

In Defense of Marxism

SO WHAT DO YOU THINK
YOU'LL DO ONCE BLACKS
ACHIEVE MAJORITY RULE
HERE?

MOVE TO L.A. AND
BECOME A COP...



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Denies Black Rights
as Bush Ends Sanctions**

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Who We Are

The *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* is published monthly (except for a combined July-August issue) by the Fourth Internationalist Tendency. We have dedicated this journal to the process of clarifying the program and theory of revolutionary Marxism—of discussing its application to the class struggle both internationally and here in the United States. This vital task must be undertaken if we want to forge a political party in this country capable of bringing an end to the domination of the U.S. imperialist ruling class and of establishing a socialist society based on human need instead of private greed.

FIT members and supporters are involved in a broad range of working class struggles and protest movements in the U.S. We are activists in unions, women's rights groups, antiracist organizations, coalitions opposed to U.S. intervention, student formations, and lesbian and gay rights campaigns. We help organize support for oppressed groups here and abroad—such as those challenging apartheid in South Africa and bureaucratic rule in China, Eastern Europe, and the USSR. We participate in the global struggle of working people and their allies through our ties with the world organization of revolutionary socialists—the Fourth International.

The FIT was created in the winter of 1984 by members expelled from the Socialist Workers Party because they opposed abandoning the Trotskyist principles and methods on which the SWP was founded and built for more than half a century. We tried to win the SWP back to a revolutionary Marxist perspective, and called for the reunification of Fourth Internationalists in the U.S. through readmission to the party of all who had been expelled in the anti-Trotskyist purge. The SWP formally severed fraternal relations with the Fourth International in June of 1990. Our central task now is to reconstitute a united U.S. sympathizing section of the Fourth International from among all those in this country who remain loyal to the FI's program and organization as well as through the recruitment of workers, students, Blacks, women, and other activists who can be won to a revolutionary internationalist outlook.

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Masses Resist Soviet Coup!

by George Saunders

As we were preparing this issue of the Bulletin In Defense of Marxism for publication news came of the coup in the USSR. We delayed publication in order to allow George Saunders to file the following initial assessment. Look for more in our next issue.

The seizure of power in the Soviet central government by the so-called State Committee State of Emergency is an attempt to turn the clock back, to reverse the democratic freedoms that have increasingly been permitted or taken (!) by the masses since 1985. It is an attempt to reimpose authoritarian rule of the kind that existed under Brezhnev, Khrushchev, even Stalin. Whether or not this will be successful remains to be seen.

The first step taken by the so-called Emergency Committee was to place the three Bal-

tic republics under military rule. It announced that any political organization that "interfered" would be banned. It announced that all independent publications would have to "re-register" before they could be printed. It took control of radio and television, and it banned strikes and demonstrations. Even so, the depth of the changes in the USSR over the past five years make it impossible for the army officers and KGB officials to completely reverse them at the outset. In its public pronouncements, the new ruling group has been forced to give lip service to continuing reforms.

This committee, whose central leaders are the heads of the army, the Interior Ministry, the KGB, the party apparatus, and the chief ministries of heavy industry, represent the hard core of the bureaucratic caste, which does not want to relinquish any more of its power and privileges. As Trotsky put it in *The*

Revolution Betrayed, "No devil ever cut off its own claws."

Gorbachev, as a representative of the bureaucracy, sought to relax central controls to try to stimulate the economy, which was stagnating under the bureaucratic stranglehold. His aim was to preserve the bureaucracy's power by trying to moderate its rule. He would not and could not grant full political and economic democracy, the only means by which the Soviet economy could have been made to work effectively. The partial democracy permitted after 1985 was seized upon by the oppressed nationalities, the workers, the intellectuals, and all discontented elements to press for their own needs. The rising independent movements among the nationalities, intellectuals, and the industrial workers, led by the miners, went far beyond the limits intended by the Gorbachev group.

(Continued on page 4)

South Africa Denies Black Rights as Bush Ends Sanctions

by Tom Barrett

On July 10, 1991, George Bush announced the lifting of U.S. economic sanctions against the Republic of South Africa. The sanctions had been imposed by Congress in 1986—over President Ronald Reagan's veto—because of that country's oppressive policies against its Black African majority. Reaction by Black South African leaders, by African-Americans, and by others who oppose racism in both South Africa and the United States, was overwhelmingly negative. Their opposition to Bush's decision shows that the Pretoria government has not deceived them with the cosmetic changes in its racial policy. Some (but not all) of the laws which mandate the system of racial segregation known as *apartheid* may have been repealed, but racial oppression continues unabated in South Africa.

Of course, President Bush is not deceived either. The difference is that the president who continues to use sanctions to starve Iraqi civilians—after refusing to help democratic forces attempting to overthrow Saddam Hussein—never wanted sanctions against Pretoria in the first place. The South African government's denial of human rights to its Black African majority in no way threatens multinational corporate profits: on the contrary, it enhances them. A common term used to describe the Pretoria government in financial publications is "pro-business," and that is not a government which Washington would like to punish with economic sanctions.

The Racist Foundations of South African Capitalism

Racial oppression in South Africa, which reached its highest level with the apartheid system instituted by the Nationalist Party in the 1950s, is not an unfortunate by-product of capitalism. Racism is a *foundation* of world capitalism, and that is clearly reflected in South African society.

The capital which made the Industrial Revolution possible was to a great degree accumulated in the Atlantic slave trade. The Dutch Cape Colony, which evolved into modern South Africa, depended on slave labor for its agriculture, since it never attracted significant numbers of European colonists before the discovery of diamonds and gold in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Capitalism evolved with the reality of racism in place—that is, there was never any conscious planning, but money was invested in enterprises assuming the continuation of the slave trade and slave labor. For example, the Dutch East India Company was able to exploit the resources of the islands which are today known as Indonesia because slave labor made possible an agricultural colony at the Cape of Good Hope which could supply the Dutch ships far less expensively. The textile mills of the British Midlands and New England were more profitable because slavery in the United States made cotton inexpensive to buy as a raw material.

After slavery was abolished and capitalism advanced into its imperialistic stage, Britain's exploitation of South Africa's mineral resources required the brutal military subjugation of

the indigenous African nations: the Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Tswana, and others. The South African economy and society developed with the repression of the African majority as a fact of life. Investors put their money into the South African mines and railroads, whose success depended on white domination of the Black populations. Whatever moral objections might have been expressed by liberal-minded people in Britain—and many were—capitalist economic reality necessitated brutal methods to keep the African peoples in check. *Racism was and is endemic to imperialism*, and the world economy continues to be an imperialist economy. Imperialism continues to dominate South Africa, and, as long as it does, the African majority will be oppressed.

The Conditions for the Ending of Sanctions Have Not Been Met

The 1986 law which imposed sanctions specified five conditions for the ending of sanctions: the repeal of the laws which form the foundation of the apartheid system; the removal of bans on political parties; the ending of the state of emergency, under which civil liberties were suspended; negotiations between representatives of the government and of the Black majority to form a new government; and the freeing of political prisoners. President Bush claims that they have been met and, therefore, that he has no choice but to lift the sanctions as provided for by law. He is not telling the truth. South Africa has not complied with the conditions for ending U.S. sanctions. As Randall Robinson, the director of TransAfrica and the chief lobbyist for the 1986 sanctions bill, has pointed out, hundreds of political prisoners remain incarcerated in South Africa.

There have been negotiations between the African National Congress (ANC) and the de Klerk government; however, it is questionable whether the government is negotiating in good faith. It continues to resist the ANC's reasonable democratic demand that a popularly elected constituent assembly be convened to write a new constitution for South Africa. At the same time, evidence shows that South African security forces are complicit in the wave of terrorist violence carried out against anti-apartheid fighters by the Inkatha "Freedom" Party, led by Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi. It was reported in the July 20 *New York Times* that the South African Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok admitted channeling funds to Inkatha.

One of the laws which defined apartheid was the Population Registration Act of 1950, which classified everyone in South Africa according to race, either white, Asian (usually of Indian descent), Coloured (mixed-race, usually descendants of slaves in the Western Cape), and Black or "Bantu" (belonging to the indigenous Black African nationalities). On June 17, 1991, this law was repealed; however, it takes effect only with those born *after* the date of repeal. Those born before June 17, 1991, will remain classified by race.

The bans against the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and the South African Communist Party were lifted in 1990. However, the government reserves the right to ban political organizations which it deems as "violent." Security forces are still allowed to detain people for up to ten days without charge.

It is clear that even under the narrowest construction of the 1986 sanctions law, Bush's executive order lifting the sanctions

was a clear violation. His policy with respect to South Africa is consistent with his domestic policy toward the African-American people. While repeating mindless clichés in praise of Martin Luther King, Bush has rejected the latest civil rights bill. As African-Americans disproportionately suffer the effects of the economic recession, his administration opposes all affirmative action programs to remedy the effects of generations of racism. He has shamelessly exploited the racist prejudices held by some white working people for his political gain. From the Willie Horton campaign ads in 1988 to the false defense of "free speech" against "political correctness" on campus in 1991, Bush has used every means to encourage the forces who would keep African-Americans "in their place." And in the ultimate slap in the face, he has appointed Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court to replace the retiring Thurgood Marshall. Thomas's attitude towards his own people's poverty can be summed up as "I made it—it's your own fault if you can't." No wonder African-American activists are starting to refer to him as "Uncle Thomas."

The administration's racism is clearly shown by its insistence on the absolute minimum conditions for lifting sanctions. The conditions specified in the 1986 law were *not* far-reaching at all. Even if every one of them were met Black South Africans would hardly have achieved anything resembling freedom or equality. They are still denied the right to vote, and de Klerk remains adamant that he and his Nationalist Party remain opposed to equal voting rights for all on the basis of one person, one vote. The wage disparity between white and African workers remains enormous: white workers earn about ten times the amount of money as their Black counterparts, and there has been no attempt by the government to address this. The abject poverty, lack of basic social services, housing, infrastructure, medical care, and other necessities in the Homelands and Townships has not even been discussed, certainly not by George Bush. South Africa's Black millions are suffering, regardless of the progress that has been made in lowering racial barriers. It is good that beaches and restaurants have been desegregated, but is that more important than infant mortality?

From Apartheid to Neo-Apartheid

In spite of the fallacy of Bush's reasons for lifting sanctions, it would be a serious mistake to conclude that nothing has changed or is changing in South Africa. Under F.W. de Klerk's leadership the South African ruling class is making significant changes in South African society. De Klerk's wing of the Nationalist Party, known as the "New Nats" and supported by the most powerful business interests in South Africa, has recognized that the African people's struggle will not be defeated in a head-on confrontation. Concessions to the Black majority are necessary if capitalist rule is to be preserved in that mineral-rich and strategically located country.

The oppressed peoples of South Africa have won important victories:

- the Coloured and Asian communities have won limited voting rights;
- segregation in public accommodations, transportation, and even marriage has been abolished;
- the ANC, PAC, and South African Communist Party have been legalized;

- Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, as well as other anti-apartheid leaders, have been freed from prison;
- as mentioned earlier, the Land Act, the Group Areas Act, and the Population Registration Act have been repealed.

None of these concessions came about as a result of any moral enlightenment on the part of F.W. de Klerk or P.W. Botha, de Klerk's predecessor. They did not come about because of any profound change in the South African power structure. They were wrested from the ruling class by the mass mobilizations carried out by the ANC, the United Democratic Front, and other anti-apartheid organizations, combined with the strikes and militant labor action of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and other predominantly African trade unions.

Their struggles were able to succeed because of the broadly organized anti-apartheid activity carried out throughout the world, especially in the United States and Britain, South Africa's most important trading partners. Without the work of African-American and student activists in the United States, the U.S. Congress would never have imposed economic sanctions against South Africa in 1986. The international campaign to isolate South Africa in trade, sports, and cultural affairs also contributed to forcing the changes which are being implemented now. In spite of protestations to the contrary, the sanctions have hurt the South African economy, and the international isolation which the democracy-minded peoples of the world have imposed has had a profound effect.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that de Klerk's concessions mean the end of white supremacy and racial oppression in South Africa. The legal system of apartheid, which is now being dismantled, was only put in place in the 1950s, following the Nationalist election victory in 1948. However, racial segregation and the denial of political and civil rights to the Black, Coloured, and Asian people came about long before apartheid was codified. Under British colonialism and the Dominion (the Union of South Africa, 1910-61), white supremacy was an unquestioned reality. The new South African society which the New Nats are trying to bring about will be built on the foundations of South Africa's past—colonialism, the Dominion, and apartheid. The fundamental principle—imperialist domination and exploitation of South Africa's vast mineral and human resources—remains the same. Only the means are changing, just as they changed in previous periods.

One of the key differences between apartheid and the neo-apartheid which the New Nats are trying to institute is that active Black support and participation will be a feature of the new system. The government is clearly hedging its bets—attempting to negotiate a role for the ANC while at the same time using violent repression against it. However, unlike in previous periods, the violence is not carried out by white men in uniform but by Africans armed with spears and machetes. The government

is relying on extralegal forces organized by Zulu Chief Buthelezi to do its dirty work, and then decrying the "Black-on-Black violence," which proves that the Africans are not ready to rule themselves. And the victims of the worst violence are those whom the government has the most reason to fear—the factory workers and miners concentrated in the workers' hostels, far from their families back in the "Tribal Homelands."

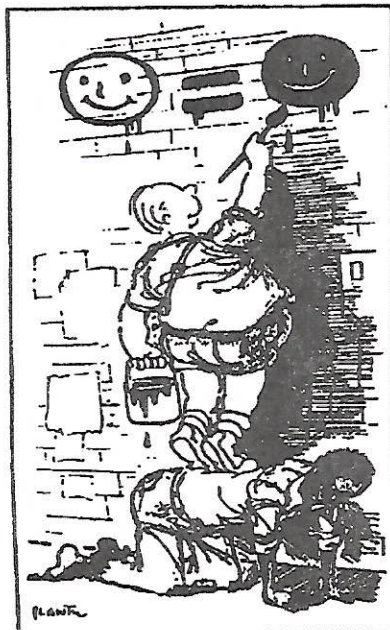
A New Stage In the Struggle

The most important feature about neo-apartheid is that it will require different strategies to defeat it than did the apartheid system of Malan, Vervoerd, and Vorster. Methods which may have been effective in the past will no longer work against an enemy who uses Africans against Africans and works in harmony with, not at cross purposes to, the imperialists in London and Washington. Apartheid, just as the forms of racial oppression which preceded it, has been fundamentally a system of class rule; that is not changing now. However, neo-apartheid is *more openly* a system of class rule. As racial lines become less important, the class lines are drawn with increased sharpness. The effects of this new reality have been evident for several years now.

The demands codified in the ANC's Freedom Charter are important democratic demands and an excellent basis for mass action. The right to vote, the right to come and go as one pleases, without carrying a pass, the right to assemble, and so forth, are absolute necessities, and it would be completely wrong to underestimate their importance. However, the primary issues which have generated popular action among the masses in the Townships and Homelands have been economic issues, most specifically rents and rates (utility charges). The most dynamic section of the anti-apartheid movement has been its labor component, organized in COSATU, one of whose leaders, Mineworkers' president Cyril Ramaphosa, has been elected as the General Secretary of the ANC.

The de Klerk government is willing to compromise on the issues of racial segregation and democratic rights for Africans in order to preserve the South African ruling class's ability to exploit Black labor. This is the real meaning of neo-apartheid. However, once African workers have been brought into action around democratic issues, there is no way they will be content until their class demands are addressed. They will not be satisfied with being "allowed" to live in areas once reserved for whites if they cannot afford to pay the rent on their homes in Soweto or the Crossroads. It would be false to argue that apartheid cannot be defeated short of socialist revolution; however, Black South Africans will not be freed from poverty and exploitation simply by defeating formal apartheid.

One of the New Nats's strategies is to involve the Black leadership in the transition to neo-apartheid. This is being accomplished through negotia-



tions with ANC President Nelson Mandela combined with encouraging Inkatha attacks on the ANC and other anti-apartheid forces. Inkatha terrorism has led to a state of near civil war in Natal province, where most of the Zulu population lives. The idea is to wear the Black population down through the endless cycle of violence, weaken the ANC's claim to be the legitimate leadership of the African people, and thereby force them to settle for terms more favorable to the white ruling class.

This has, in fact, begun to happen. Since it became clear that the Pretoria government was willing to concede political rights to the Black majority, the overriding demand which the ANC and all other anti-apartheid organizations have been raising has been for a democratically-elected constituent assembly to write a new constitution for South Africa. The government has been adamant in its refusal to consider this reasonable idea. The ANC has offered a compromise proposal which the government has accepted. The proposal is for an All-Party Conference which would bring together the existing political formations to form an interim government. The problem, of course, is that the process would remain in the hands of leaders whose authority has not been derived from a democratic election. An editorial in the March 1991 issue of *Workers' Voice*, published by the Workers' Organization for Socialist Action (WOSA), states:

The ANC has recently called for an all party conference. This the government has quickly supported. The purpose of the All Party Conference would be to provide a forum in which all the outstanding disagreements on the nature of the new constitution and the body that would draw up such a constitution could be resolved.

The All Party Conference can only result in the demand for a constituent assembly being compromised. This could occur in two ways. Firstly, the conference mandates a body

other than the constituent assembly to draw up the constitution. Or secondly, the radical and democratic content of the Constituent Assembly is emptied. In the first scenario the parties agree to give either the Conference itself or some other body the power to draft a new constitution. This constitution will then be presented to a referendum for acceptance. Thereafter according to this constitution a government will presumably be elected. Alternatively, in the second scenario, the All Party Conference sets out constitutional guidelines which entrench guiding principles for the Constituent Assembly such as property rights and protection of minorities. A constituent assembly is elected but has to operate inside the framework set by the All Party Conference.

... United mass action for a Constituent Assembly is the only counterweight that will be able to avoid an historic compromise from materializing. We add our voice to many in the liberation movement who are calling for the formation of a united front of all organizations of the liberation movement, including the mass organizations such as the trade unions, youth, civic, etc., to fight a vigorous campaign for the constituent assembly.

The way in which the working class's interests will be advanced in the liberation struggle, which is clearly expressed in the *Workers' Voice* editorial, is by the direct participation of the African masses themselves. Rather than self-appointed leaders, rather than military forces based outside the country, rather than paternalistic representatives of the employers, the working masses can bring about true liberation in South Africa, in mass direct action in the streets, in democratic elections, and in militant labor action. Only they can ensure that the transition from apartheid leads, not to a 1990s adaptation of apartheid, but to a truly free and just society. □

July 20, 1991

USSR (Continued from page 1)

Gorbachev himself made a zigzag, backing away from democracy in the fall of 1990. He himself at that time appointed many of the men who now constitute the so-called Emergency Committee. He fought against the moves for independence by the Baltic republics, Armenia, Georgia, and Moldavia. He repeatedly banned strikes, but the workers ignored him. He banned demonstrations, but the people demonstrated anyway. The authoritarians complained that Gorbachev was too halfhearted in his zigzag toward repression.

Now the Emergency Committee wants to show that they can go all the way. Perhaps they are going to follow the Chinese bureaucrats with a Tiananmen-style repression. But it will be harder for them to survive as the Beijing bureaucrats did. More likely, if they use bloody force they will end up sharing the fate of Romania's Ceausescu.

Despite appealing to the people on the basis of their economic hardships there is strong opposition to the coup within the population. Most of the people know these

bureaucrats and hate them as the despotic parasites they are. On the first day after the Emergency Committee's coup, the miners of Vorkuta and the Kuznets Basin responded to the call for a general strike. The miners in the Donets Basin were on a standby basis ready to join the strike. Oil workers had declared their opposition to the Emergency Committee. Mass demonstrations of opposition have taken place; 200,000 in Leningrad; tens of thousands in Moscow, where some military units have already rallied to the opposition; 400,000 in Moldavia.

The working class is the one force which can stop this move back toward a system of total control and all-out repression. Vigorous resistance by the workers is in their own interests. Revolutionary socialists and militant workers everywhere will gain if the Soviet workers can defeat this retrograde attempt by the central core of the bureaucracy to hold onto power. They must remove the Emergency Committee and all its supporters. They must grant the full right of national self-determination to the non-Russian nationalities; they must establish workers' control over the government and

the economy, and find their own way out of the severe economic crisis.

Just a few months ago in March and April of this year, the workers of the Soviet Union, with the miners and their independent union in the forefront, joined and supported by workers in many different industries, above all by the powerful workers' upsurge in Byelorussia, came to the verge of a general strike. They demanded the resignation of Gorbachev and his government. Now they have more reason than ever to demand the resignation of the government, only with Gorbachev no longer presiding. This time if they hold out they can win.

Though working people in the USSR will correctly make a bloc with anyone to defend their hard-won democratic rights, their real interests cannot be won by looking to Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin, or any other politician who comes from the old bureaucratic apparatus—but only by relying on themselves and on a new, independent leadership which will develop in the course of the struggle. □

August 20, 1991

A Nation of Strange Bedfellows

The following article was originally delivered as a presentation at the Fourth Internationalist Tendency National Educational Conference at Chatham College in Pittsburgh, PA, July 11-14.

The most frustrating, yet promising, dialectic emerges from the history of the Balkan Tower of Babel we know as Yugoslavia. We could view this "nation" as a small, condensed example of third world problems. Economic underdevelopment, ethnic turbulence, and political factionalism abound. Yet these problems are not unique to Yugoslavia or the third world since the first and quickly receding second worlds have not defeated these problems either. There is much to learn here.

