

THE COLLEGE

VOICE

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Administration Grinch Steals Sunday Classes



Like a thief in the night, CSI administration, mindful that the semester is drawing to a close, has surreptitiously announced the elimination of Sunday classes. To the many thousands of part-time/weekend students at CSI, already suffering from an unequal distribution of services, this is a staggering blow. Once again next semester, as we seem to do every new semester, we will look at the enrollment figures and find many former students missing. These are the casualties of the privatization of CUNY. Indeed it would be appropriate to cover the administration buildings with

the names of the thousands of students whose, yes, struggle, for an education, has been cut short by the budget ax of the rich and powerful. The servants of these rich and powerful in CUNY administration, armed with ever growing layers of "security" forces, must be held accountable for the damage that they are inflicting to education and to working class people.

We must create our own organizations, with our own principles and our own leadership that will represent not the rich and the powerful but the average student who must work and struggle for their survival.

The servants of the rich have no right to run our schools, no right to run them to the ground and no right to attack us with their cops when we resist. They must resign but of course this they will not do. There is too much money and too many perks involved to act responsibly. After all what will they do without the cocktail parties, the Brownstone villas and the expense accounts? They may be forced to be human again.

So we must create a parallel leadership, a mass organization of CUNY students that can self administer the university. This by it self will save millions for more

teachers, books, computers, etc. To realize such a goal we must ally ourselves with others who have the same class interests as ourselves, particularly organized labor but also oppressed minorities and all those who seek an end to the "get less, pay more" system of capitalism that benefits only the rich. We must organize ourselves in a new political party - a party of the working class as a whole.

Continued on page 15

We Are the World: the political-economy of multi-nationals

see page14

Campus Padlocked On Sundays!!!

by Paula T. McKeown

The axe is falling again! This college has slipped a preposterous change through the proverbial back door, quietly implementing a major change to every student's education for next semester. Look closely at the new schedule of classes for the Spring of 1996.

No classes are being offered on Sundays. No services will be offered on Sundays. In fact, the school will be completely shut down on Sundays.

...the ENTIRE student body will be affected with the campus PADLOCKED on Sunday.

Need to go to the library, do research? You can forget about Sundays.

This is a devastating blow to the student body of CSI, especially part-time students. As we have been saying in past issues of the Voice, part-time students have been a silent majority who have suffered quietly for a long time while enduring inefficient school services. Any school business needed to be conducted, whether it was speaking with an advisor or getting a cup of coffee during the break of an evening class, an evening or weekend student did not have the services readily available to them as day-time students. Now this, the latest blow to students, is the final insult.

It's important to realize why most, if not all, evening and weekend students attends classes during these times: many work full time every day, are needed at home, or have children. The already difficult strain a part-time student endures to attain a degree, which usually takes at least two to three times longer, becomes a tougher burden to bear with the upcoming Spring semester. Eliminating Sunday classes cuts to the heart of the part-time student base. No student services will be available on Sunday. The point that's needed to be made is that the ENTIRE student body will be affected with the campus PADLOCKED on Sunday.

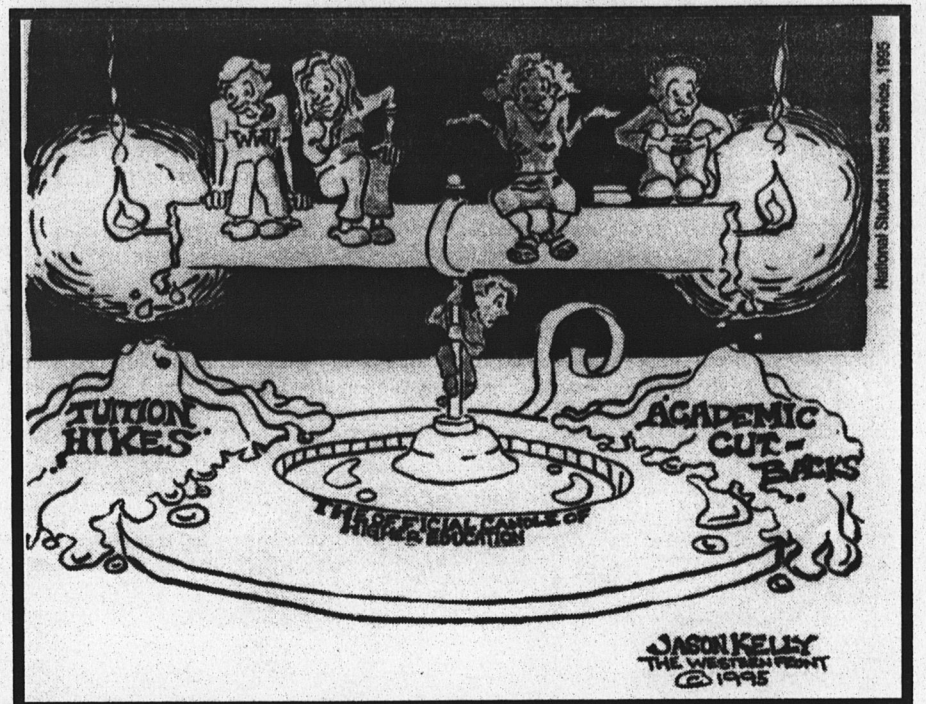
Strategically, the situation is quickly

worsening. This semester is almost over and the beginning of December has approached. The administration has done NOTHING to inform students about this decision. No letters were sent to students, no meetings were held, and no publicity was dispensed. This lack of attention to such a serious decision gives the appearance of little or no concern about the effect this will have on students' education.

One office simply points out that the elimination of classes on Sunday was part of the plan President Springer presented to students in the spring. Frank Della of the Registrar's office supports the cowardly attitude of the administration and believes that we should consider ourselves lucky in comparison to other CUNY schools since some of those schools do not offer Sunday classes.

CSI's administration states that this latest cut to student services is a result of the State of New York's budget mandate imposed this past spring. Even though classes and various other services had been cut for the Fall 1995 semester along with a dramatic rise in tuition, it apparently wasn't enough. In order to close a further \$4-5 million budget deficit, shutting down the college on Sundays was deemed necessary to meet this budgetary goal.

The questions that need to be answered now are: Has the budget deficit been met? How long will the college remain closed on Sundays before the deficit has been closed? Will the campus EVER be re-opened on Sundays? Frank Della of the Registrar's office indicated that the administration is "not at all certain" if this move is a permanent circumstance. Mr. Della also stated that the "issue of classes on Sunday, from an administrative point of view, was going to be discussed SOON by the Retrenchment Committee." Obviously, that discussion will take place too late for stu-



dents attending CSI in the Spring of 1996.

The main focus of this issue, according to Mr. Della, was "budget and retrenchment. \$4 million to \$5 million had to be saved ... and cuts were made in different areas." These "different areas" included, but weren't limited to: certain unspecified two year programs, as well as the elimination of 100 course sections from the Spring 1996 Schedule of Classes. These 100 sections "included day, evening and weekend, with the bulk of the cuts coming from the day and evening sections", claimed Mr. Della. Some Sunday classes were moved to Saturday. "When possible, course capacity was increased. It's better to sit in larger classes instead of no class at all," according to Mr. Della. Unfortunately for many part time students, this is not helpful. Their schedules are not as flexible. A student working full time can't

indiscriminantly decide to cut one day from their work-week!

Mr. Ciaccia, the publicist for the president's office, asserted that the plan to cancel classes and shut down the campus on Sundays was recommended by the Retrenchment committee as a solution for the "foreseeable future". He also claims that "no one group was singled out and the cuts were spread out as reasonably as possible." Mr. Ciaccia also claims that this solution was put in place in response to the same budget problems originally placed upon the college by the State this past spring.

According to Mr. Ciaccia, Sunday classes were rescheduled for Friday nights and Saturdays. Specifically, 23 sections were canceled on Sundays. 17 classes were re-

Continued on page 8

Night and Weekend Students: Where's the Beef?

by Paula T. Melleby-McKeown

If you are a night or weekend student, you already know that you won't find the answer to this question in a CSI cafeteria. Why? Due to the wonderful logic imposed by the powers that be, the hours of the cafeterias are not geared for the entire student body. While the cafeterias open early, they are supposed to close at 8pm. From personal experience, I know that if you try to go into either one of those cafeterias between 7:30 and 8:00pm, nine times out of ten you will be met with indignation and a bad attitude. I have gone in with other class members during a break and we have all been given a very hard time because we have wanted coffee, food, or even something from the vending machine. A lot of times they don't want to let you in, or lock the doors at 7:45 because they're afraid someone will want to come in at 7:55pm. The excuse the workers give for this attitude is that they have been there all day, are tired and want to go home. No kidding! As any night or weekend student will tell you - join the club! During one argument, five students got very aggravated with one cafeteria worker because he did nothing but criticize the students for having the nerve to walk into the cafeteria and expect to be able to buy something at 7:55pm. As we tried to tell him that it wasn't 8:00pm yet and were entitled to be there, we mentioned that the activity fee we pay goes toward the running of this cafeteria. He told us he really didn't care about any of it and that if we have a problem, we should be going to the school with our complaints. I told him that if we were on the campus during the day and had the time to do that, we wouldn't have a complaint.

I can't believe how insensitive this school

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seems to be regarding a part-time students schedule. That cafeteria workers attitude is symbolic of the school administration's at large. If these workers are getting that many complaints, they should be speaking to their bosses or the school administration and telling them they're getting a hard time from night-time and weekend students coming in just at closing time.

At the same time, maybe some of the school administration should take their own Management 100 classes to see how a business should be operated. If the workers are working 12-14 hours per day, they have the right to feel tired and over-worked. Why can't two shifts run in the cafeteria, each for eight hours? It may cost some more money to pay additional workers, but in the long run, they will make more money because more people will be buying food, snacks, etc.

Evening classes start at 6:30 and teachers usually don't give breaks until 8:00 or 8:15. The natural breaking point doesn't usually occur before 8:00, and even if it did happen at 7:45 or even 7:30, by the time you make it to one of the cafeterias, you won't get much food or courteous service. Many classes are there until almost 11:00pm. It's very inconsiderate of the administration not to consider the needs of these students.

Another point the administration should consider is the vending machines. If CSI is

decidedly against increasing cafeteria staff along with the hours, the LEAST they could do is have vending machines available in each building. It has always amazed me that with all the millions of dollars the school spent to move

to this new campus, they figured the only place vending machines would be necessary is in the campus center and in the Library building. CSI designed a bussing system to get from one building to another within the campus because of the great distance between parking spaces and classes along with the lack of parking. Does that mean they also expected people to bus between the vending machines? At least in the old campus, machines were always nearby in the B building, C building, or accessible in the cafeteria, although that cafeteria's hours were just as limited.

Apparently there is a petition circulating among the daytime students regarding the cafeteria. This petition is said to address the issue of overpricing in the cafeteria. Obviously, there must be merit to this claim if it has prompted students to take such an aggressive stand. As a night and weekend student, I fully support any changes that would be made and would hope that possibly the petition could be amended to include the part time students who attend nights and weekends and their issues with the cafeterias policies and hours. Unfortunately, I can't address the overpricing issue. I never have the opportunity to buy food at the cafeteria since it's never open when I'm at school.

The College of Staten Island boasts of having one of, if not the largest part-time

student bodies in the CUNY system, and the best selection of classes for a part-time students working full time to complete a four year degree. Maybe we should conduct a study to see how much weight they have lost in the process!

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The Discipline of Sociology At CSI

By College Voice

Arbeiten Macht Frei- Work Shall Set you Free

What is the discipline of Sociology, literally the study of society, is fundamentally a secular, demystifying method of inquiry. No social institution whether it be the US Congress, the NYPD, the Catholic Church or the CSI Sociology Department is held sacred by the humanizing criticism of sociology and *are thus made accessible to change*. This critical faculty holds true for the spectrum of sociological approaches from Functionalism to Class based approaches. Sociology at CSI however falls into a different category all together, perhaps best described as an anti-sociology, the negation of its critical core, that seeks not to examine the roots of social phenomena but to prepare students to become appendages and petty functionaries of the existing oppressive social structures. In short sociology has undergone an internal transformation to become "job training", from criticism to apology, from apology to idiocy (or automation). I hope that this can be a contribution to an urgently needed sociology of sociology at CSI.

Intellectual Degeneration in the New World Order

It is not possible to understand this degeneration outside of the context of the overall rise of a crass parochial fundamentalist streak in American culture with the political initiative being taken by the cornball christian bigots like Pat Robertson. It is true that particularly in the sadly appropriately named Bible Belt states of the Mid-West that the germ of rural idiocy has always been preserved but it is only recently with the crisis of "socialist ideology" - the most consistent critique of religious or idealistic thought - that this germ started to spread like a plague across the US and internationally. Bourgeois liberalism the preferred ideological and political construct of the imperialist bourgeoisie reveals its own historical exhaustion in its preparing the intellectual and material groundwork for authoritarianism and ceding the political initiative to these forces. Clinton spoke of "ending welfare as we know it" and Newt Gingrich spiritually guided by Pat Robertson carries this agenda into effect by legislating the smashing of the poor.

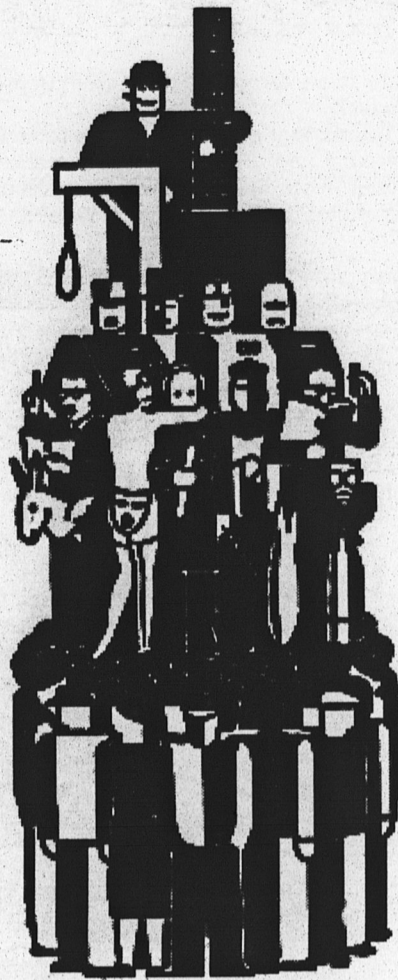
The international bourgeoisie emboldened by the destruction of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European states economically and politically tied to it has embarked on a quite frenzied feeding seeking higher profits through the extraction of as much labor out of workers at the least possible cost. This has meant on the one, the smashing of already politically bu-

reaucratized reformist unions secondly the destruction of the welfare state and thirdly the physical liquidation of a whole layer of humanity through military, para-military and police action.

Welcome To Sociology, CSI - Check Your Brain In At the Door

One need only take a look at the CSI Spring, 96 schedule of classes to see the lowly condition of Sociology at this campus. Only 15 classes are offered. Of this the following classes - Criminology, Socialization of Child, Sociology of Aging, Social Welfare, Sociology of Education, Psychological/Social disabilities Aspects, Organizations - are all heavily imbued with a social workerist methodology. It is this orientation informed by the sensibilities of the Market rather than by anything akin to social science that has led to the degeneration of Sociology at CSI.

The Sociology department long ago was "consolidated" with Psychology and Anthropology. Psychology emerged at the head of the house in this polygamous, administration arranged marriage. It is no accident that Psychology offers more classes and sections given the appropriateness of a psychological, individual centered, mind over matter, outlook for the enforcement of the social work regime. Anthropology makes a cameo showing with 6 classes. This proud materialist heritage of studying the evolution of social development has fallen prey to The Modern Tourists Guide To The Exotic boring relativism that is the current



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vogue in Anthropology. The theme of sacrificing intellectual independence at the altar of bourgeois bureaucracy - a social work bureaucracy is recurrent through the PSA department.

From The Point Of Production To The Classroom

The ideological terrain has sharply shifted to the right as the bourgeoisie is no longer concerned about the working class challenging its power in a comprehensive way as expressed in the ideology of genuine revolutionary socialism. The lackeys of the bourgeoisie in the working class those labor bureaucrats and social democrats who have always ate from the spoils of the bourgeois table are forced to shift in order to be relevant servants. This spectacle has seen the likes of "New" Labour in

Britain become nearly indistinguishable from the forthright bourgeois parties like the Tories in their willingness to carry out austerity measures against the working class. The Spanish social democrats after 17 years in power after the demise of

Francoism find themselves to the right of the main right wing party. In the US the Democrats, the bourgeois alternative to the bourgeoisie (go figure), incorporate in its outstretched liberal arms the anti-worker, anti-human policies of religious fundamentalists and fascists.

In the academy the intellectual brokers of this worthless social democratic ideology have been erecting fantastic even mystical explanations of this phenomenon.

Their basic contention under all the pretentious jargon is that an alternative to capitalist exploitation does not exist. We live in another planet, no, an "information society", social class and class struggle have disappeared. Instead they put forward "multi-culturalism" or how people can be further commodified along ethnic, national, religious, gender, racial lines ad nauseam. This is the final stage of appropriating the struggles of oppressed groups like blacks and women for equality into the capitalist market.

The practical import of this ideological orientation is the transformation of public higher education that caters to the working class into sleek techno-authoritarian arenas of extended job training. An "intellectual cleansing" the academic equivalent of "ethnic cleansing" has been taking place particularly in institutions like CUNY where the curriculum, unencumbered by "outdated" analysis informed by class, will go about creating a workforce with the intellectual and psychological make-up conducive to maximum profit.

The Department of Psychology/Sociology/Anthropology at CSI has been extremely successful in establishing this orientation. The apparent lack of any intellectual integrity on the part of the faculty with few exceptions and the political bankruptcy of the teachers union has greatly helped this process along.

The destruction of CUNY at the hands of the bosses free market in the form of budget cuts and tuition hikes has had a debilitating affect on the quality of our curriculum. Faculty who have the power to teach us are subdued and transformed into cowards, impotent in the face of this massive threat to thought, the ability to think. The quality of their ideas and the quality of their action or inaction are in dialectical unity. The faculty union - the Professional Staff Congress - must be broken away from class collaboration and turned into a tool of class struggle. Students who have kept the open admissions mission of CUNY alive through mass and militant demonstrations against the cuts must reforge their own organization and ally itself with faculty willing to fight the cuts.

Fight the Degeneration of the Curriculum! Overturn the Hegemony of Bourgeois Bureaucracy!

Sociology and Diplomacy

by JB

The United States of America is about to send 20,000 of its bravest to the rescue of the peace in the former Yugoslavia. A peace agreement has been signed lately in an Air-Force base in Ohio. The major protagonists accepted American leadership and mediation.

During the conflict a tremendous amount of violence was unleashed, and atrocities were committed by all. It was therefore very difficult to convince the three parties to sit at the same table. A profound understanding of psychology—PSY 416 Group Dynamics, and PSY 598 Psychology Internship—was necessary to the American diplomats to arrive at their goal. An understanding of sociology—SOC 380 Organizations, and SOC 212 Criminology—was also very helpful to Richard Hollbrooke who headed the team of diplomats.

The American team has successfully made the three parties abide by the same values: self-respect, and respect of others. And even if the wounds ran very deep, and hatred was almost visible in the eyes of the Europeans, American diplomacy showed efficient by using the appropriate tools.

The obvious lesson to be learned from this peace brokerage is the importance of social work. The failure of the European style of education is also obvious. One

notices that neither POL 202 Modern Political Thought, POL 260 International Politics, POL 349 Human Rights, nor PHL 221

Theoretical stuff that is not applied to real life is meaningless. Only the theories that emphasize practical matters should be studied.

Logic and Scientific Method have been used to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the armed conflict. This also shows the poverty, and powerlessness of these teachings.

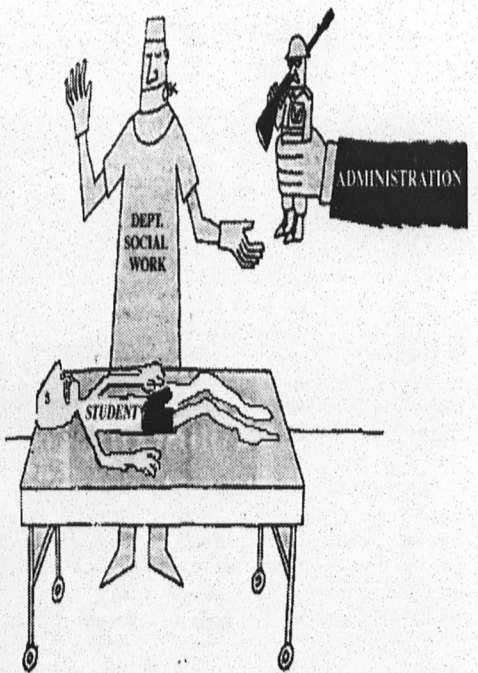
In real life, in international politics, in business—MGT 320 Organization Behavior, which has as a prereq PSY 100—learning about how to solve conflicts between people is a crucial plus. Theoretical stuff that is not applied to real life is meaningless. Only the theories that emphasize practical matters should be studied.

There is a great demand for social workers in America. And, because of the globalization of the economy, there will be an increasingly greater demand for American know-how throughout the world. New

opportunities are to be seen in this process. If the State Department uses our techniques to reach peaceful resolution of wars, businesses do too. As future social workers, we shouldn't limit ourselves to traditional jobs like counseling and mentoring—PSY 340 Mentoring or SOC 350 PSY/SOC Disability Aspects—we should use our intuition to find new jobs.

Most students with whom I spoke before writing this article agreed with me that in the future only a practical education can be useful. The study of different cultures is very important to understand the different mindsets and viewpoints. It helps also the person to establish a kind of positive relationship with the different communities. Good students should watch Channel 13, and if they have cable The Discovery Channel or The Learning Channel. A course in anthropology could be very helpful, for example ANT 201 Cultural Anthropology. In this course one could learn that !Kung and Yanomami people have very strange customs from our perspective. But, we are also strange to them, so we shouldn't judge them. We should try to understand everybody.

The example of the resolution of the conflict in former Yugoslavia shows that a useful education can help one which can help others.



From managing misery at home to managing civil war abroad, social workers are the human face of capitalist oppression!

The Pilot

by Otto Matick

Sometimes when I drive to work in the morning, I don't remember how I got there. And, sometimes I make moral judgments without really thinking about what I am saying. It's a kind of cultural automatic pilot that takes control of my life. So, I decided to talk about my feelings to a counselor, here at the College.

The first meeting with the counselor went great. I asked her about her qualifications, she said she had a masters degree in Social Work. She was smiling all the time and her voice was kind of soft. We agreed to meet once a week to discuss what I characterized as anxiety.

Our first session started off when she asked me to describe what I felt. I explained that working and studying was difficult to handle emotionally. I described how I felt about behaving without really thinking about what I am doing. I explained to her that sometimes I surprised myself doing things unconsciously because I had repeated the same action so many times. I told her that I had felt really bad after saying "have a good day" to my mom. I told her that every time this happens to me, I feel like I have no energy, and I can't perform my job duties the way I'm supposed to.

She then asked me to describe myself to her. I said I worked as an assistant office manager in an insurance company. I said I was thirty-four and that I was a business major at CSI. After I had pronounced these words, I felt that my description of myself was more like a business resume. I didn't feel that I was just that, but I thought she would understand. She did. She gave me a couple of pages to fill in: that was to test my mental hygiene.

She asked me if I was married, if I lived with my parents, and then she rendered her professional verdict: I experienced a minor neurotic problem. But she hurried to say that that was OK because millions of people are "this way."

I left her office, after she made me promise to go back, and I started thinking. I knew I wasn't that sick. I knew that—well at least I thought so. But then I realized she was probably right. She is a professional, she had probably helped hundreds of people before me. She was probably very successful at fixing problems.

Then it occurred to me that maybe she was crazy, maybe she was one of the millions of Americans she described as neurotics. What if I was a healthy man? Did she say that just because I wrote that I had

done some drugs and that I went to prostitutes?

I think that one is sometimes forced to smoke a joint because of the oppressive situation we live in. There is a cathartic effect that cannot be denied. What about

help another? I remember the look she gave me when she read that I went to prostitutes. She was disgusted and upset. But I am no maniac, I am just ugly, and that she couldn't see, or admit to herself. Why? Because the books don't say a thing about ugliness. The books don't say a thing

lems. A bureaucrat always refers to his or her superiors, always refers to rules. No individual thought. None. Isn't it dangerous?

The way people act with each other makes me sick. The automatic pilot is always there: Hi, what's up? Hey, what's up? How are you doing? Have a good day! See you! Bye! Yes, sir. There is not truth in these phrases, no empathy, no feelings, nothing. You may say: well, people don't have the time, the energy, it's way too much to ask of people, or you don't feel like being friendly sometimes. I think it's still disgusting. A professor opens the door to a dean. A vice-president whispers a banality to an aspiring provost.

