

POLITICS

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More of the same — wars, domination and imperialist aggression Clinton's Policy for the "New World Order"

By BARRY SHEPPARD

The shift from Bush to Clinton occurred without the slightest disturbance to the foreign policies of the outgoing administration.

The missile attacks and bombing of Iraq initiated by Bush right before the transfer continued through it and after Clinton took the helm. The invasion and "pacification" of Somalia proceeds according to plan. Clinton stiffened Bush's policy of refusing entry to Haitian refugees by throwing up a blockade of the island nation. The trade blockade of Cuba has been tightened with the new President's vociferous support. Possible intervention into Yugoslavia continues to be weighed.

The common policy of the Republicans and Democrats regarding these hot spots reflects their overall bipartisan foreign policy that has been in effect since the Second World War.

This bipartisan foreign policy has been based upon defending and extending the interests of the handful of very rich U.S. families who are the real rulers of the United States. They seek to dominate as much of the world as they can, to control raw materials, dominate markets, and secure areas of foreign investment. In this endeavor, they are in fierce competition with their counterparts in the other "advanced" capitalist countries, especially Germany and Japan.

This policy includes the use of force against any peoples who attempt to break out of such imperialist domination or out of the capitalist system altogether. Up until



U.S. Marine kicks Somali youth away from the gates to Mogadishu's port.

the demise of the Soviet Union this bipartisan policy was carried out under the watchword of anticommunism. While this slogan can be utilized again, and still is in the case of Cuba, new slogans and excuses are being put forward to justify imperialist aggression.

These include cynical use of humanitarian aid, as in the case of Somalia, or of "stopping aggression" by Iraq, or of fighting the horror of "ethnic cleansing" by Serbia, etc.

In his confirmation hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Clinton's new Secretary of Defense, Les Aspin, explained that the situation following the "cold war" meant that the U.S. could step up its use of force around the world.

"Maybe you use force not to achieve something but to punish people for doing certain things," Aspin said. "If it doesn't

work, the backing off of it doesn't have the same kind of international concerns" as when the Soviet Union existed. In other words, more risks can be taken.

Behind the War Against Iraq

The fact that the transition from Bush to Clinton has been so smooth does not mean there cannot be shifts, even dramatic ones, as the situation changes. An example was the shift under the Bush administration from the Carter-Reagan-Bush strategy of backing and arming Iraq against Iran during their long war in the 1980s, to waging war against Iraq.

But both the backing of Iraq against Iran and the subsequent war against Iraq were

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We are entering the worst capitalist crisis in over 60 years. The collapse of the Soviet Union only exacerbates this process. Sudden and severe international and domestic conflicts are inevitable as the rich compete with each other for control of markets and resources, tightening screws on the poor to raise profits. The bulk of the economic and social burden falls immediately and most heavily on the working people and oppressed of the world. In the United States, increased attacks on working people in general are disproportionately affecting women, African-Americans, Latinos, Asians/Pacific Islanders, Native American Indians, and youth.

Only a consciously organized and militant mass response can resolve the deepening crisis in the interests of the immense majority of humanity. The key is independent political action by the working class. We need to break out of the framework of the two party system controlled by the rich. Activists for In-

dependent Socialist Politics (AISP) seeks to rebuild the socialist movement in the United States through collaboration and democratic discussions with other activists and groups fighting for fundamental social change. We are activists in trade unions, feminist groups, Black, Latino and Asian groups, student groups, and other movements for social change.

If you agree with this approach and you would like to participate in effective political activity in the central social struggles of the day, collaborate through open and democratic discussions with other activists and groups in the unions and social movements, and work to rebuild a non-sectarian, fighting American socialist movement, contact Activists for Independent Socialist Politics for more information. Write to:

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Violence Against Homosexuals On the Increase

By TASSO GEIST

In both legal efforts and random acts of violence, attacks targeting gay and lesbian people are on the increase in the United States. A report by the San Francisco-based group Community United Against Violence indicates that nationally attacks against gays and lesbians have been on the rise in the 1990s. In 1991 a total of 1,822 incidents were reported to agencies in five cities. Compared to 1990, reported anti-gay incidents increased by six percent in Chicago, 11 percent in San Francisco, 17 percent in New York City, 42 percent in the Boston area and 202 percent in Minneapolis/St. Paul in 1991. Taken together, there has been a 31 percent increase in these hate crimes since 1990 and a 161 percent since 1988.

In Oregon, a group called Citizen's Alliance attempt to pass Prop 9, an anti-gay initiative, lost in November by only a narrow margin. The failed proposition would have amended the Oregon State Constitution to prohibit state and local governments from using public money "to facilitate homosexuality" and linked it automatically with pedophilia and sadomasochism. The initiative went so far as to propose that all public educational institutions teach that gay sex practices are "wrong, unnatural and perverse." The initiative was defeated only through the independent organizing efforts and education campaign of grassroots gay rights groups with union support and not through any major support on the part of Democratic or Republican politicians.

A similar right-wing "pro-family" effort to repeal local gay/lesbian and bisexual anti-discrimination laws, named Amendment 2, succeeded in Colorado. The measure rescinds a standing state executive order barring bias with regard to sexual orientation.

The efforts of these right-wing fundamentalists, regardless of whether they succeed or not, provide miseducation that serves to further incite violence against gay/lesbian and bisexual people.

In Oregon, on the eve of the defeat of Prop. 9, a Black lesbian and her gay male

roommate were murdered by a firebombing by skinheads. The Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Colorado has documented 166 cases of anti-gay violence and harassment in 1992. The



change marked an 87 percent increase in reports of these crimes over the 1991 figure with the greatest increase occurring after the election. A San Francisco gay-oriented newspaper reported that bashing has increased 400 percent in Colorado since the passing of Amendment 2.

Over the course of his presidential campaign Clinton vied with Bush as the "real" pro-family candidate, but he was pushed by grass-roots groups to take pro-choice and pro-gay rights positions. ACT-UP exposed the fact that Clinton did little while governor of Arkansas about AIDS. During his presidential campaign he mouthed a promise to make it a priority. However, already hardly in office, Clinton has made appointments who continue to neglect the real issues of concern to the working-class. Under fire to live up to his promises, Clinton has called these real needs, expressed by women, gays and lesbians and people of color, as "bean-counting."

Clinton has angered gays by waffling

on his promise to prevent discrimination against gays in the military. Gay soldiers who are "out" and those

who have been forcibly outed are standing up and trying to fight back. But the issue has exposed gays in the military while at the same time offering them no real legal protection. Consequently, bashing against gays in the military has also been on the rise. Recently, one gay sailor was beaten to death by shipmates and his face left unrecognizable.

Clearly then, regardless of who is president, we have to continue to organize independently of either party to adequately fight for gay rights. This is crucial right now in the face of the increase nationwide of gay-bashing, job discrimination and the failure of the health-care delivery system to care for AIDS victims.

Grassroots groups like Community United Against Violence have attempted to fight back against gay-bashing without much support from police or governmental agencies. One response in San Francisco and New York has been the formation of gay patrols such as the Pink Panthers who teach self-defense and physically stop anti-gay hate crimes. Gay-focused groups like Queer Nation are organizing anti-bashing efforts through a sub-group called IRATE.

Hate crimes and discrimination against gay people are clearly a fact of daily life. Efforts to organize against them as well as introduce legislation against attacks are motivated by real threats. Yet these efforts are misrepresented by right wing and conservative groups. They have made gains in various states both by getting anti-gay politicians elected and by fostering reversal of rights legislation. They win by making the bogus claim that anti-discrimination and anti-bashing laws are based on the desire of gay people to promote a homosexual "lifestyle" and extend special privileges to homosexuals at the expense of heterosexuals and the "traditional" nuclear family.

The rightist argument appeals to the

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California Drywallers Score Major Victory For Labor

By ADAM WOOD

membership. Also, the drywallers had things to teach the California construction unions in

Last fall, David beat Goliath in Southern California. Over 4,000 striking drywall workers won a summer-long battle to organize a union. Some 90 percent of the strikers were Mexican immigrants, and many were undocumented. Their strike involved a fight against the building contractors, the police, the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service), and the initial suspicion of a union movement accustomed to thinking of "them" as "scabs."

Origins of the Movement

The drywallers' movement began in the fall of 1991. Nicolas Munoz and Jesus Gomez, longtime friends and workers in the industry, decided that something had to be done about the terrible wages and working conditions of drywall workers. The average drywall installer in Southern California made \$300 a week for six to seven days' work, without benefits.

Munoz and Gomez asked a local Carpenters' union for the use of their hall and organized a meeting of their fellow workers. Most of this core group came from the same town, El Maguey in Mexico. Many had been involved in an unsuccessful strike in 1987. The contractors had promised wage increases if the strikers gave up their demand for a union. They did, but the wage increases never materialized. This time the workers agreed they had to hold out for union recognition. After months of organizing, the strike began on June 1, 1992.

The local Carpenters' union allowed the drywallers use of their hall, but did not throw themselves into the strike at first. During the recession of 1982, these same striking drywallers were used by both union and non-union building contractors to undercut unionized drywallers and break the union.

In 1992, drywallers made less than one-third of their 1982 wages. The strikers learned first-hand the cost of working without a union and were determined to fight for new organization.

Community backs fight

The determination and militant tactics of the strikers forced the whole community to sit up and take notice. Picket lines formed every workday at job sites in Ventura, Orange, San Bernadino, Riverside and San Diego counties. At one job site in Orange County, strikers physically removed scabs from the building and shut down the job.

This action resulted in the largest mass arrest in Orange County history. Over 150 strikers were arrested. While in jail, the INS deported a number of the strikers to Mexico. Eventually, after a strong show of solidarity by the Latino community and other supporters, the charges against most of the strikers were dropped. Others pleabargained, but spent no time in jail. The strike continued.

The existing unions began to get more involved. The Carpenters' union helped organize support for the strike and provided meals for strikers in its meeting hall. Finally, the building contractors in every county except San Diego agreed to recognize the union and negotiate a contract. So far, negotiations have resulted in a pay increase from \$300 to \$500 a week. The drywallers, now organized in the Carpenters' union, have won a major victory.

Contractors in San Diego county have vowed never to recognize the union, so strike actions have continued there. Strikers organized a march on January 23 which rallied strikers and supporters at a non-union construction site. The union is confident that the San Diego contractors will eventually cave in.

An example for all of labor

The militant mass picket lines and strong community support for the drywallers' strike set an example for the whole labor movement. The struggle, echoing back to the fighting union movement of the 1930s, points the way out of these dark days of concessions and dwindling union

particular.

California's construction unions were dazzled by the commercial boom which began after the 1981-82 recession. New skyscrapers shot up in major cities, changing the skyline and providing months of steady work for union members. These jobs provided unionized contractors with huge profits and required little activity by the union. Many union officials were content to sit back and watch the dues and initiation fees rolls in.

However, while the unions focused on the downtown areas, home construction began to slip away from organized labor. Contractors in the neighborhoods and the suburbs began to employ non-union workers at low pay. Many of these workers were new immigrants, like the drywallers in Southern California.

In 1989, the bottom fell out of the construction boom, both in housing and in commercial areas. Except in San Francisco, where earthquake repair briefly interrupted the downhill slide, the work situation in construction has gotten steadily worse.

Now the unions find themselves clinging to the sinking downtown areas with no lifeboats in the neighborhoods and suburbs. Ten years of low activity and no new organizing has robbed the union leaderships of the will and experience to organize the kind of fight the drywallers are leading in Southern California.

Not all non-union workers are scabs

Combined with the economic problems is a mistaken view held by many in the union officialdom that their task is only to find work for *their members* and *their contractors*. All non-union workers are seen as competitors, as "scabs."

A scab is someone who sabotages a union, someone who crosses a picket line. When the union fails to lift a finger to organize a group of workers, it is wrong to label them as scabs and assume they are hostile to the union. In fact, the ex-

ample of the drywallers shows that these non-union "scabs" are potentially the best fighters the labor movement has seen in years.

The present impasse is creating a ridiculous situation. For example, in San Francisco, the Painters' union lost over 170 members in 1992. Of the remaining 900, only about half are working. This is down from about 2,000 members 15 years ago.

On the other hand, at several locations in the city hundred of painters, mostly undocumented Latino immigrants, assemble every day hoping to be picked up for temporary work by non-union contractors and individuals. Once hired, they will work for anything offered, even below minimum wage. One contractor, Kenneth Marconi of Northern California Association Contractors, stands accused of hiring several immigrant workers for months and paying them nothing at all.

As Jose Medina of the Instituto Laboral de la Raza in San Francisco put it, "It's slavery, pure and simple."

The solution seems simple. The unions need members and immigrant workers need a union. But the unions need to drop the view of their organization as a "job trust" if they are going to get out there and organize the non-union workers.

It took the explosion of the drywallers' strike to wake up the Carpenters' union in Southern California. Hopefully the shockwaves from that explosion will stir the construction unions throughout the state into motion.

Send financial support to: Drywallers Strike Fund, c/o AFL-CIO Region 6, 611 Shatto Pl., Suite 400, Los Angeles, CA 90005. ▼

Adam Wood is a member of Painters Union Local 4 in San Francisco, Calif

a shopping mall! A current proposal plans for inclusion of the garden area in a 22-acre business and residential project known as the West Village Center.

Could it be possible that the university is hoping to bypass existing environmental impact procedure by first removing the garden and then building the mall atop a useless parking lot? No one would object to building a shopping mall atop a parking lot. Concrete is concrete.

The university claims, in its initial Study and Negative Declaration for the temporary lot, that there will be no damage to or alteration of any historical sites. In fact, its impact statement does not even recognize the land as being historically significant. However, in the 1988 proposal for the construction of parking lot G, only a few yards away from the gardens, the university recognized that the lot would be constructed over a site where burial remains had been discovered. The proposal stipulated that the site was to be "capped", covered over, to protect its historical value. While some of the gardeners claim that the site was not properly "capped", the statement reveals that someone in the administration knew the site was protected.

Vera Rocha, chairperson and chief of the Gabrielino Nation, writes in a letter to the administration, "it appears that a failure to disclose recorded archaeological sites on campus, as well as to . . . assess the impact towards sites not yet known has already led to the disturbance and destruction of some sites. This unfortunate development may have placed the university in violation of federal and state laws." In a second letter Rocha writes that, "The Gabrielino Nation views the garden as compatible with Gabrielino cultural values," and that it "deserved to be protected."

Speaking for the university, Roman Kochan expressed concern about the potential presence of cultural artifacts on the proposed site. "We . . . have decided," he said, "to commission a comprehensive review of the presence of cultural artifacts, and specifically to examine the validity of earlier archaeological surveys which suggested that there were signs of cultural artifacts on the site." Yes, Mr.

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Students and Native Americans Fight to Save Historic Garden

By DAVID TURPIN, JR.

The administration at California State University, Long Beach, has been forced to make concessions to a coalition of students attempting to save a garden given to them 21 years ago by the university for Earth Day. Pressured by a coalition of Native Americans and gardeners, and troubled over the discovery that the site has historical significance, the administration has agreed to reconsider its proposal to pave over the organic garden and construct a temporary parking lot.

Previously undaunted by the shame of paving over a meticulously cared-for garden in order to construct a temporary parking lot, the administration has been forced into negotiations by the possibility that it may be in violation of the law.

The proposed parking lot, the Japanese Gardens, and the adjacent parking Lot G are all located on an area listed in the National Register of Historic Places. It was in that area that Chungishnish, god and lawgiver of the Gabrielino people, was born. In fact, the entire campus is built

atop the community of Puvungna, an area sacred to the Gabrielino people.

As a consequence of their listing in the national register, the sites are accorded protection from unscrupulous developers such as bureaucrats with affinities for blacktop. California Governor Pete Wilson's executive order (w-26-92) states explicitly that "each state agency is directed . . . to administer the cultural and historic properties under its control in a spirit of stewardship and trusteeship for future generations...." Ironically, future generations won't even be able to "enjoy" the parking lot because it is to be torn up as well.

