



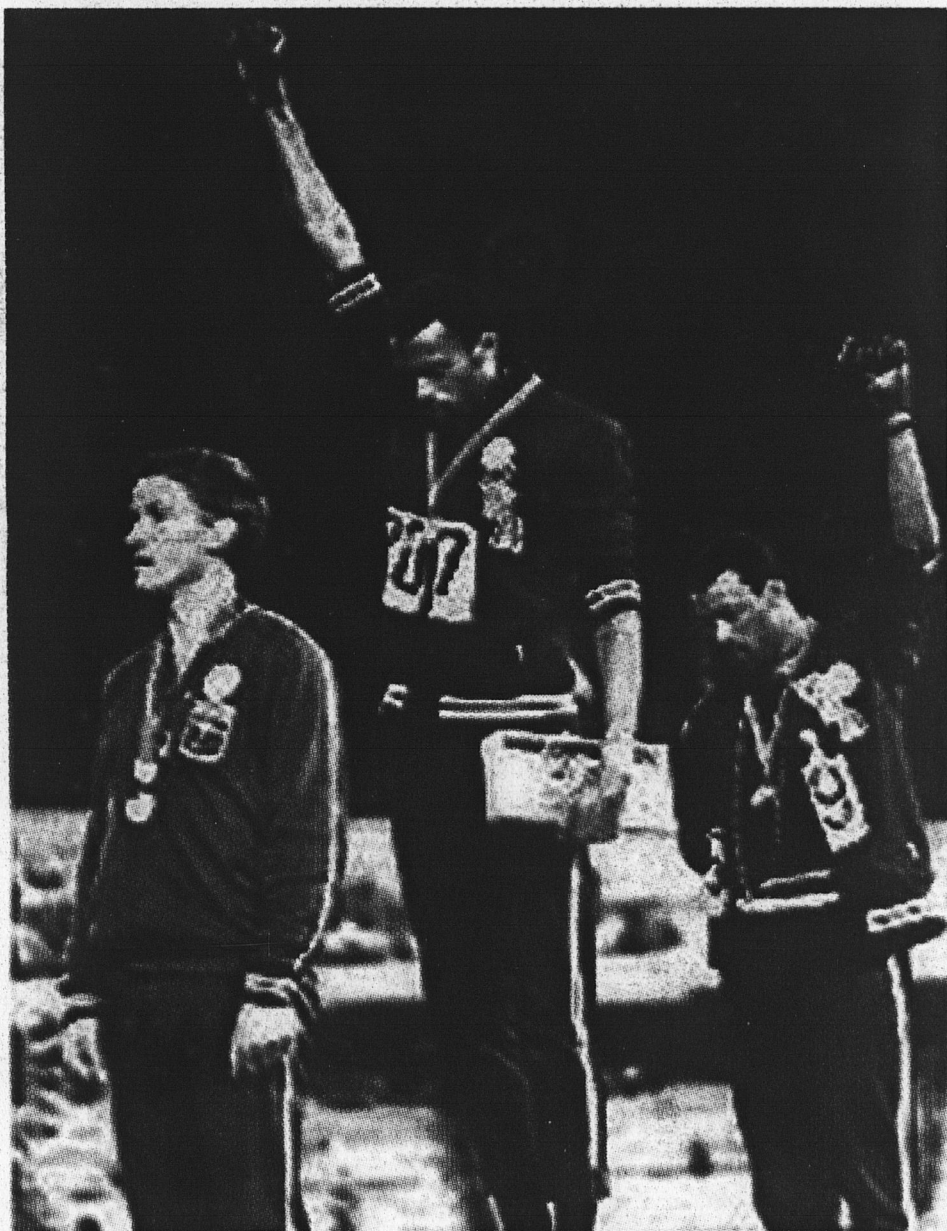
The College Voice

For Free Tuition and Open Admissions

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Welcome New Students

*We Have
Just Ended
A Century
Of Struggle,
But The
Struggle
Continues*



AT the height of the Civil Rights Movement, Tommie Smith (center) & John Carlos were banned from the olympics for their black power salute, finishing first and third in the 200 Meters at the 1968 Olympics held in Mexico.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DEAR EDITOR:

As a job counselor who works at the Career Center at City College, I am outraged by the vote of the CUNY Board of Trustees to cut remediation at the City University of New York. As a job counselor at several New York City high schools as well as City College, I have spoken with thousands of high school students who are trying to get a good education while they are forced to work long hours in order to pay for food, clothing and rent for themselves and their families. Many students have been unable to pass tests, including college entrance tests, because they have been deprived of decent circumstances that would enable them to learn with ease. The decision to cut remediation further robs these students from getting the good education they are hoping for.

I am a student of the philosophy Aesthetic Realism, founded by the great educator Eli Siegel and now taught by Class Chairman Ellen Reiss. A crucial question first asked by Mr. Siegel which is vital to the future of CUNY and to education is "What does a person deserve by being a person?" This question has to be asked and answered by everyone on behalf of fairness to all people and to the true meaning of education.

The cuts in government services, including the barbaric slashing of public assistance, the increasing cost of tuition and forcing of people in to workfare has already forced many students to drop out of CUNY, further crippling their lives. I passionately believe that the cutting of remediation comes from the hope to downsize CUNY even more, so that less money will be spent on education. Meanwhile the city and the state regularly provide subsidies worth millions of dollars to private enterprises.

I have seen through studying the ethics of Aesthetic Realism for more than twenty years that there is something that people deserve. What a person has a right to is in the honest answer to these essential and urgent questions: How should public money be used? What should city and state money be spent on-having people's minds know more or to fund private business? How should the young citizens of this city, eager for an education be seen? Do they deserve to be seen in such a way that the best in them is encouraged or should they be seen as an interference to businessmen and politicians eager to use public money for private gain?

I respect every student working towards a decent education. The only ethical and practical thing to do is to use tax dollars to keep remediation so everyone can get the education they deserve. The knowledge that will enable justice to come to every student is in the study of Aesthetic Realism. www.AestheticRealism.org Sincerely,, Victim of the Press

The Voice

To what extent should a City University president, a civil and public official, be provided with free housing, a car with a driver, a hospitality account, a travel account, and the benefits go on?

I am bringing to your attention the recent purchase of a home on Beebe Street, for \$950,000, for Dr. Springer. The Dormitory Authority, to pass various State and CUNY financial procedures purchased the property for CASH.

With the University in shambles, given the Benno C. Schmidt report, how does it justify in, this day and age, the personal spending for a publicly funded City University president. Isn't this a practice long overdue for reform? City University presidents get free housing plus they have the college staff working on whatever is necessary for them in these houses. Dr. Springer has a full time cook, cleaner and landscaper, hired as college staff. When was the last time you heard a student being invited for a free lunch, let alone a dinner?

Two years ago, Dr. Springer had the colleges plumbing and electrical staff install at the rented house on Benedict Street, a hot tub. As recent as last spring she had the two college electrician's install additional switches, overhead lights and new wiring to address her personal needs, instead of correcting the campuses neglected walkway lights. The word now is that since this new house is owned by the University, college staff will be responsible for all maintenance and at the expense of the college needs. Since the Presidents move to the new house, college employees, cleaning, fixing, painting and moving furniture have spent hundreds of man-hours.

With a campus the size of CSI and funding at a minimum, how is it that money and staff are no object when it comes to the president, and how many scholarships could have been provided with \$950,000?

With a university system as large as ours, when will there be reform so that College Presidents understand their positions as public servant, be held accountable and treated accordingly. anonymous

Dear Sir/Miss:

After I read your article of CSI has plenty of problems in page two on October/November issue of the College Voice, I am glad that I am not alone with what I have facing in this sick college. This college is the reflection of what happened in the present United States. This college is sick, the United States is sick, too.

One more thing, the CSI's students most of them are chicken. They kept quiet with all those sick staff in this college.

This is my first semester after I have stopped for a year due to my personal problems. CSI welcomed me back with all kinds of bureaucracy, what a warm welcome for me.

I would love to contribute my stories to you if you like. You can contact me through my email: anonymous
Keep on your good work!



CUNY campuses all over New York

We welcome your letters and e-mails showing support and comments. You are also welcome to write about your problems concerning you, your families, friends, and communities.

The 1999 Trustee Resolution on Access to the City University of New York: Its Impact on Enrollment in Senior Colleges

DAVID LAVIN AND
ELLIOT WEININGER

In 1998 the Board of Trustees of the City University of New York passed a historic resolution requiring that applicants pass all three CUNY skills assessment tests (in math, reading and writing),⁽¹⁾ in order to be admitted to a bachelor's program. Various analysis have assessed the impact of the resolution on enrollments in the senior colleges. Estimates of effects vary, but all of them indicate that its implementation will sharply diminish enrollment in these institutions. For example, one assessment (Lavin and Weininger 1998) projected that enrollments in BA programs would have been reduced by 60 percent, had the new policy been in effect for the 1997 entrants. Another estimate by the University, using somewhat different assumptions, indicated that BA enrollments would decline by 46 percent (Arenson, 1998). Whatever the assumptions, it appears that the resolution will have a severe impact.

Of course, actual effects will not begin to be known until the year 2000, when the policy will start its initial phase-in.⁽²⁾ One may expect that the new requirements will not exclude weaker students from bachelor's programs in any simple, mechanical way. Weaker students, knowing they have little chance of admission, most likely will make other college choice decisions. Some may decide against applying at all and will take their chances in the labor market. Others may apply to four-year colleges outside of the CUNY system. Still others will hope to use community colleges as steppingstones to baccalaureate study.

In the interim, one may ask whether enrollments have been affected by the intense controversy that has swirled around the resolution, before and after it was initially passed in spring 1998. At first glance, CUNY data for fall 1998 suggest very little change, since overall enrollment is quite similar to the previous year, fall 1997 (for discussion of trends, see Arenson, 1999).

Overall Enrollment versus Freshman Enrollment.

However, a closer look indicates that total enrollment figures conceal far more than they reveal. This is apparent when one puts the spotlight on first-time

it has had an opportunity to cumulate over successive incoming classes. Freshmen are thus an excellent group for gauging longer-term impact. To clarify the enrollment question, we have looked at fall, first-time freshmen enrollments in senior colleges from 1992 through 1998. This examination suggests a far different and more ominous picture than the one represented by overall CUNY enrollment figures. Indeed, the focus on freshmen indicates that even before the phase-in of the new CUNY admissions resolution has started, a severe decline is occurring in senior college freshmen enrollments.

This can be seen in table 1, which shows fall enrollments for the seven colleges that exclusively provide bachelor's programs. It identifies two years in which there is a sharp change relative to the previous fall. One is 1998 where the number of entering freshmen diminished notably from the number in 1997. The second instance is 1995, which registered a steep decline relative to 1994.

These sudden fall-offs are highlighted in table 2, which presents year-to-year percentage changes in freshman enrollment. It confirms that sharp decreases—on the order of 15 percent—occurred only in 1994/95 and 1997/98 comparisons. Moreover, these are the only two comparisons in which declines occurred for every senior college.

These contractions across all colleges imply that more is involved than idiosyncratic factors in the admissions process for each institution. We suspect that a broader process is at work. The institutional unanimity of the declines and their timing coincide not only with actual changes in fiscal and/or academic policy but also with the threat of such changes. For example, in fall 1995 a 31 percent tuition increase took effect in senior colleges—from \$1,225 per term for first-time full-time freshmen in fall 1994 to \$1,600 in fall 1995 (the increase in community colleges was smaller, from \$1050 to \$1250—a 19 percent increase). Additionally, in spring 1995 a trustee resolution was passed restricting the amount of time that senior college students could spend taking remedial courses. The resolution was to take effect beginning in fall 1996 (see Jones, 1995). Both policy changes—accompanied by a great deal of media attention—most likely discouraged many students from

enrolling in CUNY senior colleges in fall 1995. Of course, we have no way of assessing the relative importance of the actual and impending changes on the freshman downturn. With respect to our main focus, fall 1998 freshmen enrollments, the May 1998

resolution banning remedial students entirely from senior colleges was accompanied by a high level of negative publicity about remedial courses at CUNY senior colleges and by attacks in the tabloid media on "low standards" at the University. Such "CUNY bashing"

may have discouraged many students from applying to CUNY senior colleges, even though the remedial resolution was not scheduled to go into effect until 1999.⁽³⁾ Especially among academically weaker students, perceptions that CUNY senior colleges were no longer open to them may have led many to apply instead to community colleges.

