

COLLEGE VOICE



**For free
tuition
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admissions!**

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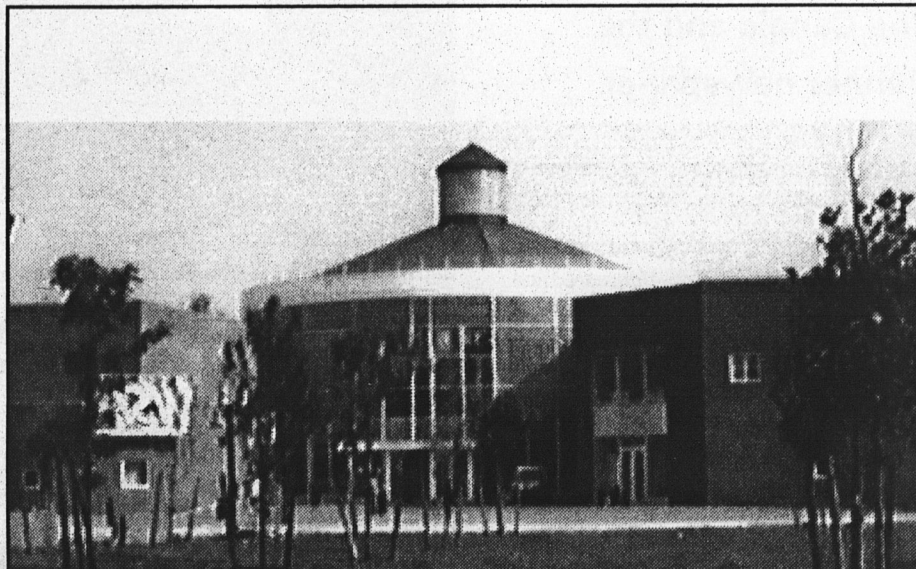
In the past 2 years CUNY has faced harsh attacks from the City and State of New York; tuition increases have locked out thousands of students from even attending college. From the Central Administration right down to each campus's Administration there hasn't been much action taken to prevent these draconian attacks. The question here is of access, both to an education at large and of student space in a public University.

Here at the College of Staten Island (CSI) students, unlike the other CUNY campuses, have severely restricted access to their own space; ex. Library, Computer Labs and the Campus Center. The Campus Center which is a host to student clubs and publications shuts down at 10 o'clock

BY SARA HUSAIN

where a letter had to be written and then approved by an administrator to receive one or two days of twenty-four hour access. This limited access was given begrudgingly and was soon eliminated altogether. Again without any serious reason or discussion. The next step by Administration was to limit access to publications offices by changing the locks of the doors to the offices.

Publications were given keys to their offices and dark rooms allowing for convenient and easy access. This was recently taken away from without any discussions or viable explanation under the auspices of Mike Silva, Director of the Campus Center, and his committee.



Twenty-four hour access now!

preventing students having access to their meeting rooms and their equipment. This space is crucial to the educational atmosphere of the campus at large. Even though security is present on the Campus 24 hours a day, student clubs are being told that there needs to be more security in order for them to utilize their space. There is plenty of money, however, the great Administrators of our education deem it necessary to spend the money on armed security on campus.

The Case of the Publications

Before CSI moved to the Willowbrook campus students enjoyed twenty-four hour access, any day of the year, if they were in chartered clubs or publications. In addition to this was the twenty-four hour computer lab in the St. George campus frequented often by many students. However, when the Willowbrook campus opened, these students rights were left behind with the empty buildings.

When the new campus opened there was no longer twenty-four hour access for any club, including the publications which utilized that time most often. Without any prior notice, or reason the Administration acted. There was not even the pretense of dialogue between "student leaders" and Administration.

Publications were hit hardest since the members always depended upon after school access in order to work on and complete the upcoming issue. Replacing the previous policy was the implementation of a new bureaucratic procedure

Unlike Student Government President Joseph "Guiliani" Canale who willingly gave in to this bureaucratic diktat the College Voice has openly fought against these measures.

Instead of any discussions or explanations Mike Silva has openly said that he will keep "lists and records" of the affairs of the College Voice. These open threats create a hostile relationship between the students and the petty administrators who run the Campus Center under arbitrary rule. During the regular campus hours a person is hired to police the Publication offices every hour, to check who is in the offices and the amount of people present. Such policing limit the space for the Publications and only justify the fact that students have no rights on their own campus.

The Case of Student Clubs

For student clubs the problems have been even greater since they are less visible. The student clubs on this campus have literally no offices of their own as was the case on the old campus where there was a section of cubicles allotted to student clubs. Despite the number of students involved in club activities the forty or so clubs that are funded by Student Government have watched their budgets reduced in half last year the under former SG President Meri Kaufmann. Her official reason was lack of funds. Her parochial vision did not consider the tens of thousands of dollars in the SG bank accounts, or for that matter



demanding more money from Auxillary Services which has over \$250,000 of student money in the bank. For her followers in SG today, Joe Canale, the vision has not changed. Indeed, the situation has become worse; any club that wishes to have a special event (e.g., a dance) after 5pm must pay for mandatory security at time and a half rates out of their own pockets. The latest restriction on club activity has come in the form of the Program Development Committee (PDC), a body funding special events on campus, no longer accepts student pro-

posals.

Presently there is a move by several student clubs and the College Voice to address the issue of access on campus. The area of most contention is the Campus Center, the heart of student activity. A Leaflet has been drawn and circulated receiving positive feedback. The SG Club Commissioner, Luis Crisata, is also looking into the matter. The ability of students to win back the rights to open access on campus will depend on the building of a united student movement that Administration will be forced to listen to ■

**IN THIS ISSUE: Voice under attack • CUNY police state • PSC New Caucus
Debate on immigration • Police brutality • Tupac Shakur • Mumia Abu-Jamal •
Northern Ireland • Trotsky's Marxism • Gender juggling • 1996 elections**

The College Voice, known throughout CUNY for its activism and uncompromising leftwing politics, has become the target for elimination by right wing forces centered around SG President Joe Canale and the Banner newspaper.

BY MANJULA WIJERAMA

Caught up in a so-called atmosphere of hate, Banner editor-in-chief Michael Garofalo hacked into the College Voice Quadra 800 harddrive and destroyed two plus years of work. Garafalo subsequently confessed to his crime and stepped down as editor. A disciplinary investigation is underway under Vice President Carol Jackson's office. There is evidence to show that other Banner members were involved in this act although they have not stepped forward.

This crowning act of criminal stupidity is the climactic act in a sordid play which starred alongside the Banner, a vicious anti-student Student Government President, Joe Canale, and a complacent administration. The College Voice known throughout CUNY for its strong activism and uncompromising leftwing politics, became the target of elimination by right wing forces centered around SG President Joe Canale and the Banner newspaper.

The Banner which originated as a anti-Marxist split from the Voice in 1993, at first brazenly claimed to be "committed to nothing". Despite the Banners own claims to nothingness, it soon evolved into a tool

Voice under attack...again



Student Government President Joe Canale and members of the CSI administration ponder their latest move against the Voice.

of anti-activist, anti-left forces from Administration down who wanted to see the Voice crushed.

The summer of 1995 saw the beginnings of the formation of an anti-Voice right wing alliance between a pro-budget cut SG and an opportunist Banner. Joe Canale current president of SG and then SG president Meri Kaufman led an effort to forcibly merge the two publications - Voice and Banner - using the pro-capitalist logic of "fiscal austerity". In such a merger the obvious loser would have been the Voice with its distinctive leftwing politics. Although this effort was beaten back by the Voice, the Voice suffered a drastic cut to its budget and its status as official newspaper was taken away. Meanwhile the Banner was given the official newspaper status and its budget was drastically increased. Under the quiet of the summer, with few students around, the Voice was officially marginalized.

Red-baiting was the order of the day. The infamous Publications Commission of SG now went into full swing under Kaufman's and Canale's leadership. The Publications Commission was transformed into a body to micro-manage the functioning of all publications on the campus. The Voice which was most principled in its opposition to the pro-budget cut philosophy of this rotten body received the most harassment. Meeting schedules, minutes of meetings, publication deadlines amongst other things were used as a hammer to beat the publications into dancing to Canale's tune, with the threat of "sanctions" if their requests went unmet. Joe "Junior Giuliani" Canale was riding high.

The Banner with its "committed to nothing" confusion acted in opportunist lust at every turn to please Canale, and win his favor. From committed to nothing opportunism, the Banner soon became a watering hole for all manner of cynics,

careerists and rightists. Garofalo, the editor-in-chief, never anything more than a career oriented technocrat, penned a recent editorial praising the new centralized CUNY Cop apparatus, thanking it for "maintaining a fragile peace". In a time when CUNY is being ravaged by cuts and being transformed by capitalist forces into a third rate private institution, who pray tell is this "security" securing, the students right to an education or the capitalists right to cut it?

Administration, the executor of the cuts, bears ultimate responsibility for fostering this atmosphere of tribal conflict amongst student organizations. In the move from the old campus to the new grand piano at Willowbrook, students lost more than just their patience, watching the self aggrandizing rituals of administration. Student access to student space was cut drastically. While formerly student clubs had at least a cubicle with a desk, typewriter and a file cabinet, at the new, much costlier, much larger campus at Willowbrook, not even a cubicle was available for student clubs. Student publications which once had 24 hour access to their offices, a prerequisite for the efficient functioning of voluntary publications, now are accessible only during school hours at the new campus. Likewise, budgets were slashed from student clubs and the space and resources afforded to student activity became the source of a competitive scramble. Shameless junior bureaucrats like SG President Joe Canale took pleasure in playing off student against student for the purpose of pleasing his mentors and role models in administration and government.

All student organizations must unite and address this gross violation of our basic rights. Before internecine conflict gives Administration the opportunity to further restrict student access and activity, we must build a powerful united front and fight for the restoration of open access. We call upon the Banner to join us in building a united student front. We call upon student government to break with the politics of ass-kissing and resume padding and fight to win open access for the student body. Students Unite and Fight! ■

The College of Staten Island Student Union has been formed to restore the basic rights of students that have been stripped away from us by the administration. The purpose of this organization is to properly articulate the needs and concerns of the student body to both the administration and student government. The educational experience of all students at the College of Staten Island has degenerated rapidly as a result of brutal cuts enacted by the administration. We intend to educate and organize the student body to restore control of the educational process to those it is intended to serve - the students. The purpose of college is to educate students not to teach administrators how to administrate or "peace officers" how to be police officers. The CSISU clearly represents a broad based student co-allition. The time has come for students to drop their differences and work together to pursue changes that will restore their rights to access to facilities and funds - "Student Access to Student Space and Student Access to Student Funds" are the basic tenets of our organization.

The main demands that the CSISU is supporting and forwarding to both the administration and student government are the following:

- **Expand Library Hours** - Students with classes beginning at 8:00 am, students with classes ending at 10:00 pm and single parents who go to school on the weekend are excluded from using this student facility.
- **Restore 24-Hr access to the Campus Center** - The use of Student Space by students is severely restricted. The current 10:00 pm curfews prevent students from using computer rooms and also interferes with the students working on publications. Student publication workers voluntarily juggle their scholastic and extra-curricular life. They should be assisted not restrained!

CSI Student Union: A program for student access

- **Restore PDC funding to Students** - The Program Development Committee funding mechanism has been manipulated to exclude students from receiving funding for their events. They will no longer accept any proposals from student organizations!

- **Space for Student Clubs** - Student clubs are scattered throughout the campus and are therefore unable to organize or reach the student body. The most active students are separated from each other and isolated. We need space for clubs now!

- **Increase Funding for Student Clubs** - Funding for student clubs was slashed by over 60% in 1995 but then raised only 16% in 1996. We advocate a return to club funding of \$1200 per school year.

- **Increase Daycare Hours** - The waiting list for daycare services is immense and although classes are held on Saturday, no daycare is provided. Single parents have just as much right to acquire an education as any member of the student body!!!!

The CSI Student Union is committed to mass, participatory democracy and will not fall into the trap of bureaucracy that

currently has a stranglehold on some student organizations. As such, the methods by which we pursue our aims will be mass and direct - preferring open meetings and mass action to back-door dealings and bureaucratic inaction. We extend an open invitation for all students to attend meetings and help in building an effective united front. Our organization currently consists of various clubs, publications and concerned students who have banded together to stem the tide of rising student oppression. The time has come for the student body to act as one and the College of Staten Island Student Union intends to provide a

CUNY police state

If there has been no increase in campus crimes, asks Shaista Husain, why has security been beefed up so massively...especially during times of so-called fiscal exigency and budgetary downsizing

Since 1991, the Central Administration of the City University of New York has been transforming CUNY into a police state. CUNY's security budget has nearly doubled, security guards called "peace officers" have been given the power to make arrests and conduct surveillance of student activists and demonstrators. This semester CUNY security has begun to use attack dogs to patrol several CUNY campuses and CUNY has authorized security to use metal detectors at campus activities with the presence of armed security. Until this semester, guns have been banned from every campus except Lehman College.

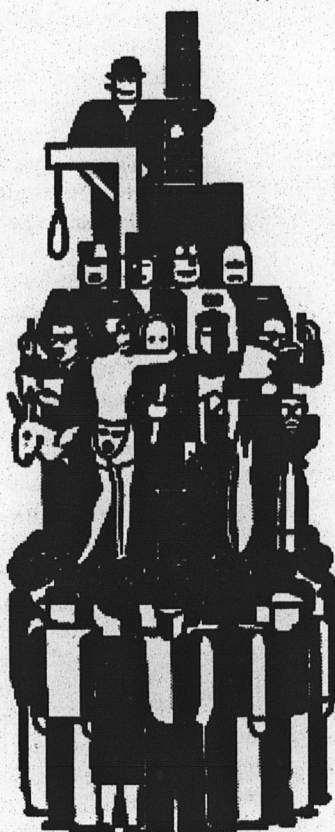
If there has been no increase in campus crimes why has security been beefed up so massively especially during times of so called fiscal exigency and budgetary downsizing. As classes are closed because lack of money, why is there more and more money for tighter security?

CUNY has more Black and Latino students than any other University in the country and in the history of the United States. Every year CUNY awards more degrees to Black and Latino students than any other institution of higher education in the country.

Recently CUNY has been at the forefront in opposition to the reversal of affirmative action policies. They have lobbied, demonstrated and actively resisted budget cuts, tuition hikes and faculty retrench-

ment that have been initiated by Chancellor Ann Reynolds.

While these demonstrations were peaceful, the CUNY Central Administration has mobilized itself for war against any opposition to its consolidation efforts. It is dismantling CUNY and transforming it into a vocational type institution. Chancellor Reynolds has created a para-military force security force that is armed and authorized to arrest student protesters. She has centralized security in which all local campus security report directly to Hose Eligue, Director of Security, who formerly headed the anti-terrorism task force for the Port Authority. Eligue's new security force includes former veterans of military intelligence. In addition, memo book entries and security logs produced at student disciplinary hearings revealed that CUNY Peace Officers have gone in plain clothes to identify and report on CUNY students attending demonstrations at City Hall.



After CUNY arrested 47 students on hunger strike in April 1995 at City College

released documents revealed CUNY officials compiled an "enemies list" of CUNY students who were arrested at various demonstrations by ethnicity, grade average and financial aid status.

In 1991 there was a wave of student protests and strikes against proposed budget cuts a few months after Chancellor Reynolds was put in office by Cuomo. She called for the arrest of the student leaders as well as their expulsion, however, under the CUNY By-Laws at that time this could not be done by her. Only college presidents after disciplinary procedures and hearings were authorized to make such decisions. Chancellor Reynolds then began her "Security Initiative" and changed the by-Laws to suit her dictatorial ends. The first thing she changed was that point in the CUNY By-laws, to make sure she had the personal authority to

make any arrest over and above the independent campus's decision. She followed up by centralising and consolidating all security forces throughout CUNY and dismissing the hired security contractors that were previously used by the colleges so that all of security would answer directly to her. The new CUNY Peace Officers were authorized to carry firearms, make arrests.

Since 1991 expenses for CUNY security have risen from \$21million to over \$35million in 1996. Although the State legislature refused to fund her Security Initiative during the first four years, Chancellor Reynolds went ahead and diverted millions from discretionary lines from CUNY's budget used to fund her security initiative which had the goal of building a 850 member Peace Officer force answering directly to her. As this was going on, in 1995-96, CUNY laid off 159 faculty members at the same time creating 160 new security positions. At City College, over 5% of the annual budget now is reserved for security and the Chancellor authorized the building of a large fence around City College to seal it off from its Harlem Community. This year the College created the position of Peace Officer Lieutenant with a salary of \$82,000 whereas the top salary for a tenured professor is \$76,000.

Over the summer this year, security director of York College for over 17 years, Winston Burrows, resigned in protest to Chancellor Reynolds on the basis that her security policies were violating the constitutional rights of students at York College. Mr. Burrows states that the Chancellor personally ordered former York College President Thomas Minter to bar speakers from Black Solidarity Day event organized by York College students in 1995. She threatened to fire him if he proceeded to allow "banned" speakers onto

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I know of no plan to implement guns on the City College campus
CCNY President Yolanda Moses

We're thinking about obtaining guns for our security.

CCNY Director of Security Tim Hubbard

Outside the confusion apparent in the above quotes from administrators, there's mounting evidence that security here at City College may be armed.

CCNY Security Director Timothy Hubbard has informed the Day Student Government and the Graduate Student Council that he intends to propose to CCNY President Moses that she allow campus security officers be armed. (At any CUNY campus, the campus president has final say over whether security guards should be armed.)

Why should these guards be armed? According to Hubbard's own statistics, crime has decreased on our campus in the last several years. Hubbard claims that his security guards, recently designated as "Peace" Officers, should be allowed "the tools of their trade". They should not, when confronted with criminals, be forced to flee and call 911 for NYPD assistance, he argues. Hubbard insists that the guns would be carried by bike patrols in the off-campus areas through which students commute to and from buses and subways. But has crime decreased in the community within the last few years? And won't these armed

officers be patrolling the campus as well? These are unaddressed questions.

But there may be ulterior motives here, particularly given the increase in student activism within the last few years against budget cuts, departmental closures, and faculty firings. Hubbard was quick to claim that arming security "isn't about power". We think otherwise.

Consider: CUNY has undertaken a massive military buildup within the last four years. After the 1991 building takeovers, when students occupied buildings at campuses across CUNY to protest rising tuition, Chancellor Reynolds declared that she wanted all attempted take-overs in the future stopped. Her office subsequently proposed to the State legislature a new security initiative for which the State would fund a new security squad especially designed to combat building take-overs and student activism.

Though the legislature rejected these requests, Chancellor Reynolds siphoned money from a funding line used to pay, among other things, student financial aid to a funding line called "Personnel services". That PS money was used to hire 160 new security positions! Meanwhile 159 faculty positions were cut.

Consider: CUNY spending on security has increased from \$21.8 million in 1991-

92 to over \$40 million this year! Meanwhile hundreds of millions of dollars have been slashed from CUNY proper over the last several years, departments have closed across CUNY, and student financial aid has been cut.

At CCNY, the School of Nursing, Department of Special Programs, Physi-

cal and Health Education department, Theatre and Dance department, Classical Languages and Hebrew department, Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Jewish Studies, Asian Studies, Earth and Atmospheric Sciences department were abolished. The Departments of Elementary Education, Secondary Education and School Services were consolidated. Black Studies is threatened. Of the 159 faculty positions actively terminated 38 of them were at CCNY.

Meanwhile City College security now

receives the highest proportion of security money out of all the CUNY campuses- 3.27 million dollars. That's 5% of City College's total budget!

And what has CUNY security done with this money? They arrested 47 CCNY students hunger-striking against budget cuts. They have maintained an "enemies

Arming security is exactly about power. They're stealing our money and need the guns to make the getaway.

list" of student activists and conducted surveillance of student activists at off-campus rallies. At York College last year, the SAFE team brought guns to the campus during a confrontation with students, and did so against the campus president's wishes. Now they are obtaining guns and security dogs too!