The most obvious question which confronts any intelligent person is, "Why?" What rational reason could be given for paving over a garden enjoyed both by students and the community at large? The university claims it plans to build the temporary lot to provide space during construction of a new parking structure. However, the existing parking facilities are not used to their full potential. The answer to this riddle lies in what is to be constructed after the blacktop is removed:

New Directions for UAW

By CAROLINE LUND

The life of an assembly-line worker has always been one of forced overtime, speed-up and a high number of injuries. Such wretched conditions are why unions were organized in the 1930s. Strong, militant unions were needed to give auto workers dignity, decent wages, and better working conditions.

Some 50 years later, workers and management continue a daily class war. But workers' main defense, our union, is in the weakest shape it's ever been. The weakness reflects both a determined offensive by the auto barons and a wrong strategy followed by the top union leadership in response to those attacks.

Major layoffs

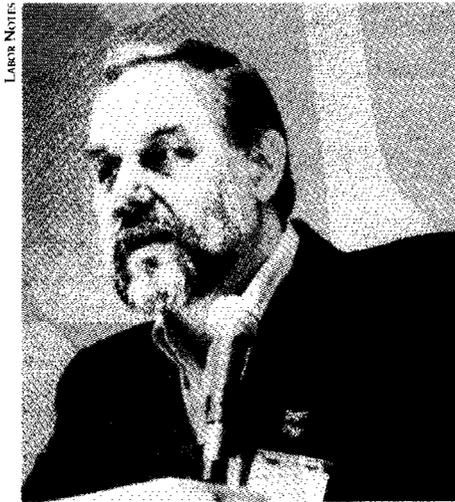
Between 1979 and 1991, 600,000 auto workers lost their jobs. That amounted to 40 percent of the membership of the United Auto Workers union (UAW).

At the end of 1992, General Motors announced it would raise to 23 the total number of plants it would close over the coming years, meaning 80,000 additional jobs lost. Workers in the remaining plants face speed-up, longer hours, and more injuries.

In response to this company war against auto workers, the UAW top leadership has been pursuing a strategy of concessions and accommodations with the owners of the "Big Three" to supposedly "save jobs." The weak-kneed policies of the UAW officialdom culminated last April in the defeat suffered by the nearly 11,000 workers involved in the strike against Caterpillar, Inc.

After the company threatened to hire scabs, the UAW leadership caved in and sent strikers back to work under the same company-proposed conditions they had struck against five and one-half months earlier. These conditions include a two-tier wage scale, with new hires getting only \$7 an hour, and the right of the company to impose 10 and 12-hour shifts with no premium pay for weekend or holiday work. Caterpillar has also stopped dues check-off to the union and has stopped paying full-time union representatives.

The defeat at Caterpillar and the steady decline in membership has opened a debate among the UAW's ranks on what should be done. The top UAW officials, like their counterparts in the other AFL-CIO unions, fear the rank and file. It is the most important reason why they capitulated at Caterpillar. They knew a mobilized membership would begin to demand effective leadership to win the strike. Such a dynamic could lead to their replacement by more militant leaders. That's why they threw in the towel.



Jerry Tucker, National Organizing Coordinator of UAW New Directions.

New Directions Movement

This concern about a future rank and file rebellion against the entrenched leadership in Solidarity House (international headquarters of the UAW in Detroit) is not without foundation.

In the context of a decade of setbacks, a bright spot for the rank and file exists in the continued development of the New Directions Movement. New Directions is a nationwide caucus within the UAW that is challenging the defeatist policies of the leadership and proposing the union mobilize its members and allies in a serious fight back.

UAW New Directions was formed in the late 1980s as local union leaders and rank-and-file activists began to resist the

top union leadership's policy of concessions and "cooperation"

with the auto companies.

A central leader of New Directions is Jerry Tucker, former Region 5 Assistant Director. Tucker helped lead a series of militant and successful contract fights in Missouri and Texas in the early '80s. These struggles were won using in-plant mass action tactics rather than strikes. The workers organized broad "solidarity committees" to promote "working-to-rule," refusal of all overtime, and other actions designed to reduce production and force the bosses to reconsider their demands for concessions.

Reverse course

The goals of New Directions represent a reversal of course for the UAW. The caucus calls for:

- Fighting concessions and returning to "adversarial, solidarity unionism." This means the union must stand up and fight for its members' interests rather than falling for company "team concept" or "jointness" schemes.

According to the companies, workers and management are on the same "team" and have the same interest in making the company more competitive.

Once a union falls for this line, it gives up fighting for the needs and rights of the rank-and-file workers. As Jerry Tucker puts it, "You can't fight and hug a company at the same time."

- The right of the membership to vote directly for international UAW officers. They are currently elected by convention delegates which makes it much easier for the existing leadership to perpetuate itself.

The right of the membership to vote for officers was a key demand of reform movements in the Teamsters and United Mine Workers unions, among others.

- A fight for a shorter work week and an all-out union organizing drive, both nationally and internationally.

- Reaching out to allies among minority communities, women, environmentalists, etc.

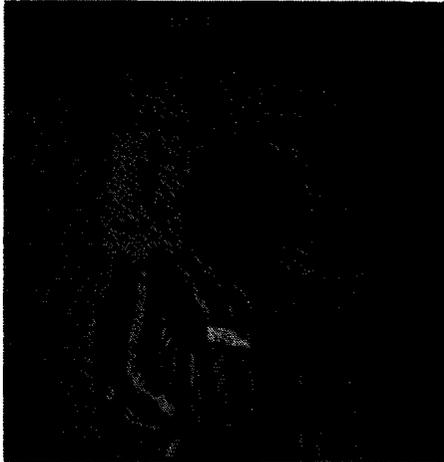
- Pursuing independent political ac-

tion and a new political party.

- International solidarity among working people.

The New Directions Movement has held annual conferences since its founding as a national movement in 1989. At the fourth national conference last November, Suman Bohm, a co-chair of New Directions, noted that over the past 10 years auto workers have gone through a test of the union leadership's line of "jointness," the "team

CAROLINE LUND/INDEPENDENT POLITICS



Larry Soloman (president of UAW Local 751 at the Decatur, Ill., Caterpillar plant) spoke at the New Directions conference last November about the continuing struggle at Caterpillar.

Historic Garden

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Kochan, time to begin damage control.

Construction plans have now been postponed until claims can be evaluated. "The university is proceeding to meet directly with representatives of the tribe" and is "going to have an informational meeting with the student senate (in)...early February," explained Kochan.

This should come as welcome news to the gardeners, who claim they haven't been given a fair hearing up to this point. One gardener, Jeff Trexel, lamented, "The only discussion that the university has had with the Organic Gardeners was...they told us they were kicking us out." In its haste the university may have stumbled over some skeletons. ▼

David Turpin, Jr. is a student at California State University, Long Beach.

"Those of us who still have jobs are worse off today. We're working harder and faster and suffering more injuries."

concept," and doing what's best for the company. "Those of us who still have jobs are worse off today," she said. "We're working harder and faster and suffering more injuries." Lighter-duty jobs have been systematically eliminated, making it more difficult for injured or older workers to keep working.

Caterpillar strike

A keynote speaker at the November conference was Larry Solomon, president of Local 751 in Decatur, IL., the second largest of the Caterpillar plants. Solomon has been a New Directions member since its founding.

He told the story of the Caterpillar strike and how the UAW leadership again and again refused to bring the true power of the union behind the strike. One problem was how the "selective strike" strategy was applied. The strike began at the Decatur and Peoria plants only, and later expanded. This enabled Caterpillar to send work from the struck plants to working plants.

Then after Caterpillar threatened to hire replacement workers, UAW officials ordered the strikers back to work with absolutely no preparation or explanation as to what to do back in the plant. The return to work was ordered even though the strike had remained solid, and solidarity from other unions was mounting.

New Directions conference participants from around the country spoke from the floor testifying to the deep concern of co-workers over the stakes in the Caterpillar strike and their readiness to show solidarity. But this sentiment was never mobilized.

The UAW international leadership is presently conducting a campaign of "in-plant" slow-down tactics to pressure the company. But Solomon said it was largely a top-down operation with little attempt to involve the rank and file.

The November New Directions conference was smaller than past ones. Organizer Jerry Tucker said he thought this was not due to a lessening of interest in the caucus's ideas. Rather he saw it as stemming from the climate of fear among auto workers over losing their jobs, the aggressive stance of the bosses, and the repression against New Directions by the top union officialdom.

As one delegate from the Lordstown GM plant put it, "We need to hold the fort until we can get back to some real unionism again."

Historical perspective

New Directions still represents a relatively small layer of the UAW membership. In the absence of a mass fightback by auto workers, it takes a lot of courage and conviction to stand up for a course of militant unionism against the powerful, repressive bureaucracy headed by Owen Beiber.

A more historical appreciation of the New Directions Movement was expressed by Erwin Bauer, a UAW retiree who attended the November conference representing Local 306, Budd Company, Detroit.

"Since the bureaucracy headed by Walter Reuther consolidated its grip in the late 1940s, there have been many caucuses that have come and gone in the UAW," said Bauer. "Most would spring up between conventions and die out following the convention.

"This is the first time that an opposition caucus has been able to maintain itself for four and a half years, developing a rounded program, an elected leadership body, and sufficient finances to sustain itself."

Whatever limitations or weaknesses New Directions might have, its existence will make it easier for militant workers to find their way to an effective class-struggle course.

For more information about UAW New Directions, write to: New Directions, P.O. Box 6876, St. Louis, MO 63144 (314-531-2900) ▼

Caroline Lund is a member of UAW Local 2244 at New United Motor Manufacturing (NUMMI) in Fremont, CA.

The Abortion Fight Where Are We Now?

By CLAUDETTE BÉGIN

Today, after more than a decade of attacks on abortion rights, the pro-choice movement rejoices at the end of the Reagan and Bush administrations which led those attacks.

They rejoice because of Clinton's reversal by executive order on January 22, 1993, of the "gag" rule, which said that abortion couldn't be mentioned as an alternative at any institution that received federal funds. The "gag" rule forced the closure of clinics that received a significant amount of their funding from the government.

The reversal of the ban on abortions at military hospitals was also greeted with joy. That ban had left most women at military facilities outside the borders of the United States unable to obtain abortions.

The promise to reconsider the current U.S. ban on the import of RU-486 is also important.

Is the Right to Abortion Won?

However, these changes, welcome as they are, don't guarantee the right to an abortion. Eighty-three percent of counties in the U.S. have *no abortion providers*. Many of these counties are rural, though fully one-half of all metropolitan counties are represented in this statistic. That translates into one-third of all women in the U.S. having no abortion providers.

Even where there are abortion providers, women who are dependent on state or federal funding for medical care often cannot get their abortions paid for by those funds. This is true in 38 states. Thirty states don't allow Medicaid funds to be used for elective abortions even in the case of rape or incest!

The cumulative legacy of Supreme Court decisions — beginning in the late 1970s during a Democratic Party administration — allows federal and state administrations and legislatures to erode our reproductive rights. The denial of state and federal funds has meant a double standard for women on state or federal aid. In some states, those same women are also financially penalized for having additional

children. And the cutback in the number of public employees and public facilities has contributed to the decrease of teaching hospitals that train in abortion procedures. Where public hospitals are the only sources of abortion services, access has been removed.

The requirement of parental consent, which the Supreme Court has let stand in state law, has placed a terrible burden on terrified young women. It is a burden that has resulted in deaths. Young women considered too immature to make a decision on their own are required to go through a judicial maze by themselves. The assumption that their "immaturity" is not a problem in bearing a child is a glaring contradiction. A well-educated teenager with her own funds may find it possible to go through judicial bypass, but will a teenager without real access to funds, who works at MacDonald's or doesn't work at all, be able to do that?

The 24-hour waiting period, another restriction allowed by the Supreme Court, is especially cruel to poor and working women. This restriction necessitates extra travel, extra time off work, and time away from other responsibilities, which combine to create a prohibitive burden in many cases.

The mandated anti-choice presentation, a restriction disguised as "informed consent," is pure intimidation. It is an invasive method to demoralize and frighten women away from taking control of their lives.

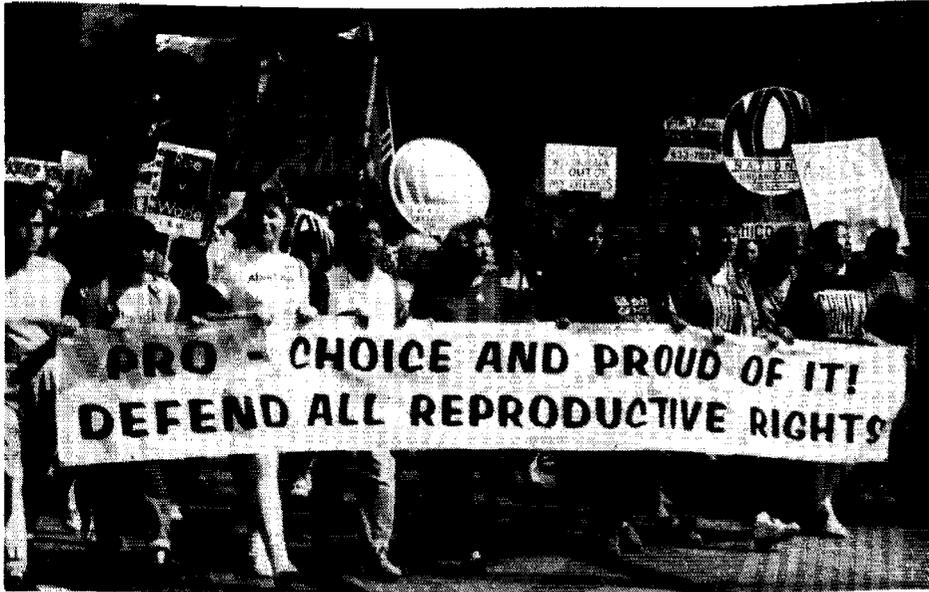
Because the Supreme Court decided that states were allowed to set up these restrictions, women's groups and pro-choice organizations have been forced to fight on a state-by-state basis against these laws. This continues today. In California, legislation requiring parental consent is being appealed. The governor of Alaska has signed a bill cutting off state funding for abortions. In Oklahoma, an attempt to put an initiative for a total ban on abortions on the ballot was foiled by that state's Supreme Court.

The major women's rights and pro-choice groups are reshaping their strategies in relation to the new Clinton administration, hoping to reintroduce federal protections. The Washington, D.C. Pro-Choice Coalition (PCC), a national coalition of the major pro-choice groups, is poised to introduce and lobby for the Freedom of Choice Act (FOCA), which will guarantee the right to abortion. They are also preparing a bill in response to the recent Supreme Court decision, which all but completely barred federal judges from stopping abortion protesters who try to block women's access to abortion clinics. Previous to this decision, pro-choice advocates were able to argue in federal court for injunctions against the anti-choice terrorists, using arguments based on a 19th Century law protecting recently freed slaves from racist mobs interfering with their constitutional rights. But the Supreme Court held that women as a class weren't covered by this law. This leaves little legal recourse in many areas, because the state and local courts are unwilling to issue injunctions.

NARAL (National Abortion Rights Action League) has announced it will broaden and strengthen its efforts to promote family planning as well as abortion rights. The National Abortion Federation (NAF) plans to push for removal of state requirements for a physician's license for abortion, allowing abortions to be provided by nurse-practitioners.

The Issue of Access

The leaders of these major pro-choice organizations recognize that even with the passage of the proposed Freedom of Choice Act and the clinic bill, the major problem of access will not be solved. They don't expect to be able to do more than begin the process of re-enlisting the power of the federal government to safeguard abortion rights. They are not certain how far Clinton will go to defend abortion rights. The previous effort to get FOCA passed last summer while the so-called pro-choice Democratic presidential



Pro-choice march in San Francisco.

campaign was in full swing was bogged down by the accumulation of restrictions on the bill, introduced by both Democrats and Republicans.