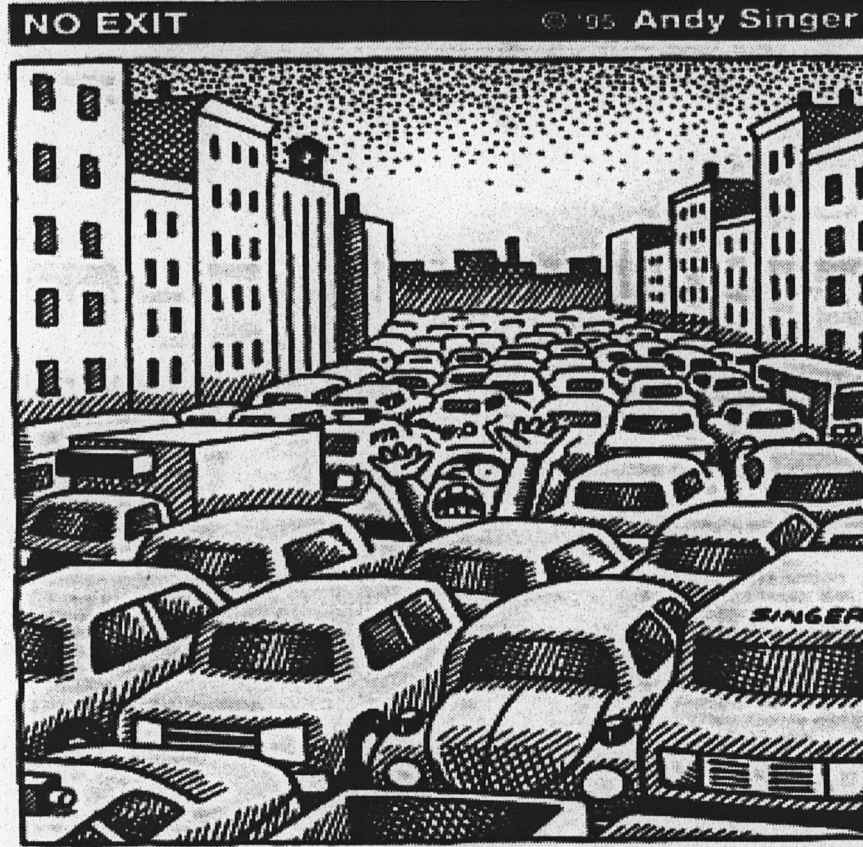
I don't think that these people are bad people. I think they're just not thinking, they're running under auto-pilot. How many parties have I gone to where girls are being girls, and boys being boys. Everybody under auto-pilot. But nobody can really have fun. They get drunk, high, stupid, but still can't have fun. They're under auto-pilot. A girl fixes her hair, a boy fixes his hair. A girl fixes her shirt. A boy fixes his shirt. They have sex. They're under auto-pilot. It tells them what they're supposed to do. Don't worry, here we think for you!

My professors come to class, they lecture, they try to make us interested in meaningless accounting ledgers and balance sheets, in great marketing strategies, in managerial crap. They're under auto-pilot.

Business people wear business clothes, politicians too. Teachers wear teachers' clothes, the homeless wear their uniform, soldiers wear their uniforms, and no one pauses to consider the craziness in all this. Lovers have their "song" produced by some money-hungry materialist. Isn't it kind of fake? Where is the human in all this?

It is very difficult to live this life of small happiness: scoring high in a Nintendo game, dating a man you don't really like to make your girl-friend jealous, finding a five-dollar bill on the floor. The small happiness of the secretary who doesn't help you to feel powerful, the small happiness of the cop who gives you a ticket, of the professor who gives you an A-

I know many of you will think that I am crazy. I admit it's easier for you to do that. Because if you try to think about what I said, you may feel the same kind of disgust with life as it is as I do. Thank you for reading till the end.



The automatic pilot solves all the problems. A bureaucrat always refers to his or her superiors, always refers to rules. No individual thought.

prostitutes? Well, I think I am a fairly ugly man. I don't think I have a low self-esteem but I think that I am not attractive. To prove my point, I would say that no woman was ever attracted to me. Prostitution and pornography help me deal with my natural sexual drive. Masturbation is what puts me to sleep at night.

The way the counselor handled my case was very professional: she didn't get involved. I was a patient. She used what she had learned in the books to solve my problems. At the same time the book said that she too was a neurotic. How can a neurotic

about that.

I know a lot of people are going to get outraged because of this article, but I would like them to think with me about the reasons they are upset. Pornography degrades women. What about men? Pornography commodifies sex, what about the rest, what about life, isn't it also commodified? Don't we all sell our bodies' labor for wages? What about the millions of couples who have made sex a routine, shouldn't they be punished? What about...

The automatic pilot solves all the prob-

Think!! Think!! Think!! Think!! Think!! Think!! Think!! Think!!

Mind Gulag

By Bertell Ollman

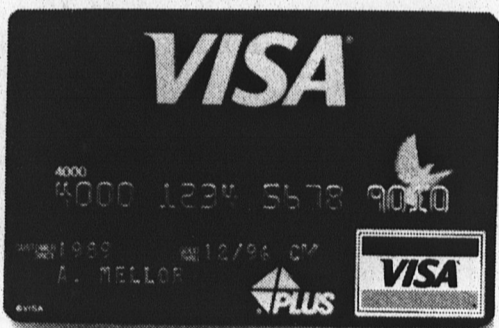
Hold everything. Before you go any further, I have a little test for you. It's a game I call "Mind Gulag", and it's meant to determine how much of your mind is already under enemy occupation. Prizes will be awarded at the end.

Answer True or False to the following:

1. Human beings are basically greedy and selfish.
2. The rich deserve what they have because they earned it.
3. The poor deserve what they have, or in this case what they don't have, because they're lazy and shiftless.
4. There have always been rich and poor, and there always will be.
5. Democracy exists as long as there are two or more parties contesting elections, and people are not coerced to vote for either one.
6. We are free as long as there are two or more parties contesting elections, and people are not coerced to vote for either one.
7. The American Government is interested in promoting freedom and democracy around the world.
8. Most Americans are middle class.
9. Most workers are satisfied with their lot and would never go on strike if not stirred up by outside agitators.
10. Socialism is what they had in the Soviet Union.

Now give yourself ten points for every time you answered "True". Add up the total. Here are your prizes. Those who scored 0-30 win an Albert Einstein Medal for Critical Thinking. If you have score of 40-70, you receive a Tiresias Pin (with points on both ends) indicating you can go either way. While those who racked up a count of 80-100 win a Ronald Reagan Gulag of the Mind Banner, which doubles as a blindfold, painted in red, white and blue. All prizes will be given out along with your college degree when you graduate. After all, who has helped you to win your prize more than teachers?

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CV • VOL XVI • NO. 3

French Students and Workers Show the Way!!

Students in 40 universities across France are out on the streets protesting inadequate funds for their schools. Over 100,000 students demonstrated in Paris to send a message to the new right-wing budget cutting president of France, Chirac, that the budget will not be balanced on the backs of their education. The Chirac government announced a series of budget cuts that will hurt students, workers and the poor. Chirac claims that this is necessary for the European Union (EU) to achieve a single currency by 1999. The French students and workers have answered back through their inspiring massive actions that they will not accept a EU that is a union of Europe's bosses for the sake of better exploiting Europe's workers. The EU is a concept similar to NAFTA which the US government rammed through but only broader since a common currency and open borders amongst other things are envisaged. Similar to NAFTA, which precipitated the collapse of the Mexican Peso and has brought immense suffering through job losses and lower wages to those across North America who are working class and poor., the EU is also an agreement for a "Greater Europe" where bosses will be able to exploit workers much more efficiently and social spending on education and Healthcare will be slashed.

CUNY students like their counterparts in France have battled back valiantly against budget cuts and tuition hikes to our own education. However the key difference is that the French working class, particularly those organized in the public sector i.e. transportation, hospitals, schools, power services, media, post and Telecom, have joined the students literally by the millions. Roughly 5 million public sector workers have been on strike and in mass demonstrations since the last week of November protesting cuts to pension plans, higher taxes and an extension of the retirement age. These actions have brought France to a virtual halt, showing who it is that creates the wealth in a country. If the strikes are generalized even further, into the private sector, there is a good possibility that the French workers and students will manage to bring down the Chirac government. Aside from putting an end to the budget cuts this could open up the way to bring down the bosses EU which would be a huge victory.

Despite the great militancy shown by our French brothers and sisters they too lack a Party that can take the fight beyond budget cuts to the question of which class rules - the bosses or the workers. Such a Party must base itself on the lessons of the Paris Commune and the Bolshevik Revolution - which smashed the rule of the bosses and replaced it with workers councils. France, a rich industrialized country unlike Russia in 1917, would be largely immune to the possibility of a Stalinist style bureaucratization of the new Workers State.

For Mass Action in the Spring!

We must follow the example of the French students and learn from the example of the French workers. Our own two bit sell out labor bureaucrats like Stanley Hill (DC 37) and Dennis Rivera (1199) will sell their mothers to the bosses before they take action to defend the workers. CUNY students can play a key role in forcing the labor deadwood to shit or get off the pot by appealing to the angry rank and file in these unions. The students and workers of NYC too must join our comrades in France in fighting back with mass action and class politics.

Interestingly enough France has a lower percentage of union membership (9%) than even the US (12%) but French workers are kicking ass while we are getting our asses kicked. Once again the reason for this lies in the quality of the political leadership. The French unions are led by Communists and Socialists. Although both these groups long ago ceased to be revolutionary they can still occasionally tell the difference between a boss and a worker. Behold our American labor leadership. Their main function has been to tie American workers to the Democrats (a bosses party) and carry out vicious attacks against workers militants within the US and abroad in conjunction with the CIA. No progress is possible for American workers and students with this monstrosity in the leadership of the unions.

The Spring of '96 must be a spring of mass action by the students and workers of NYC if we are to preserve what is left of public education and services. If our French brothers and sisters can bring their bosses to a halt so can we. Forward to a Mass General Strike of Workers and Students in the Spring. Stop the Budget Cuts. For A Workers Party and a Workers Government.

Victory to the Students and Workers!!



Stand Against the Klan RALLY AGAINST RACISTS ON STATEN ISLAND

In recent weeks a neo-Nazi group called the National Alliance has been distributing racist and anti-Semitic hate literature on Staten Island. The leader of this group wrote *The Turner Diaries*, a book which openly calls for fascism and the physical annihilation of people of color, Jews, labor activists, feminists, and many others. Right-wing extremists are responsible for a growing tide of hate violence: racist and anti-Semitic murders, terrorist attacks on women's clinics, assaults on immigrants and gays and lesbians, and the bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal Building. Working and poor people of all races, nationalities, and religions must stand up against these neo-Nazis now!

Staten Islanders have been disgusted and angered by this hate literature. A rally to protest this message of racism, anti-Semitism, and hate violence will be held next to the Stonehenge building at Clove Lakes Park on Clove Road, S.I., Sunday, Dec. 10 2p.m. The rally is being organized by "Stand Against the Klan," a Staten Island organization which educates people about the dangers posed by the Far Right. The participation of neighborhood residents, community organizations, religious groups, labor unions, progressive political activists, and the general public is encouraged. Union members should urge their local leaders to publicize the rally and mobilize people to attend.

You can help fight Right-wing extremists by coming to the rally on December 10. It's time for working and poor people of all races, nationalities, and religions, to unite against neo-Nazis. Join us in sending a loud, clear message: Hate literature and hate violence will not be tolerated here! Fascists are not welcome on Staten Island or anywhere in New York!

Directions: By Public Transportation: Take the Ferry to Staten Island and then take the S61 or S62 Bus, which makes stops along Victory Blvd. (These buses run every halfhour.) get off the bus when you reach the intersection of Victory Blvd. and Clove Road. Walk down Clove Road toward the Park. You'll see us next to the Stonehenge (park administration) building. By Car: Drive across the Verrazano Bridge to Staten Island. Follow the Staten Island Expressway until you exit at Victory Blvd. Drive along Victory Blvd. until you reach Clove Road and the Park. For more information, please call (71X) 984-9429 or (71X) 545-2460.

BUILD WORKING CLASS UNITY AGAINST FASCISM

SAY NO TO NEO-NAZIS!

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We need a better Alternative

by HB

This article is in response to M.D. Wijerama's article, "The Stinking Corpse of Social Democracy or Why Capitalism Cannot Be Reformed - A Response to H.B." I consider Mr. Wijerama's article pure dia-

I realize that the state is repressive but we do live in a country with the power to vote.

tribe. It was constant criticism and nothing much more.

In my article I talked about concrete alternatives to capitalism as we know it. I talked about redistribution of the wealth. I talked about economic organizations like cooperatives, non-profit organizations, government ownership of delivery of goods and services and other types of economic organizations. These organizations represent an alternative to the giant multi-national capitalist corporations.

Let's see what Mr. Wijerama's alternatives are to capitalism. This is it and I quote, "...to meet people's needs...will require nationalizing the commanding heights of the economy." These words seem lofty and knowledgeable but really do not analyze economics very much. Is nationalization the only alternative to the corporation dominated capitalism?

I think we have to offer more alternatives. Just look at the Soviet Union and its thoroughly nationalized economy. It was, from many accounts, an unwieldy, burdensome, inefficient system and dominated by the Communist Party. In the end it collapsed under its own weight. Is this what we want for an alternative to capitalism? I hardly think so. Pure nationalization is the real "corpse" of economic

systems.

Another point of his article states my contention that large privately owned corporations could be democratically managed is in his terms a "contradiction in terms that ignores the reality of class conflict." He completely ignores the fact that I talked about corporations being owned by small investors, pension funds and cooperative banks which are in turn owned by average people. He also doesn't realize that more democratically run corporations in many parts of the capitalist world are shown to run more efficiently even though dominated by the wealthy ruling class. I would instead, just like to see the corporations owned more democratically.

The last point I refer to is the statement that I ignore the whole question of the State. I know that at the time Mr. Wijerama was writing his article he hadn't seen my article on revolution. I realize that the state is repressive but we do live in a country with the power to vote. My revolution article analyzes the strengths and pitfalls of average people trying to wrestle control of the state away from the wealthy ruling class. I stated that the election process could be an educational process for people in order to arm themselves for the fight against repression.

Denunciation of capitalism is good but to not have a good alternative to replace it with is fool hardy. Mr. Wijerama criticizes pragmatism but to overthrow the capitalist system and replace it with nationalization of all economic organizations is unproductive. The replacement of bourgeois democracy with Leninist Bolshevism will lead to Stalinism. We need a better alternative!

Revolution Not Reform

The fallacy of HB's argument lies in his attempt to reconcile his abhorrence of capitalism with his abhorrence of Marxism. This leads him to such peculiar notions as "democratically owned corporations". If by this HB is referring to a planned economy under the democratic control of workers councils we would heartily agree however his reference to "democratically run corporations in many parts of the capitalist world" shows that this is not so. The whole sorry history of "self-management" and "market socialism" shows that within a capitalist market all such experiments duplicate the very same features of "multi-national corporate capitalism" i.e. competition, layoffs, low wages, except now workers can

rubber stamp their own firing.

This is naught else but cheap subterfuge to trick workers into bearing an even greater burden than they already have in regular capitalist enterprises. Jeffrey Sachs and other bourgeois economists and witchdoctors have been implementing the very same measures that HB yearns for in

In order to have true workers control of the means of production it is necessary to abolish the capitalist market.

Eastern Europe to carry out capitalist restoration. The massive unemployment, plant closures and racism that has arisen on this basis is surely not HB's alternative. In order to have true workers control of the means of production it is necessary to abolish the capitalist market. This of course is not possible through piece meal reform but require the smashing of the capitalist State.

HB's derision of the Soviet economy we agree with. Democratic planning of the economy through worker's councils is a world apart from the bureaucratic planning that occurred after the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution. The bureaucratic caste that sat on top of the Soviet economy was the negation of workers control. A major source of HB's confusion stems from his belief in the old myth-Leninism leads to Stalinism. This argument has always had more to do with class prejudice than historic accuracy. A river of blood separates the consolidation of a bureaucratic caste led by Stalin from the establishing of Soviet power. For lack of space to do justice to this important history, I refer HB to Leon Trotsky's, "Revolution Betrayed." This documents the degeneration of the revolution and the rise of Stalin with the historic insight and revolutionary perspective that only a leader and partner of Lenin in the Bolshevik Revolution can offer.



Religious Bigotry

By Lemuel Ayudtud

When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child; but I became a man, I put away childish things (1 Cor. 13:11)

I fear that some religious bigots have made themselves known through The College Voice. I feel that their religious bias sprouted from their misconception of who

God is. They write and speak as though they have had an experience with the su-

pernatural; God. Why would a judgement be set down on paper, and be printed, if they are based on their logic and in their thinking, and not on experience. As an old adage says, "Experience is the best teacher." I feel that the writers of religious bigotry have no understanding as well as no experience of the God they condemn. Furthermore they, through their ignorance and lack of experience, try to convince the populace that God is hog-wash and that his existence is a fallacy.

You critics of perfection, have you spent time in church where the presence of God was so overwhelming that it sent you crying to your knees? Have you seen the lame walk through the mention of Jesus name? Have you seen and experienced, as I have a demon-possessed kid jerk his head backwards, growl, and say "No, No", when the bible was being placed on his head? Then biting pages off from it, just to ask me later, "What happened to my bible?" -Yes, not all church goers are immune to demonic devices, it can only be done through Jesus name. (Mk 16:16-18)

As a Christian I am not writing this commentary to evaluate the desired want

of people to argue; I am writing to make religious bigot, as well as the reader, to explore God beyond the realms of their/your television set. To take a phrase from an ex-president, "God is not a crock", nor is He the money begging machine that some of these T.V. evangelists portray. To

tell you the truth, I, myself, don't listen to these guys because some yield a propaganda. I even blame some for the deterioration of religious respect of this country, and its declining trust in men of God.

Perfection can never be understood by the imperfect. We can derive ideas, through "logic", that could explain the unexplainable. I do not claim to have all the knowledge of the scriptures, nor do I claim that I understand it all, I just believe. "So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing the word of God." (Rom. 10:17). These slick, uncaring, egotistical, bigots, who think they are God, need to here the word. The problem is they have no patience or the gall to admit that they will be proven wrong. Their "Tunnel-vision" thinking have made them slanderers of the world. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools (rom 1:22). For "...fools say in there heart 'There is no God'..." (ps. 14:1) and they feel they are right in their own eyes. (Pr.12:15). Ever learning, and never able to come to knowledge of the truth.(2)

Continued on page 8

A response to "Religious Bigotry"

Free Reasoning

By Marco Sainte

I was skimming through the Banner the other day (Yes, I read the Banner, what's wrong with that?), when I came across an article of scathing complaint. A certain Lemuel Ayudtud who happens to be a Christian Club member and acquaintance of mine was appalled by the "religious bigotry" in the Voice and expressed his contempt. He argued that the writers should not have judged God because they had no experience in the matter. He then goes on to say that he is part of a Jesus freak minority, and that he has "sense- experience"; he's a believer.

Now I'm not going to knock his beliefs, argue with him, or try to make him look stupid. They are his beliefs, and I am in no position to force him to change his mind, or condemn him for them. I'm just here to respond and defend the integrity of the other writers and myself (however, I feel that I must point out that the word "minority" referring to "Jesus freaks" is misleading. They are all over this country, in growing numbers, and they are the shock troops of powerful institutions in control of this world.)

I myself know that I am not a religious bigot. A bigot is someone who refuses any ideas other than his own. Putting the word 'religious' in front simply shows what the person is bigoted about. I have openly experienced myself to just about every single religious idea from just about every religion, from Christianity to voodoo. I do not know about the others, but they are generally open minded. So I feel that this particular label is unfair. How-

ever I have seen many religious individuals who don't want to accept any other ideas other than the pastor's. I wonder if the title belongs to them....

I'm not going to question my colleague's experience, for he did see these things in

his parish (at least he says so, I trust him), but to say that the

writers haven't is again uncalled for. Sure, they might not have the church experience (I do, it's one of the reason why I'm so cynical), however they have experience in religious matters because they are not afraid to see what goes on outside the church walls. They have watched every move these religious leaders have made since catholic school. They've seen and experienced every hypocrisy, every rotten deal, every fleecing of the congregation, every controversy, and every public exposing that these men have done and gone through. Now, with all that in mind, don't you think that they are entitled to their articles? Let's think logically: you subject someone to cruelty and wrong doing, then when the person criticizes the party involved, you condemn him?? I understand that my acquaintance doesn't care for those criticizing his system of beliefs, but to discredit their reasoning is criminal. At least realize where they come from. I understand where you do, hence my respect. You had the good part, the others just saw some other things that disturbed them.

I know that it's uncomfortable to hear

Continued on page 8

...Campus Padlocked

scheduled for Friday evenings and Saturdays, leaving six sections eliminated.

As an offering of support to the concept of completely shutting down the campus and canceling classes on Sunday, Mr. Ciaccia claimed that overtime costs to keep the campus operating on Sundays are highly expensive. Although he wouldn't release a firm figure, he claimed this was a major factor in concluding that one day had to be eliminated from the schedule. They had to "cut somewhere" so they decided to eliminate one day. Neither Mr. Ciaccia nor Mr. Della were able to answer whether the possibility existed of another day being eliminated in the future.

Mr. Della relayed that due to regulations, fire laws and laboratory laws, student enrollment cannot be higher than the allowed capacity of any given classroom or laboratory room. Obviously, this mostly affects the science classes and, as a result, the science classes saw less increases of class size, while the students of humanities, liberal arts and other disciplines were CORRALLED into small classrooms.

Mr. Della feels it's very important to point out that we have a "luxury" that many other CUNY campuses don't have. "We have the luxury of prudently being able to increase course capacities. Some schools are so small they don't have the option to increase their course capacities. But we do" Obviously, he has never sat in a classroom with 40 students crammed together in one of the "roomy" 9' x 12' classrooms..

Some students may beg to differ regarding the option of increasing course capacities. By using capacity laws as the only guideline for increasing class size, an efficient learning environment is not always attained. Specifically, one Communications class this semester was booked with the normal amount of students (approximately 35). However, the administration did not bother to check how many computers were available for the students to use. There were approximately 14 computers. No lab time was assigned for the class, and the only time available was one night from 4:40 to 8:00pm, one day from 2-4pm, and sometimes one other time dur-

ing the day. Students spent the whole semester scrambling for computers, trying to reschedule their lives around getting assignments done that they should have been able to complete during class time. Is this our future? Increased class sizes and, as long as the fire code and laws permit it, stuffing students into classrooms where they will be struggling to get the education they are paying more than ever for?

Mr. Ciaccia voiced concern that there could very well be further cuts by the State and, as such, CUNY is "trying to anticipate and be ready. As a result, it's better to be prudent in spending. Since there was no warning in the spring when the State issued its referendum about the budget, there was no time to plan. We were already well

It is unbelievable how the State and CUNY see cutting classes and limiting educational possibilities as a healthy solution.

into the fiscal year."

Mr. Ciaccia and Mr. Della could not offer many other alternatives that were pursued to meet this budget deficit. They both indicated that retirement and incentive packages were offered to some staff at CSI, along with the elimination of some support staff. The retirement incentives were part of the plan from the State legislature, not from CSI. Across the board, 43 people retired, including professors and administration from all levels. Supposedly, any positions that were eliminated during this period are not going to be replaced. Mr. Della cited many examples, including: if there is a three person psychology department, and two professors resigned or their positions were eliminated, the department would have to continue to run with that one professor.

This is an interesting concept, except when taken into consideration a classified ad that was in the help wanted section of the New York Times on Sunday, November 25, 1995:

COMMUNICATIONS
TECHNOLOGIES

Film/Video/Desk Top
Publishing Supervisor
serves as projects development and coordinator for the college TV studio and the departmental desktop publishing facility... to develop the educational use of the college TV studio, to coordinate the educational use of the media labs, and to develop the educational use of the media facilities for the community and college. Start date after February 1, 1996. Salary: \$26,000 to \$44,000.

It seems that they have the money, but they don't know what pocket it's in!

So, where do we go from here? It is unbelievable how the State and CUNY see cutting classes and limiting educational possibilities as a healthy solution. More frightening than anything is the thought

that the future is uncertain and administration is trying to tell us that they don't know how long these cuts will last. Transla-

tion: we can kiss Sunday classes goodbye. We will not receive any guarantee of the re-implementation of these classes anytime soon. Although we are being told that it's a temporary measure, they originally said this of the classes that were canceled for this semester. Instead of making up for the shortfall of Fall 1995, they have implemented even more severe cuts for Spring 1996. The Transit Authority is doing a similar move: after threatening layoffs during the spring of this year for the same reasons (State and City government refusing to contribute their annual share to the MTA) many employees accepted retirement incentive packages boosted to encourage attrition. The day after the latest fare increase went into effect, they sent letters out to almost 200 bus mechanics threatening layoffs because they suddenly have too many workers for the fiscal 1996 budget. In the same way the Transit Authority is more than willing to sacrifice safety, the CUNY system seems more satisfied with sacrificing higher education for the youth of this city.

