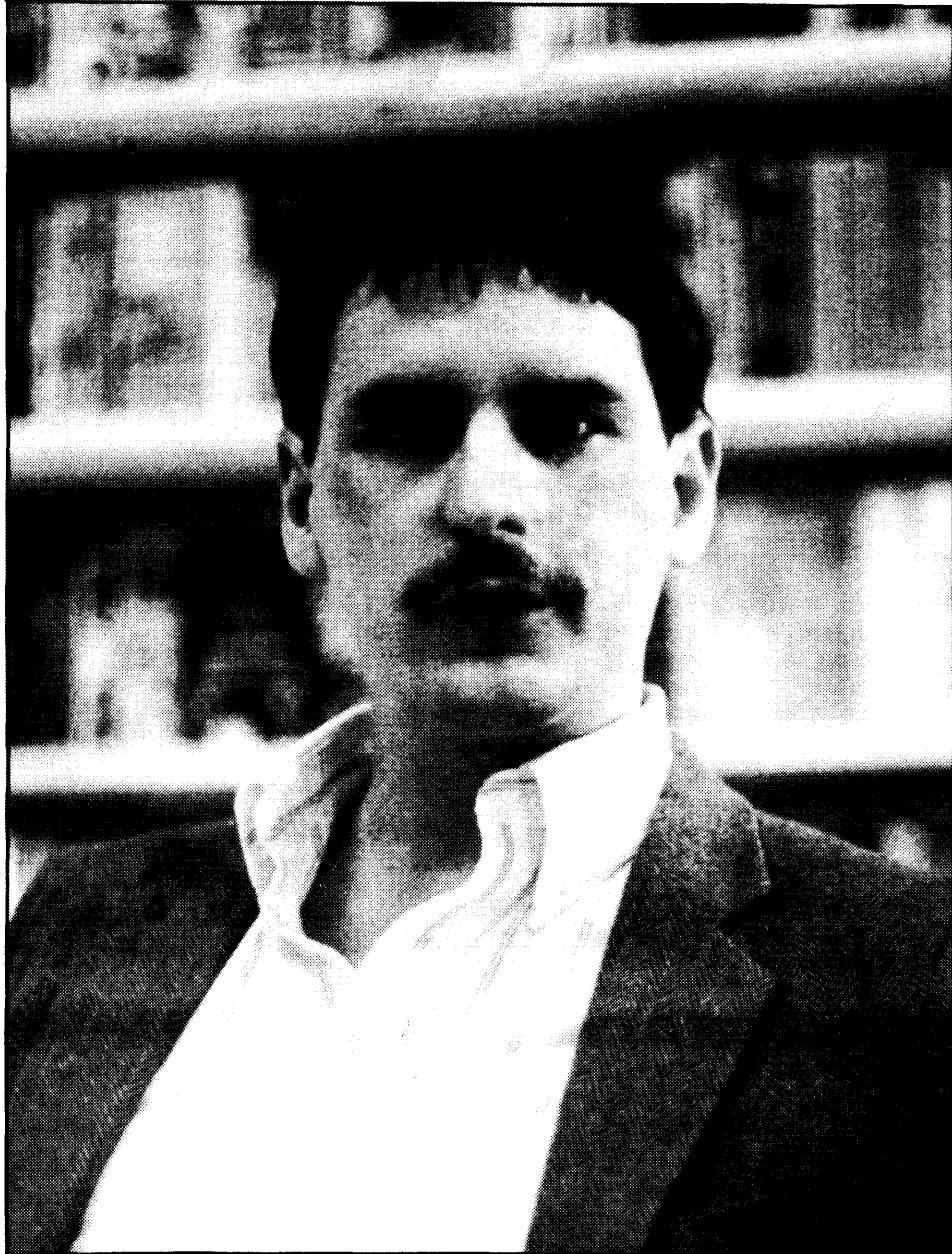
At 5:00 p.m. on March 4, Curtis attended and spoke at a public meeting, organized at the United Mexican-American Cultural Center, to protest an INS raid that occurred earlier in the week at his plant. Seventeen Latino workers were arrested for alleged possession of false papers, causing a furor which became known as the case of the Swift 17.

After the meeting, Curtis and others went to a local bar/restaurant called Los Compadres. At the trial, one of those with Curtis, Brian Willey, corroborated this and stated that Curtis left at 8:30 p.m.

Curtis says he went right home because he was expecting some out-of-town friends to arrive. When he saw they hadn't arrived, he called a neighbor at 8:45 p.m. to ask if she would let them into her house because he was going to the store to buy groceries for a dinner he was organizing the following night. This fact, too, was corroborated during trial testimony.

When he left his house shortly thereafter, Mark Curtis's nightmare began.

As Curtis was driving to the local Hy-Vee grocery store, he stopped for a red light five blocks from his house. A light-skinned Black woman, about 18 or 19 years old, came up to his car and pleaded with him to



Mark Curtis

Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

the face with a nightstick. His cheekbone was fractured and his left eye was swollen shut.