FOCA, as presently written, would legislate the reversal of only some of the Supreme Court decisions abridging abortion rights. The main changes would be the removal of the 24-hour waiting period and informed consent, and an end to the constraints against the use of public hospitals and public employees. Prohibition of federal and state funding would still be permitted and parental consent would still be required.

Encouraged by the Supreme Court decisions, anti-choice fanatics have organized a continuous assault to restrict and remove access to abortion services. Since the founding of Operation Rescue (OR) and the proliferation of rightist fundamentalist groups allied with OR's politics and tactics, women seeking abortions and the clinics and people providing the services have been harassed. We saw a crescendo of these attacks in the national mobilizations by Operation Rescue in 1991 and 1992.

Clinic Defenders Fight Back

An entirely new dimension of the pro-choice movement was developed to physically defend clinic staff and clients against harassment by Operation Rescue and others. In most major cities, women

and men would gather at clinics at 6:00 on Saturday mornings when attacks were expected, defended the clinics and escorted women who wanted to use the clinics' services past the harassers and blockaders.

So effective have these defenses been that in most large cities Operation Rescue has retreated. Except for the first attack in Wichita, Kansas, the national attacks have been soundly defeated and out-mobilized by the women's movement. The victory of the pro-choice movement in Buffalo, New York against anti-choice terrorists made national news. Pro-choice activists from around the country (including from California, 2,000 miles away) rallied there to rout the anti-choice bigots. Anti-choice attacks in New York City and Baton Rouge, Louisiana were also defeated.

In the wake of those defeats, Operation Rescue, the Lambs of Christ and others now are targeting clinics in areas away from major cities. They are also targeting the individuals who work at the clinics, including the doctors, harassing them and their families at their homes. Arson, bombing and butyric acid attacks are applauded by these organizations.

The combination of all of these attacks are calculated to demoralize the dwindling ranks of abortion providers. The statistics show they have had some success, especially in outlying areas. The most

recent Supreme Court decision to remove the basis for federal injunctions against these anti-choice attacks will only encourage their proliferation.

Our Rights Must Be Defended

Women's rights supporters must accelerate our mobilization against the rightist organizations that would deny our rights. We need to travel to the more isolated areas under attack, such as Redding, California, the home of a clinic which has been bombed three times, where pro-choice forces rallied on January 30.

It is time to expose the anti-choice fanatics and demand federal investigations and prosecution of the terrorists who bomb, set fires, and use butyric acid. Authorities are complicit by not treating these attacks seriously.

Efforts to increase the availability of other family planning methods must be supported, as should the NAF proposal to allow physician assistants and nurse practitioners to perform abortions. We can't forget the key aspect of reproductive rights — the total availability and accessibility of abortion.

The major pro-choice marches in San Francisco and Washington, D.C. in 1992 rivaled the size of the demonstrations seen at the height of the anti-Vietnam war movement. The one million men and women marching in Washington, D.C. proved that widespread pro-choice sentiment exists. Armed with this support, we must build a movement that goes beyond the fight to make abortion legally available. We must wage a fight for access for women of all economic levels and in all geographic areas.

It is time for the women's movement to go on the offensive. We can't be content while restrictions to access exist. We need to educate about the effect of each restriction and about the need of every woman to equal access. We can't count on the government to do the job for us. We need to continue to demand that the government remove obstructions to our reproductive freedom. With pressure on the current administration, we may win back some of our rights. But we have much work to do to win full reproductive freedom for all women. ▼

Unity and Solidarity: The Only Answer

Immigration and Trade Union Policy

By CARL FINAMORE

The current wave of newcomers to our shores is so big that we now have the largest number of foreign-born residents ever. Nearly 32 million people living in the United States do not speak English at home.

Most new immigrants are no longer from Europe but from Asia and Latin America. The United States now has the fifth largest population of Spanish-speakers.

Demographic analysts predict this accelerated trend to continue with a modest eight percent increase of white men entering the work force compared to a 58 percent and 60 percent rate for Asian and Hispanic men by the year 2000. ("Working Age," 1992 Special Issue on Cultural Diversity and the Aging Workforce)

This trend may even accelerate because the North American Free-Trade Act (NAFTA) will have a devastating impact on Mexican farmers because of the increased importation of U.S. corn. Flooding the Mexican food market "could push up to one million people off the farm and across the border." (*Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 13, 1992)

Push and Pull Theory of Immigration

Over 50 million people left Europe between 1820 and 1924, a majority of them settling in the United States. For the most part, these desperate millions were *pushed* out of Europe by a saturated labor market and *pulled* to America by the promise of greater economic opportunities in agriculture and industry.

North America's advantages remain a magnet for the impoverished of the world. The social and economic considerations which compel people to uproot themselves, endure family separation, risk failure and confront ignorance and prejudice in a strange land have not changed in the last century.

Unfortunately, neither has the reactionary attitude of trade union officials toward immigrants changed much in that time.

The "Father" of American Labor

As late as 1919, Samuel Gompers, founder of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), could fondly recall "protective measures" taken "in support of Chinese exclusion" because otherwise "the whole [cigar] industry would soon be 'China-ized.'"

The protective measures Gompers wrote about, of course, only "protected" one section of the working class against another, the most oppressed immigrant section. The employers took advantage of these conflicts to lower wages for everyone, intensifying the misplaced anger against the Chinese and other oppressed minorities.

Minus the openly racist bombast, today's "Buy America" and "protectionist tariff" campaigns project the same divisive message. Gompers would have been proud when a United Automobile Workers (UAW) shop committee in Michigan issued a leaflet attacking the Japanese instead of General Motors' owners after the announcement in late 1991 that 21 plants would close: "When Japan bombed Pearl Harbor—we went to war! . . . we must go to war again—with a complete boycott of all products not made in America!"

A Different Brand of Unionism

But there are also bright episodes in American labor history that contain positive lessons for today. Unions which decided to fight the employers, and not other workers, scored some major victories at a time when other unions were taking a beating.

One of the most successful unions at the turn of the century was the United Mine Workers of America (UMW). "The coal you dig is not Slavic coal or Polish coal or Irish coal," the union president said, "It is coal."

The UMW, in a singular departure from the mainstream craft-oriented AFL, emphasized the combined unionization of

skilled and unskilled. The "One Big Union" advocates often referred to Gompers's AFL as

the "American Separation of Labor."

Since the mass of immigrant workers were unskilled, the "industrial union" approach gave the UMW tremendous advantage in uniting America's diverse workforce over unions like the craft-exclusive Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin workers.

Both steel and mining industries employed large numbers of immigrants. The UMW treated the new Americans as equals, respecting their culture and offering full union participation and representation. The Amalgamated did not.

The UMW thrived while the Amalgamated withered away. Later, in the 1930s, it was actually the UMW which provided the impetus for the successful organizing drive of steelworkers.

The earliest and most spectacular demonstration of the industrial "One Big Union" strategy was the 1912 textile strike victory in Lawrence, Mass. This struggle forged unbreakable bonds of unity never before seen among the first large wave of pre-World War I immigrants.

The radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) led the strike of 20,000 unskilled workers for nearly 10 weeks despite widely divergent cultures and languages. The AFL-affiliated United Textile Workers of America turned its back on the bulk of workers by just organizing the skilled layer.

As a result of the mass, non-exclusive policy of the IWW, they won undisputed leadership of the strike. A score of nationalities participated. Each nationality had their own union branch but all were united in the strike committee. The Lawrence strike provided the first conclusive victory for labor in the 20th century.

Craft vs. Industrial Unionism

The racist, conservative AFL approach was inherent in its narrow, craft-union orientation. There are far too many examples of the AFL either directly exclud-

ing immigrant labor from skilled jobs or tolerating the establishment of dual track wage scales as they often did on the U.S.-Mexican border.

Employers set up "Mexican wages" and "Mexican jobs" and "Anglo wages" and "Anglo jobs." The industrial-oriented Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers union began organizing on the border in 1939. The two mining giants, Phelps-Dodge and AS &R, made huge profits by paying workers in the Southwest far less than in other parts of the country. This divided the work force and ultimately served to lower the bargaining power and wages of all the workers, including the white, skilled workers.

The union utilized to its advantage the race and ethnic differences in the area. Close links were developed with the Mexican labor movement. Rallies were organized on Mexican Independence Day and other holidays of cultural significance to Mexican-American workers in the Southwest.

These steps strengthened the union's base and helped it succeed in breaking down the dual track Mexican-Anglo wage system. The union called for equalization of wages for common labor throughout the copper mining industry.

A long, bitter national strike in 1946 delivered a crippling blow to the "Mexican wage" system and raised the wages of all the workers to an all-time high. The union proudly declared that it "wrested from the corporation's hands one of the most vicious weapons in their anti-labor arsenal — the discriminating wage differential designed to keep common labor rates at oppressively low standards to bolster the old employer myth of racial and national inequality."

These are but a few of the powerful lessons from our past. No labor strategy can succeed without attention to this legacy.

New Labor Trends

Today, of course, no union excludes workers on the basis of race. Some are even breaking away from the pack and relating to the ever-changing composition of the work force.

For example, five international unions are calling for the repeal of the Immigra-

tion Reform and Control Act of 1986, terming it an attack on organized labor. (*Labor Notes*, No. 159)

The law fines employers who hire workers without legal papers. While experience shows penalties are seldom enforced, employers still use the threat of deportation to discourage union activity and to pressure undocumented workers into accepting inferior wages and horrible working conditions.

Other unions, jolted by severe job losses when U.S. companies head south for \$4 a day wages, are linking up with Mexican labor. The Teamsters General Executive Board resolved in April 1992 that they would "support organizing and collective bargaining efforts by the workers at the Mexican operations of U.S. and Canadian companies."

The Communication Workers of America, United Electrical Workers, United Farm Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers and Amalgamated

Clothing and Textile Workers have also been building ties with sister unions throughout Latin America.

David Arian, President of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, said it this way: "We've got to do more than just throw up our hands and complain about how low-paid Mexican workers can take our jobs. We've got to actively support them in their struggle against exploitation because in doing so, we protect ourselves and our families." (*The Dispatcher*, Dec. 17, 1992)

There is a developing awareness that an increase in the wages of super-exploited workers would significantly reduce self-defeating competition between workers in different countries.

If this message of unity and solidarity ultimately prevails, the combined power of the international trade union movement will make seismic changes in the quality of life for everyone. ▼

ALEX CHIS/INDEPENDENT POLITICS



"Outside the Republicrats: Independent Political Action in the '90s," a forum sponsored by the Bay Area Committees of Correspondence, drew 200 people to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local 28 union hall in Oakland, CA., on January 22. Speakers, from left to right, are Tony Mazzocchi, Presidential Assistant, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) and founder of Labor Party Advocates (LPA); Leanna Noble, Political Action Director of the United Electrical Workers Union (UE), speaking for the New Party; James Vann, National Co-Chair, National Committee for Independent Political Action (NCIPA) and Northern California Coordinator of the Ron Daniels 1992 Presidential Campaign Committee; and Malik Miah, chair of the evening's meeting, a member of the leadership committee of the Northern California Committees of Correspondence. Not pictured are Laura Wells, from the Green Party, and Marsha Feinland, from the Peace and Freedom Party. The meeting generated a wide range of discussion, and the tables did a brisk business, with new members signed up for both the Committees of Correspondence and Labor Party Advocates, and the other party tables distributing literature and collecting many names for mailing lists.



Meeting of farmers in Makhlatini Flats, North Eastern Natal, in February 1989. They were protesting their displacement from farm land due to a government decision. The lack of land for the Black majority population remains a big issue in South Africa. The right of Blacks who want to farm to own their own land is a central question facing a democratic South Africa.

South Africa Land, Race, and Revolutionary Politics

By BARRY SHEPPARD

In the fall issue of *Independent Politics*, Lee Artz initiated a discussion on the revolution in South Africa by posing a series of questions. However, he also strongly implied answers to some of them that point in the wrong direction, in my opinion.

One of these questions concerns the demand that land be provided to all Blacks who wish to farm.

Lee states: "At least since the early 1970s, the Black population has been overwhelmingly proletarian and primarily urban. Agriculture in South Africa is almost exclusively capitalist — food is produced by farmworkers, not sharecroppers or peasants. Few African peasants live outside the homelands. The

population of Ciskei (an 'independent homeland' created by the South African government, for instance, is less than four percent peasant.)

"Significantly, social struggles and political demands have reflected the changed social composition of South African society. Campaigns for human rights, political freedoms and economic issues have predominated since the 1960s. While demands for land have been raised periodically, and appear in the Freedom Charter, the transformed social structure would indicate that 'land to the peasants' does not reflect objective conditions.

"Land to the peasants' in 1992 would require re-creating a peasantry out of the working class."

Popular demand

We should first of all note that every liberation group in South Africa supports the demand for land to those who wish to farm, not only the African National Congress in its Freedom Charter. This fact should give outsiders pause before they dismiss this popular demand.

A recent AP dispatch throws some light on the subject:

"MOGOPA, South Africa — The old stone houses have been smashed to rubble, the dusty farm land has lain fallow for years and the impoverished Black community faces more legal battles with the white government.

"But after an eight-year fight, the per-

sistent Mogopa clan has become the first Black group to win back land seized during the decades of apartheid.

"We are happy to be back on our land," said Joseph Kgatitsoe, a leader of the Mogopa, who bought their property in 1911 and built a self-sufficient farming community 5,000 strong. "But we have lost our animals and our tools. It will take a long time to recover.

"Land disputes are an explosive issue and could become one of the country's most contentious and protracted problems as South Africa moves from apartheid to a non-racial democracy.

"The Mogopa, who live on an isolated, drought-stricken patch 90 miles west of Johannesburg, are among scores of Black communities that have been battling for the return of land.

"White farmers, who hold much of the land, are among the most conservative groups in the country."

The impetus behind the demand for land was the forcible expropriation of Black-held land under the apartheid regime. The AP article noted, "The land crisis worsened for decades as the government forcibly resettled some 3.5 million Blacks from 1950 to 1984, moving many from land that had been in the family for generations and dumping them in remote, barren territories where the soil was poor and jobs were scarce.

"President F.W. de Klerk's reforms have included repealing laws that reserved 87 percent of South African territory for the white minority. And now Blacks are demanding their land back."

It is true that this great apartheid land grab resulted in the "proletarianization" of the evicted Blacks, in the sense that they were rendered propertyless and forced to try to sell themselves on the labor market. But this does not mean that many of them no longer wish to farm. The Mogopa are a case in point.

Not yet hereditary proletarians

There is a difference between the proletarianized Blacks in South Africa and the working class in the United States or other advanced capitalist countries. Here, most workers are third or fourth generation or more from working-class families. They are what Marx termed "hereditary proletarians," who expect their lot in life

is to be workers.

In South Africa, the robbing of the land from most Blacks is recent enough that the injustice still smarts deeply, and the desire to win the land back runs just as deeply among many Blacks.

We should also remember that for many Blacks forced to sell themselves on the labor market, they have not been able to find work on anything like a stable basis. Many are brought into work in the mines, for example, for only a certain period, and then have been sent back to their "homelands," possibly never to work in the mines again.

While there has been the creation of a large Black urban work force that can be

Every liberation group in South Africa supports the demand for land to those who wish to farm, not only the African National Congress in its Freedom Charter.

called a "hereditary" working class in the factories, there still remains a very large marginalized sector thirsting for either work or land.

Of course, it would be the height of bureaucratic folly to forcibly "re-create a peasantry out of the working class." But it would also reach the same heights of bureaucratic folly not to recognize the land hunger among millions of Blacks by *deducing* that this land hunger doesn't exist because Blacks have been made propertyless.