Yugoslavia (a term meaning "The nation of the South Slavs") was constructed during World War I in the collective minds representing victorious imperialism. They were pushed by Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points. This was an artificial nation, badly named. Artificial because, for most of their history in the Balkans, the Slavs had never been unified under one political house. Being divided between Roman and "Barbarian," Byzantine and German, Turkish and Austrian empires, led to distinct cultural and religious differences in the area and split what was a single language into regional dialects. Badly named because, while Yugoslavia includes Slovenes, Croats, Serbians, and some Macedonians, it excludes Bulgarians and most Macedonians and so should not be called *the* nation of the Southern Slavs.

There were historically, independent states of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia formed separately and at different times. These states fed the hopes of intellectuals and politicians from these regions. This "hope list" included a constitutional monarchy to please imperialism and do no more. Such a monarchy would be an umbrella over independent republics freely and equally cooperating in a confederation with a "bare bones" central government for dealing with the outside world. Imperialism however, then, as it does now, demanded a strong central government, one that would "deal with" the growing communist menace and act as a buffer against Bolshevik aims. The U. S. and Great Britain found their natural allies for such a regime in the ruling monarchy of Serbia (which had been independent since 1830) and the National Council of Slavs in Zagreb (formed under the Austro-Hungarian Empire.) These two groups were adept at byzantine politics in the worst sense. Endless rounds of secret deals and betrayals led to a Serbian-led Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; a constitution that paid lip-service to democracy and would produce its own brand of fascism within ten years; and an outlawed Communist Party which was to become Stalinized yet able to lead a revolution to power by 1945. The capitalist "development" of the country produced German and British domination of industry that was situated in the "Germanized" areas of Slovenia and Croatia; a backward peasantry enslaved to the land; a Serbian political caste that looked to deals with France, Italy, and ultimately Nazi Germany to ensure its safety against its own people; and a nationalist fervor among the disenfranchised intellectuals from Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia who hoped for bureaucratic jobs but found repression instead.

The Stalin/Tito Tango

After the war Tito's partisans were left with a country that had lost almost two million lives—half of whom were victims of other "Yugoslavs." They inherited Croatia (which had been a wartime fascist puppet state under the "Ustashi"), Bosnia and Montenegro (which were home, for most of the war, to the Partisans and their land distribution program), and Serbia (which was badly split between the partisans under Tito and the Chetniks under the royalist and Nazi collaborator, Mihailovich).

Considering the tremendous obstacles facing a new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, many Yugoslavs saw Tito as a miracle worker. A great majority of workers and peasants looked to his partisan organization as the only "nationalist" opposition to the Nazi invasion of 1941. The outright betrayals and slaughters committed against Yugoslavs by the Chetniks and Ustashi reinforced his plea for all ethnic groups to unite for survival. The monarchy could only be brought back over the dead bodies of those on the left and the right, who were ashamed of the royal family's sellout to the Nazis and its cowardly flight from the country before the invasion. Add to this cauldron the land distribution to poor peasants who came under partisan control, the call for a government of workers' and peasants' collectives, and the military maneuvers that defeated over 37 fascist divisions in Yugoslavia without help from either the Soviet Army or the Western Allies. Tito played politics consummately, pitting Churchill against Stalin and Roosevelt to gain time for the establishment of an independent Yugoslavia led by the Communist Party.

Stalin was opposed to every point mentioned above. His idea was to tie the Yugoslav party to a popular front with the Chetniks in the leading role. After the war, he would use his 50 percent control of Yugoslavia, which had been worked out on a napkin with Churchill, to get cheap raw materials badly needed by Soviet industry. To do this he required a Yugoslav CP too weak to lead anything, one that would come to heel at his bidding. Tito and Stalin clashed more and more frequently as the war bled on, leading to the ultimate schism in 1948. This split was replayed within Yugoslavia as the historical factions, which had existed before the war, found their voice within the renamed League of Yugoslav Communists. In order to split with Stalin, Tito had to use Stalinist methods to remove all opposition to his plan for following a "third path." This repression guaranteed the path would be strewn with the thorns of ethnic hatred.

From East to West

To bring Tito in line, Stalin cut off COMECON trade and funding. With fears of a Soviet invasion looming over every horizon, Tito and his bureaucratically centralized government made a turn to the West. From this point on, U.S. aid and Western European investment would replace Stalin's, more than Tito imagined possible—given the "socialist" character of his government. With this influx of aid we can see imperialism's plan for all of Eastern Europe and the third world. What they could not gain by political upheaval they made good on the economic front. Taking advantage of the destruction wrought on the East by the war and aided by tremendous funding for science and technology

Yugoslavia—A Nation Under Siege

by Michael Protenic

to stay ahead of the "Communist Threat," they were able to wrap the bureaucratic East in a blanket of escalating defense spending and repression at home. These developments made any critical thought, and therefore inventiveness and efficiency, impossible in these countries. Yugoslavia, like the other eastern bloc countries, could never break out of underdevelopment as long as the world was divided between bureaucracies intent on saving their existing privileges in a sea of scarcity caused and enforced by capitalism.

Internally, the Tito regime went from economic centralism to almost total decentralization—with a twist. In every new economic program from 1953 to 1974 planning and funding were, on paper, steadily handed to workers and peasants in their communities and factories. In reality, workers' plans were scuttled in the name of enterprise "profitability", while funding for projects was controlled by banks headquartered in the ethnic republics. By 1965, each republic had the power to invest in projects on the basis of productive return to the banks.

In effect, this situation favored the industrially advanced republics—Croatia and Slovenia. The pre-war concentration of industries reinforced Western capitalist investment there to ensure highest profitability (this due to the lower wages of this region's well-trained working class compared to Britain, Germany, or Italy). The banks of these two republics were filled with 75 percent of the foreign trade earnings that came to Yugoslavia. The beginning of Yugoslavia's centrifugal spin started with Croatia and Slovenia saying "No!" to federal government demands that large portions of this "profit" be invested in the "South" (Macedonia, Montenegro, and the autonomous region of Kosovo).

It is maddening to hear these republics' leaders bleat about the lack of democracy in Kosovo today when they refused to invest in its democracy 20 years ago. The price would have been much cheaper then.

The "Croatian Spring" of 1971 connected this grievance with criticisms of Tito's form of "democracy", and the loss of Croatian youth to Germany, France, and the U.S. (fully 30 percent of men between age 19 to 25 living "abroad").

Meanwhile, the Kosovo problem had arisen. With 90 percent of its population Albanian (and therefore Muslim), the region had won autonomy from Serbia under Tito's program to reduce Serbia's preponderance in the Yugoslav confederation. This new autonomy, coupled with the emigration of Serbs from Kosovo (mostly due to a 50 percent unemployment rate), led to Serbian demonstrations and riots concerning rumored rape and genocide committed by the Albanian majority. Regional uneven development fed the growing maw of ethnic nationalism. A biblical genealogy could be concocted: "And, lo, scarcity begat jealousy, and jealousy begat nationalism, and . . ."

Nationalism Creates Its Leaders

In 1966, Tito purged the Federal Premier Alexandr Rankovich for accumulation of too much power and corruption regarding party jobs in Kosovo. While Tito was alive, few were able to eat but scraps off the table of power. With Tito's death the table became wide open. Each constitutional revision made by successive "reform" commissions guaranteed that the ever more powerful leaders of the Republics would eat first. They have never stopped. Strong men like Kucan in Slovenia, Tudjman in Croatia, and Miloshevic in Serbia have followed Rankovich in seeking greater autonomy from federal restrictions, while claiming that their agendas fulfill Tito's dreams. The market-oriented economies of Slovenia and Croatia, the centralized economies of Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia, and the range of political formations, including non- and anti-communists, could be said to pander to one or another of Tito's pronouncements. This hodge-podge is the outcome of the balancing between the "socialism" of national economies and the capitalism of crisis-ridden multi-na-

tionals. The socialist ideal of workers' control has been subverted by ethnic and republican politics with only one "flaw"—there are very few regions outside of Slovenia (98 percent Slovenian) that do not have large minorities of ethnic groups guaranteed to suffer at the hands of other nationalities in political power. Since the 1974 Constitution there has been more "market", but less "democracy". In a country with inflation at 250 percent, unemployment averaging 16 percent, a foreign debt of \$21 billion and an average income of \$116 per month, ideas of "salvation" will take many forms. Each form promises a quick fix if only everyone falls in line. Nationalism is an easy card to play, given that every republic feels each would be better off in any other situation than the one in which they find themselves. The question is—how?

What Approach for Revolutionary Marxists?

At this point historical answers turn into questions about the present and future. What is imperialism's plan for Yugoslavia? The answer is simple.

Yugoslavia should stay united. It should be brought closer to Western Europe. Most of all, it must pay off its \$21 billion debt to the IMF (but slowly, to keep the noose of efficiency and profitability around its neck). What capital fears is a default on these loans should Slovenia and Croatia go it alone. Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia earn no more than 25 percent of Yugoslavia's foreign earnings. With a bureaucratically built industrial base all but obsolete, it would take huge investments to bring these regions up to capitalist standards (much like Poland or the USSR). The Serbian Republic is deepest in debt. Its bloated bureaucracy steals funds from the federal banks and distracts its masses with "Greater Serbian" sabre rattling. Serbian students and workers have shown awareness of this ruse lately.

So what do Yugoslavian workers want? The same things we all do—an improved way of life immediately, with prospects of constant improvement. Of course, if "socialism" won't deliver, they will try capitalism, especially if they don't see a challenge to what was merely Stalinism with a slightly more human face coming from socialists elsewhere.

This brings us to the hardest question of all: What role can conscious working-class revolutionaries play in turning this mess in Yugoslavia—and the rest of Eastern Europe—around? Specifically, is there enough of a working class consciousness remaining in Yugoslavia? Due to our isolation from Eastern Europe and the weakness of our forces, the Trotskyist movement as a whole has played no role in that country. This, of course, leaves the field open to capital and the bureaucracy to mis-educate the masses and ethnically divide the working class movements. Our strongest message is that these nation states—whether administered by capitalists or by bureaucrats—are vehicles to defeat the workers, and that all these questions can only be answered globally, by a united international movement representing workers in all countries—and speaking the language of the workers, not of petty-bourgeois intellectuals.

All who truly want to resolve this chasm of working class leadership, whether inside of Yugoslavia or in other countries, will need to find ways of working together to advance the broad interests of the masses wherever we can, of posing a real revolutionary socialist alternative to the program of privatization and national conflict being promoted by the bureaucracy and the nationalist movements in Yugoslavia. Forging such collaboration where possible must be given a higher priority than maintaining our ideological purity.

The working class has been waiting a long time for real leadership. Hopefully, out of the present crisis in Eastern Europe, and with the help of revolutionary Marxists in other countries, such a leadership can finally begin to emerge. □

The following was presented by Barry Weisleder, Executive Board Member of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union, to a public hearing in Toronto on May 9, part of a series of "Town Hall" meetings held across Canada, co-sponsored by the National Union of Provincial Government Employees and the Public Service Alliance of Canada on the theme: Canada's Future: A Public Sector Response. Socialist Challenge is the newspaper of Socialist Challenge/Gauche Socialiste, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Socialist Challenge presents the first in a series of articles on the theme: Why Socialists Are for Quebec Independence

The Public Sector, the State, and Quebec Independence

A future Canada without a strong public sector, without a strong network of public services and social amenities, would be a bleak and brutish place.

Working people, the unemployed, the poor and their families would be totally at the mercy of profiteers.

The rule of large financial and corporate institutions would be absolute, unmitigated by social needs and concerns.

The quality of life, longevity itself, would plummet without a strong public sector.

The present threat to the public sector stems from the right-wing corporate agenda which is, after all, merely the expression of the drive inherent in the capitalist system towards the maximization of private profit.

But the threat to the public sector is not simply reducible to economics. It is also political and it is intimately connected to the constitutional crisis of the Canadian state.

Business leaders and their political parties are utilizing the occasion of the latest constitutional crisis to advance their vision of a deregulated, privatized, and decentralized Canada.

Labor and its progressive allies have a very different vision—one that we are fighting to defend.

We know very well that a decentralization of federal governmental responsibility is not designed to enhance regional or local democracy. It is intended to hasten deregulation and privatization. The result, we know, will be a patch-quilt of social programs, inferior in quality, exhibiting wide regional disparities.

But labor's desire to oppose decentralization comes smack up against the national question.

Quebec is not a province like the others. It is a nation which has suffered systematic linguistic, cultural, and hitherto economic discrimination. The people of Quebec, particularly its working class, aspire to national self-determination. The concrete expression of self-determination, as expressed by the major union federations in Quebec today, is national independence.

No amount of decentralization of federal powers will satisfy the aspirations of Quebec workers.

At the same time, any amount of decentralization of federal powers, within the framework of the present state, will weaken the social gains of workers in English Canada and in Quebec.

So, what's the answer?

How can we avoid decentralization and satisfy the legitimate national aspirations of the Quebecois?

The only progressive answer appears to be two states.

A sovereign Quebec and a sovereign Canada will be able to forge a new relationship, hopefully one based on equality.

But this will be possible only if the separation is amicable and only if genuine bonds of solidarity are forged between the working people of both nations against all attempts by the ruling class to divide us as the rulers press on with their big business/profit agenda.

In some circles it is considered treasonous to speak of Quebec independence and an amicable separation. But doesn't this depend very much on one's class perspective and on one's grasp of Canadian history?

It is no disrespect to the beauty of the land to critically expose the origins of the Canadian state. The state after all is man-made and moreover is the product of the minds of a particular class of wealthy white males. It is not immutable or permanent in nature.

The basis for the Canadian state was established by colonial settlement. Two colonial-settler administrations, imperial Britain and France, seized territory and set about to dispossess and decimate the First Nations, the aboriginal peoples. Then in 1760 one colonial power conquered the other and imposed its own regime.

An arrangement was reached between the dominant elites of both settler nations. A compliant Church in Lower Canada (Quebec) mediated relations between the French-speaking denizens of the former New France and their new English masters.

The Act of Union 1840, followed by Confederation in 1867, modified and consolidated colonial structures into one dominion under the British crown.

But at no time were the subject peoples consulted. The most oppressed peoples to this bargain, the aboriginal peoples, the Acadians, and the Quebecois, were contained by force of arms, not by allegiance.

To this day they owe no duty or debt to this arrangement—and that is precisely how they see it.

The Rebellion in Upper Canada in 1837 may have suffered overtones of comic opera. Not so the Rebellion in Lower Canada; it was a militant mass movement which gave rise to

armed insurrection and several violent clashes with British soldiers during the course of a full year.

Likewise the Riel Rebellion of 1885 where aboriginal and Metis (French) demands for self-government were crushed by force.

Three times this century the War Measures Act has been invoked against the people of Quebec where antiwar and anticonscription sentiment, and in 1970 sympathy for the FLQ Manifesto, sprang from the deep reservoir of national aspirations.

Today, the most unpopular Prime Minister in Canadian history, Brian Mulroney and his corporate cronies have launched what is just the latest of many campaigns to deny self-determination to Quebec.

Plagued by scandal and nearly overwhelmed by cross-country economic anxieties Mulroney has not succeeded in rousing chauvinist sentiment against Quebec. The federally-appointed Spicer Commission plus commissions of some provincial governments have acted, through their many public hearings on "national unity," as lightning rods for public cynicism not anti-Quebec hysteria.

(We should note, however, that the fast-growing right-wing populist Reform Party is trying to forge an English-chauvinist/tax revolt/antipublic sector political base in preparation for the next federal election expected in 1993.)

What next? Mulroney and federal Liberal Party leader Jean Chretien are now talking about the feasibility of a Pan-Canadian referendum to resolve the constitutional crisis. They hope that through such a vote Quebec can again be intimidated, overwhelmed, and forced to succumb to a form of "renewed federalism" that will offer a degree of decentralization that will satisfy no one—except the tiny class of super-rich families who will benefit from uninterrupted commerce and reduced social responsibility.

The labor movement, particularly the public sector unions, cannot afford to fall into the trap of Mulroney/Chretien's "national unity" campaign. It is a campaign to tame the aspirations of Quebecois workers, the most militant sector of the North American labor movement, and to reassert unbridled corporate dominance over our society. Anti-Quebec chauvinism is a zero-sum game for working people; it is a dangerous game we must steer clear of.

On the other hand pro-Quebec solidarity is an urgent necessity against Mulroney's machinations.

It also possesses related benefits. The rise of Quebec nationalism is destabilizing corporate political rule in this country in a fundamental way. It's no accident that in the wake of the failure of the Meech Lake constitutional accord that aboriginal peoples rose up and that Ontario voters elected a New Democratic Party provincial government for the first time.

Should Quebec's drive for independence succeed the Tory and Liberal monopoly on federal governmental power in Canada will be broken forever. And with that break also goes their stranglehold on economic policy, foreign policy, labor relations policy, and so on.

Two months ago Monique Simard, first vice-president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (one of the three major Quebec labor federations), addressed the Labor Council of Metro Toronto. She explained to a hushed audience that the English-Canadian labor-based NDP, because of its Canadian nationalist antipathy to Quebec's national aspirations, can never hope to elect a significant number of its candidates in Quebec ridings. And therefore the NDP will forever be hard-pressed to form a federal government.

As long as Quebec remains in Canadian Confederation, Quebec voters alternate between the dominant big business parties based on which one leans more toward pretending to make concessions to Quebec. Usually these concessions are more pretense than substance with the result that everyone, easterners and westerners in particular, is unhappy with both the appearance and substance of things.

Quebec independence will break this sad pattern of self-denial on both sides. It will free the working class, both in Quebec and English Canada, to chart an independent course liberated from the artificial, top-down, imposed constraints of a colonial-settler history.

Quebec self-determination and its concrete expression, Quebec independence, is not a passing phase and it's not something for workers to fear and loathe.

It is something for us first, to try to understand and second, to defend as we would defend any democratic right.

But defense of self-determination must be rescued from the realm of the abstract.

Concretely it means saying *No* to Mulroney/Chretien's referendum. It means saying *No* to any constituent assembly proposal in which Quebec delegates would be an easily out-voted minority. And it certainly means opposing any threat of economic or military blackmail against Quebec.

If our labor movement fails to rise to the occasion and instead succumbs to anti-Quebec chauvinism or to silent acquiescence to anti-Quebec intimidation and repression we will suffer the consequences for generations. The possibility of genuine solidarity will be destroyed and our public sector institutions will fall like tenpins before the bulldozers of the politically strengthened business elite.

If, on the other hand, we defend the rights and aspirations of our sisters and brothers in Quebec the future will be much brighter than it now appears. State structures will give way. And the working class will be ascendant and in a far better position to make gains in the interest of the vast majority in society. □

Note to our readers:

Due to a trip by Marilyn Vogt-Downey to the USSR this summer there will be no installment of *Notebooks for the Grandchildren*, the memoirs of Mikhail Baltalsky, in this issue of the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*. Chapter 48, "The Puddle and the Tower on Its Shore," will appear in our next issue.

Community Complaints Against Los Angeles Police Confirmed by Official Report

by Evelyn Sell

"My shooting policy is based on nationality and looks."

"If you encounter these negroes shoot first, ask questions later."

"I feel like I'm in Africa."

"Well . . . I'm back over here in the projects, pissing off the natives."

"Don't cry Buckwheat, or is it Willie Lunch Meat."

"We're hunting wabbits . . . Actually Muslim wabbits . . ."

"I hate these foreigners from the Middle East . . ."

"Nothing but wetbacks no speaky English and ugly."

"They are Indian, the towel head kind, not the feather kind . . ."

"He is telling me about it now this is great two chinks humping . . ."

"The last load went to a family of illegals living in the brush alongside the Pas frwy. I thought the woman was going to cry . . . so I hit her with my baton."

"The best wife beating I've ever seen . . . looks like a whipped slave."

"Orientals and females drive the same."

"I don't hit people, I shoot them."

"Capture him, beat him and treat him like dirt."

"I yelled at him, humiliated him, and kicked in the television tube . . . problem solved."

"Did your fag have AIDS . . . probably they all do . . . jail is the perfect place for him . . . he's around all those males . . . boy is he lucky."

These were some of the 700 computer messages between police officers published in the report of the Christopher Commission after a 100-day probe of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). The commission consisted of seven persons appointed by mayor Tom Bradley and three appointed by Police Chief Daryl Gates. Headed by former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the creation of this investigative body was one of the official responses to the widely broadcast videotape showing LAPD officers viciously beating Rodney King, an unemployed African-American who had been stopped for an alleged traffic violation. The commission's 228-page report, made

public on July 9, found 1450 messages on police computer terminals which demonstrated an "improper" attitude toward violence, and were offensive to racial minorities (Blacks were often called "monkeys"), ethnic groups, women, and homosexuals (derided as "bun boys"). The commission examined 90,000 pages of computer messages covering a period from November 1, 1989, to March 4, 1991—one day after the cop assault on Rodney King.

Male cops relayed these messages over their computer terminals about women: "If only I could slap her I would be happy." "Pound her into submission . . . and then have her make you breakfast . . ." "We got rid of two lovely young ladies . . . They both need a few rounds with the old baton, . . . wouldn't you say?" These sexist attitudes extended to fellow police officers who were ridiculed in computer messages calling them "sweet cake," "Barbie dolls," "Sgt. Tits," and a four-letter word for vagina (as the *Los Angeles Times* delicately put it). One computer message sent to a policewoman by a male cop was: "Hey, slut, when do you want to take code 7?" A message between two male officers was, "Your getting a new boot from Academy . . . a breathtaking blonde with huge kazkoopers."

Chief Daryl Gates' reaction to the hundreds of published computer messages was "terrible, intolerable . . . but what they show, and I think only a police officer understands this, is a very dark-sided humor . . . some of the most racist comments are being made by black officers to other black officers in that same kind of dark police humor. Hispanic officers, women officers—you're going to find that that's going to be the case, self-deprecating [comments] in many cases."