It seems that all bureaucracies have the

same story. They have a deficit that they need to make up, they make cuts, promise that they will relinquish the cuts as soon as the budget deficit is alleviated, then as soon as they get their cuts, they whimsically discover that they have twice as much of a deficit that they thought they had and continue to make cuts. We saw this on the day the Pataki administration stepped into office. The day before his inauguration, we were told the State budget deficit was between \$1.5 and \$2 billion. As soon as he sat in the chair, it grew to \$5 billion!

The explanation is always the same - it's not our fault, it's the prior administration's fault.

The CSI administration should be careful how they treat their student body. This is a school - not a private business or corporation. The job here is to educate the nation's youth. The education of the individual should be first and foremost. They are doing nothing better than acting like a corporation suffering from a bad 1st and 2nd quarter and deciding that the best solution is to lay-off 2,000 workers to cut their bottom line immediately. That may work as a cut-throat, ruthless maneuver on Wall Street, but not in a Community College dedicated to the preservation of education and supported by the taxpayers. Shutting the school down for an entire day every day of the week, creating an inefficient learning environment, closing services to students and raising tuition, is not the way to run a school.

If this administration isn't careful, the students who manage to struggle through all the problems and cutbacks, and graduate will not hold CSI in high esteem. The private universities which the CSI administration tries to mimic, can rely on the support of their alumni association. In the very near future, CSI is going to find themselves with an alumni association of bitter graduates with a very bad attitude towards the college. Hence, the administration better not count on them for support for future endeavors.

...Bigotry

Continued from page 7

Ti. 3:7). Hey man, only the blind will take the leading from the blind. (Mat. 15:14).

I know I've come out fighting since the beginning, but I don't mean to. I am just upset that writers without Godly experience, have the intestinal fortitude, the guts, to proclaim their statements as truth. I do not claim myself as a sinless human being because I too am a sinner. To quote the scriptures, "For all have sinned, and come short of the glory" (Rom. 3:23), and if the banks of New York don't have money, I have no sin.

I'm pretty sure that regardless of my boldness towards proclaiming the truth, there will be some who will find fault...in something. Understand, I am part of a "Jesus freak" minority; I speak of things from "sense-experience"; I am a believer. I've experience that "Pentecostal experience" people downgrade and make fun of. Hey, LISTEN TO ME - DON'T KNOCK IT 'TIL YOU'VE TRIED IT!!! You've got to know Him. Experience Him. As a pastor once told a cynical unbeliever, "Sir, you've got to cut your head off and run to God with your heart". A night later the same man came running to the altar, speaking in tongues (Acts 2), in tears, and then he was slain in the spirit. After service the pastor asks him what happened, and the man states, "I just did what you told me, I cut my head off and came to Jesus with my heart." Hey mister high and mighty, and to my patient readers, what you need to do is to remove your head from, your shoulders and come to Jesus with your heart. Now don't take me literally, what

I'm saying is that you can never fully understand God -so don't try. Don't just know about Him, you've got to know Him.

To make myself clearer, I don't assowith mister Newt, his friends, of their usage of religion to promote their political agenda. I am a Apostolic Pentostica. I lift and magnify Jesus, Him crucified (1 Cor. 2:2), and Him alone. I am not a religious fanatic, I just love the Lord. I HAVE THE EXPERIENCE...DO YOU???

P.S. Read Proverbs 2:1-7

...Reasoning

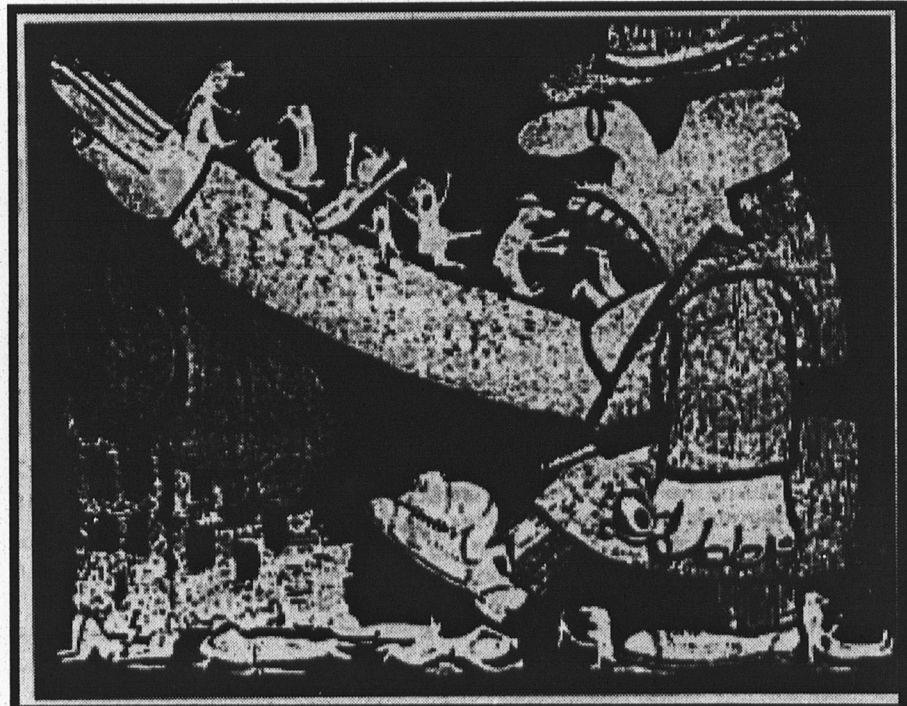
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unfavorable things about something that you hold dear; however it is worthwhile to analyze and check what is said before you start lashing out. I don't dare write or say a controversial item about religion unless I have my facts straight. And I don't go against an idea unless I've checked every possible application of it. Likewise, I feel others should do the same thing. Remember, not everyone has the same experience. That doesn't mean that yours is better. For example, do your dreams

come true? Strange question, eh? Mine do; in fact, it runs in the family. My mother has it, my grandmother has it, and she can interpret dreams too. My family also has had some strange moments over the years. We've escaped fires, kidnappings, robberies, devil worshippers and other calamities. I am constantly told that we must be "protected by God". Now I can turn around and say: "God is protecting me alone! I have experience and proof! God has chosen us alone!" As a Christian, how would you feel? Assuming that you haven't been through the same, you'd probably be outraged, cheated, etc. You'd feel uncomfortable, no matter how devout you were, for you would say, "I don't have any experience with God." You probably already have. And it would be wrong for me to say I am the only one with it.

In conclusion, we all have experience in these matters, just at different angles and degrees. I was lucky enough to have a background in religious studies; that's my forte. The others have theirs. So don't knock them without good reason (I understand the problem about the atheists, but even they have a good argument). Oh, the reference to Proverbs 2:1-7 is not a very good one. It says kings were enforcing anti-God ideas. The kings of this earth, do they support God, or do they do things in the name of him??

(P.S. Pop quiz. If what I have been saying and believing is blasphemous, how do you explain the strange protection and gifts in my family? Especially since these ideas generally run in the family???)



An Escalating Cycle of Abuse

Black Mothers from Norwalk Fight Against Racism

by JP Patafio

November 6 - The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, seems to have slowed down due to court proceedings, however, it appears that the issue has taken on new significance across the country. The campaign to free Mumia has touched upon a topic of taboo for the US bourgeois state; injustice at the very hands of those in which society has placed its faith in.

Following the suspension of Mumia's execution there has been a bubbling of organic campaigns against police brutality throughout the nation. Despite the fear of retribution for speaking out, people have looked to the struggle around Mumia for courage to step forward and take a stand against arbitrary and unaccountable harm at the hands of the police.

The lack of corporate media's scrutiny, the "public's" fear of facing a bleak reality, outright repression against those that dare to speak up, and dubious governmental assistance are the obstacles that organizers face. This is why people who are victims of police oppression are drawn to Mumia's case and are trying to use it as a means of organizing out of the communities in which they are kept.

This is exactly what happened on November 6th when a group of women from Norwalk, Connecticut told the audience of a hundred people how the black community is terrorized by the police. The inability of these women to turn to their local authorities for justice has forced them to organize and find solutions to their problems.

The women who came up to speak to the audience were working mothers who have little time or money to spend traveling to New York City. Yet due to the unbearable nature of situation they did just that.

Francine Pauline was one of the women who came down. Her son was arrested then abused by the police. She stated that the two other women also suffered at the hands of police. Mrs. Webb's son was beaten by the police while in custody, and Mrs. Fuller's son was killed by the police. They did not represent the only people with stories.

The pattern usually follows as such. With some stereotypical excuse (the most favorite one the "drug war") the police "raid" an area or just arrest someone. Mostly black males are the targets of the police. In the end it was these mothers who went down to the stations, get insulted and live with the consequences of the problem.

With a deep sense of frustration she expressed the seeming helplessness of the position. "Cops are literally beating them and getting away with it." In many cases people will not do anything either because they are scared about retaliation by the police and believe that the court system (and the political system at large) is an ineffective means for securing justice, unless you have money or white.

The attacks by the police have escalated beyond individuals. The Norwalk Police, apparently in the "war against drugs," have picked up some lessons from the death squads of the *Barrios* of the Third world. Jumping out of vans with mask and no external identification the police go on "raids." With the excuse of out of control violence, the police are becoming out of control and explore the most hideous aspects of authoritarianism. "I would not have known they were police if I had not seen a cruiser a few minutes later. I would have thought they were terrorist." In Norwalk, and other areas in the US, they act as such.

The group that she is a member of took the road less traveled and decided to take their fight to the public directly and seek justice on the streets. "It has to stop, because we are losing our boys. We are either losing them to death or we were losing them to jail."

"We are especially concerned that prosecutorial misconduct seems to arise more in Philadelphia County than any other county in the Commonwealth. . . [Prosecutors have] to understand that the Commonwealth's client is justice."

- Vincent Cirillo,
Pennsylvania Superior
Court Judge, 1992



The Philadelphia Inquirer / TONY AUTH

"Tough on Crime" - only on Black folk

Where there are hints of an authoritarian and reactionary order, it is felt most acute in the black community.

The US Congress struck down legislation presented by the Black Congressional Caucus that would punish equally those who use cocaine and crack. As it stands now a person with 5 grams of crack will receive a more severe sentence than someone who is caught with 500 grams of cocaine. The difference between the two is analogous to the demographics of those that use the drugs. Crack is a cheap drug, costing as little as \$3.00 a vial, depending on the quality, as opposed to cocaine which is geared toward a clientele that could afford champagne in between their excursions to the restaurants bathroom.

Crack is a plague on the poorest communities, in the urban areas blacks are targeted most, while cocaine users tend to be wealthier suburban white males. The bias to deal with upper-white-middle class citizens more lenient than their black-poorer-working class counterparts in the urban areas was demonstrated by the striking down of this bill. When it comes to dealing with their own constituencies the "tough on crime" posture turns christian, and they turn the other cheek on injustice.

SKINHEAD YOUTH

by Rory Cohen

A group of social outcasts who prey on the young, the vulnerable, the weak and the lonely. They brainwash their heads with racist, fascist hate propaganda. They can turn an innocent, uneducated person into the most violent, ignorant and hateful person. They are known as Neo-Nazis or Skinheads.

They normally recruit people between the ages of 16-20 who feel out of place and lost in society. They prey on this feeling of loneliness and use it to transform them into a hideous racist creature. Usually they are constantly fighting with their families and don't have many friends, the Skinheads give them a sense of family, of camaraderie. Once they make you feel secure and safe they implant messages of hate in you.

The rise of Skinheads today is a revivment of the British Skinhead youth subculture which surfaced during the 1960's and 1970's. These were angry working class teens who were lost in a bleak future of unemployment. They needed to find a scapegoat to vent their anger out on and they found blacks and immigrants. They blamed them for stealing their jobs and taking their future away.

Music became a part of this subculture. Original the first form of music to be accepted into this subculture was Oi!, which was a hard driving form of punk with some ska influence. Oi! got its name from a slang greeting for "Hey!". Oi! was mostly songs representing the working class and the struggle they faced.

Eventually they grew enough brains to pick up instruments and start their own racist hate rock. Bands such as Skrewdriver, Final Solution and War took everything one step further. Not only did they represent the working class but they also sang about racial pride and white supremacy.

Skrewdriver is one of the most infamous and influential groups of this genre and still exist today. They still preach their hate and racism with songs titles such as "Nigger,

Nigger", "Race and Nation" and "White Power".

Skinheads and their hate-core music eventually spread through Europe and into America. Polluting the heads of the young and vulnerable. In Europe most Skinheads were working class youths while in America they tend to be middle-class kids from broken homes or those who don't fit in well with their youths.

"Feeling downtrodden, picked on and misunderstood, they hang around waiting for something to do, somewhere to belong. Hungry for an identity and desperate for peer approval, they definitely join a gang of tough kids and thus teenage hate mongers are born." (Extremist Groups in America by Susan S. Lang pg. 93)

Today hate music is slowly gaining more ground in the mainstream. It is being used as a method to inform "White Americans" or "White Youths" of the advantageous of a white separatist nation.

They even have enough backward thinking bands to start their own record label, which helps distribute this hate propaganda. Resistance records started out in 1994 in someones basement and has expanded and now even has a page on the Internet. This makes it possible to download graphics of album covers, hear clips of songs and eventually have photos, interviews and concert updates. All of which is supposed to boost white pride. A person cannot love themselves or have "pride" in their race while hating another! In order to love yourself you must love those around you.

It is even evident that big business will try to make a profit through any type of business. They have proven that they have absolutely no morals because Resistance Records accepts Visa/Mastercard! This disgusting corporation will use any means to make a buck. Even though it means supporting Facist, neo-nazi hate music and possibly destroying the mind of the worlds youth.

THE BIG BLUE WALL OF SILENCE

by Rory Cohen

The Big Blue Wall of Silence. This horrendous thing is a horrible setback to us. This unstated policy is one of many factors that have led the police force to become flooded with racism, greed and the hunger for power.

All you have to do is turn on the television to witness the corruption. The most recent incident happened in the trial of O.J. Simpson. Mark Fuhrman could not prove my theory any more if he tried. Fuhrman is an extreme racist who takes joy in inflicting harm and bodily damage to someone just for the fact that they are of a different color! Does this sound like a person who you want to call at two o'clock in the morning when you hear someone prowling around in your kitchen.

The so called big blue wall of silence is a major factor which is holding us back from sorting through this corruption (if it is still possible). Police cover up racist police crimes, bribery, dirty cops (cops who extort business owners) just because they are "brothers" on the police force! This is in no way beneficial to society in any form but in contrary is slowly destroying it.

I have had my own run in with the big blue wall of silence. Although it is a mild case it still proves how horrible an ideal this is.

I was recently involved in a car accident. Another car ramed into the side of van and the driver and passenger had obviously been drinking. So I called the police to register the accident and so they could give this person a breathalyzer test. When they arrived one officer started to take the breathalyzer out of his pocket, but the driver mentioned that his son was on the "force" and the officer put the breathalyzer right back into his pocket. This happened right in front of me! He later claimed that the breathalyzer test came up negative.

There was nothing I could do about this. How could the word of an 18 year old beat the word of a police officer? I could never win and that to me is extremely sad.

Just because he had a relative on the police force, he got away with driving drunk. What if he had hit a small child instead of my car? What if he had taken someone's life? Would they still cover up for him? Who knows.

This covering up happens all the time. It happens everywhere from traffic tickets to assault or murder cases.

Look at the beating of Rodney King. If that wasn't caught on tape no charges would have been brought up or no police officers would have reported it (despite the fact that the police officers did get away with it!)

We need to eliminate the big blue wall of silence so we can weed out the corruption. So we might be able to have a form of protection and live without fear.

Or their should be another form of protection to choose from. The police force was created for and by the rich ruling class and with no other alternative their is nothing to compare it to see just how far gone this institution is. We are forced to accept this. Are we as safe as you think?

The list of bands on this label keeps growing and with the aid of greedy, power hungry corporate pigs more youths will become brainwashed and influenced into this form of bigotry. We must educate and influence the youth of the world about other cultures and about respect. We must educate everyone about how racism is nothing but something instituted by the upper class to keep us fighting so they can continue to rob us blind, exploit us and keep us oppressed!!!

In closing I would like to add that like anyone or anything you shouldn't be judgmental of people based on sight alone. Not all Skinheads are violent hatemongers. SHARPS (Skinheads against racial prejudice) are Skinheads who are into working class pride and unity, Oi! music but avoid violence and stand for racial peace.

THE PROLETARIAT IN POWER

CV Educational

This is the last part of a series on the nature of the state, both in past societies, capitalist society and of the future socialist society. For those interested in a complete copy of Mandel's pamphlet come by the Voice office for a free issue.

The foregoing serves to answer some questions that arise about the State and about socialism.

Does the working class need a State?

When we say that the State remains in existence up to and including the transitional

Part III: Marxist Theory of the State

society between capitalism and socialism, the question arises whether the working class still needs a State when it takes power.

Could not the working class, as soon as it takes power, abolish the State overnight? History has already answered this question. Certainly, on paper, the working class could do away with the State. However, this would be only a formal, juridical act to the extent that the workers had not seized power in a society already so rich and with such an abundance of material goods and services that social conflicts as such, that is, centering on the distribution of these products, could disappear; and that the necessity for arbiters, watchdogs, police, to control all that chaos disappeared at the same time as did the relative scarcity of goods. This has never happened in the past and it is hardly likely that it ever will.

To the extent that the working class takes power in a country in which there is still a partial scarcity of goods, or in which a certain amount of poverty exists, it takes power at a time when the society cannot as yet function without a State. A mass of social conflicts remain.

One can always resort to a hypocritical attitude, as do certain anarchists: Let's abolish the State and call the people who exercise State functions by another name. But that's a purely verbal operation, a paper "abolition" of the State. As long as social conflicts remain, there is a real need for people to regulate these conflicts. Now, people who regulate conflicts - that's what the State is. It is impossible for humanity, collectively, to regulate conflicts in a situation of real inequality and of real incapacity to satisfy the needs of everyone.

Workers' power and bourgeois technicians

Lenin had some bitter experiences on this score. Actually, it can be proved that no matter how you look at the problem, no matter what laws, decrees, institutions are promulgated, if there is a need for professors, high-level functionaries, engineers, highly trained technical people at all levels of the social machinery, it is very difficult to place proletarians in these positions overnight - and even five or six years after the conquest of power.

During the early years of Soviet power, Lenin, armed with a theoretically correct although slightly incomplete formula, said: Today engineers work for the bourgeoisie; tomorrow they will work for the proletariat; for that they will be paid and, if necessary, they will be forced to work. The important thing is that they be controlled by the workers. But a few years later, shortly before his death, Lenin, drawing a balance sheet of that experience, asked himself the question: Who controls whom? Are the experts controlled by the communists, or is the reverse happening?

When we grapple with this question day after day and in concrete terms in the underdeveloped countries, when we see what it means in practice in a country like Algeria, we realize full well that a few magical formulas, but that it is a completely different matter when the problem has to be solved in a real country, in real life. In a country like Algeria, for example, it means utter control; the privilege of university education (or any kind of education) is possessed by an infinitesimal minority of society, while the great mass of people, who fought heroically to win independence,

find themselves, when the time comes to exercise power, confronted with their lack of knowledge they must now only begin to acquire. And they find that, in the interim, they must completely surrender to the educated few the power they so heroically fought for and won.

The most heroic experiment in this area, the most radical and the most revolutionary in all human history, is the one undertaken by the Cuban revolution. Drawing

lessons from all the varied experiences of the past, the Cuban revolution undertook to resolve this problem on a broad scale and in a minimum of time by conducting an extraordinary educational campaign* to transform tens of thousands of illiterate workers and peasants into that many teachers, professors and university students - and in ammount of time. At the end of five or six years work, the results obtained are considerable.

Nevertheless, a single engineer or a single agronomist in a district containing tens of thousands of workers can in practice become, despite the admirable revolutionary spirit of the Cuban people, master of the district. If he has a monopoly on the technical knowledge vital to the district. Here again, the false solution would be to revert to so simple a level that technicians would

The proletarian State is, at one and the same time, a State and not a State. It becomes less and less a State. It is a State that begins to wither away at the very moment it is born, as Marx and Lenin correctly said.

not be needed. That is a reactionary utopia.

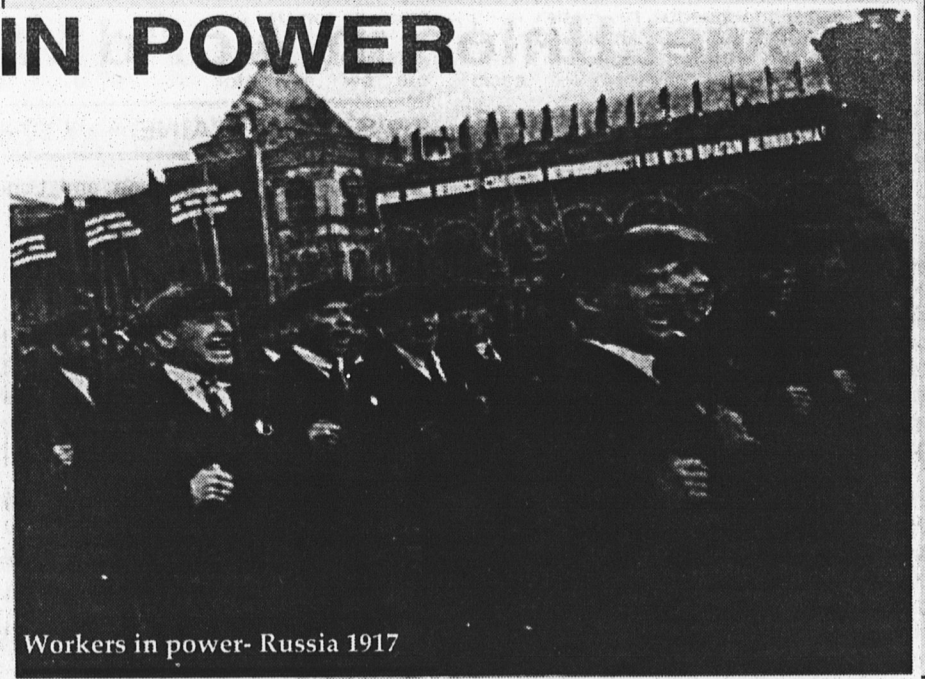
All these difficulties indicate the necessity for the proletariat, the new ruling class, to exercise State power against all those who might wrest power from it, whether bit by bit or all at once. The proletariat must exercise State power in this new and transitional society in which it possesses political power and the principal levers of economic power, but in which it is held in check by a whole constellation of weaknesses and newly made enemies. This is the situation that makes it necessary for the working class to maintain a State after its conquest of power and that makes it impossible to abolish the State overnight. But this working-class State must be of a very special kind.

Nature and characteristics of the proletarian State

The working class, by its special position in society (which has just been described, is obliged to maintain a State. But in order to preserve the power of that State, the latter has to be radically different from the State which in the past upheld the power of the bourgeoisie, or the feudal or slave holding class. The proletarian State is, at one and the same time, a State and not a State. It becomes less and less a State. It is a State that begins to wither away at the very moment it is born, as Marx and Lenin correctly said. Marx, developing the theory of the proletarian State, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as he called it, the State that withers away, gave it several characteristics, examples of which were found in the Paris Commune of 1871. There are three essential characteristics:

1) **No distinct separation between the executive and legislative powers.** Bodies are needed which enact laws and at the same time enforce them. In short, it is necessary to revert to the State that was born of the primitive communism of the clan and the tribe and that can still be found in the ancient Athenian popular assembly.

This is important. It is the best way of reducing as much as possible the cleavage



Workers in power- Russia 1917

between real power, more and more concentrated in the hands of permanent bodies, and the increasingly fictitious power that is left to deliberative assemblies. This cleavage is the characteristic of bourgeois parliamentarism. It is not enough to replace one deliberative assembly with another, if nothing is essentially changed regarding this cleavage. The deliberative assemblies must have real executive power at their disposal.

2) **Public offices to be elective, to the greatest extent.** It is not only members of the deliberative assemblies who should be elected. Judges, high-level functionaries, officers of the militia, supervisors of education, managers of public works, should also be elected. This may be a bit of a shock to countries with an ultrareactionary Napoleon tradition. But certain specifically bourgeois democracies, the United States, Switzerland, Canada, or Australia for example, have conserved the elective character of a certain number of public functions. Thus, in the United States the sheriff is elected by his fellow citizens.

In the proletarian state, this electing of public officials must be accompanied in all cases by the right of recall, i.e., voting unsatisfactory officials out of office at any time.