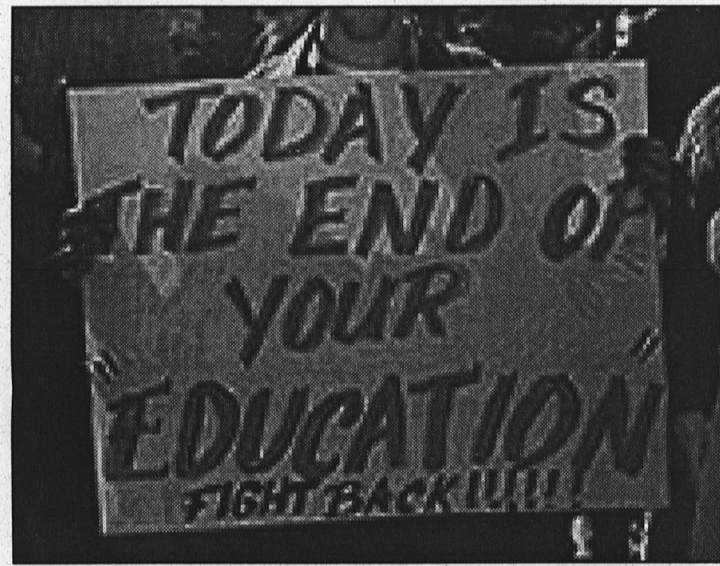
Two pieces of evidence are consistent with this speculation about the influence of "bad news" on student enrollments in fall 1998. First, at the same time that freshman classes were shrinking at the senior colleges, enrollments generally went up in community colleges and in comprehensive institutions that offer associate degree programs. Among the ten institutions offering associate

Lavin and Weininger, 1998). Moreover, since the ethnic composition of freshman classes varies considerably from one senior college to another, enrollments in those schools with the highest proportions of minority students would be diminished the most. Indeed, the data suggest that over time, the survival of institutions with the highest minority enrollments may become problematic.

Of critical importance is that even with improved pass rates on skill tests for the 1998 freshman class, stark ethnic inequalities continue. Among the 1998 freshmen, more than half of minority students failed to pass all three assessment tests, compared with 30 percent of whites. Both minority and white students at every senior college

would be affected.

For example, as can be inferred from table 3, 64 percent of black freshmen at City College failed to pass all tests and thus would be barred if the new resolution were in effect. Similarly, 72 percent of Hispanic freshmen would have been excluded from Lehman, as would 65 percent of Asians at Queens, and 57 percent of blacks at York. Among whites, almost a third at Brooklyn College and close to 30



percent at Queens would be turned away. Diminished access to senior colleges is even more disturbing when we take into account the fact that most minority graduates of these schools have taken remedial courses (Lavin and Weininger, 1998). The new resolution would have prevented these students from enrolling. As a result, it will severely diminish the number of minority students who earn bachelor's degrees in New York City. By this criterion, the use of CUNY skill tests is psychometrically inadequate. Any admissions standard is suspect if it bars entry to a large number of students who would be successful.

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Summary

Aggregate enrollment data seriously underestimate the longer-term declines in entry to CUNY. Although systematic research will be required to monitor and analyze the influence of trustee policy on access to the University, examination of first-time freshmen enrollments—the most sensitive indicator of trends, shows serious downturns in the number of students starting their college careers in baccalaureate programs. Strikingly, this is occurring even before the policy has been implemented. The estimated longer-term enrollment decline in BA programs has fundamental equity implications, since it is minority students who will be disproportionately barred from these programs. Because bachelor's attainment is necessary for access to postgraduate study and for the better rewarded positions in the economy of the New York area, the long-term negative impact on economic life chances will fall most heavily on students of color. But even though effects are especially harsh for these students, whites will take a heavy hit as well.



Students protest against the attack on higher education

freshmen, generally the most strategic group for assessing enrollment trends and access to higher education. Since a policy change that raises the admissions bar primarily affects incoming freshmen, the full effect of such a change on total enrollments can only become visible after

The Battle of Seattle

MITCHELL COHEN

I attended the protests in Seattle. The fact is, the much larger body of affinity groups that had planned (and was successful in) non-violently blockading the WTO delegates — including myself — knew of

plans of the window-breakers. They announced it at various meetings, and it was one of the debates within the overall body of some 1,000 people:

How does a movement deal with a subgroup within it which generally supports the ideals and strategy of the larger body, but announces that it will employ tactics that the overwhelming majority don't wish to engage in and actually oppose at that time? Do we call the cops? Do we police them ourselves? Do we let circumstances take their course? There was no agreement on any of this, except that we would not call the cops on anyone.

There is no doubt that the Seattle police knew not only of the window breakers' plans, but of those of every cluster of affinity groups as well. As soon as you walked into the main room of 420 Denny St., which the Direct Action network and Art and Revolution worked out of, and which was central headquarters for all of the nonviolent



blockade actions, you'd see a huge map of the convention center area covering an 8-foot-square wall, with affinity group clusters designated by letters A-Z in "pie-slices" sectioning off the spots they would occupy on November 30. Since the police were officially and unofficially in-and-out of that location throughout the week, any thought that the cops did not know what was being planned — even to the point of having extensive knowledge of each and every affinity group cluster — is ridiculous. Which is why they let 420 Denny remain open; they had full access to all the decisions being made at the nerve center.

Why shut it down and make their job so much more difficult, as well as scatter affinity groups throughout the community? And so we end up with the absurdity of people like Medea Benjamin, of Global Exchange, calling for the police to arrest the window breakers! In the name of non-violence! What an outrage. Did she think the police would be less violent than those who broke a couple of windows — at superstores (no small or "family" stores were touched) built on the blood of sweatshop workers and superexploited labor, such as Nike?

When you get down to it, a dozen windows or so were busted. Coming from New York, what's the big deal? The real danger was the stones bouncing back at the demonstrators from plastic windows! What an absurd scene, as protesters dove out of the way of the ricocheting rocks! No stores were burned to the ground. No people were physically assaulted by the demonstrators, not even by the window-breakers. No burning dumpsters were pushed through the windows. And very little looting took place — the windows were done in for political reasons, not for

personal economic aggrandizement. I refused to take part in those actions NOT because I am against those activities in principle, but because our non-violent blockade was far more effective and powerful. And window-breaking is hardly adequate for what the mass-murderers who own Nike, The Gap, Banana Republic, and Old Navy actually deserve. (The latter three companies are all owned by the notorious Fischer family, which not only profits from sweatshop misery in Southeast Asia but has been clearcutting the last old-growth forests in the Northwest US.)

Interestingly, in one of the local corporate papers, a reporter asked some of those whom she recognized from the window-breaking the day before, why they were out marching with the Teamsters and other union members. "It's not like all we do is break windows," came the reply.

One other item: In New York we'd been subjected to repeated mass and indiscriminate spraying of Malathion and other dangerous insecticides over the entire population, environment and waterways of the city. The spraying is expected to resume again in the Spring. Malathion is a neurotoxin, an organophosphate — a class of chemicals derived from nerve gas prepared during World War 2, and responsible (so says the British government) for causing Gulf War Syndrome, which the officials in Britain claim is organophosphate poisoning". Thousands of people have been coming down sick with all sorts of nerve-related ailments. In Seattle, it is becoming increasingly evident that some sort of neurotoxin was used either instead of or mixed in with the "pepper spray" in certain areas. Doctors have examined dozens of protesters whose symptoms are asymptomatic for pepper spray and more akin to being exposed to neural disruptors like malathion or some other neurotoxin. Also, various experimental genetically engineered vaccines, particularly for Anthrax, were shipped to Seattle — were

these distributed? We don't know. Could the federal government be performing chemical and biological warfare experiments on protesters in the US, using any excuse — alleged encephalitis "epidemic" in New York (a total fallacy), "state of emergency" and "mass violence" in Seattle (another fallacy) — to panic the public sufficiently into allowing all sorts of new weapons to be used?



In Seattle, we struck a real blow against the WTO, and carried the struggle against all the institutions of global capitalism — the IMF, World Bank, USAID — to a new level. New (and tenuous) alliances were made "between Teamsters and Turtles", as my favorite sign there read. Another favorite: "Brush with Direct Action — Helps Prevent Truth Decay". But the repressive apparatus of the State also advanced, testing out new and dangerous weapons, under the aegis of secret agents of the US military who were sent there.

Check out this CNN report that has received little notice: "Troops sent to Seattle as part of terrorism contingency plan."

SEATTLE (CNN) — In addition to hundreds of very visible Army National Guard troops called-up because of the civil disturbances in Seattle, more than 160 active duty military personnel, including a small number of Special Forces troops, were sent to Seattle by the Defense Department for the meeting of the World Trade Organization. The military mission, according to the Pentagon, is to "provide support" to the FBI, Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), U.S. Secret Service and other government agencies responsible for security there. The military specialists are in place largely to provide expertise and assist in coordinating a federal response in the event of a terrorist attack during such a high-profile event. According to Defense Department documents obtained by CNN, 131 U.S. Army, 27 U.S. Air Force, and eight U.S. Navy personnel were sent to Seattle to perform roles from ordnance disposal to standing by for possible chemical or biological attack by terrorist groups. Four special forces troops from the Joint Special Operations Task Force were deployed to Seattle to be on hand to advise FBI "crisis support" agents in the event of a catastrophic terrorist

event involving chemical or biological weapons or hostage taking. Two of the four special operations experts have since left the city, according to an informed Pentagon official who spoke on the condition that he not be named.

Fifty-five military Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) teams, along with 25 explosive-detecting dogs and their handlers, were sent. The soldiers

are "operating in civilian attire — keeping a low presence," the Defense Department documents say. Troops there are from various military fiefdoms including the U.S. Special Operations Command, the U.S. Forces Command, the U.S. Army Biological-Chemical Command, the U.S. Air Force Security Forces Command and the U.S. Joint Forces Command. Eight divers, making up two Navy dive teams, were sent to provide support to the Secret Service for President Clinton's visit, which ended Thursday. The action is not unusual for presidential security.

The Department of Health and Human Services and FEMA have set up a "staging area" for their operations at the U.S. Naval Reserve Center-Lake Union in Seattle. Eight military personnel are assigned to that site. The HHS-FEMA site is pre-positioned to respond to major health catastrophes such as a biological agent attack, according to a well-informed source.

Questions that must be answered because of this are:

Who really was in command of all police and military personnel once the city went into a state of "Civil Emergency"?

Which, if any, of these military personnel and their equipment/munitions were actively involved in situations dealing with American Citizens?

What specific role did these military personnel and their equipment/munitions have in situations dealing with American Citizens?

It also raises the very serious question as to why police were allowed to roam the streets with authority to use deadly force if necessary without proper identification?

Were some of these unidentifiable police in actuality military personnel and is this the reason they refused to give proper identification when asked?

Another article of importance comes from the official USAF website's news section. The article was written by Army Master Sgt. Bob Haskell and published on December 3rd, 1999. http://www.af.mil/news/Dec1999/n19991203_992177.html

We need to re-examine our strategies and tactics in light of the willingness of the State, under Clinton and Gore as much as under Bush, to develop and deploy chemical and biological weapons against ANY protester here in the US, as well as people facing the might of the US military or weapons sold by the US to other forces elsewhere in the world. And, we need to ask: Who are the real purveyors of violence? Who are the Real terrorists?

Mitchel Cohen, Brooklyn Greens, Green Party of NY, and the Red Balloon Collective



Transit Workers Push then Pulled Union Misleaders Undermine Struggle

By JOHN SMOLNY

Only hours after over three thousand combative members met at the first mass membership meeting in over thirty years the leadership of Local 100, Transport Workers Union, sold out like cowards to the bully tactics of the Giuliani Administration and Mass Transit Authority (MTA.) What should have been a decisive victory for labor turned out to be, for the moment, another win for the bosses.

It is impossible to understand the contract fight without going over the various forces at work. At play in this battle between workers and their bosses was massive Wall St. profits and government surpluses (the MTA had recorded multi-million dollars surpluses the past four years adding up to close to a billion dollars); the ascendance of a corporate right-wing Mayor whose known for his "law and order" ideology; and a weak union leadership lacking the confidence of a hungry and increasingly militant rank and file willing to fight, i.e., strike if need be, to get what they believe is a "fair" contract.

Add to this mix New Directions, an internal opposition whose influence is growing in the Local and you end up with something that is in transition. A situation, whether the contract is approved or not, in New York City labor where a dissident opposition can become a leading force in the class struggle or the union will revert back to a demoralized insurance company for the bosses.

Contract Contents - Productivity Givebacks and Privatization

Originally demanding a 30% wage increase over three years, Local 100 President, Willie James, walked out of

negotiations with only a 12% raise and little else of significance in the contract. Key issues like the removal of the use of welfare worker on the property, the end of the "sick control list" and "progressive discipline" that were on the top of the list for the members were not met. Clearly the contract settlement falls short of the



We got the power

memberships expectations and there is a good chance that it will be voted down.

For the leadership of the union they are banking on the money to win the vote, i.e., vulgar economism. Tagged onto to the contract is a clause stating that the TA will back up legislation reducing the pension contribution of the membership by 2.3%. The only problem is that the membership was promised pension reform the year before, only to watch Willie James re-elected while the pension promises went down the drain. So with promises of pension reform being made once again, the rank and file is

rightfully distrustful.

If you remove the wage increases you are left with some major productivity givebacks and the potential splitting (from subways) and privatization of the buses. While New Directions was calling for an "end to a generation of givebacks" the leadership was busy making deals.

The TA has long sought to privatize as much as possible of public transportation, and to undermine civil service for the sake of "increased productivity." In this contract they can make great strides if approved.

Over the last decade they have contracted out and privatized various parts of the system to "save costs" via non-union labor, while internally they have streamlined, or what is known as broadbanded several titles into one. By broadbanding the TA undermines titles, seniority and pick rights, and increases the rate of exploitation while reducing the amount of workers needed in a particular location. They also replace promotion via a civil service exam with resume applications, leading to more cases of favoritism and discrimination. Obviously for the worker the intensification of work and the de-skilling of his profession are the end result of this managerial scheme, while simultaneously undermining their civil service status.

This time around the TA has focused

on the maintenance divisions in subways and buses introducing massive broadbanding contract language. Of course the union leadership and the TA attempt to sweeten the deal by adding a few pennies to the workers in those sections directly effected, if the contract is approved.