This "isn't about power"? Wrong! Arming security is exactly about power. They're stealing our money and need the guns to make the getaway. ■

Typical of service unionism, the PSC took little or no initiative to mobilize the faculty to actively resist the brutal attacks on CUNY along with students.

BY SHAISTA HUSAIN

On October 17, at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, the Doctoral Student Council initiated a panel discussion about the New Caucus, an oppositional caucus within the Professional Staff Congress (PSC). Several members of the New Caucus were invited to discuss a strategy to defend CUNY against austerity measures, budgetary downsizing and faculty retrenchment via the PSC.

The PSC is a union composed of full time faculty and staff of CUNY with very few part time faculty. It consists of an eight thousand member base. It is a union with great financial resources and has powerful professional and labor affiliations that can best defend CUNY against the current dismantling and downsizing of CUNY. If mobilized it is a force that can politically effect the direction of public higher education in the City of New York as well as be a force to be reckoned with nationally.

From the previous battles against downsizing since the introduction of the Goldstein Report by Chancellor Reynolds, students have planned and executed countless rallies and protests CUNY-wide, with little or no effect at reversing these draconian policies towards our rights to higher education. Again and again tuition has been raised, classes closed, faculty fired, budgets cut and the general attacks that have culminated into our paying more for far less than ever before. While all this was going, the PSC showed little consideration or support in fighting these budget cuts. Typical of service unionism it took little or no initiative to mobilize the faculty to actively resist these brutal attacks along with students. However, having had pressure from its membership when, due to the retrenchment policies of flat out dismissing faculty on behalf of "budgetary downsizing", early retirement plans for older tenured professors, the union was forced to take legal actions on behalf of its membership against Central Administration. Having won that fight in court on the basis that the CUNY Board of Trustees had claimed economic exigency and a financial emergency that did not

really exist. The University faculty senate and the PSC asserted last fall, "1995's fiscal exigency unnecessary and excessive." (June ADVOCATE)

The New Caucus, however, believes that "...the modest steps taken by the PSC leadership in the spring and summer of 1995 were beneficial and have had some effect. But CUUC's efforts were largely reactive and neither begin to tap the potential of our membership nor make full use of our organizational and financial resources."

The victory to stop the further slaughter of CUNY was important, however, the real weakness that still exists is the creation of a two tier workforce in CUNY as in most other public sector institutions. Of the teaching staff in CUNY, less than half have full time status and benefits. The PSC's membership does not include adjuncts who comprise over fifty % of the professors of CUNY and one third of this teaching staff are graduate students who receive even less, as they are part of a financial aid package. Although the administration can no longer retrench, over half of our professors do not have job stability as they must be rehired every year, which means they can be displaced legally during so called budgetary tightening or at the whim of administration.

The New Caucus within the PSC has made it a priority to address this situation and has made its objective to mobilize the adjuncts in order to address this system of union breaking that the Board of Trustees has posed. They clearly point out to current members the strategic importance in mobilizing the non member adjunct population. That can only increase the strength of the union as a whole as well as prevent the fulltimers from further losing gains, the problems that face adjuncts in terms of job security and control over curriculum, are issues which are of mutual interest. Barbara Bowen, PSC chair of Queens College stated, "the adjunct issue is the flash point, the center issue in the adjunctification of CUNY that will destroy academic freedom and the intellectual project gained in the 60s will be turned back." The New Caucus informational pamphlet states, "Whatever CUUC's past accomplishments have been, in view of its members and of

the world beyond CUNY, the union is now seen as a service oriented bureaucracy rather than as a force to shape public policy in higher education."

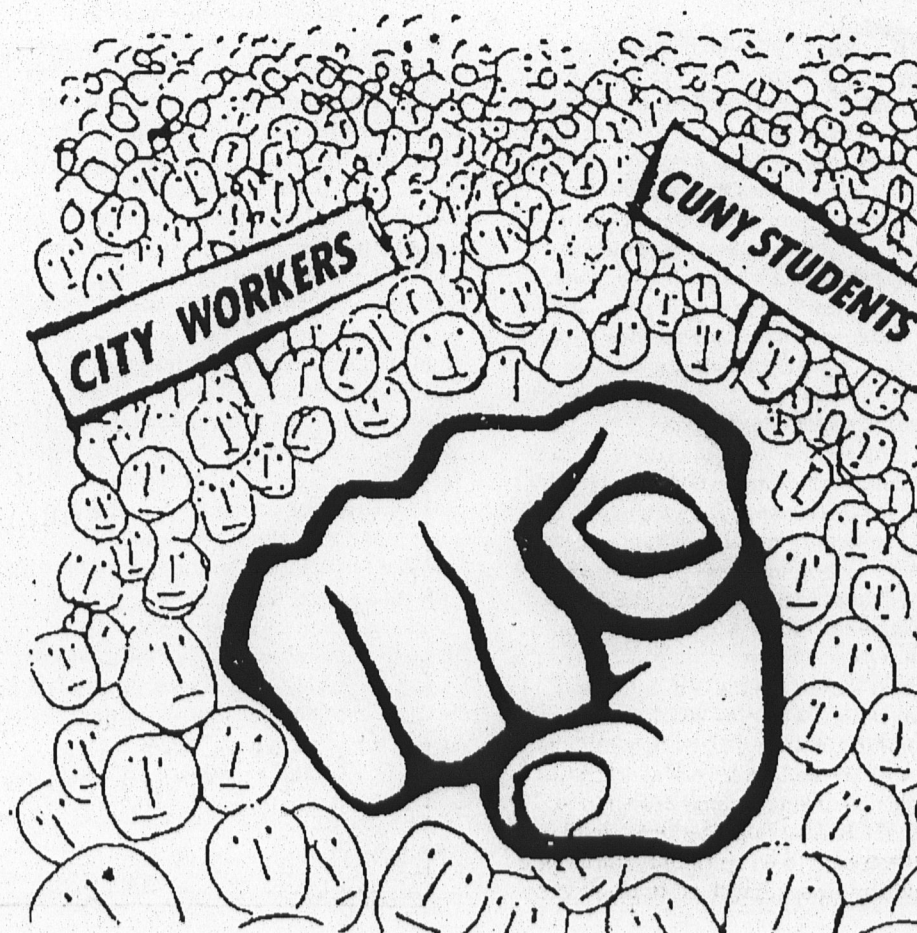
The PSC is currently being led by The City University Union Caucus (CUUC). According to the New Caucus, "The CUUC is not up to the task. CUUC has become a closed elite that monopolizes virtually all decision making, that removes membership from the policy debates that are the lifeblood of the union...it pursues policies which protect the interests of some members at the expense of others... Rather than being a force of inclusion it is a force of exclusion. Instead of encouraging participation, CUUC discourages membership involvement. Sited of encouraging new ideas and strategies, CUUC barely tolerates alternative views." The New Caucus as an activist oriented unionism has two strategies: To get people to join the union in an effort to effect the collective bargaining to fight for job security, getting health benefits, getting wage increases, and fight for smaller class sizes which additionally benefit students. As well as political lobbying nationally, and organizing with other unions locally such as NYSUT and the AFT in order to gain allies across the board and address this conservative attack to reverse affirmative action we see so clearly exemplified in the case of CUNY.

This pattern of privatisation and centralisation of CUNY, which puts more control of CUNY in the hands of the managerial (Central Administration) means for example, that as the top managers have grown, the library workers have shrunk in proportion, classes are smaller, there are fewer full time faculty. The centralization will make it harder for the widespread access of students into public higher education and the right of the professorate to determine the curriculum. For example, in 1995 when 150 faculty were dismissed, approximately 160 new security positions were created. After 35 departments were retrenched, finally the court decision allowed the laid off to remain laid off but no more would be retrenched, as the so called fiscal emergency did not exist in such excess. In addition to this outright dismantling, Reynolds has given the green light to college presidents to go ahead and eliminate SEEK. The SEEK department

professor mainstream positions, i.e., more "prestigious" than remedial courses. This made students who need the most attention academically to be left weakest and most vulnerable of all students, with no defense even from their teaching staff. Furthermore, Reynolds made sure that the concept of open admission was also thoroughly crushed under her administration. She limited the remediation time for all students to be no more than two semesters, otherwise students would be out. Students who need to compensate for the notoriously low standard of education received in High Schools could never overcome the barriers in College, as students who don't show promise of remediating and going mainstream within one full year would be denied entry into a CUNY institution. One may be led to think that these policies were made in an effort to raise the overall academic standard in CUNY, but this is not the case. Reynolds went ahead and systematically lowered the accreditation requirements for four and two year CUNY degrees. She has lowered the BA credits from 128 to 120 and Associates degree has been lowered to 60. This systematic lowering of standards as well as closing the door on thousands of potential graduate candidates is a slap in the face to any affirmative action advocate in this city. This is currently being fought out in court right now, as it will deprive students to an education as well deprive many graduates from a quality and competitive degree on the market. Retrenchment must be seen in light of this overall dismantling of higher education for a largely working class, majority Black and Hispanic population of a so called "open admission" University which always prided itself for providing a high quality education for the less privileged of this city. For decades CUNY was living proof that the less privileged could and did achieve high academic standing, that if you wanted an education you could have the opportunity to get one, one that was recognized as a strong Liberal Arts curriculum. The plan being carried out by our administrators is to transform our institution into a vocational type college that produces less skilled workers for a contracting market that does not need educated working class, minority students.

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The New Caucus in the PSC



SG pres attempts to shut down the Voice

BY MANJULA WIJERAMA

SG Pres Joe Canale at the SG meeting on Thursday, November 21, without any fore-warning attempted to "de-fund" the College Voice. The College Voice was in a meeting with other club leaders to discuss building a united student movement for 24 hour access to the campus center, library, etc. when news was received that Canale was planning to shut down the Voice. Club members present including Riquet Figaro of the Political Science Club, Bill Wharton of the African Studies Club and others joined the Voice in fending off the attack. Canale who has had a history of antagonism towards the Voice and other publications, from his days as Publications Commissioner, claimed "non-accountability" by the Voice to his whims and demanded that the Voice budget be frozen. In attempting this maneuver Canale gave little regard for observing the proper bureaucratic formalities that he threateningly demands of other clubs and publications. To carry out such a drastic act as shutting down a publication, a Publications Commission meeting which includes representatives from the publications has to be convened and the results brought before SG to decide upon. No such meeting took place. Indeed the Publications Commission had officially disbanded. Canale who also held the title of Publications Commissioner, had resigned from his post on November 13 and with him so had the rest of the SG members who were on it. This was due in part to the controversy over Canale's (non)handling of the criminal destruction of the Voice's mainframe by the Banner (see article in this issue) and in part to his functions on the University Student Senate (USS). Former Publications Commission member Senator Charlo was taken completely by surprise when asked how such a decision can be made without convening a new Publications Commission. He claimed to not have even been informed about the move. Meanwhile at the SG meeting Canale after hurling inchoate psychobabble abuse at the Voice for some fifteen minutes, felt it would be more proper to yield the Chair's seat to another member so that he may resume his rantings. Most senators present were uncomfortable at the idea of so brazenly clamping down on the First Amendment rights of the Voice, which Greg Adamo of WSIA warned, has in the past, led to lawsuits being brought against student government members.

Canale's argument that the Voice is "unaccountable" upon any scrutiny can be seen to be nothing but a vicious bureaucratic stunt by a power hungry careerist who cares nothing for student needs or student rights. Canale's argument for "accountability" hinged on his claim that the Voice had not handed in minutes of its meetings nor a full membership list.

The Voice mainframe computer on which all its documents are stored, including minutes, was destroyed in a criminal attack by the Banner, several weeks ago. Canale had of course, took no action to freeze the Banner budget or even hold a full discussion of this incident which one administrator described as "unprecedented

ed in the history of CSI". Instead Canale has used this crisis for the Voice as an opportunity to launch this shameless attack to shut the paper down completely. The "non-accountability" fabrication was rendered further absurd by the fact that *the Voice handed in its minutes for its meetings and a new membership list prior to this SG meeting.* Despite the Voice computers still not functioning properly as a result of the attack on its mainframe and despite being in the middle of production for a new issue Voice members scrambled to appease the bureaucratic cravings of Canale and handed in all documents asked for.

Incredibly, *Canale refused to accept the minutes and the membership list.* One of his top cronies Senator Jurgen put forward a motion at Canale's command to *freeze the budget of the Voice till "acceptable minutes" are handed in and the Voice "membership list is checked" one by one.* Such measures, pointed out Senator Vincent Cobb, are applied to no other club, much less a student publication which is

protected by the First Amendment. Canale who has obviously become quite deranged with illusions of grandeur, cared nothing for the protestations brought forward by club and publication members present. Indeed his language has become more and more abusive towards the Voice and all opponents to his megalomaniacal schemes. *Telling the Voice editor to "drop dead" and calling the publications "lousy bastards" openly during meetings is tolerated by SG. Meanwhile the Voice and others are told to be respectful in this atmosphere of abuse.*

When Canale was approached by students working with the Voice in building a united front for open access, he dismissed them saying he had already spoken to VP Carol Jackson and nothing can be done. This attitude of contempt for students, and students ability to organize en masse to fight for their needs, is highly indicative of the politics of Joe Canale. Amongst his first measures on joining SG was to slash the club budgets in half and attempt to shut down the College Voice

(Summer 95). Though some of the hare-brained denizens of administration would like to mischaracterize this attack on the Voice as a "personal" feud and are constantly offered lessons about "respect" and "polite speech" Canale is carrying out the logic if not the letter of administrations budget cuts to student organizations. Meanwhile administration which was present during the SG meeting observed quietly while "junior" was hurling psychobabble at the Voice and openly violating the SG Constitution. Canale hates the Voice because of the Voice's principled and consistent opposition to all attacks on CSI/CUNY and all those including ambitious junior bureaucrats like himself who justified and accepted these attacks. The "Honorable Joe Canale" as he likes to call himself in his memos does not hide his ambitions for becoming a US Senator. Since he has so deeply imbibed the anti-student, anti-worker politics of the ruling class and is psychologically set-up to lie, cheat and back-stab he is indeed a perfect fit for the Senate. However students and their allies at CSI/CUNY must stop this petty dictator dead in his tracks before he is in a position of doing more harm than just at the college level. The fight for 24 hour access must necessarily include the fight against agents of administration amongst the students like Joe Canale. It is time that Joe Giuliani meets the united fist of a organized student body. ■

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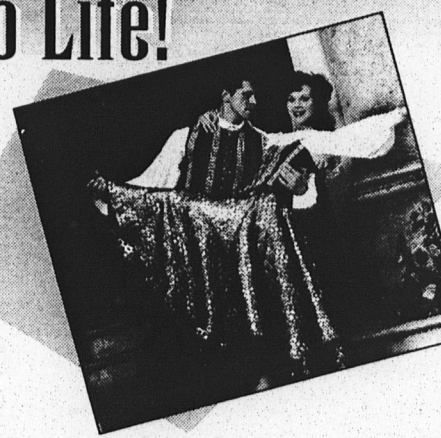
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African Studies Club holds discussion on Gabon

BY VIMUKTHI JAYADEVA

The African Studies Club hosted a very sophisticated analysis of some of the dynamics of post-colonial Gabon by Professor Francois Ngolet of the History Department. The talk was entitled "Ideological Manipulations and Political Longevity: The Power of Omar Bongo in Gabon Since 1967." Prof. Ngolet who has been conducting scholarly investigations of west Africa, outlined an elegant, multi-faceted model of the means by which Omar Bongo has been maintaining his dictatorial rule over Gabon since 1967.

Ngolet argued that the means of maintaining power by the Gabonese dictator could not be explained by any monocausal theory or purely economic reductionist theory. He argued for giving ideology equal prominence in the complex of relations that govern the Gabonese reality. In particular so-called "secret societies" have played an important role in the organization of civil society in Gabon from pre-colonial times. There are hundreds of these secret societies which together stitch together the fabric of Gabonese society. The two main such organizations are the Bwiti and the Ndjias which fought the French during the colonial period. Ideologically, these societies are rooted in Catholicism and Free Masonry but include signifi-

cant local mystical influences. The ability to fight forces of evil, etc. is a pre-requisite for leadership.

Ngolet showed how Bongo was able to co-opt the structure and ideology of the secret societies to build a cult of personality around himself. This process has reached the proportions of the "deification of Bongo". The monstrous consequences of Bongo's absolute rule include the regular ritual murders or "human sacrifices" of the members of the families of Bongo's aides by these aides as a means through which ultimate allegiance is shown to Bongo. By presenting himself as the "father of the Gabonese nation", by the buying off a layer of the Gabonese population with the revenues from oil production, by skillfully manipulating his knowledge of the ideological workings of secret societies and by killing off any even suspected opposition to his power, Bongo, argues Ngolet has been able to subordinate the secret societies to his power, effectively transforming them into extensions of his state apparatus.

Ngolet argued that despite the seeming monolithic lock on power maintained by Bongo, modes of resistance exist, primarily through the system of secret societies themselves. In one example, the Ndokwe secret society, hailing from the cosmopolitan city of Lambarene confronted Bongo's autocratic practice. Lambrene, the home of

the famed Albert Schweitzer Hospital, a central source of employment, wealth and prestige for the city, was confronted by a Bongo attempt to relocate the hospital to Bongo's hometown of Franceville. Bongo unnerved by the strange rainfall that seems to accompany his visits to Lambrene even during the dry season decided to call for a "purification" ceremony. The local population acceded to his request and summarily poisoned Bongo's Prime Minister who did not die but fell violently ill. Bongo decided the spirits were against the relocation of the hospital. More recently Gabon has seen a generalized increase in social unrest. The Celestial Christianity secret society viewed this social crisis as a "vacancy of the presidential seat". Under the leader, Mandta, a coup d'etat was organized. The French secret service got wind of the plan and stopped the coup. Mandta was captured and publicly executed. The seeds of revolt existed also in the form, according to Ngolet, of the lower level of clergy who interpreted biblical teachings to reflect the needs of the poor and persecuted in Gabon. Many of these clergy went to exile in France only returning after the 1989 collapse of the Soviet Union.

Following the presentation, a lively discussion took place, on the problems of liberation for Gabon and Africa. The role of the working class as an agency of revolu-

tionary change was downplayed by Ngolet who pointed out the low level of industrialization and consequently proletarianization of the population. He generalized this position for the continent of Africa altogether. Ngolet put forward the possibility of the secret societies themselves being transformed into agents of opposition to Bongo's rule. A systemic alternative to Bongo's dictatorial, cult capitalism was not outlined by Ngolet. Instead he suggested a society combining elements of capitalism and socialism undergirded by the local specificities of Gabon and on a broader scope Africa as a possible alternative model. The so-called "Asian Tigers" i.e. South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, were also posed as examples of how industrialization and modernization could be brought about to backward societies.