Within two weeks of the public exposure of the offensive messages, the LAPD began to spot check computer printouts to "crack down" on remarks which the Christopher Commission offered as evidence that the department tolerated racism, sexism, and brutality. The commission noted that, during a seven year period, the department sustained only two personnel complaints regarding improper computer usage. The report criticized the department for its laxity in disciplining officers who made improper remarks—although the LAPD announced an official policy in 1987 that "deliberate or casual use of ra-

cially or ethnically derogatory language . . . is misconduct and will not be tolerated under any circumstances."

According to the Christopher Commission, "officers from all geographic areas of the city talked about beating suspects and other members of the public." In contrast, a commission investigator said that "you didn't find casual, jocular references to smoking dope or taking bribes. . . . Neither of those forms of improper conduct are tolerated, and the level of intolerance is so great that you didn't even joke about it."

Pervasive Racism, Sexism, Homophobia

It's clear that "toleration" of racism, sexism, homophobia, and brutality exists at every level of the department—including the top brass. Commission interviews with 90 LAPD training officers revealed that many believed women were not "as capable, effective or trustworthy" as male officers. It was also reported that loud cheering erupted when a visiting policeman from the USSR told a roll call session that female Soviet officers were kept at desk jobs or juvenile duties.

The commission gained an unprecedented look into the inner workings of the LAPD during more than 100 hours of secret testimony from over 60 witnesses. Retired Assistant Police Chief Jesse Brewer, who had been the highest-ranking Black officer in the history of the department, testified about Chief Gates' opposition to the active recruitment of homosexual officers, the department's gathering of intelligence information on elected officials, and the "code of silence" which discouraged police from reporting misconduct on the part of other officers. In his evaluation, Chief Gates "was very light in discipline" in cases involving citizen complaints of police brutality and misconduct. Brewer characterized Assistant Police Chief Robert Vernon (who oversees the day-to-day running of LAPD's 10 police stations) as "head of the God Squad, as we refer to it. The way to get ahead, it's commonly known . . . is to become aligned with his church or to profess that you are born again. . . . Chief Vernon said to me in a very informal setting that he thought women should stay in the home."

Assistant Chief David Dotson (head of LAPD's Office of Administrative Services) related a conversation he had with

Chief Gates about a research report which proved that female officers were carrying out their jobs as well as male officers. "At the very end" Gates "shook his head and said, 'But I really don't think they belong out there.'" Dotson testified, "We have a big policy manual full of high-sounding statements of purpose . . . but that stays in the policy manual . . . we do a very poor job of management and supervisory accountability. The most recent incident in Foothill [the beating of Rodney King] . . . and a whole lot of others in a lot of other divisions, supervisors have been present who absolutely abandoned all sorts of . . . responsibility in my judgment. . . . Let me tell you that none of those people, with rare exception, have been disciplined. And, in fact, I'm not even sure they've been counseled in many of these incidents." Speaking about the computer printouts, Dotson stated, "The messages are not the problem, I guess. The problem is much deeper that it underlies with the whole organization of the Los Angeles Police Department. The message reflects attitudes."

A dozen Black officers testified about numerous incidents of racial harassment by fellow officers as well as a double standard in the treatment of Latino and African-American citizens. For example, officers said they found racial epithets sprayed-painted inside lockers in police stations; and, during the middle of the night, a caravan of patrol cars raced through a housing project in the Black community with loudspeakers blaring "Ride of the Valkyries"—as was done in the movie "Apocalypse Now."

Latino officers testified that they were often called "Chico," "burrito-man," and "Chuy" by fellow officers. Some Asian officers told of hearing racist remarks or references to Asian stereotypes on an almost daily basis. Most of the minority officers interviewed by the commission said that racially derogatory remarks are made in an ongoing fashion during roll call, and that racist jokes and cartoons appear from time to time on bulletin boards in station locker rooms.

A long history of discrimination against gay men and lesbians was documented. In 1988, for example, an LAPD background investigator told a watch commander that he had identified some "faggots" in his applicant pool and was looking for ways to disqualify them. Gay and lesbian officers related personal experiences with daily jokes and slurs about "dykes" and "queers," as well as harassment of suspected homosexual officers.

"Bias against gays and lesbians also contributed to excessive use of force," the commission's report stated, and cited the following comment made by an LAPD officer: "It's easier to thump a faggot than an

average Joe. Who cares?" Another said that gays tend to get beaten more often than "straight" people because "they love it. They want to get hit."

In addition to sessions involving secret testimony, the commission held five public meetings in various communities and heard from over 130 people. Janine Bouey, a policewoman for four years, testified at one of these open hearings—and at a press conference held by the 30-member African-American Peace Officers Association—that Klu Klux Klan business cards were placed on her car while it was in the police parking lot at the Foothill Division (the area where the King beating took place). At the May 1 public hearing, four hours of testimony included statements from representatives of the Asian Pacific Legal Center, Gay and Lesbian Community Services Center, Feminist Majority, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), and Brotherhood Crusade. The overflow crowd at a second public hearing on May 8 heard from victims of cop brutality as well as representatives from the Southern California Civil Rights Coalition, Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and an organization of Black lawyers.

Community Protests Against Police

Public outrage over LAPD activities was also expressed through rallies, marches, and forums such as a June 29 "People's Grand Jury on Police Abuses." At this event, Detective Bill Pavelic, a 17-year veteran of the LAPD and a longtime critic of the department's leadership, presented a 45-minute condemnation of Chief Gates under whose management "corruption, lying and covering up criminal misconduct has become the norm." The day-long hearing, attended by over 200, involved testimony from police officers and victims of cop violence, as well as documentary evidence including slides and videotapes showing abusive police behavior. The "alternative grand jury" was chaired by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark; panelists included former New York City police officer Frank Serpico, U.S. Representative Maxine Waters, and civil rights attorneys. The citizens' grand jury was formed by the National Lawyers Guild, Southern California Coalition for Civil Rights, Equal Rights Congress, and other groups involved in citizens' complaints against cops.

Carol Watson, who specializes in police brutality lawsuits, explained, "We do not have to be convinced there is a problem; we know there is. We have evidence that there have been abusive practices going on in

both departments [LAPD and Sheriff's] for many years and that they have largely been ignored by the leadership of those departments."

The report compiled by the Christopher Commission confirmed the multitude of complaints against police, and reflected the pressures created by street demonstrations, by community-organized press conferences and forums, and by events carried out by coalitions of organizations.

Findings on Cop Violence

The commission's report called for reforms to end the "repetitive" use of excessive force "aggravated by racism" carried out by a "problem group" of officers within the 8300-member force. In the period from 1986 through 1990, 1800 officers were charged with excessive force or improper tactics by citizens. Of these, one or two complaints were lodged against over 1400 officers; four or more complaints against 183; six or more against 44; and eight or more against 16. In one case, 16 complaints had been made about one officer. The commission reviewed the personnel records of the 44 cops who were in the group with six or more complaints—and found that the performance evaluations on all of them were very positive, and failed to provide accurate information about the complaints or the results of investigations about citizens' charges. These figures do not include incidents involving shootings by police.

In more than 300 lawsuits against LAPD officers, over \$20 million was paid by the city during 1986-90 in judgments, jury verdicts, and settlements. In this same four-year period, 83 civil lawsuits involving police violence resulted in settlements for plaintiffs in amounts of \$15,000 or more. The commission's report stated: "The LAPD's investigation of these 83 cases was flawed in many respects, and discipline against the officers involved was frequently light or nonexistent From 1986 through 1990, members of the public filed over 2,500 claims alleging personal injury or property damage resulting from the use of force by LAPD officers. Not all claims were pursued formally in court . . . Assault and battery was the single largest category of allegations, constituting over 25 percent of the total allegations in all non-traffic-related claims against the LAPD."

According to former Assistant Chief Brewer, supervisors know who the "bad guys" are but ignore their behavior. The report issued by the commission stated that the pattern of excessive force was "fundamentally a problem of supervision, management and leadership." It was noted that, instead of disciplining officers guilty of brutality, some were promoted even

after repeated citations for using excessive force—indeed, such complaints were often not even recorded in their personnel files. When discipline occurs, it is light. For example, out of 36 cases involving cop abuse of handcuffed suspects, the department removed only two officers and gave brief suspensions to the rest.

When *Los Angeles Times* reporters interviewed police after the release of the Christopher Commission Report, they quickly learned that rank-and-file cops knew and admired the “Quick-Draw Cops.” LAPD employees spoke frankly about individual policemen earning valued reputations as “gunfighters” and “shooters,” and becoming role models for rookies fresh out of the academy. Several said that after a few years on the street, the average officer would no longer be able to pass LAPD’s entrance examination because of flunking the section on over-aggressive behavior. One sergeant explained that many officers with tough images actually end up “ruling the division” where they work. This encourages younger officers to believe that the way to get ahead is to “imitate the old-timers, and that’s what you’re seeing now. They want to be like ‘Walking Gods’ who have proven themselves to the world.”

Citizens’ Complaints Ignored, Discouraged

LAPD spokespersons had maintained that complaints were handled fairly and effectively, and that abusive officers were disciplined. Lieutenant Fred Nixon, a department spokesperson, insisted, “We hire very talented, very intelligent people who conduct very thorough and insightful investigations, and you’re not going to get a better investigative effort than the one that is put forth now.” According to Nixon, it was “extremely easy” to file complaints—over the telephone, in writing, at any station, or by contacting the mayor’s office or the Police Commission.

This rosy picture was disputed by Karol Heppe, executive director of the 10-year-old Police Misconduct Lawyers Referral Service which counsels over 2600 callers a year—a figure which shot up after the March 3 beating of Rodney King. Heppe described a variety of ways utilized to discourage complaints: people who go to a station are told, “We don’t take complaints;” the cop may harangue the person about destroying an officer’s career; if the complainant appears to be foreign, the officer may threaten to inform the Immigration Service. When Rodney King’s brother attempted to complain about the March 3 police assault, he was turned away by the

desk sergeant. The department’s handling of citizen complaints received the most adverse comments during the Christopher Commission’s public hearings. In addition to victims’ statements, Latino officers testified that often no Spanish-speaking officer is available to take complaints in heavily Latino neighborhoods.

The Christopher Commission Report recommends changes in complaint procedures including a civilian inspector general who would review the LAPD’s investigations of police officers. A similar recommendation was made 26 years ago—after the Watts revolt—by the McCone Commission. The proposal was never acted on, and the LAPD is currently resisting any significant modification of its policies and practices involving complaints.

Changes Recommended in Report

Numerous changes in the City Charter were proposed by the commission. Some would give the civilian Police Commission more authority, others would weaken the power of the police chief who is virtually immune from removal. Other recommendations would increase the power of police administrators to discipline rank and file officers. Charter changes can be made in two ways. The City Council can place them on the ballot for a general or special election, and/or amendments can be placed on the ballot if enough voter signatures are collected on initiatives.

Although the media has described the commission’s proposals as “sweeping,” they are truly only band-aids for the ulcerated sores exposed by the furor following the King beating. Given the basic nature of all police departments—which serve as an occupying force in communities of oppressed racial and ethnic minorities, and as anti-working class guardians of the capitalist system—the demand for community control of the police becomes more urgent as crises mount in U.S. society.

Impact on Police Forces Across U.S.

Longtime critics of the LAPD have pointed out that because of the department’s large size and squeaky clean image, it sets the tone for smaller police forces—therefore, what happens in Los Angeles has national repercussions. The July 15 issue of the *Los Angeles Times* carried an article headlined, “Police Throughout U.S. Feel the Effects of Events in L.A.” The sub-title states: “Excessive use of force and racist computer messages that have tarnished the LAPD’s image are

sending a powerful warning to other cities.” Departments asking for copies of the Christopher Commission Report included New York, Phoenix, and Tucson. Philadelphia Commissioner Willie Williams was so anxious for the report he requested that it be sent Federal Express collect to his department.

William Bratton, chief of New York City’s 4000-member Transit Police, distributed summaries of the report to 75 deputies. In a memo, Bratton stated: “See, this is what we’ve been telling you, to keep your people out of trouble by supervising them carefully.” According to Patrick Murphy, former New York City police commissioner and currently a consultant on police problems for the U.S. Conference of Mayors, “There is no police chief at this moment who has the automated message terminals in cars who isn’t telling his deputies, ‘Maybe we should do an audit.’”

San Diego Police Chief Bob Burgreen ordered a strict monitoring of computer terminals when they are installed later this year. “We’re not going to let what happened [in Los Angeles] happen here,” he explained. John Eck, associate director of the Police Executive Research Forum in Washington, said that “any department that doesn’t monitor its airwaves already will probably be under pressure to do it now.”

The Christopher Commission Report was characterized as a “very impressive document” by Hubert Williams, president of the Washington-based Police Foundation and former police chief in Newark, New Jersey. “I don’t know of any community in the U.S. who has taken as hard a look at their department, unless it was New York in the Knapp report in the early 1970s,” said Williams. “That report had a great deal to do with changing that Police Department, and this report will lead to changes in many departments because no one will want the embarrassment that has befallen the LAPD.”

The fallout from developments in Los Angeles may improve the surface image of police departments. But the basic nature of police in capitalist society will not be altered until a fundamental transformation takes place. We must all join in struggles to check the worst abuses. At the same time, revolutionary socialists need to educate and organize for more permanent and profound changes involving the creation of an entirely different kind of society based on genuinely democratic controls over all aspects of life. □

July 31, 1991

Supreme Court Rulings Threaten Civil Liberties

by Alejandro Reuss

Having just perpetrated a particularly successful imperialist slaughter in the Middle East, the ruling class of the United States is brimming with confidence. This, together with the demoralization of a working class which has borne a decade of wage and social welfare cuts, makes the time perfect for an effort to roll back civil liberties. Two recent Supreme Court cases exemplify capital's new offensive against the rights of the accused in criminal cases.

F*ulminante v. Arizona* (decided March 26, 1991) must rank as one of the landmark cases in the recent history of the United States. In a five-to-four vote, the Supreme Court decided that convictions may stand despite the use of involuntary confessions if, in the opinion of the appeals court, the defendant would have been convicted even without the confession. In such cases, the use of the confession might be judged, in the words of Chief Justice William Rehnquist, "harmless error."

Legalistic Sophistries

To anyone lacking Justice Rehnquist's police-state mentality, the use of the phrase "harmless error" to describe the use of coerced confessions to obtain convictions is an incredible outrage. Even two of the judges voting with the majority, Rehnquist and Anthony Kennedy, admitted the damage a coerced confession can do to a defendant's case. As Kennedy put it, "one would have difficulty finding evidence more damaging to a criminal defendant's plea of innocence" than a confession. In Rehnquist's words, "Of course an involuntary confession may have a more dramatic effect on the course of a trial than do other trial errors—in particular cases it may be devastating to a defendant. . . ."

How, then, could Rehnquist and Kennedy vote to uphold convictions in trials using coerced confessions? Rehnquist tries to squeeze out of this contradiction by arguing that, where the use of a coerced confession was "devastating" to the defendant, "[T]his simply means that a reviewing court will conclude in such a case that its admission was not harmless error." Apparently, however, if the admission of a coerced confession is less than "devastating" (perhaps only 'extremely prejudicial') to a defendant's case, the resulting conviction may stand.

If the judges in the majority were really adamant that coerced confessions be allowed only in the case of "harmless error," they would reaffirm the principle that all convictions based on coerced confessions must be overturned, because the admission of such confessions is *never* a "harmless error." They themselves admit the "dramatic effect" a confession has on a defendant's case. Unless we are to believe this "dramatic effect" is neutral or beneficial, we must assume it is harmful,

in which case the use of the confession is not only harmful, but dramatically so.

To fully appreciate the reactionary nature of the *Fulminante* ruling, we should note that "overturning a conviction" merely amounts to granting a new trial. If a defendant would have been convicted even without the use of a coerced confession, there should be no problem with holding a new trial before a jury unprejudiced by the confession—according to the eminent "justices," this should just yield another conviction. Perhaps, however, the "justices" are afraid the "guilty" would go free if new trials were granted.

The ruling, in addition, threatens to make political frame-ups (never terribly difficult to engineer) easier than ever. Now, police can conceivably beat or threaten a confession out of a "suspect" and have the resulting conviction stand even if the defendant can later prove to an appeals court that the "confession" was coerced. If the scenario sounds implausible, consider the case of someone like American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Leonard Peltier, who the entire world knows was convicted with fabricated evidence, and who the courts still deny a new trial. The Supreme Court has just snatched away the opportunity for a new trial from victims of the most flagrant police abuse.

Less publicized, but perhaps just as dangerous, is the Supreme Court's ruling (handed down May 13, 1991) in *Riverside County (CA) v. McLaughlin*. Under this decision, also by a vote of five to four, people arrested without a warrant may be held for up to forty-eight hours without charge or hearing. That is, police will not have to appear before a judge to justify a warrantless arrest for two days after the arrest is made. Even longer delays between arrest and hearing would be allowed in an emergency or "other extraordinary circumstance," wrote Justice Sandra Day O'Connor in her majority opinion. O'Connor claimed that the forty-eight-hour delay was justified as police "cope with the everyday problems of processing suspects through an overly burdened criminal justice system."

The difficulties of police work are frequently cited to justify restrictions on civil liberties. For example, delays like the ones allowed by the *Riverside* decision are frequently rationalized on the basis that there exists a case backlog, so new arrests cannot be processed for a couple of days. This is little more than a red herring. If a perpetual backlog did exist (that is, if police could not process cases as fast as they came in), the forty-eight hour delay would not do much good at all. Pretty soon, the backlog would get large enough that delays would exceed forty-eight hours. The Supreme Court, presumably, would have to revise its decision continually, each time allowing longer and longer delays between arrests and hearings. As far as we know, police are not asking for this.

If there is not a continuous backlog of this sort, however, there are times when police do make more arrests than they can process in a few hours—it is for such times that the forty-eight-hour rule is designed. Indeed, Justice O'Connor makes the point that delays of even more than forty-eight hours are allowed under such "extraordinary circumstances." But what are these circumstances? When do police make a great many arrests, all at one time? There are a couple of notable instances. One, of course, is the infamous police "sweep," usually in Black or Latino neighborhoods. Cops move into the neighborhood *en masse*, and proceed to make large numbers of indiscriminate arrests. Certainly, this is designed to suppress burglary, auto theft, drug dealing, and the like. But it is also a more general show of force. The urban armies of occupation show, in dramatic fashion, that they are in charge and that "unruly" behavior (such as the recent "riots" by Latinos in Washington, D.C.) will not be tolerated. So-called riots, of course, do not break out that often, but they are a perpetual threat in neighborhoods mired in poverty and racial oppression. The fact that they are fairly rare does not mean that the occupations are not necessary, but that the occupations—by creating a general atmosphere of intimidation—have been fairly effective at preventing such outbursts.

This brings us to the second major reason for mass arrests, riots, and demonstrations. If police sweeps fail to prevent unrest they may be used to suppress it. Large numbers of arrests in times of upheaval have the effect of "getting people off the street" and weakening the demonstrations, in addition to intimidating the participants. The longer the cops can hold people without charge or hearing, the easier it is to carry out effective repression. The forty-eight-hour ruling allows police to make indiscriminate arrests, hold the "suspects" for a couple of days, and perhaps even release them before the hearing deadline. In other words, the cops can hand out two-day jail terms with impunity.

Police Priorities

This can be useful in dealing not only with "rioters," but also with political activists. The cops can find a pretext for arresting an activist, keep her in jail for a couple of days, release her before a hearing is required, and do the same thing the next week on some other pretext. That is, they may harass political dissidents without much trouble. Without the forty-eight hours of leeway, it is true, the cops would not be able to carry out such "duties" as ghetto sweeps, mass arrests of "rioters," or harassment of political dissidents. This, however, is hardly cause for tears.

The trap which many civil liberties advocates fall into is to accept the requirements of effective police repression as one of their priorities. Those who accept that the police are "doing a job that has to be done" cannot help but make one retreat after another on civil liberties. They have to accept such outrages as the forty-eight-hour ruling so that police can "cope with the

everyday problems of processing suspects through an overly burdened criminal justice system." They fail, however, to ask why the United States depends so overwhelmingly on courts, cops, and jails to "protect public safety."

One may, of course, answer that "we" need all this repression because there is "so much crime." But why is there "so much crime"? We have all heard the official story, that some people simply do not have the determination to work hard and make an honest living, so they "take the easy way out," the life of crime. The fact is that a life of crime is hardly "easy," especially in the most incarcerating society on earth. (Out of every 100,000 citizens, the U.S. imprisons 426. The comparable figure for South Africa is 333.) People do not go into theft or drug dealing for fun, but because of the dearth of alternatives. If people were satisfied in their basic needs, either through employment at something more than starvation wages or through public provision, most would not turn to the dangerous and insecure world of crime. One need only observe the correlation between the unemployment and crime rates or the expansion of police budgets as social programs are cut to confirm this. At the root of the "crisis of law enforcement," then, is the long-standing economic crisis and the struggle between rulers and ruled over the division of the social product.

Beneficiaries of Repression

Any solution to crime which takes the route of satisfying genuine human needs, however, is no solution from the standpoint of the ruling class. Full employment would tend to raise wages—by strengthening the workers' bargaining power—just when the capitalists are seeking to roll back wages and restore "American competitiveness." An expanded welfare system would be as undesirable from the standpoint of the capitalists, not because their taxes would pay for it (the working class itself has always paid for social welfare programs) but because this, too, would tilt the economic struggle toward the workers. Workers with the alternative of refusing work (at least for a time) tend to reject low wage drudgery.