It is not a question of taking polls to see exactly how many Blacks want to farm their own land versus how many want to remain or become workers following the overthrow of apartheid. But it is important to recognize that this is a burning question in South Africa, and one that pits the Black masses against the white ruling class that today owns much of that 87 percent of the land reserved for whites.

Land to all who want to farm it

It seems to me that the correct position is taken by the Freedom Charter. It doesn't

call for forcing Blacks one way or the other, but demands that land be given to all who want to farm it.

This doesn't prejudice how many Black farm workers would want to run their farms collectively, or divide up the large capitalist farms into individual plots, either.

All such questions will be decided by the Black masses themselves, and through the struggle. Many will make up their minds only in the course of the battle itself, as the overthrow of apartheid opens new possibilities for them.

There is another aspect to the revolutionary demand for land to those who wish to farm it. Unemployment and underemployment among the Black masses is rampant. Unemployment is something like 50 percent for Blacks. While this in part reflects the economic downturn in South Africa, even in "good" times industry does not provide enough jobs for Blacks.

A major land reform giving land to Blacks who want to farm will unleash this potential productive power and produce more food for the population as a whole. Every revolution must confront the question of food production and distribution. Putting the unused or underutilized labor power of the masses to work through a land reform will help in this area as well.

Non-racial South Africa

Land reform is one of the two major tasks facing the South African revolution. The other is the establishment, for the first time, of a true South African nation for all its people. The apartheid state is based upon the forcible denial of citizenship to the majority of its people. The slogan for a "non-racial" new South Africa, with equal rights for all, encapsulates this perspective.

Lee Artz recognizes this thrust of the slogan for a non-racial South Africa, but then goes on to say, "Nonetheless, 'Black majority rule,' may still find a place in the rhetoric of the revolutionary forces. It seems largely a tactical question related to the concrete situation — especially considering the move by Colored and Indian radicals to call themselves Black." This confuses the question, and ignores the historical development of the debate in South Africa around the two slogans.

The fact is that the great majority of the liberation forces have moved *beyond* the "Black majority rule" slogan to the idea of a non-racial South Africa for definite reasons.

One is that the non-racial slogan makes it clear that the Black majority has no intention of suppressing the white population. This not only further exposes the racism of apartheid, and extends the moral superiority of the liberation movement, it also helps to divide the whites and win a section to the struggle.

It also makes it clear that the liberation movement intends to abolish the fake Black "homelands" and attempts by the white rulers to utilize tribal holdovers to divide the Blacks.

We should also recall that the Pan African Congress came out of a split in the ANC over this question. The PAC is opposed to a non-racial South Africa. In the past year its members have gone further along this line by raising "one [white] settler, one bullet." While this sounds tough and militant, it plays into the hands of the white minority regime by making the liberation movement look unreasonable. In the face of President F.W. De Klerk's stance of being for negotiations to end apartheid, the slogan for a non-racial South Africa exposes the resistance of the white ruling class to such an obviously just and democratic demand.

Lee raises other questions that we should get to in the course of this discussion, and he has helped by framing the issues clearly. ▼

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Kiril Buketov Urges U.S. Workers To Support Workers of Ex-Soviet Union Russian Labor Activist Tours San Francisco Bay Area

Kiril Buketov, an editor at the Workers' and Trade Unions' Movement Information Center, Kas-Kor, in Moscow, and co-producer of the weekly radio program "Workers Chronicles" on Radio Russia, toured the San Francisco Bay Area the first two weeks in December. He brought a more "grass-roots" view of what's happening in the former Soviet Union than we usually get in the U.S. news media. He spoke to the LaborTech Conference '92, held in San Francisco December 5-6, where discussions were held on how labor can best use the latest technology for communications.

The following are excerpts of an interview with Buketov done by Alex Chis for Independent Politics in San Francisco on December 7, 1992. The interview was conducted in English and has been edited for space and clarity.

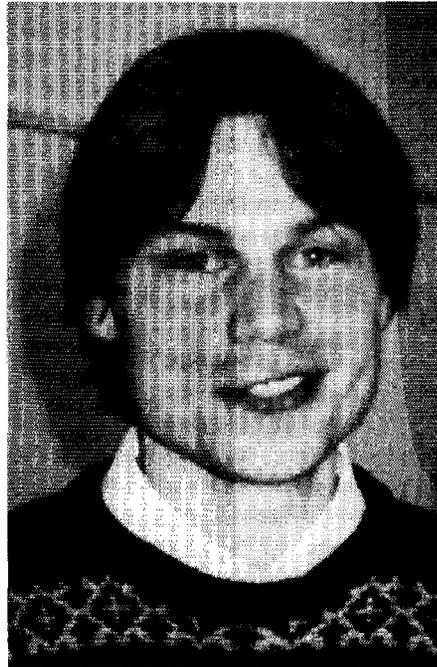
IP: When was Kas-Kor founded?

Kiril Buketov: Kas-Kor was founded in 1990, in the beginning of summer, when in the USSR there was a big mineworkers' strike. It was a big problem for strike committees to organize an exchange of information and how to cooperate because the USSR was a big country. When in one city the strike only started, in another city the strike was finished. It was a very big problem to organize a coordination of activity in different cities. And our official newspapers and magazines and radio and TV gave only false information.

In this situation some strike committees and some new trade unions decided to create an independent information center for the workers' movement. And so we started our work. We collect information every day and spread it in our radio program, in some big newspapers and we started to publish a special information bulletin for workers' organizations every week, and spread it in all the republics of the ex-USSR. About 500 organizations receive our bulletin every week, and they give us information for the bulletin.

IP: Who works in Kas-Kor?

CLAUDETTE BEGIN/INDEPENDENT POLITICS



Kiril Buketov, editor, Kas-Kor

KB: Kas-Kor is an independent center. A lot of left people work with us, not only people with a political point of view but also people without political opinions, who are only trade unionists. They work in Kas-Kor too. Democrats too, and organizations which support [Russian President Boris] Yeltsin, and organizations which are against Yeltsin and against reforms work with us. We have a good relation with all independent trade unions in Russia and with some old official trade unions, and with the majority of workers' political organizations, with strike committees in different cities, with the miners' movement, with the air traffic controllers' movement.

We are an organization which gives workers the opportunity to go to the radio, to go to the TV, to go to some newspapers, and we organize and spread this information for all the republics of the ex-USSR. For example, our weekly radio program in Radio Russia can be heard by

about 300 million people. It's great. And we can organize the publication of articles of workers in the big-

gest newspapers in Russia. And we help workers to organize the base for publishing their own newspapers.

We are not a trade union. We are not a political organization. We are an information center in support of the workers' movement.

IP: How old are you and what is the average age of those working in Kas-Kor and in the new workers' movements?

KB: I'm 23. In Kas-Kor the average age is about 27. Usually in Russia workers' organizations are not so old, because for old people it's very difficult to change their viewpoint. So young people can understand better and are more active.

IP: What about state services, unemployment, healthcare, etc. Are they still operating?

KB: Many state services are in crisis. For example a lot of enterprises in Russia will close in the future, a minimum of 25 per cent of all enterprises. So those workers in future will lose their job. My mother lost her job two months ago. Her enterprise was closed. She's 50, and she can't find work, but the special program for unemployed is not good. About 10 per cent of unemployed can receive money from the government. All other persons must find a new job.

But my mother is old. Normally if she was 55, she could finish work and receive a pension. But she's only fifty, and now she doesn't know what to do. For two months she doesn't receive money. I work for all my family. My family is four persons. My mother hasn't a job, my baby is little and my wife can't work because she's with the baby now. So I work for all the family.

Trade union specialists every month think about the living level for Moscow for one month, and last month they de-

cided that if you want to live in Moscow you must receive about 8,000 rubles for one month. But about 75 per cent of the population of Moscow hasn't such money. So there are poor people, really poor people, and not only in Moscow, in all cities in all regions in our country. Social service they don't know about such problems, because we haven't had such problems for 70 years.

IP: Are there homeless people in Moscow?

KB: Yes, there are a lot of homeless in Moscow. There is only one night house for 30 people in Moscow. Every day they die because they are hungry, and the weather in Moscow is very cold.

IP: Is it getting harder and harder to live for the average person?

KB: Yes, much harder. There is a crisis of production. For example, my personal example, when my wife was in the hospital it was necessary for me to buy milk, but I can't buy milk. There was no milk in Moscow for one week. It was a crisis. I couldn't buy it in the state shops. I couldn't buy it in the market. Periodically this crisis happens with food and other goods in Moscow.

Inflation is very bad. For example, before *perestroika* I can go to the state cafe and can receive a good dinner for one ruble. It was great. Now, if I want to have a dinner in the state cafe I must pay 200 rubles. If I go to the commercial cafe I must pay about 2,000 rubles for dinner. But I receive only 10,000 rubles in the month. So inflation grows up very quickly. Now one dollar in Moscow costs 500 rubles, so my wage in Moscow for one month is 20 dollars.

IP: What must be done now?

KB: Now we have a big problem with the workers' movement because it's not strong and normally it can't influence the policy of the government. Our main aim is how to organize a strong movement, because only the workers' movement can defend the interests of the workers. Who else will

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defend the interests of the workers in this hard situation. So we need a strong workers' movement.

IP: How can we in the United States help?

KB: Of course we need international solidarity. For example, some time ago there was organized an all-Russian strike of air traffic controllers, with big oppression from the administration and government. It was very difficult for them to continue the struggle. It's a big trade union and very strong and a lot of other trade unions supported their struggle. But it's very difficult.

In Russia it's very important when the government receives letters from foreign organizations. It's very important because Yeltsin hopes that foreign governments will give money for reforms and when he sees that organizations in the West know about this situation and want to help this trade union, he thinks that this is 23

a question of receiving money from the governments.

For example, one Canadian trade union sent a letter to the Russian embassy in Canada in support of the struggle of the air traffic controllers' and they wrote that Yeltsin said that he wants to build a new democracy but his government organized an operation against democratic trade unions, against free trade unions. So they wrote that if Yeltsin doesn't want to establish real democracy in Russia, we think that our Canadian government shouldn't give money to Yeltsin. For Yeltsin it's not a question of workers' struggles, it's a question of receiving money and it's very important because one letter from the West to Moscow has a very big importance for our struggle.

Then there's the question of the exchange of experience. Our workers' struggle has only been going for some years.

We haven't tradition, we haven't experience, we haven't materials about how to organize a workers' struggle. So it's very important to exchange our experiences from the West to Russia and to Eastern Europe.

Then, if you ask me about concrete help, all workers' organizations in Russia have a very big problem with money because if one worker receives only \$20 in a month, a workers' organization can't buy a fax, can't buy a computer, can't buy other technical things. It's very expensive in Russia.

I think we can organize concrete ways of financial help. I think it will be best if we can establish contacts between trade unions in Russia and trade unions in the United States — for example, between trade unions of rail workers. I think that representatives of the American Federation of Labor in Russia, they're not really workers. I think that it's important to establish direct contacts. If these contacts are created the workers can discuss what help we need in Russia and what help your trade union can give to Russian trade unions. So these are concrete bridges. I think that this is very important. ▼

For those interested in finding out more about Kas-Kor, a monthly digest in English of their stories about the Russian workers' movement is posted on the computer bulletin board service Peacenet on the reg.ussr conference. Peacenet can be contacted at (415) 442-0220. The U.S.-Soviet Workers Information Committee (USSWIC), P.O. Box 1890, NY, NY 10009, makes available printed copies of the digest.

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The Three Sources And Three Component Parts Of Marxism

The following article was written by V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, in March 1913. It was dedicated to the 30th anniversary of Karl Marx's death. (Reprinted from Lenin's Collected Works, Volume 19, Progress Publishers, Moscow)

By V.I. Lenin

Throughout the civilized world the teachings of Marx evoke the utmost hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both official and liberal), which regard Marxism as a kind of "pernicious sect." And no other attitude is to be expected, for there can be no "impartial" social science in a society based on class struggle. In one way or another, *all* official and liberal science *defends* wage-slavery, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on wage-slavery. To expect science to be impartial in a wage-slave society is as silly and naive as to expect impartiality from manufacturers on the question of whether workers' wages should be increased by decreasing the profits of capital.

But this is not all. The history of philosophy and the history of social science show with perfect clarity that there is nothing resembling "sectarianism" in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hidebound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose *away from* the high road of development of world civilization. On the contrary, the genius of Marx consists precisely in the fact that he furnished the answers to questions which had already engrossed the foremost minds of humanity. His teaching arose as a direct and immediate *continuation* of the teaching of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism.

The Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defense of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate successor of the best that was created by humanity in the nineteenth century in the shape of German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism.

On these three sources of Marxism, which are at the same time its component parts, we shall dwell briefly.

I

The philosophy of Marxism is *materialism*. Throughout the modern history of Europe, and especially at the end of the eighteenth century in France, which was the scene of a decisive battle against every kind of medieval rubbish, against feudalism

Why Read Lenin Now?

In light of the historic changes in the world communist movement over the last four years, Lenin's article is timely. As he explains, Marxism was then under attack by liberals and others as a "pernicious sect." He replied that Marxism has nothing to do with "sectarianism," but instead outlines the line of march for humanity to free itself from exploitation and oppression.

Today many former communists and socialists claim Marxism is no longer relevant. Capitalism has proved to be stronger, and more adaptable, than anyone ever thought. The collapse of the Soviet Union, they argue, proves it. Many of these "exs" now back a "market socialism" or "democratic capitalism."

Other socialists have not given up and are trying to rebuild the communist movement here in the United States, in Russia, and other countries. That's the perspective of Activists for Independent Socialist Politics. We support socialism and seek to work with others having that goal.

The most significant development moving towards a broad socialist regroupment in the United States since the collapse of Stalinism is a new organization formed in 1992, the Committees of Correspondence (CoC). The CoC was formed at a national conference on "Perspectives for Democracy and Socialism in the '90s" held in Berkeley, California, July 17-19. Some 1,300 people attended the conference from 35 states. While the main leaders of the group come from the Communist Party, U.S.A., the organization includes a majority of socialists and radicals from other traditions — Maoist, Trotskyist, anarchist, social-democratic — as well as independents.

In the Committees' founding "Declaration of Principles," adopted at the conference, it states:

"We are motivated by the profound conviction that our

in institutions and ideas, materialism has proved to be the only philosophy that is consistent, true to all the teachings of natural science and hostile to superstition, cant and so forth. The enemies of democracy therefore tried in every way to "refute," undermine and defame materialism, and advocated various forms of philosophical idealism, which always, in one way or another, amounts to an advocacy or support of religion.

Marx and Engels always defended philosophical materialism in the most determined manner and repeatedly explained the profound error of every deviation from this basis. Their views are most clearly and fully expounded in the works of Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach* and *Anti-Duhring*, which, like the *Communist Manifesto*, are handbooks for every class-conscious worker.

But Marx did not stop at the materialism of the eighteenth century; he advanced philosophy. He enriched it with the ac-

country needs a humane alternative to the anti-human system of capitalism. . . . We view socialism as the struggle for democracy carried to its logical conclusion. This vision is not a utopia, but a practical response and solution to the contradictions of capitalist society. We will continue to participate in the ongoing public discussion of how to define socialism in light of contemporary realities. We will continue to assess the experiences, including both achievements and failures, of the first sustained attempts to build socialist societies in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. We welcome all those who would like to participate with us in this exploration, while we struggle together to address the immediate problems of our people.

"We suggest," the statement continues, "the following characteristics for U.S. socialism: A society where the promise of democracy is fulfilled by the practice of self-government. A society of social justice, which guarantees employment, housing, education and health care as human rights. A society which preserves and builds upon all previous economic and scientific achievements, and which redistributes the vast wealth and power now held in a few hands."

The CoC is currently in a pre-convention discussion of many of the ideas outlined in the Declaration of Principles. Should the CoC be Socialist? Should it become a "clearing-house" for progressive forces and not a new left formation promoting the views of Lenin and Marxism? Should it be democratic-centralist?