Thus, permanent and extensive control by the people over those exercising State functions must be made possible, and the separation between those who exercise State power and those in whose name it is exercised must be as small as possible. That is why it is necessary to assure a **Constant changing** of elected officials, to prevent people from remaining in office permanently. The functions of the State must, on an ever wider scale, be exercised in turn by the masses as a whole.

3) **No excessive salaries.** No official, no member of representative and legislative bodies, no individual exercising a State power, should receive a salary higher than that of a skilled worker. That is the only valid method of preventing people from seeking public office as a way of feathering their nests and sponging on society, the only valid way to get rid of the career-hunters and parasites known to all previous societies.

Together these three rules well express the thinking of Marx and Lenin concerning the proletarian State. This State no longer resembles any of its predecessors, because it is the first State that begins to wither away at the very moment of its appearance; because it is a State whose apparatus is composed of people no longer privileged in relation to the mass of society; because it is a State whose functions are more and more exercised by members of the society as a whole who keep taking each other's place; because it is a State that is no longer identical with a group of people who are detached from the masses and exercise functions separate and apart from the masses, but which, on the contrary, is indistinguishable from the people, from the laboring masses; because it is a State that withers away with the withering away of social classes, social conflicts, money economy,

market production, commodities, money, etc. This withering away of the State should be conceived of as self-management and self-government of producers and citizens which expands more and more until, under conditions of material abundance and a high cultural level of the entire society, the latter becomes structured into self-governing producer-consumer communities.

What about the Soviet Union?

When we look at the history of the USSR in the past thirty years, the conclusion to be drawn concerning the State is simple: a State with a permanent army; A State in which can be found marshals, managers of trusts, and even playwrights and ballerinas who earn fifty times as much as a manual laborer or a domestic worker; where tremendous selectivity for certain public functions has been established, making access to these functions practically impossible for the vast majority of the population; where real power is exercised by small committees of people whose tenure is renewed in mysterious ways and whose power remains fixed and permanent for long historical periods - such a State, obviously, is not in the process of withering away.

Why?

The explanation for this is simple. In the Soviet Union the State has not withered away because social conflicts have not withered away. Social conflicts have not withered away because the degree of development of the productive forces has not permitted this withering away - because the situation of semiscarcity that characterizes even the most advanced capitalist countries continues to characterize the situation in the Soviet State. And as long as these conditions of semiscarcity exist, controllers, watchdogs, special police are necessary. Of course, in a proletarian State, these people would be serving a better cause, at least to the extent to which they defend the socialist economy. But it must also be recognized that they are detached from the body of society, that they are in large measure parasites. Their disappearance is directly linked to the level of development of the productive forces, which alone can permit the withering away of social conflicts and the abolition of functions linked to these conflicts.

And to the extent that these watchdogs, these controllers, more and more monopolize the exercise of political power, to that extent obviously can they be assured of increasing material privileges, the choice morsels in the relative scarcity that dominates distribution. They thus constitute a privileged bureaucracy, beyond the reach of control by the workers and prone to defend first and foremost their own privileges.

The argument of the "cordon sanitaire"

The dangers resulting from being surrounded by capitalism are always cited by those who object to the above criticisms. The argument goes: As long as an external danger exists, a State will be necessary, as Stalin said, if only to defend the country

..PROLETARIAT

against the hostility that surrounds it.

This argument is based on a misunderstanding. The only thing that the existence of a threatening capitalist encirclement can prove is the necessity for armament and for a military institution but that does not justify the existence of military institutions separate and apart from the body of society. The existence of such military institutions, separate from society as a whole, indicates that within this society there remains a substantial amount of the social tension which prevents governments from permitting themselves the luxury of arming the people, which makes the leaders afraid to trust the people to solve the military problems of self-defense in their own way. This the people would be able to do if the collectivity really had that degree of extraordinary superiority that a truly socialist society would have in relation to capitalist society.

In reality, the problem of external environment is only a secondary aspect of a much more general phenomenon: The level of development of the productive forces, the economic maturity of the country, is far from the level that would have to exist for a society to be a socialist society. The Soviet Union has remained a transitional society whose level of development of productive forces is comparable to that of an advanced capitalist society. It must, therefore, fight with comparable weapons. Not having eliminated social conflicts, the USSR must maintain all organs of control and surveillance of the population and, because of this, must maintain and even reinforce the State instead of allowing it to wither away. For numerous specific reasons, this has fostered bureaucratic deformations and degenerations in this transitional society, which have done the cause of socialism grave injury, especially to the extent that the label "socialist" has been attached to Soviet society for fear of telling the truth: We are still too poor and too backward to be able to create a true socialist society, and to the extent that they wanted to use the label "socialist" at all costs for propa-

ganda reasons, they now have to explain the existence of such things as "socialist" purges, "socialist" concentration camps, "socialist" unemployment, "socialist" violations of the rights of national minorities, etc., etc.

Guarantees against bureaucracy

What guarantees can be introduced in the future to avoid the abnormal growth of the bureaucracy that appeared in the USSR?

1) Scrupulously respect the three rules enumerated above concerning the beginning of the withering away of the workers' State (and especially the rule limiting salaries of all administrators - economic and political).

2) Scrupulously respect the democratic character of management of the economy: workers' self-management committees elected in the enterprises; a congress of producers ("Economic Senate") elected by these committees, etc. In the last analysis those who control the surplus social product control the entire society.

3) Scrupulously respect the principle that if the workers' State must of necessity restrict the political liberties of all class enemies who are opposed to the advent of socialism (a restriction that should be in proportion to the violence of their resistance), it should at the same time extend these same liberties for all workers: freedom for all parties that respect socialist legality; freedom of the press for all newspapers that do the same; freedom of assembly, association, demonstration for the workers - without any restrictions; real independence of the trade unions from the State, with recognized right to strike.

4) Respect the democratic and public character of all deliberative assemblies and their full freedom of debate.

5) Respect the principle of a written law.

Theory and practice

Marxist theory concerning the withering away of the State has now been fully developed for more than a half-century. In Belgium there is only one little detail missing, one little thing we still have to do - put this theory into practice.

The US State is Not Fascist Today

by JP Patafio

Former Black Panther Party member and freed political prisoner Dharuba Bin Wahed, spoke extensively on the changing nature of the US state. He sighted recent legislation that chipped away at constitutional civil liberties, in the name of "public safety" and the role that police play in the increasingly anti-democratic policies of governmental bureaucrat.

Several times he remarked that the US was a "fascist state," a characterization that serves more as a rhetorical tool rather than an accurate account of the state. Though people in the audience concurred with his point of view on the increasingly reactionary nature of the US government not all agreed with his characterization of the state as fascist.

If indeed this was a fascist nation all forms of "democracy," i.e., freedom of the press, universal suffrage, would be crushed into the bloodstained earth. Critics of the political order would be jailed or killed and meetings around left-wing political prisoners could not take place. Working class living standards would degenerate, and drop down into the levels of extreme exploitation and oppression.

Though there are fascistic tendencies in the US, both in the state apparatus and throughout the fringes of the middle and working class, the class struggle has not yet peaked, and the international economic crisis has not delved into the depths of decay.

The US bourgeoisie is not in a position where it can longer depend upon the state (as Angels remarked in the last analysis a body of armed men) to crush the "dissidents," and must therefore resort to the paramilitary fascist thugs to enforce "order." Or in other words protect the capitalist classes position from an increasingly militant and strengthening working class seeking to take power in its own hands.

Where is there the need for par-military shock troops? Today the US working class is

weak, and its leadership in the various unions and political parties are themselves obstacles to a fightback. Though some "progressives" point to the recent election of Sweeney as a sign of a fightback the AFL-CIO will have to remove the entire union bureaucracy, including Sweeney, for there to be real changes for the better.

The state itself is tightening up ship so that it can act as the sole agent of repression for the bourgeoisie. The two capitalist parties (Democrats and Republicans) dominate in the government, with few and far between politicians sympathetic to the working-class. Ideologically, working people are mystified by the con artist and experts of the free-market economy. The depth of false consciousness goes back over 40 years to McCarthy's red witchhunts against communist. Today's working class is stricken with the apathy of a consumer who has no money in a shopping mall.

The American working class is stagnant, as indicated by various social seismographs. There is little public response when legislation is passed decreasing the democratic rights of citizens for the sake of "national security." If the laws are obeyed uncritically, even by the "democratic" opposition, then there is no need for fascist thugs to patrol the streets to keep "order."

The task ahead of us is to build a mass working class movement from which we can forge an army of proletariat steel. The increase in reactionary activity, in all of forms (religious zealots included), must be analyzed and constantly checked. Where they show themselves to be organizing we expose them, where they are marching we meet them and stop them in their tracks. It is important, however, to maintain a correct assessment of where the danger really lies, and presently the danger lies not in the handful of fascist thugs but in the absence of any clear revolutionary socialist alternative, in the living form of a mass workers party. The task today is to build such a party!

F Is For Fascism

This article is gratefully reprinted from *Workers Power newspaper* (Britain).

THE TERM "fascist" was first adopted by Mussolini, whose movement swept to power in 1922, crushing Italy's trade unions and powerful workers' parties. During the 1920s and 1930's, fascist movements sprung up throughout Europe, including the British Union of Fascists founded by Oswald Mosley.

There have been other fascist movements in Europe since World War Two, even though they have some times been forced to hide their true nature faced with conditions of relative stability and even repression.

As the semi-colonial working class has flexed its muscles, we have seen the emergence of semi-colonial forms of fascism—including clerical fascism—again drawing on different ideologies than the European-style nationalism which formed the core of fascism in the 1930's

But what all these movements have in common is not just violent racism of nationalism. They are and were mass, populist movements, designed to be the "shock troops" of the most reactionary sections of the ruling class against the organized workers' movement, mobilizing their forces through a kind of fake "socialism". Though they have often drawn members from the most disorganized layer of the workers, including criminals, their main base is the urban middle class.

The capitalists' preferred weapons against the working class were the police, judges, the army and the secret service. But they were also aware that the new mass workers' movement might not be easily

defeated by state repression alone.

In fascism they created a mass movement to destroy all elements of independent working class democracy within capitalism. Under fascism even democracy for the ruling class is severely curtailed or abolished in the service of defending their economic interests.

The crisis years of the 1920s and 30s posed the working class, in several key countries, with the possibility of revolution. Mis-leadership endured that vital opportunities were lost. Fascism swept to power. Fascism was the price the working class paid for failing to take power itself.

Fascism aims not just to repress workers or co-opt their leaders into running the system of exploitation. Fascists aim to smash to atoms the organized workers' movement. For that you need masses of people. You need mass demonstrations of reactionary sections of the working class and middle class to surround the HQs of workers' parties and trade unions, as happened in Germany on the eve of fascist victory.

You need police agents in every block of flats, every school of factory. You need these agents organized and rewarded by mass party structure. To gain power you need tightly knit terror squads which can walk into meetings of hundreds of defenseless workers, beat up their leaders, kidnap and torture activists.

Today fascism is growing in Europe. But right wing nationalism is also growing, and it is by far the most immediate danger. In Europe far-right conservatives pander to right wing nationalism with the excuse that they are "undermining the fascists" by doing so.

Meanwhile, the fascists bide their time. Because of the strength of parliamentary

democracy after the Second World War, and because in countries like Britain and France nationalism was counterposed to fascism in the last war, the modern fascists have to hide their true aims. They deceitfully accommodate themselves to democratic sentiments of the masses they wish to attract.

Some, like Jean-Marie Le Pen in France have built "fascist front" parties, which publicly distance themselves from street violence during a preparatory period, but maintain links with more overt fascist paramilitaries. Others, like the British National Party see their main opportunity as the assembling of a hardening "cadre" of street fighters, using elections as opportunities for recruiting thugs and terrorizing local communities.

In all its forms there is only one answer to fascism. Mass working class action, at the earliest opportunity, to physically and morally smash the fascist organizations.

Some object that fascists have to be defeated in argument and extended democratic rights in order to expose them. This is wrong. Fascists use democratic openings merely to advertise themselves: but their aim is to destroy democratic rights. The "battle of ideas" is wasted on them and their supporters who are drawn not to fascism's intellectual rigor but to its muscular message on the streets.

That is why we have to organize both mass demonstrations and workers' defense squads, to deny the fascists control of streets and working class areas. We have to build a workers' united front to stop fascism wherever it rears its head. While we shed no tears if fascists are repressed by the police and courts, it cannot be part of our

strategy to rely on or call for that repression. The state and the fascists are different parts of the same defense mechanism of the capitalist system.

Above all else revolutionary socialists have to address the political crisis that drives desperate into the hands of fascists. The failure of the Labor Party to provide concrete answers to the problems of housing, education and jobs in the East End of London allowed the fascists to grow. To undermine the fascists socialists need to provide alternative answers, not simply quote the crimes of Hitler and Mussolini.

Labor—old and new—has no answers to capitalists crisis. It is rooted in the capitalist system. Only revolutionary socialism can provide radical answers to the crisis, by targeting the real enemy that stands behind the fascist boot-boys: the bosses and their capitalist system.

Workers Power, monthly paper of Workers Power (Britain).

News, views, politics and polemics. US Subscriptions 11 Pounds for 12 issues. Trotskyist International, English Language Publication of the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) Subs: 11 Pounds for 3 issues. Read the LRCI's papers and journals in French, Spanish, Swedish, German. Details on request from BCM Box 7750 London WCN1N 3XX UK. Cheques to Workers Power.

Up And Died-
Just Like That!

We had a real going on.
when suddenly...you
up and died-
just like that!

How could you do that to me?
You left me behind...
without a word!
(Didn't even ask me to come along.
I might have...)

You loved me like no other.
Now what am I going to do?
You deserted me!

At least, if you had
some lingering disease...
Or had a few
heart attacks...
I could have been prepared.
But no! You
up and died-
just like that!

-Larry (L.H.) Jacobs 10/95

censored

i want to speak my mind
but i'm shut off like a light
i want to speak my own views
but my views are now destroyed
i want to speak my mind
but my words are not up to your standared

*i say this, you say that
i must shut up, while you deside my thoughts*

say what you feel
but your feelings should not be expressed
freedom of speech is words
but your words can never be free
say what you feel
but your feelings are wrong

*i feel this, you feel that
i must stop, while my feelings become yours.*

**WE ARE SURPRESSED BY THE MASSES
ARE MINDS ARE WASHED WITH YOUR VIEWS
I SAY WHAT I FEEL, BUT YOU WONT FEEL
WHAT I SAY**

i want to express my thoughts
but my thoughts are erased
i will listen to you
but you will not listen to me
i want to express my thoughts
but how can i express what you take away

**MY MIND IS FREE....
BUT WHEN I PUT IT TO USE YOU CHANGE MY VIEWS
AND MAKE THEM YOUR OWN
MY MOUTH'S BEEN YELLOW-TAPED BY CENSORSHIP**

by: Thomas Fucaloro

Beyond
So Very Much

I don't just see you, as such
I see into you... very much.
I don't just hear you, as such
I hear all your voices... very much.
I don't just know you, as such
I have a knowing of you... very much.
I don't just feel you, by touch
I feel you inside of me... so very much.
I don't just love you, as such
I love you much more... than so very
much.

-Larry (L.H.) Jacobs 9/95

A Cardboard Dream

You've got the shallow end of a future mend
Put it all in play as you subside the way
Boxed out with no resolution, bringing forth the
final solution
A pocket full of coal, clothing not baring his
soul

The remains of a day
A sovereign moral way
I'm away from the lion's den
I'm back on the streets again

You feel so cold, your morality has been sold
While you bow to kingpins, persecution of sins
You take in the sword, while you pray to the
lord
A cardboard dream, how obscene

The ruins of a day
The price you pay
Lost and alone
It's time to take thy parting groan

Appetite For Murder

Take a glance from radios, televisions and radios
too, and you see death sells.
And other forms of human suffering too.
It seems that pain is the only way for advertisers
to enjoy the long rough media ride.
Thumbs up, I say as their mouths get lubricated
another day.
Does anyone remember the support for the Persian Gulf
war?
And you'll see the only theory that one could say is that
Americans have an appetite for murder.
Based on how much we show it, I say we must love it
better than sex.
What's next? I got it, how about some lynchings or some
executions that will cure the crimes that are occurring.
Yeah sure.
How much further can the media go?
All that for that precious scoop.
Do you know that all media companies have reporters
attached to a police radar?
This is done to further their cause and
feed us their next release.
Violence is piled to our knees, what can we do?
Put on Peter Jennings for another night and see
how many people were murdered in broad daylight,
the reason and the cause.
A Clue game is being portrayed for each and everyone.
Enjoy the blood and guts.
The media has made us numb to human worth
or the cost when we see another horrible thing occur.
We have such an obsession for this.
I can summarize that the media feuls up the
appetite for murder in you and me.
And it's fight to see how much we choose to avoid it.
Bennet Maurer

FELLING SOUND AND SERENE
HERE IN THIS CARDBOARD DREAM

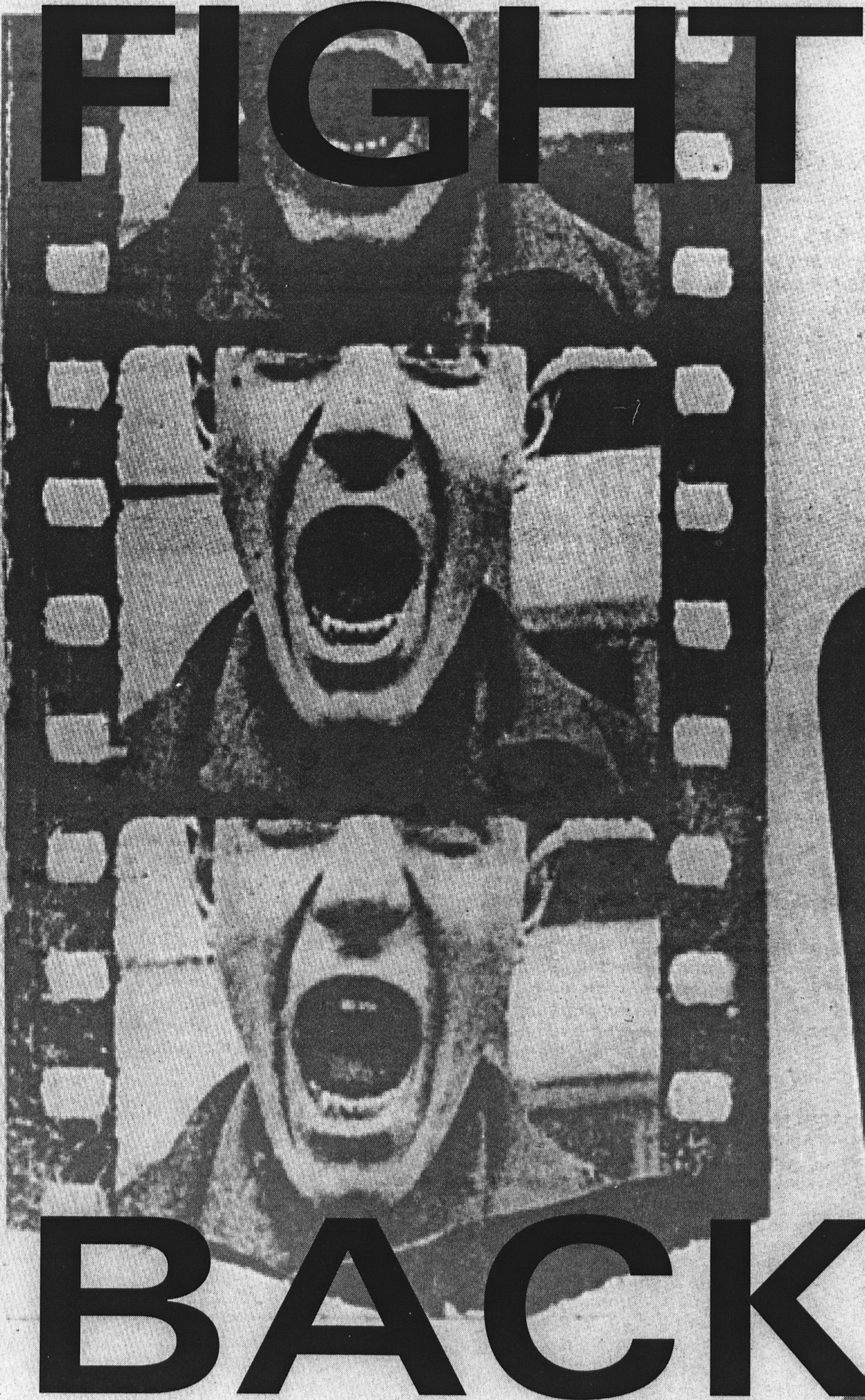
by: Thomas Fucaloro

Yesterday, tomorrow...

Yesterday, tomorrow
Now, then, later
Whenever-does it matter
Anytime, again.
O.K., alright, yes-
Maybe- could be
In a while - are u waiting?
Where are you going?
Anticipation

Julieanne Murphy 11/27/95

Join the College Voice!



The Administrative Grinch

Continued from front page

The many third party efforts underway and the disgust of American people with the Democrats and Republicans shows that the time for such a party is ripe. A formation called the Labor Party Advocates which has been developing support for a Labor Party within the ranks of organized labor will be holding the a founding convention for a Labor Party in June of '96. This effort unlike the many other new party efforts underway is significant for its conscious adoption of "working class interests" as their platform. CUNY students must pay close attention to this new formation and indeed see if it can develop into a genuine party of the working class that champions the interests of all working and oppressed people.

The task that confronts us immediately is to make sure that the current attacks against our education are not carried out. We cannot rely on begging politicians and administrators. The so-called student governments and lobby groups like NYPIRG who do this are simply junior wannabe politicians. What have you heard from student government or NYPIRG about these cuts? Nothing, and that's exactly what they will do!

CSI and other CUNY students must rely on their own power - the power of the students organized in mass - to stop these cuts. On March 23rd last Spring CUNY students and youth from around the city showed the nation that we are not some cowardly idiots who care nothing for ourselves or for our education. Twenty thousand strong we chanted Shut the City

Fight For a Workers Government! Build a Workers Party!

Down in front of Mayor Giuliani's City Hall. In the Spring of '96 we must come out 100,000 strong with the unions and the poor who are all being bludgeoned by this rich mans government. We must drop our tools, drop our books, drop our fear and make the "citizens" of Wall Street feel our power. A mass General Strike of workers and students to really Shut the City Down. Then the bosses in Wall Street and their servants in administration will have to think again about stepping on the working class.

The Voice is dedicating this issue to the memory of Ernest Mandel, who despite some political shortcomings, contributed greatly to the theoretical arsenal of socialist revolution. We salute his life work.

Because today is
mystery meat day.



It's everywhere
you want to be.

MULTI-NATIONALS

500 multinational companies rule the world. Together they produce 30 per cent of the planet's output, account for 70 per cent of global trade and 80 per cent of international investment. The biggest have annual revenues greater than the national products of all but a handful of countries. Never before has so much power been concentrated in so few hands and never has it been so out of control.

Ethiopia is exporting flowers: roses, carnations, chrysanthemums to brighten our button holes and liven-up our sitting rooms. Kenya already exports 23,000 tons each year and Zimbabwe 6,000 tons. The Colombian drug cartels established flowers as that country's second major export while laundering money. The world flower trade is worth \$5 billion a year. A third world grower gets 10 per cent of the wholesale price, the rest is divided up between the freight, wholesale and auction firms of the USA and Europe.

Because we live in a class society divided between capital and labor and we live in an imperialist world divided between a handful of rich oppressor nations and a mass of poor oppressed nations. In this world science and technology are turned against the majority in order to extract from them profit for the few who own and direct the multinationals.

Healthy flowers consume vast amounts of water: 30,000 liters per acre every day. The cheerful flower business grows sinister. Just 19 per cent of Ethiopia's people have access to safe drinking water. The average Ethiopian gets 71 per cent of their required calorie intake and Ethiopia grows flowers. Food production in Ethiopia is 15 per cent lower than it was 15 years ago. And the inventor of the global flower business is Brooke Bond, a subsidiary of Unilever known for its persil, walls, stork (or if you are from Turkey) sana brands.

Brooke Bond established the largest flower plantation in the world in Kenya. The adjacent lake is shrinking as water is drained from it. 30 per cent of Kenya's people have safe drinking water. The average Kenyan consumes 85 per cent of the required calorie intake. Kenya once exported grain, now it imports grain and exports flowers. 90 per cent of the world grain market is controlled by 5 companies. The grain and the flowers are grown from seeds. The world's seeds. The world's seeds. The world's seed trade is monopolized by 11 firms including Shell, ICI/Zeneca, Volvo and Ciba-Geigy: the agri-chemical monopolies.

To grow blemish free flowers requires pesticides and fertilizers, but these render the land unfit for crop cultivation years after their use. The 20 largest pesticide producers, including the firms above, hold 94 per cent of the world's agri-chemical sales.