The College Voice bows to Ngolet's first hand knowledge and experience of Gabonese reality but is in disagreement with the good professors' alternative on general geo-political grounds. We feel it is impossible to subsume the role of Gabon within the framework of the capitalist world market to the specificities of Gabonese society. Indeed, as Ngolet would surely agree, in the dialectical interplay between individual state and the world market, the imperialist G7 states e.g. US, UK, France, exercise a dominant, shaping influence in relation to this market and the dozens of "Third World" states are in a subordinate, controlled position. That being so, no "specificity" of Gabonese society can be spoken of as purely a Gabonese phenomenon. The secret societies which may have been in pre-colonial times a system of social organization in harmony with the organic development of the peo-

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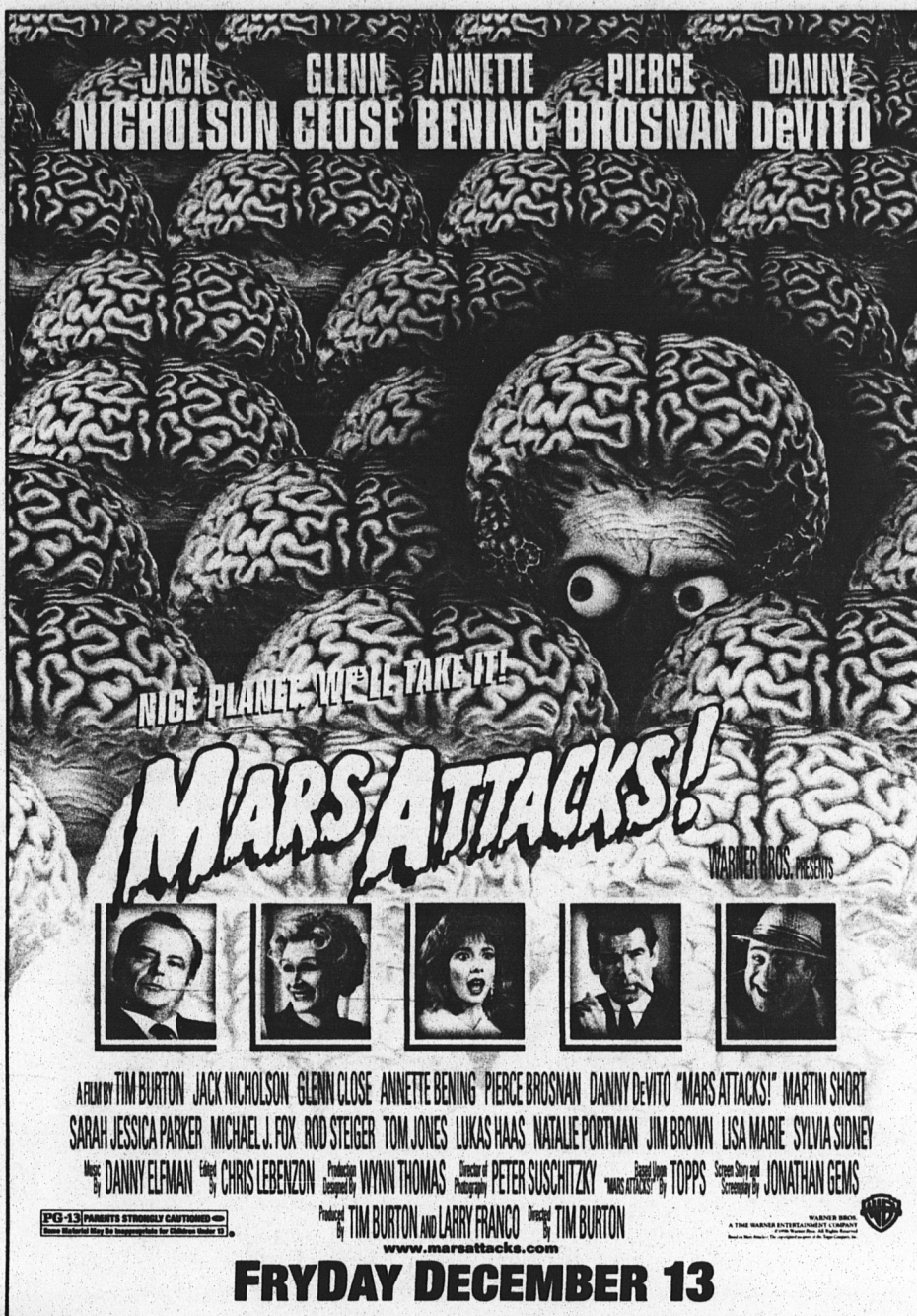
ples of the Gabon today function upon a soil, materially and ideologically permeated by the subordination of the Gabon to imperialism. The intervention of the French in the day to day affairs of Gabon is no small indication of this. Neither is the ownership of 50% of Gabonese oil resources by the US a small indicator of this dependency. Our logic is then as follows; if the economy, politics and even ideology of the Gabon are relations dominated by imperialism, how can we speak of a model of a solution outside of this context?

The way forward for Gabon must be necessarily as part of a way forward for all Africa.

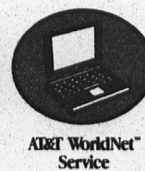
Given the ubiquitous presence of imperialism any solution, from the point of view of modernization, from the point of view of industrialization and from the point of view of the workers and peasants, must challenge this very imperialism dead-on. Leaving aside the case of the "Asian Tigers", no colony or semi-colony, the latter being the contemporary status of most of the worlds states, has been able to break with chronic underdevelopment within the parameters of the imperialist world market. Even the most powerful semi-colonies, India, Brazil, Mexico harbor such

massive inequality in income and wealth, from town to country, from region to region, that social explosion and not stable development is what is on the agenda. As for the so-called "Asian Tigers", their newly industrialized status is a function not of the successful application of capitalist practices but of their strategic political importance as a counterweight to Communist states and influence. The massive influx of American and Japanese capital and the provision of markets can only be understood in the context of cold war politics. The corporatist state structures bringing industry under the direction of the state and the political authoritarianism to crush any opposition are also twin features of this exceptional exercise by imperialism to build a cordon sanitaire against communist influence in south east Asia. As it so happens no such propitious conjuncture exists for Gabon.

The way forward for Gabon must be necessarily as part of a way forward for all Africa. Gabon and all other African states reflect boundaries that were created by the western colonial powers at the turn of the century as they divided up the continent amongst themselves. Capitalism and imperialism have played and will continue to play nothing but a negative and reactionary role in Africa. Far from developing Africa, imperialism has, in fact, underdeveloped it. Today the same western powers who have for decades economically strangled the continent have to have their arms twisted to even feed the victims of their policies. The roots of Africa's present problems, ethnic rivalries, poverty and disease, are rooted in capitalism; the solution is to rid Africa of imperialism through socialist revolution. ■



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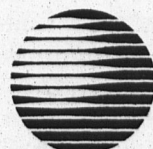


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The union makes us strong

A very positive development is taking place amongst the student body - the creation of a Student Union. Several clubs and publications who have been meeting recently to fight for 24 hour access to student facilities have decided to band together and build a student union. Currently some 15 student clubs and publications have endorsed the union. The aim of the Union is to organize all student groups into one mass vehicle of student power. An Open Letter has been addressed to CSI president Marlene Springer to publicly bring before her the demands of the Union for student access. A recruitment and education campaign is underway to build the forces of the Student Union to be prepared to fight and win its demands in the upcoming Spring 97 semester.

The Student Union has decided to form as a result of the complete bankruptcy of the "leadership" provided by Student Government. SG President Joe Canale and his cohorts have been busy fighting to destroy student organizations and student unity. Canale was responsible for cutting student club budgets from \$1200 to \$700, for attempting to shut down the College Voice twice and creating layers of new regulations that students have to meet in order to charter clubs or simply function. It is the belief of the College Voice that Student Government and Canale represent an anti-student, pro-administration tendency amongst the students. Till the formation of the Student Union SG and Canale thrived in an atmosphere of intrigue and cliquism with student morale at an all time low. Now that pro-student forces have raised the banner of unity and "student control of student space and funds" and have ushered in a new positive dynamic on the campus SG and Canale will undoubtedly do their best to co-opt, stifle and disrupt this movement. As such it is imperative that pro-student forces are absolutely clear about the record of this SG and Canale and place this group in serious check. That is, either they play a supportive role in the broadening of the student union and in the accomplishing of 24 hour access or be swept aside by the Student Union. Ambiguity on the Union's part towards Canale and SG will only allow these proven pro-administration hacks to continue to sew division.

Similarly the Union can have no illusions in the willingness of Administration to accede to easily to our demands. The sad excuse for discussion that takes place in the name of "representing student interests" between select Senators and select Administrators in which nothing gets done and each party walks away satisfied is the only type of exchange that Administration wants to deal with. That is, a cynical exchange where they set up the game and hold all the cards and the students get the losing hand every time. Administrators particularly the top ones like the President and Vice Presidents are paid six figure salaries by their bosses to carry out a policy of downsizing CUNY. The spate of budget cuts and tuition hikes to CUNY is the front-line of this policy. The new costly security apparatus whereby so-called Peace Officers are placed on campuses with the power to arrest students and with the right to carry guns is the mechanism by which they seek to contain student resistance to the attacks on their education. The unprecedented restrictions on student access to student space is part and parcel of this policy of containment. To expect Administration to accede to student demands for 24 hour access without a serious fight by a mobilized, unified student body is a pipe dream that ignores the reality of Administrations role.

We at the College Voice will struggle as we have always to educate student forces to these realities and forge the type of fighting Student Union that can actually bring about results. We want our demands met, nothing less.

**Students, unite in the Student Union!
24 hour access now!**

The College Voice: Who we are

The College Voice (CV) is a publication committed to the interests of working people. The working class is composed of all those people who own nothing but their ability to perform manual or mental labor and are forced to sell it for a wage. As students at CUNY, we recognize that we are a part of the multi-racial, multi-national working class of New York City. The severe attacks that CUNY has undergone are mirrored by the endless assaults on the jobs, wages and living standards of working people, as well as by the attacks on trade union, democratic and civil rights.

We oppose the poisonous divisions fostered on the basis of race by the bosses, who make Black and white workers fight each other for the crumbs off their table...even though it is the workers who produce all the wealth.

We oppose the systematic attempts to reduce women to a defined "feminine" status, that serves to legitimize the special oppression they face as women and the additional exploitation they undergo as workers.

We oppose the vicious attacks on immigrant workers, who are the most vulnerable victims of the bosses job market, and who are thus used to drive all workers wages down.

We oppose every form of bigotry, on principle, as unbefitting our species and recognize that the fight for human liberation will be achieved only in the course of combatting these divisions.

We oppose the use of the environment as a source of short-term profit and plunder by the ruling rich regardless of the consequences for the majority of the world's population.

The CV recognizes that it is the capitalist system, based upon the private ownership of the means of producing the wealth, that is fundamentally responsible for the fantastic hardship and misery that the vast majority of our species undergoes across the globe...in the midst of plenty.

The CV recognizes that this contradiction, far from being some "natural" condition, is one maintained by the armed power of the capitalist state (army, cops and courts) and ideological apparatus (media, church and schools) of the capitalist class that insures the domination of the few over the many; of the bosses, who produce nothing and appropriate everything over the workers, who produce everything but appropriate nothing.

The CV recognizes the possibility and the burning necessity for creating a society in which the productive forces are democratically organized through the cooperative association of workers and production is based on human needs instead of private profits in harmony with the environment.

The CV recognizes the necessity for creating a revolutionary party of the working class, based upon a program of militant mass action and class struggle politics, that will organize internationally against world capitalism and its multi- and transnational corporations and fight for a socialist revolution against them.

The CV seeks to engage all those who are committed to fighting exploitation and oppression in common action against the common enemy...capitalism.

We welcome readers' views and criticisms.

Please send them to The Editor, College Voice, 2800 Victory Boulevard, Room 1C-230, Staten Island, NY 10314

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letters

"The Banner" attack on "The Voice": an outrage

We have contributed our reports and ideas to the *College Voice* in the past. We have tremendously valued the *Voice*, as one of the few if only forums withing CUNY University for the last few years where we could read and share news and opinion from a genuinely radical, pro-working class, socialist perspective. We fell outrage and sadness upon learning of the break-in and destruction caused to the *Voice* by right-winger Michael Garfalo. It is even more of an outrage to see this thug retain editorship of the student- and Administration-financed *Banner*, and that the Student Government and the Administration stand by and do nothing to punish this criminal act.

In your letter of protest to the Administration, you quote Garafalo as saying that he "got caught up in the atmosphere of 'hate' towards the *Voice*." This sounds sinister. Did he happen to mention any sense of responsibility on his part, and on the part of the Student Government of which he is obviously tied, for helping the Administration stir up this "hatred" in the first place? Or is he blaming the editors of the *Voice* themselves for bringing this hatred, and his criminal act, down upon themselves? Since he has not offered to pay for this crime, the latter sounds more like what he is saying. It seems to be part and parcel of the general attitude of the Administration these days, throughout New York State, towards dissent. Recently, at Binghamton, SUNY, for example, multicultural facul-

ty were dismissed; a CIA spook was invited on campus to make a speech about how multiculturalism was tantamount to Nazism, and protesters were then treated to pepper spray and beatings. At CUNY there is now a proposal by Chancellor Reynolds to make student organizations pay thousands of dollars for holding an event to which the Administration decides to send its SAFE teams because it fears that there might be "trouble." Thus, students will not only have to pay greater and greater amounts of money for poorer educational services, as they have in the past. Soon, they will also have to pay for the military repression of their right to protest this austerity campaign- which the Administration is conducting, as you Editors well know, not for the greater good of CUNY or the people of New York City, but on behalf of the wealthy and the powerful capitalists who run the government and the media.

The notion that radical dissent "deserves" not only repression, but to pay for it as well, is the *extremum ad absurdum* of the right-wing lie that "the poor are responsible for their own poverty, and their salvation lies in learning to work and to pay for themselves." Such sentiments ignore the fact that our present social problems were caused in the first place.

Tom Smith

This letter was written before Mike Garafalo resigned as Managing Editor.

Response to E. Bertocci in defense of immigrants and a call to end racism

As I read Miss Bertocci's response to an article in last month's issue, *Immigration and Imperialism*, not only does my "blood begin to boil" but I try to search for some logic in her article. I can only say that her logic reflects that of the racist corporate media and the ruling class. The only difference between her and the racist bosses that hire immigrants on slave wages, is that she is not a boss and she is pretty confused while she tries to defend their dehumanizing, profit-making acts in hiring immigrants.

She writes that "Contrary to the big lie in this article, immigrants who are really called aliens are being paid subminimum wages because they have no work papers, no green cards, no English, and no legal rights." According to Miss Bertocci it's ok to be exploited by the capitalists because you are "unlawful." What she totally misses is the fact that even African-Americans, poor whites, and other so called "legal" immigrants and minorities who have American citizenship or green card also get paid slave wages. Aren't they "legal"? The earning of the top 1% of American families equals that of the bottom 40% while the top 20% have as much income as the bottom 80%. Is that because these families are "legal" and that they have the "legal" right to exploit poor people? NO! What we have in the U.S. and in any other capitalist democracy is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie-which is a

democracy for the rich only.

The recent attacks against "illegal" immigrants are not meant to stop them from entering the country, there are several reasons behind these attacks. One, these attacks rise precisely to divide the American working class and to put the blame on immigrants instead of the capitalists who employ them as a means to drive down the wages. The rising poverty, and the rising gap in this country between the rich and the working class is not due to "illegal" immigrants but it's due to the nature of Capitalism. The fact that this system is designed for the rich to keep making money by exploiting those that don't have money but only their labor to sell. The median family income is now 5.2% lower than it was in 1989, while 2 million full-time workers already live in families below the poverty level. Meanwhile record profits climbed from \$201 billion in 1991 to \$500 billion in 1995 and business income rose by 10% alone last year. It isn't the "illegal" immigrants who "eliminate the citizens of the U.S." Rather, it's the corporations that pack their bags to go to the so-called "third world" countries, leaving "legal" Americans unemployed. The "greedy mongers" are the ones that create unemployment and lower the living standards of the vast majority of U.S. citizens and further destroy the living standards of

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A response to "Immigration and Imperialism"

As I read the article on Immigration and Imperialism not only does my blood begin to boil but my eyes begin to search for something that is not there.

Contrary to the big lie in this article, immigrants who are really called aliens are being paid subminimum wages because they have no work papers, no green cards, no English, and no legal rights. They are here unlawfully. They wash dishes they pump gas and so on, and in doing so they are enabling the bosses and capitalists (which by the way are featured in this issue) to eliminate the citizens of the U.S. Why should these greed mongers pay those who suffer because there are no jobs? Who can't find work because some undeserving alien has taken it for less pay? When the capitalists of America look for workers they don't look for you and me. They look for those who have escaped a world of civil war, poverty, people whose only means of survival were crossing the border. True they are the hardest working, hard working at screwing up our economy!

Don't get me wrong, everyone has the right to freedom and the American "dream" but no one has the right to steal it away from those who have been here legally and are struggling.

Tell me, if you could employ an army of people at half the cost of those who are legally entitled to minimum wage what would you do? Or should I say what would capitalist America do?

The fact that there is racism in this country is unfortunate. I being a Latin American woman subjected to it frequently, but tell me if your job was threatened by someone who was not even part of your government, wouldn't you feel hostile too? Let's not be so humanistic people. Americans are divided right down the middle. There are those who succeed and those who fail. Unfortunately, these days the majority are being locked out of all their options and failing.

Let all the immigrants come to America but please get your green card. Don't leave home without it.

E. Bertocci

Response to E. Bertocci in defence of immigrants

Your opinion on immigrants is a typical one, formed by mainstream media's attack on immigrants to this country. Concerned about immigrants who, you believe, are the cause of driving down the wages of all working class people, you fail to see the root and cause of the problem.

Immigrants have always been coming to this country, except now. Why is there such hostility towards them? After all isn't this nation's character built by various different immigrants? This is a nation of immigrants, all of us, except African-Americans who were brought here by no choice of their own, are immigrants, legal as well as illegal. But let's be specific now, most immigrants now entering the U.S. illegally are of Hispanic descent, they come by the southern borders of Mexico. (Eastern European influx is also great, however, we don't hear as much because they are granted visas.) But we are discussing a different type of immigrant, one whose skin is different from the Europeans who poured in from West Europe, and immigrants who have come recently from East Europe as well as Asia. In addition, these illegal immigrants, as they are classified, do have rights upon this land. In case you are not aware, Mestizos, who have Indigenous American ancestry have been on the land for centuries. Many immigrants from the borders are in fact the heirs to this land but are totally denied their rights. The borders of California and Texas as well as Alaska and Hawaii were established only a short while ago when land was taken from Mexico during the Spanish American War early this century, it was considered the last frontier of westward expansion. This issue and historical fact is never allowed to enter the discourse about border wars because popular memory is denied its ugly face of geno-

cide committed upon the true "citizens" of this land we call America.

But why now is there such a threat? The answer lies in RACISM. Which is a great tool our society, government and the profit mongers use to divide people when it suits their interest. You yourself a Latina, has no solidarity with recent immigrants of your own descent, you find their presence here threatening, you'd rather dissociate with these "ALIENS", as you call them in a dehumanizing attempt to justify your own prejudice against them.

Racism is a symptom of a larger phenomenon, the tip of the iceberg, if you will. Our economy nowadays is not one that is expanding to include more people but it is contracting which means there are layoffs, downsizing, cutbacks and a great deal of unemployment. Unions are weaker than ever. But to believe that it is the fault of immigrants who work at subminimum wages, that they steal your jobs, abuse welfare that your taxes pay for, is a very misguided opinion and it falls right into the hands of the divide and rule strategy employed by colonialism and imperialism for over four centuries now.

With the passing of NAFTA which allows corporations to go to Mexico freely under the false notion that it will mutually benefit the economy of Mexico, ie., bring jobs, as well as be advantageous to the US economy, the concern over Southern Immigration has increased to alarming levels. What is referred to as "free trade" is a complete myth Corporate America has propagated. The truth about free trade is to isolate the population of Mexico only to the advantage of corporate elites that are U.S. funded. Since wages are so low and labor so much cheaper in Mexico, corporations profit from the fact that Mexico is easier to exploit than the US and to

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AN OPEN LETTER TO CSI PRESIDENT MARLENE SPRINGER FROM THE CSI STUDENT UNION

We have composed this letter, and forwarded it to you, in an attempt to resolve some of the glaring inequities that currently exist at the College of Staten Island. The degeneration of "student control of student space and funds" over the last three years has necessitated the development of an organization such as ours which represents a broad-based coalition of student interests. The degeneration that we speak of has led to the following difficulties:

- Severely reduced Library hours.
- Severely reduced Computer Room access.
- Severely reduced access to the student Campus Center (10:00 pm curfews are oppressive) No Space for student Clubs
- Reduced funding for student clubs

The inequities we have outlined affect not only the clubs and publications but also the student body at large which is the main reason we have received broad based support. ~or one of the few times in recent memory the students of the College of Staten Island have united around the commonality of being students. Complaints are complaints and many organizations simply register them haphazardly without offering any concrete solutions. Although the student body did not author the inequities we outlined previously, we intend to not simply register complaints but also provide solutions. The following ideas have been forwarded to us by the student body:

Release the funds collected from students in parking fines and re-distribute it to create 24 hour access to the Campus Center and extended library hours. In order to further this effort a group of students can act as campus managers to maintain the facilities to reduce security costs. The money released from the parking fines can serve to compensate the students for their time.

