

Joel Bleifuss

## Call it robbery

When 11-year-old Sylvia Moura of Taubate, a town near Sao Paulo, Brazil, was hit by a car and broke her leg, she went to a local hospital. After the bone was set, one of her kidneys was removed and sold to a transplant team in Brasilia. Moura is just one of the victims of a clandestine organ-marketing network now being investigated by the Sao Paulo regional medical council. According to Jan Rocha writing in *The Guardian* of London, the organ thefts were exposed when the Taubate University medical school director felt the call of conscience and went to the police. He accused 11 of his colleagues of "practising euthanasia" in order to remove transplantable body parts. In one case a woman calling herself a "para-psychologist" went to the family of Helder Faria, a 15-year-old comatose boy, saying she had communicated with their son and that he wanted his organs transplanted "because only in this way would his life have continuity." His heart, liver, kidneys and corneas then found new homes. Of course, here in the civilized North the medical establishment doesn't sell organs—it just provides them to those who can pay.

## A matter of national security

The British government may soon go to the U.S. courts to try to stop publication of *Spycatcher*, retired agent Peter Wright's expose of the super-secret British intelligence organization MI5 (see *In These Times*, April 8). *Spycatcher*, published by Viking Penguin, is due to be released in July. According to the company's lawyer Martin Garbus, who also represented Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon Papers case, if Britain goes to court it may ask the Reagan administration to support its position. "In my opinion, Britain's only course would be to seek prior restraint for reasons of U.S. national security, an argument the U.S. government tried and failed to use to block publication of the Pentagon Papers," he said. Last year Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government tried and failed to get an Australian court to stop publication of the book in that country. Said Viking Penguin President Alan Kellock, "The publication of *Spycatcher* can't help but raise the level of debate about the role of intelligence agencies and their accountability to democratic governments. The book certainly speaks to the view that obsession with secrecy by government leaders sometimes masks political embarrassment rather than matters of national security."

## The CIA and MI5

One of *Spycatcher*'s most damning revelations (see story above) is that in 1965 the CIA's counterintelligence chief, the late James Angleton, travelled to London and told MI5 agents that the CIA had information that then-Prime Minister Harold Wilson "was a Soviet agent." At the CIA's urging, MI5 then began a clandestine campaign against Wilson's Labour government. According to Wright, this covert operation was revived in the 1974 parliamentary elections when 30 MI5 agents circulated rumors that Wilson was a security risk. British spook-watcher Phillip Knightley writes in *The Second Oldest Profession* that Wilson, shortly before his 1976 resignation, suspected he was the object of an MI5 plot and sent a representative to Washington to find out what the CIA knew. According to Knightley, George Bush, who was at that time CIA director, then flew to London to assure Wilson that the CIA was not involved. However, the day before Bush was to have met the prime minister, Wilson resigned.

## Seeking conscientious employment

Last month students at Humboldt State University in Arcata, Calif., voted to amend their school's graduation procedures. So on May 16, the 1,000 or so Humboldt grads who walked across the stage were given the option to pick up the "Humboldt State University Graduation Pledge of Environmental and Social Responsibility." The vow, printed on parchment, reads: "I pledge to thoroughly investigate and take into account the social and environmental consequences of any job opportunity I consider." Fundamentally different news comes from Yale Law School, which reports that 6 percent of its 1986 graduates took jobs in the public sector, down from 23 percent in 1971.



Hammering at Citibank: Joshua Nessen, the author of the story below, is arrested at an April 3 shanty blockade of Citibank's world headquarters in New York City.

## Anti-apartheid movement: same tactics, different targets

Two years ago student anti-apartheid organizing exploded into national prominence with the divestment blockade at Columbia University and a host of other actions across the country. More than 3,000 students were arrested. Those who had been proclaiming the rise of campus conservatism suddenly heralded the birth of a new student movement. The students' divestment movement was, in fact, not new. It began after the 1976 uprising in the South African township of Soweto.

The 1985 upsurge in campus protest was inspired by the intensified challenge to apartheid inside South Africa. But unfortunately, when South African censorship blacked out images of township protest, the U.S. media paid less attention to both the struggle in South Africa and the continuing anti-apartheid protests. The protests are no longer "novelties" and hence no longer "news." In addition, Congress' October 1986 passage of limited—and ineffective—sanctions led some people to the incorrect assumption that the movement's objectives have been largely achieved.