Funding a hypertrophic penal system is senseless from the standpoint of the majority of society. Resources used for police operations, courts, prisons, and the like are utterly wasted with respect to the satisfaction of human needs. If unemployment is an important cause of crime, which is uncontestable, then the system takes on an even more irrational cast—since the jobless could themselves be put to work satisfying human needs (and making police unnecessary). Repression, however, is economical from the standpoint of the capitalists. Whatever the costs to them of maintaining a bloated "justice" system, these are outweighed by the more favorable division of the social product than would exist in the presence of full employment or a decent social welfare system. Otherwise, the capitalists would hardly be the champions of "law and order" that they are. □

The National Organization for Women held its 1991 National Conference in New York City on July 5-7. Between 1,400 and 1,500 people attended, 895 as certified delegates. The conference was organized around the slogan "Empowering Women Now."

'We Won't Go Back': A Campaign to Fight Back

Two of the immediate concerns at the conference were the recent Supreme Court "gag rule," forbidding medical personnel at federally funded family planning clinics to discuss the option of abortion, and Bush's nomination of Clarence Thomas, who is well known for being against affirmative action and has clearly indicated that he will not support upholding *Roe v. Wade*.

NOW pledged, by passing a resolution calling for an aggressive "We Won't Go Back" campaign, to fight to overturn the gag rule and defeat the nomination of Clarence Thomas. To further combat the growing offensive against women's rights, NOW will be organizing a nationwide day of walk-a-thons and campus actions, building towards "the largest march on Washington in our nation's history in the spring of 1992." As part of this campaign, NOW will launch, in the fall of 1992, a "new political campaign . . . that will confront the present unresponsive two-party system." NOW has also, for the first time in its history, officially called for civil disobedience to be used in this struggle.

It is significant to note that NOW has not ruled out mass action in favor of civil disobedience, but rather has announced plans for what promises to be a very large national mobilization. Such a mobilization will be an important way to involve and draw more young people into the women's movement. NOW has shown that it has the resources to organize and activate hundreds of thousands of women and men in support of women's rights and equality.

This was also evidenced on Saturday, when 5,000-7,000 people participated in an emergency march and rally at Central Park to protest both the gag rule and the nomination of Clarence Thomas.

Keynote Speakers: The Oppression of Women at Home and Abroad

The opening plenary on Friday included two very energetic keynote addresses. The first was by Gloria Steinem. Steinem, a long time feminist and co-founder of *Ms.* magazine in 1972, supported making the elimination of child sexual abuse a priority for feminists. She also addressed the need to break out of the right-wing concept of

'We Won't Go Back'

by Sarah M. Springer

the family, where even though they work outside the home, women still find themselves left to take care of the children and the housework. Steinem concluded by saying that after 6,000 years—or .17 percent of human history—of patriarchy, racism, and monotheism, "we should declare it over."

The other keynote speaker was NOW executive vice president Patricia Ireland. Ireland spoke instead of Molly Yard, who was unable to attend the conference because of her recent illness. Ireland said that NOW has always taken a stand on what were considered to be "controversial" issues, like the ERA, birth control and abortion rights, women's health issues, civil rights for lesbians and people of color, and child care. And, because of some significant successes in the struggle to advance women's rights, she continued, NOW has found that "yesterday's controversies become today's givens."

Issues like reproductive rights and violence against women are not limited to the U.S., said Ireland, but are part of the commonality of oppression faced by women globally. To facilitate further discussion with feminists from around the world and to communicate problems and share strategies, NOW will be holding a Global Feminist Conference in Washington on January 9-12, 1992. This event will be incorporated as part of NOW's twenty-fifth anniversary celebration.

In the U.S., violence against women is escalating, reproductive freedom is being restricted, and attacks on equal rights, employment, and education are increasing. "Let us remember that the Republican Reagan-Bush court-packing strategy has depended on the complicity and the connivance of the Democrats who control the Senate," Ireland concluded, "and people wonder why we call for a new party." (See companion article on page 15 for the news about the discussion at the NOW conference on the Commission for Responsive Democracy and the possibility of a new political party.)

Workshops

Some of the workshops at the conference included: The Problem of Male Violence, Discrimination in the Workplace—Recent

Legal Developments, *Rust v. Sullivan*, RU486 and Norplant—Government Censorship and Control, The ERA and the Twenty-First Century, New to NOW, Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men—Origins and Strategies to Combat, The New Party, Don't Agonize—Organize! Young Activists in the 90s, NOW's Silver Anniversary: The Global Sisterhood Project, Reproductive Health Issues: The Big Picture, Behind the Tarnished Door—Immigrant Women at Home and at Work, Violence Against Women—New Strategies to Counter an Old Outrage, Maquiladoras: Government and Business in a Partnership of Oppression, and the Civil Rights Act of 1991—What's in It for Women?

Specifically, the rest of this article will focus on two interrelated topics of growing importance to the women's movement: violence against women—specifically the increase in gender-based crimes and date and acquaintance rape, and young feminist organizing and activism.

Violence Against Women: The Problem of Male Violence

Violence against women in the U.S. is increasing at an alarming rate, receiving virtually no attention from the media or government. At the workshop on violence against women, NOW's Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDEF) provided a flyer entitled *Violent Gender-Based Crime: An Assault on Women's Right to Equality*. "A woman in America today faces a shockingly high likelihood of being the victim of a violent crime because of her sex." One out of every four female college students will be sexually attacked before graduating, and one in seven will be raped. African-American women have almost twice the likelihood of being raped as white women. "During the past decade, rape rates have risen nearly 4 times as fast as the total crime rate."

At this workshop, Sally Goldfarb, a senior staff attorney for NOW LDEF, outlined the provisions of several bills pending in Congress. One is the Violence Against Women Act of 1991. The Senate version of this bill increases federal sentences for in-

(Continued on page 16)

At NOW's recent national conference a workshop was held on "The New Party." This was a follow-up to a resolution passed at the 1989 national conference to initiate a process exploring the possibilities of developing a new party that would promote a feminist agenda and NOW's Bill of Rights for the 21st Century (see *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism*, No. 68). At last year's conference, the composition of the National Commission for Responsive Democracy was announced and, over the past twelve months, the Commission has held a series of hearings around the country to assess the sentiment for a new party (see articles on these developments in *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism*, Nos. 77 & 81). While the results of the Commission's findings were to be presented at the 1991 NOW conference, Molly Yard's illness led to the postponement of the final hearing in Washington, D.C., until she is able to chair the concluding session.

This year's workshop on "The New Party" attracted close to 200 people. Several Commission members reported on their impressions of the hearings which seem to show strong sentiment for developing a new party. About midway through the workshop, Ellie Smeal, who was chairing the discussion, called for a number of straw votes. The first asked how many were in favor of starting a new party. With hands raised quickly and firmly in the air, the vote was overwhelmingly in favor, nearly unanimous. The next question was how many favor a dual perspective—of continuing to support progressive, feminist candidates in the Democratic and Republican parties while also beginning to develop a third party. This was clearly the alternative preferred by Smeal and also won a large number of votes, about a three-quarter majority. Someone then called for a vote on how many NOW members would actually work on campaigns in the Democratic and Republican parties. Slowly and tentatively, without much enthusiasm, about 20 people raised their hands.

These straw polls are fascinating and an indication of both the very positive movement in NOW toward independent political action and the contradictory tendency to hang onto hopes of "political empowerment of women" through the two capitalist parties. They also reflect the contradiction between NOW members' experiences of betrayal by Democrats and Republicans alike—experiences testified to over and over at the last two NOW national conferences—and the continuing illusions about the possibility of reforming the existing two-party system—illusions fostered by the NOW leadership but also by those on the left who urge entry into the

NOW Continues to Explore Idea of New Party

by Carol McAllister

Democratic Party as the place where "most working people are at." The same contradictory dynamic emerged again at the end of this workshop when a thoughtful discussion of how a new party could actually be built was followed by an announcement that the afternoon's plenary session would be devoted largely to a fundraiser for NOW's PAC to support "our candidates" in the Democratic and Republican parties.

The discussion in this workshop about the actual prospects for building a new party and how this could best be done also merits close attention. First, it is important to note that this year the discussion had moved beyond arguments over whether a new party should be formed, and why, to a focus on whether this is possible, and how. At the same time, this discussion is very much in its initial stages and has a preliminary, tentative character. In a way this is healthy since it opens the possibility for further clarification and deepening of consciousness about certain key issues. For example, while many NOW members know the Democratic and Republican parties continue to betray their interests, they do not have a clear perspective on the class nature of these parties and their attacks on women's rights. There is thus not yet a clear understanding of the necessity of building a working class party with a strong feminist consciousness.

Several workshop participants spoke of the need for allies in building this new party. Unions and the labor movement were mentioned, as were civil rights groups, and peace and human rights organizations. Concern was expressed, however, about women's issues becoming lost and undermined in the "compromises that might have to be made with such allies." This is not an unimportant nor a false concern, given the historical patterns of sexism and disregard of women's rights in the labor and other social movements. But the majority of American women are part of the working class; women play leading roles in the struggles of African-Americans and other oppressed nationalities, and increasingly women oppose the war policies of the

ruling class. The struggle for women's rights must be organically linked to struggles against racism, for economic justice, and against war and imperialism. Many, in fact, would say feminism includes these other demands and the movements for their realization. This perspective is partially recognized in NOW's Bill of Rights for the 21st Century, which forms the programmatic basis for the founding of a new party. Such an understanding can become a more central component of the motion toward a new party only by further discussions in groups such as NOW and also by resonances with NOW's call for independent political action on the part of the labor movement, the Black liberation movement, and other movements for justice and equality.

At this year's national conference, the NOW leadership put forward two major resolutions. One is directly related to the new party process. It calls for the Commission for Responsive Democracy to finish its work and to report its recommendations to the National NOW Board "before Election Day, 1991, a year before the 1992 elections, so that the National Board can take concrete steps to build a powerful independent political movement to secure the rights and liberties guaranteed to our citizenry by the Bill of Rights for the 21st Century—*Because We Will Not Go Back!*—and we need the tools, the structure and the wisdom to link arms with other grassroots activist constituencies to lead our people into equality, economic justice, and peace in the next millennium" [emphasis in original]. While this resolution stops short of calling for the Commission to recommend that a new party be initiated—something which a resolution coming out of NOW's Young Feminist Conference in February did propose—its adoption, by a substantial majority vote of conference delegates, represents a positive continuation of motion toward independent political action.

The other major resolution adopted by the conference calls for a "mass campaign of defiance and triumph." Entitled "We

(Continued on page 17)

dividuals convicted of rape, while the House version mandates treatment programs for those convicted of sexual crimes. Both versions include a civil rights protection, which for the first time declares that violent crimes motivated by the gender of the victim are discriminatory and violate the victim's civil rights. NOW LDEF played an active role in drafting the bill.

Kris Miccio, an attorney at the Center for Battered Women's Legal Services, focused on her work in New York State, attempting to include gender as a protected group on her state's Hate Crime Bill.

Rosemary Dempsey, NOW action vice president, said that one can see how far the women's movement has come, as evidenced by the participation of NOW's LDEF in decision making around drafting the Violence Against Women Act. But, she continued, because of the advance of women's rights, there is also a backlash, now manifested in the growing problem of male violence. For example, when Bush goes to speak at a college campus that has a nondiscriminatory policy, he doesn't praise the hard-won protections for women, people of color, and diverse ethnic groups; nor does he speak about the rise of racism, sexism, and violent hate crimes. Rather he says that free speech is being violated by this sort of "censoring" on college campuses.

However, Dempsey was optimistic that the women's movement will be able to stop the backlash with aggressive legislation and with the help of the young generation of women who are coming out very strong against violence. Dempsey said that NOW wants the legislation to pass, but wants it to be the best bill possible for women, without discriminating against other groups or depriving them of due process as such bills that the law-and-order right wing wants to enact. She emphasized that the women's movement will grow through alliances and can't advance at another group's expense. Dempsey concluded by saying that victims of crimes based on gender should be included with and receive the same protection as crimes based on a person's race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and religion. The attempt to keep gender unprotected, Dempsey said, is a divide and conquer tool.

Several resolutions on violence against women were adopted at the conference, including one passed at the Young Feminist Conference sponsored by NOW and held last February. The first of these was a resolution that NOW "urges the U.S. Congress to amend the National Hate

Crimes Bill to include gender as a protected class."

The resolution coming out of the Young Feminist Conference concerned acquaintance rape. The resolution specifically focused on young women and the fact that "1 in 4 women are survivors of rape or attempted rape by the time they graduate from college" and "84% of these rapes are committed by an acquaintance of the survivor." Based on the resolution, NOW will begin to assess existing services on rape education in school districts, universities, and colleges, "and where no services exist or existing services are found to be inadequate, state NOW leadership should encourage development and implementation of such."

The third and most exciting resolution concerning violence came from the Young Feminist Committee of Boston NOW. The resolution focused on awareness of violence against women in all forms and the priority young feminists should give to addressing it. It was resolved that "Young Feminists in their NOW chapters and communities across the country organize a week of local direct action, with a major nationally coordinated action as its centerpiece," the nature and scope of such local actions being left up to local NOW chapters. The actions will be led by young feminists, who will encourage "in particular the participation of new, young activists from local campuses, workplaces, the unemployed, unions, and community groups." This resolution is very important because it provides an opportunity for young feminists to take the lead in organizing and mobilizing around an issue of growing concern to all women and because it shows an expressed eagerness to do so.

Young Feminists and NOW

The conference was attended by more young feminists than ever before in NOW's history. A lot of these women were high school and college activists, and for many this was their first national NOW conference. Quite a few women who attended the Young Feminist Conference came to the NOW conference, either as delegates or attendees.

The workshop, entitled "Don't Agonize—Organize! Young Activists in the 90s," focused specifically on how young feminists can become more active or improve their organizing, outreach, and activities to involve high school and college students. Neerja Sharma, a senior at Boston University and president of her university NOW chapter, explained that after attending the Young Feminist Conference in Akron a group from Boston NOW

decided to form a Young Feminist Committee within their chapter. She spoke of the need for young feminists to gain experience in order to carry on the work of the movement, and the need to immediately involve new people in action activities.

DeeDee Anderson, also from Boston NOW, outlined some tactics in attracting new activists and the importance of linking issues, like abortion rights and lesbian rights.

Leslie Miller, a student at the University of Miami and member of Dade County NOW, blamed apathy as the biggest problem confronting recruitment of young feminists to the women's movement. She said one of the best ways to challenge apathy was to build the biggest action possible, motivating activity, interest, and attention. "People love rallies," Miller said, "that's how I got involved." Even if not in NOW, she explained, a group can still utilize NOW resources. Young women need the experience and NOW needs the bodies, resulting in a reciprocal relationship, Miller asserted.

Chimene Schwach, coordinator of Maryland Students for Choice (a coalition of students from area high schools and colleges), discussed ways to do outreach in colleges and high schools. She also pointed out that students and young people are often forgotten. It isn't good enough to have others speak for young people's concerns, Schwach said. This was apparent in Maryland recently around the issue of parental notification. Young people should be in leadership positions and have their own spokespeople, especially around issues that directly affect their lives because of their age.

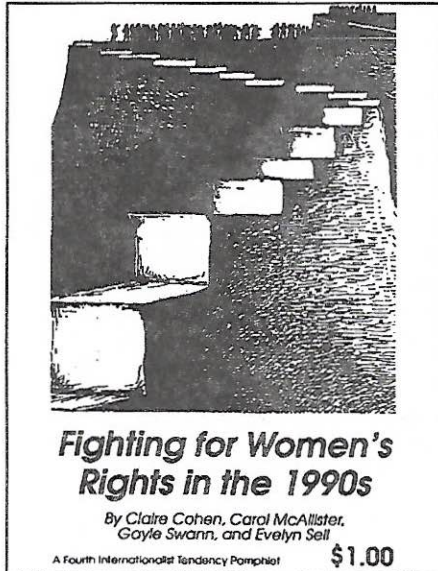
Also, a Young Feminist Constituency Caucus provided an opportunity to discuss strategy for the Young Feminist Conference Implementation Committee (CIC), which the national NOW board approved and which the delegates at this conference authorized unanimously in the form of a resolution. A CIC is a way for special constituencies within NOW to plan and develop an agenda around issues specifically of concern to their group and to speak for themselves about these issues, whether lesbians, women of color, women with disabilities, or young feminists.

Jennifer Goldberg, one of the steering committee members of the Young Feminist Conference, informally led the discussion. Leadership for the CIC has not yet been picked, Goldberg said, but whoever fills the leadership positions will have to be accountable to NOW's young feminist constituency and what goals that constituency wants to focus on.

People expressed a variety of goals, some of which included a newsletter (all

CICs get space in the *National NOW Times*), developing a speakers' bureau to be utilized in high schools, an annual conference of young feminists, and an education project designed to inform teenagers about parental consent and notification laws. Other suggestions included more demonstrations around a variety of issues, consciousness raising, developing campus chapters, and a few voices for nonviolent civil disobedience.

The caucus was a great success in terms of expressing ideas about direction, focus, and strategy about where young feminists want to go in the future. It was a very



exciting part of the NOW conference because of the obvious enthusiasm for action, imagination for strategies, and consideration of other young feminists' ideas.

Several young feminists distributed copies of *Spark: Voices and Views of NOW Young Feminists*, a locally based newsletter sponsored by Gainesville Area NOW. It contained articles on the Young Feminist Conference and the Young Feminists of Orlando NOW, "the first official Young Feminist group of NOW." The editorial addressed whether or not there is a need for young feminist organizing within NOW, and also discussed what young feminists

can offer the larger part of NOW and vice versa.

The resolutions passed at the Young Feminist Conference were placed, along with resolutions developed at this conference, before the delegates for consideration (except those considered to be duplicates), bringing the total number to 54.

Several important resolutions coming out of the Young Feminist Conference were passed at this conference, besides those mentioned earlier in this article. They included "Young Feminist Participation in the January 1992 Global Feminist Conference," which states that young feminists within NOW will take the lead in soliciting "international support and participation of young feminists" in the conference.

The resolution on economic justice calls for NOW to "begin the struggle for economic justice for all women by organizing mass actions and demonstrations to secure the repeal of all limitations of Medicaid funded abortions," and other issues such as birth control and childcare. Similarly, a resolution on Medicaid funding of abortions was passed, as was one on universal access to birth control.

Problems and Potentials

As someone who attended the Young Feminist Conference, my first national NOW conference was something of a let-down, although some important decisions came out of it. First of all, the representation of women of color was much lower than at the Young Feminist Conference. The focus of the conference was also much more on Political Action Committees (PACs) and lobbying than was evident at the Young Feminist Conference, which had a more action-oriented approach. The level of enthusiasm and excitement seemed much stronger at the Young Feminist Conference. Although people at both conferences were very determined in fighting for women's rights, the Young Feminist Conference was more inspiring to me.

Clearly, the most energetic and resourceful part of NOW is its large number of young feminists who are involved in the crucial work of organizing support, which will lead the fight to preserve the rights that women in this country have fought for and gained against attacks by the right wing. They also represent the next generation of feminists whose work it will be to carry the women's movement into the 21st century, advancing the struggle for women's liberation.

Two of the important things coming out of both conferences was support for a national demonstration and for the work of the Commission for Responsive Democracy (although the Young Feminist Conference passed a much stronger resolution).

The potential for NOW to change its focus—away from lobbying for, or otherwise supporting Democratic candidates—remains strong. As Ireland stated, these politicians have consistently complied with the Bush administration's anti-women policies and proposals. Although the focus of the spring mobilization is ostensibly to pressure the presidential candidates, this independent political action will in fact be a demonstration mobilized around the outrage that women in this country are experiencing as they watch their rights being denied them by Democrats and Republicans alike. If NOW can mobilize hundreds of thousands of women in defense of women's rights, as it has on similar actions in the past, it will have shown that its focus need not be limited to lobbying the Democrats and Republicans. NOW's efforts and resources could be used to set its own agenda, independent of both the Democratic and Republican parties. By joining forces with other constituencies to whose needs the two parties have also been unresponsive, like labor and people of color, NOW could help to bring together the only force capable of defending and extending people's rights—that is, the people themselves. □

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New Party (Continued from page 15)

Won't Go Back—We Will Have Our Rights NOW," the campaign features actions in local communities during the fall leading to "the largest march in Washington in our nation's history in the spring of 1992." As explained in the report by Sarah Springer, while there was some attempt to tie these mass actions to the 1992 elections, they will serve as a vehicle to mobilize hundreds of thousands of women and men in a fight for

their basic rights and an expression of independent political action outside of the electoral arena. It is such mass mobilization and the bringing into active struggle of literally millions of people that will make the creation of a new party a real possibility. And it is only through such mass organization and mobilization that any new party will be held responsible and responsive to the demands and needs of the working class majority, its

women as well as its men. It is significant that these two resolutions were developed and approved at the same conference. Together they move forward both the fight for women's rights and the ongoing effort to create a new political party that can further the struggles of women and the working class as a whole for a more just and equitable society. □

A Transitional Approach for Independent Political Action

by Richard Scully

While no one can predict with certainty precisely what it will take to get a labor party off the ground in the United States, it can be said with assurance that at least the following will be required:

- An educational campaign to help convince significant numbers of workers, especially in the key unions, that a labor party can be a realistic alternative to the pro-employer Democratic and Republican Parties and their candidates.
- An accumulation of experiences on a local level of committees of trade unionists and perhaps others who put people before profits running independent candidates for public office.
- The readiness and commitment of a significant section of the labor movement to participate in forming a labor party.

Initiatives taken now to advance any or all of these developments warrant the support of class-conscious workers.

For the past ten years, Anthony Mazzocchi, currently secretary/treasurer of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW), has been waging a propaganda campaign for the establishment of a labor party. Mazzocchi has now gone beyond this. Through the organization of Labor Party Advocates he has provided a vehicle to lay the groundwork for the formation of a labor party.