Return the keys to the students who are running publications and to clubs when the club space issue is resolved. Restore 24-hour access to the publications so they can function properly.

Restore Club Space and funding to previous levels. These are vital issues of concern among the more than 45 clubs presently active on the campus. Supported in the correct manner, clubs can become the lifeblood of our campus. A joint committee of the Club Commissioner, students and administration should be appointed to immediately determine the proper sight of housing for clubs. CSISU will be

**No longer will we allow
our rights as students,
as the main source of
funding for this college,
to be brutally stripped
from us.**

happy to provide a team of students to participate on this endeavor.

Our goal is to work closely with both the administration and the student government to accomplish these tasks and return the decision making process to the

students. Stripped of any true voice the student body has fragmented into small groups. This project represents a return to student solidarity. We will no longer be pushed aside and stepped on without protest. No longer will we allow our rights as students, as the main source of funding for this college, to be brutally stripped from us. This campus should exist to serve the student body and to be attentive to its needs. The student who wants to go to the library to study after his 10:00 pm class could be able to, the editor of a publication should be able to have enough prestige and be recognized for his/her efforts by being able to open the door to their own offices by them-

selves and the clubs that need to organize major events that will dynamize the campus should not have beg, steal and plead to get funding. The list is endless and the sins are egregious and CSI Student Union intends to dedicate itself to the defense of the student body! Thank you for your time and attention concerning these pressing matters, we anxiously await your reply.

Sincerely,

The College of Staten Island Student Union

The College of Staten Island Student Union is currently composed of or endorsed by members of the following student organizations:

The African Studies Club
The College Voice
Third Rail
WS-A Women in Science
NYPIRG
Student Life
CSI History Club
Political Science/Pre-Law
Intellectual Interdisciplinary Institution

...Police state

(continued from page 3)

the campus. (Which is a blatant violation of students first amendment rights to free speech.) He did allow the event to proceed and the speakers to attend. However, he unexpectedly resigned a few weeks later. This summer Winston Burrows, Security Director, resigned as well, "I did so because I could not let myself become a party to the illegal scheme put forth by City University Director of Public Safety, Jose Elique and his deputy Martin Rodini. At our November 1995 security directors meeting they announced a plan designed to deny students and others their constitutional rights of free speech." ... "They were working on a proposal that would attach a fee between \$5,500 and \$7,500 whenever the SAFE Team was dispatched to a campus. That to me was censorship, a violation of the constitution of the U.S., and ran contrary to everything that I believe in - justice, honesty, and fairness.... I must leave, to remain would require me to work with Jose Elique and Martin Rodini two of the most unprofessional, and morally bankrupt persons I have met in my twenty-two and a half-

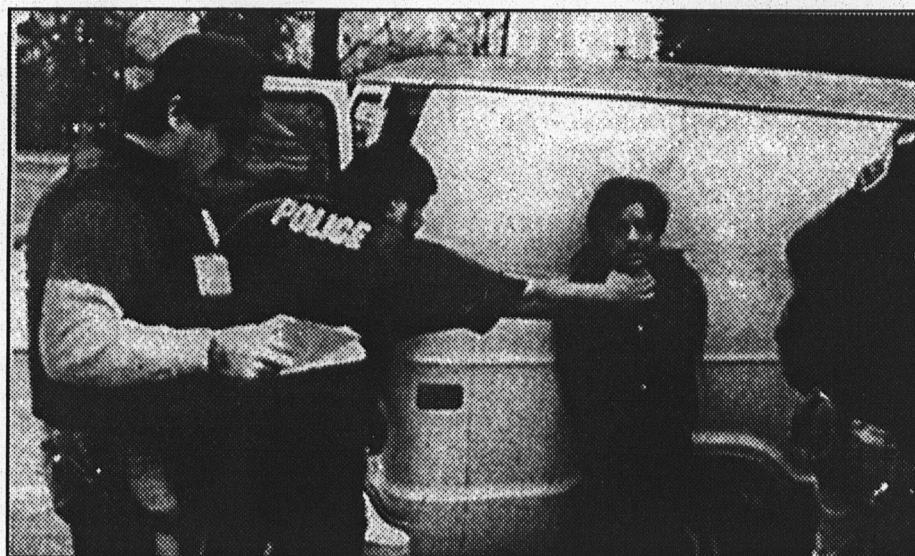
years with NYCPD and seventeen and a half years at York College."

The trumped up and excessive implementation of security charges for students is an attempt to control and prevent who can speak at campuses, as well as ensure that it would be practically impossible for students to carry out events if such a high price has to be paid to SAFE Teams. Despite that student events are peaceful, this decision is an arbitrary one, solely to prevent students from engaging in their freedom of assembly and speech. After doing a little research I found out that when there is an event on campus, a party or such, student clubs have to charge money to students to attend because the allocations set forward by student government funds do not cover the amount. I also found that additional security is not used and neither is overtime wages given to any security when at the same time we are charged extra money. What is this trumped up charge but the effort to prevent students from having peaceful events and bringing speakers to their campuses to engage in the effort to unify.

CUNY has become a penal institution that is under the military control of Chancellor Reynolds and the Board of Trustees who at the same time are limiting access

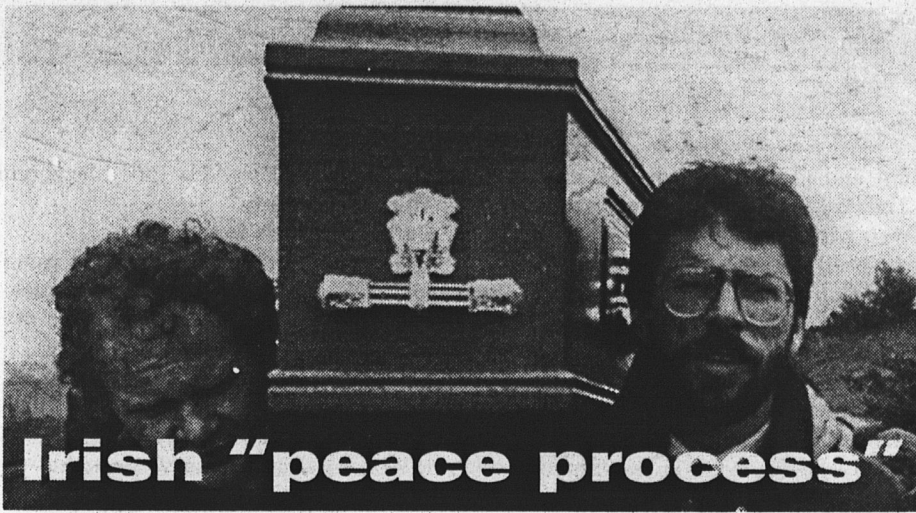
and funds to students as well as depriving us of our right to freedom of education and engaging in free speech. Students at most schools are forced to wear ID's and metal detectors and checkpoints remind

and contradicts all the principles of academic negotiation and tolerance for alternative opinions. If this student repression by administration is not addressed and actively resisted by all concerned, these



them they are in a penal institution. This reality is apparent less at colleges where there is a large white majority, such as College of Staten Island, where there is a large Black majority we see the opposite. This militarization sets a precedence for the attack on our intellectual environment

policies will totally pollute our environment of intellectual freedom and destroy our educational mission. Join us in organizing students to demand access to student space and student funds with no trumped up additional charges for student events. ■



Reform or revolution?

BY SEAN DOYLE

The breakdown of the Irish Republican army's (IRA) Cease-fire in February with an explosion in London's Canary Wharf was the inevitable outcome of political cowardice and expediency. British Prime Minister John Major's attempts to micro manage the peace process, intact for 18 months prior to the February explosion, proved to be a miscalculation that stretched the process to the breaking point until it snapped. By levying impossible pre-conditions for the IRA's political wing Sinn Fein's inclusion in all party talks on Northern Ireland's future, Major doomed the process to failure. Northern Ireland's

Protestant politicians, who maintain Major's slim parliamentary majority, were appeased by his intransigence toward Sinn Fein, and the nationalist communities consensus for future action was in disarray. Major accomplished his initial goals, but the absence of good faith in the proceedings, relegated the prospects for a progressive, reconciliatory approach to oblivion.

The vacuum that the absence of good faith created was filled by predictable action. Protestants marched with renewed zeal, trampling on the civil rights of the marginalized Catholic community. John Trimble, a rising star of sectarian politics, led the traditional summer triumphalist marches that commemorate protestant ascendancy, to a confrontation with the authorities. Police and British Politicians caved in and obstructed

Catholics from leaving their homes to allow the marches to pass through their neighborhoods. The subsequent rioting in Catholic neighborhoods was the impotent reaction to British backed Protestant hegemony.

Sinn Fein's inclusion or exclusion is the perennial dynamic that fires the collective agendas of John Major and Northern Ireland's Protestants. John Trimble recently spoke of a need for a "deposit", i.e. the surrender of IRA arms, for them to win a place at the negotiating table. The surrender of arms, or "Decommissioning" continues to be the stumbling block to all party, substantive negotiation.

The IRA's reluctance to comply is not difficult to understand. At the outset of the latest chapter in the interminable conflict between Irish republicans and the British in 1969, whole streets of Catholic houses were burned to the ground by Protestant mobs incensed at challenges to the status quo. Civil rights marches representing issues of social justice, like fair housing policies and the creation of jobs for Catholics, laid bare the injustices that results when one interest is constitutionally represented. Eighty percent of Catholics were unemployed in many areas, and the civil rights struggle addressed those, and not nationalist concerns. The events of the summer reminded the Catholic community of their vulnerability to state sanctioned oppression, and retention of IRA means of defense are predicted largely on those concerns. For many, British constitutionality is at best suspect, and the mass base of sympathy for the IRA's armed resistance is

derived from that reality.

A recent survey in Belfast has shown that Sinn Fein supporters overwhelmingly support a new cease-fire. They also strongly favor Sinn Fein's inclusion of all party talks without the British mandated prerequisite of "decommissioning" "disarming". In a broad context, Britain has plenty to work with. Moderate progressive reform, better housing, and jobs for Catholics, would dull the nationalists unified Ireland aspirations. And, gradual implementation of such reforms, would avoid the political emasculation of a Protestant community that is dangerously self-conscious of an ascendant heritage.

These would appear to be modest concessions to prevent something more universal from taking place. Dublin has the same catastrophic unemployment as Northern Ireland, in the fastest growing economy in Europe. In inner city districts heroin addiction is endemic among the 70-80 percent unemployed. If the working class of Ireland north and south recognized their shared economic distress, class politics and not nationalism, might become a more vital focus. James Connolly leader of the 1916 Irish rebellion focused his attention equally on the economic disfranchisement of Ireland's working class. When the British have been ousted from Ireland, Connolly asserted, there would still remain the problems associated with concentration of economic and political power. It is a lesson momentarily forgotten in the reactionally world of late 20th century politics. ■

letters

In defense of immigrants and a call to end racism

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people throughout the world.

Secondly, why major American Corporations are referred to as *Trans-National Corporations* is not a mere accident. I would like to ask Miss Bertocci how she explains corporations going abroad to poor countries? NO, it isn't due to humanitarian reasons or

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the mere kindness of their heart to simply help develop the poor countries. There is a long history of colonization and now imperialism.

Quite simply, Miss Bertocci, if you want to discuss what is "legality" then what makes these Trans-National Corporations "legal" in those poor countries? Who gives them that "LEGALITY"? Unlike the poor immigrants who flee their countries because of escaping a "...world of civil war, poverty,..." these Multi-billion dollar Corporations leave to further expropriate the natural wealth of the poor "alien" countries.

Furthermore, she fails to explain what creates civil wars, and poverty in the homelands of these "illegal" immigrants that come to U.S. as their "only means of survival." Tell me, Miss Bertocci, wasn't it due to NAFTA that the economy of Mexico collapsed last year, when Clinton and other imperial nations gave billions of dollars to rescue Wall Street? After all, NAFTA wasn't only responsible for the damage in Mexico but in its first year NAFTA took away 1,000,000 jobs from "legal" hard working Americans.

She writes that "the fact that there is racism in this country is unfortunate." That is a sorry ass excuse to avoid the

economic and social exploitation faced by the large minority of African-Americans and Latinos. This type of an attitude is extremely cynical and reactionary. It justifies and takes out of context the 400 years of slavery that the Africans faced in this country. The fact that now after only two decades that the hard fights of the Civil Right Movement in this country is being totally reversed because people like Miss Bertocci who blindly take the side of the bourgeois racist ideology and justify the racism in this country by saying it is "unfortunate." Tell that to the thousands of African-American, hispanic and other minority youth who are being killed and imprisoned by the US state! Instead of opening up education, which is under attack nationally and here in CUNY, to the poor and minorities the capitalists are out to build prisons; a field in which business is booming. In spite of being the richest country in the world, the US now boasts the highest levels of child poverty in the west; 2 to 8 times higher than in Western Europe and 50% higher than in Australia and Canada.

Instead of pinning the blame on immigrants, whether "legal or illegal" we are in no better conditions as they are. The question here is not the green card, capitalism is a world wide system and so is poverty and basic human rights. It isn't about being just "humanistic," the vast majority of people working hard to survive is a world wide human reality. Letting "all immigrants come to America" with the token of a green card isn't going to end the poverty and deprivation that Americans face or other face due to American exploitation. The

Green card isn't going to prevent the capitalist from exploiting these immigrants. We have to unite and fight against exploitation and racism. Being

a racist isn't going to end racism and being an exploiter isn't going to end exploitation it will be the contrary.

Sara Husain

In defence of immigrants

continued from page 9

keep them within their borders is profitable to these corporations. At the same time, plant closings and unemployment in the US further drives down wages for you and me. With open borders for corporate elites, why are there harsher and stricter regulations to close borders for immigrants. This is not free trade, there is no "invisible hand" that is at work here. Mexicans are prisoners in their own country and are wage slaves to Multi national corporations that profit from this exploitation, driving their economy into the grave. This is neo-colonialism.

When we call to defend immigrants and to join with them in solidarity, we don't do so because of purely moralistic and humanistic reasons. If we don't realize that the only way we can raise the standard of living for ourselves, is by uniting ourselves to demand better wages for the labor we give, the corporate elites will divide and conquer us. Corporations have no national allegiances, their allegiance is to profit not people. We must defend immigrants so that they don't take subminimum wages, the only way to do that is not by closing borders, throwing them out, but by uniting with these workers in unions that transcend national boundaries. Why shouldn't they get fair wages and

work conditions, why shouldn't they have the right to a decent living standard as much as we should have that right, we have nothing to lose with this arrangement. Closing the borders to immigrants will not effect our economy or bring more jobs to our doorsteps because corporations will naturally move there, or anywhere cheaper to make more profit, such is the law of capitalism.

Racism is the best tool to elude the attention away from the real culprit, the capitalist, and to give blame to the defenceless "undeserving" victim who is "different" or "alien". Let's put an end to these racist tactics, we have nothing to lose and a world to gain. Our government, along with corporations, is responsible for the emiseration created in these "Third World" nations, for the civil wars and economic crises that cause people to risk their life to cross borders in search for a better livelihood. Domestically, we too see the encroachment of "Third World" living conditions in our own neighborhoods. Racism and class society, nationally and internationally, benefits only the bosses. It is in our own interest to fight against discriminatory labor practices and racism in our nation and beyond.

Shaista Husain

The 1996 elections and after

...Workers party

(continued from page 24)

of the working class. The heart of the U.S. police state—armed forces, CIA, FBI, National Security Agency (NSA), Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF), Secret Service, police, and the courts are staffed at the highest levels by capitalist family members and corporate executives and lawyers. The same applies to the administrative agencies—all are in the iron grip of the capitalist class. Thus, the capitalist ruling class has the entire machinery of government to use to discourage independent organizing of the working class. They use cops to crush strikes and disrupt political organizing (for example, the murderous FBI/police attacks on the Black Panther Party). Government officials gerrymander election districts. City “bosses” rig elections. Election commissions restrict access of independent candidates to the ballot by requiring huge numbers of signatures to qualify.

Third, the capitalists seek to fan the flames of race and ethnic hatred in order to pit workers against each other. They secretly fund Klux Klux Klan groups and neo-nazi organizations such as the National Alliance and the American Front.

The struggle against racial oppression is one of the most important tasks facing the workers movement today. It is absolutely vital that white workers join their black, latino and asian brothers and sisters in the fight for social and economic justice and equality. Otherwise, the capitalists will continue to succeed in pitting workers against each other along racial and ethnic lines.

The Clinton administration's war on immigrants is part of this pattern. Stirring up anti-immigrant hatred serves several purposes: to promote patriotic fervor, to divide the working class and to create a climate of fear which employers use to re-introduce the sweat shop into U.S. industry. This campaign of terror helps employers drive wages down in small shops which in turn keep wages down in larger industries. The capitalist politicians do not intend to slow immigration—they

want to maximize fear. Workers must come to the defense of our immigrant brothers and sisters. By demanding “Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!” we can help give them the protection they need to join our fight for better wages and working conditions. This will benefit all of us and in the process help forge a powerful working class party capable of struggling for state power and an end to all forms of oppression.

any and all forms of worker militancy. They try to purge socialists and communists from the union ranks. They preach the need to collaborate with the bosses to protect profits. They half-heartedly resist cutbacks and give-backs. In short, the union bureaucrats have sold their souls for the Almighty Dollar.

In the realm of politics, bureaucrats try to buy influence from the liberal politicians. They have less success than the

The Labor nonParty á la Tony Mazzocchi. **The “Labor Party” Bait-and-Switch Fraud**

After six years of sluggish “organizing” for a labor party, Labor Party Advocates (LPA) at its June national convention gave birth to a still-born, mutant offspring, promptly mis-christened the “Labor Party.” Tony Mazzocchi, former national treasurer of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAWU), and his cronies hope to use this sham “party” to trick dissatisfied workers into voting for Democrat lesser-evil candidates. During the convention, a resolution to break with the Democrats was overwhelmingly defeated. For the time being, this pseudo-independent “party” is unwilling to break ties with any politician. The LPA convention call stated:

“Finally, Labor Party Advocates is strictly non-electoral for another reason. Many of us have worked long and hard to establish good relationships with existing parties. We need these connections if we are going to represent the interests of working people in the present political system.

“Labor Party Advocates as an organization will neither run nor endorse candidates because we do not want to put these vital relationships unnecessarily at risk. Until a Labor Party is a reality in this country, the labor movement will have to work through the existing political structure.” quoted in *The New “Labor Party”: Democratic Party Advocates?*, June 1996, Socialist Voice Publishing Co., New York, p. 5. [emphasis added].

What incredible spinelessness! This represents an appeal to the AFL-CIO leadership for recognition as a bureaucratic “team player” in liberal politics. Mazzocchi & Co. hope that the AFL-CIO will get on his bandwagon, propelling him into the role of a national power broker for the unions. Fat chance! The AFL-CIO flunkies are inseparable from their capitalist masters.

To continue, even the name is a lie:

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Fourth, the union bureaucrats, the labor lieutenants of capital, hold back the struggles of the workers. With one foot in the union hall and one foot on the bosses' golf course, the typical union bureaucrat has divided loyalties. Wined and dined by management, the bureaucrats become morally corrupted by the corporate “good life.” Turning their backs on the workers they claim to represent, they see themselves as business unionists, providing a disciplined, stable, obedient workforce for management. Thus, they oppose

biblical lamb that laid down with the lion. The liberal so-called “friends of labor” chew them to pieces. Union political action committees squander millions of dollars on capitalist hacks with nothing to show for it. Of course the oily politicians are more than willing to oblige: Wham! Bam! “Thank you M’am! Don’t call us, we’ll call you!” —“Damn! Screwed again!”

Some union bureaucrats, sensing that the Democrat shell-game has lost its mass appeal have come up with a new twist—

enjoy the support of the trade union bureaucracy and the middle class misleaders of the Black and womens' movements, Clinton can not only continue to ravage the living standards of workers, but do so with an impunity that Dole and Gingrich can never hope to do and with a ferocity that Reagan and Bush would never have dared to do.