But the student anti-apartheid movement is still going strong and has developed politically in critical ways. Although campus shantytowns and direct actions were not as prevalent as last year, shantytown protests have been staged at many schools, including Johns Hopkins University, University of Missouri, University of North Carolina and Cornell University. And on campuses across the country students have broadened their focus from divestment to domestic racism. Students are also linking up with com-

munity groups to directly target corporations still involved in South Africa.

This spring activists have opposed campus racism with some of the tactics that have marked divestment organizing. At the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, for instance, black anti-apartheid protesters led a March 19 sit-in of 300 students demanding that the university meet demands centered on institutionalized racism and South Africa. In response the university reversed its refusal to award jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela an honorary degree. The school also said it would address the problems of low black enrollment and the small number of black faculty members. Following an attack on black students at Columbia University in March, protesters demanded the arrest of the responsible white students. They also called for an end to what the demonstrators claimed is institutionalized racism expressed in the curriculum, low black enrollment and the school's refusal to fully divest.

The student movement has also been successful in directly targeting corporate collaborators with apartheid. This tactic is a logical next step, given that divestment has been achieved at many schools and that partial sanctions do not mandate U.S. corporate withdrawal from South Africa.

In early April Citibank was selected as the major target since it is the only U.S. bank that still has branches in South Africa. At Citibank world headquarters in New York City a student and community coalition organized a shanty blockade. Fourteen people were arrested. Students staged similar protests in other parts of the country.

There have been other corporate targets. The District of Columbia Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism picketed 15

branches of the Sovran Bank because of the institution's ties to South Africa and its poor record of lending money to black communities in the U.S. At Penn State University students have organized a boycott of Carnegie Mellon Bank and so far have convinced some local businesses and a United Electrical Workers local to withdraw their accounts. Penn State students also joined a protest against Johnson and Johnson's investment in South Africa that was organized by Rutgers University students and local unions at that company's New Jersey headquarters.

It is critical that the student anti-apartheid movement work against domestic racism and U.S. corporate investment, but the organizing needs to be deepened in several important ways. First, the lack of news from South Africa has meant that anti-apartheid forces must develop educational strategies to inspire action against U.S. ties to South Africa. Second, the very achievement of divestment at some key schools has deprived organizers of a dynamic organizing vehicle. This makes it all the more critical for students to programmatically support the liberation struggle in southern Africa and counter U.S. policy in the region. The importance of doing so is underlined by recent U.S. military maneuvers in southern Zaire and the administration's continuing support for UNITA in Angola.

Student anti-apartheid actions here have been a catalyst for campus organizing on other fronts, including racism and Central America. However, to continue to be effective the student movement needs to better coordinate its activities.

—Joshua Nessen

The author is the national student coordinator of the American Committee on Africa.



## Catastrophic illness insurance: is nothing better than something?

The greatest health-care controversy in the nation's capital these days revolves around the definition of a single word: catastrophe. Lawmakers disagree vehemently over who and what should be covered under a national catastrophic illness insurance plan.

Ed Howard of Upper Marlboro, Md., thinks he knows what a catastrophe is. He is living through one.

In 1983 his wife was stricken with cancer. In the year before she died he spent \$17,000 for her care. His four insurance policies paid \$64. "My own health has deteriorated," he testified before the Senate Aging Committee. Howard had a stroke, a liver disorder and a leg amputated. His care is uncovered by Medicare and insurance. His life savings is almost exhausted.

Howard's nightmare is one that haunts the nation's elderly. Since President Reagan in February endorsed a national catastrophic insurance plan, calling it "that last full measure of security for America's elderly," the level of

biartisan support has increased to the point that it's no longer a matter of whether such a bill will pass, but when.

Critics of the administration's plan say it would not give people like Howard much relief. Authored by Health and Human Services Secretary Otis Bowen, the plan would pay for long hospital stays. For an optional \$4.92 monthly premium participants would pay no more than \$2,000 a year for hospital care.

But the plan would not address the bankrupting potential of long-term health care. Less than 1 percent of the Medicare population requires extended hospital stays costing more than \$2,000.