The formation of the Committees of Correspondence indicates the positive prospects for communist regroupment here and internationally. A programmatic convention is set for late spring 1994 to decide the Committees' perspectives. Those not yet members of the CoC are urged to join (see ad on page 27) in order to participate in this important discussion and debate. — MALIK MIAH

quisitions of German classical philosophy, especially of the Hegelian system, which in its turn led to the materialism of Feuerbach. The chief of these acquisitions is *dialectics*, i.e., the doctrine of developments in its fullest and deepest forms, free of one-sidedness—the doctrine of the relativity of human knowledge, which provides us with a reflection of eternally developing matter. The latest discoveries of natural science—radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements—have confirmed remarkably Marx's dialectical materialism, despite the teaching of the bourgeois philosophers with their "new" reversion to old and rotten idealism.

Deepening and developing philosophical materialism, Marx completed it, extended its knowledge of nature to the knowledge of *human society*. Marx's *historical materialism* was one of the greatest achievements of scientific thought. The chaos and

arbitrariness that had previously reigned in the views on history and politics gave way to a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how, in the consequence of the growth of productive forces, out of one system of social life another and higher system develops—how capitalism, for instance, grows out of feudalism.

Just as man's knowledge reflects nature (i.e., developing matter), which exists independently of him, so man's *social knowledge* (i.e., the various views and doctrines—philosophical, religious, political, and so forth) reflects the *economic system* of society. Political institutions are a superstructure on the economic foundation. We see, for example, that the various political forms of the modern European states serve to fortify the furl of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

Marx's philosophy is matured philosophical materialism, which has provided humanity, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge.

II

Having recognized that the economic system is the foundation on which the political superstructure is erected, Marx devoted most attention to the study of this economic system. Marx's principal work, *Capital*, is devoted to a study of the economic system of modern, i.e., capitalist, society.

Classical political economy, before Marx, evolved in England, the most developed of the capitalist countries. Adam Smith and David Ricardo, by their investigations of the economic system, laid the foundations of the *labor theory of value*. Marx continued their work. He rigidly proved and consistently developed his theory. He showed that the value of every commodity is determined by the quantity of socially necessary labor time spent on its production.

Where the bourgeois economists saw a relation of things (the exchange of one commodity for another), Marx revealed a *relationship of men*. The exchange of commodities expresses the tie by which individual producers are bound through the market. *Money* signifies that this tie is becoming closer and closer, inseparably binding the entire economic life of the individual producers into one whole. *Capital* signified a further development of this tie: man's labor power becomes a commodity. The wage-worker sells his labor power to the owner of the land, factories and instruments of labor. The worker uses one part of the labor day to cover the expense of maintaining himself and his family (wages), while the other part of the day the worker toils without remuneration, creating *surplus value* for the capitalist, the source of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class.

The doctrine of surplus value is the cornerstone of Marx's economic theory.

Capital, created by the labor of the worker, presses on the

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worker by ruining the small masters and creating an army of unemployed. In industry, the victory of large-scale production is at once apparent, but we observe the same phenomenon in agriculture as well: the superiority of large-scale capitalist agriculture increases, the application of machinery grows, peasant economy falls into the noose of money-capital, it declines and sinks into ruin, burdened by its backward technique. In agriculture, the decline of small-scale production assumes different forms, but the decline itself is an indisputable fact.

By destroying small-scale production, capital leads to an increase in productivity of labor and to the creation of a monopoly position for the associations of big capitalists. Production itself becomes more and more social—hundreds of thousands and millions of workers become bound together in a systematic economic organism—but the product of the collective labor is appropriated by a handful of capitalists. The anarchy of production grows, as do crises, the furious chase after markets and the insecurity of existence of the mass of the population.

While increasing the dependence of the workers on capital, the capitalist system creates the great power of united labor.

Marx traced the development of capitalism from the first germs of commodity economy, from simple exchange, to its highest forms, to large-scale production.

And the experience of all capitalist countries, old and new, is clearly demonstrating the truth of this Marxian doctrine to increasing numbers of workers every year.

Capitalism has triumphed all over the world, but the triumph is only the prelude to the triumph of labor over capital.

When feudalism was overthrown, and “free” capitalist society appeared on God’s earth, it at once became apparent that this freedom meant a new system of oppression and exploitation of the toilers. Various socialist doctrines immediately began to rise as a reflection of and protest against this oppression. But early socialism was *utopian socialism*. It criticized capitalist society, it condemned and damned it, it dreamed of its destruction, it indulged in fancies of a better order and endeavored to convince the rich of the immorality of exploitation.

FRANCISCO CONDE/IMPACT VISUALS



Pro-socialist demonstration in Moscow in April 1992. Many working people still support socialism and Lenin despite the betrayals of Stalinism and the demise of the Soviet Union.

However, utopian socialism could not point the real way out. It could not explain the essence of wage-slavery under capitalism, nor discover the laws of its development, nor point to the *social force* which is capable of becoming the creator of a new society.

Meanwhile, in the stormy revolutions which everywhere in Europe, and especially in France, accompanied the fall of feudalism, of serfdom, more and more clearly revealed the *struggle of classes* as the basis and the motive force of the whole development.

Not a single victory of political freedom over the feudal class was won except against desperate resistance. Not a single capitalist country evolved on a more or less free and democratic basis except by a life and death struggle between the various classes of capitalist society.

The genius of Marx consists in the fact that he was able before anybody else to draw from this and apply consistently the deduction that world history teaches. This deduction is the doctrine of the *class struggle*.

People always were and always will be the stupid victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics until they learn to discover the interests of some class behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. The supporters of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realize that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is maintained by the forces of some ruling classes. And there is *only one* way of smashing the resistance of these classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, and to enlighten and organize for the struggle, the forces which can—and, owing to their social position, *must*—constitute a power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new.

Marx’s philosophical materialism has alone shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx’s economic theory has alone explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

Independent organizations of the proletariat are multiplying all over the world, from America to Japan and from Sweden to South Africa. The proletariat is becoming enlightened and educated by waging its class struggle; it is rallying its ranks ever more closely and is learning to gauge the measure of its successes; it is steeling its forces and is growing irresistibly. ▼

Australian conference discusses perspectives for socialist movement

Socialism Now More Than Ever

By MALIK MIAH

January is summer in Australia. It is a time when workers take their vacations and socialists meet to discuss world politics and the prospects of building the socialist movement.

I had an opportunity to attend a conference of over 250 socialists in a college town outside Sydney, January 2-6. The "Socialist Activists Education Conference" was sponsored by the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) and Resistance, the primary left current in this country of 17 million people.

The conference included 10 major talks on national and international issues and more than three dozen classes and workshops. Special international guests included representatives from a growing left movement in Indonesia, a country where socialists and communists were forced underground after a military massacre and repression of the left in the mid 1960s. The Indonesian comrades spoke of the new opportunities to do political work there.

New Zealand's NewLabor Party

Matt McCarten, president of the NewLabor Party of New Zealand, spoke on the ripe political situation in his country of 3.5 million people, south of Australia. The NewLabor Party is a key player in a new five party electoral formation, the Alliance, that is challenging the main parties of the ruling class. The NewLabor Party was formed in 1989 after a left-wing split from the old Labor Party, which in government has carried out the economic policies of Reagan and Bush. McCarten will be touring the United States in late April and early May.

I gave two talks at the conference and expressed solidarity from Activists for Independent Socialist Politics. One talk was on the U.S. political situation. It included an analysis of the crisis of the American left and the significance of the new formation, the Committees of Correspondence. My second talk discussed the political legacy of Malcolm X for the

oppressed of the world.

Australia's Labor Party

Australia is an imperialist country. It is a key ally of Washington in the Pacific. The current Labor Party federal government supports the U.S. invasion of Somalia and bombing of Iraq. Some 900 Australian troops are part of Washington's Somalia operation.

The Labor Party government has also carried out sharp attacks on the working



Matt McCarten, president of the New Labor Party of New Zealand, spoke at the "Socialists Activists Education Conference" in Australia.

people and oppressed. The Native Aboriginal people of Australia (less than 2 percent of the population) are still second-class citizens. Several talks and classes discussed the crisis of Australian capitalism and prospects to build the socialist movement.

In one presentation, Peter Boyle, a DSP leader, explained that working people are growing more disillusioned with the Labor Party because of its decade-long at-

tacks on the working class. The Labor Party government and the trade union federation, ACTU

(Australia's AFL-CIO), reached an accord on wages and benefits in the early 1980s, he explained. The result of that betrayal of working class interests was a lowering of the real wages of Australian workers, and cutbacks in social programs.

Boyle explained that the result of these setbacks has led many working people to look to the out-of-power Liberals (the main capitalist) party. But the Liberals have an even worse anti-labor program. The Liberals and their supporters recently won control of the state governments in Victoria and Western Australia. The new Victoria government, he explained, has pushed for repeal of labor legislation and the end of trade unionism as it has existed in the modern era.

Under Australia's parliamentary system, new general elections for the federal government are arbitrarily called by the incumbent regime. It chooses a time when its chances for re-election are best. Prime Minister Paul Keating has called snap elections for March 13. The Liberal leader, John Hewson, and his ally, the National Party, is pressing for fundamental changes in labor-government-employer relations. This includes getting rid of the union shop, making union membership voluntary, replacing national trade union agreements with what's called "enterprise bargaining," and preventing workers from organizing secondary actions such as solidarity strikes. The aim, several conference participants explained, is to "Americanize" labor relations.

In this situation of growing attacks, John Percy, national secretary of the DSP, explained, socialists call on working people to build an alternative party to Labor and the Liberals, the main ruling-class parties. The DSP is fielding candidates in the federal elections against both Labor and the Liberal National Coalition.

Prospects of building an alternative pro-

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New World Order

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two sides of a consistent policy of maintaining Washington's hegemony in the Persian Gulf following the overthrow of the U.S. puppet regime of the Shah in Iran in 1979. Fearing the initial anti-imperialist thrust of the Iranian revolution, the U.S. egged on Saddam Hussein to attack Iran. Both Washington and Baghdad assumed that the disorder in Iran's army as a result of the revolution would lead to a quick victory for Iraq.

This turned out not to be the case, however, due to the mobilization of the Iranian masses against the Iraqi invasion. The long and bloody war, while producing a stalemate, did serve Washington's purposes by draining the Iranian revolution and was a factor in strengthening the grip of the clergy in Iran and sapping the ability of the masses to fight for their own interests.

Hussein, thwarted in his goal of becoming the dominant local power in the Gulf by crushing Iran, but now in possession of a formidable military machine, sought to extend his power in the Gulf by annexing Kuwait, a fake country that British imperialism, when it "granted" independence to the region, carved out of Iraq to restrict its access to the Gulf. Hussein thought he had American acquiescence, but Bush used the takeover of Kuwait as the excuse to smash Iraqi military power, reassure the arch-reactionary kings and emirs in the region that their rule would be protected, and reassert American military might in the oil-rich Gulf.

Now, while keeping pressure on Iraq, Washington is taking another look at Iran. Pundits in the capitalist papers have been raising the idea that something must be done to curb Iran again. Iran has strengthened itself following the war with Iraq, and still is a thorn in Washington's plans. If possible, the U.S. would like to return to the situation that existed under the Shah, where Iran was a surrogate policeman for imperialist interests in the Gulf.

Another aspect of the war against Iraq was to flex Washington's military muscles for the benefit of Tokyo and its other imperialist rivals. After the slaughter, the U.S.

high command chastised Japan for not supporting the U.S. more, pointedly referring to Japan's dependence upon Middle East oil, and claiming that Japan should be grateful for U.S. protection of that supply. Of course, he who controls the pipeline can also cut it off, if the deepening competition with Japan should get rougher down the road.

Somalia

The root cause of the poverty in Somalia, as it is in all of Africa and the rest of the Third World, has been the long years of imperialist exploitation. Britain, Italy and France sucked the wealth of the area for decades.

In the most recent period, the U.S. has dominated. Washington armed the dictator Siad Barre in the late 1970s and 1980s, first in a war against Ethiopia. The imperialist-backed war fit into Washington's plans to curb the effects of the revolution in Ethiopia in the early 1970s that threat-

ened imperialist interests in the whole Horn of Africa.

A glance at a map of the region shows its strategic importance for the Middle East as well as for eastern Africa. Indeed, when the U.S. lost its military bases in Iran after the 1979 revolution, President Carter set up a base in Somalia with Barre's consent.

A recent article in the *Los Angeles Times* throws light on the question. It points out that "Far beneath the surface of the tragic drama of Somalia, four major U.S. oil companies are sitting on a prospective fortune in exclusive concessions to explore and exploit tens of millions of acres of the Somalia countryside.

"That land, in the opinion of geologists and industry sources, could yield significant amounts of oil and natural gas if the U.S.-led military mission can restore peace to the impoverished East African nation.

According to documents obtained by the *Los Angeles Times*, "nearly two-thirds

National Sovereignty and the UN

The U.S. occupation of Somalia has exposed the United Nations for what it is: a tool of Washington. As was done in the case of the U.S. bombing of Iraq and the establishment of "no-fly" zones over Iraqi territory, the UN has "legitimized" Washington's criminal actions in violation of its own edicts supporting the national sovereignty of member nations.

One edict clearly states the UN opposes the interference of one member country into the internal affairs of another country. Bush was not invited into Somalia by the Somali people or any government or semi-government. He simply declared his "moral" obligation to do so.

What country will be next on Clinton's list for "moral" reasons?

The UN has a majority of Third World countries. But they have little say in what the UN does. "The New World Order" that Washington seeks is one where it does what it wants with its troops and gets UN sanction. If the UN refuses, Washington will go it alone.

The editors of the pro-imperialist British magazine, *The Economist*, are

concerned about Washington going it alone. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, they recognize that it is better for all the imperialist powers to act as one. In the December 19, 1992, issue, they call on the UN to create "specially trained and ear-marked peace-enforcement units to be available on call" to the United Nations. Secondly, they propose that the UN "subcontract jobs to regional alliances" like NATO. These two proposals, they argue, will give the Pentagon and its allies the necessary legal cover for their aggression.

History is full of examples of Washington, London and Paris going places to "help" nations. In all cases they backed dictators or helped established new repressive regimes.

If Washington can invade Somalia and bomb Iraq in violation of their national rights, who says the Pentagon will not use similar arguments of "morality" and "humanitarian aid" to help their clients in Angola, Cambodia, or the whites in South Africa when the Black majority gains full control of their country?
— Ed.

of Somalia was allocated to the American oil giants Conoco, Amoco, Chevron and Phillips in the final years before Somalia's pro-U.S. President Mohamed Siad Barre was overthrown and the nation plunged into chaos January 1991.

"Industry sources said the companies holding the rights to the most promising concessions are hoping the Bush administration's decision to send U.S. troops to safeguard aid shipments to Somalia will also help protect their multimillion-dollar investments there.

"Officially, the administration and the State Department insist that the U.S. military mission in Somalia is strictly humanitarian."

The aid Washington gave to the dictator Barre was used by him to oppress his own people, including inflicting massacres of tens of thousands of Somalis. One measure of the hypocrisy of the U.S.'s sudden "humanitarian" concern was its silence in the face of these massacres carried out with U.S. weapons. (The same hypocrisy was evident when the U.S. turned a blind eye to Saddam Hussein's massacre of Iraqi Kurds with poison gas during the war with Iran.) And while we are on the subject of hypocrisy, we should not forget how the U.S. ignored for decades massive famine in Ethiopia and other parts of Africa. This fact alone should give us pause to reflect on the real reasons for Washington's sudden "humanitarian" concern for Somalis.

Barre's hated dictatorship was overthrown in early 1991 through a military coup. But rival factions were unable to form a new government, and civil war ensued in southern Somalia. This was responsible for the mass starvation, along with the effects of drought and the general impoverishment of the country under Barre.