But now the world flower business is in turmoil: India has begun to export flowers and prices are tumbling. Can it be saved by flower mountains, can we be persuaded to buy more flowers, put them in your salad, in your hair, whatever?

So the madness goes on and every way you turn they are there-the multi-nationals.

As communists we are concerned with finding solutions to the problems of humanity. Why should the aesthetic and

emotional value of giving flowers, of decorating our ceremonies with them turn into a nightmare for thousands of people miles away? Why when we can photograph 12 billion light years of time and space, when we can fly flowers from Nairobi today to adorn City flowers tomorrow, do we live in a world where almost one in three people do not have safe drinking water? Why when science seems so full of potential, giving powers only possessed by the gods of ancient mythology are so many lives becoming more narrow, crude and hopeless?

Because we live in a class society divided between capital and labor and we live in an imperialist world divided between a handful of rich oppressor nations and a mass of poor oppressed nations. In this world science and technology are turned against the majority in order to extract from them profit for the few who own and direct the multinationals. Once they just wanted cheap labor and world markets. Today life itself must obey the commands of profit as the genes of plants, animals and humans are privatised to be sold back to us.

The Spectacular Lie

"Power is shifting into the hands of huge transnational corporations and away from parliamentary institutions...there's a structure of governance that's coalescing around these transnational corporations". Noam Chomsky.

The biggest companies make sales each year in excess of the combined annual output of half the planet's 5.7 billion people. These 17 companies employ just 4.25 million people: about 0.006 per cent of the world's workforce. Never has such a concentration of power been held by so few.

15 companies control the market of 20 of the world's key commodities. They have 90 per cent of the wheat trade, 70 per cent of the rice trade, 80 per cent of copper, 60 per cent of the tea and coffee trade, 90 per cent of timber, cotton and tobacco, 80 per cent of copper, 60 per cent of oil, 90 per cent of iron ore... and if you like pineapples they have 90 per cent of that trade too.

At college they tell you about free markets and competition, the message is repeated on television and in the press. **What a spectacular lie!** The glass in the mirror when you get up, the tea, the sugar, the radio, the cars all produced by multinational monopolies. As Lenin said: "The rise of monopolies as the result of the concentration of production is a general and fundamental law of the present stage of development of capitalism."

It is the multinational companies that are behind the World Bank and its Structural Adjustment Programs, the general Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the world trade Organization, the European Union, Maastricht and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Just as they penetrate ever more areas of our lives here in Britain so across the globe since the collapse of the socialist bloc they are pouncing like tigers in their pursuit of raw materials, cheap labor and markets, unrestrained, re-inventing colonialism. All in the name of free markets and competition. They are headquartered in the metropolitan heartlands. The top 100 multinationals are based in the developed industrial countries: 38 in Europe, 29 in the USA and 16 in Japan.

In a recent article in the Independent Anthony Sampson described the impact of international finance on Britain, "everywhere we see the effects of exploding individual ambition...measuring everything in

terms of cash. The MPs represent the highest bidder, directors remunerate (pay for services) each other to the limit, the princess of Wales calculates her price for divorce.

"Concentrations of capital overwhelm national institutions and government constraints... Media empires grew up outside effective controls... (Murdock's) could use its access to information and publicity to bargain with governments across the globe.

"The imbalance between global operators and national governments is the natural accelerator of corruption.

"National politicians or administrators begin to look more like local councillors confronting big time developers."

Suites at the Ritz, weekends at Longchamps, Douglas Hurd bribing the Malaysian government for British aerospace, Mark Thatcher converted into a millionaire to get 20 billion liras of Saudi orders for the same company, illegal arms sales to Iraq... It is not that British politicians and institutions were not corrupt before, but now with multinational money on (or under) the table and the firms rampant it is the scale of corruption that is breathtaking.

"Yes well", people tell you "there is corruption, there always has been, but capitalism works, it delivers the goods, at least for most of us." Not so, never so, not since capitalism's dawn over a blood red ocean of slavery down to today has it ever delivered the goods for the majority. Capitalism has a few and destitution for many.

The developed countries with a quarter of the world's people have three-quarters of its income. The underdeveloped countries with three-quarters of the people have a quarter of the income. The average income of a person in a developed country is ten times that of a person in an underdeveloped country and every year the gap between them widens. Over 800 million people in 40 countries are poorer than they were a decade ago. A fifth of the world's population have less than 1.5 per cent of its income. 1.2 billion people rot in absolute poverty on incomes of less than a dollar a day. The UN calculates that to provide safe water and sanitation for the planet would cost \$9 billion a year. \$40 billion is spent each year on golf!

The globalisation of capital creates instability and extremes of wealth and poverty everywhere. It entails a "turbulent process of birth and death of firms, the rise and fall of whole sectors of activity and the reallocation of production within, as well as between, regions and countries... As many as one in 10 jobs a year have been destroyed by this process," (the organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). One in 3 British companies collapsed or were taken over in the 1980's. Wages in Britain are now more unequal than at any time since the 1880's when comparable records began. The richest 20 per cent got 37 per cent of post-tax income in 1979, by 1992 this had grown to 44 per cent with the tax rate on their income cut from 83 per cent to 40 per cent. The poorest 20 per cent had 9.5 per cent of income in 1979, 6.5 per cent in 1992. While the heads of privatised utilities put themselves in the pay league of multi national bosses they aspire to be, the ranks of the poor

swell with unemployed and pensioners. The international Labour organization put the level of global unemployment at 30 per cent in January 1994. It described this as a crisis worse than the 1930s. Unemployment in the developed countries is 35 million. In the European Union it is 11 per cent.

To maintain privilege for the few, capitalism casts millions of people to their deaths. Since 1945 British forces have en-



gaged in at least 93 separate military interventions overseas. 26 of these interventions have been in the Middle East to defend the profits of Shell and BP, Britain's two biggest multinationals (Royal Dutch Shell is AngloDutch).

In the year following the collapse of the Soviet Union the number of major wars underway in a single year reached a record 29 with more deaths than in any year since the height of the Vietnam war. Who is behind that SAS in the Philippines? What are the British police and military doing in Colombia and Peru? Why was BP reported funding mercenaries in Azerbaijan and then winning a major contract to move back into Baku 70 years after the Bolsheviks threw them out? Who sold the planes to Indonesia to bomb East Timor, what purpose have the RAF reconnaissance flights over South East Turkey? Kurdistan? Behind all the killing the hands of imperialism and multinationals.

The scene Today

In Capital Karl Marx described how "one capitalist kills many", how capital has a necessary tendency to concentrate into ever fewer but larger units. The accompanying acceleration in productivity forces it to expand beyond national boundaries into a global market.

30,000 companies are classified by the UN as transnational corporations. Their 1991 sales totalled \$4.8 trillion, double the early 1980's figure. The top 100 multinationals hold \$3.4 trillion of global assets; a third of world overseas investments in 1991, for example, of US multinationals investing in Asia and Africa was over double that made on investments in developed countries.

Britain's share of overseas investment has fallen from 45.5 percent in 1914, 16.2 per cent in 1960, 12.9 per cent in 1978 to 11.4 per cent in 1992. From 1978 to 1992 the US share has fallen from 41.4 per cent to 25.3 per cent, Japan's share has grown from 6.8 per cent to 13 per cent. and the combined French and German growth has been from 11.1 per cent to 17.5 per cent. Britain's share is still greater than either France or Germany alone. These changing shares of overseas investment mean increasing inter-imperialist rivalry and the danger of World War Three.

For much of the second half of the 1980's Britain was the leading overseas investor. However, in 1993 Britain was behind the USA, France, Japan and Germany. Nevertheless, the total invested by British firms

"WE ARE THE WORLD"

Taking as a sample wages in the clothing industry in Britain, low paid by British standards and comparing them with Third World wages in the same industry the British worker earns two and a half times as much an hour as the worker in Turkey and Taiwan, five and a half times as much as the worker in Mexico, nine times as much as the worker in Sri Lanka.

grew from \$16 billion in 1991-92 to \$26 billion in 1993, a 61 per cent rise. The total value of British overseas holdings was \$539 billion, almost 70 per cent of the size of the British economy. This places Britain third behind the USA and Japan in foreign holdings.

British multinationals constitute 11 of the top 100 ranked by overseas assets. Royal Dutch Shell is the biggest in the world. Others are BP, Unilever, Hanson, BAT Industries, Grand Metropolitan, ICI, Glaxo, RTZ, SmithKline Beecham and Lonrho. By 1981 for every four people employed in manufacture in Britain one was employed by a British multinational overseas. Today the ration is closer to 3 to 1 or less.

In 1993 Third World countries received a record \$80 billion investment from overseas, double the 1990 amount and five times the 1986 total. The share of these countries in total overseas investment was 40 per cent, a proportion not surpassed for decades. Over the past three years there has been an average fall of 10 per cent each year in investment between developed countries and 37 per cent growth each year of investment into third World countries. Almost 80 per cent of this investment goes to 10 countries: China, Singapore, Mexico, Malaysia, Thailand, Egypt and Taiwan.

Recent multinational investment in Africa averages \$3 billion a year, less than Malaysia alone receives.

Multinational investment in Latin America and the Caribbean is now double that of the 1980s.

Privatisation

The acceleration of investment into Third World countries is linked to the neo-liberal programs being forced of these countries by the World Bank and the IMF at the behest of the multinationals. Trapped in \$1.3 trillion debt and without the counterbalancing force of the socialist bloc these countries are being raided.

Over 80 countries are privatising their state owned enterprises. In the words of one World Bank official it is "the greatest transfer of public wealth ever into private hands." Third World privatisations exceeded the value of those in developed countries in 1992. For example, Jamaica's telephone system was sold to Britain's Cable and Wireless headed by former Tory Cabinet minister Lord Young. Britain's Overseas Development Agency is organizing privatisation programs in Ecuador, Moldova and Kyrgyzstan.

Turkey has a series of privatisations planned. The first privatisation was of Tetas, a communications manufacturer. It was organized by two British accounting multinationals Arthur Andersen and Price Waterhouse. In 1994 Price Waterhouse oversaw Turkey's two biggest privatisations. Shell is leading the hunt for the petrol refiner Petrol Ofisi. Morgan Granfell Bank is working on the privatisation of the tourist organization Turban.

Faced with the multinationals' monopoly of capital and power, Third World countries are competing down their restrictions on foreign investment; removing subsidies that protect local producers and public sector enterprises, granting multinationals legal immunities, facilitating the free removal of profits, slashing corporation and capital gains taxes, re-

moving health and safety standards, promoting intellectual property rights, abolishing environmental protection measures and beginning to privatise education, health care and social security provision.

Between 1988-92, 67 per cent of all multinational investment in Central and Eastern Europe was in privatised enterprises.

However the cumulative total is still only \$13 billion, about as much as in Thailand.

Wages and Conditions

One of the main attractions of investing in the Third Worlds and former Socialist countries, are low wages and poor labor safeguards. Taking as a sample wages in the clothing industry in Britain, low paid by British standards and comparing them with Third World wages in the same industry the British worker earns two and a half times as much an hour as the worker in Turkey and Taiwan, five and a half times as much as the worker in Mexico, nine times as much as the worker in Sri Lanka.

Noteworthy is the employment of young women. In the export processing zones of the Caribbean, Mexico and Asia, 80 per cent of the labor comprises women aged 16 and above. The young women in these zones "are often exposed to radiation, toxic substances and chemicals without warning or safety equipment... production is often speeded up, working hours are 25 per cent longer than elsewhere and wages are lower (between 20-50percent) than those of men working in the same zones. These conditions contribute to early burn out, with women leaving the job by the time they are 25 years old. Sexual harassment by male supervisors and job insecurity can be other problems faced by these women workers." (UN Report). According to the report young women are chosen because they are unmarried, have no family responsibilities, little experience and are difficult to unionize, but for many young women in developing countries to work for multinational corporations is a "step upwards," the "first opportunity for change."

Just as the local bourgeoisies share in the proceeds of the multinationals and privatisations so multinationals often pay wages above average local rates. Multinational investments are generally technology intensive with high levels of productivity so higher wages and better social security conditions can be afforded. In Turkey wages paid by multinationals are 134 per cent above the average paid by local firms. It is not unusual to find wages 50 per cent above local rates in different countries.

The impact of such differences tied to the productivity of the multinationals is to force local firms to drive down their wages to compete. Local firms often close thereby expanding the reserve army of unemployed labor. The country becomes dependent on the multinationals for exports and with local closures dependent of imports. In several Third World countries between a fifth and a third of all manufacture is done by multinationals.

Multinationals are creating a world in their own image; it is not just the products, brands and images that fill public spaces but whole education systems are being redesigned to meet the needs of multinationals. Brazil, China, Mexico, South Korea

and the Philippines all have more engineering graduates than Britain.

China and India

Together China and India contain 2.1 billion people, almost 40 per cent of the world's population. China is the biggest recipient of overseas investment and accounted for almost half the 1993 increase in third world countries with \$26 billion. By October the 1994 sum was \$25.2 billion. Multinational companies account for over a quarter of China's exports. The average Chinese wage is approximately one twentieth that of Britain.

Intoxicated with visions of this untapped market multinationals have flooded in. Volkswagen, Ford, Toyota, Nissan and Daihatsu into car production, intending to multiply the number of cars produced in China five fold in as many years, regardless of the costs in oil resources, global warming of anything else. However, as the multinationals came in so Chinese state enterprises increased overseas borrowing to partake of the surge in production and profits. With foreign debt at \$83.5 billion Chinese state enterprises are delaying payments to their overseas creditors.

A critical moment is approaching when the Chinese state will either have to confront the multinationals, the World Bank etc. of surrender to a subordinate position in managing the Chinese economy.

Restrictions on multinational investment in India have been steadily removed since 1991. The energy sector was opened up in 1992 and in came Shell, Mobil, Exxon, Gulf and Total. General Motors Peugeot, Chrysler, Ford, Rover and Daimler Benz have invested in auto production. From 1990 to 1993 multinational investment in India increased forty fold to 4.1 billion. The USA is the biggest investor followed by Britain and Germany. There is a concentration on computer software. Bangalore opened an Information Technology Park in February 1994, its graduate engineers work for \$1000 a month, a fraction of the equivalent job earnings in Britain, but a high wage in India.

British banks are expanding their operations in India. In October the National Westminster Bank bought up 20 per cent of an Indian commercial bank. Indian company shares are now traded on the London and Luxembourg stock exchanges in an arrangement set up by British stock brokers and merchant banks. With India primed for a foreign investment free-for-all the spectre of another Bhopal threatens.

India has over 250 million people below the official poverty line, 70 per cent of people still live on the land. China has an estimated 200 million workers on the land surplus to requirements for farming. The multinationals and imperialism hope to extend their existence by drawing form the labor power of these people.

Bougainville

China and India opened the doors to multinationals. What happens if people try to keep them closed?

Who reads about Bougainville? Bougainville is a Solomon island in the Pacific Ocean, 800 kilometers east of Port Moresby the capital of Papua New Guinea. It contains one of the world's largest copper deposits described by the former head of Rtz as "the jewel in our Crown" From 1969 to 1989 the Bougainvilleans resisted the destruction of their forests and poisoning of their rivers and beaches. They received 0.06 per cent of the RTZ mine's profits in compensation. Pitted against the Bougainvillean people were Papuan troops accompanied by Australian helicopter gunships.

In 1990 Bougainville declared independence and the company left. The Australian government began a blockade of the island. During 1993-1994 Papuan troops aided by Australian military personnel have attacked Bougainville. Between 5000-10000 Bougainville and have been killed,

the islanders face an attempt to starve them into submission for the return of the RTZ. You do not hear mention of this in multinational owned media.

RTZ like BP, ICI and Lonrho are companies considered by the British state to be identical with "national interest" and they receive regular intelligence briefings from M16 and GCHQ. The directors of the RTZ include the chair of the National Westminster Bank and Lord Armstrong, the former Cabinet Secretary and head of the Civil

Service, who is a current director of Shell, BAT Industries, Inchcape and Vice Chancellor elect of Hull University. Other directors include a director of BOC and Reutors, deputy chair of Barclays Bank, a director of Marks and Spencers, deputy chair of Commercial Union Assurance and a director of the Bank of England.

Genetics

The US Department of Commerce ruled in 1977 that private companies could apply for accelerated patent action on the production of genetically engineered life forms. Today, the genes for a mouse, the Oncomouse which is predisposed to cancerous tumors, are patented. The next step the multinational pharmaceutical companies want is to patent the human genome, the particles that form the hand, eye, mouth, whatever. They argue that the cost of research and development is too great if they cannot patent their discoveries and profit from them to cover these costs.

90 per cent of the world's biodiversity is in the Third World. The multinationals are buying up the bio-diversity they do not destroy first. Bayer's steroid hormones are taken from the Arad medicinal plant spiraea, Syntex's steroid hormones are taken from barbasco roots in Mexico, a streptomycin based anti-biotic taken from Argentinian soil is patented as animal feed additive by Mitsubishi. These are examples of bio-piracy where multinationals take what was naturally available, turn it into private property and profit from it.

The value of Third World plants to pharmaceutical multinationals is put at over \$30 billion a year, but the Third World does not get a cent of it.

In 1994 Indian farmers rioted because a patent had given the agri-chemical combines a monopoly over seeds that they had used for generations, threatening their livelihoods. They also rioted because patented drugs put the price of treatment for disease beyond their reach. These people understand what multinational capital means. The people of Chiapas understand when they rose up on the day that Mexico entered NAFTA.

The multinationals scramble for profits is as much an indication of the crisis that capitalism is in as it is of their strength. When a trillion dollars can be wiped off the New York stock exchange in a single day in 1987, when the current crisis of the Mexican peso can send shudders through markets across the Third World, we see confirmation that as capital accumulates into vast concentrations of wealth so its foundations of wealth constantly narrow and the contradictions that govern its existence become even more inescapable. In Britain those who fought the Criminal Justice Act, the M11, the cruel shipment of animals, who want to save the environment, their education system, health service, jobs and wages, those who oppose the racist immigration and asylum laws, those who have to fight fascism will learn that they must make common cause with each other and with the people of India and Chiapas against the new Moloch, the multinationals.

UNCTAD World Investment Report 1994: Transactional Corporations, Employment and the Workplace.

International Revolution,
it's the only Solution!



Lightning at the End of the Tunnel

U.S. Military Involvement in Mexico's Quagmire Deepens

by Peter Lumsdaine

September 1995 - "Satellites, telecommunications equipment, infrared rays track [the indigenous peoples'] movement, locate its centers of rebellion, mark on military maps places to plant bombs and death."

-Subcomandante Marcos in Mexico: The Long Voyage from Sorrow to Hope, 1994

Outside the spotlight of major media coverage and public awareness, the United States is quietly backing into a potentially wrenching military conflict south of the border, as U.S. financing, training, technology, intelligence, arms, advisors and political commitment are provided to bolster a shaky and corrupt Mexican regime - a regime that is steadily acquiring an arsenal to wage war against its own people, if they dare to seriously challenge the entrenched status quo. The hundreds of Mexican civilians who have already died at the hands of government troops and



The consequences of an escalating civil conflict in Mexico, with heavy United States government support for a violently undemocratic elite of billionaire narcopoliticians, will inevitably spill over the border:

police during 1994 and 1995 alone, like the hundreds of millions of dollars in imported weaponry for Zedillo's army and the billions in bail-out money for the ruling elite, may - tragically - be only the beginning, if current U.S. policies are allowed to continue.

The consequences of an escalating civil conflict in Mexico, with heavy United States government support for a violently undemocratic elite of billionaire narcopoliticians, will inevitably spill over the border: inflaming U.S. economic and social instability; promoting domestic militarization; sharply increasing the numbers of immigrants and refugees; requiring more and more U.S. aid, weapons shipments, advisors and potentially even combat troops to prevent the collapse of a regime on which Wall Street and Washington have already staked tens of billions of dollars. From the jungles of Chiapas and the scorching desert to shantytowns of the 2,000-mile border, to the slums of the world's largest urban metropolis, Mexico City: civil war in a nation of 90 million souls, just south of the Rio Grande, would be an unprecedented crisis for all the people of the North American continent which we share. It is not yet too late to change course and support peace through justice in Mexico, rather than continuing to financially and militarily prop up a violently undemocratic government there.

Space-age Surveillance and High-Tech Firepower for the new Indian Wars. The fortified block-wide U.S. embassy in Mexico City has long been the largest State Department and CIA outpost in the Western Hemisphere, with one of the highest staffing levels of any such installation in the world. Its rooftop satellite radar dishes link the embassy complex to the Pentagon's network of sophisticated tracking stations and surveillance aircraft - stretching from NORAD's global headquarters inside Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado and the sensor-riddled U.S./Mexican border region to Cerro de Extranjeros (Aliens' Hill) in Chiapas, on into Guatemala and Columbia. Headquartered in this high-tech command post, Ambassador John Negroponte former diplomatic manager of U.S. wars in Cambodia and Nicaragua served as Bush and Clinton administration point man for promotion of NAFTA and corporate investment in Mexico. On February 10, 1995 the New York Times re-

ported that "American intelligence services" actively assisted in determining the (alleged) identity of Zapatista leader subcomandante Marcos, in preparation for the federal army occupation of eastern Chiapas and harsh imprisonment of accused Zapatistas.

Uncle Sam's traditional role as primary weapons supplier to Mexico intensified during the era of political turmoil in the crisis-torn '80s, when debt austerity polarized the society and massive government fraud stole an historic Presidential election victory from leftist opposition candidate Cuatemoc Cardenas. By the early 1990s, United States military assistance credit programs were providing some \$40 million per year in equipment to Mexican security forces, along with another \$45 million in State Department and DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency) grants. Ironically much of the military aid sent to Mexico in recent years has gone under the banner of the Drug War, despite conclusive evidence linking the Mexican government and army to international narcotics trading evidence which the July 31, 1995 *New York Times* showed was systematically covered up or deliberately ignored by top Democratic and Republican officials, in order to protect NAFTA, the bailout loans, and the "stability" of the Mexico's ruling establishment.

From 1988 to 1992 the U.S. exported over \$214 million of arms to the PRI regime, according to the widely respected Mexican journal *El Proceso*, some 16 times as much as the second-place supplier, France. Last year, in the wake of the Zapatista uprising and weeks before the fraud-tainted national elections, Clinton authorized a new arms export package for Mexico, including over \$64 million of sophisticated electronic equipment and satellite-guided UH-60 Blackhawk helicopters from United Technologies Corporation (a transnational company based in Connecticut, with a rocket motor plant at the south end of Silicon Valley). In the 36 days preceding last Summer's scandal-ridden Presidential balloting, AP reporters saw 23 tanks and nearly 300 tons of "war materiel" being unloaded on Veracruz docks. And on May 23, 1995 the *New York Times* reported that Mexico's U.S.-supplied military helicopter fleet could be nearly doubled, to almost 200, by Pentagon transfers now under discussion, including several dozen state-of-the-art Blackhawk choppers.

U.S. Huey and Bell 212 helicopters along with C-130 Hercules troop transport planes, were immediately brought into action as the Mexican army and federal police tried to crush the indigenous Zapatista peasant uprising in Chiapas last year. Eyewitnesses saw the choppers attack Mayan Indian communities with machine guns, rockets and bombs - and no word of protest was ever issued from the Clinton administration or its Republican rivals, despite the supposed agreement

that U.S. aircraft would only be used against drug dealers. These imported military aircraft played a decisive role in the lopsided January 1994 conflict, when over 400 Indian peasants were killed in 12 days, according to the human rights report of Catholic Bishop Samuel Ruiz.

Likewise, during the February 1995 army offensive when federal troops - who had occupied much of Chiapas since the previous year - sent 25,000 Mayan campesinos fleeing into the mountains, U.S. supplied and financed foreign military hardware played a critical role. On the heels of the Mexican bailout deal, International Mon-

From 1988 to 1992 the U.S. exported over \$214 million of arms to the PRI regime, according to the widely respected Mexican journal El Proceso, some 16 times as much as the second-place supplier, France.

etary Fund loan, and a Chase Bank memo demanding "the elimination of the Zapatistas", a year-long cease-fire was broken as high-tech surveillance craft, fighter jets, helicopter gunships and transports, tanks and armored bulldozers thundered forward through the Lacandon rainforest in a terrifying show of force.