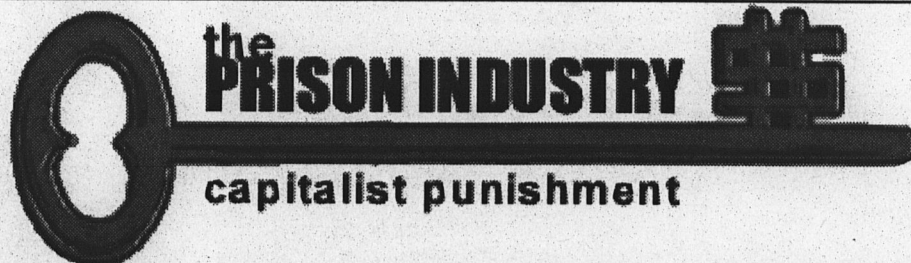
Union Leadership Welcomes Gag Order

What particularly upset many members were the cowardly acts by the leadership in the face of Giuliani's anti-democratic injunction. This anti-labor injunction stated that any talk (even on the phone) of job actions or striking as an alternative to winning a good contract was illegal. In the event of a strike members would be subject to drastic fines of \$25,000 per day and severe disciplinary action, while the union itself fined one million the first day of a strike and doubling each additional day.

While this draconian anti-worker move by Giuliani only further infuriated much of the membership it gave the leadership a way out of living up to previous militant threats alluding to a strike. Besides whimpering in front of this threat the International Union's lawyer was mute when New Directions lawyer and the New York Civil Liberties Union challenged the injunction in court. They agreed with the TA to let the injunction stand for another week.

Also typifying the craven character of the leadership was Vice President Gil Rodreguiz at the mass membership meeting who would not even utter the word "strike" out of fear of breaking the law. Needless to say the rank and file that was at the meeting could not believe

continued on page 15



Prisons and Poverty: A Nation in Crisis

The United States spends more on prisons and incarcerates more people than any other industrialized country in the world. Over 5 million are in prison, on parole or probation, or are incarcerated in INS detention centers. Between 1971 and 1992, public spending on prisons alone jumped from \$2.3 billion to \$31.2 billion. Altogether, corrections spending is growing at a faster rate than Medicaid, higher education, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children. In 1995, prison building expenditures jumped by \$926 million while university construction dropped by \$954 million.

Prisons and Profit
Prisons soak up over \$32 billion while generating billions of dollars in profit for big business. Corporations are receiving a growing proportion of our tax dollars to operate private prisons and provide services. Between 1987 and 1996, the number of inmates in private prisons jumped from 3,122 to 78,000. The prison industry generates an estimated \$40 billion a year.

Who Profits?

Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) is the largest private prison corporation in the world.

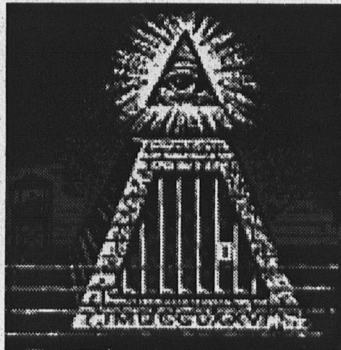
American Express and General Electric invested in private prisons in Oklahoma and Tennessee.

AT&T, Sprint, and MCI charge inmates and their families as much as 6 times the normal cost of a long-distance call within the U.S.

Chevron, TWA, and Victoria's Secret use prison labor to do data entry, book telephone reservations, and make lingerie at 23 cents an hour.

UNICOR, the federal prison industry corporation, uses inmates to make recycled furniture at \$40 a month for a 40-hour work week.

The Oregon Prison Industries manufacture "Prison Blues" blue jeans which it promotes with an ad showing a young Latino inmate saying, "I say we should make bell bottoms. They say I've been here too long."



Prisons and Social Control: Who goes to prison?

The so-called "War on Drugs" has made poor people, people of color, women, youth, and undocumented immigrants the primary targets of the prison industrial complex.

In 1994, one in three black men between the ages of 20-29 were in prison, jail, on probation or on parole. In 1995, 47% of state and federal inmates were black, the largest group behind bars. Black men were 7 times more likely than white men to be in prison.

In 1993, Asians, Pacific Islanders, American Indians, and Alaskan natives made up 2% of prison population. Native Americans are 10 times more likely than whites to be imprisoned.

Latinos are the fastest growing group behind bars. Between 1985 and 1995, Latinos jumped from 10% of all state and federal inmates to 18%.

In 1993, whites made up

74% of the general population, but only 36% of federal and state prison inmates.

In 1970 there were 5,600 women in federal and state prisons. By 1996, there were 75,000. 60% of that population are black and Latina.

In 1995, 45% of state prison inmates were unemployed at the time of their arrest. The rest reported an income of less than \$10,000.

In 1993, the overall incarceration rate for juveniles was 221 per 100,000; for Latino youth it was 481 per 100,000; and for black youth it was 810 per 100,000. Juvenile arrests fell by 4% in 1995, but only after a 64% rise in the previous 7 years.

25% of federal prison inmates will be deported after serving their sentences.

In 1992, the number of undocumented immigrants detained by the INS was 82,326. This does not include the 30,000 Haitian refugees held at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba that year. In addition to 9 INS detention centers and 5 private contract facilities, the INS has contracts with 900 state and local jails to provide detention centers.

A Shadow of Justice

A Commentary by Mumia Abu-Jamal

News Item: Reputed mob figures Al Daidone and "Long" John Martorano were released from prison after 19 years imprisonment, after the Pa. Supreme Court affirmed the earlier decision of the Superior Court reversing their murder convictions in connection with the killing of labor leader John McCollough. A divided court ruled that prosecutorial misconduct in the case precluded a retrial.

The November 1999 decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, freeing Messrs. Daidone and Martorano, made barely a flicker in the nation's newlines. It is a local story, not worthy of the attention of a nation wrapped in hypnotic fascination with the upcoming elections.

But I think this story is of utmost importance. Here's why.

Every fact that led to the reversal of their murder convictions was evident from the day that their trial transcript was typed up; when the arguments of the state prosecutor were made and recorded; long before the first appeal brief was written.

It took 19 years for the state's highest

court to rule that what happened in a Philadelphia courtroom so many years ago was unconstitutional, and that what prosecutors did was so fundamentally unfair that no retrial could correct it.

For 19 years Daidone and Martorano were separated from friends and family, consigned to small concrete and steel enclosures for most of their days, with a sentence of life over their heads. For several years after their retrial was granted, death row, if reconvicted!

In the two decades since their conviction, the trial judge, after at least one unsuccessful try at a higher judicial



office, retired from the bench. Their former D.A. left the office, reportedly to represent state police. The head D.A. [Ed Rendell] became mayor, left office, and presently contemplates the governorship. By utilizing the now common term, "prosecutorial misconduct," local media reports underplay and obscure what went on in the courtroom almost 20 years ago.

Prosecutorial misconduct is shorthand for evidence-tampering, improper arguments to the jury, and using other unfair tactics to convict the two men.

Let me make it plain: In Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v.

Daidone & Martorano, prosecutors used false evidence, and even argued on the basis of such false evidence that a judge or jury should convict these two men of first-degree murder and send them to prison for the rest of their lives. As it is, two men spent two decades in hell, and those who prosecuted them, using tactics that even the Pennsylvania Supreme Court couldn't swallow, moved on up through the system, got raises, raised families, or retired on cushy pensions.

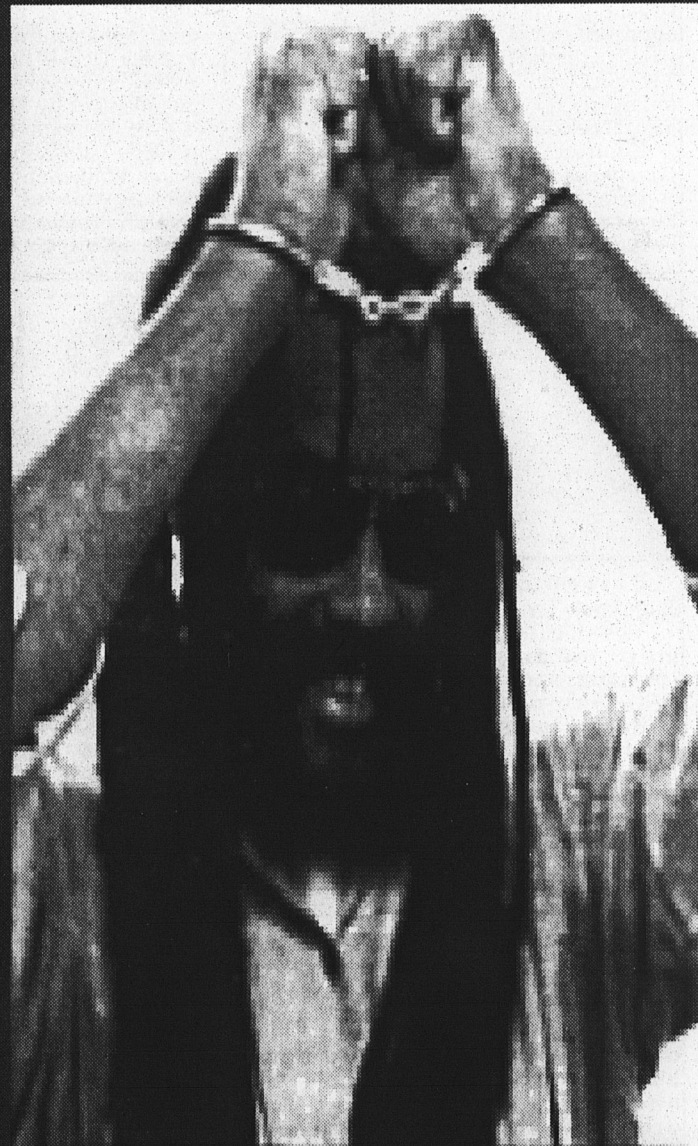
In several American states, the 19 years that Messrs. Daidone and Martorano have already spent in state and county jails and prisons would constitute life sentences. They served the equivalent of life sentences, based on prosecutorial misconduct at their trials. After the passage of so much time, their freedom looks less like justice, and more like its pale shadow.

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Poem for Mumia

Bulldozing through ignorance,
violence,
bigotry, shame, hatred, and silence
To reach truth
To embrace beauty
To give life a place to live
Demanding the most simple rights
Means revolution
In the land of the oppressed
Home of the coward -
who stole even the paper upon which
he wrote our stolen history
with invisible ink.
On the other end
Mumia's pen
Is filled with dark permanence
The truth of which he writes
Cannot be washed away
It is rooted in goodness
Sealed in justice
And encased in reality
Inescapable generosity
His very existence is an offering
of hope.
Fighting fistless
Screaming through bullet-proof glass
And still he delivers the punch
His message heard loud and clear
From Philadelphia
To South Africa:
"I am a man you cannot kill."
"For my spirit is already in the
people."
Kill me
And you kill yourself.
The old will recognize your true
murderous nature
The young will lose all hope in
your system
And what happens when hope is lost?
If it is true hope
The spirit dies
If it is false hope
The spirit finds a new path
The mind's eye opens
And the mission is clear:
Alleviate the suffering
Eliminate the source
Greed, fear, lust, and power
Dawning contemporary robes
Undertaking new identities
As capitalism, sexism,
homophobia, racism,
and classism
All of these evils spewing forth from
Mommy's mouth and Daddy's lips
To baby's ear
Regenerating violence
As every fifteen minutes
A woman in America is beat.
As every time I leave my house
I'm treated like a piece of meat.
As every third Black man will soon be

off the street
And behind bars!
This Keynesian bullshit's leaving scars
And what does our generation have
To anoint the slayed flesh?
To mend the broken bones?
Our father who art in prison
Hallowed be thy name
Though your belly bears no womb
You have given birth
Though you are Abu to only a few
You have many children
For all those who have read
your words
Heard your voice
Or know your story
Have been taught a lesson in reality
Have been given a dose of nou-
rishment
Have been cared for by your
unseen hands.
You have been unable to embrace
your wife
For as long as I have been alive
But I am your daughter.
A father is one who creates new
life energy
And this you have awakened in me.
A father is one who gives
reinforcement when
the soul is tired
Indeed you have invigorated me.
A father is one who weeps with his
wounded children
In fact, you swallowed our defeats.
A father is one who protects
and defends his
young
And still your heart melts steel
To hold us close in one hand
And fight our predators with the other.
As your children
We will do the same for you.
Millions for Mumia
Children for Abu
Justice for Jamal!
-RAINY DEMERSON
(UCLA YSA)



Freedom For Mumia Abu-Jamal

Commentary by Mumia Abu-Jamal: Their Press, Their Media

No country was ever ruled by so mean a class of tyrants as, with a few noble exceptions, are the editors of the periodical press in this country. And as they live and rule only by their servility, and appealing to their worst, and not the better nature of man, the people who read them are in the condition of the dog that returns to his vomit.

-Henry David Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience and other Essays" (1849)

The media is the agency through which millions of minds are formed in our world today. How folks see the world, and how they perceive how lives are led, is mediated through the lens and the newspapers of capital.

In the past, media was largely the tool of capital. Today, they are capital; subsidiaries of some of the largest and wealthiest conglomerates of corporate power in the world.