A far greater number of people suffer from ailments, like Alzheimer's disease, that require long-term residential nursing care or expensive lifelong medication, neither of which is covered by Medicare—or the Bowen plan. Nor does the plan help the nation's 37 million uninsured people under 64, or the 200 million underinsured.

Critics of the Bowen plan have also pointed out that its funding mechanism is so regressive that just paying the increased premiums would constitute a near catastrophe for the many elderly on meager fixed incomes.

of "elite democracy"—many voters opted to fill the 25 blank spaces on their ballots with "Cory's candidates" in the national election for 24 senate seats and the one district house seat.

But administration favorites and the predominantly aging vets of the right-wing opposition ticket were not the only participants in this latest political battle. For the first time in almost 40 years a significant left-wing force joined the fray. The ANP—consisting of the Party of the People, the New Patriotic Alliance, Volunteers for Popular Democracy and smaller local and national organizations—ran seven senate candidates and supported two of the administration's. It also supported or ran candidates in many of the 200 district house races. (Fifty other house seats are appointed by the president.)

That the Alliance did poorly in the senate contests was not surprising. It was inexperienced, underfunded and susceptible to red-baiting owing to its radical politics and the past ties of its candidates to the revolutionary movement. The Alliance also suffered from Aquino's Peoples Power (LABAN) coalition monopoly on the simple "anti-fascist" vote.

More disappointing for the left was its poor performance in the races for the house and the continued domination of personality-oriented rather than issue-oriented campaigns in the national contest. Members of the Alliance expected to win at least 15 and perhaps as many as 40 of the house seats available in the election. It will be some time before the official results are in, but it's already clear that left

A bill the House Ways and Means Committee recently passed would address that complaint. Introduced by Rep. Peter Stark (D-CA), this bill would fund catastrophic illness care with premiums based on a sliding income scale.

There's an element of skepticism among some observers as the hearings progress. "This excitement and momentum is more of an incumbency protection act than anything else," scoffs Jack Christy of the American Association of Retired Persons. "It's not aimed at protection of the elderly."

Stark, like Bowen, has been criticized for describing his plan as one that would truly protect the elderly from the cost of catastrophic illness. He says he'd like to support something more comprehensive, but there's no way such a bill would get through Congress.

Christy thinks nothing at all might be better than what he considers the Band-Aid approach proposed by Bowen and Stark. "I don't think we have to buy what they're selling or just foreclose," he says. "The forces that are making catastrophic [insurance] appealing to the public are not going to dissipate."

—Tracy L. Barnett

and left-leaning candidates independent of the Aquino coalition won few if any seats.

The fact that so many candidates depended on personalities, famous faces, catchy slogans and jingles and the historic troika of "guns, goons and gold" during the campaign was disappointing not only to the left's independent candidates, but also to some of the LABAN slate's more thoughtful candidates. Augusto Sanchez was one such candidate. The former minister of labor was named to the senate slate a short while after Aquino accepted his forced resignation from the cabinet for his left-of-center views.

"In some ways the campaign was worse than even the old traditional politics," said Sanchez shortly before the election. "I would have thought that issues would have mattered more than personalities and money. They didn't."

Aquino's victory brings with it responsibilities and new challenges. With a virtual restoration of constitutional rule—all that's left to do is elect mayors, governors and other local officials later this year—the president has no more excuses for not implementing needed reforms.

Should the government fail, it will create new opportunities for the left, which, despite its electoral setback, retains a grassroots network, especially in the poorest communities in the countryside and some cities. Whether the left will be able to take advantage of potential openings remains to be seen.

—James B. Goodno

## Coup in Fiji

Good news for the U.S. nuclear fleet in the South Pacific. The left-leaning coalition of Fijian Prime Minister Tiomoci Bavadra, voted into office April 12, was overthrown in a military coup d'etat on May 14. (As *In These Times* went to press it had not been determined how Fiji's post-coup government would be constructed.) The deposed Bavadra government had pledged itself to a non-aligned foreign policy and was proposing, as New Zealand's Labour government has done, to ban the nuclear-armed U.S. Navy. Pacific watchers had been predicting that these policies would have a significant impact throughout the South Pacific, according to *The Guardian* of London. And the Institute for Policy Studies, a left-wing Washington think tank, has obtained through a Freedom of Information request the U.S. Information Agency's 1986 "General Statement—East Asia and Pacific Program." The document discusses what the U.S. perceives as the "crippling" effects of New Zealand's anti-nuclear example. "The questions that are raised with New Zealand are central to our relations with all South Pacific countries," says the document. "Other nations will find it difficult to resist pressures to emulate the New Zealand example. Australia and smaller Pacific states including Fiji [which was then under the U.S.-aligned government that lost the April 12 election] and Papua New Guinea are concerned about the implications of the New Zealand policy." As far as the U.S. is concerned, Fiji is in safe hands again. According to *New York Times* correspondent Nicholas D. Kristof, the officer who led the coup, Lt. Col. Sitiveni Rabuka, has since "criticized the non-aligned foreign policy of Dr. Bavadra's government" and "sounded more conservative and pro-Western."