Of all the top labor officials in the United States Mazzocchi stands alone in this initiative. Others, such as Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and Jack Henning, president of the California State AFL-CIO, have on occasion condemned the Tweedle-Dee/Tweedle-Dum character of the Democratic and Republican Parties, or even voiced support for the labor party alternative. But only Mazzocchi, among the top officials, has stepped forward with a plan of action to help bring it about.

Elements of the Plan

Basically, here is what Mazzocchi is projecting:

- Establish Labor Party Advocates (LPA) “to educate the public about the need for a Labor Party in the United States agenda for working people. And it will serve as an organizing committee for a new Labor Party.”
- LPA’s membership will be open to “any trade unionist or other working person who believes the United States needs a Labor Party.” Its steering committee will be made up “of all elected union officials (from local officers on up) who become dues-paying members.”
- “When the Labor Party Advocates Steering Committee has enough members—say 1,000—and when there are enough dues-paying members—say 100,000—then we have our-

self a Labor Party!” A founding convention would be called to launch it.

- In the meanwhile, there is no plan to run candidates for office or even endorse them. “Indeed, Labor Party Advocates should declare themselves strictly non-electoral.”
- During the period leading up to the composition of a Labor Party, members of Labor Party Advocates are “free to work for the candidates of any of the major parties.”

Based on polls taken by OCAW and other unions, Mazzocchi is convinced the sentiment exists within the ranks of the trade union movement for organizing an independent party of working people. He cites a not unsurprising statistic: half of the OCAW membership polled thought neither the Democrats nor the Republicans represent the best interests of working people, and two out of every three believed that both of the established parties care more about the interests of big business than they do about the interests of working people. Moreover, more than 50 percent of the rank and file agreed that it is time for the labor movement to organize an independent party of working people.

Buoyed by the positive sentiment among the rank and file but at the same time acutely mindful of the nearly unanimous and intransigent opposition of the labor leadership to breaking their ties with the Democrats (or the Republicans in the case of the Teamsters and some others), Mazzocchi is attempting to steer a course which will enable him to educate and organize for a labor party, while avoiding premature confrontations with the trade union bureaucracy. That is why he gives assurances that LPA will not run candidates now. He wants to make sure his formation is not accused of sabotaging the election of Democrats supported by the union officialdom.

That, however, does not prevent members of Labor Party Advocates from supporting independent candidacies, so long as they do not do so in the name of LPA. Nor will any LPA member be asked to endorse Democratic or Republican candidates since, in Mazzocchi’s words, “such endorsement battles will distract us from the necessary work of creating an independent political voice for working people in the United States.”

Mazzocchi’s projection of starting a labor party with something like 1,000 steering committee members and 100,000 dues-paying members is of questionable validity—although it is a healthy, non-elitist and non-sectarian goal. For example, a labor party *on a local scale*—such as was formed in Chicago, Illinois in 1918—could be initiated by LPA groups or other forces in one city, state, or region even before the 1,000/100,000 plateau is reached on a national scale. Or perhaps one or two international unions with clout could throw their weight behind the LPA, making it necessary to think in different terms about what conditions might permit the actual launching of a new party. On the other hand, it is possible that even if the 1,000/100,000 figure is reached, LPA might find itself with insufficient support from the union movement as such, raising questions about whether a real party could

actually be founded at that point. In short, life and experience will have to dictate the course of events.

Tactical Considerations for Radicals

What questions are some socialist workers asking and what position should revolutionary socialists take with regard to the LPA project?

Since Mazzocchi says individual LPA members would be free to work for major party candidates if they wanted to, some see this as okaying, deliberately or not, the support of capitalist politicians. They also perceive Mazzocchi as relying on and attempting to reform the labor bureaucracy, instead of trusting to the ranks of the working class, which will be the motor force in establishing a labor party.

They cite Mazzocchi's statement that there are "a handful of labor Democrats who are genuine friends of the trade union movement and of working people" and Mazzocchi's illusions about the New Deal as undercutting his prolabor party stand.

But together with some reformist language and wrong notions, Mazzocchi makes clear-cut and hard-hitting statements. He says for example, "Enough is enough. The bosses have two parties. We should have at least one." So, the question remains for radicals whether to join and build LPA.

It is correct to warn that *any* concession to the Democrats leaves the door open to being sucked back into capitalist politics. But a nonsectarian response is to recognize that the best way to prevent this from happening *is by being part of LPA and helping to shape its development*. The motivational and explanatory remarks by Mazzocchi do not constitute LPA's program. That program calls for support for the idea of a labor party—nothing else.

It would be nice if today there was a mass upsurge among U.S. workers demanding the formation of a labor party. It would also be nice if they and their leaders were free of all illusions about the Democrats, Roosevelt, the New Deal, etc. Then we could have a document calling for a labor party with none of the flaws some object to.

But that's not what we have today. What we have is an initiative toward a labor party taken by a leading trade unionist who has impressive credentials in speaking up consistently against imperialist wars, segregation, violations of civil liberties, environmental destruction, denial of health care, and other social issues. He is now providing an *opening*—going beyond the extreme left—for educating and organizing around the labor party perspective. And whatever reservations one may have regarding some of Mazzocchi's motivational and explanatory comments, this much is clear and indisputable: joining LPA means supporting the idea of a labor party, of breaking from the capitalist Democratic and Republican Parties. Nothing more.

No one can point to a single other development in the labor movement of any significance that is leading in the same direction. That is because there is no such development. In fact, the potential exists for the LPA in this period to become a recognized and authoritative vehicle for trade unionists to advance the idea of forming a labor party. Consequently, the place for radicals is *within* it.

Run Independent Labor Candidates Now!

There remains the question of running labor candidates for office independently of the capitalist parties. That can't and shouldn't wait for the evolution of LPA. (In fact, as noted, LPA bars such candidacies.)

The disenchantment among workers with the Democratic Party is accelerating. They see layoffs, massive unemployment, declining purchasing power, recession, cutbacks in education and social services, gutting of affirmative action programs, increase in racist violence, cities in decay and going bankrupt (as are states), the S&L scandal, the banking system facing collapse, strikebreaking, denial of health care protection to tens of millions, assaults on abortion rights, millions homeless while hundreds of billions are given to the Pentagon to wage wars abroad, degradation of the environment, etc. They see the Democrats doing nothing about these problems—in fact, the Democrats together with the Republicans are seen as causing the problems. Attempts to reform the Democratic Party are increasingly seen as futile and have lost support among the masses of workers, African-Americans, and women. Half of the eligible voters in this country don't even bother to go to the polls anymore.

So independent political action is the order of the day. And the potential for it being organized effectively was dramatically demonstrated in November 1989, when Jackie Stump, leader of the Mine Workers in Virginia, running as an independent, was overwhelmingly elected to the Virginia State Legislature on a write-in vote in opposition to an incumbent Democrat.

There will be other opportunities for running independent labor candidates, especially on a local level. The challenge for the labor movement and the left is to find—or create—such opportunities. Such a development would not leave LPA unaffected. Indeed, if LPA takes root and establishes chapters in a number of cities it could end up changing the policy against running candidates. But even if this proves not to be the case, LPA activists can certainly be won to the logic of supporting and campaigning for independent labor candidates outside of the LPA.

Independent Political Action: A Link with Other Developments?

Attesting to the accelerating breakdown of confidence in the capitalist parties, two other potentially significant developments in the direction of independent mass political action have surfaced, parallel to the LPA. One involves the exploratory actions enthusiastically launched at a national convention in Cincinnati in 1989, by the National Organization for Women (NOW), to determine the feasibility of establishing a new political party. (See June, 1991 *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism*, "New Party? Question for NOW National Conference".) The other is the probable independent candidacy for president of the United States of Ron Daniels, a Black activist who formerly headed the Rainbow Coalition under Jesse Jackson.

At this juncture, it is too early to say whether or how these developments and LPA might interrelate. But it is certainly heartening to see, even if only in embryonic form, a simultaneous move toward independent political action in the labor, women's, and African-American movements. Leaving aside the organizational form it might take, linking these developments together around a program based squarely on the needs of working people and the oppressed sectors of the population, which puts human needs above profits, should be a priority of overriding concern.

Meanwhile, trade unionists and unorganized workers should join Labor Party Advocates and encourage co-workers to do the same. Supporters of LPA should use every opportunity to build this vehicle. The upcoming mass mobilization of labor in Washington, D.C. on August 31—Solidarity Day 1991—can be an outstanding occasion for doing this. □

June, 1990

UFCW Wins Strike Against Giant-Eagle Pittsburgh Consumer Boycott Contributes to Victory

by Ron Lee

A consumer boycott of Giant-Eagle, a Pittsburgh-based supermarket chain, forced that company to settle a 6½-week strike of 5,500 workers on June 2. A spirited strike force was generated by the pursuit of a promising strategic course that tapped vast hidden reserves of union and community support.

The United Food and Commercial Workers Local 23 knew full well that striking is risky business these days. Supermarket clerks are especially replaceable. Picket lines often break down after a few weeks. The very survival of unions like the UFCW rests on their evolving effective mechanisms against union busting. This report describes how Local 23, in the spring of 1991, took that risk—and won.

Months before contract expiration, Local 23 commissioned a research outfit to measure its members' desire and capacity to strike. This was followed by a questionnaire to help set bargaining priorities, which 20 percent of the members mailed in. Two large meetings were held for further input. Workers knew their company was doing quite well after eight years of concessions. Yet management was stingy. When the principles of generosity or fairness aren't operating, perhaps the jolt of a strike would do the trick, workers reasoned.

Solidarity is crucial for any strike to succeed. One might assume a blue-collar stronghold like Pittsburgh would have healthy traditions of labor support. The reality is that this city's post-PATCO labor landscape is littered with defeated strikes. Either they have been the victim of a dead-end strategy or, more often, have gone under due to unsupporting and indifferent union bureaucrats.

A few recent examples come to mind: 45 Pittsburgh-based Eastern strikers took nearly two years to fulfill their vow of lasting "one day longer than Eastern." As in all other cities, they were unable to muster the modest forces from the labor movement necessary to sustain a picket line of sufficient size to deter people from flying on Eastern.

For almost three years, 40 United Mine Workers at Aloe Coal Company have been sustaining a failing strike against a rural coal baron. The scab harassment, coal truck tire deflation, and occasional flurries of civil disobedience are merely expressions of defiance. Much needs to be done to reach out for community and labor support in order to fulfill the dream of many Aloe miners of transforming their struggle into a little Pittston strike. Recently, the United Steelworkers have taken away the strike benefits of 90 specialty steel employees of the Duer Spring Company. These highly skilled spring makers were permanently replaced as the international union kept their strike a secret from its 100,000 area members.

Would a strike at Giant-Eagle meet a similar fate? Lack of visibility would not be a problem. A strike of 5,500 would capture headlines. Hundreds of thousands of area shoppers would, all at once, face the moral dilemma of whether to honor a picket line.

Local 23 counted on organized labor to try to look good with the spotlight on them. Solidarity could be extracted from the types who sit on the Central Labor Council. They knew their job would be made harder following a defeat on a grand scale; the region's workers would further lose confidence in unionism. Some promising organizing drives would lose steam. Out of all this, some union bureaucrats could see their jobs eliminated. So Local 23 and some progressives saw the window of opportunity open for them.

Community Solidarity

Strike support events were well organized, imaginative, and impressive. There was a rally of 3,000; a 1,500-striker march on corporate headquarters; and a day when ex-customers of Giant-Eagle walked the picket line.

A speakers' bureau was quickly set up. An "Adopt-a-Store" program enlisted unions and community groups to lend material and human support to stores in their areas. By strike's end, 14 of 31 stores had been adopted.

An indication that something indeed was stirring was Steelworker President Lynn Williams's letter to 130,000 area USWA members urging them to boycott Giant-Eagle and walk the picket line. Previously these two unions were embroiled in organizing turf wars.

Two days after the strike began the first of four strike support meetings took place. Representatives from well over one hundred organizations attended, mostly union activists and staffers, but also progressives and radicals. The meetings were conducted in a rally atmosphere. They not only updated sympathizers and strikers but helped organize them into support projects. This unprecedented collaboration of union staff, strikers, and strike sympathizers took place on a very modest scale.

Giant-Eagle's decision to settle was, no doubt, partly out of recognition that an array of union and community support projects were in motion. Strike leadership proved able to embrace a variety and multitude of helpful energies. Things weren't dying down; they were just taking off.

Media Coverage

The media could neither ignore nor attack this strike. That was due, in part, to the strike's scale. The mere hint of anti-striker bias or slander would offend vast numbers.

The UFCW not only planned events that were newsworthy; it sought out angles for strike coverage. For instance, two strikers were married on the picket line. There was conscious

cultivation of media relationships. The union was always accessible, patient, and open.

The UFCW expected fairness and generally received it. One TV station did a segment on the plight of former Greyhound strikers. Giant-Eagle strikers viewed this as a subtle attack on their own strike—the implication was that they too, stood to suffer a similar fate. Scores of strikers phoned the media hotline, alerting the strike publicity director, who in turn demanded equal time of the TV station.

Local 23 portrayed themselves as the little people standing up to a greedy corporation. They pounded away at the fact that the average employee made \$5.62 per hour, that hundreds of misnamed “part-timers” worked sixty hours yet received no benefits, etc. The media discovered that all customary avenues of strike criticism were blocked. How could one report on striker violence when absolute discipline reigned? How could one play on the theme of public inconvenience when shoppers weren’t complaining? How could one paint the picture of a strike-happy, dictatorial union leadership, when it was the company that had turned down four successive reasonable union proposals?

Strike Organization

The UFCW’s handling of picket organization, morale, and involvement was impressive. Supermarket strikes often collapse early on. To prevent such a disaster 50 UFCW staffers were imported to the scene from all over the country. Picket line basics were attended to. Strikers were inundated with brochures on where to go for help. Emergency strike relief funds were dispensed. Medical bills were paid.

Attention was paid to morale. Striker representatives from the majority of stores attended the regular community support meetings, then reported on them to their fellow picketers. Most importantly, strikers got into the spirit of purposeful picketing. They politely confronted each shopper. A modest percentage either were turned away or promised not to shop there again. Pickets developed skills of persuasion, diplomacy, mutual support. Some did extra picketing. Others recruited sympathizers to further strike involvement. The *esprit de corps* helped to minimize picket defections across the line.

An Assessment of the Strike Experience

Has the strike experience given some workers the confidence to be more combative at work? Are they more demanding of their union to organize a fight? Are they banding together themselves? This strike not only devastated family budgets; it was psychologically damaging. There was the risk of losing it all. Giant-Eagle Chief Executive Officer David Shapiro toyed with the idea of union busting. He hired hundreds of scabs but stopped short of designating them as “permanent replacements.” He also threatened to close all stores permanently, reopening them one by one as nonunion franchises. Four times the union reentered negotiations ready to settle, but to their surprise they found their proposals rejected. Shapiro gave it until Memorial Day, watching for signs of strike collapse, but the consumer boycott remained solid.

Why did he settle? Perhaps he knew of the “miracle strike” in Indianapolis last year, when three-quarters of the workers crossed the picket line, but consumers remained loyal to the cause forcing that supermarket to settle. Possibly he dreaded a

replay of the Eastern Airlines strike, a slow corporate strangulation. Perhaps he felt pressure from the city’s corporate elite who feared the region’s labor movement was beginning to awaken.

The strikers felt that the terms of settlement (approved by a ratio of 11 to 1) was somewhat better than the company’s final pre-strike offer. So they did not see themselves as having to crawl back.

Most Giant-Eagle workers accept that they must work hard to keep their store profitable. Their contract states that the company has the right to close a store making under 1 percent profit for six months. They saw it as their mission to win Giant-Eagle customers back. At strike’s end, the union president insisted on a Stanley Cup–style handshake ritual between union and management. Some may view this as a shameful display of the union’s willingness to do the company’s bidding.

It appears that many Giant-Eagle workers view their union simply as a force coming into play around contract time. They do not view it as an organizer of the day-to-day struggle on the job. So this strike was not a logical continuation of militancy on the job. The idea that unionism meant sticking together was more of an abstraction. For many, crossing the picket line was in the realm of the thinkable. One out of four did so. Strike leadership was preoccupied with trying to stem this flow.

There was no strike preparedness campaign such as button wearing days or “work to rule” days. Such a campaign might have built up workforce confidence and might have sent a message to the company that the workers meant business.

Until 1983, Giant-Eagle workers were monetarily compensated for all they put up with. This changed when an 18-day strike was defeated that year. Workers were forced to make deep concessions. The two-tier wage system was introduced, later blossoming into a multi-tier system with each new contract.

The multi-tier contract is contrary to the spirit of unionism. It saps morale, encourages conflict among workers, and leads many to dismiss their union as worthless. A full 80 percent of the Giant-Eagle workforce has wages frozen at several dollars less than the top tier.

In 1991 the union made a top bargaining priority of reducing the wage gap. It could claim it took a small step forward in this respect. The lowest tier, hovering just above minimum wage, received more than double the percentage of wage increase compared to the top tier. Unfortunately, a new tier of new hires working at minimum wage was created. It appears that the union is a long way from seriously organizing a fight on the equal pay for equal work principle.

A contract loophole was closed which formerly allowed the company to deny benefits to full-time workers. This further move toward equalization helps the workforce to unify for battles to come. In a period when labor’s defeats far outnumber its victories, the Giant-Eagle strike demonstrates that with proper leadership worker unity and community solidarity can be forged—and that a strike *can* be won. Workers throughout Pittsburgh—whether they worked at Giant-Eagle or shopped there—have seen the contrast between the bureaucrats’ usual half-hearted leadership and the militant, democratic struggle waged at Giant-Eagle. They will be able to draw the appropriate conclusions. □

Fourth Internationalist Unity in the United States

by Paul Le Blanc

All serious partisans of building a revolutionary working class movement capable of bringing socialism to the United States must favor cooperation and unity among revolutionary socialist forces in this country. Readers of *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism* will recall that in our October 1990 issue we published an appeal by the Fourth Internationalist Tendency for the unity of all revolutionary socialists in the United States who adhere to the world organization known as the Fourth International.

This article is a progress report. It will first offer a little background information, then indicate what some of our experience has been while advancing our unity orientation over the past year. There are some positive new developments that will then be described, and I will conclude with a summary of our present perspectives.

With the publication of this article, we are inviting open discussion in the pages of *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism* on the question of Fourth Internationalist unity. We are especially interested in contributions from comrades of the FI in the United States, especially members of Socialist Action and Solidarity, and also from individuals who are presently not affiliated with any national organization.

Background

At the May 1991 plenum of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency's National Organizing Committee, I gave a report on "Building the Fourth Internationalist Movement in the United States" which was approved by a substantial majority. In that report I quoted from a resolution, "Fourth Internationalist Unity in the United States," overwhelmingly adopted at our national decision-making conference of September 1990. This resolution can be found, with other useful material, in the collection recently published by the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, *In Defense of American Trotskyism: Rebuilding the Revolutionary Party*. It says:

Since its founding in 1984, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) has advocated the reunification of the

splintered Fourth Internationalist movement in the United States. Our call for readmission into the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) included all who were undemocratically driven out or expelled from the SWP because of political differences with the Barnes leadership. This is no longer a feasible position, given the SWP's deepening degeneration, culminating in its recent formal break with the Fourth International (FI). The FIT is now challenged to find an alternative perspective for reunifying U.S. Fourth Internationalists. An obvious starting point is to consider the present relations between the three currents which continue to express a loyalty to the FI and its program, and which function within our world movement as recognized groupings of unjustly expelled SWP members: the FIT, Socialist Action (SA), and the Fourth International Caucus of Solidarity (FI Caucus).

In my May 1991 plenum report I went on to note: "Running throughout this resolution was a strong internationalist element. This means not a vague or abstract sentiment, but in fact a real commitment to building, collaborating with and being an integral part of a specific worldwide revolutionary Marxist network that has gathered around the banner, program, and presently existing structure of the Fourth International." I then quoted the resolution's conclusion:

The FIT traces its roots back to the founding of the Fourth International in 1938. In distinction from the Social-Democratic reformism of the Second International and the bureaucratic-authoritarian Stalinism which deformed and killed the Third International, the Fourth International has sought to maintain and advance the revolutionary socialist perspectives of Marx and Engels, Rosa Luxemburg, and the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky. We would betray our heritage and evade our political responsibilities if we did not make our best possible effort to work for a reunified and strengthened Fourth

Internationalist organization in the United States.

We have not advocated such unity because of any sense of demoralization. The FIT has been growing in membership, activity, supporters, influence, and experience. While many sections of the left are in disarray because of the dramatic collapse of Stalinism and the bankruptcy of social democracy, we are optimistic about the prospects for the growth of revolutionary socialism. U.S. capitalism's grand boasts of "a new world order" must be measured against increases in exploitation and oppression. The FIT believes that these realities will generate a rise in the struggles of the labor and social movements in the U.S. no less than elsewhere—something discussed in some detail in our newly published political resolution, *Revolutionary Internationalism and the Struggle for Socialism in the United States*. It is because of these growing opportunities that we feel revolutionary socialists, Fourth Internationalists most of all, must seek to overcome obstacles to unity.

One of the most serious obstacles to unity has been the attitude of SA and the FI Caucus toward each other. In future articles we hope to have frank, critical discussions about each of the FI currents in the U.S. (including our own) as a means toward overcoming our various weaknesses and creating a basis for unity. Here we must restrict ourselves to a few comments.

SA has, since its founding in late 1983, attempted to build a new Leninist-Trotskyist party to carry on in the traditions of the "old" SWP. The FI Caucus, on the other hand, tends to question those traditions and its members are deeply committed to being part of a broader regroupment with revolutionary-minded (but largely non-Trotskyist) socialists in Solidarity. SA sees itself essentially as a Leninist party, while Solidarity rejects the creation of such a party, at least for now, and functions very loosely. Each of them has tended to reject the other group with contempt.