With the powerful concentration of media corporations taking place today, more and more such entities are coming under the control of fewer and fewer individuals. The "mass" media is fast becoming a tool of powerfully amassed capital.

As long ago as 1947, Henry Luce-founder of Time, Life, and Fortune magazines-commissioned a report on the press, which brought out the following:

The Press: wields enormous power for its own ends; propagates its own opinions at the expense of opposing views; allows advertisers to dictate editorial content; resists social change; prefers the superficial and sensational; endangers

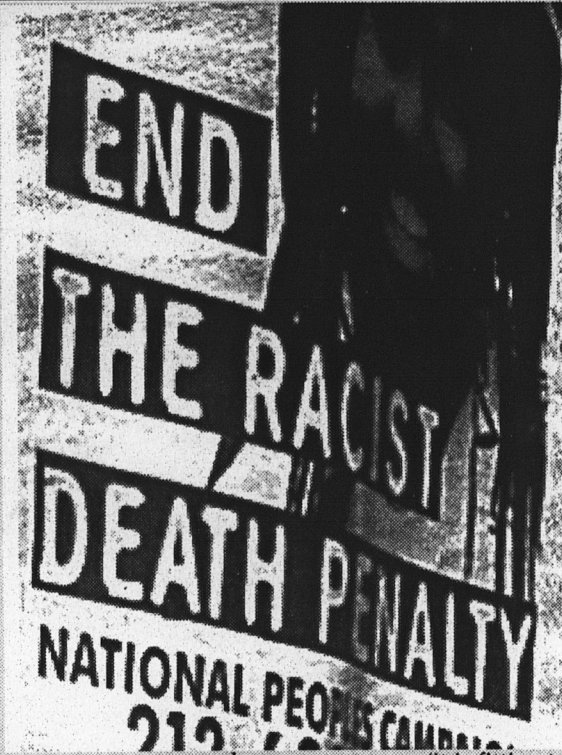
public morals; invades privacy; is dominated by one socioeconomic class; and interferes with the open marketplace of ideas (Imprimis [28/7]: July 1999, pp. 2,3).

Although the extraordinary findings of the report caused considerable consternation and disturbance, little has changed in the ensuing five decades. Indeed, things are far worse now-this is the age of Media power. It determines what the subject of public debate is in society. It determines the limits of social discourse. It determines the limits of social rage.

It sees what it wants to see; it ignores what it wants to ignore. And as a power unto itself, it guides and corrals social and political activity, by channeling public attention in ways that the rulers dictate and allow.

This can perhaps best be seen in the most deadly role played by the media: the demonization game. It utilizes the propaganda tactics of repetition and volume to determine who is the enemy of the day: Saddam Hussein or Muammar Khaddafi? Slobodan Milosevic or Farah Muhammad Aidid?

America, a nation born, forged, and reborn in the horrors of war, loves nothing



more than a new enemy (it is fitting to remember that the bloodiest, deadliest war was the war between the states-the Civil War, with over 600,000 casualties!). It is imperative that a new enemy be found, for the military-industrial complex needs such things to insure its continuous profit from the death business.

This marketing of America's enemies ensures the militarization of America, the wealthiest nation on earth, and the continuing repression of much of the third world under American imperial power. There are forces in America that truly wept when the Soviets ceased to be a factor in world affairs.

When international enemies cease to serve their function, the media insures that we have domestic enemies. In the 1960s, it was the Black Panther Party; in the 1970s, it was the Black Liberation Army; in the 1980s it was MOVE; and in the 1990s it is the poor, the homeless, the maliciously named "underclass." New enemies, newly minted others upon whom the guns, and weapons of the rulers can be mobilized and readied.

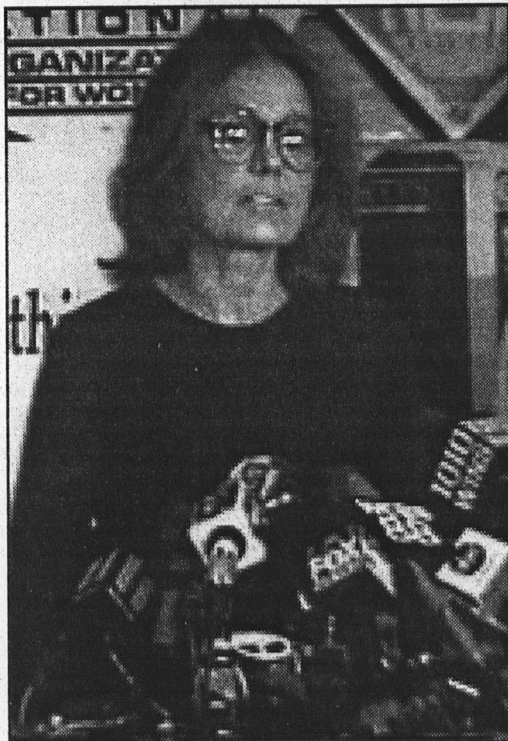
In such a social construct, there is no "us"; there is no "we"; there are only THEM. Who does the pointing, the subtle targeting, the social distinction-making?

That is the role of the media, who do not actually mediate between free so-called "citizens," but mediates on behalf of the wealthy; those who own the media, and those who consume their products. In such a media-generated consumer culture, everything-everything-is Just another commodity. A thing to be packaged, to be sold, and to serve their interest.

What is urgently needed is a new People's Media-a labor-oriented, human-centered, popular media-which examines and projects from the position of the many, not the few. That day is not here. But it must be coming.

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Gloria Steinem Speaks Out for Mumia Abu-Jamal



Gloria Steinem, feminist and founder of Ms. magazine

Something is very rotten in the state of Pennsylvania. Gov. Ridge has signed 176 death warrants in the last five years. That's five times more than his predecessors signed in 25 years.

He has done this in defiance of the Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Bar Associations, both of which have urged a moratorium until the death penalty can be shown to be racially unbiased and otherwise justified. Right now, the percentage of African American men on death row is nearly 700 percent higher than in the population at large, a larger racial disparity than in any other state.

This means that an African American man growing up in Philadelphia is eleven and a half times more likely to end up on death row than one in Georgia or Alabama. Mumia Abu-Jamal is the most famous such man. A radio journalist and political activist, he was accused and convicted of shooting a Philadelphia police officer. However, there are allegations of 29 constitutional violations in his trial, as well as prosecutorial misconduct, racial

case will join those that undermine public faith in the justice system, and live on in history as a divisive force.

Since the death penalty was reinstated in 1976, for example, 82 prisoners have been exonerated. If there is no new trial, it may appear that the governor supports this execution in order to render a case moot and conceal errors in the system. It is in his own interest-both in the short term politically and the long term historically-to re-think his signing of the death warrant.

Right now, the percentage of African American men on death row is nearly 700 percent higher than in the population at large, a larger racial disparity than in any other state.

However, there are allegations of 29 constitutional violations in his trial, as well as prosecutorial misconduct, racial bias in jury selection, and fabrication of evidence.

bias in jury selection, and fabrication of evidence. There may also be new evidence of his innocence.

There must be a new trial. If not, this

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a human being who deserves the same defense and respect that each of us would want. That would be reason enough. But he also

stands for many other people, past, present, and future.

His case could encourage a crucial examination of the death penalty. It could lead us to investigate the prison industrial complex, and the reasons why more and more prisons are being built even as the crime rate declines. It could help reveal who is in prison-and why.

Most important right now is the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. But his case is also crucial to our safety and democracy. We all have a stake in the nature of justice in Pennsylvania.



100 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

The Year 2000 marks a century of struggle. From the Russian Revolution to the Civil Rights Movement. The struggles throughout the world are all similar in that they are fighting against an oppressor. A common oppressor. This is the same oppressor that the Russian Bolshevik Party overthrew in 1917, it is the same oppressors that Emiliano Zapata lost his life to defeat. Still we battle these rulers who try to maintain their status quo. The Russian Revolution helped in the advancement of humanity. It was Russia in 1920 that became the first country to legalize abortion. The influence of the Revolution helped in establishing workers rights such as, unions and the right to live a decent life. The revolution spread all over the

world especially the east. In China, the peasantry, led by Mao Zedong, freed themselves from the treacherous landlords who owned all the land while the peasantry were hungry and dying, the revolution also relieved women from the burden of foot-binding and the backwardness of feudal living. In 1959, the Cuban people courageously ended the US backed dictatorship of Batista. The Cuban Revolution brought about a better quality of life. Cuba now has free education and healthcare for all. The US blockade on Cuba has made life harder for the Cuban people who want to establish a socialist society. Unfortunately, the struggle is not over yet and is happening in our everyday life. Everyday the poor and people of color in America fight

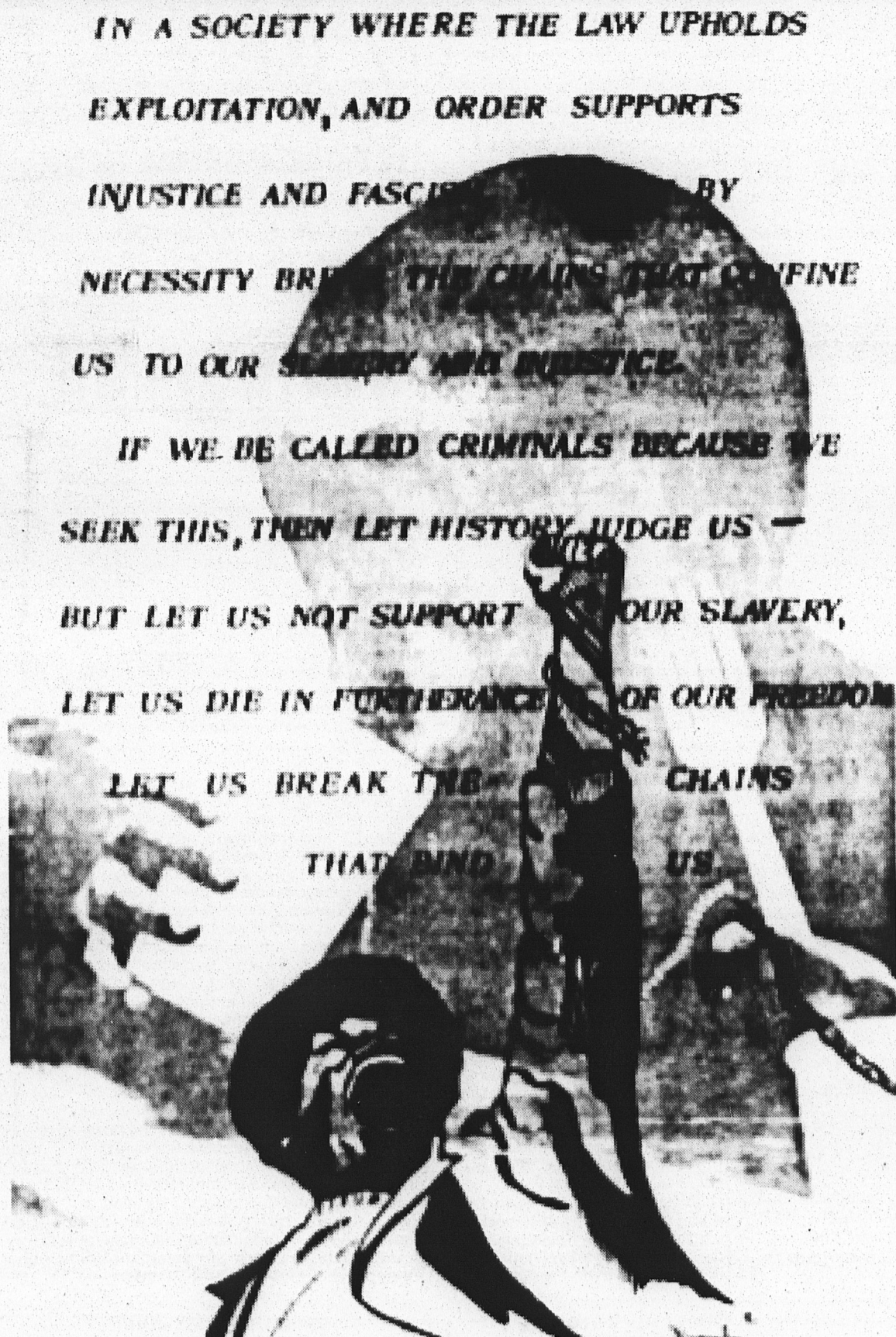
racist police terror. All over the world the working class battles the capitalist by having strikes and shutting down production. Women all over the world are trying to end sexism which exists in our everyday life. If you think the struggle is over, your wrong. Mumia Abu-Jamal, is still on death row now for exposing the racism and brutality of the state towards the African American community. Iraq is still suffering from an economic blockade which is killing 6,000 babies a month. There is more poor in the world than ever before. Wealth exist but is not shared with the 6 billion people who live on planet earth. Instead a small group of people own all the wealth and they are the reasons that poverty exists. They are the

reason that wars are always happening. They start imperialist wars to expand their wealth and power. That is why we celebrate 100 years of struggle, we do not celebrate the emancipation of humanity but the struggle that humanity is waging everyday. The struggle is not over until everyone has the right to a decent living. The war continues until the cancer of poverty is wiped off the face of the earth. It will continue until we look at women as equal human beings. It will definitely continue unless the wealth of the world is equally distributed among it's inhabitants. Join the struggle to create a better way for all people, because there is a better way!!!