Yet if the bosses know what's best for their class, the same, unfortunately, cannot be said of those who profess to speak for the working class. The AFL-CIO, for instance, has thrown over \$35 million into the Clinton campaign, far more than it has earmarked for organizing the open-shop south, where more and more companies are relocating to take advantage of low-wage non-union labor there. JOHN SWEENEY, WHO came into office claiming to be a “new voice” for labor last year, sounds a lot like its old voices, turning thumbs down on a labor party based on the unions, let alone one based on a program of militant class

struggle. Indeed, Sweeney gave Clinton the earliest endorsement ever given by the AFL-CIO...even before Clinton bothered to formally announce that he was seeking reelection. But by giving Clinton a blank check, Sweeney allows the Democrats to continue to take the votes of working people for granted. For thanks to the AFL-CIO's clinging to the Democrats at all costs, it is assumed by Democratic party strategists that union members have no place else to go. The Democrats can thus move further and further to the right as they compete with the GOP for the middle class vote.

The same holds true for the leaders of NOW and most major Black organizations. Gone are the days when Jesse Jackson pretended to be leading any kind of “rainbow coalition” crusade against the status quo...for he led it right into the deadend of Democratic party politics and now staunchly supports Clinton come hell or highwater.

FROM SWEENEY TO Jackson to NOW's

Patricia Ireland, the song remains the same: Gingrich and the GOP have to be driven from control of Congress. Yet who would notice the difference even if they were. At every step of the way, the Democrats have gone along with the Republicans' right wing agenda, up to and including Clinton's signing of the welfare bill last summer. In fact, the Democrats controlled congress all throughout the Reagan-Bush years and for the first two years of Clinton's presidency as well.

The Democrats used their time on top to give their stamp of approval to all of those anti-working class, anti-Black, anti-woman, anti-gay and anti-immigrant policies that now go under the name of “Contract on America” long before Newt Gingrich grabbed the speaker's gavel two years ago just as they have done the last two years. And why not...they were all pioneered under Democrat Jimmy Carter to begin with! And in case John Sweeney,

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...“Lesser Evil”

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21st century,” according to Curtis Gans of the Center for the Study of the American Electorate. Minimal in terms of what working peoples' lives will be like, that is.

Even against a Bob Dole, it would be hard to pass off Bill Clinton as a spend and tax “social liberal” à la FDR or LBJ. While Dole's ads may attempt to do so in order to garner a few more middle class-along the way, the truth is that Clinton and the new Democrats long ago co-opted the the Republicans reactionary agenda as their own...as many a GOP spokesman laments, since it is the agenda of the ruling class as a whole. POSED WITH A choice between an unproven upstart and a proven product, it is thus hardly surprising that most of the capitalist class has thrown in its lot with Clinton. Since the latter continues to

BASIC ELEMENTS OF A PROGRAM OF ACTION

The following programmatic demands represent the core of a class-struggle program of action. There are other demands that are not included simply due to the lack of space. A program of action is not set in stone. Rapidly changing conditions often require the formulation of new demands or emphasizing some demands over others.

Revitalize the union movement—for a new class-struggle union leadership to organize the unorganized and roll back the give-backs! The current union mis-leaders have squandered the strength of the unions by their unwillingness to use the massed power of the workers to stop the capitalist onslaught. We must build a militant movement in the unions to sweep out the corrupt betrayers and to lead powerful working-class struggles to recover what the bureaucrats have lost—and more! Put the bureaucrats back “on the line” to earn an honest living again. Put the unions in the hands of the membership. Mobilize the unions to fight all forms of oppression!

Jobs for All! 30 hours work for 40 hours pay! The basic concept here is a sliding scale of hours and wages to divide the available work among all workers so that everyone has a job. We demand a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create more jobs.

Chronic, long-term unemployment demoralizes people. If we do not fight for jobs, more and more workers will be forced into the marginalized, desperate existence of utter poverty and hopelessness. Each job lost condemns another family to hunger and privation. Each job lost means that another laid-off older worker will never retire in comfort. Each job lost means that another young worker is left on the street corners with no hope of earning a decent living. Drugs, crime, prostitution, begging—this is the future U.S. capitalism holds for millions of workers. It does not have to be. The working class has to power to save itself and the future of our youth. This is why we as workers must wage a determined struggle for political power.

Cops and courts out of the unions! Stop police brutality—disband the police! Abolish the racist death penalty! For multiracial workers militias based on the trade unions! Abolish the capitalist courts—for workers’ tribunals! The police and courts are part of the oppressive state apparatus of the capitalist class. They must be kept out of our unions. The slaughter of unemployed class youth, especially black and latino youth, by rampaging cops will not end as long as there are capitalist police. The CIA-organized crack epidemic will not be stopped by the system that feeds and promotes it. We must replace the agents of capitalist oppression with union-based multiracial workers’ self-defense teams and workers militias. These workers’ self-defense teams bear no resemblance to the right-wing vigilante “militias” which are the nucleus of a fascist movement. Indeed, workers militias are required to stop fascist attacks such as the Southern

church burnings.

End all forms of racial, ethnic, and sexual oppression! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! The workers’ movement must aggressively oppose all forms of racial, ethnic, and sexual oppression. White workers must actively join the struggle for social and economic equality and justice for all. Every blow against another worker weakens us all. We must stop the attacks on affirmative action and extend the gains of the civil rights movement. We must fight for the complete integration of schools, housing, and neighborhoods. We must fight to extend equal pay for equal work to all sectors of the working class. We must defend our immigrant brothers and sisters from the capitalist anti-immigrant campaign. Since the U.S. capitalists have looted (and still are looting) the rest of the world, we have an obligation to welcome with open arms our brothers and sisters from other countries.

Free national health care! Free abortions on demand! This is an elementary requirement of social equality. The rich have the best health care while the poor can afford none. It is time to make good health a social priority—profits be damned!

Workers control of banks, industry and commerce! Open the books! For elected recallable workers’ councils to control the economy! During the early 1980s, financiers looted the savings and loan banks. Hostile takeovers saddled firms with massive debt, often destroying tens thousands of jobs in the process. The self-devouring piranha capitalism of the 1980s eliminated its own weakest members. Now finance capital has turned its undivided attention to devouring the workers. Bankers and industrialists have eliminated millions of jobs and continue cutting back without let up. Yet working people—who built this society, run every facet of it and are the victims of these cut-backs—have no say in the matter whatsoever. We need elected workers councils to exert public control over all aspects of industry, banking and commerce. With workers management would come centralized, rational economic planning. Workers democracy would be an integral part of the council movement. Recallable delegates would ensure that any delegate who betrays his or her constituents is quickly replaced.

Confiscate the banks and major corporations! That is, expropriate the capitalists’ private property (banks, factories, office buildings, apartment complexes, etc.) without compensation. We must reorganize production for use rather than profits. There is enormous poverty throughout the world, thanks in large part to the ravages of capitalist exploitation. Under workers control, the powerhouse of industry in the advanced industrial countries can lift living standards throughout the world—to everyone’s benefit. By eliminating the wasteful consumption of the capitalist class and the enormous sums squandered on the military, we could boost production of affordable, decent housing, cheap

medicine, and meet a host of other needs that have long been neglected because they were not sufficiently profitable.

State monopoly of all foreign trade! Only the state, ruled by the workers, can control foreign trade to benefit all. Currently, monopolistic corporations control all aspects of foreign trade to the detriment of the majority of the population. The insane competition between international capitalist ruling classes must be replaced by international cooperation between peoples for the mutual benefit of all. Otherwise, the capitalist struggle for markets will eventually reach the point of open warfare. The carnage of World Wars I and II points to the deadly future of capitalist competition if the working class fails to intervene in its own and humanity’s interest.

Independence for Puerto Rico and all other U.S. colonies! The U.S. exploitation of Puerto Rico and all other colonies must end. U.S. banks and corporations ruthlessly exploit the colonies as sources of low-wage labor and cheap raw materials. As long as our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters are in bondage to Wall Street, we, too, are shackled.

Down with the U.S. police state! For a workers’ state! The ruling class fears the power of the workers. The ruling clique dreads the upheavals that will occur when the workers reach their limits of uncertainty and deprivation and try to take matters into their own hands. This tiny ruling minority, the capitalists, has been promoting prison construction as the real growth industry for today. Police State America is here and now—more prisons, more police, more restrictions, more wire-tapping, more surveillance, more chain gangs, more drugs. The recent exposé of the CIA role in organizing the crack epidemic makes it clear why no progress has been made in stopping the flow of drugs—the government is involved up to its neck in trying to keep the impoverished masses drugged into submission. In particular, they target the most oppressed and most combative workers in the U.S., the black masses.

No amount of CIA drugs can prevent the working masses from using their awesome power to sweep the filth that rules this country into the dustbin of history. But the capitalists will not relinquish power without a bloody fight. History shows that the capitalists respond with violence and terror to any threat to their rule. Chile’s social-democratic president, Salvador Allende, promised to lead the Chilean masses down the “peaceful road to socialism.” Instead, in 1973 a U.S.-backed military coup crushed Allende’s legally-elected government. The U.S.-trained military officers assassinated Allende and tortured and butchered over 50,000 union, community, and leftist activists. In the U.S., they are breeding the right-wing militias as a weapon in the event of a resurgence of mass upheavals and union organizing. A workers party must be prepared to take the lead in organizing united-front defense of the oppressed from neo-Nazi and fascist gangs.—D.M.

...“Lesser Evil”

(continued from page 12)

Jesse Jackson and Patricia Ireland haven’t noticed, the Democrats promise to do even more of the same should they emerge victorious in November.

OF COURSE, SWEENEY and Co. hope that the more votes that they can get out for Clinton, the more clout they will wield in Washington afterwards. Yet no matter how many votes they may garner for the Democrats, Clinton is not about to change course. For the real decisions that concern power and money in this country are decided in corporate boardrooms by unelected officials, (unelected by the majority of the American people, that is) not in Congress, or even the White House, and least of all in the polling places and voting booths. For only when money talks, do politicians like Clinton

or Dole walk.

Besides, as long as labor believes that it can get somewhere by going nowhere with the

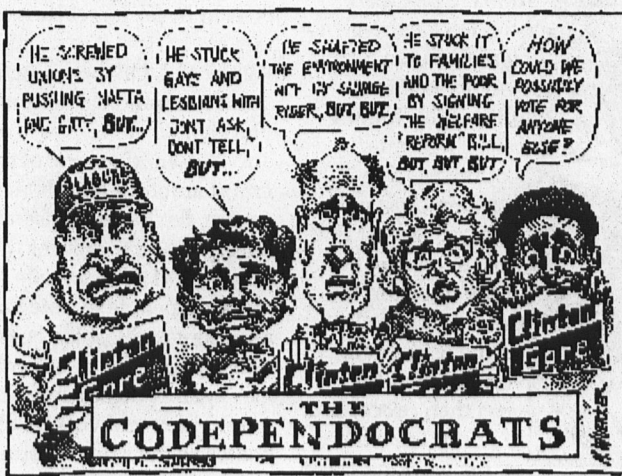
Democrats why should anyone bother paying attention to it? To really make the ruling class aware that there still is a labor movement out there that has some signs of life to it, American workers will have to start speaking French, ie, carry out the kind of militant mass actions that French workers used to

stop Juppe and Chirac last winter. Yet Sweeney made it clear at the time that he hoped things never come to that here...at

least insofar as the workers fighting back is concerned. This, even though America’s rulers have gone way beyond those of French in wielding the axe of austerity against working class living standards. TAILING ALONG BEHIND the big-time betrayers of working people and the poor

are those small fry “socialists,” like the so-called Communist Party, who, once again, are pushing their “lesser evil” line. “We must stop the ultra-right at any cost,” they cry. For they are all too cowardly and cynical to come out and call for a vote for Clinton and his raw deal Democrats with a straight face. The problem, however, is that Clinton has gone along with welfare repeal and anti-immigrant legislation, in addition to pushing GATT and NAFTA and endless “anti-crime” legislation that targets civil liberties rather than criminal activities. In other words, Clinton has made the “ultra-right’s” program his own, not to mention making it the law of the land. So how is voting for him going to stop the “ultra right” rather than further whet its appetites for more of the same? In fact, by voting for Clinton, the lesser evilists are not voting “against” the “ultra-

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The 1996 elections and after

selves as a part of the working class. They do not yet see themselves as part of a class with economic and political interests that are hostile to those of the capitalist class, our oppressors. Those of us

We need to take firm measures that will secure for us a better standard of living, put an end to racial and social injustice, and provide full social equality for all. The capitalist ruling class will not relin-

Workers will not join a party built in the image of the union bureaucracy.

who are class conscious are a tiny minority, at this time. As more workers come to see all capitalists as enemies and all workers as friends, they will realize the need for independent political action.

Independent political action means that as workers, our emancipation has to occur through our own initiative. We as workers cannot rely on liberal representatives of our exploiters to solve our problems—it is not in their interest nor their nature to do so. Thus, we need a party of our own.

It is not sufficient to put band-aids on the capitalist system—its problems arise out of the very nature of capitalism itself.

greed go, he tends to see such abuses as aberrations rather than the rule. Thus he hopes to reform a system that is hopelessly irreformable at a time when the ruling rich have made it clear that they have no intention of offering any more reforms. Therefore he fails to present a *working class*-based alternative to capitalism and neglects the interests of those most oppressed by it, racial minorities and women and gays. Yet only a movement that is based upon the class that produces all the wealth, the working class, and which unites within its ranks all of the oppressed as well, can effective-

quish its privileges and power without a fight. Therefore, our workers party must be based on the strong foundation of a class-struggle program of action and have as its goal the conquest of state power. The formation of an equitable, socialist society is the only way oppression of one class by another can come to an end.

From its formation, the workers party must openly advocate the replacement of the capitalist state with a workers state. If imbued with the liberal impulse to "moderate" or water-down its demands, a workers party will not have the backbone required to lead a determined

campaign is but middle class protest politics; the Greens hope that the star status of their candidate will help them take enough votes away from the Democrats so that the latter are finally forced to take notice of them.

ON THE OTHER hand, the Labor Party, formed this summer in Cleveland, would appear to offer the kind of working class perspective that the current capitalist crisis cries out for. After all, it claims the support of four international unions as well as thousands of union locals in addition to sporting a program that at least begins to address the interests of working peo-

struggle against the might of the capitalist police state.

Only a workers party that rallies the masses around the banner of class struggle can inspire the workers to make a clean sweep of this corrupt and dying system. That means waging determined struggles in the streets and factories against all forms of capitalist oppression. Such a party must be willing to organize united working-class fronts whenever the opportunities arise. Such a party must be able to work with wavering, unreliable elements without making any political concessions to them. Such a party must not fear to call a snake "a snake" or Tony Mazzocchi's "Labor Party" a fraud.

We must begin forging a workers party capable of leading the struggle for state power, for a workers' socialist state. This is absolutely necessary, for ultimately capitalism is a doomed system. It will inevitably lead to bitter trade wars and finally another nuclear war. World War II, the first nuclear war, will pale in comparison with the next and final nuclear war. Only the working class has the power to intervene and change the course of history. The future of humanity is at stake.

Georg Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism, in 1893 in *Our Differences* wrote:

"A rise in the standard of your material prosperity is possible only with resolute intervention by the state.... But not every state will assume the role of your ally. The state will be wholly and entirely on your side only if it is wholly and entirely yours, a workers' state. That is the aim at which you must direct all your efforts. And as long as it is not attained you must force even a state which is hostile to you to make concessions to you. And in so doing, do not forget that the more resolute you are in demands and the stronger your party, the more decisive those concessions will be. So set up such a party, unite in a single, formidable, disciplined force. When you have succeeded in winning the final victory you will throw off completely the yoke of capital, but until then you will at least hold it in check to some extent, you will at least safeguard yourselves and your children against physical, moral and intellectual degeneration. You have only two ways out of your present condition: either struggle or complete subjection to capital. I call to my side those who wish to struggle!" ■

nation, utilizing the elections to educate millions of working people as to why their interests as a class necessitate organizing politically against the same bosses who exploit them economically. With the resources allegedly at its command, the Labor Party could bring the message of working class struggle to all the oppressed and exploited by championing their struggles as labor's own and begin to build a mass movement capable of taking on the ruling rich as no other existing organization could.

Unfortunately, the Labor Party chooses to remain a stillborn party, as its leadership, middle level union bureaucrats, refuse to fully break with the Democrats in order not to alienate top level union bureaucrats. Thus the Labor Party not only ties its own hands at a time when working people need it more than ever but allow Nader and the Greens, who at least have the *chutzpah* to appear to take on the Democrats in spite of their not having anything near the resources the Labor Party and its union base does, to take center stage in so far as electoral alternatives go.

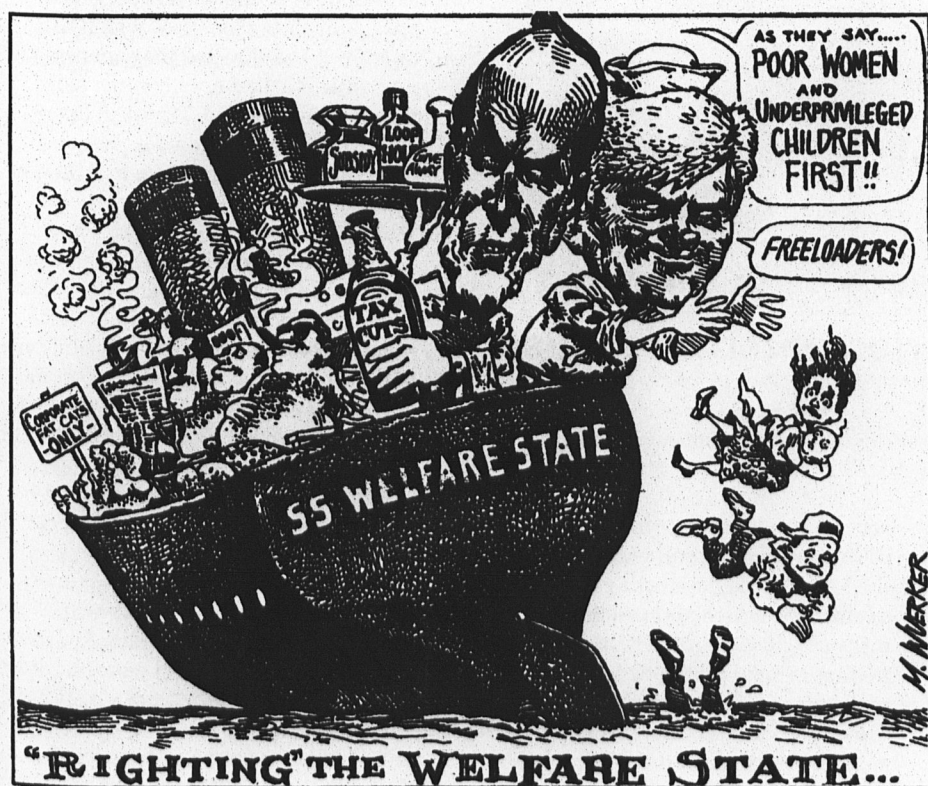
THE LP PROGRAM thus contains many fine formulas but no way of translating them from paper into practice. Electoral activity is ruled out for two years (so as not to alienate pro-Democratic party union officials) and allegedly mass action is on the order of day as a substitute for it. A fine formula indeed, but who expects a bunch of bureaucrats who have yet to lift a finger about or against anything to suddenly start mobilizing the masses all of a sudden. Especially when such mass mobilizations would arouse the anger of the same bureaucrats they still seek to court...by going against the latter's Democratic party politician pals already in office or aspiring to get there.

Even if they were serious about doing so, they would still need to elect officials to enact the legislation favorable to workers

their program promotes...unless, like Sweeney, they still expect the Democrats to do it for them. While the Labor Party is obviously one small step forward for American workers in comparison to the staunch support still offered to the Democrats by the AFL-CIO leadership, it obviously needs to be go a long way further for it to become a giant leap forward. That

An election would seem an ideal time for the Labor Party to present a working class alternative to the nation; utilizing the elections to educate millions of working people as to why their interests as a class necessitate organizing politically against the same bosses who exploit them economically.

can only be done by the active intervention of rank and file activists; making it into a party that not only actively opposes both bosses parties and the capitalist system they both support at every step but by making it into a party that supports a socialist alternative to them as well. ■



ly take on the "special interests" that Nader claims to oppose.