In the past, members of SA have called on the FITers to join with them and forget about the "liquidationist" FI Caucus.

Similarly, some FI Caucus members have urged the FIT to merge into Solidarity and forget about the "sectarians" of SA. We have recognized, however, that to embark on either course will effectively cut us off from one or the other group, and our hope is to achieve a broader unity than that. Our reluctance to join either SA or Solidarity has generated tensions between ourselves and both of the other groups, although sometimes they have been willing to work with us and even participate in joint efforts initiated by the FIT. For example, the recent nationwide Ernest Mandel tour involved all three organizations (see *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism*, No. 85). While we believe that the fruitful unification of all three organizations is principled and desirable, we have also recognized that unity may develop unevenly. We noted at our 1990 national conference:

It may be that, in the end, the three groups will not fuse. Perhaps only *elements* of the three will be able to form a unified sympathizing section of the Fourth International. We should not be trapped in any mechanistic schemas or rigid expectations. There are serious revolutionaries in each group who are loyal to the program of the Fourth International, but precisely how they will come together can't be blue-printed by us.

Another complication, of course, is the fact that many members of Solidarity have clearly indicated that they don't want to be part of a sympathizing section of the Fourth International. It is also clear that FI Caucus comrades are not about to break with these non-FI members of Solidarity. Unity with the FI Caucus, therefore, necessarily poses the question of unity with Solidarity as a whole. In our opinion, however, it would be possible for organized Fourth Internationalists to function, in a principled way, in a common organization with revolutionary socialists who are not Fourth Internationalists, as the example of the Italian FI members who joined a larger group, *Democrazia Proletaria*, has demonstrated. The non-FI members of Solidarity include revolutionary and working class activists for whom we have respect. Regardless of whether or not we are in a common organization, they are people with whom we would want to work.

Our 1990 resolution "Fourth Internationalist Unity in the United States" makes the important point that "we do not project any 'rapid fusion' or 'unity for the sake of unity.' We see such proposals as being counterproductive to the goal of principled and durable unity of Fourth Internationalist forces. Instead of a rush toward unity, we favor a process of serious political collaboration and discussion, finally

resulting in Fourth Internationalists coming together within a single revolutionary vanguard organization." We hope that such a process will result in a qualitatively new, and better, organization than simply a combination of the currently existing FIT, SA, and Solidarity. What is most important now is the development of mutual respect, discussion, and collaboration.

Gains, Setbacks, and New Opportunities

The 1991 World Congress of the Fourth International adopted a perspective that was essentially the same as that put forward by the FIT (see Steve Bloom, "World Congress of the Fourth International Is Held," *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism*, No. 84, April 1991). At this congress, the delegate from the FI Caucus of Solidarity joined with the FIT delegation to present a common position: calling for our world movement to give equal recognition to all three FI groups in the U.S.; also calling for all three "to implement steps that can lead to overcoming this unfortunate state of affairs [of three separate FI groups in the U.S.]," and in particular "to establish normal, fraternal relations with each other and, to the extent that this is possible, find common areas of political activity."

This joint position of the FIT and the FI Caucus seemed like a positive forward step. It stood in stark contrast to the initial SA position, which asserted: "Socialist Action is the only political party in the United States which is fraternally and politically linked with the Fourth International. We request to be recognized as the only political formation in this heartland of world imperialism which is the legitimate continuity of the world party of James P. Cannon and Leon Trotsky as well as the continuity of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution." Before the end of the world congress, however, SA had abandoned this narrow position. While still urging that SA be recognized as the U.S. sympathizing section of the FI, the SA delegation also urged recognition of the comrades of the FIT and FI Caucus as "full members of the FI" who should be urged to fuse into a common organization with SA. This represented a major step forward, an apparent convergence of all three FI groups in the U.S., in harmony with the proposals of the world congress for a serious unity process.

Even before the world congress, on October 22, 1990, the FIT National Coordinators had sent a letter to the leadership of Solidarity requesting "a formal meeting between the leaderships of our two organizations to discuss relations between Solidarity and the FIT, as well as ways in which improved collaboration between our

two groups might be advanced." The letter added: "Of course, we are open to any ideas you might have concerning collaboration and bettering relations between our organizations—including the suggestion made to us informally by some of your members that the FIT as a whole should become part of Solidarity." Elaborating on possibilities for joint work between the FIT and Solidarity, the letter concluded: "We are open to other possible suggestions from you—both as to the agenda for any meeting and possible ways we might proceed to organize it."

On the same date, the FIT National Coordinators sent basically the same type of letter to the leadership of Socialist Action. After several letters back and forth clarifying the situation, a leadership-to-leadership meeting between the FIT and SA was held on April 27, 1991. The FIT representatives submitted a memo suggesting a process to explore the possibilities of unity. Although the meeting was quite friendly, the SA representatives advanced an alternate proposal: that the FIT simply join SA, with full minority rights and with representation on leading bodies. The SA representatives maintained their formal position expressed at the world congress, that the FI Caucus was urged to join SA too. However, SA recognized that this was unlikely because of the FI Caucus's commitment to being part of Solidarity—and the SA representatives indicated that their organization had no interest in any form of unity with Solidarity. It seemed like slightly different verbiage to express the old position: "Join Socialist Action. Period."

The response of the Solidarity leadership was somewhat more surprising and disappointing—an adamant and repeated refusal even to meet with FIT leadership representatives. One of their letters rejecting such a meeting, dated March 21, 1991, was signed by three Solidarity leaders, including the same FI Caucus representative who had associated herself with the FI unity perspective at the world congress. Contrary to the formal FI Caucus position advanced at the world congress, the March 21 letter asserted: "Because you seem to be oriented toward Trotskyist regroupment or 'reunification' in the U.S., a priority quite different from ours, your proposal [for a leadership meeting] includes pursuing unity with Socialist Action; we reject this utterly. . . . [T]he triangular process you are attempting is quite hopeless and one with which we do not want to be remotely associated. For us to accept your proposal for a Solidarity-FIT leadership meeting now, in a context where that triangular process or parts of it would inevitably be on the agenda, would convey to the membership of both organizations the impression that

Solidarity finds the idea to be at least open for discussion. The opposite is the case. . . .”

An April 10 letter from FIT National Coordinator Evelyn Sell pointed out to the Solidarity leadership: “We have never proposed centering our discussions on the possibility of a three-way fusion between Solidarity, Socialist Action, and FIT. Rather, we primarily proposed to talk about ways in which relations between Solidarity and FIT can be improved.” She added: “In our view, a principled regroupment of the Trotskyist (or Fourth Internationalist) movement in the U.S. could take place either within a specifically Trotskyist organization or in an organization which contains both Trotskyists and non-Trotskyists. We are open to discussion about organizational form. Solidarity, for example, includes Trotskyists, comrades previously part of other revolutionary groups, and newly-radicalized individuals.” Sell concluded: “We make no carved-in-stone proposals for what would be discussed at such a meeting. For our part, it is not necessary for us to agree on nor debate the character or future of SA in order to have such a meeting. We would like to hear what you feel are appropriate matters for discussion. We are convinced that a leadership meeting can help clear up misunderstandings and advance our common concerns.”

By the time of our May 1991 plenum it seemed that the unity efforts of the FIT had, in different ways, run into stone walls both with SA and with Solidarity. At the plenum it was decided to “report in the pages of the *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism* what we have attempted to do and why, what we have proposed, and what has been the outcome.” It was noted that “we have been pursuing our present [unity] orientation for less than a year. It would be premature to abandon it now, simply because positive results have not been as great or as speedy as we would like.” A four-point perspective was adopted:

1. The FIT should continue to pursue efforts to collaborate with and improve relations with Socialist Action and with Solidarity, and in general work to advance the FI unity orientation in the United States, as decided at our last National Conference.

2. The FIT should continue to engage in class-struggle political activities, and work to advance the process of building an effective working class socialist movement in the U.S.

3. The FIT is capable of growing and doing important work, and therefore we should continue in every way possible to build the Fourth Internationalist Tendency.

4. We view each of these points as inter-related aspects of building the Fourth Internationalist movement in the United States.

Very quickly, however, there were positive developments which indicated that a new situation was coming into being.

Recent communications from the SA leadership indicate that, in fact, they are prepared to embark on the unity process urged by the FIT. We will be able to report more on this in the next issue of *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism*. It seems likely that the process will involve a substantial and far-ranging discussion involving the memberships of SA and the FIT on questions of political perspective, organizational functioning, etc., combined with collaboration in practical activity, and culminating in separate membership conferences by each organization to evaluate the process and to decide on the question of unity. There is more that will be said about this development in the final section of this report, but it seems quite promising.

We are hopeful that advances may also take place in regard to our relations with Solidarity. At our recent FIT national education conference in Pittsburgh (see article on page 25) we were pleased to have in attendance not only six comrades from Socialist Action but also six comrades from Solidarity, including a prominent non-FI member and political committee member, David Finkel. We were able to have very positive informal discussions. Our experience shows that reality, after delays and disappointments, sometimes has a way of shifting and evolving in a positive direction rather quickly. There is certainly an objective need for the FIT and Solidarity to come closer together, collaborating in the struggles of the working class and social movements, and also discussing perspectives on how to build more effectively a revolutionary socialist movement in the U.S. We still believe that a leadership-to-leadership meeting between our two organizations would, at the very least, constitute a valuable step toward creating a better collaborative relationship among revolutionary socialists.

Perspectives for the Future

An essential starting point for serious U.S. revolutionaries today should be that there are too few committed socialist activists for us to be dismissive of each other, even though we may have serious disagreements. There is sometimes a sectarian tendency among those on the left to be most intolerant of those who are, in fact, ideologically closest to them. This disease afflicts even the most strident “non-sec-

tarians.” It is a problem to be overcome, not indulged in.

Another essential starting point for serious revolutionaries who are in different organizations (as well as those in the same organization) is that we must not be afraid to discuss disagreements. Instead, we must take our own ideas, and each others’ ideas, seriously enough to discuss them frankly, to compare and contrast them, to debate them. This should not be seen as “attacks” on each other. Instead, it is part of a process of political clarification.

This task of political clarification is important not for its own sake but because the ideas are (or should be) related to political activity, designed to advance as effectively as possible the struggles of the working class and the oppressed, and to build a revolutionary socialist consciousness among masses of people. Doing this will enable us to end the power of capitalist and bureaucratic elites, and to establish the most thoroughgoing democracy ever—a world socialist commonwealth. Our discussions and debates must be designed not to put each other down and puff up our own little groups, but rather to advance the collective process of doing what must be done.

Such a perspective can help pave the way for unity. This is the approach that we bring to our discussions with the comrades of Socialist Action. We know that FIT members will continue to express their views as frankly as they do in our internal discussions. Comrades cannot afford simply to repeat preselected “politically correct” formulas. We need each comrade’s individual perceptions, questions, experiences, and proposals, with no one seeking “leadership” approval of particular formulations. “A Bolshevik is not merely a disciplined person,” Trotsky once pointed out, but “is a person who in each case and on each question forges a firm opinion of his [or her] own and defends it courageously and independently.” The stakes are too high to do otherwise, so we look forward to a free exchange between members of SA and the FIT.

It is also our hope that a similar process will unfold, sooner rather than later, with the comrades of Solidarity. In relation to both SA and Solidarity, it should be added, we of the FIT believe that fruitful collaboration can and should take place regardless of whether or not we happen to end up in a common organization.

We are not interested in organizational fusions that paper over differences with slick maneuvers and vague compromises. Nothing fruitful or durable can be achieved that way. It is far better to have an honest, thoroughgoing exploration of the prospects

(Continued on page 30)

Pittsburgh Educational Conference Is Big Success

by R. L. Huebner

The second national FIT educational conference held July 11-14 in Pittsburgh was a big success for our small but growing ranks. More than 100 conference participants from 23 cities gathered on the beautiful Chatham College campus for four days of lively discussion and debate, music, films, and socializing. FIT members from around the country were joined by local movement activists and trade unionists, as well as representatives from Socialist Action and Solidarity, CISPES, Black Workers for Justice, [other groups]. International guests included comrades from the Mexican Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party/PRT) and Socialist Challenge/Gauche Socialiste—the section of the Fourth International in the Canadian States.

The conference opened Thursday evening with a panel discussion on “The Struggle Against War and Imperialism.” Jeff Mackler, co-national secretary of Socialist Action and former west coast coordinator of the January 26 “Mobilization to Bring the Troops Home Now,” spoke of the tremendous success of the recent antiwar movement in mobilizing tens of thousands of people in struggle against the Persian Gulf war. Manuel Aguilar Mora, a leader of the PRT, analyzed the war and its ramifications for third world struggles against U.S. and world imperialism. And Evelyn Sell, a national coordinator of the FIT and active participant in the antiwar movement in southern California, spoke of the psychological preparations for war, the “Vietnam Syndrome,” and the failure of the U.S. ruling class to fully capture the hearts and minds of American working people in its drive to war, despite the outward appearance.

Friday began with a plenary discussion of current developments in the Soviet Union. Gerry Foley, until recently editor of *International Viewpoint*, published in Paris, spoke of recent events amongst the nationalities, the miners strikes of 1989, and the continuing social strains and stresses of marketization and state-sponsored privatizations. In a later session George Saunders, noted Russian translator, spoke of other developments in the Soviet Union.

An evening plenary session entitled “The African-American Revolution” featured Black Workers for Justice coordinator Saladin Muhammad, who reported on the current labor organizing drive in the South as well as discussing perspectives for the Black liberation struggle in the U.S., and Dr. Claire Cohen, founder of Women of Color for Reproductive Freedom, who narrated the rich history of African-American struggles against racism and social inequality.

Saturday's events opened with a plenary session on women's liberation. Carol McAllister, a professor of anthropology and Women's Studies at the University of Pittsburgh spoke of women's struggles for economic justice and reproductive

freedom around the world. Drawing upon original research with Malaysian women and her own experience in the women's movement, McAllister provided an internationalist perspective on the worldwide struggle for women's liberation and feminism in the 1990s.

Sunday morning sessions began with a labor activist workshop focusing on current labor struggles. Participants included veterans of the workers' movement such as Frank Lovell, former labor editor of the *Militant*, Jerry Gordon, international representative of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, AFSCME organizer Gladys McKenzie, Barney Oursler of the Mon Valley Unemployed Committee, and Saladin Muhammad of Black Workers for Justice.

The concluding plenary on Sunday afternoon was devoted to revolutionary internationalism, the struggle for socialism, and the work of the Fourth International. Rich and nuanced analyses of the world situation, the changing composition of labor, developments in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, the imperialist countries, and the developing world were provided by David Finkel of Solidarity, Manuel Aguilar Mora, Francois Moreau from Gauche Socialiste, and Melanie Benson for the FIT.

Other panels, classes, and workshops included a discussion by student and youth activists from various colleges and schools around the country, sessions on Marxist philosophy and economics, the Leninist conception of the party, Central America and the Caribbean, the crisis in Yugoslavia, the Transitional Program, and others. On Saturday evening conference participants were entertained by Cross Current, a local all-women's music group, featuring songs and skits about the struggles of working people and the oppressed (see review on page 26).

In addition to panels and workshops, conference participants were able to view an assortment of documentary films and videos on subjects and persons ranging from the Minneapolis Teamsters strike of 1934 and the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1950s and 1960s to revolutionary writers and artists such as C.L.R. James and Diego Rivera, as well as a documentary on American revolutionary socialist Eugene V. Debs. The new documentary “Workers of All Lands” chronicling the history and ideas of the Fourth International was also shown in addition to video coverage of the Soviet miners' strike of 1989. An impressive collection of left books and magazines from all sectors of the world was on sale at specially discounted prices for conference participants. More than \$2000 worth of revolutionary literature was sold insuring that conference participants will continue the educational process initiated at Chatham College. □

Cross Current: Musical Energy and Social Struggle

by Paul Le Blanc

Those attending the recent national educational conference of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency were treated to a concert by the Pittsburgh-based ensemble known as Cross Current. This is a group of black and white working women who sing labor songs, feminist songs, anti-racist songs, songs for lesbian and gay rights, songs of peace and social justice—and also poignant love songs. In addition, they weave into their concerts clever monologues and hilarious skits on topical issues, not to mention a wonderful energy, warmth and charm guaranteed to win the hearts of their audiences.

Woody Guthrie, Holly Near, Sweet Honey in the Rock and others have provided many of the songs they sing, but much of their material is written by one of their own members, Ginny Hildebrand. Long ago (or not so long ago, depending on one's perspective), Hildebrand was a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, and her spirit remains that of a youthful—yet thoughtful—revolutionary with a delicious sense of humor. Her own work experience in Pittsburgh area coal mines and steel mills flavors some of the songs she writes. Other members of the group include Brenda Marks (a Theatre Arts graduate from the University of Pittsburgh, and member of Women for Racial and Economic Equality), Carol Mullen (a public relations writer and volunteer for Pittsburgh Action Against Rape), Barbara Schwarck (a native of Germany, currently studying Art Therapy at Carlow College), and Rene Williams (a registered nurse, mother of three, active in the Pittsburgh AIDS Task Force). Adept at a variety of instruments and musical styles, the group's sense of timing and stage presence round out an impressive musical professionalism that is making Cross Current one of the more popular new singing groups in western Pennsylvania. One "problem" that the group has created for itself, however, has been its inclination to perform for free: at union rallies, at anti-racist actions, at pro-choice demonstrations, at Central America benefits, and—week after week as 1990 faded into 1991—at demonstrations against the Persian Gulf War.

Indeed, one of Ginny Hildebrand's songs virtually became an anthem of the local antiwar movement:

Bring the troops home now!
We don't want another dirty damn war.
We've got more in common with the people we're fighting
Than the people we're fighting for.
We've had enough of the profit-makers' power and greed,
So the war cries of the politicians we won't heed.

We can stop this war, we know exactly how:
Bring the troops home now!

This is one of several songs on a tape, appropriately titled "Cross Currents," which the group recently recorded. Others include: "Punch It In" (a delightful Judi McCall/Neil Sedaka ditty about computer operators), "Sweep Aside Apartheid" and "Take Back the Night" (two fine Hildebrand originals), "El Salvador," and "If Men Could Get Pregnant." Hildebrand also wrote "Cross Current" ("the land of peace and freedom is across the deep and wide, how will we ever reach the other side?"), as well as an intriguingly mellow yet stirring new arrangement of Woody Guthrie's "Union Maids," ending with some new verses:

When this song was first sung,
The fight had just begun.
There were union maids
In the needle trades —
They organized 'til the job was done.
In Ladies' Auxiliaries
Of giant factories
They won new pride
Side by side in CIO victories . . .

Now the unions are wounded but they ain't gonna die
They've gotta gather forces for a new battle cry.
This round will take far greater strength and unity.
That can only come through real equality . . .

Wherever union maids are found
In the coal mines underground
Flying to new heights
On construction sites
Turning the whole world upsidedown
(or right side up, depending on how you look at it)
And in offices and in schools,
We're breaking all the rules
Fighting every day
For comparable pay
With union men we say:
"We say you can't scare us,
we're sticking to the union . . ."

Those who want to hear these eight songs should send \$7.50 to: Ginny Hildebrand, 7114 Meade Street, Pittsburgh, PA 15208, for a tape (ideal for holiday gifts). Better yet, schedule a Cross Current concert (not free, but for a reasonable fee) in your own union, organization, school, or home town! □

International Class Struggle, Bureaucratic Crisis, and the Imperialist Offensive

by Manuel Aguilar Mora

The following is the edited text of a presentation given at the FIT National Educational Conference in Pittsburgh, July 11-14.

The events of 1989-91 comprise a most crucial three-year period. The world has experienced a dramatic chain of events that inaugurate a new historical epoch, beginning with the fall of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe, the deepening crisis of the bureaucracies in China and, above all, in the Soviet Union, and culminating with the U.S.-led imperialist war against Iraq. These events have led many to conclude that the 20th century will not end with the year 2000 but rather that the 21st century began 11 years ahead of schedule.

My remarks today will be presented in the form of theses, dealing with some of the fundamental considerations for revolutionary socialists that emerge from these recent events. In this we will stress the anti-imperialist aspects of our perspective.

1. Two factors have served to erase the East-West conflict, or so-called "cold war," as the central reference point in the imperialist policy agenda: the fall of the bureaucratic regimes that were imposed on Eastern Europe by the Stalinist bureaucracy following the Soviet defeat of German imperialism, and secondly, the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy which in turn has accelerated developments in Eastern Europe. Washington quickly took note of the significance of these facts.

The actions of Saddam Hussein, whom the U.S. intelligence services provoked in no small measure, were used to justify a quick military deployment, first into Saudi Arabia and later as part of a full-scale military aggression against Iraq, the first major military expedition of the post-cold war era. The way in which this war was designed and carried out proved that the U.S. sought to demonstrate that its hegemony remained undisputed and that its world dominance could not be significantly called into question.

2. This urgent effort by U.S. imperialism to reassert hegemony in the new political situation is due to several factors.

a. An exacerbated economic conflict with its most important rivals. Japan continues to take the lead in key sectors of industry at the same time as German imperialism got an extra shot in the arm with the collapse of the so-called German Democratic Republic (GDR). Other countries in Europe, as well as the Pacific rim countries like South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong, also offer some areas of direct competition for the U.S.

b. The increasing pauperization of the so-called third world, involving three-quarters of the world's population. According to the UN, one billion people on this planet depend on incomes of less than one dollar per day. Such desperate conditions help

to explain why the White House felt obliged to carry through on its invasions of Grenada and Panama and to keep afloat both the Nicaraguan Contra and the Salvadoran army with another strong response to any significant movement with anti-imperialist and nationalistic pretensions.

c. The importance of maintaining imperialist control over the Middle East with its vast petroleum reserves and array of loyal U.S.-dependent allies.

d. To demonstrate to the Kremlin bureaucracy that its requests for financial assistance with which to put a lid on growing Soviet economic chaos will depend on its complete acquiescence in imperialist foreign policy. Gorbachev's sad and pathetic role in the events surrounding the gulf war demonstrated his willingness to play by these rules.