Of course, food had to be rushed to Somalia to stem the famine. We should be demanding that the U.S. flood the country with food. The stealing of relief food by armed gangs and the rival factions itself is evidence of food's scarcity. Flooding the country with food would guarantee that enough would get to everyone.

But reports coming from Somalia in-

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Crisis Created By Washington

By LEONARD McNEIL

For the second time in two years the United States has mounted a virtually unilateral military operation under the mantle of the United Nations. The United States government has never been committed to the United Nations as an institution for preventive diplomacy and non-military conflict resolution. Somehow, it is quite hard to imagine the United States using troops to end apartheid in South Africa or the Israeli occupation of the West Bank.

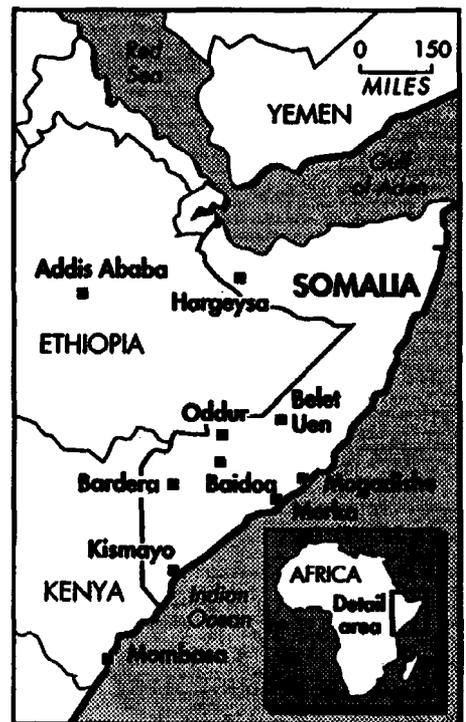
Given the history of United States involvement with Somalia, "Operation Restore Hope" can only be described as the result of self-righteous and impetuous morality. The deployment of U.S. troops to Somalia has been presented to the public in a false and deceptive manner. The ostensible humanitarian motive can hardly be believed and represents reliance on a military solution for every crisis as the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. One has to seriously doubt that a military which was responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths in Panama and Iraq really has the best interests of the Somali people in mind.

In the same way that the police helped create the rebellion in South Central Los Angeles, the situation in Somalia is indicative of the catastrophic consequences of foreign policy dependent on weapons of superiority. Like most of the weapons in Somalia, the crisis has a "MADE IN THE USA" stamp on it.

For 21 years the United States government under presidents Carter, Reagan and Bush supported the brutal and corrupt President Mohammed Siad Barre who overthrew the civilian government in 1969. Total aid to Barre's regime was nearly \$800 million in the 1980s. With the help of South African bomber pilots, Barre was responsible for the massacre of 150,000 northern Somalis. Barre destroyed much of the inner workings of Somali society including political parties, legislature, and professional organizations, and exerted government control over the media and civic organizations. There are no func-

tioning schools. There is no potable water or electricity. There are deadly disease epidemics and nearly three million refugees caused by the proxy genocide.

The geo-political interests of the United States belie any notions of humanitarian motives. Somalia has two major airports, three deep water ports and a \$2 billion Soviet-built naval base that has served as a U.S. military outpost. Whoever controls Somalia is closer to overseeing the Red Sea through which 15 percent of the world's commerce passes. Furthermore,



four major U.S. companies — Conoco, Amoco, Chevron and Phillips — have obtained exclusive rights to explore and exploit nearly two-thirds of Somalia for oil and natural gas. These four companies are set to divide up tens of millions of acres of Somalia once the country is "pacified" by the U.S. troops.

The U.S. military ought to be brought home. South Central Los Angeles and urban areas across the country are wondering when *their* hope will be restored. ▼

Leonard McNeil is coordinator of the Peace and Justice Youth Outreach Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

New World Order

Continued from page 1

dicate that the food should have been sent in much earlier last year to have had a significant effect on preventing the mass starvation. When the U.S. did go in under cover of food aid, agriculture was recovering. GIs were surprised to see green farm fields.

"Somalia was just on the brink of recovery when the Americans arrived," said Islamic Union leader Abdurahman Ali Jama to the *New York Times*.

"The way I see it, the Americans are an occupation force," Jama said. "The Americans want to destroy our country and our religion. They want to make to enslave us, and this we will fight."

In a cruel irony, the arrival of food at this time is having a negative effect on the farms which have revived, because it has driven down the price of crops which are about to be harvested.

"The lower Shebeli valley, a three-hour drive from Mogadishu along rutted muddy roads, normally produces 50 percent of the corn grown in Somalia. During the famine, only a few farmers in the region managed to keep producing, and now most farmers are just trying to get back on their feet and grow enough food for home consumption. But a new harvest is being gathered in the next few weeks, and the main growing season begins in April, threatening to add to the glut," the *New York Times* reports.

"We are terribly afraid the current trends in the market will hold and that the corn that's planted will be valueless," said Willet Weeks, a staff member of the American branch of the charity Save the Children, which has been working to resurrect farming in the lower Shebeli valley."

The danger exists that farmers will abandon farming, deepening dependence upon aid from the U.S. and other advanced countries, which will use this to dominate Somalia even more.

The only real road forward for the Somalia workers and farmers is to break out of imperialist domination, overthrowing the military factions and establishing their own power. But it is just this possibility that Washington fears the most.

The U.S. is attempting to disarm the

population, which seized weapons during the overthrow of Barre, while at the same time attempting to force the military chieftains into a common government that will be beholden to the U.S. The idea is to make the country a United Nations "protectorate" with the U.S. dominating the United Nations forces.

Vietnam Syndrome

Following the Gulf war, Bush declared that the opposition to the U.S. waging war that had developed in the population as a result of Vietnam was a thing of the past. This has turned out not to be the case. For one thing, the hoopla around the Gulf war quickly faded, and Bush was scarcely able to beat that drum during his election campaign.

But more to the point, we see the Pen-

tagon acting very cautiously. What it and the Clinton administration fear, as did Bush, is a war with significant American casualties that lasts for an extended period. They fear this because this is exactly what the American people still oppose from the Vietnam experience.

This is why the selling of the projection of U.S. military might abroad has been done so carefully, to avoid U.S. casualties as much as possible, and to try to justify it with supposed goals that appeal to justice and humanity, like the very real famine in Somalia.

However, every such adventure is a gamble that can get out of control. If that should happen and U.S. forces become deeply involved in a long war, we can expect there to develop powerful opposition to it here at home. ▼

Socialism Now

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working-class party and of collaborating with other third parties, like the Greens, are improving because of the anti-labor policies of Labor and the Liberals. Although a New Zealand-type split in the Labor Party is not yet on the horizon, the DSP is confident of some changes, especially in the unions. Workers are fed up with their current mis-leadership. Currently 11.3 percent of Australians are out of work, the highest unemployment rate since the Great Depression. Free education — from grade school through university — has ended. Plans are also underway to cut back other social programs.

Big protests in Victoria

The workers in Victoria are leading the way in responding to these attacks, Boyle reported. On November 10, some 250,000 people marched in Melbourne and regional centers across Victoria against the state's Liberal government. The DSP is supporting these new activities. Many of its members are active trade unionists. A decision was made by the DSP National Committee prior to the education conference to get even more socialists into the unions.

Resistance, the leading youth group in the country, is involved in the fight of university and high school students against

attacks on education.

The DSP and Resistance are also leading activists in the campaign to defend the environment. Over the last decade both organizations have made the environmental movement the center of their political activity. The Environmental Youth Alliance provides a main arena of activity for socialist youth. The DSP trade union members are actively bringing the issue into the unions and educating about the link between the environment and jobs.

The DSP and Resistance explain that there cannot be socialism if the environment is destroyed by capitalism. It is not a question that can wait for a post-capitalist society. The socialist movement must make defense of the environment a central campaign today, they explain, if it hopes to lead working people to power.

Those interested in learning more about the DSP and Resistance and their publications, can write to *Independent Politics*. If you would like to subscribe to *Green Left Weekly*, the weekly distributed by the DSP and Resistance, write to *Green Left Weekly*, P.O. Box 394, Broadway, NSW 2007, Australia. Rates: \$115 for 44 issues airmail, \$60 for 22 issues airmail, \$35 seairmail. Or, contact *Independent Politics* for single issues. ▼

An Anarcho-Communist Viewpoint Working Together for Liberation

By MO HARRY

Anarchists, like socialists, have many ideas about how to change society for the betterment of all of humanity. This article should shed light on the significance of the anarcho-communist view held by a large portion of self-proclaimed anarchists, and the importance of activists of varying perspectives working together to further human rights.

World Without Compulsion

Anarcho-communists have a vision of a world where all people work without compulsion, of order without government or authority and of peace without violence and coercion. The ideas of anarchy and how to get to such a society developed side-by-side with Marxism during the mid-1800s. Individuals and groups of both persuasions have been fighting many years for the causes of working people for the rights and living standards of all humanity.

Anarchists and Marxists both realize that there is a wealth of materials, technology and human power, enough to make possible a high living standard coupled with considerably less labor time per person than the current full-time job. The chaos of capitalist production and distribution of wealth can only be stopped by creating a new economic and social system based on human needs. It is apparent that the survival of life on Earth itself is also dependent on the overthrow of capitalism, for as long as it exists, profits for the few will come before human needs and environmental survival.

Anarcho-communists and Marxists both agree that the majority of working people, along with the downtrodden, unemployed and poor, must be the primary forces in stopping the capitalist class and its governments. When this vast majority of humanity realizes that the inherent inequality and futility of capitalism are wrong and no longer acceptable, and when these people realize the power they have to shape society, they will shut down the system and take back the wealth sucked out of

them by the rich minority.

Free Anarchist Society

The realization of the need for an alternative to capitalism will come when leading voices show the validity of a free anarchist society, and because of mass disillusionment with the status quo and its violence, wars, prisons and poverty. Already this disillusionment appears to be affecting a majority of Americans, but positive alternatives to the current world situation are not yet being sought out, perceived or thought possible. Most people probably desire an anarchist or socialist future, and if shown the options for action towards this possibility they could create such a conscious society, after an initial struggle with the leaders of the world capitalist minority. We all need to continue to insist that a free, positive culture is up to the people to create.

When the majority does overturn the capitalists, the direction society takes will of course be up to those same people who have made the revolution. But socialists and anarchists often differ on how this new free society will be maintained in its initial stages.

Most Marxists believe a new central state created after the revolution is the only thing that can protect newly-won freedoms from capitalist counter-revolution and redistribute society's wealth to millions in dire need.

Anarchists believe that the creation of a new state will perpetuate centralized power beyond the control of individuals. They contend that if the vast majority agree with the goals of a free and equal society, they could defend themselves in a centralized way but control their own lives and communities at an individual and community level. That way, delegated decision-makers would not be beyond the reach of the people.

Anarchists often point to the rise of Stalinism after the state created by Lenin during the Russian Revolution as an example of how centralized power is dan-

gerous and undemocratic. Most socialists today agree that Stalinism was completely undesirable. But whether that bureaucracy arose due in part to Lenin's program or was due to the severe attack against Russia by all the world's imperialist powers coupled with a lack of food and staples after their revolution, is another debate altogether.

Exchange Ideas

What is important — for anarchists, socialists and all who want to further the rights of working people — is a discussion of which anarchist and socialist ideas are valid today. Ideas that are outdated or undemocratic should be revised or thrown out. Ideas that are pragmatic and just should be utilized. And new ideas and directions for the liberation of humanity need to be discussed.

Capitalism, even in its profitable periods, is inherently weak, directly dependent upon the very people it oppresses and exploits. As world capitalism declines and sinks to new depths to create new profits and reaffirm its control, the time is ripe for taking initiative to awaken the public to what it can do to fight for its rights and its fair share.

Progressives everywhere should come together now to exchange ideas and act on the issues facing us all. Anarchists and socialists in particular — kept apart for so long due to stubbornness and intolerance — should open their minds, evaluate their ideas, and act in common with people who do not consider themselves socialists or anarchists. This should include helping to build the broad left regroupment happening in the Committees of Correspondence, fighting for the liberation of women and oppressed national minorities, building and influencing unions, and fighting to protect the environment. ▼

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Malcolm X and the Fight Against Racism

Laying Down the Word

By LEE ARTZ

X. The letter is everywhere. From baseball hats and t-shirts to theater marquees, the single letter "X" summons images of slain Black nationalist leader Malcolm X.

While the current popularity of Malcolm owes much to Spike Lee's recent movie, millions of Black youth are familiar with Malcolm X through the lyrics of rap musicians like Public Enemy, Sister Souljah and Freedom T.R.O.O.P. 118. In fact, a recent *Newsweek* poll found that 84 percent of African-Americans between the ages of 15 and 24 consider Malcolm X a hero.

The affinity that young African-Americans have for Malcolm X should come as no surprise. He took apart both the language and the power of America. Malcolm X laid down the word: America is racist.

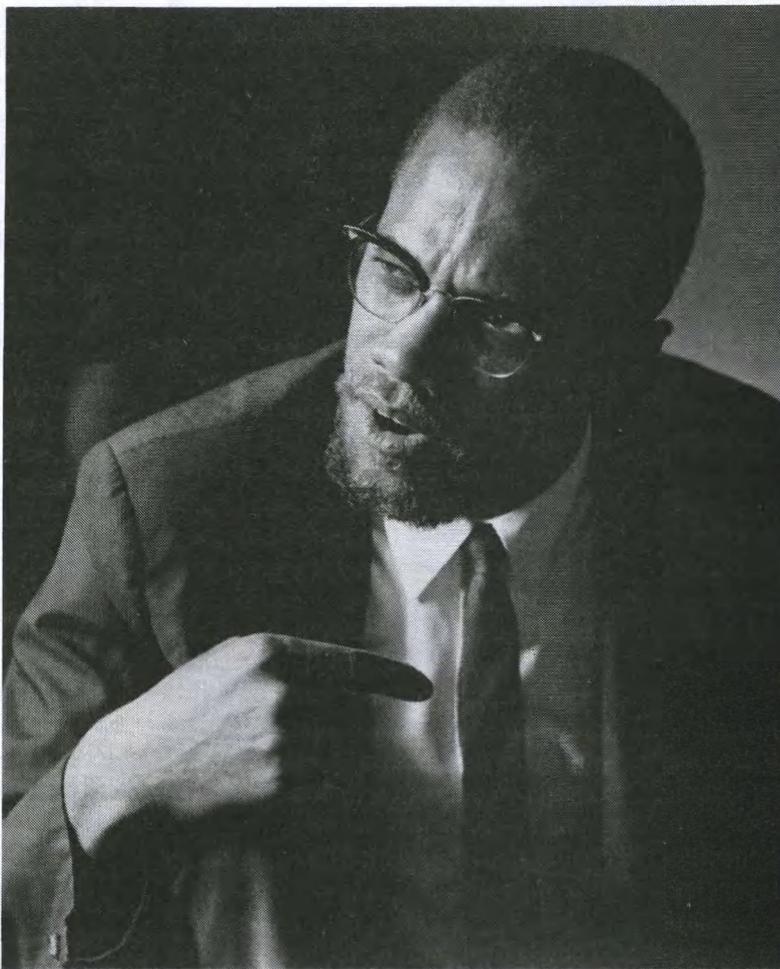
Of course, the political ferment of the 1960s and 1970s produced other leading opponents of racism, but most have either been integrated into or appropriated by an established order which defends an ongoing social inequality.

Martin Luther King, for example, has been molded by politicians, educators and the media into a non-violent, politically-moderate "turn the other cheek" minister who was tolerant of white society and the slow pace of social reform. This select view of King denies his militancy, his opposition to the Vietnam war and his readiness to lead direct actions for immediate reform.