When all is said and done, the Nader

ple. A presidential campaign would seem an ideal opportunity for such a party to present a working class alternative to the

Leon Trotsky's contribution

Max Shactman, an American co-thinker of Trotsky, explains how Trotsky helped develop Marxism as a method of analysis and a guide to action for the revolutionary working class in the struggle to overthrow capitalism

L EON Trotsky belonged to the school of Karl Marx. The difference between these two titans of the revolutionary socialist movement can be found not so much in a comparison of their respective intellectual attainments as in a comparison of the epochs in which they made their mark and which could not but leave their mark upon them.

Marx was the incomparable analyst, critic and revolutioniser of capitalist society. With a pitiless scalpel, he disclosed the immanent contradictions which doomed the contemporary social order to collapse and which at the same time generated the living force that had the destruction of the old society and the building of the new as its historic mission. In the more than ninety years since his views were first presented systematically if briefly in the Communist Manifesto, they have successfully withstood every effort to demolish them. The crashing noises of capitalism collapsing throughout the world at this very moment only give us the grimmest and most emphatic confirmation of Marx's analytical insight.

What Marx miscalculated—it was his only serious error—was the rate of speed at which the inexorable process of disintegration would take place. Even there, his error was that of a genius, in that he foresaw with such penetration what was to occur long after his time had passed. But the error was nevertheless the error of an epoch. After his death, world capitalism reached new heights of development and expanded beyond the dreams of his contemporaries; the proletariat, on the other hand, did not move directly towards the revolutionary maturity that would make possible the execution of its historic mission.

Marx's time was not the epoch of the proletarian world revolution, the Vienna uprising and the Paris Commune notwithstanding. It was the epoch in which the great bourgeois nations of Europe and America were finally established and consolidated. The founder of the scientific socialist movement was born on the morrow of the Great French Revolution and the revolution of the thirteen American colonies against English sovereignty. He died on the morrow of the consolidation of the numerous Germanic states into an independent imperial nation, liberated from Franco-Russian oppression and semi-feudal dismemberment.

The struggle for national unity

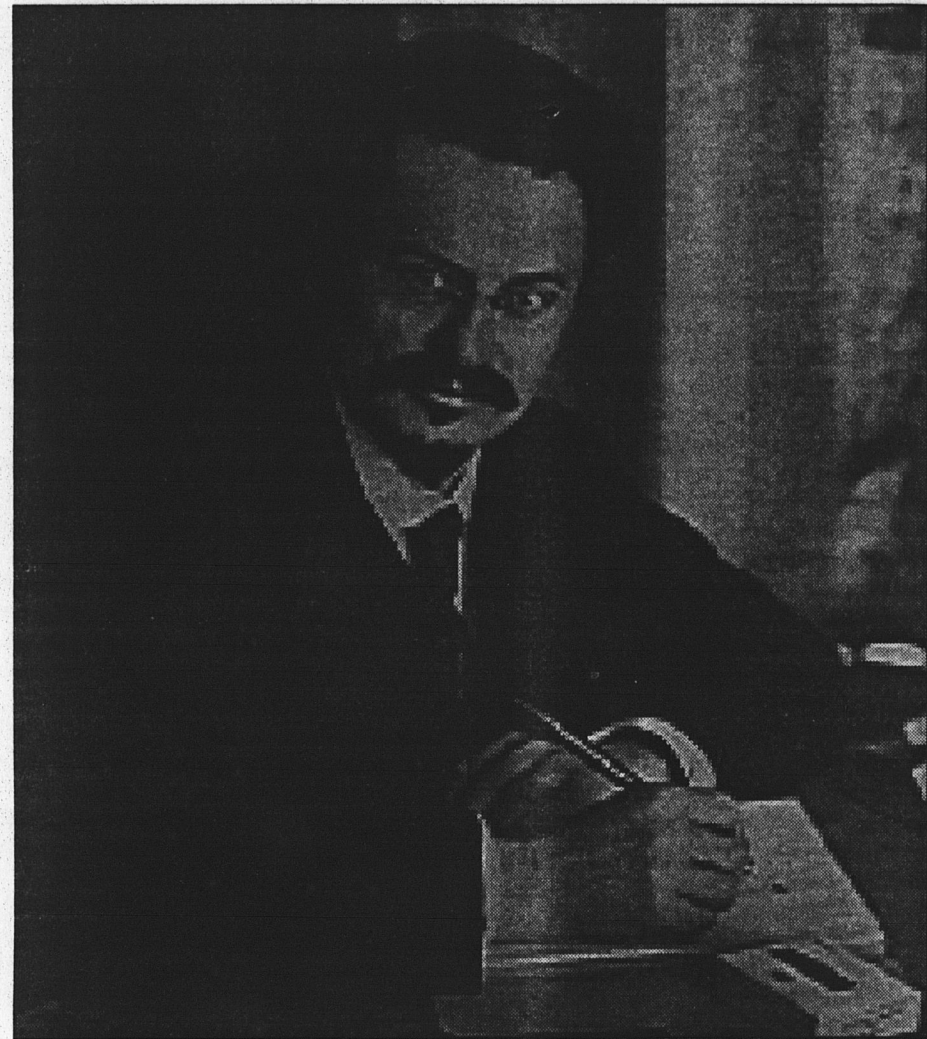
The struggle to form the great indepen-

dent nations of the modern world characterised the end of the 18th and most of the 19th centuries. It was a progressive and even revolutionary struggle, and in the course of it, feudalism was destroyed. The feudal system had become a barrier in the path of further social progress. Capitalism and the then young and militant bourgeoisie had to find a large framework, a more extended soil for its development than were permitted them by the outlived feudal regimes. The new ruling class ruthlessly razed the suffocating frontiers of Popes and princes and dukes and counts so that the new economic system might have a whole nation in which to expand freely. At the same time, the new national frontiers which it erected were raised less for the purpose of confining themselves than for protecting the new order from the encroachments and invasions of dying but still vicious reaction, at the beginning from the Holy Alliance and towards the end from the Gendarme-Tsar.

Marx, who was not and could not by his whole spirit be a mere sentimental anti-nationalist, was altogether on the side of the struggle for national independence. He was not, to be sure, a bourgeois democrat, but a socialist revolutionary. He saw in the fight for the free bourgeois democratic nation the pre-con-

The greatness of Trotsky's contribution to the socialist cause lay in the fact that it corresponded so perfectly with the most urgent need of our period: internationalism.

dition for developing the independent struggle of the young proletariat for its own social emancipation and thereby the emancipation of society from all class rule. The bourgeoisie never erred, even in its most revolutionary period, in its judgment of Marx and his ideas, and it never hesitated to turn to an alliance with hated reaction against them. It never mistook Marx for a bourgeois democrat or a German nationalist—as venomous critics have tried to picture him—for its class interest gave it sufficient perspicacity to



understand more clearly even than did the follower of Marx, what the latter meant by the war-cry: "The revolution in permanence!"

There are few things so tragic, and sometimes disastrous in politics as the inability of men to understand when an old situation has challenged to a new one, when ideas and slogans suitable for one set of circumstances have become the very opposite of suitable in other circumstances. Marx's conception of the revolution in permanence embraced this

The years that followed Marx's death marked a period of such comparative social peace and organic capitalist expansion, as to create an atmosphere in which his disciples, while maintaining the externals of his ideas, gradually disemboweled them of all revolutionary contents in the period preceding the first world war, capitalism had undergone profound changes. National frontiers, which had first constituted a necessary field in which the productive forces could be expanded by capitalism, had now become a barrier to their further development. The bourgeoisie, once a revolutionary class which had organised and directed the expansion of economic life, had now become reactionary and parasitic. The great enterprises had become coupon-clippers; the descendants of Robespierre had become comrades-in-arms (or mercenaries!) of the Tsar.

A concomitant degeneration had taken place in the socialist movement in almost every country. Its leaders had carved up Marx's essentially revolutionary internationalism into so many national segments, the simple arithmetical total of which in no way resembled the original indivisible whole. The defence of the nation, even after the very concept of a nation (at least so far as the big countries of Europe and America were concerned) had become economically and politically reactionary, became an end in itself. The practical agreement with the revolutionary bourgeoisie against the feudal reaction turned into class collaboration with a decadent bourgeoisie which had long ago fused with that same feudal, monarchical and clerical reaction. When the war broke out, the corruption of socialist internationalism into social patriotism was sensationally revealed. With the collapse of the Second International, of official socialism, an

set of ideas: the struggle for the independent bourgeois nation was progressive; the bourgeoisie conducting that struggle against feudalism and reaction was playing a progressive role; the working class, no matter how young or immature, must make a practical fighting argument with the bourgeoisie in this struggle, but an agreement in which the working class maintained its full class independence and did not suspend its revolutionary efforts once feudal reaction was defeated and the bourgeoisie installed in power.

Capitalism as an international order

to revolutionary Marxism

epoch came to an end and a new one began.

What raises the great man above the level of his contemporaries is not so much that his time leaves its mark upon him as it is that he leaves his mark upon his time. The deepest, most lasting marks left on our time were carved by two revolutionists. One was Lenin; the other Leon Trotsky.

The greatness of Trotsky's contribution to the socialist cause lay in the fact that it corresponded so perfectly with the most urgent need of our period: internationalism. He was its greatest prophet, not merely as an ethical or humanistic ideal but as an unpostponable economic, political and cultural step, made possible and imperatively necessary for society if it is not to fall back into barbarism. A Marxist to the marrow of his bones, he did not derive his internationalism from some eternal morality which mankind would attain some day when the necessary chemical changes took place in its soul, but rather from a thoroughgoing analysis of the changes taking place in the way in which men are related to produce the things they live by and in the elaborate institutions developed to maintain these relations. This analysis, not made overnight but developed throughout a lifetime of study and struggle, is summed up in the theory which will always be associated with the name of Leon Trotsky, the theory of the permanent revolution. It is his unique contribution, it is his own addition to the legacy of Marxism which he legitimately took over and which he left a to a new generation as a vastly enriched heritage.

Trotsky and 1905

TROTSKY began to develop his theory in systematic form following the experiences of the first Russian revolution in 1905. Knowing as we do how the proletarian revolution triumphed in Russia in 1917, it is impossible to read or re-read Trotsky's first thorough analysis of class relations in the country and his forecast without being startled by them. No wonder they met with almost universal scepticism and even ridicule when they were first put forward!

According to the theory prevalent in the Russian social democracy of the time — in both Bolshevik and Menshevik factions — Russia differed from the advanced West-European countries in that it faced not a socialist but a bourgeois-democratic revolution. What had long ago been accomplished in the West still lay ahead in the East the ending of feudal or semi-feudal relations in agriculture, democratic rights for the people, a democratic legislative assembly for the nation, the right of self-determination for the national minorities in the empire etc.

On this score, there were not and could not be any serious differences among socialists. Where the division developed between the two major factions was, essentially, over the question of who

would lead the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The Mensheviks, operating formally on the basis of the same party programme as the Bolsheviks, declared that the bourgeois revolution in Russia would be led by the bourgeoisie, supported by the peasantry, and that the working class would play the role of a left-wing spur urging the bourgeoisie on to accomplish its historic mission. The revolution once accomplished and normal, modern democratic conditions established, the working class would take up a position similar to that occupied by it in such countries as England, France, and Germany. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, refused to attribute a revolutionary role to the Russian bourgeoisie. The revolution in Russia, they declared, would be directed not only against the Tsarist bureaucracy but also against the Russian bourgeoisie, more miserable and cowardly than the German bourgeoisie of 1848 whose social rule had to be established finally by a Junker prince. There were, they continued, only two revolutionary classes in Russia, the proletariat and the peasantry, and their victory

their solution in other countries, generations ago, had appeared just as belatedly on the Russian scene. The Russian bourgeoisie could not and would not play a revolutionary role. It was already inextricably bound up with the old

Tsarist bureaucracy and the landowning class, and more important than that, it faced two revolutionary lower classes which it preferred to struggle against rather than to arouse and collaborate with. The democratic revolution in Russia would therefore be directed against the bourgeoisie as well, and it would be led by the workers and the peasants.

Thus far, Trotsky's theory was sufficient to bring him into irreconcilable conflict with the Mensheviks and into fundamental solidarity with the Bolsheviks. But his agreement with the Bolsheviks on the role of the bourgeoisie was at the same time the point of departure for his disagreement with them.

While the democratic revolution will be carried out by the working class and the peasantry, Trotsky continued, it must be borne in mind that these two classes are not socially or historically equal. One

which of the two revolutionary classes in Russia, combined in a bloc against the Tsar and bourgeoisie, will have the leadership in the struggle? Which of the two classes will make the decisive imprint on the coming revolution? The peasantry cannot lead, it must follow one or the other urban classes. But if the proletariat is to lead the revolution, it cannot, once it comes to power with mighty aid of the peasantry, confine itself rigidly to its minimum program, that is, to the solution of the democratic tasks. The very peculiarity of class relations in Russia would impose upon that proletariat — in power those "despotic encroachments" upon private property about which the Communist Manifesto had spoken. It would be compelled to initiate distinctly socialist measures; the democratic tasks of Russian society would be solved essentially as a by-product of a socialist reorganisation of the country. The democratic revolution would pass directly into the socialist revolution. In accordance with what Trotsky called the law of combined development, the very backwardness of Russia would compel it to take a long



would take the form of a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." In Lenin's strategical concept of the Russian revolution, the democratic tasks facing the country would be solved by the lower classes in the most radical, plebian, "Jacobin" manner. Neither of the two socialist factions entertained the possibility of an immediate socialist perspective for Russia.

The Permanent Revolution

In his study of the revolution of 1905 and in the furious polemics written between the two revolutions, Trotsky developed his own audacious theory. Russia, he acknowledged, is a backward agricultural country which has not even solved its democratic problems. But precisely because the latter were posed so belatedly, the class which had directed

is a propertyless class; the other is or seeks to become a propertied class. One represents the economy of tomorrow; the other the economy of yesterday. Historically, the one, as it takes the form of a class for itself, is socialist; the other, in so far as it can express itself as a class is bourgeois or rather petty bourgeois. By its position in society, the one is international; by its very position in the economic life of a country, the other is national. The one is a progressive class with a clearly-defined historical mission; the other is a divided and doubtful class which plays a reactionary role when it is led by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat or a revolutionary role when it is led by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

The decisive question, therefore, is

leap forward, and momentum once gained, would bring it to a socialist, proletarian dictatorship. Russia would experience a continuing revolution, the revolution in permanence!

That much Trotsky already made clear as early as 1906. The international aspects of the permanent revolution he developed in the following years, particularly during the war. Lenin, who looked forward to a more or less durable democratic revolution in Russia, emphasised that not, even a democratic revolution could be maintained in the country unless it was speedily followed by a socialist revolution in the more advanced countries of Europe. In this Trotsky was naturally of Lenin's view. He added only, in accordance with his own theory, that the pro-

continued on page 23

Gender juggling

Geoff Palmer argues that no single factor, sex, gender or upbringing, can decide our biological destiny

How do you determine someone's sex or gender? Both common sense and science assume that this is obvious. Everyone knows what a man is, and what a woman is. Everyone knows what turns them on or off. But the reality is not so simple. Biological sex is not such a fixed reality, nor does it have such a fixed meaning.

Male and female are not two separate creatures, even at the most basic, genetic level. They are simply two sides of the same coin. If this is true, then what flows from it at a gendered, sexual, ideological and political level is even more variable.

Pat Califia writes in *Public Sex*. 'Gender. Sex. Boys and girls, men and women. Penises and vaginas. Sperm and eggs. Hairy chests and 38D tits. The fundamental division, polarity, nothing to do with culture or learning. It's in the genes (jeans?), dictated by nature. Some of us are male; some of us are female. That's the way it's been, and that's the way it will always be. We can argue about what our gender implies about our personalities, our capacities and inadequacies, our social responsibilities, but human beings will always be divided into those two categories. They are that fundamental. Yeah, and the world is flat, and the sun moves around it.'

Thus Califia writing in 1983 ridiculed the widespread, but wrong, idea that the differences between women and men are fixed, natural or predetermined. Humans naturally come in a variety of packages on all levels: chromosomes, sex organs, hormones, brain structures and body shapes. On top of all this natural variety there is choice over sex assignment at birth, rearing of children and socialization into adult gender roles. A combination of these natural varieties and social decisions determines what sex we will be, what gender we will be and what sexuality we will have. Even

then, we still have some personal say in what it all means as social beings.

Anatomical sex is very important to people. The first question after a baby is born is: 'Is it a girl or a boy?' It seems vital to gender the newborn immediately. Why is it so important to us? Intersex infants or so-called hermaphrodites are babies born with mixed or intermediate sex. This occurs naturally and not infrequently. The fact that intersex babies are assigned a sex implies that biological sex has no fixed, stable meaning. Parallel with intersex infants are adult transsexual sex changes blatantly reveal that biological sex is changeable.

I could be chromosomally female

(46XX), with female sex organs, but possess a penis and empty scrotum. So I would probably be assigned male at birth. With a little surgical snip and a chemical cocktail drink I could grow up to be universally accepted as a man (androgen-induced hermaphroditism). If I wanted, I could choose a wife and adopt children. Or I could live with another man and probably not be allowed to adopt kids. What does this make me?

I could be chromosomally male (46XY), with male sex organs internally, but possess a vagina and vulva. So I would probably be assigned female at birth. With a little surgical snip and a chemical cocktail drink I could grow up to be universally accepted as a woman (androgeninsensitivity syndrome). If I wanted, I could choose a husband and adopt children. Or I could live with another woman and perhaps be allowed to adopt kids. What does this make me?

I could be chromosomally female (46XX) with female sex organs and be a clear female, girl and woman. But I feel I am really male. And despite getting a husband and having children, decide I am really a man (female-to-male transsexual). So I have to prove I can live as a man, and to prove this to psychiatrists and doctors. It helps if I fit the male stereotype. What does this make me?

I could be chromosomally male (46XY), with male sex organs and be a clear male, boy and man. But I feel I am really female. And despite getting transsexual. So I have to prove I can live as a woman, and to prove this to psychiatrists and doctors. It helps if I fit the female stereotype. What does this make me?

In genetics we say that male is XY and that female is XX. But we know that some males are XX, XXY, and that some females are XY, XO and XXX. Some animals, such as lemmings, have three sex chromosomes: XY are males, while XX, WX and WY are all females. Some fungi have thousands of sexes. In biology we say that male is sperm-bearing and female is egg-bearing. But we know that some species have individuals that bear both sperm and eggs, or which change from one to the other. In sexology and in our societies generally, we say that having a penis means male and having a vulva means female. But we know that this is relative in intersex people. Truly, we know that biology is not destiny.

Maleness and femaleness are relative characteristics, not static facts. Their definition depends on a host of variables, such as chromosomes (male, female or combination); genetically determined sex organs (male-like, female-like or mixed); pre-birth hormones (everyone produces all hormones); internal body sex (male, female or both); external body shape (male-like, female-like or mixed) and pubertal hormones (everyone produces all hormones). How these physical variables appear at birth when medical staff assign sex, plus rearing and socialisation into adult gender identity all influence our maleness or femaleness. But even then, as adults we can turn around, say that there has sexual-ity. In this sense the nature-nurture debate is redundant as sex, gender and sexuality are established over time by a dialectical interaction between biology and culture, and our own active agency in making decisions.

Medical science has had a fixation on what is male and what is female since the Enlightenment. But this fixation became even more intense during the 1950s, a decade noted for rigid gender polarisation. Intersex infants have been studied intensively since 1951 for clues about sexual differentiation between egg-bearing and sperm-bearing individuals.

In 1952 Christine Jorgensen of Denmark became the first adult man to have a sex-change operation. This opened up another dimension to the scientific obsession about what is 'authentically male' or 'authentically female'.