The struggle for the emancipation for people of color is not over. Racism and oppression has not vanished yet. It's been over 30 years since Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr and the Black Panthers shook the oppressive claws of the United States. The Claws of the vulture has been shaken but not broken. This month marks one year since Amadou Diallo was gunned down by the NYPD. Mumia Abu-Jamal has been sitting on death row for almost 20 years for a crime he did not commit. His crime was being part of the Black Panthers and fighting for the freedom of African Americans. Abner Louima was viciously tortured with a plunger by several police officers. In 1994, one in three black men between the ages of 20-29 were in prison, jail, on probation or on parole. In 1995, 47% of state and federal inmates were black, the largest group behind bars. Black men were 7 times more likely than white men to be in prison. This is what the United States calls freedom. The prison industry generates an estimated \$40 billion a year. They are using prison inmates for slave labor. Nowadays the government is spending more money on prisons than higher education. Apartheid racism still exist in America. People of color are being shot in the streets of America because the color of their skin. Black history should not stop at the Civil Rights Movement but should continue until true justice, liberty and the pursuit of happiness really exists. The Struggle has gone far but not far enough. Now that our revolutionaries are either dead or in jail oppression and racism will thrive. We need to join hand in hand in the battle against police brutality, war and the freedom for political prisoners. Let's not wait until it's too late.

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IN A SOCIETY WHERE THE LAW UPHOLDS
 EXPLOITATION, AND ORDER SUPPORTS
 INJUSTICE AND FASCISM, BY
 NECESSITY BREAK THE CHAINS THAT CONFINE
 US TO OUR SUFFERING AND INJUSTICE.
 IF WE BE CALLED CRIMINALS BECAUSE WE
 SEEK THIS, THEN LET HISTORY JUDGE US —
 BUT LET US NOT SUPPORT OUR SLAVERY,
 LET US DIE IN FURTHERANCE OF OUR FREEDOM
 LET US BREAK THE CHAINS
 THAT BIND US

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WTO Protests: Bosses Go Sleepless in Seattle

BY ROY ROLLIN

"...In place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, (the bourgeoisie) has set up that single, unconscionable freedom - Free Trade."

- Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The Communist Manifesto" (1848)

While the long awaited computer snafus never materialized on New Year's Eve, "Y2K" came four weeks earlier for America's ruling rich in Seattle when mass demonstrations against the World Trade Organization (WTO) shook the "Emerald City" of Starbucks, Amazon.com. and Bill Gates, the world's richest man. For the self proclaimed masters of the universe in the "New World Order" the site of tens of thousands of workers and students rallying against the unbridled exploitation and oppression that "globalization" has brought with it and the WTO has come to symbolize, was, to say the least, a rude awakening. After all, things like that supposedly went out with the sixties. When the Berlin Wall came down a decade ago, capitalism and its commentators like Francis Fukuyama crowed how their victory was a not only a triumph for "democracy," "the final form of human government," but "the end point of mankind's ideological evolution" as well. Yet what could be more undemocratic than a hand full of rich white men, most of whom no-one elected to any office in the first place, getting together behind closed doors to decide the fate of the world or as a WTO official candidly admitted, "governments collude(ing) in private against their domestic pressure groups." While this has always been the real face of capitalist "democracy" for those of us who have to work for a living (when was the last time workers were asked to vote on their being layed off or having their salaries cut?) the WTO's secretive sessions allowed the whole world to see it for what is, was and always will be...government of, by, and for the rich.

A decade ago capitalism's media mouthpieces and academic apologists like Fukuyama proclaimed the "end of history" amidst the collapse of the Soviet bloc states. This was supposed to prove that money really did make the world go round and any and all attempts to change that, be it socialist revolution or even social welfare, were bound to meet the same sorry end the Soviet experiment did. Goes against "human nature," you see, or as Orlando Figes, one of their hack historians put it, "the (Russian revolution) went...wrong...because (its) ideals were themselves impossible." Adam Michnik, a former Polish "dissident" chimed in how "utopias lead to the guillotine and the gulag." In other words, the rule of the rich, be it good, bad or otherwise, was here to stay. No less than those who make a living off of lying for the right, many on the demoralized designer "left" became advocates of capitalism with a human face at a time when the ruling class was not about to smile any smiles at anyone else

but each other. For all of them, "democracy," was about as good as good was gonna' or as one of them, Eric Hobsbawm, put it "the bad results of the market can be and have been to some extent controlled." That would have come as a bit of surprise to the ruling rich for whom the post-Soviet world of "neoliberalism" was indeed the best system that money could buy. With "greed is good" as its battlecry, Wall Street set its sites on anything and everything that moved (and some things that didn't as well) as fair game within the new "unified global economy." As for any "rogue regimes" unwilling to play by the new set of rules, a heady dose of death and destruction, "humanitarian"-style, of course, would be shortcoming now that the USSR was at long last out of the way. For as Thomas Friedman of the New York Times bluntly stated, "for globalization to work, America can't be afraid to act like the almighty superpower that it is. The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist...and the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technology is called the US Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps."

New World Disorder

Weather it be in the so-called first, second or third worlds, the perspective of the ruling rich is one and the same: private profit before public need, untold riches for the few and endless misery for the many without even a pretense of trying to smooth over the differences anymore. Whatever its shortcomings may have been, the demise of the USSR and its Eastern bloc allies has only further emboldened the appetites of the ruling rich, be it east, west, north or south. Instead of the peace and prosperity it promised with the ending of the cold war, capitalist restoration and democratic counter-revolution in the former Soviet bloc have brought with it fratricidal slaughter and mass misery on a scale not seen in Europe since the Second World War. While the wars in what used to be Yugoslavia and Chechnya have claimed the most lives and caused the most damage, countless other nationalist blood feuds and similar such sordid squabbles regularly rage across the former USSR. Then there is the economic instability and immense immiseration that the "transition to the market economy" has brought with it as its inevitable bi-products. By 1997 the economies of most of the former workers' states were half the size they had been ten years ago and death rates were up by 9% in Romania, 12% in Bulgaria and 32% in Russia with diseases like tuberculosis, considered conquered long ago, running rampant. Of course, other "diseases" conquered long ago like unemployment, homelessness and hunger had a hand as well. And all of them could be attributed to the same quack "cure" of "shock therapy" recommended by Western economic "experts."

For the "Third World," debt bondage and underdevelopment remain business as usual. Country after country groans under the weight of IMF-inspired austerity programs that "privatize" (ie, pillage and plunder) those sectors of the economy that might have been able to provide some degree of economic independence for the countries concerned (ie, oil in Mexico, tin in Bolivia). In other words, Wall Street keeps the cashbox closed until those resources that were previously considered off limits become fair game for the financial sharks of the west while their local stand-ins get to sift through the leftovers. For the masses of workers and peasants, not even the crumbs

are on offer any more. In Latin America, 36% of all families live at or below the poverty level and in Africa the figure is more than 55% for the rural population. Meanwhile almost a billion people now languish in unplanned "shantytowns."

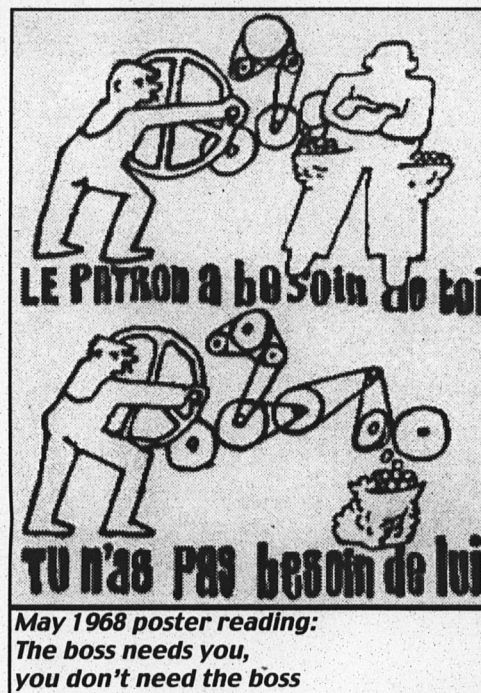
Many, no doubt, would consider this pure and simple extortion or blackmail were it being put into practice by the local loan shark. Its employment by the corporate kingpins who call the shots on the world market rather than the local street corner, however, goes by the names of "free enterprise," and "globalization." And its victims have not been limited to working people in in the former Soviet bloc or in "Third World" countries either. With the Soviet "threat" no longer hanging over them, West European bosses and their governments no longer felt constrained to maintain "welfare states" as cutting costs to stay

established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed." What "globalization" today means is that, with the USSR out of the way, imperialism aims to break down any and all barriers to the "free" movement of capital and exert its "right" to freely exploit the resources and labor of any and every country out there. Hence the existence of bodies like the WTO which the monopolies (today referred to as "multi-national" or "trans-national" corporations) and the states that stand behind them use to regulate that division. There are, of course, those who like to claim that capital now knows no boundaries or national loyalties; such theories, however, only exist to absolve their mostly academic authors from opposing their own ruling classes acts of imperialist aggression. As the Times' Friedman made clear, "the hidden fist keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technology," ie, American capital. The same goes for the "hidden fists" of the other imperialist powers as well, only the US still remains the top dog of the pack with the badest bark and bite to back it up.

For under the "New World Order" of "globalization" capitalism has remained capitalism with all the same built-in inadequacies that Karl Marx described back in 1848 along a few new ones that he didn't deal with like destruction of the environment and genetically engineered "Frankenfood." Cyclical crises of bust and boom, what Marx called "overproduction," remain as frequent as ever and the unity of the world market ensures that when they come they are quicker and more deadly. Child and sweatshop labor have made a comeback as well. More and more wealth has accumulated in fewer and fewer hands (the gap between the richest and poorest fifths of the world now stands at 74 to one) while more and more of those who produced it continued to find themselves on the short end of the stick. And no amount of media hype about the "miracles" of the market can make the endless insecurity working people feel about the future (or the present, thanks to "downsizing" and "flexibility") go away.

In the US, which President Clinton claims is in an "era of unprecedented prosperity," the richest 0.5% of the population now owns 42% of all financial wealth even though the average American is now working 164 hours longer than in 1976. Labor's share of all this "prosperity" is now 2 to .4 percentage points (of 8 trillion dollars) below levels reached in the late 1960s. Meanwhile the top managers of the 300 biggest US firms have incomes 93 times greater than their employees. So was it any wonder then that when the world's corporate kingpins and their politician pals got together in Seattle like the heads of the five families in The Godfather to haggle over how to divide the spoils "globalization" has brought them they found their private party being crashed by upwards of thirty thousand uninvited guests from amongst their intended victims who also appeared to think that "Marx's approach is the best way to look at capitalism," as they carried signs and shouted slogans against those they identified as "corporate bloodsuckers."

As Marx himself often said; the old mole of revolution is constantly being discovered to be alive and kicking long after it was considered dead and buried. For the exploitation and oppression that capitalism bases itself upon constantly provide fertile ground for it to burrow away at. Thus many commentators were quick to compare the "Battle in Seattle" to

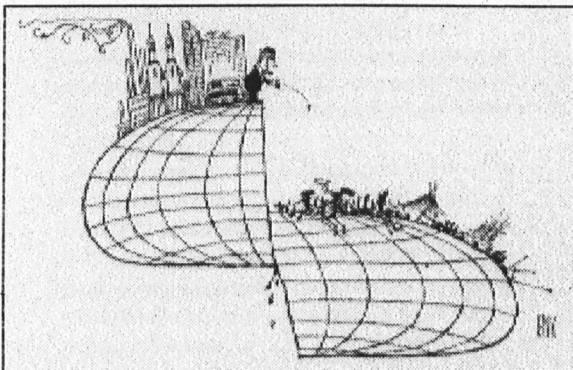


May 1968 poster reading:
The boss needs you,
you don't need the boss

competitive became the name of the game with inter-imperialist rivalries resurfacing in place of "Cold War" confrontations with the Soviets. All of them, however, had a long way to go to catch up with the US. Having little if any such "safety nets" to begin with, the US had gotten off to a head start. In addition the American economy could boast of a quarter century of falling wages and a degree of economic inequality greater than any time since the Great Depression. For unlike the post World War II boom of the 1950's and 1960's, today's economic expansion has brought with no qualitative improvements in working peoples lives. Of course there was a bright side to all this; some 348 billionaires could now boast of a total wealth equal to the income of half of humanity! Or as Time magazine put it, "growth, prosperity and upward living standards always entail some disruption."

The Battle of Seattle: painting the town red

In a special issue of the New Yorker, back in October 1997, a wealthy investment banker wrote that "the longer I spend on Wall Street, the more convinced I am that (Karl) Marx was right...Marx's approach is the best way to look at capitalism." A new biography of Marx by Francis Wheen adds, "today's pundits and politicians who fancy themselves as modern thinkers like to mention the buzzword 'globalization' at every opportunity, without realizing that Marx was already on the case in 1848." He might have added that Lenin was "on the case" as well in 1916, when he pointed out that "imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is



The rich gets richer and the poor gets poorer, the gap between the rich and poor has expanded greatly, and the WTO is helping in that process

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Third Delegation to Iraq to Deliver Medicine

On January 14, 2000, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and a 60-person delegation from the United States, as well as from Japan, Spain, Italy and England, will defy United Nations sanctions in effect against the people of Iraq. For the third time in 20 months, the delegation, the IRAQ SANCTIONS CHALLENGE, will transport a large shipment of medicine (approx. \$2 million) to Iraq to ameliorate a severe health crisis caused by the sanctions. Similar trips in December 1998 and May 1998 were successful efforts by people from the U.S. to rally support for the people of Iraq while providing them life-saving medicine. "This is the third time we'll challenge the US/UN sanctions", says, spokesperson for the local delegates of the ISC. "These sanctions are a severe abuse of human rights. Since they were first imposed in 1990, more than 1.7 million Iraqis have died. Babies, children, the elderly, the disabled, and sick - the most vulnerable members of Iraqi society - suffer the consequences of an illegal, genocidal U.S. policy."