Even the traditional advantage of indigenous villagers, refugees and peasant rebels being tracked by state security forces - the ability to slip away through their well-known local forests and hills - is rapidly being eroded by advances in U.S. satellite warfare - which the October 30, 1992 *Los Angeles Times* called "the most critical power" in Pentagon worldwide military intervention. Especially crucial to this space-age counterinsurgency are Navstar GPS guidance systems, on which the Mexican army - like the U.S. Special Forces Command and the Chinese military - has been spending "considerable amounts" according to the authoritative studies in Jane's 1995 Intelligence Review. **U.S. Tax Dollars, Training, and Troops - from Chiapas to Texas**

The dangerously deepening pattern of United States military involvement in Mexico goes beyond the massive exports of weapons and surveillance technology outlined above, to encompass not only large-scale U.S. taxpayer financing for this arms build-up, as well as training for hundreds of Mexican officers here in the States, but also the presence of U.S. police agents, Army advisors, high-level CIA operatives, and teams of United States Special Forces soldiers.

Beyond the tens of millions of dollars in military hardware sent south of the border

under Clinton and Bush aid programs, part of the multi-billion U.S. tax dollar bailouts and 'loans' has unquestionably gone to help underwrite the Mexican narcopolitical elite's high-tech shopping spree, financing purchases from Pentagon stockpiles as well as from government-licensed U.S. weapons manufacturers, and from the global arms market.

From 1984 to 1993 at least 725 Mexican military officers were trained by Pentagon experts in the States, 150 of those in 1993 alone, with 94 officers graduating from Fort Benning, Georgia's notorious School of the Americas in 1992 and 1993 - 300% increase over previous years. By the year of the Zapatista uprising, nearly four dozen paramilitary police advisors from the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency were working closely with Mexican security and intelligence forces, from the U.S. border to southeastern Chiapas - where the CIA also fields a substantial, expanding network of agents and covert operatives, according to ex-CIA officers John Stockwell and Ralph McGehee. Finally, U.S. troops - including elite Special Forces counterinsurgency teams have already been fielded within Mexico's conflict zones, often under cover of the Drug War campaign - though the numbers and missions of these clandestine units remain shrouded in secrecy and financed by the Pentagon's classified multi-billion "Black Budget" slush fund. U.S. military attaches have been sighted in Chiapas during army crackdowns, and as U.S. Special Operations Commander, General Carl W. Stiner, has said, Special Forces teams "Provide advice, assistance and deterrence to officials in areas experiencing insurgence [or] instability ... signal U.S. resolve to both allies and adversaries, enhance stability and promote U.S. influence ... when larger U.S. forces may be politically unacceptable." Only ten years later has the truth about U.S. Special Forces troops machine gunning 83 peasant rebels in a Salvadoran forest camp, along with CIA supervision of Honduran torture squads, finally surfaced in the mainstream Seattle Post Intelligencer and Baltimore Sun.

Spilling over the border, according to the San Jose Mercury News and the Pentagon's own journal, *Defense '92*, its military intelligence and assets are deployed from California to the eastern Rio Grande, in a network of listening and observation posts, ground-based and aerial reconnaissance, motion sensors, ground surveillance radars, dog teams, "terrain denial" technologies, Nighthawk Systems infrared scopes, and computerized fingerprint machinery as well as GPS satellite-guided airplanes, helicopters and jeeps - \$158 million worth this year (1995). By April the Clinton administration had publicly admitted that if new upheaval in Mexico occurred, the U.S. Army would begin rounding up and detaining undocumented Latinos in military internment facilities - an operation unprecedented since the depths of World War II. Through Mexico, the reality of Pentagon/CIA counterinsurgency wars - like the Third World's economic crisis - is already beginning to come home.

With the Mexican army going onto "Red Alert" at the edge of a second guerrilla front in Guerrero this Summer, and the stresses in Mexican society straining toward the breaking point, U.S. military involvement in Mexico is sliding down a darkening slope with the fires of deepening conflict, but no daylight, at the end of the tunnel. This Fall may represent the last chance to re-evaluate and change course before the momentum of escalation spins out of control.

Lumsdaine has worked for over 15 years on the staff of peace and global justice organizations, and in 1994 finished a two year federal prison sentence for disabling an Air Force satellite.

Paramilitary and Police, in Dirty War Against EZLN

Taken from *La Jornada via the Net*

Subcomandante Marcos affirmed that "we are facing an authentic civil war" between the groups in power who are trying to takeover more space in the decision-making process, in the face of the "lack of political direction" of President Ernesto Zedillo.



EZLN fighter combats para-military thugs financed by the US and Mexican bourgeoisie.

General and the public security corps of the state, headed by "old masters" such as General Arturo Acosta Chaparro or "old revolutionaries" like Eraclio Zepeda, in order to arm para-military groups in the indigenous communities.

That way, he explained, the regular Army goes from being one of the parties in conflict to becoming a spectator of another war or container of one of the parties, in this case the most organized one: the EZLN.

As another example of the confrontation between the groups in power he cited the recent detention of Fernando Yanez Munoz. This act brought to light the existence of "low blows" and a dirty war, led by the judicial apparatus and the police. "Unfortunately things like this occur that put on the table again the problem of a latent war, that could break open an any moment".

Regarding the current political panorama,

Marcos again called attention to "the undeniable fact that the National Action Party (PAN) is gaining as an electoral option. This is the truth. And I tell you this: Deceived people! They are crowing, and the PAN is going to pass them by.

"Here there is an alternative of power, not for the country. What we want is an alternative country and not an alternative in power. We are not struggling against the PRI. We are struggling against the system of the Party-State. The problem is not one of the political parties; it is one of the system of the Party-State, and so they are deceived because that is where they are going!" Later he talked about his differences with the PRD. At the beginning, he stated: "Let this be clear: it is a disagreement with a political line that right now permeates the PRD; it is not a disagreement with the electoral struggle, much less with the peaceful civil struggle, much less with the PRD as a party.

"We are concerned that instead of arguing in this way, they say: it's that you are an ingrate, what about our dead? As if the historical process of the PRD was a certificate of impunity so that everyone could say whatever he/she wants, and a certificate of impunity so that Eraclio Zepeda, as the Secretary of Government in Chiapas, can order the murder of the PRD members.

"We respond to them: we are not against the PRD's dead". Marcos said the supposition that the Zapatistas owe their lives to the PRD, as Porfirio Munoz Ledo has said, does not mean "that one can not say anything. And later, when the time has past, that they criticize and say: they were the ones who did not say anything.

"Always we have been called ingrates, forgetful, thankless, and poorly informed. Although the only ones who call us this last thing are those of the PRD, because the CIA, the FBI, the KGB and the news agencies say that "who knows how they do it, but the Zapatistas are the best informed", he commented.

Translated by Cindy Arnold, National Commission for Democracy in Mexico

Victory to the peasants and workers of Mexico! For socialism throughout the Americas!

The Internet as a Means of Organizing for the Left

by Maryse-NYU contributor

Remarkable is the great quantity of information withheld from us, here in the states, or seen as unfit by the media for public consumption. The media used to be our only source of information, and therefore it was greatly valued- but luckily, one doesn't need to rely on it too much nowadays. I've found that much of the news you can't find in the papers or on television, you'll probably bump into on the internet, or through e-mail.

It was last semester that I heard about the Zapatista movement for the first time. It didn't sound quite believable: A movement was begun by the local women in Chiapas to protect their land from the Mexican government- and had resulted in the formation of a guerrilla army, who's spokesman was a university professor? I had to rely on the bits of information I'd picked up from rumors circulating around the city. There was nothing to be found in the papers or on T.V. to support any of this.

Then I remembered that Marcos (the professor / "Subcomandante" of the movement,) was said to be glued to the internet. This idea fascinated me. I had always seen guerrilla movements as existing outside the world of multi-media and new technology.

One day, a friend of mine lent me a pamphlet on the EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army,) that included an e-mail address for the Center of Democracy in Mexico. I wrote to them, introducing myself, and explaining that I felt the fight of CUNY students for their right to an education, and the oppressive tactics used against them by the administration was in a way, similar to the situation that faced the Zapatistas. Could they possibly send me any information on the movement?

Soon after, I received a communiqué (communication) from Marcos, (written to *La Jornada*, a Mexican newspaper,) via the Center For Democracy in Mexico. Apparently, he was sending the demands of the Zapatistas through e-mail, and it was reaching destinations all over the world. For weeks, I read about the Zapatistas' reasons behind their actions- from the Zapatistas themselves.

The Mexican government has not succeeded in ridding Mexico of the Zapatistas. It won't take action against them, because people around the world are very attentive to the cause of the Zapatistas. In a recent Consult called by the Zapatistas and organized by the National Civic Alliance, over a million people around Mexico and internationally (through e-mail,) overwhelmingly agreed with the demands of the Zapatistas. Huge demonstrations in support of them have been held in Mexico and all over the world.

About a month ago, I read an article in *The New York Times* about a riot that had broken out in a town outside Mexico City, in protest to the proposed construction of a big golf course for businessmen. The townspeople were rioting, according to the article, because the golf course might use up all of their water and because it was to be built on an ecological preserve. I haven't seen much about the story since.

I was surprised that the "Times" had failed to mention the other instances of land and human abuse that are occurring throughout Mexico, the immense outrage that exists among the Mexican people toward their government and big business, or the demands that the Zapatistas are making of the Mexican government on behalf of the Mexican people. This was simply a story about a riot in which Mexican peasants protested the addition to their town of a golf course. I guess the writer figured that in Mexico, riots just spontaneously break out.

I was equally astonished at the bad press CUNY students were given last semester. The press portrayed CUNY students as rowdy bratty kids who wouldn't listen to the wisdom of the administration. Never was there mention of the CUNY administration's lack of interest in preserving education for CUNY students, its methods of repression, or its collaboration with the NYPD. The media did not discuss CUNY's importance to its community. It did not explain why the students found it necessary to take action.

The actions of the Zapatistas have enabled us to see new possibilities for change, crossing the old obstacles of space and language. They do not see themselves as an isolated group but are reaching out internationally for support- and they are not relying on the media to represent them.

"What the economy unites, politics separate. On the first of May of 1995 one of the greatest independent national mobilizations in the last decades takes place. It has two characteristics: One is that it was a protest against government politics, the other is that it did not have unified political direction. A great mobilization, symptom of great discontent. An absence of a unified direction, symptomatic of a missing "something"...

The re-named "people of Mexico" generates new and creative ways to speak. The death sentence for Mexican hope, synthesized in the phrase "the Mexicans tolerate anything", begins to lose validity. Hope begins, babbling, to rehearse its own words, to construct a new language, to create a new mirror, a new image..."

-Subcomandante Marcos From "The Mirrors...Sub's Fable"

For direct sources, you can write to

Moonlight@igc.apc.org (email)

Or these sites on the internet:

- <http://www.peak.org/~Justin/ezln/>
 - <http://www.physics.mcgill.ca/www/oscarh/pampheng.html#msndesc>
 - <http://www.planete.qu.ca/~z/>
- ("Z magazine")**

Sri-Lanka - Roots of the Civil War

by Vimukthi Jayadeva

Sri - Lanka, an island nation off the southern coast of India, known throughout its history by such welcoming names as Serendipity and "the resplendent isle" for its natural beauty and ancient Buddhist civilization is bleeding to death. At least 80,000 people have been shot, bombed and hacked to death over the last 15 years. Many hundreds of thousands have been ethnically cleansed from integrated regions.

Sri-Lanka has a population of some 18 million of which roughly 70% are Sinhalese and 22% Tamil and the remainder a mixture of Malays and Burghers (descendants of Dutch and Portuguese colonialists). The Tamils who are predominantly Hindu under the leadership of the Liberation Tigers Of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have been waging an armed struggle for a separate Tamil State - Eelam - that would comprise the North and East of the island, roughly 1/3 of the surface area and 2/3 of the coast line. The present war is traced by most observers to 1983 when hundreds of Tamils were brutally killed and their homes and businesses destroyed by Sinhalese mobs in retaliation for an LTTE killing of a dozen Sinhala soldiers.

However the roots of the conflict run deeper and are not explained by any mono-causal theory particularly those that give primacy to so-called ethnic, tribal or racial factors. At the same time it is painfully obvious that the "ethnic" dimension has gained primacy in the present bloodletting.

British pave the way to hate

Sri-Lanka has the dubious distinction of having had not one but three colonial rulers, stretching over a period of 500 years. The Portuguese, the Dutch and then the colonialists par excellence the British ruled the island successively until 1947. British colonialism who gained worldwide notoriety as the perfecters of the cynical ploy of "divide and rule" set the basis for the current slaughter between the Sinhalese and Tamils. The British ever concerned with thoroughness, brought the three pre-capitalist social formations that existed prior to their rule under one administrative framework. The Jaffna peninsula home of the majority of the islands Tamils, the Kandyan Kingdom - the seat of Sinhala power, colonized only by the British and then by intrigue only in 1815 and the Kotte Kingdom also a predominantly Sinhala kingdom were totally subjugated to the commercial interests of the British empire.

The British incorporated a disproportionate number of Tamils into the local administration which brought the only social power that could be had within the colonial framework. Given the otherwise bleak prospects available to Tamils in the dry and infertile northern Jaffna peninsula this was an opportunity they readily accepted. Indian labor (also Tamil speakers) was brought over to work the tea plantations that the British felt were more important than the rice fields that formerly fed the people. The rich indigenous culture of the Sinhalese and their ancient Buddhist civilization and the equally ancient civilization of the Tamil Hindus was threatened with extinction as the very foundation upon which such cultures were based were being torn asunder by the megalomaniacal commercial drive of the colonialists. Naturally neither language was acceptable coin under the British Raj, the Queens English and the Queens religion were the only acceptable means of communication and spirituality respectively.

Sinhala only

Upon independence in 1947, Sinhalese nationalism exploded onto the political scene damaging the democratic rights of the islands minorities in the blast. The Sinhala Only Act of 1956 replaced English with Sinhala as the official language of the state. This effectively shut the door to Tamil speaking youth who earlier sought employment through the learning of English.

Tamils naturally started to get the feeling that "independence" was only for the Sinhalese. A Sivanandan, a Sri-Lankan Tamil who edits the journal Race and Class in Britain argues that the absence of a national liberation movement that would have united the various "ethnic" and to an extent caste groupings in a common struggle against the colonial oppressor precluded the development of a Sri-Lankan national identity.

The birth of Sri-lanka occurred as a by-product of the Indian independence movement. Unlike in India where the movement united the various peoples under a com-

ship bereft of any credentials other than their training in the image of the colonial masters. This was the bourgeois United National Party also known at the time as the "Uncle Nephew Party". The period of independence was characterized by a rising sentiment of pride and affirmation of the peoples heritage. This was cynically manipulated by the Sinhala bourgeoisie with the aid of a section of the Buddhist clergy to communalize the population in order to win electoral office.

The Sinhala Only Act of 1956 was given backhanded support by the main workers party - the LSSP - thus signalling a serious political degeneration of the organization.



..the roots of the conflict run deeper and are not explained by any mono-causal theory particularly those that give primacy to so-called ethnic, tribal or racial factors. At the same time it is painfully obvious that the "national" dimension has gained primacy in the present bloodletting.

mon anti-colonial banner albeit under upper caste bourgeois leadership, a national leadership that commanded the loyalty of all peoples did not develop. An important factor was the absence of a national bourgeoisie of any social weight. The Lankan proletariat too was small and geographically divided. In the Tamil north a petty bourgeoisie of small owners, fishermen, peasants and civil servants far outweighed the proletariat. In the Sinhalese south the population was largely agrarian. The proletariat was largely concentrated in the Colombo docks and the tea plantations in the central hills. Amongst this proletariat however radical Marxist ideas were quick to take hold. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), a Trotskyist i.e revolutionary party through exemplary and bold work since its formation in the 1930s went on to become the leading party of the Lankan proletariat by the time of independence. Its early staunch anti-chauvinist stance won them a hearing amongst the Tamil masses.

Sri-Lanka then Ceylon was granted a formal independence in 1948 and power fell into the hands of a bourgeois leader-

This vacillation on the rights of minorities was to lead to its wholesale liquidation into bourgeois politics by 1970 when it joined the bourgeois, Sinhala chauvinist, Sri-lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) in the so-called United Front government. Although a quarter of the party split to continue the fight for socialism in the form of the LSSP (Revolutionary) this was a staggering blow to the workers movement in Sri-lanka. The class line that had been clearly drawn was now poisoned with the politics of "race". Most critics of the LSSP's demise agree that the party leadership bourgeois roots and the emphasis laid on electoral politics were the source of its capitulation to bourgeois politics.

The United Front government had managed in the span of its 7 years in power (70-77) to brutally murder several thousand leftist youth in putting down a uprising by the Maoist JVP in 1971, further communalize the electorate through setting up a discriminatory standardization practice for the universities and steer the economy through its "mixed economy" policies to the brink of collapse. Despite a series of

nationalization that took place the economy remained fundamentally neo-colonial i.e. tied to the interest of the imperialist world market. Tamil only -

The spectre of Tamil Eelam

In 1977 the United Front Government was swept out of office by the right wing united national party under the leadership of Jayawardene the UNP embarked upon fully harmonizing the Lankan economy with the need of the world market. The state sector was brought to heel under a strong arm regime with its own private armies, trade union activities was squashed, political opponents were murdered at the private sector given free reign. The UNP regime was welcomed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Its proclamation of a "dharma" i.e. lawful government and early a resolution to the "just grievances of the Tamil population" through an all party conference came to a quick end with the anti-Tamil pogroms unleashed by the police in Jaffna. The Jayawardene government for all intense and purposes turned a blind eye to the violence.

Tamil youth in 1977 had organized the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to fight the Sinhala dominated Sri-Lankan state. Jayawardene mindful of the danger of an all out race war for his Free Market policies offered Tamil the status of a National Language and included a number of Tamil politicians in his cabinet. However the racist dynamic unleashed with the Sinhala Only Act in 1956 had become institutionalized in response to the LTTE killing of a Tamil police Inspector in Jaffna in July 79 the army was sent in to the peninsula under state of emergency regulations to wipe out the LTTE. The emergency regulations and the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act served to place the whole Tamil population under a state of siege. With their basic civil liberties suspended, Sivanandan argues convincingly that it was this juncture at which the Tamil population got radicalized along a separatist dynamic. The LTTE's brand of militant cultural nationalism won broad sympathy under the weight of Sinhala State chauvinism.

The UNP's quit on dharmista like regime set about crushing the already bureaucratized workers movement in the South. This was highlighted in the crushing of the general strike of July 1980 using UNP goon squads. The systematic destruction of the relatively elaborate welfare state pushed the largely rural Sinhala masses into further poverty. Thousands of educated rural Sinhala youth faced joblessness in an increasingly corrupt and nepotistic neo-colonial order. The JVP, proscribed by the government was to attain a mass hearing once again amongst these layers.

In 1983 twelve soldiers (the army had become almost exclusively Sinhalese now) were killed by LTTE mine blast.

Races in the South used it as an opportunity to carry out a bloody pogrom against Tamil particularly in Colombo. The collusion of government politicians in instigating the violence was widely acknowledged. This further threatened the grip of the LTTE on Tamil sympathies and an out race war was under way. The tenuous fabric of Lankan society was ripping apart. Thousands of middle class Tamils Sinhalese and Burghers were fleeing to Britain, Australia and where ever else they could gain entry. The expatriate Tamil population became an integral international network for the LTTE. Setting up an international headquarters in London and having important bases in Paris Boston and other western cities the LTTE was able to raise its profile internationally and raise funds for their cause.

Sinhala youth challenge the Sinhala state

As the Tigers were waging their Guerilla war in the North, gradually ethnically cleansing the Jaffna peninsula of all Sinhalese and Muslims in a ruthless but affect-

...Sri-Lanka

tive advance toward the Separate State, a new problem was arising in the South. The JVP began to carry out a guerrilla campaign in the Sinhala South. Government officials police and military personal and others seen as collaborators of the state were assassinated. Wall posters conveying the line of the JVP littered the landscape, mysteriously sprouting up over night, given the impression of a mass tightly organized group. The UNP feeling threatened and having little protection from a cowed police force and an army whose ranks were sympathetic to the JVP, established paramilitary death squads popularly known as the green tigers. The JVP was decimated in a matter of two years and its leaders arrested and murdered. Amnesty International estimate at least 60,000 youth were "disappeared". The strident Sinhala patriots in the UNP fighting to preserve the Sinhala Buddhist civilization had managed to murder a whole new generation of Sinhala Buddhist youth. This is by far the most damning empirical data to complicate the two dimensional racialist schemas of quote nationalist on either side.

Bumbling Indians save Sri-Lankan state

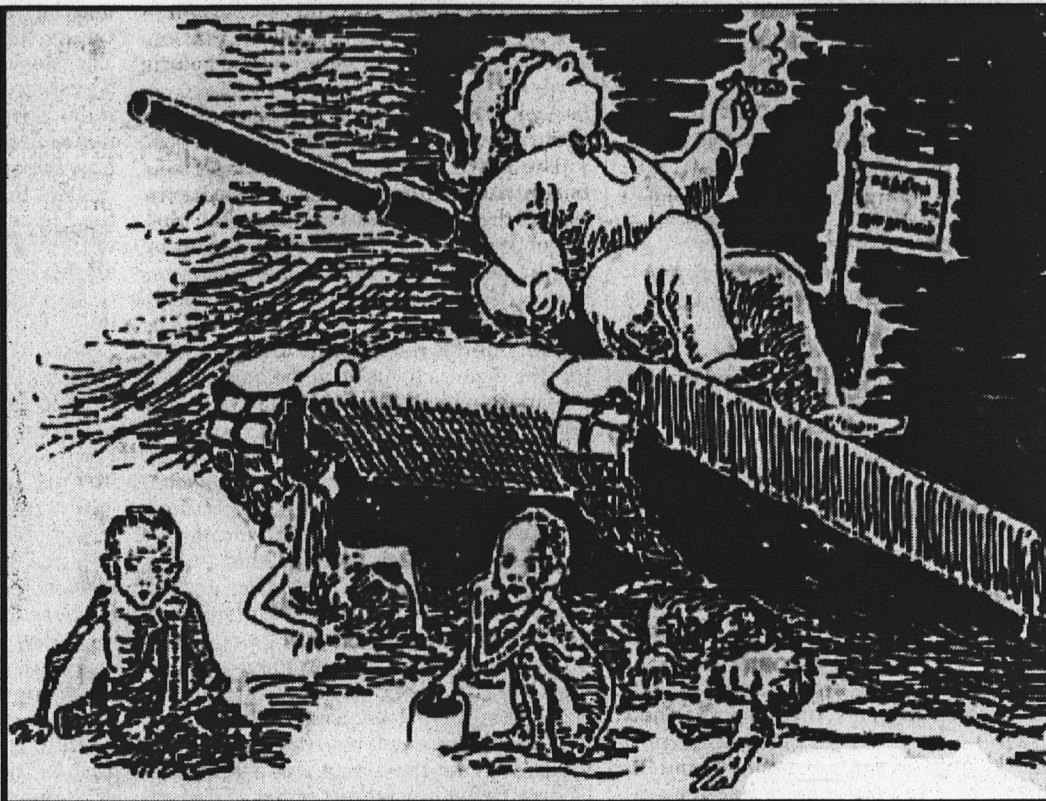
The UNP regime beleaguered by the LTTE in the North and JVP in the South played on the regional bully boy instincts of its neighboring giant India. In 1987 it invited in the Indian military, which was becoming increasingly involved in the LTTE crisis, to establish "peace" in the North of Sri-Lanka. The rout of the Indian peace keeping force by

the LTTE which ironically had earlier looked to India for training and financial support, had the Indian establishment screaming about "India's Vietnam". For the LTTE this victory brought them notoriety if not respect internationally as a capable and organized fighting force. Most

collapse.

JVP No solution for the masses

With the failure of the JVP and the LTTE to establish a common front against the Sri-Lankan State the opportunity for Sinhala-Tamil unity along class lines was lost. However the petty bourgeois charac-



ter of both organizations made this an unlikely prospect from the get go. The mass of the working class in the South was still organized in the trade unions controlled by the reformists workers parties and even the bourgeois parties. The JVP took the line of physically annihilating

significantly the northern Jaffna peninsula was now under their control. The Sri-Lankan State too emerged victorious. It was the Indian intervention in the North that allowed State to direct its full military capacity against JVP in the South and preserve the neo-colonial order form a rapid

trade union leaders and other leftist. Instead of winning this key industrial proletariat politically JVP terrorized it. However, the JVP paranoid terrorism against the reformist left was not unsubstantiated considering the experience of the collusion of these vary same reformist in the butchering of JVP youth in 1971. The main workers parties were hopelessly entangled in parliamentary cretinism. Even the ostensibly trotskyist organizations were incapable of meeting the JVP and forging a more effective strategy against the state.

The LTTE for its part was crudely nationalist and had no intention of waging a working class based offensive against the State. Indeed it ruthlessly murdered rival Tamil organizations who had differing ideologies. Principally the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) and Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) were destroyed by the LTTE. Its forcible recruitment of Tamil youth and indiscriminate massacre of Sinhala and Muslim villages make it an unlikely component of a united Sinhala-Tamil revolutionary workers organization.