Both intersex and transsex people are tightly policed. Clinicians still examine external genitalia and decide whether they can enhance a plausible penis or a viable vagina. Most intersex babies tend to be assigned girls, as it is considered easier to create a 'good enough' vagina. Intersex people do not get a chance to mature, and it is seen as vital that they are immediately 'fixed' into one of the sexes. Parents are told that the slight anomaly has been fixed and the child must be raised in the sex that had been assigned. Any signs of inappropriate tomboyish behaviour or sissiness should be reported and the child brought back for observation and further correction if necessary.

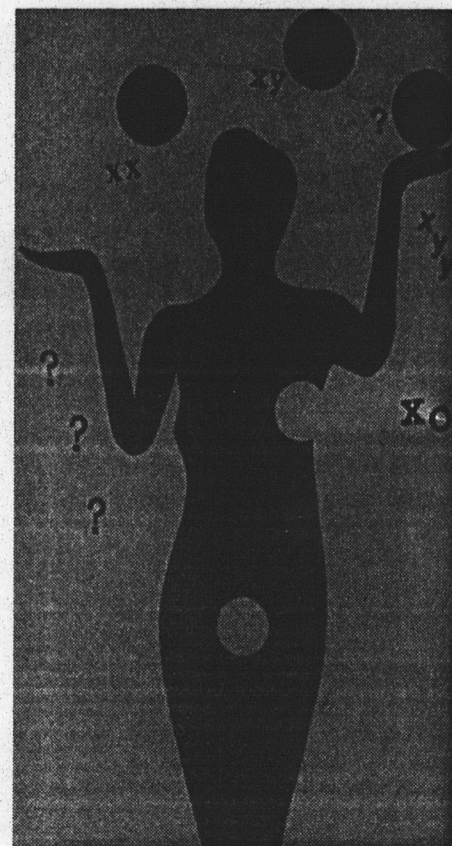
Similarly, female-to-male and male-to-female transsexual people are tightly controlled by the psychiatric and medical professions. They have to live as their chosen gender for a year or more to prove that they can be 'proper' men or women. In order to obtain hormones and sex-reassignment surgery, transsexual people have to demonstrate strict gender roles, in being very masculine or feminine and finding a heterosexual partner. Sex scientists tell us that a female-to-male man is someone whose brain was masculinised prenatally in the womb, and vice versa for male-to-female women. This makes a mockery of biological sex difference because such womb-programming did not prevent many transsexual people having sex with, and children with, the same-sexed people they feel they really are before reassignment surgery. Why can't people change sex simply because they really want to?

It is true that only relatively small numbers of people actually change sex. But more people probably would given more information, advances in surgical procedures and a relaxation gender dysphoria without changing over. Perhaps we could do with a scale of biological sex, from 0 (exclusively male) to six (exclusively female), akin to Kinsey's sexual orientation scale.

It seems that scientific research into sex difference is not primarily interested in intersex or transsex people as whole people, nor on how their experience helps break down an oppressive sex-divide ideology. Rather it is a search for what is male, and what is female, as opposites, and what men and women ought to be.

Scientific research into so-called sexual 'perversion', primarily homosexuality, and particularly male homosexuality, seems to be studying heterosexuality and how things go 'wrong'.

Matt Ridley writes in *The Red Queen* 'A man develops a sexual preference for women because his brain develops in a certain way. It develops in a certain way



because testosterone produced by his genetically determined testicles alter the brain inside his mothers womb in such a way that later, at puberty, it will react to testosterone again. Miss out on the genes for testicles, the testosterone burst in the womb or the testosterone burst at puberty- any one of the three and you will not be a typical man.'

Again, we see a simple, genetic, hormonal and brain-structure explanation for the causes of homosexuality. We have to ask why medical scientists are doing this research. We know that there is no 'Iron Curtain' between heterosexual, bisexual and homosexual behaviour, and that each merges with the other. Any 'redgay sex given the right circumstances, and any 'steamy', feminine 'heterosexual' woman can choose to have lesbian sex given the right circumstances. Such men and women populate one of the commonest models of homosexuality around the world gender inversion - or popularly known as butch-femme, or real-man homo, coupling with the effeminate queen and the butch dyke.

Today, most people accept that sexuality is not a fixed thing, and also that gender is not fixed.

There are physical realities in biological sex. But there is no predetermined relationship between physical attributes and social behaviour along sex, gender or sexuality lines. Such a thing as a man or a woman does exist. But how a man or a woman comes into being is not predetermined by any one of the factors that form him or her. A woman (or a man) could be born genetically 46XY or 46XX, with male or female genitals, be assigned female or male at birth, have various hormonal influences, and grow up to be attracted to women, men, both or neither. This very variability implies neither physical essentialism nor a postmodernist relativism. It points towards a developmental fluidity from biology through socialisation.

Good science should uncover facts about the material world, including the basic building blocks of human beings. Progressive politics should advance what this knowledge reveals to increase human control over the material world for everyone's benefit. to increase human control over the material world for everyone's benefit. ■

'Gender Outlaw: On men, women and the rest of us', by Kate Bornstein, Routledge

Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Jamal's real "offense" is that he has, since the age of 15, actively fought against the oppression of Black people in the US and, as a journalist, constantly exposed the racist brutality of a key instrument of that oppression, the police

The poor need the resources with which to live. The homeless need decent housing. And the damned need a true salvation. For them, for us, for us all, revolution is the only solution. Let us unite. Let us organize. Let us rebel against a system that...gives nothing but pain to our families, our babies!

Mumia Abu Jamal, 1996

Mumia Abu-Jamal, an award-winning Black journalist, has spent the last 15 years on Pennsylvania's death row, having been framed for a crime he never committed in the first place. Currently, Jamal's case is on appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Convicted in a trial that was a sham of a mockery from day one, Jamal's real "offense" is that he has, since the age of 15 when he was a member of the Black Panther Party, actively fought against the oppression of Black people in the US and, as a journalist, constantly exposed the racist brutality of a key instrument of that oppression, the police

It is for those "crimes," i.e., for his politics, that he long ago incurred the wrath of the Philadelphia police department, who, along with the FBI, spared no expense in staging an endless array of attempted frame-ups against him. Unlike



so many others who have made their peace with the racist capitalist *status quo*, Jamal, as the "voice of the voiceless," refused to be silenced...even from behind bars as his newspaper and radio commentaries eloquently illustrate. For those like Malcolm X, the Black Panther Party and now, Mumia, who will not bow and scrape to the institutionalized mass misery that their system offers working people and Blacks, the ruling rich, their courts and their cops have ultimately always had only one answer.

Today Republicans and Democrats try

BY ROY ROLLIN

to outdo each other in racist "law and order" rhetoric at the same time they take turns slashing social services, cutting wages and laying off thousands. The death penalty is but another weapon in their bi-partisan war against working people and the poor. To protect their power, profits and privileges the ruling rich will use any means necessary...including legal lynchings and state-sponsored mass murder. That is what passes for "law and order" in their eyes. For be it at home or abroad, the US government remains what Martin Luther King, Jr. called "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world." By murdering Mumia they hope to send a message to each and every victim of theirs: grin and bear it or suffer the consequences. But by saving Mumia, we can send a message to them: we're not going to take it. Working people cannot idly stand by and allow the bosses to murder outstanding opponents of oppression like Jamal any more than we will allow them to drive us further into destitution and desperation with their endless austerity attacks.

Everything about Jamal's case boldly shows that capitalist "justice" is just that, justice of the rich, by the rich and for the rich and injustice for Blacks and the poor. At the trial itself, evidence that would have proved Jamal's innocence was suppressed, witnesses were coerced by the cops and Black jurors systematically eliminated. This year, one of those witnesses, Veronica Jones, came forward to provide testimony of both Jamal's innocence and the degree of cop coercion that was used. So afraid of the truth were Jamal's aspiring executioners, that she was hauled off the witness stand while giving testimony...on count of a bum check she passed years ago.

The judge who sentenced Mumia to die, Albert Sabo, functioned as a "prosecutor in robes," and has made a name for himself by sending more people to death row than any other judge in the US. Yet he was brought out of retirement to rule on his own bias. And knowing full well that Mumia's attorneys would be filing

papers for a new trial four days later, governor Ridge rushed to sign the death warrant June 1st. of last year.

Ruling class justice is blind only to the countless crimes of its authors. Therefore only militant mass actions by working people here and around the world can save Mumia's life just as only similar such actions can beat back the bosses' attacks on our living standards. Recognizing that an attack on one is an attack on all, trade unionists and workers representatives from all across the planet have already come to Mumia's defense. Just as workers can not look to the bosses' cops and courts to dole out anything but injustice, neither can we look to the Democrats and Republicans, who all dance to the tune that Wall Street whistles, to do any differently. Bill Clinton, in particular, has long been a fan of the racist death penalty and has pushed through a series of crime bills that would make many a right wing Republican blush. He has also courted and won the support of the same Fraternal Order of Police lobby that is beating the drums for Mumia's death at fever pitch.

Black people face daily harassment, beatings and even death at the hands of the police. Workers striking to protect their jobs regularly face the brutality of those same cops on the picket line. The fight to save Mumia's life is bound up with the struggle to save our livelihoods; it is part of the struggle of all working people. Malcolm X once pointed out that "there can be no freedom for (Black) people under capitalism...it can only produce...what the... system was constructed to produce." To construct a system that produces other things besides capitalist exploitation, racist oppression and a death penalty to enforce them, workers need a political party of their own; a labor party, based on the unions and on a program of militant class struggle. Such a party can unite behind it all the exploited and oppressed and begin the fight to create a society in which public needs take priority over private profit and the racist death penalty is seen as a barbaric relic of the past rather than business-as-usual in the present.■

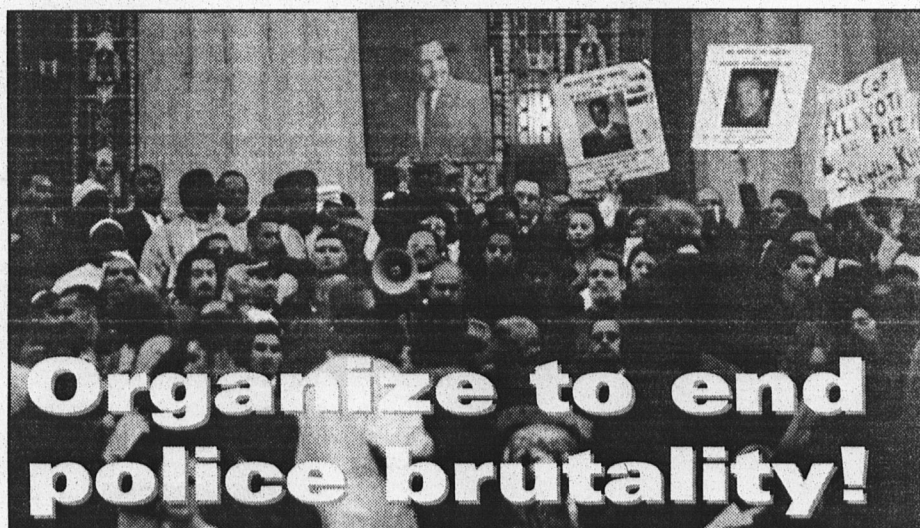
The "not guilty" verdict of police officer Livoti in the murder trial of Anthony Baez is a clear case of injustice. The inherent racism and corruption of the justice system was clearly revealed in the handling of this brutal case of murder. A movement must be built that will place this murderer in jail and to stop racist police brutality all together.

This was the second time that NYPD Officer Francis Livoti was let off by the "justice system." In the first trial, over two years ago, he was found guilty by a Bronx grand jury but was subsequently released when a "technical accident" in the DA's office let this criminal walk the streets a free man. The position of the Bronx District Attorney (DA) Johnson at that time was that it was an "innocent mistake" and that the judge who let officer Livoti free was obligated under the law to do so. He vowed at that time that justice will prevail at the second trial, but instead a new scheme was worked out securing the release of this murderer.

In the second trial despite evidence of perjury on the part of Livoti's fellow police conspirators, eleven cases of brutal-

ity against Livoti, an illegal choke hold used on Baez, witnesses testifying that excessive force was used, and to top it off a judge who stated that he believed officer Livoti was *not innocent*, a not guilty verdict was the reward for his brutality. With such overwhelming evidence it is remarkable how a Supreme Court judge could render such a verdict. To understand the verdict one has to see the case within the framework of the overall justice system where police brutality is overlooked and legitimized. Intertwined is the racist and sexist underpinnings of the NYPD.

Charged with criminal negligence, the most lenient of murder charges, Supreme Court Justice Sheindlin could not bring himself to a guilty verdict against one of his own. What happened in this case was not an "accident" or the outcome of some bad legal strategy as the *New York Times* suggested in one article. It is the end result of an oppressive system where violence secures the rule of the capitalist minority, and the justice system is the stage where this repressive system is judged innocent. Working people and the poor can expect nothing less than a mockery of justice at their expense.



The inherent racism and corruption of the justice system was clearly revealed in the handling of the murder of Anthony Baez by Officer Francis Livoti.

What the murder of Anthony Baez has in common with many other victims of police brutality is that the criminals were sent free despite evidence proving other-

wise. The fact that a majority of the victims are black and Latino is ample proof of the racist character of the entire justice system.

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His final message

Unless we show ourselves as a formidable entity in the political arena...the circle of violence that surrounds all of our lives will continue to take victims from us like Tupac Shakur. If we can receive a final message from Tupac Shakur let it be one of unity and action argues William Wharton

When I look at the recent murder of Tupac Shakur I see many angles to the story. Yes, he was another black youth abandoned by his father, he rapped about, lived and in some sense venerated the gangster lifestyle. A young man who in his early days had turned to drugs. Another example of a black generation trapped in a circle of violence. Then I am told to accept this tragic event as just another example of black on black violence, senseless and unexplainable. I cannot simply accept that hollow explanation, no matter how convenient it is, file Tupac Shakur away and go on with my everyday life. It affects and upsets me and pushes me to search for an honest and in depth explanation. I need to know not just that this violence takes place, but why does it take place? What fuels it? So, then I'm told that it can be linked to drug use and the despair of ghetto life. Again, this would be easy to accept. I'm not directly involved and I can go back to my everyday life with little trepidation. This answer, however, is entirely incomplete, drug use and ghettoization are symptoms of a larger social ailment and therefore cannot be used as an explanation.

The oppression that rises to the surface

in American society is racism, a mythical classification system created for the purpose of exploiting African American's. Racism cannot exist without serving some agenda. The enabling point for racism is clearly economic. The African American community has been placed in an economic isolation by the ruling classes of America. The issue of the isolation of African Americans must be clearly examined. The isolation that I refer to begins as economic exclusion but then manifests itself into every aspect of African American life. Political, social, geographical, cultural and perhaps most importantly intellectually. These factors combine to produce some type of metaphysical fence around the African American community shutting them off from the rest of society. Inside of this fence violence is born out of frustration and the targets of this violence gives us an indication of the true extent of the communities isolation. Instead of the violent reactions being turned on the people that fostered them, namely the upper owning class of America, it manifests into black on black violence. These actions and reactions are quite similar to another race of people subjugated by the owning class of America. The race is of course the Native Americans. One need only look at the

staggeringly high rates of suicide, alcoholism and crime to realize that this is a society that is still in the process of systematically destroying themselves in reaction to having every aspect of their lives fenced in. The individualistic nature of our society then forces each individual to accept personal blame for his shortcomings regardless of whether the societal structure is built to discriminate against that person on every level. In my opinion, no real headway can ever be made in curing our social problems, including racism, drug abuse, domestic violence etc..., until our ever increasing class differentiation is rectified. The radical changes in the income distribution from the lower classes to the top 5% over the past twenty five years has left us with many desperate and extreme social ills.

People do not act violently without a good reason. Tupac Shakur did not live in the cult of violence that affects so much of our African American youth, simply because he was black. Violence is not some genetic trait inherent in all African Americans, it is strong social response to consistently adverse treatment. A response to the frustrations fostered by the isolation I described earlier, an economic glass ceiling placed upon black youth by a society that is fundamentally biased against the lower class. When you couple this class stratification with the racism inherent in American society today it creates a two tier glass ceiling for our black youth to smash up against. The pressure created by the economic redistribution from the lower classes to the owning classes that is still under way in America has also worked to both destroy and paralyze the middle class, both white and black, from helping sponsor changes, for fear of losing their status. So the middle class needs and willingly accepts simple explanations to complex events like the shooting of Tupac Shakur and waves it off as just a black problem or just a ghetto problem.

When we speak of spreading messages

of violence we must focus not only on the effect of rap music but we must also examine examples set by other forms of entertainment. For example we can look at the on-screen messages sent by two of today's biggest movie stars, Sylvester Stallone and Bruce Willis. The kings of the action movies, where you get everything Americans seem to love, car crashes, bombs, violence and murder. Violence has become an inherent trait in the American lifestyle and is readily accepted by the public as long as it is presented through the correct channels. The new promo for Bruce Willis' movie says "if you lived in this town you would be dead". Stallone's Rambo and Rocky characters are representative of the down on his luck American who slugs or shoots his way out of trouble. Although these people do not live the lifestyle of the characters they portray shouldn't they also be held accountable for the negative messages they send to our youth? Presidential candidate Bob Dole often chastises Hollywood for corrupting our youth, while Bruce Willis sits in a private box at the Republican National Convention and cheers him on. Did Bob Dole return his campaign donation? Or has Mr. Willis ascended into a financial class that exempts him from such criticism or responsibility for his actions?

So, how can we help correct this glaring American (not black) problem? It seems to me that only way to fix it is to closely examine how we created it. I purposely use the word "we" because every person in America no matter what color or class, has contributed to the denigration of our society in some manner. Some out of greed and some out of sheer non-participation. We must use the vehicle that was misused to create these inequities, to resolve them. That vehicle is the National Government, which should function as a bridge and a regulator between each end of the social structure. Money that was taken from the working and middle class of America in an irresponsible and brazen manner must be put back into those ends of the economic structure in a responsible and healthy manner. Social Services that have been and will be, ripped out of the mouths of our underclass (a class of people that is a function of any capitalist economy and thereby that economies responsibility to take care of) must be returned and responsibly managed. We must stop living in denial of our problems and work together hand in hand, arm in arm to face up to social ills that will not fix themselves, but only fester and expand with the passage of time. The only manner in which we can accomplish these goals is to get the black, white and Hispanic underclass's, working classes and middle classes to stop fighting each other and organize themselves into an effective, united voting and protesting block and demand that these fundamental changes be made. The working class must stop looking through the eyes of the upper class and recognize their true positions and functions in society. Unless we show ourselves as a formidable entity in the political arena and gain some of the coveted power of the state, the circle of violence that surrounds all of our lives will continue to take victims from us like Tupac Shakur. If we can receive a final message from Tupac Shakur let it be one of unity and action. ■

The 1996 elections

The only real difference this year was the name of the GOP's representative and that we got a theme song for this event; Macarena.

BY MARCO SAINTE

I never thought that the last Presidential election could be beaten in terms of absurdity. The 1992 Elections was an interesting collage of candidates with some of the funniest attributes to add to the show. The presidential hopefuls were all unique: One was an old CIA war monger, another was a young wily and crafty business man, and the last was an old business man who was extremely good with numbers. The third guy was intriguing, in that he was not at all a candidate form any of the two parties, but was starting his own thing. Furthermore he claimed that he only wanted to run for one term.

The usual rhetoric went on that year, especially during the debates. All of the "I love this country," "I'm the better candidate," mudslinging tactics were used. But there was something new going on as well, for the third guy, Ross Perot, was actually taking his time going on 60 minute spots explaining his ideas and his theories on what's wrong with America. I have never, in my life span, seen any candidate do this, asshole or not.

The debates were a total riot. The two main party candidates were spewing the same garbage that others had been saying for years, but that wasn't the part that entertained me. The thing that got me

was Perot rocking the boat. George Bush and Bill Clinton were having a problem looking good with their con man answers compared to Perot's straightforward answers. The funny thing was that it was this very thing that clinched Perot's defeat, for Americans don't want to hear the truth. They love a lie. They liked to hear that they were able to get rid of their deficit without sacrifices. All that had to be done was tax the rich, or so they believed. And so they went for Clinton, the con man, who to this day has yet to tax the rich; he doesn't have any intentions to, which is something I was saying at the time of his inauguration.