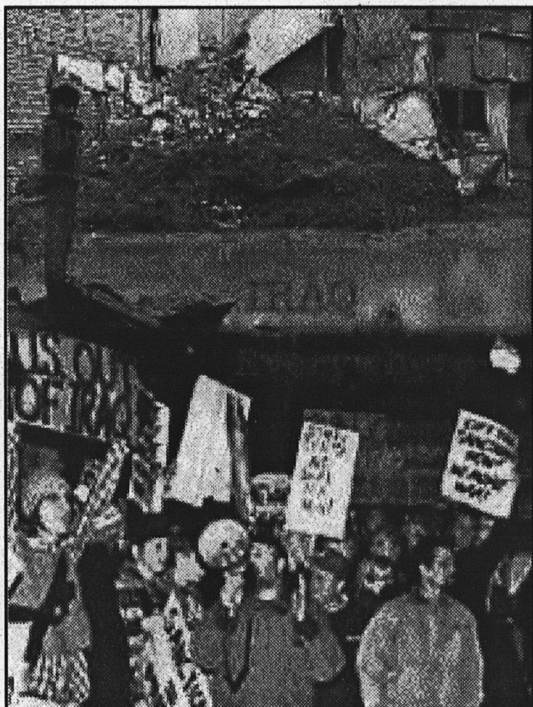
According to ISC organizers, the UN sanctions thinly disguise U.S. intent to safeguard American and British oil interests in the Persian/Arabian Gulf. "This insistence on new weapons inspection is a ruse to violate the sovereignty of Iraq," states local ISC spokesperson. "More than 9,000 inspections were carried out between 1991-1998. The inspections teams were later proven to be fronts for CIA operations." "Punishing Iraq for rejecting new weapons inspection is nothing more than UN sanctioned imperialism," continues. "The 'Oil for Food' provision is the best example of this. 'Oil for Food' was the UN's provision to relieve mass starvation in Iraq. However, 50% of the escrowed proceeds from oil sales are never used for food. The money is paid to US/UK oil companies and the Kuwaiti Royal family as war reparations. The remainder pays for the administration of the sanctions. This is the thin edge of the wedge of neo-colonialism."

Members of the delegation represent a cross section of the U.S. - students, religious leaders, community activists, health care workers, and trade unionists. They are people of conscience who "refuse to allow this [U.S.] government to speak in our name to facilitate genocide."

AN ANALYSIS OF THE U.S. RESOLUTION ON IRAQ AT THE UN

BRIAN BECKER AND SARAH SLOAN

If one were to listen to the Clinton administration you would think that the



United Nations Security Council on Dec. 17 had passed a resolution that would fully lift the economic sanctions on Iraq. There is one catch, however: Saddam Hussein's government must first allow the UN to resume weapons inspections.

This catch, though, is a Catch-22. The U.S. knows that Iraq will not agree to allow weapons inspectors back.

The resolution passed by a vote at the Security Council of 11-0, with 4 abstentions. Because of enormous U.S. pressure, no governments vetoed the resolution, but France, Russia, China, and Malaysia abstained. Of the five permanent members of the Security Council, only the U.S. and Britain supported the resolution.

Contrary to assertions by the Clinton administration and the big-business media, this resolution was not an effort to end economic sanctions on Iraq. Instead, Washington calculatingly designed the resolution to maintain U.S./UN economic sanctions. According to the United Nations' own statistics, these sanctions have killed more than 1.7 million Iraqis during the last nine-and-a-half years.

World public opinion deeply opposes this genocide against the people of Iraq. And the U.S. is clearly more isolated in the Security Council than it has been since 1990. But it is a testament to U.S. economic and military power that Washington can dominate and manipulate the UN to maintain sanctions.

Why would Iraq refuse monitoring in exchange for lifting the ceiling on its oil sales? To what do the Iraqis object?

Indeed, what makes these terms impossible for any sovereign government to accept?

Iraq refused to accept the resolution because the weapons inspectors are not monitors but are in fact subversive agents sent to Iraq to smash the Iraqi government. Also, Iraq does not want to put its oil wealth under the thumb of neocolonial domination.

The return of the weapons inspectors

One year ago the U.S. and Britain unleashed Operation Desert Fox, which included four days of intense bombing. The pretext for this bombing blitz was that Iraq was not fully cooperating with the United Nations weapons inspectors. This was a bald-faced lie. The UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) carried out over 9,000 inspections throughout Iraq between 1991 and 1998.

Baghdad had even given special permission for the weapons inspectors to investigate the houses of top Iraqi leaders. Yet the inspectors were suddenly pulled out of Iraq and the bombing campaign commenced in December 1998. Iraq charged the inspectors were not hunting for weapons but were U.S. spies. Now the U.S. media has revealed that weapons inspection teams had indeed been penetrated by the CIA. They were surveying Iraq's most sensitive areas and relaying this information to the Pentagon to choose targets for its bombing campaign.

Scott Ritter, a former Marine and controversial leader of an UNSCOM inspection team, resigned in August 1998 and revealed the CIA's role in January 1999. He told Frontline, "On our team are nine covert operatives from the CIA's covert activities branch. Now, they're doing the work of UNSCOM, they were part of planning UNSCOM, they provided communications support, logistics support, operational support, the kind of guys you need for these inspections."

During the so-called Operation Desert Fox bombing between Dec. 16 and 19, 1998, U.S. and British warplanes dropped more than 1,000 bombs and missiles on Iraq. The Pentagon has dropped more bombs and missiles in almost systematic bombing attacks during the last twelve months.

Iraq had vowed in December 1998 never to allow the UN weapons inspection teams to return since these teams were actually intelligence operatives dominated by the United States. (Revenues collected through the so-called oil-for-food deal paid the inspection teams' salaries.)

U.S. government officials like Secretary of State Madeleine Albright have announced publicly that official U.S. policy is to overthrow the Iraqi government. These U.S. officials use polite terms like "regime change." But similar

"regime change" policies against the Mossadegh government in Iran from 1950-53, the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954, the government of President Sukarno of Indonesia in 1965, the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende in Chile from 1970-73, and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in the 1980s murdered hundreds of thousands of people were murdered and established dictatorships that functioned as U.S. puppets.

Congress passed the "Iraq Liberation Act," which was signed into law by President Clinton on Oct. 31, 1998. This act has supplied \$97 million in covert operations to subvert and overthrow the Iraqi government.

By making the sale of Iraq's oil contingent on Iraq accepting the return of this inspection operation, the U.S. administration was confident Baghdad would reject the UN resolution and it would never be implemented.

Now U.S. officials will be able to go on TV and proclaim that they too "want to end the suffering of the Iraqi people if only Saddam Hussein was not so determined to prevent weapons inspectors from returning."

Neocolonial domination of Iraq's oil

Under the provisions of the new UN resolution, Iraq would not recover its independent and sovereign control over its own economy and oil resources. These provisions place all Iraq's oil revenues into a UN escrow account under the control of the Security Council dominated by the U.S.

The misnamed "Oil-for-Food Program" used this same mechanism during the last few years. Iraq sells oil, the revenues of which are controlled by the Security Council and the Security Council then allocates a huge portion of the revenue to a UN Compensation Commission.

Does this money go to the Iraqi people? Less than 50 percent pays for medicine and food. The rest supposedly goes to "compensate the victims of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990."

Who are these victims? On June 25, the UN awarded almost \$2.8 billion to several

oil companies, including more than \$500 million to a subsidiary of Texaco, Inc., for equipment and facilities that were damaged when the U.S. led a 43-day war against Iraq in 1991. These oil companies that make tens of billion dollars a year were paid out of the UN Compensation Commission.

And it's not just these companies. Billions have gone to Western corporations who did business in Kuwait. A huge amount of the revenues also go to Kuwait, which means to the Kuwaiti royal family. As a puppet regime, the Kuwaiti royal family continues to buy vast quantities of expensive U.S. military hardware from its national budget.

Everyone knows that Kuwait has a completely ineffective military and will never independently use these weapons. U.S. weapons sales to Kuwait should be properly understood as a form of welfare for U.S. defense contractors.

The UN resolution mandates control over any Iraq reconstruction effort to supervisory panels. The same Western governments and oil monopolies that are hostile to Iraq precisely because it nationalized its oil resources in 1972, dominate these panels.

At the heart of the U.S.-Iraq conflict is that Iraq used a big portion of its oil revenues for the development of the educational, industrial, medical, and social infrastructure of the country, rather than having these profits repatriated to corporate investors in the United States, England and France.

Ultimately, the U.S. government seeks not only to overthrow the government of Saddam Hussein, but to return Iraq to a neocolonial vassal status as existed prior to the 1958 revolution. Compare with Rambouillet. The U.S. resolution on Iraq is crafted in the same way as the February 1998 Rambouillet "peace accord" was designed—to justify starting the

U.S./NATO bombing of Yugoslavia last March 24. Washington insisted then on terms that it knew the Yugoslav government, and any sovereign government, could never accept.

Section 8 of Appendix B of the Rambouillet Accords stated: "NATO personnel shall enjoy, together with their vehicles, vessels, aircraft, and equipment, free and unrestricted passage and unimpeded access throughout the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]"

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From UNAM to CUNY: The Fight for a Right to an Education

RENEE MARHONG

Open admissions and free education is a battle in almost every country. Even here in the "land of the free" there is a constant attack on institutions like CUNY to limit and exclude. Hundreds of miles away a nine month battle is being waged between students and the greed of administrators and the capitalist government of Mexico.

The National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) consists of 270,000 students, the same amount that consists of CUNY. In April UNAM announced that its tuition would be

and workers from the Mexican Electrical Workers Union (SME), began working together to keep the strike going and gain power. The government, including the ruling party named the PRI led by President Ernesto Zedillo and the PRD party led by Cuahetemoc Cardenas (who is running for president), openly oppose and intend to shut down this student strike. Both have initiated brutal police attacks and have hired thugs to go after these students in an effort to let these students know that they have no say over their own education.

In October the Mexican government took their brutality to new

levels when they beat and arrested students and stormed campuses. Many students refused to submit to a system that only cares for the needs of one class, the rich. Here in the US comparable situations have taken place. Just last month in Seattle, workers and students protesting the WTO, an organization which advocates and allows companies to pollute our air and water if it will increase profits and exploit or lay off as many workers as possible were faced with cops in riot gear, pepper spray, and rubber bullets. In another instance we can see the youth attacked such as in the Million Youth March or in the everyday harassment by the NYPD. From Amadou Diallo to the minority who is pulled over

simply for his or her skin color, there is a conscious attack by people like Giuliani and Zedillo to silence the youth by violence, prisons and most of all by locking us out of higher education. It is clear to see that the cops in any capitalist country work for the bosses even though it is taxpayers like you and me who pay their salaries.

As the students continued their struggle they added a new point to their agenda. The international fight to save the life of political prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal was an added resolution by the UNAM students in October. An action was organized and in December a protest took place demanding freedom for Mumia and an end to the death penalty. The peaceful protest was ended when police severely beat students and arrested 98 people. Many of the students who were released complained of police torture and beating. The government constantly threatens the UNAM students with a repeat of the massacre that took place in 1968. The Tlatelolco Massacre happened during a protest in a situation where the students were on strike. The military, ordered by the Mexican government shot an estimated _____ and arrested hundreds. In declassified documents the government admits to ordering the massacre but no name is given to who actually gave the order. As this threat looms over the heads of the students that remain on strike their spirit refuses to be broken.

As CUNY students we are part of an institution that was built on the ideal to educate poor and working class people. Higher education should not be something only the rich can afford, it should be for all who want to better and enrich their lives. We must not let it become a luxury, it must be available to all, no matter what race or class. Last semester two terrible things took place in CUNY. Our own Chair of CUNY, Herman Badillo made

racist statements against Mexicans, Dominicans and Latinos. Badillo, a first generation Puerto Rican and a CCNY graduate sold out his heritage and his people. The other disappointment was the end of remediation in senior (4 year) colleges. This new policy insures that many "problems" will be eliminated from CUNY and that it will raise the standards. These "problems" are the poor and minorities who live in neighborhoods that receive little funding and outdated textbooks and the leftover teachers in NYC. Also people who wish to continue their education and go back to school after years will also be excluded simply because they have been out of high school for some time. As for raising the standards many Ivy League schools offer remediation programs to their students, why shouldn't CUNY.

Another attack on CUNY is the upcoming cuts on TAP. Many students are able to attend college only because of their financial aid awards. Our Governor Pataki has made plans to slash federal funding by 133 million dollars! If students do not get involved and try to save CUNY, our children will not have the opportunity of higher education. Like the students of UNAM the time is now to save public education and we must show the government and police that we are not afraid. The UNAM students have been successful in some of their demands and the tuition hike has been lowered, but this is not a victory. Free tuition and open admissions is the only winning answer to this struggle. So, from Mexico to New York City the battle continues.