3. Even though U.S. imperialism emerged politically and militarily strengthened by the war against Iraq it is far from nailing down a secure place for itself.

a. The U.S. economy continues to weaken and suffer from the effects of the recent recession, which would have been much deeper had the war dragged on for any considerable amount of time. Unemployment at the beginning of July was running at seven percent and according to U.S. Labor Department figures a total of eight million people were out of work. This fact eloquently demonstrates that celebration of a supposed end to the recession may have been kicked off a little early. This recession has lasted an entire year already. In a recent series of interviews with 40 economists that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* of July 5th it was claimed that the recovery—forecast for the second semester of 1991—will be so mild as to make it virtually unnoticeable by the majority of people.

The financial burden is so overwhelming that it is difficult to imagine a significant boost for the U.S. economy coming any time soon. The foreign trade deficit, which persists despite the recent increase in U.S. exports, the federal debt which was made worse by the gulf war, and the deep indebtedness registered by consumers and corporations alike, are all factors which put a brake on any real motion towards a recovery and assure that when such a recovery finally occurs it will most likely be weak, of short duration, and the prelude to a more severe recession.

b. The new situation in the Middle East is more complicated than before the massive U.S. military intervention there. The tragedy of the Kurdish people, the suffering of the Palestinians, and the apocalyptic disaster which descended on the Iraqi

people—who not only endured the massive U.S. destruction of lives and resources but continue to chafe under the weight of Saddam Hussein's dictatorship—are only a few of the intolerable consequences that the peoples of the region are experiencing.

c. Even if Bush should enjoy an easy time of it in the next presidential election, by the time 1992 rolls around U.S. imperialism will face an even more complex situation requiring more complicated policy choices than those it faced even in 1988. And U.S. hegemony in 1991 is a far cry from that of 1950. Today it is being strongly disputed on the international level while powerful domestic contradictions undermine it from within.

4. The U.S. imperialist offensive will be most strongly expressed in Latin America which along with the Middle East represents the key region for U.S. imperialist rule. George Bush aims to increasingly integrate the region into a U.S.-led economic bloc. This policy of economic integration is complemented by military interventions. The Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Mexico is an important link in this process. It is aimed at forcing the Canadian and U.S. working classes to compete against the massive source of cheap labor, a continental reserve workforce, made up of the Latin American proletariat.

The decline in real wage levels, and all types of social services, is another prerequisite for regaining the economic capacity to compete against the Japanese and German economies which offer workers slightly lower wages while registering considerably higher levels of productivity. The strategy of generating a direct competition between Mexican workers on the one hand, and their Canadian and U.S. sisters and brothers on the other, is primarily aimed at reducing the wages of the latter.

At the same time, the economic integration of Latin America is aimed at preserving and broadening the financial, commercial, and industrial control exercised by U.S. capital in the region. The tendency towards globalization, manifested by the existence of transnational firms, requires this course of action. The struggle for markets is an essential facet of the exacerbation of interimperialist rivalry.

But imperialist domination culminates in military intervention. Beginning with the invasion and the defeat of the Grenadian revolution the imperialist counteroffensive in Latin America has intensified. The previously mentioned support to the Nicaraguan Contras and the Salvadoran military were additional facets. So we have to add to the problem of the economic plundering of the continent through mechanisms such as the foreign debt the growing military intervention in the region.

The victory of the U.S. in Iraq casts an even more ominous shadow over Latin America. As we all know, the invasion of Panama directly preceded the war in the gulf. The U.S. military threat is stronger than ever in Latin America. In Guatemala the military feels very comfortable with the new president. In Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia the drug war offers a perfect pretext for a steady buildup of U.S. forces. And the invasion of Panama has become a source of constant armed confrontations.

5. It is necessary to understand the process that was inaugurated in 1989 in all its peculiarities. The positive fact of

the fall of the Stalinist bureaucracies must be viewed along with the fact that the mass movement in these countries has tended to respond not in clear class terms but rather as a broad-based citizens' movement. The predominant ideology in Eastern Europe identifies socialism with Stalinism and even goes so far as to confuse the latter with the most elemental forms of proletarian struggle. Even though these civic struggles are broad-based and democratic in nature the vast majority of participants are anti-communist and anti-socialist.

The electoral defeat of the FSLN, the turn by a large segment of the Latin American left towards social democracy, and the isolation of the Cuban revolution—antagonized by the insensitive and arrogant attitude of the Castro leadership which seems impermeable to the historic lessons of what happens to all those who oppose the democratic aspirations of the masses—are additional expressions of this dynamic currently being fueled by the crisis in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The global policy of imperialism shows its macabre face. The basis has been laid for a new advance in mass anti-imperialist consciousness. One indication of this was the massive dimensions of the anti-gulf war protests in the imperialist centers, particularly in the U.S. where the first mobilizations were incomparably larger than the first Vietnam protests. The threat that the 1991 antiwar movement would grow as an independent mass force was an additional incentive for Washington to try to wrap up its offensive as quickly as possible.

6. The worldwide revolutionary process has become more complex. At the same time pressure towards a greater integration of the economies of noncapitalist and third world countries into those of the imperialist bastions lays the basis for a future convergence of anti-imperialist struggles.

In the countries of the third world in which there is an obvious crisis of imperialist hegemony it is illogical to believe in the prospects for a stable, new world order that could last through the next century (as some euphoric commentators suggest) or even through the next decade. In the noncapitalist countries, recently freed from bureaucratic tutelage, with the exception of the GDR—for whom capitalist restoration is now a fact—the lack of liquidity, restricted loans, and existing poverty are factors that contribute to the disillusionment of the masses who see their hopes to become part of the most advanced sectors of the capitalist world dashed as they face a reality more akin to that of Mexico, Turkey, Colombia, Peru, and other countries of the third world.

Lastly, recent events have laid the basis for a new deepening of anti-imperialist consciousness. We can feel an urgent need to integrate the workers of the imperialist countries into the anti-imperialist struggle. They will be the prime protagonists of the coming period, putting finally to rest the third-worldist vision, in vogue until 1989, which saw them as hopelessly coopted into the capitalist system. The fundamental lesson we should draw from the 1989-91 period is that their participation is essential for the success of the anti-imperialist struggle. That is why the internationalization of struggles which the new phase of imperialism will promote, draws us nearer to the aspiration of many past movements and revolutionary conflicts: the emancipation of humankind and the construction of a democratic and socialist society. □

Current Realities in Cuba: Prospects for Continuing the Revolution

by John Kovach

The following is the edited text of a presentation given at the FIT National Educational Conference in Pittsburgh, July 11-14.

I visited Cuba from May 30-June 12 as part of a 60-member delegation attending the Third Annual Conference of North American and Cuban Philosophers. I am not an expert on Cuban or Latin American affairs and any conclusions which I make should be taken within this context. What I can offer are a few remarks about what I saw and heard during the two weeks I spent in Cuba and what I sense are the prospects for advancing the revolution.

To say the least, life is very difficult for almost everyone in Cuba today. However, in some ways I was surprised that everyday conditions were not as bad as I had anticipated after reading recent accounts in the mainstream media. Cubans continue to enjoy a lifestyle that the average Latin American (and at least one in four U.S. citizens) can only dream about. One does not see homelessness, hunger, or beggars on the streets of Havana. Even in the poorest sections of Old Havana, the children all look healthy, well-fed, decently clothed, and happy.

People are not hungry in Cuba because with their ration card they continue to receive the necessities. But they are waiting in long lines every day for everything from bread and eggs to rice and beans. Fistfights do break out daily among those who become frustrated with the lengthy queues. During the second week of June the Canadian News Service reported that there were food riots in Havana. I was unable to verify this report and most likely the report was referring to an individual scuffle between a few persons in a queue. When I asked a cab driver about the possibility of food riots in Havana his reply was telling of the mounting level of frustration: "There haven't been any riots although fights happen every day. But riots certainly are not impossible; they would happen if people had a leader."

Cuba's economic problems can be traced to at least four important factors; three of these are external and one is internal to the country's economic functioning. As to the external factors, economic life is constrained by international debt (and along with U.S. pressure, the reticence of international financial agencies to provide Cuba with loans) and falling prices for Cuba's agricultural exports—especially sugar, the U.S. economic blockade, and the decline in Soviet aid.

The internal factor which most shapes Cuba's economic problems involves errors and inefficiencies which result from a lack of democratic planning and control. Cuba must find new technologies which are less wasteful of oil and other resources which are in short supply. The country must also explore new

markets for the goods which it produces. In some areas, such as biotechnology exports, they are enjoying significant and growing success.

One response to Cuba's economic woes and its need for hard currency, which is now essential for trade in the world market, has been to sweeten the pot, encouraging increasing numbers of joint-ventures in the tourist sector with the Spanish, Germans, French, Italians, Dutch, and Canadians. The government is now allowing a full 50 percent participation from this foreign capital. Of course, this type of development does not come without some obvious contradictions.

The social strain created by the "tourist apartheid" in Cuba is blatant. At the beach resorts like Varadero, and within the confines of the large hotels in Havana, fine food is found in abundance and the "dollar stores" (stores which only accept U.S. dollars) are loaded with imported food, liquor, clothing, and souvenirs from floor to ceiling. The official party line is that tourism is simply a short-term to intermediate solution to Cuba's problems. Party members say that in time tourism and the decadence and related problems it creates will not be necessary and will be eliminated. Such a view seems totally unrealistic when one witnesses the scale of new construction which is now in progress at beach resort areas. At Varadero beach for example, there are over 20 large luxury hotels which cater to international guests—Cubans cannot get through the front door of these places—and I counted 14 construction cranes in the distance which were being used to build at least a dozen huge, new structures.

Older Cubans, those who remember life before the revolution, seem to persevere fairly well given the current hardships. But the young appear to be especially impatient. They want the consumer goods that they see in the tourist shops. They want to get into the clubs and discotheques which admit only tourists spending dollars. And there is a special danger because these young people—the ones who are not members of the Young Communist League (UJC)—have no real mechanisms for critical debate and exchange. As a result, many of the young people that I spoke to were very cynical and surprisingly apolitical. Several told me that, "socialism in Cuba is different . . . and it is not good for me." When I asked these young adults what alternatives they envisioned, they had no answers. All they understood was that they wanted the Nike and Reebok sneakers, the rock-and-roll albums, and the Sony Walkmans that they see tourists carrying or that they see on Miami TV.

Our group had a five-and-one-half hour briefing with three staff members of the Central Committee. All three were in

agreement and presented the party line on issues related to human rights, political freedom, racism, and sexism in Cuba. However, I was surprised as to the divergent opinions and disagreement among them on the topic of needed political change and reforms for the country. Their opinions reflected what Milton Fisk (one of the members of our contingent) recently described in a *Guardian* article as the two poles of political debate among the leadership in Cuba. The one camp feels that the current crisis demands unity around the party. They feel that there is a common will of the people and that the party and the state reflect this common will. The other camp argues that Cuba needs new solutions which can only come through emphasis on pluralism. They argue that there can be disagreements within and outside of the party and that all views must be democratically considered. This perspective sees no common will of the people beyond the basis provided by the revolution. Supporters of this pluralist view also argue that the party has limited free debate by dominating local grassroots participation in political organizations.

Interestingly, when members of our group questioned the Central Committee staff member who presented the need for pluralism in Cuba, as to whether he meant that Cuba needs a multiparty system, he backed away from his position somewhat. His response was that there is no dogmatic link between socialism and one-party rule but the concept of the revolutionary party in Cuba has been conditioned by circumstance and history which must be acknowledged. One-party rule was the vision of Jose Marti he asserted. One of the staff members also reminded us that the United States did not develop a two-party system until 1796—twenty years after the revolution. In fact, Washington and Franklin and other U.S. revolutionary supporters were staunchly opposed to a two-party system.

Although I support the pluralist view I am not very optimistic about change in Cuba in the near future. There still remains a completely uncritical attitude toward Fidel and the idea of a unitary, centralist governing party. These conditions suggest that those who are calling for unity around the current party position that identifies Fidel Castro with the people and the

people with the revolution will probably win out over a more pluralist approach. If this scenario proves to be the case, it will be that much more difficult for the revolution to survive. Cuba will not be able to survive as an island of socialism in a sea of capitalism. Without the international support of so-called socialist countries and with increasingly hostile U.S. policy guided by the Monroe Doctrine, Cuba's drive for development and self-determination can only fail over time.

Current solidarity talks among Latin American countries are little solace for Cuba. Most of Central and South America has been forced by the IMF, the World Bank, and industrialized capitalist countries to adopt the so-called neoliberal economic development mode. It is a model based on reduced social services, increased efforts to attract foreign investment, state-supported constraints on workers, wages and benefits, relaxed environmental regulation, and allocation of resources on the basis of the market. The net effect of this neoliberalism has been that as third world countries become more dependent on the core capitalist countries and their banks, they also get poorer and more divided. Such a situation leaves Cuba's traditional allies in the third world much weaker and more vulnerable than ever before and reduces prospects for any true joint actions and support.

It seems clear that what is needed in Cuba is true institutional democratization and decentralized, democratic control at all levels. This is not what I sense is coming. But this current situation means that it is imperative that we redouble our efforts in critically supporting the revolution at this time. We need to work harder than ever before to fight our government's and the media's attempt to isolate Cuba. We should all be doing some sort of solidarity work connected to the Hands Off Cuba Coalition, through our unions and academic groups; or we should be planning independent educational/support events in our communities. The Cubans are extremely open to all kinds of exchanges and educational tours, so one might consider making a trip to Cuba in the near future to physically demonstrate solidarity with the Cuban people and their revolution. □

FI Unity (Continued from page 24)

for unity that clearly lays out and enriches our understanding of Marxist theory and social realities—even if it doesn't yield immediate organizational unity—because this process provides something that all of

us can learn from and build on. Best of all, of course, would be an organizational unity based on political clarification and programmatic enrichment which will be

capable of advancing the struggle for socialism.

We invite everyone who wants to help overcome the fragmentation of U.S. Fourth Internationalists to join in the process now taking place. □

August 1, 1991

We received the following newsletter from a friend in Ecuador. We are republishing it for the information of our readers.

Solidarity Ecuador

The news coming out of Ecuador gains international attention only when the magnitude of events, usually tragic ones, is great. The daily suffering of the people, the events which are not spectacular but which profoundly affect life, are not considered newsworthy by the communication transnationals.

The signatories below have united with the intention of providing updated information about Ecuador which we will distribute in three languages: Spanish, English, and French. We hope that this monthly bulletin will help you get to know Ecuador in a more profound way, rather than the stylized version offered by tourist brochures. We also hope that this bulletin will help both the reader and ourselves develop initiatives in solidarity with the people of Ecuador.

—Gregoire Delabre, Paul Little, Carlos Rojas

Ecuador: A Cholera Epidemic That Came to Stay

According to Health Ministry officials, more than 20,000 cases of cholera have been documented in Ecuador, of which two percent of the cases have been fatal. Those areas most affected are the large shantytowns which encircle the nation's cities, small fishing villages which lack basic infrastructure, and Indian communities which have never been served by the state.

Cholera is a poor man's disease that prospers where there are few public services and where there is economic marginality. The only response by the Ecuadorean government has been to mass publish prevention guidelines outlining basic hygiene techniques. Yet, what good does it do to tell people to boil their drinking water when entire neighborhoods lack access to water or when many families are so poor that they do not have sufficient funds to buy gas to cook their meals?

The Presidential Election Campaign Breaks Loose

In the middle of this epidemic, the presidential election campaign has begun. Yet again Ecuadoreans are faced with the choice between demagogic populists who present themselves as "political messiahs," and neoconservative candidates who talk about efficiency, free markets, the dismantling of the state and the cutting of social services.

Sixto Duran Ballen is a neoconservative candidate who broke away from the Social Christian party to form a new party and who currently rides high in the polls. As a demonstration of Ecuador's ideological confusion, leftist groups such as the Communist Party have openly supported Duran Ballen's candidacy, while claiming that the "communists and conservatives" have to unite to "save the nation." Other progressive parties that could offer alternatives are trapped in the vicious

circle of parliamentary politics in which the key concern is garnering votes.

The Workers' Movement Confronts Governmental Labor Reform

As part of the Initiative of the Americas proposed by George Bush, free commerce zones are being established throughout the region, with the creation of an Andean Common Market (or the Andean Pact) being its most immediate expression. The Common Market guidelines call for the lifting of tariffs between the five member nations (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia) and the reform of national labor codes geared to increase productivity and competition among the area's industries.

Ecuadorean president Rodrigo Borja recently sent to Congress a project of reform of the nation's labor codes in order to streamline the existing legislation. This project severely limits the workers' rights to negotiate with their employers, their right to strike, and the role of unions. Up until now labor leaders have not responded in a unified way to these threats although major mobilizations are being planned.

First Anniversary of the National Indian Uprising of June 1990

After a tactical retreat, the national Indian peasant movement organized by CONAIE (National Confederation of Ecuadorean Indian Nationalities) has retaken the initiative and is currently planning the celebration of the first anniversary of last year's National Indian Uprising with many activities being organized around the country.

One Indian group occupied the Congress for two days and demanded amnesty for the over 1,000 Indians facing trial due to their participation in the uprising last year. They also established an alternative plan of government centered around the issues of: food, land, and self-determination.

The underlying causes which provoked the first Indian uprising have not only not been resolved but have worsened in many respects. CONAIE has announced that it is planning a second Indian uprising to protest the lack of attention to their land claims and to stop the aggression which they have received at the hands of paramilitary bands whose existence has been admitted by the government.

During the final days of May a sharp polemic erupted around the issue of the buying of external debt by the Catholic Church via one of the nongovernmental agencies affiliated with it, the Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio (FEPP). Several progressive groups, some of them part of the Catholic Church, asserted that this mechanism was an improper way to deal with the external debt issue. □

Reviews

Panama: Made in the USA, by John Weeks and Phil Gunson. Latin America Bureau, 1991. (Paper, \$8.00)

Reviewed by Michael Livingston

This book provides a telling indictment of U.S. hypocrisy and brutality in the pursuit of domination and power. *Panama: Made in the USA* covers the invasion and its aftermath, but it also deals extensively with the history of Panama, the careers of Omar Torrijos and Manuel Noriega, and the U.S. campaign to topple Noriega before the December 20th invasion. The book contains maps and photos, an historical chronology, a list of acronyms, and a table of basic statistics on Panama.

Panama: Made in the USA, because it presents an historical analysis, provides a detailed picture of U.S. intervention. The military operation code named "Operation Just Cause" (the name was picked at the last minute by Secretary of Defense Cheney to replace a name that had been randomly generated by a computer) began around 12:30 at night on December 20th. The invasion had originally been scheduled for January 1 but the date was moved up to take advantage of the events on December 15th and 16th. On the 15th, the National Assembly of Representatives appointed Noriega head of state in response to what the Assembly described as "a state of war" caused by U.S. aggression against the people of Panama. The Bush administration described this statement as a declaration of war and cited it as an example of how Noriega was becoming "unstable." On the 16th the Panamanian Defense Forces (FDP) shot a U.S. army lieutenant at a roadblock near FDP headquarters and seized a U.S. navy officer and his wife whom they brutally interrogated.

These events can be considered pretexts for the invasion which had already been planned. As *Panama: Made in the USA* makes clear, the U.S. carried out a "low intensity" (from the point of view of the Pentagon, not from the point of view of the Panamanian people) war that included economic sanctions that led to the collapse of the economy, covert operations to overthrow Noriega, and massive interference in the Panamanian election of 1989. Indeed, the U.S. gave the equivalent of five times the total money spent by Bush and Dukakis on their presidential campaigns in 1988 to Noriega's opposition. From the point of view of Panama these actions certainly constituted a state of war on Panama by the U.S. The murder of the U.S. soldier and the torture of the U.S. sailor and his wife were a consequence of U.S. policy. The U.S. military had increased its patrols into Panamanian territory and the presence of U.S. military on the streets in an attempt to provoke an incident.

The U.S. reaction to the incident when it occurred was hypocritical, for the U.S. generally fails to react to the murder or torture of U.S. citizens when our allies carry out the acts. For example, one month before the invasion Sister Diana Ortiz, an American nun working in Guatemala, was kidnapped and tortured by a Guatemalan death squad. The U.S. State Department took no action, claiming that the incident was for the Guatemalan authorities to deal with.

The invasion itself pitted 26,000 highly trained U.S. combat troops against 16,000 FDP members. Many of these FDP members were support personnel or traffic police. Only 5,000 members of the FDP could have been considered combat troops. The FDP had no air force, no radar, and no anti-aircraft weapons. The U.S. also incorporated a number of the "lessons of Vietnam" in their planning. They struck suddenly with massive force, trying to minimize U.S. casualties and disregarding civilian loss of life or property. The press was tightly controlled. And the invasion only took place after a careful domestic propaganda campaign which helped insure the 80-90 percent approval ratings in the polls.