The comedy which was the '92 Elections boiled down to this: the country's in a financial crisis. You got three men saying that they would remedy the situation. One is someone who was not doing anything about it while in office, another was someone who was in a party accused of massive spending, and whether that was true or not he did not have a record of budgetary prowess, and the last guy was an old billionaire who obviously knew how to handle money considering that he had a billion dollar business which he had started from the ground up. Now, I ask you, who was more qualified to balance the budget? By the way, I'm not a Perot supporter. I just see things the way they are. Asshole he may be, but the fact still remains that he was better qualified for

solving the money problem. But as for running the country....

Now it's 1996 and we got another show on the airwaves. And what a show, there was even dancing going on during the national conventions! I like to call this little episode 92 the sequel, because very little has changed from the last viewing. We still got a deficit, ah! the hell with it, it looks like we're going into a depression. We've got virtually the same candidates from the last time. Bill Clinton's here, Ross Perot's here, and we got Bob Dole, who is an old Republican. The only real difference this year is the name of the elephant's representative and that we got a theme song for this event; Macarena.

Anyone with a brain in his head knows that Clinton's going to be President for another term. There are two main reasons for this: He's pretty damn good at coning the people, and he is not running against anyone special. Dole is running his campaign in a truly sad level. He's not attacking Clinton in the right places from the right angles and with the right stuff, and when Clinton attacks him, he cowers. Remember the debates? Dole was saying over and over "Stop scaring the elderly Mister President. They keep coming to me saying 'Please don't cut my Medicare'. Stop scaring them." That's equivalent to saying "Hey, stop saying that, you making me lose ground here. Cut me some slack will you?" You don't say that in an elec-

tion, that's going on the defensive. He should have proved he was not going to cut it, or if he was, at least not say anything about it. Just don't bring it up. If it is brought up, go to something else, say it's unfounded, then move on. Dole is (or should I say was) supposed to be on the offensive, for he's the challenger. You don't cower when you're the challenger.

Perot could have offered some decent opposition for Clinton but they got rid of him quick by barring him from the debates. Another factor is the station in which he is using to publicize his stuff. Who the hell watches CBS? I mean I know there are a few but that's just it; a few. Like I said, Bill's not going against anyone special. He's got this thing in the bag, and he knows it, too.

One other thing about this election before I close. I've been noticing a lot of interesting things going on during it, you know, welfare reform, the bombing of Iraq (see my views on it on last issue) and among other things I'm a bit curious about the bill to end term limits. There's a lot of heat going on around this, but what I'm thinking is, why now? I wonder if it has anything to do with the election being where it's at. You see, the year 2000 is just around the corner and with it, a new age. The information highway, telecommunications and other advances is just the tip of the iceberg. Whoever is in charge is going to be sitting over all this, and will have the world in their pockets as well, for America will be on top, pulling the strings of all the other nations, with the UN as it's vehicle. And I'm sure that the heads would want to keep this position as long as possible. The winner of the 96 Elections will be in this position. It would be an opportune time to propose an end to term limits now at the dawn of all this. It's just a thought.. ■

...Police brutality

(continued from page 24)

The repressive characteristic of the NYPD is so overwhelming that the police officer Daisy Boria who testified against Livoti has feared for her life at the hands of fellow police officers, and she has had to transfer to another precinct due to harassment. All because she testified "to the truth." (Daily News; 10/10/96; p.8)

Indeed, the blue wall of silence makes every attempt to silence dissent amongst its ranks.

From these examples it is clear that in order for justice to be realized another strategy must be developed based upon working class mass mobilizations and a strategy primarily focusing outside of the court system. The courts can not be depended upon for they are at the service of the ruling class, and despite isolated examples of "justice" there main purpose is to maintain the status quo;

i.e., racism, sexism, brutality and capitalist rule.

Those people who are in unions should bring up proposals at union meetings to support the mobilizations of people by bringing out their fellow workers, and resolutions condemning police brutality. Eventually job actions need to take place in coordination with the community. The black and Latino communities that are facing the most police repression should organize community groups to monitor the police. Along with this a political

program should be drawn up dealing with the economic issues facing the community, e.g., unemployment of the youth, housing, illegal drugs etc. Unfortunately there are many people who have suffered at the hands of the police, therefore there are thousands of people that will join this movement. The College Voice is willing to participate in the building of such a movement.

**Justice for the Baez Family !
Convict the Killer Cop Livoti!**

...New Caucus

(continued from page 4)

This brutally racist attack has not been dealt with properly by the PSC as in Ron Mguire's, a CUNY Lawyer, view, "The PSC has given lawyers fee and payments to every retrenched department under attack in CUNY except The Black Studies (now called Ethnic Studies) department at City College." All the departments went to court and had the union defend them except the Black studies department at City College based in Harlem which is a community consisting of an overwhelmingly Black majority. Considering the whole demographic politics of budget downsizing, one would think the PSC should have defended Black Studies as a priority, but it is the exact opposite of what was done. As of yet the now called "Ethnic Studies" department has yet to receive funds from the union to hire lawyers. What needs to be addressed by every single faculty member in CUNY is

this outright racist attack being played out in our institution and how we must oppose and resist these right wing attacks.

Speaking to Barbara Bowen who is PSC Chair of Queens College and a member of the New Caucus, as well as one of the few professors that came regularly to the student CUNY Coalition meetings two years ago to give full support to students, she addressed these issues, speaking personally as the leadership slate within the New Caucus that will run in the elections next Spring hasn't been decided yet, therefore, she is not speaking of a definite program of the New Caucus.

"The withdrawal of funds from CUNY is a racist agenda. It is part of a national racist agenda that culminates in an overall starving of cities where there is a large concentration of minorities. The New Caucus has an analysis how this attack is part of a 'return to racism,' a reversal of affirmative action. We want actively to include an anti-racist agenda, that does not mean simply having a few black par-

ticipants in the leadership, but we want to work for an alternative vision that actively resists white supremacy. What we offer is a national and international analysis that sees this attack as a demographic one as well as an intellectual attack against the kind of knowledge produced out of an anti-racist institution. The kind of thing that obscures an anti-racist program is when there are parties of people of color who participate without having such an analysis. The PSC, which I can not say doesn't have people of color participating, when in fact they do, but I haven't seen this kind of analysis."

When I asked her how the New Caucus should address the issue of the elimination of SEEK, she responded,

"I myself think that the two semester limitation of "remediation" shows a dramatic misunderstanding of what remediation is. Every College in the country offers remedial courses to its students but it isn't called that! The word "remediation" becomes a code word to attack CUNY and stereotype CUNY. I am opposed to

separating students who need remedial courses from four year colleges and isolating these students. Some students are bad in one area but compensate in other areas. But to divide students completely is like segregating them in some kind of pen, separating them from the "normal". These students need to be in four year colleges, they bring a lot to the classroom in diversity and intellectual contribution. They shouldn't be stigmatized in this manner."

As for CUNY students the New Caucus platform and program is a promising possibility in terms of resisting the austerities and conservative backlash against CUNY students and the kind of information and intellectual discourse produced here by thousands of deserving students. The elections next Spring will be a major event that will shape the future of access to higher public education for the working class and people of color in this city. Hopefully we will see the victory of union activism over bureaucratic service unionism. ■

...Leon Trotsky

(continued from page 17)

letariat could not remain in power in Russia, much less realise a socialist society, without the "state aid" of the workers in the west, that is, without the victorious revolution in countries like Germany, France and England.

Russia's very backwardness would thrust her forward in the revolutionary scale and bring her under the rule of the working class perhaps before any of those countries which, because of their economic maturity, were commonly regarded in the socialist movement as the first ones to see the socialist victory. But this same backwardness, after having forced that proletariat to the front, would overtake it and drag it down unless it received the support of its brothers in other lands. That this support would come in the form of the socialist revolution in the west, was never doubted by the irrepressibly optimistic author of the theory. The permanent revolution was thus, elaborated not so much as a theory of the Russian revolution, but as a theory of the international revolution having its likely origin in the old Tsarist empire.

Trotsky and the First World War

The war offered Trotsky the opportunity to give his views wider scope than they had had before it. Official social democracy had rushed to the defence of

fruitful collaboration of the peoples established on the basis of free economic and cultural intercourse. The United States of Europe, in turn, could only be conceived as the forerunner of the Socialist United States of the World, a free federation of the freed peoples of the world in which each group participated harmoniously in an international division of labour.

Trotsky's views, especially when he first formulated them in Russia, can hardly be said to have met with universal acclaim in the socialist movement! The Mensheviks simply denounced them as fantastic; the harsher among them said they were the vapourings of a madman. Lenin attacked them with a violence that was really directed at Trotsky's conciliatory position in the fight of the two factions. While the epigones later outrageously exaggerated the differences, even on this question, between Lenin and Trotsky, there is no doubt that the differences were sharp. There is also no doubt that, in the main, Lenin was wrong in the dispute. Lenin constantly put Trotsky on the defensive with regard to the enormous importance of the role that would be played by the peasantry in the revolution. While Trotsky continued to declare that the peasantry was an indispensable element in his revolutionary perspectives, it is true, and quite understandable, that in his emphasis on the dominant role that the proletariat would have to play



revolutionary reply to the theory of nationalist reaction put forward by the bureaucracy under the name of "socialism in a single country." The Stalinists, so to speak, forced his hand. It was good that they did. The theory proved to have a far greater vitality and a more universal applicability than could even be dreamed of by its author when he first formulated it. In a word, it proved to be the finished expression of the needs of our whole epoch. No man can be expected to make a greater social contribution than this.

Internationalism found in Leon Trotsky not merely its most consistent ideologist but its most persistent and courageous warrior. From the time when the Zimmerwald movement was launched by the left-wing socialists at the beginning of the First World War, to the formation of the Fourth International which he led to the day of his death, Trotsky's record of struggle is a single unbroken line from which he never departed. It would have been fairly easy for him to retain his enormous power in the Soviet Union at the expense of principle, but that was a cost he could never pay for anything.

Together with Lenin, he fought the international bourgeoisie and its social-democratic handmaiden for the leadership of the working class of the world. He left an imprint on the early, bright years of the Third International which all the efforts of the usurpers have not succeeded in eradicating. Already shorn of his official power, he left a

deep mark on the great Chinese revolution of 1925-27. It was really in connection with this tremendously significant upsurge of the orient that the theory of the permanent revolution was revived and renewed, that it proved its eminent contemporaneity. In the retarded East, more backward than was Tsarist Russia, the proletariat will triumph only under the banner of Trotsky's theory, only with the weapons he forged in the heat of the struggle against the backsliding Soviet bureaucracy. But not only in

the East. Those brilliant contributions he made to the struggle of the workers in a whole series of modern capitalist countries were all made from the comprehensive angle of view of the theory of the permanent revolution. The German working class will recuperate and regain its sapped strength, they will wreak the vengeance of the victors upon overthrown fascism, only along the lines of those magnificent—and alas ignored—directives contained in Trotsky's writings on the German crisis from 1931 to 1940. The British working class has had no outline of the path it must blaze to freedom that is worth mentioning in the same breath with Trotsky's analyses. The same holds true in greater or lesser degree for every important country which was in the forefront of the class struggle in the last two decades, more particularly in the decade since Stalin thought to bury Trotsky alive by banishing him to Turkey.

There may be journalists—Karl Radek was one; but there were not many others—who might write more brilliantly about one or another episode of the class struggle. None compared with Trotsky in point of systematic, sustained analysis and programme of action. No one, not even Lenin, we think, had so highly

developed a gift for generalisation as Trotsky.

Few if any had his consummate ability to dispose of incidental or accidental detail and to go directly to the heart of a situation or of a problem.

These talents,

which seemed to be native to Trotsky, were enormously enhanced by the fact that he saw all situations and problems through the penetrating fluoroscope of his comprehensive theory of society and of our epoch. More than anything else, that made it possible for him to express so eloquently and accurately the needs of both. ■



It would have been fairly easy for (Trotsky) to retain his enormous power in the Soviet Union at the expense of principle, but that was a cost he could never pay for anything.

the in in every country. The earlier internationalist and anti-war commitment, made so solemnly and meaninglessly, were discarded on all sides. Only a handful remained loyal to internationalism. Trotsky was among them. He was too much the authentic, the orthodox Marxist, if you please, to be taken in by the social patriots who quoted Marx on the struggle for national defence. As is often the case in such polemics (and who knew that better than Lenin, who nevertheless chided him for it!), Trotsky sometimes bent the rod too much in the other direction, as a rule, there is no other way of straightening a crooked rod. But fundamentally, he was quite correct. The war itself, he pointed out, was only the most terrible form of a crisis produced by the conflict between the development of the productive forces of the nations and the national frontiers which had become a suffocating barrier to their further development. To defend, that is, to try to perpetuate these frontiers, economically outlived and therefore reactionary, meant only the perpetuation of war and the retardation of the socialist revolution. In place of the war-cries of reaction, echoed by nationalistic social patriotism, Trotsky put forward the slogan of the Socialist United States of Europe. It would be a Europe freed of monarchs and autocrats, liberated from exploitation by a union of working-class republics, the mounting tariffs walls torn down, and peaceful and

he seemed to facilitate Lenin's disproportionate criticisms of his theory. Likewise, it is true that he did not foresee with exactitude the concrete forms that would be taken by the transition between the democratic and the socialist periods of the revolution. But then again, neither did. And between the two, it is absurd to contest the fact that while Lenin had to abandon his theory of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," Trotsky had only to revise his bold and amazingly confirmed forecasts in what were, after all, mere historical details. What better proof of this is required than the fact that Lenin's "Old Bolshevik" collaborators chided him for his "Trotskyism" after he made public his April Theses in 1917? That the reaction against Leninism in Russia took as its battle-cry the slogan of "Down with the permanent revolution?"

Trotsky was an internationalist

The sole virtue of this reaction, which set in just before Lenin's death, might be said to lie in the fact that it compelled Trotsky to reconsider the old pre-war polemics on the question of permanent revolution, to renew and amplify his theory and bring it up to date. In the course of struggle, ideas have a power of their own which is often stronger than its proponents. Reluctant to revive the old dispute with Lenin, Trotsky nevertheless found that the theory of the permanent revolution was the only consistent and

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The elections and after:
**WHY THE AMERICAN
WORKING CLASS NEEDS
A PARTY OF ITS OWN**

Build a workers party!

The capitalists own both the Democratic and Republican Parties. Working people need a party based on class struggle politics that fights against both of them and the system that they both serve.

BY DOUG MILLER

While the election media carnival was in full swing, we were again subjected to that peculiar spectator sport—the U.S. presidential elections. Fortunately the World Series provided some relief. In fact, it's amazing how many people became baseball fans this October.

The U.S. two-party system, creaking and groaning in senile decrepitude,

crumbles, health and education systems decay, crime flourishes amidst poverty and chronic unemployment, and political corruption spreads as the system rots from within.

The capitalist solution is to squeeze more production out of fewer workers to maintain profits. For over twenty years ultra-rich capitalists have attacked the living standards of the working class. And they have the same program for reducing the enormous federal and state

debts, blacks, latinos, and asians; immigrants; young and old; skilled and unskilled. We are all exploited by a common enemy—the capitalist class—and all workers are our brothers and sisters. As Eugene Debs once said: "Every capitalist is your enemy—every worker is your friend."

**Democrats and Republicans
—Capitalist Agents—**

The capitalists own both the Democrat and Republican parties—as working people, we have no mass party of our own. The capitalists' politicians (mostly lawyers) pass legislation that benefit lawyers, the rich and their corporations. Only during periods of social upheavals (such as the CIO organizing drives of the 1930's and the civil rights and anti-war struggles of the 1960's) do they throw out a few crumbs to pacify the working masses. But even as they pass bills which they claim benefit working people, the political hacks cripple the results with restrictions and loopholes. Thus, while the Wagner, Taft-Hartley, and Landrum-Griffith acts "recognize" the right of unions to organize, they weaken the unions by banning sitdown strikes, secondary strikes, mass picket lines; they enable states to pass anti-union "right to work" laws; and they create a fake (i.e., pro-business) arbitrator—the NLRB to delay and weaken union organizing and grievance struggles.

The Democrat so-called "friends of labor" have never repealed any major piece of anti-union legislation in 50 years—who needs friends like that? The recent slave-labor workfare legislation is an excellent example of how the capitalist system works to screw the oppressed—the Republican House and Senate pass the bill and Billy-the-Dixiecrat put his signature on it. It's the Capital Tag Team and between them, the workers are on the ropes.

Why Don't We Have a Workers Party in the United States?

There are many factors. However, several are decisive.

First, the capitalist class owns all the television and cable networks, all the television and radio stations, all the mass-circulation newspapers and magazines, and almost all the printing presses. With the exception of a few small union and socialist publications, with few exceptions the only opinions that appear in the national news media are those the capitalist owners want us to hear. This monopoly of the news gives the capitalist class the power to create "public opinion."

Second, the federal and state governments are institutions of the capitalist class. That is, they exist to promote the interests of the ruling class at the expense

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reflects the degenerate nature of late 20th century capitalism. Increasing global competition for markets, the vagaries of capitalist anarchy of production for profit, and the barriers of national boundaries and tariffs retard the development of society's productive forces. Stagnation afflicts all aspects of capitalist society—the economy offers fewer jobs and those at lower pay, the quality of life declines, public housing

debt: shift more of the tax burden onto the backs of the workers. Capitalist families and their corporations pay a smaller share (down 55% since 1954 for the rich and 77% since 1950 for major corporations)—the working class now pay that difference—even though working class share of income has fallen since 1973.

These assaults afflict all sectors of the working class: men and women; whites,

No "lesser evil"

While Bill Clinton may have been the greater good for America's bosses, he was in no way, shape or form any "lesser evil" for American workers.

BY ROY ROLLIN

Karl Marx once wrote something to the effect that under capitalism's vaunted "electoral process," the people were given the opportunity by the ruling class of deciding which member of that same class was to rule over them every four years. Needless to say, this year's campaign has proven to be no exception to that rule. While pollsters and pundits alike try to arouse interest in what even ABC news correspondent Jeff Greenfield called "the most uninteresting presidential election of (his) lifetime" by haggling over who really won this or that "debate" (limited, of course, to the two major party mouthpieces) it is clear that once again the real losers will be the millions of working people who will be stuck with one of capitalism's candidates for the next four years.

For both Democrat Bill Clinton and Republican Bob Dole have the same program of picking the pockets and pay-

checks of the poor and needy in order to further feather the profits of the rich and greedy. The only "difference" is that Dole thinks he can do a better job of it than Clinton has been doing since 1992. But how could it be otherwise? For if none of capitalism's candidates have any solutions for the problems faced by working people and the poor, that's because they all support what causes them in the first place, capitalism.

AS IF TO illustrate this, Clinton and Dole don't even bother to offer the traditional dime's worth of "difference" that in the past nominally served to distinguish Republicans from Democrats. This has little to do with either candidate's character (neither has any to begin with) and a lot to do with the economic exigencies of America's ruling rich. For all substantial sectors of America's corporate elite are agreed that in order to make American capitalism more competitive on the world market, American workers' wages and living standards must be cut even

further. Thus Clinton and Dole both agree that any and every social program that benefits working people will have to go. At the same time they both also agree that even more corporate welfare is on the order of the day...in order to provide

fare "reform" are all about in the first place) and high profits are two sides of the same coin and the real reason why in this year's election, even more so than in most others, there are so few "differences" between both bosses' parties.

If none of capitalism's candidates have any solutions for the problems faced by working people and the poor, that's because they all support what causes them in the first place, capitalism.

"incentive" (what, in more common parlance, would simply be called bribery) to big business to "get the economy going."

Thus low wages (and that's what GATT and NAFTA, not to mention wel-

Hence both capitalist candidates "were putting forward the most minimalist vision of what our life will be like in the

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