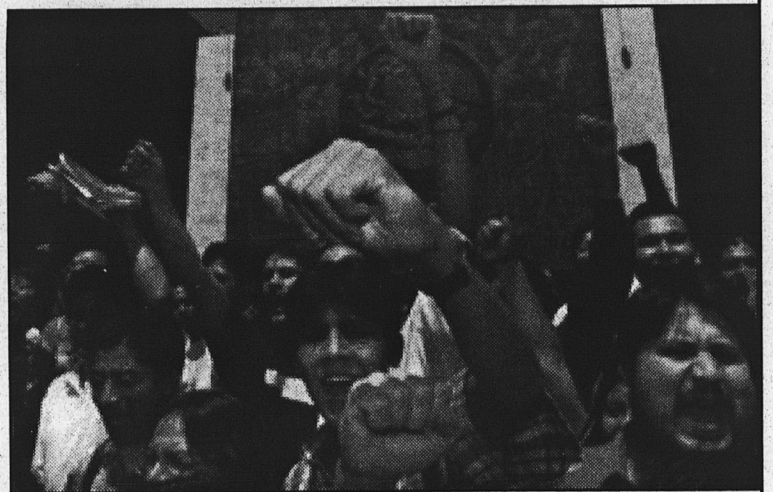


Hundreds of thousands of students took over their campus demanding an end to the privatization of higher education

raised from 20 centavos to 1,378 pesos which is approximately the amount a skilled worker earns in a month. An increase as dramatic and ridiculous as this forced students to take a strike action against a government and university whose main goal is to eliminate poor and working class students from its school, the heart of any public university. Like CUNY, UNAM is a place where almost anyone can get an education and again similarly to CUNY there is a desperate attempt to take the basic right of education away from anyone who cannot buy it.

The strike in its first few months managed to halt classes and take over almost every single campus. Students

levels when they beat and arrested students and stormed campuses. Many students refused to submit to a system that only cares for the needs of one class, the rich. Here in the US comparable situations have taken place. Just last month in Seattle, workers and students protesting the WTO, an organization which advocates and allows companies to pollute our air and water if it will increase profits and exploit or lay off as many workers as possible were faced with cops in riot gear, pepper spray, and rubber bullets. In another instance we can see the youth attacked such as in the Million Youth March or in the everyday harassment by the NYPD. From Amadou Diallo to the minority who is pulled over



US RESOLUTION ON IRAQ

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including associated airspace and territorial waters. ..." The Yugoslav government was ordered to agree to the foreign occupation of Kosovo and the granting of unlimited access by NATO to all of Yugoslavia.

As former State Department official George Kinney revealed, the U.S. side "deliberately set the bar too high," knowing that the Yugoslav government could not accept the conditions. That was then used to portray the Yugoslavs as being responsible for the failure to negotiate a settlement.

Similarly, the U.S. crafted the UN resolution to end economic sanctions in a way they knew that the Iraqi government could not accept.

Paragraph 4 of Resolution 1284 (1999), for example, "decides in particular that Iraq shall allow UNMOVIC [United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission] teams immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to any and all areas, facilities, equipment, records and means of transport which they wish to inspect in accordance with the mandate of UNMOVIC, as well as to all officials and other persons under the authority of the Iraqi Government whom UNMOVIC wishes to interview..."

The objective was to make the Iraqis appear to be the intransigent and unwilling party so committed to its own capacity to build "weapons of mass destruction" that it failed to agree to the terms necessary to end the sanctions that are killing untold numbers of its own people. The UN resolution consequently should be understood as a means to continue sanctions, not to end sanctions. Becker and Sloan are organizers of the Iraq Sanctions Challenge, which will travel to Iraq January 14-21, 2000. Sixty people led by Ramsey Clark will deliver a shipment of donated medicine to Iraq in defiance of the sanctions.

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CORPORATE
COLONIALISM

THERE IS NO FINISH LINE

COLLEGE VOICE WHO WE ARE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

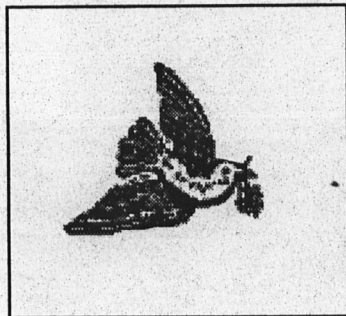
The CV seeks to engage all those who are committed to fighting exploitation and oppression in common action against the common enemy...capitalism.

TAKE ACTION

HERE ARE SOME INTERESTING WEBSITES TO CHECK OUT



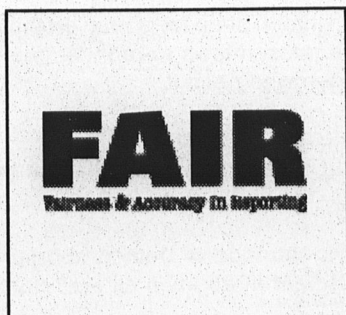
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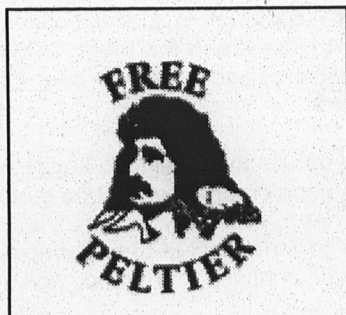
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We welcome readers' views
and criticisms.

ARM YOURSELVES WITH KNOWLEDGE

Celebrating 27 Years of the Legalization of Abortion

Stop the Attack on Abortion!!!

Stop the Shooting of Abortion Providers!!!

Free Abortion and Contraception on Demand!!!

A TIMELINE OF REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

1965 Griswold v. Connecticut Supreme Court decision strikes down a state law that prohibited giving married people information, instruction, or medical advice on contraception.

1970 Alaska, Hawaii, and New York liberalize abortion laws, making abortion available at the request of a woman and her doctor.

1972 Eisenstadt v. Baird Supreme Court decision establishes the right of unmarried people to use contraceptives.

1973 Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision strikes down state laws that made abortion illegal.

1976 Congress adopts the first Hyde Amendment barring the use of federal Medicaid funds to provide abortions to poor women.

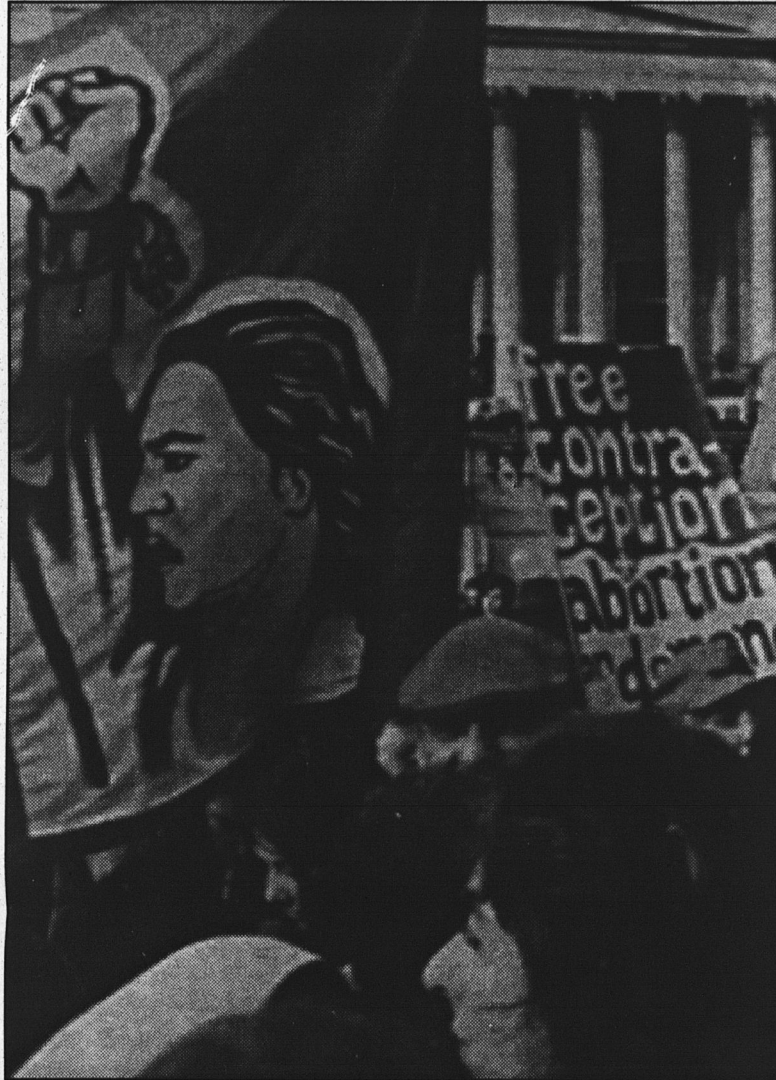
1977 A revised Hyde Amendment is passed allowing states to deny Medicaid funding except in cases of rape, incest, or "severe and long-lasting" damage to the woman's physical health. In October, Rosie Jimenez, a 27 year-old mother on welfare, part-time worker, and college student only six months from graduation, dies in Texas after an illegal abortion. She could not afford to get a legal abortion because of the Hyde Amendment.

First reported arson at an abortion clinic, in St. Paul, Minnesota and first known bombing of an abortion clinic, in Cincinnati, Ohio.

1991 Rust v. Sullivan upholds the constitutionality of the 1988 "gag rule" which prohibits doctors and counselors at clinics which receive federal funding from providing their patients with information about and referrals for abortion.

1992 Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey reaffirms the "core" holdings of Roe that women have a right to abortion before fetal viability, but allows states to restrict abortion access so long as these restrictions do not impose an "undue burden" on women seeking abortions.

1994 Dr. John Britton, Lt. Col. Jim Barrett, Shannon Lowney, and Leanne Nichols are murdered in separate shootings at three abortion clinics.



*-A doctor describes her experience at a county hospital before Roe v. Wade
"[Hospitals] had to have beds all up and down the hallways. They were always full [because of illegal abortions]. They must have had one hundred and forty beds in those wards...in [a twenty four hour] period, you'd get ten to twelve admissions. They walked into the emergency room bleeding. The first thing the doctor down there did was send them for an X-ray to see what was in their belly-to see if there were knitting needles, hooks, catheters up their belly."*

Chronology of Abortion-Related Murders and Shootings

March 10, 1993

Dr. David Gunn was shot to death by Michael Griffin in Pensacola, Florida. Griffin is serving a life sentence for murder.

August 19, 1993

Dr. George Tiller was shot and injured by Rachele Shannon at his clinic in Wichita, Kansas.

Shannon is serving an 11-year sentence for attempted first-degree murder. She is serving additional prison time for six arsons and two butyric acid attacks.

November 8, 1994

Dr. Garson Romalis was shot and seriously wounded in his home in Vancouver, British Columbia.

Law enforcement officials are investigating.

December 30, 1994

Shannon Lowney and Leanne Nichols were shot and killed by John Salvi at two clinics in Brookline, Massachusetts. Five others were injured in the attacks.

Salvi was sentenced to two life terms but committed suicide in prison in November 1996.

October 28, 1997

An unnamed physician was shot at in his home in Rochester, New York.

Law enforcement officials are investigating.

November 11, 1997

Dr. Jack Fainman was shot and injured in his home in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Law enforcement officials are investigating.

January 29, 1998

Officer Robert Sanderson was killed during an abortion clinic bombing in Birmingham, Alabama. Emily Lyons, a nurse at the clinic was severely injured in the blast.

Eric Rudolph, the prime suspect in the case, is being sought by law enforcement officials. The FBI has placed Rudolph on its Ten Most Wanted List and is offering a \$1 million reward for his arrest.

October 23, 1998

Dr. Barnett Slepian was shot and killed in his home in Amherst, New York.

Law enforcement officials are investigating.

The findings in Roe v. Wade

The Court attempted to balance the rights of women who want abortions and the states' interest in protecting the health of the woman and the life of the fetus in the following way:

(a) In the first third of a pregnancy (about the first 13 weeks), state laws and regulations may not interfere with a woman's right to end a pregnancy through abortion. This means that the decision whether or not to have an abortion is left to a woman and her physician.

(b) During the second third of pregnancy (about 14 to 24 weeks), state laws may regulate abortion procedures in order to protect the woman's health. This means that women can be assured that clinics which offer abortion services are regulated to ensure that safe medical procedures are followed.

(c) During the last part of pregnancy (after about 24 weeks), and after the fetus is viable (developed enough to survive outside the mother's womb), state laws may prohibit abortion except when it is necessary to preserve the life or health of the woman. Most states (40 states and the District of Columbia) have passed laws to prohibit post-viability abortions under most circumstances, and in practice, there are only a small handful of doctors nationwide who offer this care to women who need it.

Access to Abortion

Legal abortion is not widely accessible to women in the US

The Supreme Court confirmed women's right to choose abortion in 1973, and the courts have upheld that finding in subsequent cases. But access to abortion has been severely eroded. The most recent survey found that 84% of all US counties have no identifiable abortion provider. In non-metropolitan areas, the figure rises to 94%. As a result, many women must travel long distances to reach the nearest abortion provider.

But distance is not the only barrier women face. Many other factors have contributed to the current crisis in abortion access, including a shortage of trained abortion providers; state laws that make getting an abortion more complicated than is medically necessary; continued threats of violence and harassment at abortion clinics; state and federal Medicaid restrictions; and fewer hospitals providing abortion services.