## Was the U.S. involved?

On April 30, two weeks before the Fiji coup, Vernon Walters, retired general, former deputy director of the CIA and current U.N. ambassador, began a three-day visit to Fiji. His visit was part of a month-long tour of the South Pacific. According to Mike Munro of the *New Zealand Herald* in Auckland there is "lots of speculation about what he was doing in Fiji" but "not much is known." The *New Zealand Herald* reported that on April 19, Bill Sutton, a member of New Zealand's parliament, told a regional Labour Party conference: "Wherever that character [Walters] travels around the world there always seems to be a transfer of power from a democratically elected government to a military junta." The U.S. Embassy in Wellington, New Zealand, has denied any U.S. involvement in the coup. Sutton says that the situation would be clearer if the U.S. would denounce the military takeover.

## Vernon Walters speaks

At a 1980 "Colloquium on Covert Action" in Washington, then-CIA Deputy Director Vernon Walters gave a paper on "political and propaganda covert action." He said: "When a nation decides that the actions of another nation...constitute a serious threat to the interests of that first nation...it then seeks to weaken its adversary and defuse the threat...." The retired general spoke from experience. Walters was involved in the 1953 U.S.-backed Iranian *putsch* that put the Shah in power. And according to Louis Wolf and William Vornberger writing in *Covert Action*, "The elected government [of Brazilian President] Joao Goulart was overthrown [in 1964] with the help of U.S. military attache Vernon Walters and the CIA, bringing to power the ruthless Castelo Branco dictatorship."

## Contra sleaze

In 1986 Robert Owen, Lt. Col. Oliver North's bagman, sent a memo to North criticizing the contra leadership. According to a May 21 *New York Times* report by Stephen Engelberg, Owen wrote that former Coca-Cola bottler and contra strongman Adolfo Calero had surrounded himself with aides who were "liars and greed-and-power motivated." This war has become a business to many of them. There is still a belief the Marines are going to have to invade, so let's get set so we will automatically be the ones put into power." Owen said that if the U.S. officials "[think] they control Calero, they also have another thing coming. The question should be asked does Calero manipulate the [U.S. government]? On several occasions, the answer is yes...." Owen wrote that giving aid to the contras without making improvements in their leadership "will be like pouring money down the sinkhole.... Things will not get better, they will get worse. The heavy hand of the gringo is needed."

## How Aquino won

MANILA—Like a prize boxer, Philippine President Corazon Aquino keeps emerging from ferocious battles not only victorious but apparently unscathed and stronger than ever.

Aquino did this most recently on May 12 when an overwhelming majority of her handpicked senate candidates swept to victory in the first election since she came to power 15 months ago.

"Cory's magic worked," said Lorenzo Teves, a candidate of the right-wing Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD). "The people have spoken." Teves was one of the few oppositionists to concede defeat.

Despite the howls of protest from Teves' 23 GAD running mates, candidates of Marcos' New Society Movement (KBL) and some leaders of the leftist Alliance for New Politics (ANP), Teves was right. At press time 22 of 23 of Aquino's allies appeared headed for victory. Some were strong candidates in their own right, but most depended on Aquino's endorsement, vanquishing even much better known candidates of the opposition. GAD's supposed powerhouse, former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, was caught in a close race for one of the final seats in the nationwide race. The opposition's only sure winner was GAD's Joseph Estrada, a popular movie star.

For Enrile and others smeared by past ties to the dictatorship, the senate race was a complete disaster. They were repudiated and dismissed out of hand. In completing their break with the recent past—though not the more distant past