Class War Not Race War

The only solution that can bring peace back to this tortured island remains in forging such an inter-ethnic unity. However any such unity can only be found in a working class internationalist program. The "ethnic crisis" of Sri-Lanka stems from the disintegration of third world economies under the policies of the US dominated Free Market New World Order. Only a socialist revolution that break the grip of this order and encompasses the whole of the Indian sub-continent will insure a permanent peace. Compare to the genocidal dead end of ethnic war and its parent bourgeois democracy this seems an extremely necessary and possible task.

Barbarism In Paradise

The Bloodiest Chapter of the War In Sri-Lanka

by Vimukthi Jayadeva

The collapse of Jaffna, the center of LTTE power, before the advance of a heavily armed Sri-Lankan Army is imminent. Over 30,000 troops are involved in the biggest offensive by land, sea and air of the Sri-Lankan State (SS) against the Tamil petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrillas of the LTTE. This is the bloody zenith of the bitter ethnic conflict which escalated after the anti-Tamil riots of 1983 by government inspired Sinhala gangs. The stated goal of the SS is to deal a significant military blow to the LTTE to force the LTTE to accept a "peace" based on a federal solution to the war rather than secession.

Nearly 500,000 Tamils have become refugees, including the whole population of Jaffna town. At least 3000 have died and 10,000 more have been injured on both sides. An enormous humanitarian crisis is presented in providing adequate food and shelter for the thousands of Tamils that have had to flee their homes. The SS has enforced strict control over the ability of aid agencies to provide relief on the grounds that they may be sympathetic to the LTTE creating food shortages and increased suffering amongst the northern Tamil masses.

The SS regime led by Chandrika Bandaranaike, daughter of former Prime Ministers SWRD Bandaranaike and Srimavo Bandaranaike (SWRD's wife) launched this military offensive after a year of humiliating military setbacks to the LTTE. Her Peoples Alliance regime, a bourgeois, cross class alliance of the former opposition bourgeois party (SLFP) and the politically corrupt workers parties, came to power in August of 94 on the twin planks of an immediate end to the war and protection from the ravages of the "free market" economy. The Sinhala masses of the south were fed up with war, state terror under

the previous bonapartist regime of the UNP and free market misery. To avert a possibility of a new insurrection in the south the lankan bourgeoisie with the collusion of the main workers parties promised peace, democracy and prosperity to the Sinhala

The Sinhalese masses have nothing to gain from the bloody war against the Tamil population in the north

masses. The war against the LTTE was a severe burden on the economy of this poor country. The LTTE who had the support of the majority of Jaffna Tamils and considerable military strength could not be defeated by the SS without risking huge casualties and sparking a insurrection in the south.

The LTTE who had been administering a de-facto mini state in the north since 1991 were not about to negotiate away a separate state for a federal solution which the SS was offering. After walking away from the talks in early 1995 it launched a series of attacks with newly acquired weaponry against SS military targets.

The Peoples Alliance regime was in a quandary. With the more rightist chauvinist forces including ironically a section of the Buddhist clergy clamoring for a "military solution" the PA gambled on launching a quick and massive assault on Jaffna. Operation Riviresa (Sunrise), began in early October of this year with new weapons acquired from Britain, Russia, China and other countries. World imperialism led by the

US has given the green light to the PA regime for the military operation while hypocritically calling for a "negotiated settlement".

The PA regime has clamped censorship on the press to regulate the dissemination of information about the war. On the one hand it wants to prevent rightist Sinhala gangs from setting upon Tamils living in the south, particularly Colombo, but also importantly it wants to prevent an anti-war opposition from developing amongst the Sinhalese as it had been in the 90s. This is a very real threat to the SS as the army mostly consists of poor rural youth who have nothing at stake in defending the SS. It was from this same southern rural Sinhala youth that served as a base for cadres of the leftist guerrilla campaign of the JVP (Peoples Liberation Front) in the late 80's. Its bloody suppression by the SS is still fresh in the minds of the Sinhalese.

The Sinhalese masses have nothing to

gain from the bloody war against the Tamil population in the north. If the Lankan Army wins this battle against the LTTE which seems likely, this will not end the war which is based fundamentally on the misery of Third World existence. The problems of unemployment and poverty will remain under the bourgeois neo-colonial order. Indeed this wretched order which solves unemployment by sending its youth to die in nonsensical war will only be strengthened by the victory of the Lankan Army.

The Sinhala masses who have a long history of anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist militancy must bring down this decrepit order and replace it with one based on human needs rather than imperialist profit. It is only through the uprooting of this racist order will it be possible for the Tamil and Sinhala masses be able to re-establish the historical cultural links that they once shared.



PUBLIC STATEMENT From Cecilia Rodriguez

by Cecilia Rodriguez, Nov. 3, 1995

On Thursday, October 25, 1995 in what was a simple excursion in broad daylight I was raped and sodomized by 3 armed men in what was supposedly a tourist attraction, the Lakes of Montebello in the state of Chiapas, Mexico.

On the advice of a human rights worker, and because of the suspicious circumstances of the assault, I left San Cristobal the next day. I filed a complaint with the American embassy on October 31, 1995 in Mexico City. When I presented the complaint, I asked vice-consul Nicholas J. Manring for information. Who or what offices should I file the complaint with in Mexico City? He told me that as far as he knew, 1) I should file a police report in the municipality where the crimes occurred; 2) that he would not recommend that I return to the state of Chiapas. My husband then asked him to forward the report to appropriate police authorities. He assured us he would and then commented "they never prosecute here in Mexico".

The United States likes to say it is a defender of democracy and justice. I am an American citizen, and I will be interested to see whether any American authority will see fit to challenge the state of impunity in Mexico since the only thing they seem to care about is a "stable" environment able to protect high-powered investors.

I firmly believe that the Mexican as well as the American government will at best busy themselves with bureaucratic procedures and at worst, and more than likely accuse me, as they do all women, of hysteria, of lying, exaggerating, and demand details that I am unable to remember.

Mine is not the first sexual crime to be committed in that area and unless the low-intensity war being conducted against the people of Chiapas ends, there is little hope that it will be the last. I know there were three Tzeltal women raped at a military check point, and three nurses raped and almost killed at the site of the peace talks, San Andres Larrainzer. How many other women whose stories we do not know have suffered through this hell? Women who have never said anything publicly because they fear for their lives?

I have decided to make a public statement, because I hope my experience will illustrate the brutal nature of the low intensity war being waged in Chiapas. I am one more piece of evidence of the use of sexual violence as a weapon specifically

directed against women in this war.

It is very humiliating to make this public statement. My pain and stigma will be material for public speculation and mockery, the pain of my husband, my parents, my brothers and sisters and my three children will be part of the public domain. If my public humiliation can serve no other purpose than to expose to the general public the horror being endured in Mexico then it will be worth it.

I ask for justice, not from the governments of the United States and Mexico because they are complicit in this war, but from the people of Mexico and the United States. Look into my suffering and multiply that by the hundreds of women, men and children whose voices you do not seem to hear, who suffer on a daily basis the humiliation and terror of a military presence which intends to suffocate the very human aspirations for democracy, liberty and justice.

I am a casualty of a low-intensity war sanctioned and more than likely facilitated by the government of the United States. I am a victim of a state of social deterioration in which journalists, opposition party members, and any unarmed civilian no longer enjoy safety and tranquillity, even in broad daylight and in which those in power have no more recourse than to use assassination, terror, and conspiracy even in the settling of their own differences. As citizens of the United States, we can not also be complicit in this war. We cannot abandon the indigenous communities trapped behind a military barricade.

Ask you to remember always the women of Mexico, to fight for their right to be safe and secure and to live in a country where the Zapatista demands for democracy, liberty, and justice are a reality.

I have a question of those men who raped me. Why did you not kill me? It was a mistake to spare my life. I will not "shut up", I will not stop my work or travel to Chiapas or my work in the United States as a representative of the Zapatistas, this has not traumatized me to the point of paralysis. I will follow the example of the other thousands of Mexicans who continue to work for a true democracy in Mexico in spite of the danger to themselves and their loved ones, who tell the truth in spite of physical and mental suffering. You have left me my life and from this will come the strength to continue to work.

"INSURRECTION IN CHIAPAS," HEADLINES OF ALL MEXICAN NEWSPAPERS ON JANUARY 2ND, 1994

by Juan M Perez

Juan M Perez is a Student of the Faculty of Politics and Social Science UNAM, Mexico. The translation was done by CSI Student, Leonardo Castellanos

We just saw the images on television of the uprising in the high region of Chiapas. They show dozens of indigenous peasants, members of E.Z.L.N (Zapatista Army of National Liberation) ended by the bullets of the federal Army. Swarthy, short in height, with black hair and black eyes. Bodies thrown one next to the other, recall the images of war in other parts of the world, but it is here, in Mexico, my country- the camera focuses on the bare feet of a dead man in a river of blood. The CNN reporter shows the old and miserable rifle with which he faced the modern R-15 & AK47's of the Federal Army. For this man the suffering ended, his search for justice was sealed with a bullet that found his path. He sought for another kind of answer, it was not to be. His wife, on her knees cries to him. His sons will remember this for the rest of their lives.

Civil society, the government and almost the whole population seem to criticize violence. In that case isn't hunger violence? The dead by curable disease, violence? That dead man was a peasant, like my father, my fathers father and most poor Mexicans.

Another image shows a prisoner, his hands and feet are tied up, he is bleeding copiously. He has a look full of fear at the same time full of indignation. A spectacle of hate and brutality exhibited publicly.

All Mexicans say to be proud of our indigenous past but it seems we don't want a native present. We bring not before any foreigner the splendors of our pre-Hispanic civilization i.e. Mayas, Aztecs, Zapotecas, etc. and their closest descendants, we keep them in forgetfulness in this poverty and oppression.

Nevertheless life continues after all... Chiapas is far away. The TV gives the impression this is something happening in another world. That it happens far from home, from the automobile, people think there is no problem, that we have no problem, that we can keep drinking Coca Cola, wear Levi's and wait for the next football game. Do we have to keep seated oblivious? Until when?

The world is on fire right now. From Bosnia, Somalia, Columbia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Lebanon, Haiti, Peru....to Mexico it is Man vs. Man.

Last year on December 30th, we were in Palengue, a few kilometers from San Cristobal de la Casas, the center of the insurrection. We were coming back from a trip to Belize and Guatemala, with the idea of being in San Cristobal for the New Year. There we would have been part of the history. I've visited this place three times in my life. There not only can you see poverty but you can breathe it. January 4th, 1994 and the problem is still going on. Almost 16 days of confrontation generated by the oppression of civil society. President Carlos Salinas de Gotari announced an amnesty to the "transgressors" of the law - the official title that the government gave the Zapatistas. Salinas offered forgiveness but who is he to forgive? To the men and women who struggle for better conditions of life can he offer forgiveness? Who gave him that faculty? It is an amnesty conduciveness to forgetfulness, to the classic "nothing happens".

In only 14 days there was a proposal for "dialogue" for peace. It was an accord of the type offered to peoples struggles in El Slavador or Guatemala, to sit at a table for years.

Now the question is how to respond to the uprising?

On January 1st, 1994 the "free trade"

treaty (NAFTA) between Canada, Mexico and the US was implemented. This created one of the largest markets in the world. The Mexican government worked almost 5 years to get this treaty. Neo-liberal economics was firmly introduced. This date marks the triumph of the government, but how far we were from reality. At 00:01 hr's of 1994 the EZLN burst into the scene in the Mexican state of Chiapas. This event without any precedent in post revolutionary Mexican history dispelled the mirage that until then Mexico had the #26 economy in the world.

Now in the present year our economy is placed #44 in the world, according to the "World Competitiveness Report 1995" in a study sponsored by the World Economic Forum. (Angular Gabriela, El Financiero, Mexico, Sept. 6th, 1995.)

The government blames a great deal of its problems on the EZLN, even though between 1990 and 1994, before the revolt in Chiapas Gross National Product (GNP) fell per capita .44% annually, while India's increased 1.54% and Jordan's increased more than 7 times compared to ours. Its of great importance that the EZLN is not a guerrilla group by Ernesto Che Guevara's definition, published in "Granma" (English Edition, 12/03/67 cited by Pomeroy Williams, "Guerrilla Warfare & Marxism: What is a Guerrilla") and it is not a product of a popular revolt. It's a military action premeditated that was built and pre-trained by an army clandestinely for almost 10 years. Such an army, from the point of view of State theory is disputing the monopoly of violence wielded by the State. The EZLN's plan of action, the so called "List of 10 points" (La Jornada, January 2nd, 1994), gives them the character of an insurgent group without popular participation. The Federal Army mobilized almost 20 thousand soldiers that enforced a military cordon by land, sea and air of Chiapas to prevent the spread of the rebellion.

It is so that after 16 days of combat we have 20 months of truce and dialogue that maintains a slow rhythm. If at the beginning civil society supported and unconditionally defended the EZLN, as its shown by the manifestations for peace and the conciliation that were made by the middle of 1994, now it is concerned more with how to confront its huge loss of purchasing power.

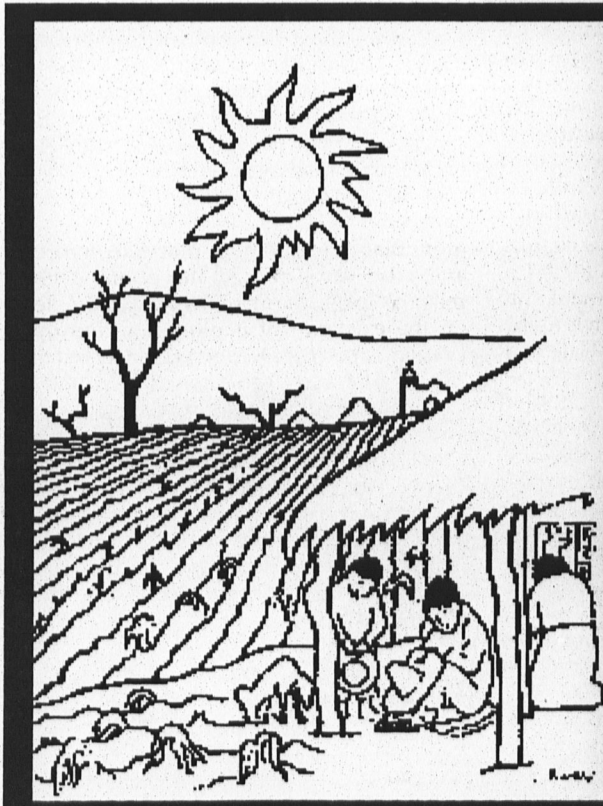
The movement compared to the one in Nicaragua for instance, did not succeed in adding the same amount of people, also it is taken as a local rebellion not a national one. Because of this, the EZLN is being obligated to become a political force. That is, it is being forced to participate in the Mexican political game, which is regulated by the ruling PRI party. This has removed the EZLN from the domain of public interaction.

The EZLN's has proposed now a national poll about its future course of action. Anyway the mirage of the Mexican miracle ended up broken. 64 years of economic growth with social peace was the basic pillar upon which the political structure dominated by the PRI has rested upon.

Chiapas reminded the whole world the danger of applying the drastic laws of the world market and the policies of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to economies like the Mexican. Such policies are not consistent with an effective plan of social development.

The Mexican government after almost two years since the uprising, after political assassinations and economic collapses has not created a true development plan that combines the requirements not only of the EZLN but also the society as a whole.

We are all Marcos.



Farrakhan's Farce With Washington

continued from last page

fall, admissions to prison rise...even though it costs the supposedly budget-conscious state far more to incarcerate people than it does to educate them. Only with the economy in the doldrums of downturn and jobs few and far between, educational opportunities for working class and black youth become a luxury. Police, prisons and the death penalty, on the other hand, become more of a necessity, since the more misery the system spawns in its decline and decay, the more resistance it is bound

The civil rights and Black power movements, by breaking down the walls of legal segregation and formal separation allowed at least some of the Black middle class access to the white market.

to provoke in its wake.

With "atrocious moral and material sufferings" like these as commonplace today as in 1924, it is thus hardly surprising that close to a million chose to participate in the Nation of Islam's (NOI) "Million Man March" last month in order to voice their opposition to this sorry state of affairs. What is surprising is that more than a million didn't show up regardless of whether or not Louis Farrakhan was behind it. For at least Farrakhan appears to offer opposition to the endless assaults on Black people, rather than excuse or apologize for them. Not so for the mainstream Black "leadership" due to their ties to the "new" Democratic party of Bill Clinton which is every bit behind those attacks as are the Republicans.

For Jesse Jackson and the rest of the Black political establishment (who jumped on board the bandwagon at the last minute in order to avoid being bypassed by it altogether) along with the AFL-CIO trade union bureaucracy long ago sold their souls to yuppie Democrat Clinton. Thus none of them has bothered to lift a finger against the endless assaults on working people in general and Black people in particular since Bill "end welfare as we know it" Clinton is as much their author as is Newt Gingrich.

With the "left," both Black and white, in a state of impotency due to its worldview being limited to what the Democrats say is possible, the radical right, Black, as well as white, has moved to center stage. Farrakhan, who, on the surface seems to offer an opposition to the status quo, has thus not surprisingly emerged to fill the leadership void that has appeared in the Black community. And while Farrakhan appears to be the one Black leader that the racist ruling class loves to hate, his rise to prominence is, in fact, a development they not only can live with but are more than glad to live with. For from Clinton to Gingrich, it is clearly recognized that for all their bluster and bravado, Farrakhan and the NOI pose no threat to their interests, but on the contrary can only help to bolster them.

In the late fifties and early sixties the NOI, (usually referred to as the "Black Muslims") with its separatist doctrine of "self-reliance," appeared to many militant Blacks (like Malcolm X) to represent a radical alternative to the turn-the-other-cheek pacifism of the mainstream civil rights movement with its reliance on the Democratic party and the US government. However this seemingly militant veneer concealed acceptance of and accommodation to the racist status quo as well as abstention from the struggle against it. Thus like Marcus Garvey's cozying up to the Klan before them, the NOI was willing to play ball with rabid racists like the American Nazi Party in spite of all their denuncia-

tions of the "white devils." For all agreed that there was no place in America for Black people.

It was above all the NOI's refusal to become involved in the fight for Black liberation that caused Malcolm X to break with them. As Malcolm pointed out at the time, "Muslims talk tough, but they never do anything unless somebody bothers Muslims." He thus saw that this "general non-engagement policy" would "separate (Muslims) from the Negroes' frontline struggle." Indeed it did for as the struggle for Black liberation moved into high gear in the sixties the NOI receded further and further into the background. It is only in a period of downturn in the fight against racism that a group like the NOI which has no perspective for participating in that fight can move to center stage.

Today Louis Farrakhan, who in 1965 wrote that "a man such as Malcolm is worthy of death," continues to represent that perspective as his program for the March, which placed demands not on the government but on the Black population itself, boldly illustrates. For when it comes down to it, the NOI represents that section of the Black middle class that seeks to carve out a niche for themselves as exclusive exploiters and oppressors of the Black population under Black capitalism. This is what they falsely pass off as representing the road to "empowerment" for Black people even though, given the overwhelmingly working class composition of America's Black population, it would "empower" only a few Blacks at the expense of the many like any other variety of capitalism does.

Given that less than 1% of corporate wealth in this country is currently in the hands of Black people, the funds for this scheme can only come from the same white-owned businesses that are currently exploiting and oppressing Black people. So for all their talk of "separatism" and "self-reliance," Farrakhan and the NOI seek little more than to administer the ghettos for the same white "devils" they daily denounce. Indeed the most profitable of all the NOI's business ventures to date has been their renting out of their security squads to the US government to police federal housing projects for them!

For his part, Farrakhan makes no secret that his agenda is based upon accommodation with the racist status quo. He even goes so far as to hail the days of Jim Crow segregation as a golden age for Black self-reliance. After all many Black small businesses were able to grow and prosper due to the forced separation of Blacks in ghettos, isolated from the economic mainstream of American capitalism. The civil rights and Black power movements, by breaking down the walls of legal segregation and formal separation allowed at least some of the Black middle class access to the white market. The real road forward for the majority of Black people, however, must be to destroy racism and the capitalist system that spawned it in the first place and which has kept it alive all these years regardless of what that may mean for the Black middle class. As the Black Panther Party argued, "(we) will not fight capitalism with black capitalism, we will not fight imperialism with black imperialism, we will not fight racism with Black racism. Rather, we will take our stand against these viles with a solidarity derived from a proletarian internationalism born of socialist ideology." Farrakhan, on the other hand, attempts to not only keep the system going but to turn the clock backward and thus represents little more than a reactionary utopia for most Black people.

Hand-in-hand with all of this goes an equally as reactionary social agenda; one which the racist rulers of America have little problem with since it echoes their own almost word for word. Farrakhan tells Black people that they have to "atone" for their sins and rely only on themselves...the same message the Republican right preaches as they slash social services to the

bone. Hence GOP heavies from Robert Dole to Newt Gingrich to Pat Buchanan rushed to embrace Farrakhan's message since it is almost identical to that which provides the ideological underpinnings of their war on the "welfare state."

NOI leaders thus made no demands on the government and all demands on the government's victims. For Farrakhan lets the "great" American government (as he puts it) and the racist ruling class it represents off the hook by diverting the anger and wrath of Black people onto themselves. If self-hatred won't do, then there's always groups like the Jews, Koreans and Arabs to scapegoat. While the latter may control corner candy stores in a few big cities they sure as hell don't call the shots in Washington and on Wall Street. But since Farrakhan and the NOI's appetites are only to take the place of those they call the "bloodsuckers" of the Black community in doing the blood-sucking, those really responsible for Black oppression can breathe easy when the "honorable" minister rants and raves...even if they feign displeasure at some of his more outrageous utterances.

Again echoing the Republican right, the NOI tells Black women, the most oppressed sector of the Black population, to take a back seat and stay at home. Pretending to do justice to them in the time-honored tradition of all male chauvinists, Farrakhan only seeks to further oppress Black women by keeping them isolated from anything other than the church, that is, his church, the kitchen and the bedroom.

All in all, the "separatism" of Farrakhan and the NOI only serve to separate Blacks, a minority in the US, from prospective allies in the struggle against the common capitalist enemy in order to curry favor with that same enemy whom they have no intention of fighting in the first place. That is because the NOI, as a middle class pro-capitalist organization, stakes its all on the maintenance of the racist status quo to begin with. For without anti-Black racism there would be no basis for an exclusivist Black racialist outfit like the NOI. And without capitalism there would be no framework for the NOI's pipedream of Black capitalism either. Thus it comes as no surprise that for all his fire and brimstone rhetoric, Farrakhan continues to peddle electoral illusions; encouraging Blacks to register and vote for the same twin parties of capitalism which take turns in exploiting and oppressing them even if they have a few Black faces in high places doing the dirty work for them...like Colin Powell, butcher of Third World peoples from Panama to Iraq, who Farrakhan unsuccessfully invited to attend and address the march.

Farrakhan is thus a leader that the ruling rich can not only get along with but actually prefer to the likes of a Jesse Jackson, let alone another Malcolm X or Martin Luther King. Jackson's phony populist rhetoric not only appeals to Blacks but to many white workers, all of whom want to indict the system for its countless crimes against them rather than atone for being its victims. To keep such a base, Jackson is forced to make demands on the government that reflect their felt needs. Farrakhan with his message of "self-reliance" presents no such problem since his starting point is one and the same as Newt Gingrich's and Bill Clinton's: less is better. Thus the bosses' press and politicians sang paeans of praise to the march's message. How the march's participants, most of whom had an entirely different agenda than the march's organizers, choose to react when they see that message for what it is another story.

Needless to say, the close to a million Black people who marched were not doing so because they all shared the reactionary worldview of Louis Farrakhan and the NOI in part or in total, although, no doubt, quite a few do. While there were many middle class Blacks in attendance there were also alot more workers, many who belong to unions, all anxious to voice their opposi-

Farrakhan is thus a leader that the ruling rich can not only get along with but actually prefer to the likes of a Jesse Jackson, let alone another Malcolm X or Martin Luther King.

tion to the attacks on the Black population in any way, shape or form they could. And since almost all the ostensible Black "leaders" and organizations around, like the trade union bureaucracy, have discredited themselves by staking their all on Bill Clinton's Democrats, the stage was set for the NOI to make its move. But Farrakhan offers no answers to the problems faced by the millions of Black workers and poor. His bubble will burst even quicker than that of Jesse Jackson did before him. For both swear by the same system that is responsible for the sad state that Black America is in to begin with. The form may be different, the content is all too similar.

The real question is whether or not a new generation of militant Black and white workers will come forward to challenge all wings of the Black middle class and the pro-Democratic party union bureaucracy. To do so and win a hearing from all those looking to fight the racist rulers and both of their political parties, requires a program and a party that addresses all their common interests and aspirations rather than continuing to subordinate them to those of their common exploiters and oppressors in the Democratic party or separating them from one another so the bosses can pick them off one at a time. With all workers' wages and living standards under attack, the struggles of Blacks and other oppressed minorities are connected to those of the working class as a whole more than ever...provided that that connection is made in the course of common struggle and not obscured or obstructed by Democrats or demagogues.