King's epigones have since been nicely folded into the lower echelons of polite society, while current Black "leaders" have

On November 30, 1992, IP editor Malik Miah and film-maker Floyd Webb spoke on "Malcolm X: The Man, The Movie, the Message for Today" at Loyola University in Chicago. Lee Artz helped organize the forum and was prompted by the discussion to write the following article.

ED DRUCK/IMPACT VISUALS



Malcolm X speaking to Japanese Americans in 1963. A Japanese American couple hosting women victims of the atomic bomb called for members of the Black leadership to add their support to their call for cessation of atomic testing because of radiation fallout. Malcolm X was the only Black leader to respond and attend.

largely distanced themselves from what they call the "urban under-class." To the NAACP, the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), the Urban League, and to the hundreds of elected Black officials and other benefactors of affirmative action, American society has been "integrated." Removed from the daily lives of 30 million African-Americans, these "leaders" offer no program for social jus-

lice and consequently are largely dismissed by Black youth.

On the other hand, the hopeful militancy of groups like the Oakland-based Black Panther Party or the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in the United Auto Workers union was short-lived — diverted by government repression or political miscalculation. Since then, no national movement has stepped forward to consistently and forcefully carry on the fight against racism in America.

As Ossie Davis eulogized, only Malcolm X remains as a "Black and shining prince." Only Malcolm expresses the unrelenting demand for freedom — by any means necessary.

The renewed popularity of Malcolm X comes at a time of economic uncertainty and increased racial animosity. It comes with the L.A. rebellion. Unfortunately for America's corporate rulers, the resurrection of Malcolm X reopens an old debate over the road to social change and his example of Black self-organization, political independence from the Democrats and Republicans, and anti-imperialist internationalism threatens the precarious peace of capitalist society. Consequently, Malcolm X must be subverted "by any means necessary."

New Attacks

It seems that one assassination of Malcolm X was not enough. This time the target is Malcolm's image; but pulling the life from his legacy will not come so easily.

At the time of his assassination in 1965, the major media portrayed Malcolm as a "twisted man" with a "ruthless and fanatical belief in violence" whose life was "pitifully wasted" because he did not "seek to fit into society or the life of his own people" (*New York Times* 2/22/65). Carl Rowan, a prominent Black journalist, said Malcolm X was no more than "an ex-convict, ex-dope dealer who became a racial fanatic."

Such distortions of Malcolm X could not lay him to rest nor will they be any more effective this time.

The limited, but nonetheless real, gains

Spike Lee misses the political trajectory of Malcolm's last years. He omits Malcolm's trip to Africa, where he met with Nkrumah, Nyrere, Kenyatta and other anti-imperialist heads of state.

of the civil rights movement have modified what can be said publicly — too many Americans reject blatant racist stereotypes, too many "Negroes" have become "African-American," too much is known about Malcolm X, too many have benefitted from affirmative action, too many politicians depend on Black support.

In short, times have changed. Democratic and Republican politicians, reformist Black leaders, educators, the media and other liberal or conservative defenders of the social structure must find new ways to attack Malcolm X. For now, they seem to have settled on two complementary approaches: conservatize Malcolm or marginalize him.

Malcolm X: The Movie

Limiting the meaning of Malcolm X to a story about self-improvement provides a most effective emasculation. Ironically, the initial assault is delivered in the very vehicle which revives Malcolm X in the public consciousness — Spike Lee's movie.

Certainly, Lee's movie has opened a public discussion of Malcolm X and racial inequality that many would have preferred

The Nation of Islam After Malcolm X

After Malcolm's death in 1965, the Nation of Islam went into decline. It folded after Elijah Muhammad died in 1975, when his son, Warith Deen Muhammad Muhammad rejected the sectarianism and cultism of the "Black Muslims." Warith Deen soon founded a religious organization based on the traditional teachings of Islam. Today, Muhammad's group numbers almost 800,000 members.

In the late '70s, Louis Farrakhan (a former aide to Elijah Muhammad) recreated his own Nation of Islam based on Elijah Muhammad's teachings — "Yakub's white devils," racial separatism, economic self-reliance, and political non-engagement (except to support some capitalist politicians). The Nation of Islam under Farrakhan has championed a narrow nationalism which largely restricts its political critique to whites (especially Jews) as super-human devils.

Farrakhan has spoken out forcefully against apartheid South Africa, racist police violence and Black poverty. But Farrakhan and his Nation wear blinders; valid criticisms of racism are not enough. The Nation's emphasis on ra-

cial separatism and self-help relieves the government, its corporate structure and the entire socio-economic system from responsibility. Malcolm X, on the other hand, increasingly held white capitalist America and its government responsible for its crimes.

During his last year, Malcolm X moved away from the sectarianism of the Nation of Islam. He took a political pilgrimage from the Black Muslims to Islam and politics, to a Black nationalism with an international perspective. For more than two decades, however, Farrakhan has stood still. He has even kept his distance from Malcolm X. In fact, Farrakhan has yet to retract his public statement that Malcolm X deserved to die after he split with the Nation of Islam.

Certainly, Farrakhan articulates a legitimate anger, but Malcolm X ended with a legitimate anger based on hope and political action. With his Nation of Islam, Farrakhan has only revived a religious sect. Malcolm X founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity to build bridges for social change — by any means necessary. — L. ARTZ

to avoid. As Lee says, "I want to show all the stuff that Malcolm talked about 30 years ago is still here today."

But because the movie follows the typical Hollywood format for biographies — narratives, personalized anecdotes, psychological reflections, limited social context — Spike Lee misses the political trajectory of Malcolm's last years. He omits Malcolm's trip to Africa, where he met with Nkrumah, Nyrere, Kenyatta and other anti-imperialist heads of state.

Lee omits Malcolm's 1965 visit to Selma, where he promised student activists that he would be back to help. Nor does Lee explain the importance Malcolm gave to the OAAU (Organization of African American Unity) and its program, which was to be announced the day Malcolm was shot.

By ignoring Malcolm's political development, it is even difficult to understand the significance and motivation behind

the FBI and CIA surveillance shown in the movie.

Instead of a thorough portrayal of a political thinker developing and struggling with international issues, questions of organization, program and action, we are treated to the personal saga of a frustrated, harried, isolated man who somehow seems to overcome his strident segregationism and mellows with age and experience.

Conservative Makeover

Unfortunately, Lee's accurate but limited account allows movie critics and political pundits to concentrate on Malcolm X's personal growth, while dismissing his scathing critique of racism as an aberration he eventually overcame. Accepting Lee's interpretation as valid, a bi-partisan, bi-racial chorus sings praises to a de-politicized image of Malcolm X.

The Wall Street Journal begins by fa-

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Malcolm X

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vorably reporting on "Malcolm X, Conservative Hero" (11/10/92). *The New York Times* adds its review of a Malcolm X who became "a powerful humanist, repudiating racial exclusivity" (11/15/92). Former White House Chief of Staff John Sununu goes so far as to suggest that if Malcolm X were alive today, "he'd be a Black Republican."

On his CNN talk show, Jesse Jackson puts his own spin on the re-creation of Malcolm, arguing that his life portrays the power of "education and self-pride." Malcolm should be emulated for his reading, not his politics.

Dozens of conservative Black ministers and college professors have been quoted in papers from Atlanta and Houston to New York and Chicago, citing Malcolm as a model for good citizenship. As author and scholar Alvin Pouissant asserts, Malcolm would tell kids today "to stay out of crime and drugs" and he would be "strong on young people getting an education and disapprove of rap musicians advocating violence."

In other words, most of these prominent commentators completely ignore Malcolm's insistence that the social system breeds inequality, instigates social unrest and promotes "anti-social" behavior.

Despite various nuances, most of these "favorable" reviews of Malcolm X ignore his political intransigence against a racist social system. For instance, Democratic Congressman John Lewis summarizes Malcolm's life as an example of how "one person can overcome odds and emerge as a force for good."

Such a narrow assessment of Malcolm X conveniently discounts the crushing weight of Jim Crow segregation which could not be "overcome" by individual will-power. Such a reading of Malcolm X also neglects the real "forces for good" employed by thousands of African-Americans, women and others in the successful social movements of the '60s and '70s.

Perhaps *USA Today* best summarizes the conservative "personalization" of Malcolm X's legacy in commenting that Malcolm

X "preached family, education, self-help and respect for life" giving us all "a symbol of the human ability to change through self-discipline" (11/18/92).

Perry's Revisionism

While attempts to incorporate Malcolm X into the American dreamscape have predominated, a parallel effort to marginalize his importance has appeared. Bruce Perry, author of *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America*, has recently offered a revisionist biography.

The prospect of a charismatic, articulate Black leader with an independent Black organization undoubtedly frightened America's corporate and government rulers.

Perry theorizes about Malcolm's internal turmoil over self-identity, charges that Malcolm lied about the Klan attacks on his father, suggests that Malcolm may have firebombed his own home as a publicity stunt and argues that Malcolm X had little influence in his time.

Such charges aren't new, nor particularly clever. Years ago Bayard Rustin slandered Malcolm with similar attacks on his "macho facade" and denied that Malcolm's assassination was anything more than a typical Saturday night of "Negroes slashing Negroes."

Also long before Perry, civil rights leader James Farmer claimed that Malcolm X's influence was insignificant because Malcolm "had no program and no stomach for organizing."

Without the popularity of the movie and rap music, Perry's book would likely have passed unnoticed. Instead, his claims have been repeated in the *Chicago Tribune*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *The New York Times* and other media as a counter-punch to Malcolm's memory.

Wolf and Fox

The media battle over Malcolm's image is unsettling. In one breath, Malcolm X is promoted as a model of conservative discipline. In the next, he appears as an

unimportant novelty of a distant past. Such schizophrenia recalls a popular Malcolm X metaphor of the wolf and the fox — neither can be trusted. Malcolm X did not recant his opposition to racism nor come to some accommodation with liberal society as recent commentary would like to suggest. Malcolm X did not become a conservative integrationist.

Similarly, attempts to downplay Malcolm's importance in the African-American liberation struggle are unfounded. Sununu notwithstanding, Black Republicans do not get assassinated in the United States.

Malcolm X would probably be the first to admit that as a Black Muslim he acted little and talked much. But that is precisely why his break with the Nation of Islam is so important. As he wrote to the American Nazi Party in January 1965, "this is to warn you that I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad's separationist Black Muslim movement . . ." Likewise, after his break with the Nation, he visited with civil rights students in Selma. When Malcolm returned to Harlem, the OAAU decided to undertake an action program in support of the Selma campaign.

Political Threat

As a Muslim, Malcolm X was an irritation, not a threat. American capitalist society can withstand criticism; it can even incorporate moderate reforms. It cannot abolish racism, inequality and oppression. And, as the OAAU charter said, Malcolm X would accept nothing less than total "freedom from oppression."

Thus, the prospect of a charismatic, articulate Black leader with an independent Black organization undoubtedly frightened America's corporate and government rulers. Unlike the NAACP, SCLC, CORE or other organizations fighting for civil rights, the OAAU was not dependent on liberal whites and Democratic politicians.

In fact, Malcolm X widely proclaimed that he would never organize a Black person to be a Democrat or Republican. He discussed the possibility of a Black nationalist party and a Black nationalist army. Malcolm X's strategy for social change was based on the independent political action of African-Americans and

their allies — including international allies in Africa and Asia.

In short, as a leader of the OAAU, Malcolm X was more dangerous than a dozen Elijah Muhammads, Martin Luther Kings, James Farmers, Whitney Youngs or Black Republicans.

In the end, the only way to appreciate Malcolm X is to understand continuity and change. Malcolm X changed dramatically in his last years; yet his fundamental commitments remained constant. He left religious sectarianism and narrow cultural nationalism behind. He expanded his spiritual vision to a better, more humane world and extended his Black nationalism to *inter-nationalism*. He continued his militancy, his commitment to Black liberation, his opposition to the racist hypocrisy of the American social system. He did not falter. He did not mellow.

Despite the personal and political slanders, Malcolm X could not be intimidated, diverted or placated by the powers that be. As San Francisco State Black Studies professor Oba T'Shaka says, "they did not tame him."

Black Nationalism

Malcolm X remained a Black nationalist. He recognized that America's racist social structure could not be reformed, saying, "we aren't trying to win the affection of those exploiters." Membership in the OAAU was open only to "people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere."

However, Malcolm came to believe that "any kind of movement based solely in the U. S. is doomed to failure." So, as he said in one of his last speeches, this was an "international, rather than national" Black nationalism which aimed at "direct links, direct contact, direct communication with our brothers and sisters all over the earth."

Malcolm's Black nationalism identified the European colonial states as the "common exploiter, common oppressor" of Africans and Asians, a common oppressor which practices the same "racism in Asia (Vietnam), in the Congo and in Mississippi, Alabama and New York." Malcolm X integrated a worldwide revolutionary perspective into his Black nationalism. He sought to "internationalize" the African-American struggle and

to "humanize" the civil rights struggle.

Can't Legislate Liberation

Malcolm X never retreated from his insistence that liberation must be won; it cannot be legislated. This puts Malcolm X and his present day youthful admirers at odds with the all the Democrats and Republicans, all the conservatives and liberals, all the believers who hope against hope that justice can be talked into existence.

The OAAU program calls for nothing

*To a growing number
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Malcolm X is more
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less than a Declaration of Condemnation for acts perpetrated by the United States against African-Americans and a Proclamation of Restitution to the victims of racism. Token civil rights bills are dismissed out-of-hand. The OAAU program reasserts the right of self-defense and the right to achieve justice "by any means necessary."

Contrary to Alvin Pouissant, and other would-be conservators of Malcolm's memory, Malcolm X would not castigate African-American youth for refusing to submit to intolerable conditions. Yes, he would educate them, but in his own way.

He would likely tell them — as he told an audience in Rochester, New York just a few days before his death — "We're in a society that preaches brotherhood, but doesn't practice brotherhood . . . We are living in a society which is by and large controlled by people who believe in racism, practice segregation and discrimination and racism . . . we [must] realize that the problem facing Black people in this country is so complex and so involved and has been here so long, unsolved, that it is absolutely necessary for us to form another organization."

During the L. A. rebellion, when many tears were shed for damaged property and a truck driver, Malcolm X would have said to Pouissant and Jackson and Sununu and all the others, "I heard no voice of compassion for the hundreds of people killed in Grenada, or gunned down in Haiti, or assassinated in Nicaragua or the thousands bombed in Iraq. Why was there no outcry? Why was there no concern?" And without waiting for their sophisticated, convoluted answers, Malcolm X would lay down the word: racism.

That's why, to a growing number of American youth, Malcolm X is more popular, even in death, than those leaders who criticize frustration and anger, but offer no hope. Malcolm offers hope. He offers dignity and pride and struggle. That's why the image of Malcolm X is so important for the struggle against racism.

Malcolm X was a freedom fighter, and we need more freedom fighters. That's why, whenever I see a Black youth sporting a baseball hat or t-shirt adorned with "X," I salute. ▼

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A Strategy for Environmental Action

Perhaps the newest addition to the "American Ethos" is a concern for the environment. More and more people from both the working and "middle" classes see the value of environmental protection, and many are willing "to do their part" to ensure a clean, environmentally stable future. Despite this rise in environmental consciousness, reckless destruction of the world's oxygen sources and mass pollution continues, if not at full-throttle. The question then stands: What strategy should environmentalists employ in the struggle against destructive and polluting industries?

Considering the economic basis for environmental destruction, environmentalists must strive for ecologically pure industries through mass political action with working people based in their communities and trade unions, aimed directly at corporate profits. This strategy would be most effective simply because both the welfare of working people and the protection of Earth's ecosystem must be won at the expense of the capitalists.

Australia's Democratic Socialist Party recognizes the need to protect the world's natural resources from harmful exploitation. Its program provides an excellent example of how working people and their communities can fight for environmental standards in industry.

The Democratic Socialist Party of Australia aims to stop harmful exploitation of labor and our environment by educating and organizing for mass political action. By pushing the mass organizations of the working class, such as the trade unions, to adopt environmentalism as part of their political campaigns, and forming community-based organizations to fight for environmental protection, working people can effectively work to sustain our planet.