One of the advantages of the historical analysis presented in *Panama: Made in the USA* is that it clearly demonstrates how all of the reasons given for the invasion were propaganda ploys. Bush gave four reasons for the invasion: First, to safeguard the lives of U.S. citizens; second, to defend democracy; third, to combat the drug trade by arresting Noriega; fourth, to "protect the integrity" of the 1977 Panama Canal Treaties. The one American killed before the invasion died as a consequence of the U.S.'s attempts to provoke an incident. One American was taken hostage and killed in response to the invasion and 23 U.S. soldiers were killed (at least nine by "friendly fire"). Imposing the will of the U.S. on Panama is itself a violation of democracy and national and international law (Appendix 1 outlines the U.S.'s violations of international law). The U.S. has also interfered to subvert Panamanian democracy or has failed to defend democracy when it was in the U.S.'s interest to do so. Noriega had a long involvement with the CIA and the drug trade. His links to the drug trade were known and tolerated since at least 1971. Further, the government imposed by the U.S. after the invasion has strong links to the drug trade which are also well known. Finally, the invasion violates the 1977 treaty and was aimed more at eliminating parts of the treaty than at defending the treaty.

Panama: Made in the USA also analyzes the reasons behind the invasion and why the U.S. turned on a long time, and perhaps our most useful, CIA agent. For many years the

U.S. paid Noriega approximately \$100,000 per year for his services and protected (usually by blocking actions or investigations in the U.S. court system) his illegal activities. Why then did U.S. policy change toward Noriega in mid-1987. *Panama: Made in the USA* gives several reasons. Certainly the control of the government that controls the canal was important, and Noriega was becoming more difficult to control. The U.S. military bases were also important. An additional factor appears to be that Washington decided that a civilian government would better serve the U.S.

The book has one chapter devoted to the aftermath of the invasion. The drug trade has increased, democracy and respect for human rights have not increased, and the economy continues to be a shambles. Indeed, the only outcomes of the invasion were that the U.S. killed an undetermined number of innocent people (estimated at between 600 and several thousand—the U.S. military did everything in its power to hide the number killed so that we may never know the true number), destroyed countless people's homes and neighborhoods, and reimposed its absolute dominance on Panamanian society. Such is the justice of the U.S.'s "cause." □

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Colombia: Inside the Labyrinth, by Jenny Pearce. Latin America Bureau, 1990. (Paper, \$18.00)

Reviewed by Michael Livingston

This book is a valuable introduction for those who wish to understand "the Colombian story... one of the most complex in Latin America" (p. 4). Maps, tables and graphs, and historical chronologies also make this book a useful reference. I found the book generally well written and interesting. After reading it you have a better understanding of a country that the "Colombian journalist Antonio Caballero once called... a 'political time-bomb'" (p. 287).

Pearce has divided her book into three parts. The first traces the historical development of Colombia from colonization through La Violencia in 1965. This historical background is essential if you wish to understand the development of the political order which now rules the country. Pearce also explores the difference between what Colombian writers call the "political" or "formal" country, a seemingly democratic and modern state, and the "real" Colombia, a country of poverty and lawlessness.

In Part Two of the book Pearce examines the crisis in the political establishment which

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Clarence Thomas and the Myth of Equal Opportunity

by Steve Bloom

The nomination by George Bush of Judge Clarence Thomas to succeed Thurgood Marshall on the U.S. Supreme Court has focused a renewed spotlight on the question of racial discrimination in the U.S. and rekindled the debate over solutions to it. Thomas has become a symbol for those who think that the government shouldn't intervene in order to alleviate the problems faced by Blacks and other minorities. Bush, who is himself a prominent spokesperson for that view, hopes that a Black expressing the same approach (and making decisions based on it if he is confirmed for the Court) will give this reactionary outlook a greater credibility. No one was taken in when the president said, in Kennebunkport, Maine, on announcing his nomination: "The fact that he is Black and a minority had nothing to do with this." It had, of course, everything to do with it.

Despite the obvious reality of racial discrimination in the United States—massively higher unemployment among Blacks, their concentration in lower-paying jobs, inferior schools in Black neighborhoods, higher infant mortality and discriminatory medical care, and the many other problems that can be easily quantified and are often documented even in the mainstream press—the myth of "equal opportunity" in America, promoted by the U.S. ruling class, continues to have a strong hold on many people. Clarence Thomas personifies the mechanism through which this ideological sleight-of-hand is accomplished.

Although there isn't *equal* opportunity for Black Americans, the fact remains that there is *selective* opportunity. American society is structured in such a way as to make it impossible for the Black community *as a whole* to achieve equality with whites. But, at the same time, *individuals* are allowed to overcome the obstacles in order to "make it" in one field or another ordinarily reserved for whites. Thus there appears the "example" of a Clarence Thomas. (We leave aside here the sports and entertainment industries, which are exceptions to the general rule of more limited opportunities for members of oppressed groups. In these fields white owners, promoters, record companies, etc., can make enormous sums of money from the talents of Blacks.)

Thus we can see that the use of Thomas's life story in order to argue that equal opportunity exists for Blacks in America represents a simple and obvious logical fallacy, one that is easy to understand for anyone who cares to think about it. *Exceptional* cases can never disprove basic trends—as long as they remain exceptional cases. We might just as well cite the existence of Eskimos to challenge the statement: "temperate climates can support a larger population of humans than polar regions." Such an argument would be obviously absurd to anyone with even the slightest knowledge of human cultures and the factors that influence their distribution around our planet (that is, to most people).

The fact that a similar absurdity about "equal opportunity" for Blacks in America can gain credibility simply demonstrates

the power of ideology over logic—when there is a material interest behind the ideology in question. In this case the material interests are no secret. The American ruling class makes enormous profits from its discrimination against Blacks and other minorities, and it has control over a vast network of news media, educational institutions, and popular culture which are used to perpetuate the "equal opportunity" claptrap.

Thomas asserts: If he entered law school and rose to a federal judgeship by his own efforts—in the context of American society as presently constituted—then there isn't any reason why others shouldn't be able to do the same. He therefore stands opposed to quotas and other affirmative action plans for Blacks, claiming that these constitute a brake on the development of the individual, allowing people to get by while performing at a lower standard than would otherwise be required.

All of this is nonsense, of course. Affirmative action—up to and including quotas—is essential not because those who have been the victims of past discrimination need an easier set of standards to find entry into good schools or better-paying jobs. Rather, it is needed because in the past these groups have either been excluded entirely or have been held to a *far higher* standard than others. Society has been structured in such a way that if an *equally* qualified white or Black, man or woman, applied for an available position, preference was almost invariably given to the white male. Whites and males still often gain entry to jobs and schools with *lesser* qualifications than those required of women, Blacks, and other minorities. It is precisely because such racist and sexist practices die hard that quotas are necessary for any real redress of past discrimination. They are the only way to assure that Blacks, women, and others can achieve a proportion of success *equal* to that which they are entitled to based simply on a fair distribution of society's resources.

Thomas, though he does not want to admit it, is certainly the product of a quota system—in two senses of the term, one positive and one negative. He is part of that quota of Blacks (a small minority) that is allowed to achieve "success" in this society precisely so that the myth of equal opportunity will have some measure of credibility for those who want to believe in it. This is a negative quota, a limiting quota, which exists no matter how much Thomas, and others like him, want to deny it. In addition, it is extremely doubtful that even with his "individual effort" Thomas would have been able to raise himself so far above the average condition of the Black masses in America without the *affirmative* quotas brought about by the civil rights movement—at such institutions as Yale Law School, which he attended.

Those who, like Thomas, espouse an anti-affirmative action viewpoint often cite the cases of other ethnic minorities, mostly immigrants, who were once historically discriminated against in America: Irish, Eastern Europeans, Jews, etc. These groups, it is argued, overcame the problems they faced and found a place in American society as a result of hard work, by taking advantage of educational opportunities, etc. This argument is another cornerstone of the "equal opportunity" myth-makers and it is therefore important to take a brief look at it.

What strikes one immediately is that all of the nationalities cited in this litany cannot be easily separated out from the

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A Critical Assessment of the 1991 CUNY Protest

The following article raises some questions about Barry Lituchy's article "The CUNY Student Revolt of 1991" which appeared in *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism*, No. 87, July-August 1991. Michael Frank and Barry Lituchy are both faculty members in the CUNY system and have been active in CUNY-wide struggles.

by Michael Frank

Before attempting to assess the 1991 student protest at the City University of New York, it is useful to examine the successful 1989 protest which blocked a \$200 tuition increase.

The student movement began with rather mild forms of protest, letter writing campaigns, and lobbying at the State Legislature in Albany. These actions failed to produce any results and the students responded by organizing rallies and demonstrations, both in Albany and in front of the governor's office in New York City. At this point over a thousand students had been active participants and thousands of others were sympathetic to the unfolding protest.

But the rallies and demonstrations also failed to produce results. A group of student activists at City College came to the conclusion that more radical forms of protest were necessary and seized the administration building. A layer of students throughout the university had, as a result of their experiences in the protest, come to the same conclusion. The takeover at City College triggered building occupations at 18 campuses. This electrified masses of students. Large, powerful demonstrations were held in support of the hundreds of students who were occupying the buildings. The struggle had reached a new level of intensity. But spectacular as this wave of building occupations was, it did not in and of itself turn the tide. While the protests were taking place on individual campuses, 10,000 angry students and faculty supporters marched in the Wall Street area, their speeches and slogans attacking corporate wealth and the lack of funding for education. The movement was still on the upswing, drawing in more students and faculty, and had the potential to spread into the Black and Hispanic communities, when the governor backed off and vetoed the

tuition hike. It was the most powerful protest movement in New York City in years, and one of the few, clear-cut working class victories.

By 1991 many of the students who participated in the '89 protest were no longer in the university. The '91 protest began with building occupations which were decided upon and carried out by small groups of students. Unlike the '89 situation students were not already in motion when the occupations took place. It was hoped that the occupations would spark a broad movement. The situation was comparable to that of '89 in terms of the timing of the tuition increase and the general mood of the students. While there was widespread opposition to the impending \$500 tuition hike and sympathy for the protestors, the movement did not take off as expected. Not having the kind of mass active support that occurred in '89, the protest leaders had to devote all their attention and energy to the logistics of holding the buildings. They were, for the most part, not able to organize rallies and demonstrations on the campuses; activities in which masses of students could participate. The potential for mass mobilization was seen in the CUNY-wide demonstrations on April 24 and 30. But the main strategy of the leadership was that of holding onto the buildings until the state gave in.

The majority of students were sympathetic but passive on-lookers. As the occupations continued and the protest did not grow significantly, many began to doubt their effectiveness and came to the conclusion that this tactic would not succeed. Support for the occupations eroded. It was this deterioration of the balance of forces that enabled the CUNY administration to move against the building occupiers.

Barry Lituchy, in his article in the July-August *Bulletin In Defense of Marxism*, attributes the failure of the 1991 protest to a lack of support from communities, labor

unions, and faculty, and to the repressive actions of the administration. In my opinion this analysis is one-sided. The fact is there was *more* community support in '91 than in '89. For a time community pressure from Harlem and the Bronx helped to prevent the administration from calling in the police. There were more contacts and discussions with unions and more material support than there was in '89. And even though the '91 protest was weaker, the level of faculty support was about the same. On the other hand, Lituchy is certainly right that support from these sectors was a mere fraction of what was possible.

But the main cause for the failure of the '91 protest was the lack of *student* support. The role of administrative repression was secondary. It was the weakness of the movement as a whole that made this repression possible. Students were forced to spend much time and energy in defense work after the protest was over. By contrast in 1989 the administration's policy was one of general amnesty. Anything less would have spelled trouble for the administration. A more powerful movement that had the active support and involvement of masses of students would have made it easier to draw in the communities, labor, and the faculty. In order to move forward the CUNY student movement must be able to learn from its experiences; both from its failures and its successes.

The attacks on the City University will continue. Increased tuition will mean fewer students and fewer students will mean fewer faculty. Budget cuts will result in increased class sizes, a deterioration of both learning and working conditions. And faculty layoffs will mean reduced course offerings for students. There is an objective basis for a student-faculty alliance. For the city's Black, Hispanic, and working class communities CUNY is the only route to economic and social advancement. They have a direct interest in the defense of this institution.

In the context of a general capitalist offensive against working class social gains the student movement can be a catalyst and stimulate movements in other sectors. The potential and power of a united working class fightback is clearly understood by those who are trying to impose austerity. Governor Cuomo, referring to the impact of budget cuts on hospital workers, sanitation workers, teachers, high school students, etc., worried "If they all protested, they could make the CUNY protest look like a breakfast meeting." □

Barry Lituchy Responds

My basic position (with which Michael Frank may well agree) is that the CUNY student protest this spring was a genuine and necessary expression of working class struggle in this city that had to be accepted and supported on its own terms, *regardless of the form it took and in spite of the mistakes of its leadership*. It is only when one joins the struggle that it is then possible to influence the direction of the strategy and tactics from within that struggle. Apparently, Frank would agree that the CUNY protests in both 1989 and 1991 were genuine expressions of working class struggle. But if so, then the real focus of our attention should be on the approach activists should take toward such actions and how they can help to build them, not on comparisons that tend to undercut the legitimacy of those protests. In my opinion, Frank's effort in drawing a comparison between 1989 and 1991 serves little more than to divert attention from more important questions.

Frank's major criticism of both the 1991 student protests and of my article seems to be that "the main cause for the failure of the '91 protest was the lack of student protest," not lack of support from other groups (particularly faculty and labor unions), or the severity of administrative or government repression. He argues that "The majority of students were sympathetic but passive on-lookers." Of course, this is true, but does Frank mean that we should have held off supporting the takeovers until there was a majority of students involved? "World history," Marx pointed out, "would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favorable chances." Or is Frank implying that, in contrast to 1991, the takeovers of 1989 had anything near a majority of students "actively" involved, or even that 1989 was qualitatively different in terms of the numbers of student supporters? Perhaps the protests of 1989 were slightly bigger and better organized. But even if all of the 10,000 who marched in 1989 were students (which they were not) they would still have accounted for less than 5 percent of the CUNY student body. I would even take

issue with the idea that the number of students who marched on April 24th and the 30th were significantly fewer than those who marched in 1989. How many thousands of students does Frank think are too few: seven, eight, nine? Furthermore, Frank's assertion that the protesters were unable to organize rallies and demonstrations during the takeovers is patently untrue. On any given day there were several rallies and demonstrations going on at the same time throughout CUNY.

I must also take issue with Frank's argument about the relationship of the CUNY protests to external dynamics, particularly to administrative and governmental repression. Does he really think that the social context of the protests in 1989 and '91 were the same? This was a major point in my article. First of all, Governor Cuomo's attempt to raise tuition in 1989 did not receive the kind of cooperation from the city and the CUNY administration that it did in 1991. The financial crisis of the city and state was far less severe in 1989 than it is today, as were the budget cuts, as was the entire attack on the city's working class population. More importantly, then CUNY chancellor Joseph Murphy did not support the tuition increase. How could Cuomo have backed up his posture toward CUNY in 1989 with an administration that was not committed to carrying out his policies? As my article pointed out, current chancellor Ann Reynolds was brought in specifically to wield the axe on CUNY. And unlike the mayor in 1989, Ed Koch, David Dinkins is more eager and less worried about using police oppression against the largely minority protesters—after all, you can't call Dinkins a racist! Furthermore, there was also greater pressure on Dinkins from the state, which in turn was itself better prepared and more determined to deal harshly with CUNY this time around. Clearly, it was the qualitatively greater degree of administrative and governmental repression, brought on by the whip of capitalist necessity in the form of a profound state and city budget crisis, which distinguishes the 1991 protest from that of 1989.

Indeed, I would go so far as to argue that even if the number of students participating in the 1991 protests had been *twice* as many as those in 1989 they could not by *themselves* have forestalled the repressive actions taken by the CUNY administration and the city, considering the overall state of the economy and the budget crisis, and the much stronger consensus within the ruling class that CUNY must suffer. Student protests like the one we witnessed this spring are powerful expressions of working class struggle against the attempts of the ruling class to undermine the living conditions of workers. However, the level and intensity of the attack on working people's living standards by the ruling class must ultimately determine the degree to which students need to rely on the muscle of organized labor and of oppressed communities to defend themselves. It is only organized labor that has the real power to shut down New York City, not students. Without labor and community support, ultimately *no number of students* can prevent cop attacks on student protests or state oppression in general. Likewise, *without the support of the faculty* no number of students can reverse decisions taken by the CUNY administration since it is the faculty which in the long run holds the decisive cards in determining whether CUNY stays open or shuts down. Nor can students alone prevent the administration from launching new wrecking policies against CUNY which in fact continue to issue from 80th Street as I write. Just five days ago the CUNY administration voted to go ahead with plans to cut 31 associate degree programs at New York Technical College (out of a total of 42 academic programs) and 4 at John Jay College, thereby throwing 4,500 students at Tech and 1,800 students at John Jay out of school. Faculty lay-offs at the two schools are projected to be in the hundreds.

In certain key respects Frank's views and mine are complementary. We agree on the need for broadening the protests at every level. However, there is still something fundamentally unrealistic in Frank's overall approach to the struggle. He claims that "a more powerful movement that had the active support and involvement of *masses* of students *would have made it easier* to draw in the communities, labor, and the faculty." Well, of course this is true, but it is also naive and unrealistic to make such a reality a precondition for our support to those students who did go into battle. The point is precisely that drawing together diverse seg-

ments of the working class and building a mass movement is *never* easy. For example, the faculty and students are currently preparing lawsuits against the state's discriminatory practices in its funding of CUNY (independent of course, from the corrupt faculty union, the PSC). But even now, as the legal council for the students, Ron McGuire, correctly pointed out at a CUNY meeting yesterday (August 5), the faculty's agenda is very different from that of the students, and it has not yet addressed the student movement adequately. We must focus now on linking the demands of

the faculty and those of the broader labor and oppressed community movements in New York City with those of the CUNY students.

Frank is correct that we need to address all of the shortcomings of the spring protests. But it is wrongheaded to blame the victims of the budget cuts for having, as he says, "made this repression possible." We have to work with the forces we have, not with imaginary forces we would like to have. One simply cannot judge the significance of events in the class struggle merely according to the likelihood of their

success, nor can we make overwhelming numbers or infallibility a precondition for our support to workers' struggles. Nor can we predict how or when working people will rise up to fight oppression. As our state's own gambling advertisements remind us: "we can win it only if we're in it." When it comes to building mass participation in working people's struggles in this city revolutionaries have no choice but to take that gamble. □

Reviews (Continued from page 32)

emerged from La Violencia along with the capitalist development of the country (including the development of cocaine in the late 1970s). The political crisis and economic development brought additional misery and hardship to the majority of Colombians. Part Two also describes the response of the majority who pressured the ruling order for change.

Finally in Part Three the author analyzes the ruling elite's counteroffensive against those who sought change. This counteroffensive which started in the mid-1980s has resulted in a virtual war—two wars in fact. The first war is the so-called "commercial war" waged by the drug cartels to protect their business. This is the war which most of us in the U.S. are familiar with from the news media. The other war, the so-called "political war" or "dirty war," has claimed far more

lives. This "dirty war" is waged by the military, the traditional elite, and the drug lords against the masses of Colombians. Between 1986 and April 1989 this war claimed the lives of over 8,000 workers, peasants, and political activists.

After reading *Colombia: Inside the Labyrinth* it's clear that the media and U.S. government don't show us the "real" Colombia. To get a view of the reality, read this book. □

Clarence Thomas (Continued from page 33)

majority of American society on the basis of skin color or other obvious physical characteristics. Once a second or third generation, born in the U.S., lost its distinctive linguistic, cultural, or other identity, it became difficult to maintain the discriminatory practices against it. And in the case of the Jews—who suffered widespread discrimination even as late as the 1940s and '50s—it is important to note that the end of this overt exclusion from American society (though certainly not of anti-Semitism) coincided with the emergence of Israel as a reactionary bulwark of U.S. and world imperialism in the Middle East. This self-interest of the U.S. rulers, more than the hard work and education of the Jews themselves, dictated the changes in social attitudes that have led to the lessening of overt discrimination.

Other nationalities which, like Blacks, can be kept separate as a result of racial characteristics—Latinos, Chinese, etc.—have never become integrated into the mainstream of American society to the same degree. They continue, on the whole, to remain ghettoized and discriminated against, even if not always to the same extent as the Black community. This points to an ugly reality. In the struggle waged by the U.S. ruling class to maintain the extra profits it gains by keeping one segment of the U.S. working class in a permanently oppressed state, racism is a vital tool. Racism is indispensable for enlisting tolerance, and even support, from white workers, for oppression. And racism is more easily maintained when the physical differences between peoples are greater. Ideologists like Clarence Thomas feed racism against Blacks by reinforcing its basic premise: if Blacks are poor, ill-housed, underfed, undereducated, etc., it's

basically their own fault—because they are too lazy to "make it," as he did.

The tendency of many on the left, in the women's movement, the Black community, etc., is to focus their anger on Clarence Thomas and on his nomination to the Supreme Court as an individual evil. The solution, they say, is to defeat Thomas during his confirmation hearing in the Senate. For example, at the national conference of NOW in New York early in July buttons that read "Bork Thomas" were a common sight—referring to an earlier successful struggle to defeat Bush's nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court.

Such efforts are important. But it is also important to recognize that even if Thomas's nomination is defeated the next individual proposed by Bush for the Court will hardly be a friend of women or Blacks. Would anyone, for example, say that a Supreme Court with Bork as one of its members could have done more than the non-Bork Court in undermining the rights of women, minorities, working people, and the oppressed?

It is also necessary to take a step beyond the easy struggle against those representatives of the system who are most reactionary. When we are ruled by its less reactionary elements, the operative word is still "reactionary." A real struggle against Clarence Thomas and what he represents means a struggle against the very existence of capitalism in America, because it is this capitalist system that promotes racism and sexism as a part of its very soul. And when we have done away with this system of racism, sexism, exploitation, and oppression we can then, for the first time in the history of human civilization, look forward to a society where equal opportunity for every person on this planet will be more than an idealistic dream; it will become a genuine reality. □

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