That means a program and a party that confronts capitalism and racism rather than conciliates them; a labor party based on the unions and the organizations of the exploited and oppressed and a militant program of class struggle, a revolutionary socialist program, that treats an attack on one as an attack on all and defends the rights of Blacks and all of the oppressed and exploited every bit as much as those of trade unionists. Unfortunately, the new AFL-CIO leadership which remains committed to the Democratic party every bit as much as their predecessors remains part of the problem and not part of the solution.

Needless to say, such a program and perspective also runs counter to anything and everything that Louis Farrakhan and the NOI stand for. For it means to indict the system not atone to it; to demand that it provide decent jobs, housing, healthcare and education for all who need them not more Black faces in high places to enforce austerity. It means not the phony "self-reliance" of "separatism" that in fact relies on the existence of exploitation and oppression or on the Democratic party but on the self-activity, self-organization and self-emancipation of the working class and militant mass actions to achieve it. For as Frederick Douglas said, without struggle there can be no progress. And it means not the "empowering" of a few Black bosses to get their piece of the action, but workers power, which alone can root out the racist oppression that will remain standard fare as long capitalist exploitation remains. What Karl Marx said at the time of the American civil war and the struggle against chattel slavery remains just as true today in the struggle against racism and wage slavery; labor with a white skin will never be free as long as labor with a Black skin remains enslaved.

Irish Peace? Semtex Semantics, and The Status Quo

by Sean Doyle

Fifteen months after the Irish Republican Army's (IRA) cease-fire, the peace process has stalled on the British demand that the IRA "Decommission" its arms. The surrender of weapons is a pre-condition to Sinn Fein's inclusion in all party talks on the constitutional future of Northern Ireland. As the political wing of the IRA, the participation of Sinn Fein in the negotiating process is essential for substantive progress. Their exclusion on the "decommissioning" pretext is contrary to the Downing street Declaration which established the premise for all party talks. Singed by British Prime Minister John Major, and his Republic of Ireland counterpart Albert Reynolds, the declaration made no mention of the surrender of arms. Albert Reynolds, in Boston this week was emphatic on the issue. "I can tell you unequivocally, that no such precondition was ever there".

It is questionable of Britain seriously considered fundamental changes in the governing of Northern Ireland. Change would involve the loss of Protestant hegemony and control of Northern Ireland's economic and social infrastructure. Change would necessitate fair employment practices, and the destruction of a pervasive apparatus that secures work and prosperity for those loyal to Britain, and a lifetime of insecurity for the rest. And perhaps most importantly, change would erode the ability of Unionist member of Parliament to consolidate Conservative majorities in Westminster. This political influence has been the traditional mechanism by which Northern Ireland Protestants have vetoed solutions for the democratization of Northern Ireland.

Two things are clear in Northern Ireland. The IRA cannot defeat the British Army, and the British Army cannot defeat the IRA. Britain seeks to eliminate the influence of Irish Republicans by stealthier methods. Stalling the peace process is designed to fragment the nationalist community. By hedging on its declaration for all party talks the British seek to immobilize the nationalist consensus for an inclusive peace settlement. The policy appears to be working as ominous signs of discontent among Irish Nationalists increase.

The call for a cease-fire was by no means unanimous among the IRA's rank and file. Many were for a protracted campaign to make Britain's presence in Ireland economically, logistically, and politically untenable. Their subordination in the Republican movement was consolidated by the increased visibility of Nationalist Ireland's

claims for British withdrawal, accomplished by the Clinton administration's granting of visas to Sinn Fein members to visit the U.S. in 1994. Previously excluded, Irish Nationalists could not counter British misinformation on the nature of the struggle in Northern Ireland. The human face of Irish opposition to the occupation of North Eastern Ireland was portrayed by Gerry Adams, whose articulate claim for Irish self determination eclipsed 25 years of British anti IRA propaganda. The momentum from this exposure was harnessed by war weary factions of the Republican movement, who sought to move Ireland's sovereign claims along peaceful channels.

On the 11th of November a van bomb containing over 1000 pound of explosive was discovered near an army base near Crossmaglen in South Armagh. Speculation suggests the local army base was the intended target. The ultra left wing Irish republican Socialist party's military wing, the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) have recently made overtures to IRA men to join them. The INLA refused to endorse a cease fire with Britain. Impatience with Britain's reluctance to engage in unconditional talks are jeopardizing the prospect for maintenance of the 15 month long cease-fire.

Central to the impasse is the intransigence of influential members of the of the Unionist community. Ulster Unionist Party leader David Trimble said last week any handshake between him and Gerry David was "a very, very, very, long way off." He continued that there had been no "softening on his position on IRA weapons."

By continuing to hide behind the smokescreen of the "decommissioning", Britain is condemning the peace process to failure. A tragic and familiar pattern has emerged. The civil rights movement of the late 1960's was preceded by a failed IRA campaign that sought to galvanize the Nationalist community. The peaceful civil rights marchers were bludgeoned off the streets by Protestant policemen protecting their communities privileges and ascendant position. The IRA was reformed, taking on the British army who were installed to maintain the status quo. Peaceful methods failed in Northern Ireland because of a lack of sincerity among those with the power to effect change. The consistent refusal to implement change has precipitated violence. Unless Britain takes the political risk of dissipating unionist political hegemony, there is little reason to believe the present situation will be any different.

Ho, Ho, Ho... Ho Chi Min? Enjoy the Holidays! Be Happy and Healthy.

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So-Called Dayton "Peace Agreement"

There is nothing surprising about this to anyone who has studied the history of this region and European great power diplomacy. It was precisely over these very same objectives that Britain, Germany and France struggled throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and which they referred to as "the Eastern Question." One could go back and read A.J.P. Taylor's *Struggle For Mastery of Europe*. Or, then again, one could simply read the utterances of America's Balkan Fuhrer, Richard Holbrooke, as quoted by Roger Cohen:

"We are needed now to counteract tribal nationalism and stability in the vast land mass from the eastern German border to the western Russian border, where so many overlapping territorial claims and potential conflicts lurk." ("Why the Yanks Are Going. Yet Again," New York Times, 26 November 1995.)

Roger Cohen then completes Holbrooke's thought and definitively answers the question with which his article began.

This shared undertaking (Cohen is referring

Like the earlier imperialisms, it shall ship out its unemployed youth and send them to die as cannon fodder for the most unjust and anti-democratic reasons imaginable.

to the U.S. -German relationship) is indicative of the main forces at work in post-Communist Europe. Far from receding, American military and political leadership has become more necessary. Its natural complement is German economic might. Beside these realities, talk of building the European Union into a political and military power as well as a trading bloc seems largely illusory. (Ibid)

When was this expressed before, so publicly and candidly by the American ruling class? Never. But you now shall grow accustomed to it. NATO's role is being redefined: it is becoming the army of colonial occupation for all of Eurasia.

Rudyard Kipling spoke of the "White Man's Burden." Adolf Hitler spoke of the destiny of the Aryan race to rule over the Slavic peoples of the east. Holbrooke's and Cohen's racism is somewhat different; and yet in some ways it is so very much alike. It is merely a newer ideological justification for the same old imperialism, exploitation and mass-murder. Like the earlier imperialisms, it shall target certain peoples as "savages" and commit numerous genocides in the name of civilization. Like the earlier imperialisms, it shall ship out its unemployed youth and send them to die as cannon fodder for the most unjust and anti-democratic reasons imaginable. Like the earlier imperialisms it shall give birth to fully fledged fascist movements fanatically devoted to its cause. And like the earlier imperialisms it too shall in the end fail, for it will lead to new world wars between the colonial powers and give birth to new revolutionary movements which will make the Yankee and German fascists pay for their crimes with their blood.

Remember, you read it here first.

Timing is Everything

Contrary to the confused and venal gallery of "experts" within academia and the fake-left, who cried their crocodile tears for "poor little Bosnia" and railed like Nazis (some of them weren't acting!) for the bombing of the Serbs, the U.S. government is now doing what it had planned on doing all along: sending ground forces to Bosnia. Those whores and lickspittles of U.S. imperialism who said it would never happen are now content simply to mutter, "Well, it's about time!" But, as I predicted here in an article written nearly a year ago, direct military intervention by the U.S. was a necessary and inevitable stage in the overall policy then being carried out by the U.S.,

and would be implemented when the policy had reached its appropriate stage of development.

But there were several important tactical objectives that had to be accomplished first before the U.S. could directly impose its political and economic jack-boot on the peoples of the Balkans. Among these, some are quite obvious: the restoration of fascist movements among the Croatian and Bosnian Muslim population calling for secession from Yugoslavia; the international recognition of these fascist secessionist movements and the destruction of a unified socialist Yugoslav state; a policy of war against those who were against this (the Serbs); the demonization of the Serbs through a media campaign launched by governments, public relations firms and human rights organizations which staged "atrocities" that never happened while distorting the conflict; the imposition of UN sanctions and "peacekeepers" as a military stalling tactic, to hold the Serbs back militarily while the Croats and Muslims were covertly armed; the corruption and splitting of the Serbian leadership, pitting the Bosnian Serb leaders against the government in Belgrade by making phony deals with both sides; sending the CIA and Pentagon war machine into Croatia and Bosnia to covertly train and arm the Croats and Muslims while collecting intelligence on the Serbs; the NATO bombing and the coordinated Croat and Muslim offenses and genocidal attacks on civilian populations. The final nail in the coffin was the complete surrender of the current Serb leaderships in both Belgrade and Bosnia to the demands of U.S. imperialism.

But tactically speaking, the two major variables or conditions upon which the whole course of U.S. strategy for military intervention was determined were: first, the military build up of the Croatian and Muslim militaries into effective offensive weapons against the Serbs, and, secondly, the U.S. Presidential elections. Ultimately, Clinton's reelection campaign determined the timing of U.S. intervention, though the direct involvement of U.S. troops depended upon the covert military build-up.

The Reelection Campaign Dress Rehearsal

There is a very good saying that is popular these days in Yugoslavia: the next American President will be elected in Bosnia. With his success at Dayton, and the potential of a successful military occupation in the Balkans, the cynical manipulator from Little Rock is well on his way to winning the hearts and minds of the major multinational corporations and the American capitalist ruling class and, therefore, the presidential election of 1996. Of course, in America's pseudo-democratic two party system, that's what matters most.

Clinton had to get a deal at Dayton because in practically every other area of his presidency Bill Clinton is a big loser. He's not simply unpopular — he's actually deeply hated by vast segments of the American population. While the capitalist class in America has done extremely well for itself under Clinton, the vast majority of Americans are far worse off economically than when he took office — and the economic prospects for those under 40 is bleaker than at any time since the 1930's. Clinton's term is also marked by corruption (Whitewater) and the mass-murder of civilians (Waco). The fact that Clinton was barred from achieving anything on the domestic front by a Republican controlled Congress was also a key factor forcing him to turn to the Bosnia crisis as his best possible hope for winning reelection. Clinton's political future has depended on Bosnia for some time, and being the cynical and violent criminal that he is, he has spared no terrorist measure to accomplish his political aims there.

Meanwhile, the lie-factories of the American media establishment say not a word of the cynical reelection game played by Clinton — or for that matter by the Re-

publicans, who are left with nothing better to do than to snipe at a policy of which they themselves are envious. To reveal the personal and domestic motives driving Clinton's Bosnia policy and the reactions of the Republican leadership to it would be even more gauche than to admit that America's blood-soaked foreign policy is driven by corporate greed. For to do so would be to expose the thoroughly criminal and totalitarian nature of the American political system and its sham electoral system. Instead, America's media and cultural establishment have had to work overtime to legitimize and justify Clinton's genocidal policies in the Balkans.

Clinton's speech on the evening of November 27th had a surreal, dream-like quality to it. All of the major media called it "the most important speech of his presidency." No doubt it was. Appearing to be in a narcotic-induced state, Clinton posed for twenty-five minutes as a world and national leader of historic significance preaching his great cause to the American people. He launched into his speech churning out lies at a fantastic rate. The contradictions were conspicuous. We must send 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia, he said. But it's not a war! It's a peace agreement. (Then what do you need an army for?) "We are going to stop the killing," he said. Then a little later he added, when U.S. troops get there "They will fight fire with fire. And then some!" But if it's a peace agreement why are you threatening the massive use of force against the people there?

"The Cold War has given way to the Global Village," chortled Clinton in his obnoxious manner. What the hell does that mean? Apparently that the U.S. rules the globe from Washington.

He claimed America stands for "liberty, democracy and peace." But he never ex-

And like the earlier imperialisms it too shall in the end fail, for it will lead to new world wars between the colonial powers and give birth to new revolutionary movements which will make the Yankee and German fascists pay for their crimes with their blood.

plained or intimated how this "democracy" or other stuff applies to the peoples in the Balkans. Or how it applies to the puppet states the U.S. created in Croatia and Bosnia. If it's all about "democracy," Sir, why are U.S. troops going to Bosnia to fight for an Islamic fundamentalist regime in Sarajevo and a neo-Nazi government in Croatia? And why is the right to national self-determination and democratic rights denied to the Serbs?

Clinton spoke of economic reconstruction. But he didn't say whether the Serbs would get any. He admitted that the Pope urged him on to take a hard stance against the Serbs. No surprise there — the Pope loves fascists and hates the Eastern Orthodox peoples.

One of the more disgusting comments was his sugary praise for what he called "the bravery" of American pilots who bombed civilians in Bosnia. Nothing could be further from the truth. What's brave about killing civilians from 50,000 feet? Nazis at least had to face their victims before they slaughtered them. The American murderer is faceless and nameless to the victim as is the victim to him or her. And all it takes is the press of a button. Instant death. Oh, so brave! To fight only from a position of technological superior-

continued from back page

ity is cowardice, not bravery. A real war crimes tribunal would indict and convict these "brave" pilots responsible for about 1000 civilian deaths in September.

The Pax Americana — the Terms of Surrender

In his speech Clinton claimed that the Dayton Pact was not about "nation-making." He should have said it's about nation-breaking. About how America helped destroy Yugoslavia and prevent the national unification of the largest nation, the Serbs.

The original meaning of the word Balkanization came from the old colonial policy in that region of dividing and pitting peoples against each other. It has always implied foreign colonial domination and the denial of the self-determination of peoples. The particulars of the Dayton pact are an expression of this. One of its key features is the insistence on a unitary Bosnian Muslim-dominated state. The imposition of this artificial colonial state on the Serbian minority guarantees perpetual violence and oppression.

The Muslim led regime of World War II Nazi collaborator Alija Izetbegovic called for the secession of Bosnia from Yugoslavia in order to build an Islamic fundamentalist state in 1992. The imperialist countries supported the destruction of Yugoslavia by claiming that the Muslims and Croats had the right to secession. When this happened it was only natural that the Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia expected to receive the same right to secede from those respective states and reunify their lands with Yugoslavia. It has been over this, and only this issue that the fighting has raged these past three years. It is for this evil that American troops are today being sent to murder and be murdered in the Balkans.

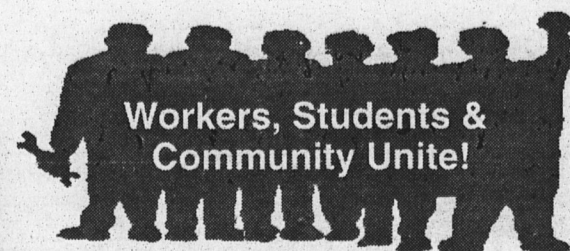
It has been the fascist denial of equal rights to the Serbs of Bosnia and Croatia by the imperialists in Washington and Bonn that has fueled the endless fighting and which is yet again imposed in the Dayton pact. Anyone with the slightest sense can see that by imposing a shot-gun marriage, not a voluntary arrangement, the U.S. is only serving its own interests by keeping these people against each other in a state of permanent enmity. A peaceful divorce was and still is the only road to peace. But it's the one thing that the Nazis in Washington and Bonn don't want, because not only would it bring about peace, but it could pave the way for economic cooperation and eventually to some type of political reconfederation in the Balkans that would once again kick out the blood-sucking American and German exploiters and keep them out.

But contrary to Clinton's speech, Dayton is about nation-making. Bosnia has never existed as a country, and there's no such thing as a Bosnian nationality. It is very clear that the U.S. needs to create this artificial state to satisfy its colonial ambitions. The creation of Bosnia as an artificial state is deeply rooted in the history of Western imperialism. There was an analogous U.S. policy in Indochina — the creation of the artificial state of South Vietnam. And before that there was the artificial state of South Korea. And before that you had the partitioning of Africa by the Europeans. Artificial states have been created over and over again by the Western powers to serve its interests, while those nationalities that posed a threat to imperialism were divided and prevented from unifying as a country. In Bosnia, the American plan is to force three peoples who don't want to live together to live under a militarily imposed state that would not exist for a second if a free referendum were held there on its fate. And to deny the democratic rights of Serbs to reunify their lands into a larger Yugoslavia. Even now Yugoslavia is too large for American and German tastes — they would like to rip it apart, starting with Kosovo.

continue on page 21

The College Voice

COMMUNITY



So-Called Dayton "Peace Agreement" Sets Stage For Further U.S. Aggression And Genocide In The Balkans

by Barry Lituchy

29 November 1995-With the implementation of the fascist Dayton agreement, America's mad plans for imposing its "New World Order" in Eastern Europe begin in earnest. The Dayton Pact, like the Munich Pact nearly sixty years ago, is not a peace agreement, but rather a prelude to further war. The Dayton Pact signifies the unconditional surrender by the Bosnian Serb leaders to the neo-colonial powers of the West, led by the U.S. In one of the most obscene spectacles of fascist thuggery in modern times, the Clinton regime has imposed its neo-colonial political and

military rule over the destinies of some twenty million people in the Balkans by staging a dubious international conference inside a military base in Ohio. It represents one of the greatest setbacks to human rights since the Vietnam War.

With the threat of mass destruction held over them, their direct participation in the conference barred, and the recognition of their democratic right to national self-determination denied, the signing of this surrender by Yugoslav President Milosevic on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs amounts to little more than a mugging at gun point. It only sets the stage for further military action against the Serbs in Bosnia and the beginning of a complete colonization of the Balkans and Eastern Europe as a whole, starting with the introduction of U.S. and Western armies in Bosnia.

Should the implementation of Dayton proceed we shall witness the opening of a new age of plunder, aggression and unending neo-colonial warfare for the whole of Eastern Europe not seen there since the nineteenth century. The Dayton Pact will do precisely what the fascist leaders in Washington claim in public to be most afraid of — the spreading of the Bosnia conflict to the Balkans and beyond, and the permanent destabilization of the region for decades to come. Along with military occupation and more or less direct colonial governing of the region, the destabilization of Eastern Europe is a necessary precondition for the long term economic and political exploitation of that region by U.S. and German capital. Moreover, with its new American alliance, Ger-

many finally will have achieved its age-old colonial ambitions in the region, thereby avenging the historic defeats of Bismarck and Hitler, and the victories of the Russian and Yugoslav Revolutions.

Whose World? Whose Order?

What was once a highly classified secret is now, slowly, being revealed to the American public. A new fascist alliance has emerged in central and eastern Europe. It consists primarily of the U.S. and

Germany. Together (with the very significant assistance of Turkey) they will decide the political destinies and control the vast economic

resources of Eastern Europe from the former East Germany to Siberia and from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Caspian Sea. To consolidate this hegemonic control over so vast an area, these two expanding imperialist powers must destroy all remnants of the former Stalinist socialized economies and states, and in their place establish neo-colonial client states. Most of these new states will be built with the help of newly revived fascist movements formerly allied with Nazi Germany, as was done successfully in Croatia and Bosnia.

Because of the strategic nature of the territories of the former Yugoslavia, Croatia and Bosnia were created by the U.S. and Germany as a means of establishing the necessary foothold for German-American domination in the Balkans and for then projecting their hegemony both eastward into the regions of the former Soviet Union, and south toward the Middle East and the oil and gas-rich Caspian Sea region.

continued on 23



The beginning of peace or an escalation of war?

Farrakhan's Farce With Washington

by Roy Rollin

12 November 1995 - Writing about America in 1924 a Vietnamese communist, who would later become known to the world as Ho Chi Minh, observed that "the Black race is the most oppressed and most exploited of the human family (and) after sixty-five years of so-called emancipation, American Negroes still endure atrocious moral and material sufferings, of which the most cruel and horrible is the custom of lynching." It has now been more than twenty-five years since the hey day of the civil rights and Black power movements which Manning Marable described as the "Second Black Reconstruction in America." Yet American Blacks continue to "endure atrocious moral and material sufferings," even if lynching is no longer as customary as it once was. (And with the death penalty making a comeback, even that may not be true for long.) So for most Blacks nothing has changed, even if for a few everything has...or at least once appeared to.

One after the other, the few gains that were won by the struggles of the sixties are being taken back as part of the bosses' bi-partisan war on the poor. Mired in the midst of a continuing crisis which finds them facing stronger and stiffer competition from their overseas rivals, America's ruling rich are no longer willing to offer even the crumbs off their table. Instead, belt-tightening austerity is on the order of the day and those who can afford it the least are the ones who are expected to give back the most. Needless to say, that means working people and the poor in general and Blacks and other oppressed minorities in particular.

The 1960s were the last real period of economic expansion American capitalism has known. They were also a period of urban upheaval amongst the ghetto masses. Hence reforms were not only still considered affordable but necessary if business was to go on as usual. Besides, what the capitalists give away with one hand they can always take back with the other when the situation calls for it. Especially if the militant mass movements that won those gains in the first place have been defanged, demobilized and demoralized with the aid of middle class misleaders who are all too quick to sell their souls for a piece of the pie. And the minimal gains that were won in the sixties in no way, shape or form fundamentally threatened the power and privileges of America's corporate elite. For they never challenged the underlying basis of

capitalist exploitation and racist oppression that the system is based upon to begin with. Rather they left that structure intact while incorporating a few middle class blacks into it.

Due to the pressure exerted from below by militant mass movements, first across the rural south and then throughout the ghettos of the urban north, openings were created within an expanding economy for the Black middle class. So by the 1990s, 20% of the Black population accounted for at least 50% of total Black income. Those leaders willing to break bread with the bosses were corrupted and coopted as part of the price for pacifying the unruly rabble below (putting Black faces in "high places.") Those leaders who weren't willing to play the game; so-called "Black militants" like Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party and later on, even Martin Luther King, Jr., were simply eliminated.

For all of them were beginning to make the connection between racism and capitalism as well as seeing that the struggle against racism at home was intimately associated with that against imperialism abroad. Malcolm X and the Panthers saw the futility of trying to work within the system almost from the get go. Malcolm X came to realize that "you can't have capitalism without racism" and "that it is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system...as it stands to produce freedom...for the black man in this country." Picking up where Malcolm left off, Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton pointed out that "we have two evils to fight, capitalism and racism," and therefore "we must destroy both racism and capitalism." Towards the end of his life, Martin Luther King began to see the need for a multi-racial struggle of the poor against the rich, "honestly fac(ing) the fact that the Movement must address itself to the question of restructuring the whole of American society...coming to see that the problem of racism, the problem of economic exploitation, and the problem of war are tied together."

The specter of Black and white workers uniting in struggle

With "atrocious moral and material sufferings" like these as commonplace today as in 1924, it is thus hardly surprising that close to a million chose to participate in the Nation of Islam's (NOI) "Million Man March" last month in order to voice their opposition to this sorry state of affairs. What is surprising is that more than a million didn't show up regardless of whether or not Louis Farrakhan was behind it.

against their common class enemy which oppresses and exploits them all is the one thing that America's racist rulers have long dreaded above all else. The LA rebellion of 1992 showed that, even if on a small scale. Hence it had to be falsely portrayed as yet another "race riot" even though it was quite clearly an outburst of class rage embracing workers and poor people of all races. For ever since the Populist movement of the late 19th century threatened to bring Black and white workers and farmers together, America's rulers have used every trick in the book to keep them apart.

While all workers have been taking it on the chin since 1973, especially under Reagan and Bush and now under Clinton and Gingrich, the heaviest blows have been those dealt to the Black population. Over one third of Black families live below the official poverty level. Life expectancy for Black males is now below retirement age while that of Harlem residents falls short of Bangladesh. The infant mortality rate amongst Blacks in 1991 was twice that for whites and at 17.1 per 1,000, it compares unfavorably with many "Third World" countries. Average Black income is only 56 percent of that earned by whites and the unemployment rate amongst Blacks is more than twice that for whites.

While making up only 13 per cent of the entire US population, Blacks now comprise close to two thirds of the prison population. And as Black admissions to colleges

continued on page 25