What follows is the section of the Democratic Socialist Party of Australia's program which deals with environmental protection and explains their attitude and strategy.
— MATTHEW DORAN.

Working people are entitled to full information about, and control over, the environmental conditions that affect their health and survival where they work and

live. Environmental and health standards must be established by working people and communities with full access to technical information and based on consultation with experts of their own choice.

Form Committees

Community committees must be empowered to decide directly on projects to establish factories or use industrial processes that may adversely affect the local environment. Such committees must be empowered to gather full and accurate information about the relevant ecological and health issues, and to make their decisions on the basis of this information, not out of concern for corporate profits.

The poisoning and destruction of the environment is a crime that threatens human survival, and should be treated as such. Corporations that violate environmental standards should be forced to pay the full cost of cleaning up the damage they have caused and fully compensating all whose health has suffered as a result of such violations. These corporations must be forced to install pollution control equipment and prohibited from passing on the cost of this to consumers through higher prices. Companies manufacturing chemical pesticides and artificial fertilisers should pay a levy to finance the development of environmentally safe fertilisers and methods of pest control.

Public Works

A large-scale program of public works, funded by increased corporate taxes, should be introduced to clean up our land, rivers, and coastal waters, to carry out reforestation projects, and to establish publicly owned plants for recycling industrial and household waste.

The habitats of rare or endangered species of plants and animals must be declared national parks, and an extensive program must be introduced to restore the ecological balance of these areas. Communities currently based on the economic exploitation of such areas must be guaranteed compensation, job retraining and alternative employment.

Every aspect of the nuclear power industry, from the mining of uranium to the disposal of radioactive waste products, is fraught with lethal and insurmountable dangers. The party opposes any attempts to establish a nuclear power industry in Australia and demands the immediate cessation of the mining and export of uranium.

Health Over Profits

Just as they must reject the false dilemma of having to choose between employment or cuts in wages, working people must reject arguments by the capitalists that they cannot afford to take the measures necessary to clean up and protect the environment, or that workers' jobs will be threatened by environmental protection measures. Working people cannot afford bosses who put profits before the health of their employees and the community. Such companies should be nationalized without compensation (except for small stockholders) and placed under the control of workers' committees provided with complete access to the government funding and all the technical information required for meeting the requisite health and environmental protection standards.

Where environmental protection can only be achieved by the closure of an industry, as in the case of uranium mining and the nuclear power industry for example, governments and employers must be forced to provide alternative, training and retraining, and where appropriate, compensation to employees and communities affected by such closures.

While partial victories along these lines can slow the slide to environmental catastrophe, ultimately this problem can only be resolved through the replacement of the capitalist system with a worldwide system of democratic socialist planning. Mass political action aimed at winning concessions from the capitalist ruling class can play a crucial role in raising mass consciousness of the need for such a radical social transformation, and in organizing the social forces that can carry it through. ▼

Gays, Democratic Rights, and the Military

By C. TITUS CLARK

The U.S. military has a long history of racism, sexism and homophobia. In 1988, an internal Defense Department study found that 44 percent of Black candidates were dropped from officer-in-training programs compared with 15 percent of white candidates. Many male sailors and officers are still serving even after brutally violating enlisted women in the Tailhook incident. Several open lesbians and gay men were allowed to fight and die in the Vietnam War, only to be discharged at the war's end. Currently, open lesbians and gay men are not allowed into the military, and are immediately discharged if they decide to come out while serving. The message: stay in your closets and hate your sexuality because homosexuality is morally wrong and ignoring it will make it go away.

In 1988, a report filed by the Defense Personnel Security Research and Education Center (PERSEREC) titled "Non-Conforming Sexual Orientations and Military Suitability" concluded that lesbians and gay men pose no special security risk and that sexuality is "...unrelated to job performance in the same way as being left or right handed." The report also stated that homosexuals display military suitability that is "... as good as or better than the average heterosexual."

Pentagon officials first denied any connection with the study but PERSEREC is conceived, financed, and overseen by the Defense Department. The study was then suppressed. Pentagon officials ordered a rewriting of the report to reflect the opposite information.

In 1989, a gun turret exploded on the battleship Iowa, killing 42 sailors. Navy investigators invented a story about a gay sailor who sabotaged the gun turret because he was upset over a homosexual affair. When the accused dead sailor's family pursued the truth, the Navy later admitted to fabricating the story.

Recently in the case of Keith Meinhold,

a Navy officer discharged for being gay, his reinstatement was ordered by a U.S. District Court judge. At first, the Navy refused the court order but later complied.

Reactionary proponents of the ban on gays in the military claim that homosexuals are targets for blackmail by enemy forces and will disclose top-secret information, will create a rampant spread of AIDS throughout the armed forces and make straight men uncomfortable. These arguments actually seem like better reasons to lift the ban than to keep it. If open lesbians and gay men are allowed to serve, the blackmail argument becomes obsolete since there are already gays in the military, though they are forced to be closeted.

Whether ethical or not, the military does not allow HIV positive people to serve. If anything, gay sensitivity training, through a lift of the ban, will help eliminate ignorance about the causes of AIDS perpetuated by the military. Sensitivity training about the lives of gay service people could help make gays and straights in the military get along better.

The Coalition to Maintain Military Readiness is a widespread fundamentalist group that has launched a grass-roots and media campaign to maintain the ban on gays. The coalition consists of the Southern Baptist Convention, the American Legion, the Reserve Officers' Association and others. This is the first time that military, family rights, and religious groups have officially worked together on such a political issue.

The importance of resistance to such homophobic forces is essential to the struggle for gay and human rights. Currently, grass roots efforts of anti-discrimination and gay rights groups including the ACLU, the Human Rights Campaign Fund and Queer Nation have made lifting the ban on gays in the military a campaign issue in the recent presidential election.

Many gay rights groups have also mobilized to make sure President Clinton

Continued on page 30

Bigotry and Racism

Georgia Senator Sam Nunn, a leading Democrat, is opposed to lifting the ban on gays in the military because their mere presence would lead to a breakdown in morale and discipline. Similar comments were made by a Georgia Senator nearly 45 years ago when the U.S. military was instructed to end its racist segregation.

Compare the comments of Nunn today and Richard Russell, then chair of the Armed Services Committee. Nunn and Russell used almost identical arguments (maybe they had the same speech writer?) to defend bigotry and the status quo.

Nunn: "Members of the armed forces are subject to the involuntary assignment(s) . . . that require living and working in close proximity with others under conditions that afford little or no privacy." He added, "The authority to separate homosexuals (from the military) has been in effect over a lengthy period of time."

On June 8, 1948, Russell said: "There is no more intimate human relationship known to men than that of enlisted men serving together. . . . They eat and sleep together. They use the same sanitary facilities. . . . They are compelled to stay together in the closest association." He added, "There have always been separate units in which the races of this country could serve their nation."

Nunn and Russell both raised concerns about mixing. Fistfights would break out. Total chaos. Russell quoting Dwight Eisenhower said: "If you have a dance for your soldiers, you have a problem." And Nunn said, "What about displays of affection that are otherwise permissible . . . such as dancing at a formal event?"

New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis had a good reply to sexual bigots: "If sexual conduct were the real concern of the critics, they would focus on the clear and present problem. You don't have to be a genius to know what that is: assaults on women in the armed forces." — Ed.

Anti-Gay Violence

Continued from page 3

same logic as the bogus "reverse discrimination" argument that attempts to claim that the meager results of affirmative action programs are "racist" against white people. They want whites to believe the reason they are losing out economically is because Blacks and other minorities are advancing.

But the current system harms all working people while disproportionately affecting Blacks, gays, women and other oppressed and marginalized groups of the working class. Without a perspective of class solidarity against racism, homophobia and sexism, white working people fall into a self-destructive trap of misidentifying

anti-homophobic, anti-racist and anti-sexist struggles and successes as the source of the decline in the quality of life, rather than the effects of capitalist society.

It is in the interests of the majority of working people to fight for better living standards for the working class through such measures as family leave legislation, accessible child care, reproductive rights and recognition of gay and lesbian rights and partnerships. These are the kind of measures that can benefit all the types of families that make up our society.

The National March on Washington Committee is planning a March in Washington, D.C. on April 25, 1993. The March will either celebrate the passing of a National Gay Civil Rights Bill or protest the failure of Congress to adopt one. ▼

Gays in the Military

Continued from page 29

keeps his promise to lift the ban. It is important to note that if the ban is lifted, this will not condone the activities of the U.S. military. But the fact is that discrimination based solely on sexual orientation must not be tolerated there, no matter what the use of the military may be. Fighting against the ban is part of the fight against injustice anywhere, much of which is organized by the military. The oft-divided gay community, with the support of straights, must realize that the basis of this ban on gays in the military is homophobia and we must fight that wherever it exists. ▼

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LETTERS

We have received a number of electronic communications and letters to IP and to members of Activists for Independent Socialist Politics since publication of our first issue. Independent Politics posts most of its articles to various conferences on the computer bulletin board Peacenet. Many of these articles are then re-posted by readers to other computer bulletin boards, and make their way around the world. Independent Politics can be reached by Email (electronic mail) at <achis> on Peacenet or <achis@igc.apc.org> from other networks. Peacenet can be reached at 18 De Boom St., San Francisco, CA 94107. Many of these "letters" came to us via Email, as readers responded to various articles. Below are excerpts from these communications and letters. Independent Politics has bundle rates and consignment terms. Please inquire for details. IP would be happy to arrange exchange subscriptions with other periodicals.

Freebies?

I read your article on Chevron organizing in Philly and am interested in receiving a free copy of your magazine.

Marty Bigos
San Francisco, CA

Regarding the article, "Creating a New Society" from *Independent Politics* #1, I would be very interested in a sample copy of your magazine.

Adam Bogacki
NSW, Australia

New Reader Support

Yesterday I received a sample copy of *Independent Politics*! Thanks a lot!

Today I send the request for the subscription. I am a graduate student at George Mason University, originally from Puerto Rico.

I want to know more about your organization and positions.

Hasta la vista!

Elio Ramos-Colon
Fairfax, VA

A copy of *Independent Politics* and your cover letter came today. "IP" is quite impressive. Enclosed is a check for \$2.00 for first issue and postage. Could you send us three copies on a regular basis as a bundle or consignment. Please inform as to financial arrangements.

Bill Breihan
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Vote for Unity

I found your magazine well-written for both those knowledgeable of politics and new activists. I only hope that those of us who support the F.I. (Fourth International) can unify our efforts instead of remaining separated. I am enclosing a small contribution. Please send me future issues of your magazine.

Bennett Satinoff
New York

Malcolm X for Alternative Reading

Please send subscription info and a sample issue of *Independent Politics*. I just read the piece on Malcolm X & Black Politics on Peacenet and

think your publication will be a good addition to our collection.

Paula Davidson
The Alternative Reading
Room, Asheville, NC

International Readership

I gave the first issue of *Independent Politics* to my Iranian friend who read it and passed it on to a British student at Alliance Francaise. Can I be sent five or six more copies of the first issue at the above address. I have people in mind to show it to here. Thanks.

Dan Rosenshine
Paris, France

New Party

I really enjoy the articles posted on ACTIVE-L, in particular, articles on organized labor.

Are you covering the New Party? Too bad they are shunning the socialist label. They're organizing now in Madison. The various left/progressive parties are coalescing under an umbrella group called Progressive Dane (for Dane County), like is being done in Milwaukee.

Keep up the good work. Your subscription price is right and your analysis right-on!

Susan Vilbrandt
Madison, Wisconsin

From Montreal

I saw an article on the need for change in the strategy of activism in South Africa on

Peacenet today. It also mentioned that I could get a sample copy of *Independent Politics* if I write to you.

I would appreciate a sample copy of this and related publications. With thanks,

Nidhi Srinivas
Montreal, Canada

Electronic Readers Write

I have seen an article from *Independent Politics* that was posted to the ACTIV-L Activist's mailing list by NLNS.

I am going to send \$8 for a subscription to IP. I am also going to send a copy of last month's *Alternative Orange*, a student newspaper at Syracuse University.

Robert Cymbala
Syracuse, NY

I read the article you submitted to the gen. socialism conference on Peacenet and was impressed by the clarity of your political positions. I would like to subscribe to *Independent Politics*, I am a student at UCSD and a group of us will be sharing the issues. Thanks,

Antigona Martinez
La Jolla, CA

I read an article from *Independent Politics* on NAFTA which came to me via the ACTIV-L mail list and, presumably, Peacenet. I found it very interesting and would be grateful for a sample copy of your magazine.

Rick Kuhn
ACT, Australia

Big Business Media Steps Up Cuba-Bashing

By MO HARRY

The big business media has had little coverage on the historically significant Caravan to Cuba that succeeded in breaking through the U.S. blockade against that country in November 1992. Instead, there have been a rash of reactionary articles about how little "democracy" exists in Cuba.

The *Baltimore Sun* (Dec. 21, 1992) titled an article "Cubans Show Little Enthusiasm in Vote." It states that Cuba is now allowing political parties outside the Communist Party to run candidates for office and that one in five candidates ran campaigns independent of the CP in recent municipal elections. The article mentions that 80 percent of eligible voters took part in the elections (an almost unheard of amount in the U.S.) but that "few Cubans were excited about them."

All the mass media stories about Cuba have had a Cuba-bashing slant to them. The recent stories of defectors from Cuba to the U.S. make big news. Headlines cry out about individuals forsaking "socialism" to embrace "democracy."

The stories that never seem to make the mainstream news, however, are those about the U.S. role in trying to starve the Cuban people into submission through

embargo and blockade.

The mainstream media also refuses to describe the incredible resourcefulness of the Cuban system. Though faced with dire shortages of basic necessities due to the 33-year U.S. blockade, Socialist Cuba is still able to feed and clothe every person on the island.

Virtually ignored, news about the 15 tons of humanitarian aid collected by U.S. citizens for the Cuban people consisted, at most, of two-inch articles buried in the newspapers. This same news made headlines all over Mexico and Latin America.

U.S. media failed to mention the difficulty in crossing the border into Mexico with the aid, or when U.S. federal agents nearly turned the caravan back. But they were forced to let the aid through due to the thousands of calls and telegrams from around the world in support of the caravan, and to the perseverance of the 104 caravan drivers. These volunteer drivers converged on Laredo, Texas from around the U.S. for the crossing into Mexico, where the supplies were loaded onto ships for Cuba.

Caravan organizer Tom Hansen, of the Cuba Friendship Project, said the drivers were "brave and doing what's just; following their consciences". They faced a potential of 10 years in prison and



Cubans use bicycles to help defy oil shortages.

\$200,000 fine for violating the U.S. "Trading With The Enemy" act. Five people, including a CNN reporter, were arrested at the border by Laredo police on petty charges that were later dropped. Federal misdemeanor charges are still being pressed against one caravan participant. Some of the aid to Cuba was confiscated by U.S. authorities but most of the supplies, consisting of much-needed medicine, wheelchairs, bicycles, and food did reach Cuba.

It is apparent that the major press in the United States is falling in line with the federal government's agenda in propagandizing against Cuba. How the U.S. rulers' plans will unfold in their attempt to restore capitalism to Cuba in the coming years remains to be seen. President Clinton has promised to see so-called democracy reinstated in Cuba against the will of the majority of the people there who support the progressive nature of their country.

As opposed to the United States, the Cuban people regularly rally in defense of their country, where their combined efforts maintain the basic necessities of employment, housing, health care, education and nourishment for every individual living there.

The Cuban people have persevered through three decades of U.S. harassment and do not seem willing to give up their autonomy to the interests of world capital now. They have remained steadfast in their desire to maintain a society dedicated to supporting all of its people.

We in the United States must demonstrate solidarity with the people of Cuba as they face new attacks from the U.S. government. ▼

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