He was taken to the local hospital, where he was shackled to a bed while doctors stitched up his wounds. Curtis was then brought back to the jail and thrown into a heatless, cement-floor cell to freeze for the rest of the night. The cops later charged Curtis with assault, claiming he resisted when they asked for his clothes.

The next day Curtis's friends and supporters were able to raise the \$30,000 bail that was needed to get him out of jail.

The prosecutor's case

At 8:51 p.m. on the night of March 4, the prosecution says, a police dispatcher received a 911 call from a young boy who whispered that his sister was being raped on the front porch. Police (Officers Joseph Gonzalez and Richard Glade) were dispatched and arrived at the house "within 30 seconds."

At the trial, Gonzalez testified that Demetria Morris came running out of the enclosed porch clad only in a sweatshirt. She yelled: "He just raped me." Gonzalez stated that he entered the porch, saw Mark Curtis trying to fasten his pants, and then chased Curtis into the back bedroom and apprehended him.

Later, Demetria Morris was treated at Broadlawn Hospital at 9:15 p.m. The doctor who examined her said there was no medical evidence of rape, although she did have a swelling below her left eye and on her right temple.

Curtis says that he never saw Demetria Morris on the porch; and except for the woman who vanished (who wasn't Demetria Morris), the only people there were the cops who arrested him.

The state's case rested entirely on the testimony of the two police officers, Demetria Morris, and her 11-year-old brother, Jason. Jason Morris says he saw an attacker lying on top of his sister on the porch floor and called the police.

Fair trial?

From the beginning, a public witchhunt atmosphere was whipped up, as the prosecution presented its case almost daily in the *Des Moines Register*, the city's only daily newspaper.

Before and during Curtis's trial, which began on Sept. 7, presiding Judge Harry Perkins did his best to stack the deck against Curtis's defense.

- He ruled that no testimony or reference could be made to the beating that Curtis received at the police station the night he was arrested.

- He ruled against calling any FBI agents as witnesses during the trial, effectively blocking defense attorney Mark Pennington's attempt to establish that Curtis was a target for FBI investigation and harassment.

In recently released FBI files concerning their investigation of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Curtis's name was prominently mentioned as a leader of the Birmingham, Ala., chapter of CISPES. Such evidence clearly suggests a link with the Des Moines Police Dept. "Red Squad" and one of the motives for the frameup.

- Judge Perkins also ruled against allowing Curtis's lawyer to pursue a line of questioning concerning the credibility of Officer Joseph Gonzalez. Gonzalez had been suspended for several days from the Des Moines police force and placed on one-year probation in 1978 for brutalizing a suspect

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How you can help

- Mark Curtis faces a second trial on October 10 on charges of assaulting cops who brutally beat him. Send messages to Polk County Attorney James Smith demanding that those charges be dropped and the cops who beat Curtis be prosecuted. Address messages to Polk County Attorney James Smith, Room 408 Courthouse, 500 Mulberry St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309.

- The Mark Curtis Defense Committee needs to raise another \$7,500 in funds by September 30 for the immediate expenses involved in preparing new defense committee literature and the next round of legal moves. Just the transcripts of Curtis' trial, which are needed to prepare for his appeal, will

cost somewhere in the neighborhood of \$1,000. Contributions should be sent to the Des Moines defense committee. Checks for tax-deductible contributions may be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.

- To get defense committee materials, including fact sheets, petitions, and buttons, contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

- Write to Mark Curtis. His address is Mark Curtis, Marion County Jail, Knoxville, Iowa 50138. Copies of the letters, as well as protest messages to Smith, should be sent to the Des Moines defense committee.

give her a ride home. She told Curtis that a man at the nearby TNT Bar was chasing her.

Curtis let the woman into his car and offered to call the police. She refused this and asked only that she be driven home. She gave him directions, and Curtis drove her to a house three blocks away. Unbeknownst to Curtis, this house was the home of Demetria Morris.

When they arrived, the woman asked Curtis to wait inside an enclosed porch while she went inside to make sure the man chasing her wasn't there. Curtis waited there as the woman disappeared inside. It was the last time he ever saw her.

A moment later, Curtis heard a noise behind him, and the next thing he knew he

was being grabbed from behind by cops. One cop, Officer Joseph Gonzalez, pushed Curtis through the house to a back bedroom, handcuffed him, and then pulled down his pants.

Beaten in jail

Gonzalez told Curtis he was under arrest for rape and took him out to a waiting police van. At the jail, two cops ordered him to strip naked and proceeded with an interrogation. They asked Curtis if he was one of "them Mexican-lovers or colored-lovers," and told him he would have to confess to raping "that woman."

Curtis refused to talk until he had a lawyer present. He was then thrown to the floor, punched, kicked, and whacked across