Restrictive Legislation.

National polling consistently shows that the majority of Americans support a woman's right to choose, but many legislators are committed to bringing an end to legal abortion and have passed laws that have drastically diminished access to abortion. These include:

Parental Consent or Notification Laws which are now enforced in over half the states (see Fact Sheet: Teenage Women, Abortion and the Law) can violate the privacy of young women by forcing them to involve their parents in their decisions, even when they have strong objections to doing so. As a result, some women travel to other states that do not require parental involvement; others have resorted to illegal abortions rather than comply with a legal requirement that puts them in jeopardy.

Mandatory Waiting Periods require women to wait some period of time (up to 24 hours or more) between a state mandated counseling appointment and their abortion. These laws imply that women come to abortion clinics without having seriously considered their options. Such laws can add significantly to the costs of an abortion if the woman has to take time off from work, arrange for child care, travel a long way, and perhaps stay overnight in a distant city.

Biased Counseling Laws require that clinic personnel lead their patients through detailed, state prescribed "scripts" that promote childbearing. Abortion providers have long been at the forefront of developing and delivering sound and effective options-counseling to their patients. They consider these scripts "biased" because they contain information that is designed to frighten and dissuade women from having abortions. These coercive scripts are completely incompatible with the goal of true informed consent.

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the Siege of Chicago in 1968 when anti-war demonstrators confronted the Democratic convention and Mayor Daley's cops. In both cases, "the whole world was watching," only this time the participants in the protests they were watching were not just students. Tens of thousands of trade unionists (including many from around the world) joined with environmentalists and other radical activists in the demonstrations, marches and rallies while hundreds of Seattle longshoremen called a one day strike and blockaded the doors of the WTO's conference center. Over 9,000 dockers shut down ports along the west coast in solidarity with them. "The WTO harms workers and it harms the environment. That is why organized labor has turned out...to take on organized global capital," stated a Teamster shop steward. So powerful was the anti-corporate sentiment amongst the trade unionists present that even the union bureaucrats were forced to work explicitly anti-capitalist acts into their pro-Democratic party song-and-dance of protectionism and China-bashing. A recent survey showed only 37% of those in families earning less than \$50,000 viewed "globalization" in a positive light, whereas 73% of them said they weren't earning enough. No wonder that the New York Times found itself worrying that "the Seattle protests may resonate...for lower-paid Americans."

Workers move left, "left" moves right
For those whose visions extend beyond the boundaries of what bourgeois "public opinion" finds fashionable, what went on in Seattle comes as no surprise. The realities of class society have once again made class struggle assume center stage even if capitalism's academic apologists and kept "leftists" continue to insist that it belongs in the past. If "communism" is so dead, then why do they have to constantly keep on reburying it with article after article and book after book? After all, before there was "the end of history," there was "the end of ideology." For those partisans of the "Third Way" who dance to the tune that the bosses whistle and accept the parameters of private property as sacrosanct, cutting wages, slashing social benefits and taking workers' jobs away is second nature by now. Having burned their fingers with revolutionary rhetoric back in their youth, these older, but no wiser, children of the sixties long ago swore off the stuff with a vengeance. As the world moved right under the impact of the employers' austerity offensive and the collapse of the Soviet bloc (which they cheered on) they moved right with it. Now as workers begin to move to the left, they keep moving right! If in May '68, the impossible was possible, now only that which the bosses deem acceptable is doable. Or as one leading light of Dissent asked, "what do we actively support today that would have provoked our indignation yesterday?" Easy; starvation sanctions against Iraq, imperialist war against Yugoslavia, the Democratic party as "lesser evil"; you name it, they'll go for it. Thus those who in their youth sang the praises of Chairman Mao, Ho Chi Minh and Che Guevara now do the same for Bill Clinton and Tony Blair, looking to the

"humanitarian" imperialists to use their economic and military might to right the wrongs that their own sick system of exploitation and oppression caused in the first place.

Of course the class struggle never ceased in the first place; it only looked that way to the short sighted, since at times it appeared to so one-sided. That is, on the part of those, who, while denying its existence with a passion, waged it with an even greater passion against the poor. Yet only in the minds of the PC-pushing lackeys of the ruling rich, ensconced as they are in their ivory towers, had the class struggle ever ceased. For the world's workers, while they may have been down, were far from out. And with "globalization," there are now more of them than at any other time in history. While yesterday's student radicals, turned today's respectable reformists, may not notice any or all of this, the working class is becoming the big man on many a college campus; students are struggling alongside of trade unionists against sweatshops and child labor while many took part in the AFL-CIO's half-hearted "Union Summer" organizing drive. The Battle of Seattle itself may have seen the beginning of an alliance between the labor movement and environmentalists. A Michigan steelworker pointed out that "I never got on with environmentalists until I realized we were all fighting for the same thing," while one union leader welcomed youthful protesters fleeing cop terror, declaring "you young people are right here where you belong...with the labor movement."

Bosses say cut back...workers say fight back

Indeed, the last six years have seen a succession of struggles against the effects of unhindered imperialist exploitation around the world beginning with the Zapatista revolt in Mexico against NAFTA in 1994. That same year ended with Italian workers shutting the country down with a general strike as trade union demonstrations took over the streets of Rome. The massive strikes by French public sector workers in 1995 served notice to the world that not only was the working class still a force to be reckoned with but that slashing the wages and living standards of working people was not the only game in town no matter what the bosses and their governments claimed. Through militant mass action, French workers not only showed that "politics" need not be confined to electoral charades and parliamentary horse-trading but what is in fact still possible when millions of working people refuse to accept those parameters to begin with and take their fate into their own hands.

The next year saw South Korean workers follow suit as the IMF tried to make them pay the price for the collapse of the Korean "miracle" economy. In 1998 it was the turn of the Suharto regime as

massive student and worker demonstrations forced one of the world's longest serving (and bloodiest) dictators from power as yet another Asian "Tiger" went paws up. The south-east Asian economies had long been held up by the World Bank for "their remarkable performances," and their declines were directly linked to their close integration into the world market. The year before had seen American workers enter the fray, as Teamsters struck and won against UPS. Coming after a decade of defeats suffered by US unions, the Teamster strike struck a chord amongst American workers sick and tired of seeing their wages and their living standards steadily shrink while corporate profits expanded. Across the border in the great white north, Canadian workers staged a series of 11 one-day general strikes against the austerity attacks of Ontario's right-wing government throughout 1996, including a one-million strong effort in Toronto.

Increased industrial action was reflected in election outcomes, as across Europe from Britain to France to Germany to Italy, right-wing governments were massively voted out and replaced by reformist Social Democrats and Stalinists. While the latter are equally as pro-capitalist as their predecessors were, their victories still represented a massive rejection of neo-liberalism and were part and parcel of the wave of class

polarization sweeping Western Europe. Commenting on the massive student and worker demonstrations sweeping Germany at the end of 1997, a conservative German publication was forced to admit that, "no political commentator in recent years has got it as wrong as Francis Fukuyama, who...declared the 'End of History', claiming that capitalism had finally and decisively beaten all 'competing ideologies'...as a political ideology (socialism) is turning out to be extremely hard to kill." Rosa Luxemburg would have added, "Order is restored?...Your order is built on sand. Tomorrow the revolution will rise up again, clashing its weapons, and terrify you with the clarion call: I was, I am, I shall be!"

"The best way to look at capitalism"

As the ball dropped on the 20th century, BBC News Online voted Karl Marx its "Thinker of the Millennium." Marx's biographer, Wheen, added that "the more (he) studied Marx, the more astoundingly topical he seemed to be." Never one to avoid adding his two cents, NYC mayor Rudy Giuliani got into the act as well. While Rudy's ravings usually need to be taken with more than a grain of salt, the Mussolini of Manhattan was on to something when he hinted that "Marxism" was behind the ruckus in Seattle. Giuliani railed that "this discredited philosophy" had not only "invented" the class struggle but the very notion of class itself! Of course, one could hardly expect any capitalist politician to

admit that the system they are all sworn to uphold was responsible for an outpouring of outrage against it. And Giuliani himself is no outsider when it comes to class warfare. As a member of Reagan's Justice Department, he helped draw up the plans to fire 10,000 striking air traffic controllers and bust their union. Not long ago he went to war with the city's transit workers, riding roughshod over their First Amendment Constitutional rights in order to make the trains run on time. It's not surprising that Giuliani would find the author of "Capital" so objectionable; the city he presides over is more and more coming to resemble those of Victorian England that Marx described in detail and now rivals Guatemala when it comes to the gap between the incomes of rich and poor!

Needless to say, Karl Marx never claimed to have invented either classes or class struggle, or even to have been the first to discover them. What Marx and the Marxists who came after him, particularly Lenin, Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg, did point out was that out of the class struggle that class society itself generates, could and would come the rule of the working class. That is provided that workers understand the need for it and take and make the power for themselves. That requires not just militant mass action against the bosses, their political parties, their government and state, but a political party and a program that sets a conscious course in that direction to begin with. By linking the everyday needs of the working class with the goal of socialist revolution through intervention in any and every struggle with a working class perspective, Marxist theory can help transform reality. For if socialism is the movement of the working class struggling against the exploitation and oppression that capitalism engenders, Marxism is the mode of analyzing that struggle and providing a guide to action for workers to win it.

Without revolutionary leadership, even the most militant mass struggle can become just so much voting fodder for putting one set of pro-capitalist politicians in place of the other. Thus an alliance between workers and environmentalists which limits itself to pro-capitalist pressure politics will only end up right back in the dead-end of the Democratic party. While American workers played a key role in the Battle of Seattle they still did so behind a leadership committed to Bill Clinton and Al Gore, the same politicians who touted NAFTA and the WTO in the first place. AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney was only too glad to trade opposition from the outside to the WTO for a place on the inside...if only Clinton and Gore would go for it. The 20,000 strong rally they organized was not against the existence of the WTO and its anti-working class agenda but a plea to become part of it...only the ranks didn't seem to share those sentiments. If the working class is to go from being a class in itself to being a class for itself and translate those sentiments into a program of anti-capitalist action, they too need to realize that not only is "Marx's approach...the best way to look at capitalism" but the best and only way to change it and replace it once and for all!

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how weak their "leadership" was acting in the face of this threat. In stark contrast, at the PM meeting a New Directions member ripped the injunction and threw it into the air to the roar of the members that were there. Later on a motion to strike was passed unanimously at the deadline of the contract if there was not settlement. Surely a substantial part of the Local was neither intimidated by the injunction nor unwilling to take the TA, the Mayor and the financial elite on.

Clearly the "leadership" of the union determines a great deal on what strategy and tactics will be taken during contract negotiations. Despite New Directions efforts to organize the power of the rank and file and to outmaneuver the leadership in the end it was the rule of the corrupt old guard that had their way over the will of the membership.

High Stakes on Contract Outcome

On February 8 the contract ballots will be counted and we will see whether there will be a new phase in the class struggle or a return to the lull of temporary defeat. The outcome can change the entire dynamics of the contract negotiations between the City and the other municipal union up for negotiations.

Before the contract was settled there was a consensus amongst other city union chieftains that Local 100's settlement would be a trendsetter. They vowed that they would not sacrifice productivity gains for better wages. They too talked tough and vowed to stick by Willie James to the end, but when the Mayor's draconian injunction came down their response was muted, and when the contract was agreed to they applauded Willie James for doing such a fine job.

These labor lieutenants of capital want nothing more than to squeeze a little more wages from the their partners in

government and Wall St.. They have no intentions of fighting for more democracy and justice at the workplace, or championing the rights of the poor who are super-exploited through programs like WEP. They just want labor/capital peace like their bosses so they can collect their dues and continue to help manage the status quo and rub elbows with governmental bureaucrats.

This writer believes that if the contract gets voted down there will be a new upsurge in this city's labor politics and the potential of cross union action will be back on the agenda. It will be up to the left-wing forces to create united fronts powerful enough to break through the old guard union leadership and bend the city's financial and political elite to step back.

In either case the lessons learned by many Local 100 members about the weak and deceitful role that their leadership played will not be lost, and that the

coming to power of New Directions in the next election is close at hand. It is this looming victory that is a specter haunting the old guard and their bosses throughout the city, and for good reason. It was New Directions that proved to be the real threat behind the empty rhetoric of Willie James.

Whatever the outcome of this contract fight may be the stage is set for a change of guard in the Local. Few members will forget the cowardly way in which the union acted in the face of Giuliani's outrageous injunction, the way they caved in so quickly and let the opportunity of a life just slip away. If New Directions continues to build internal union democracy and follow a strategy for fighting management around the point of production the next contract fight will be truly tested on the ground where the workers will be victorious.

PROTEST FOR MUMIA FEBRUARY 28TH

It is apparent to journalists, scholars, legal experts, and human rights activists around the globe that Mumia's case represents one of the most important political death penalty cases in U.S. history. On October 13, 1999, a second death warrant for Mumia was issued by Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge. Although a stay of execution was granted, that stay is temporary. Within the next few months, crucial rulings will be made which will determine the outcome of Mumia's final appeal. It is time to act.

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On February 28th there will be simultaneous protests and acts of civil disobedience on the steps of the US Supreme Court in DC and U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco, CA.

**If Interested Contact the College Voice
Call 982-3091 or Stop by the Office 1C-230**