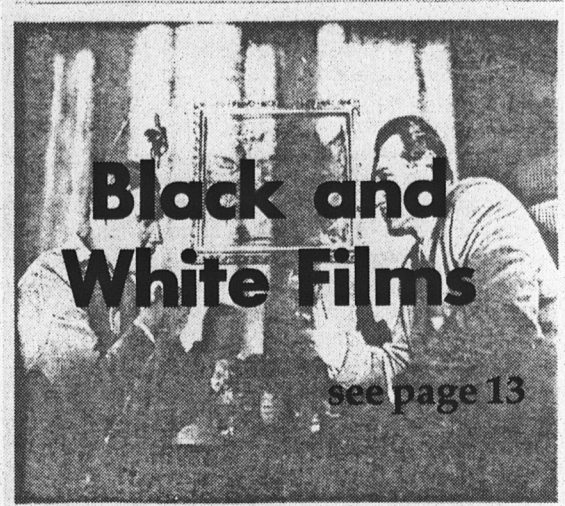


THE COLLEGE

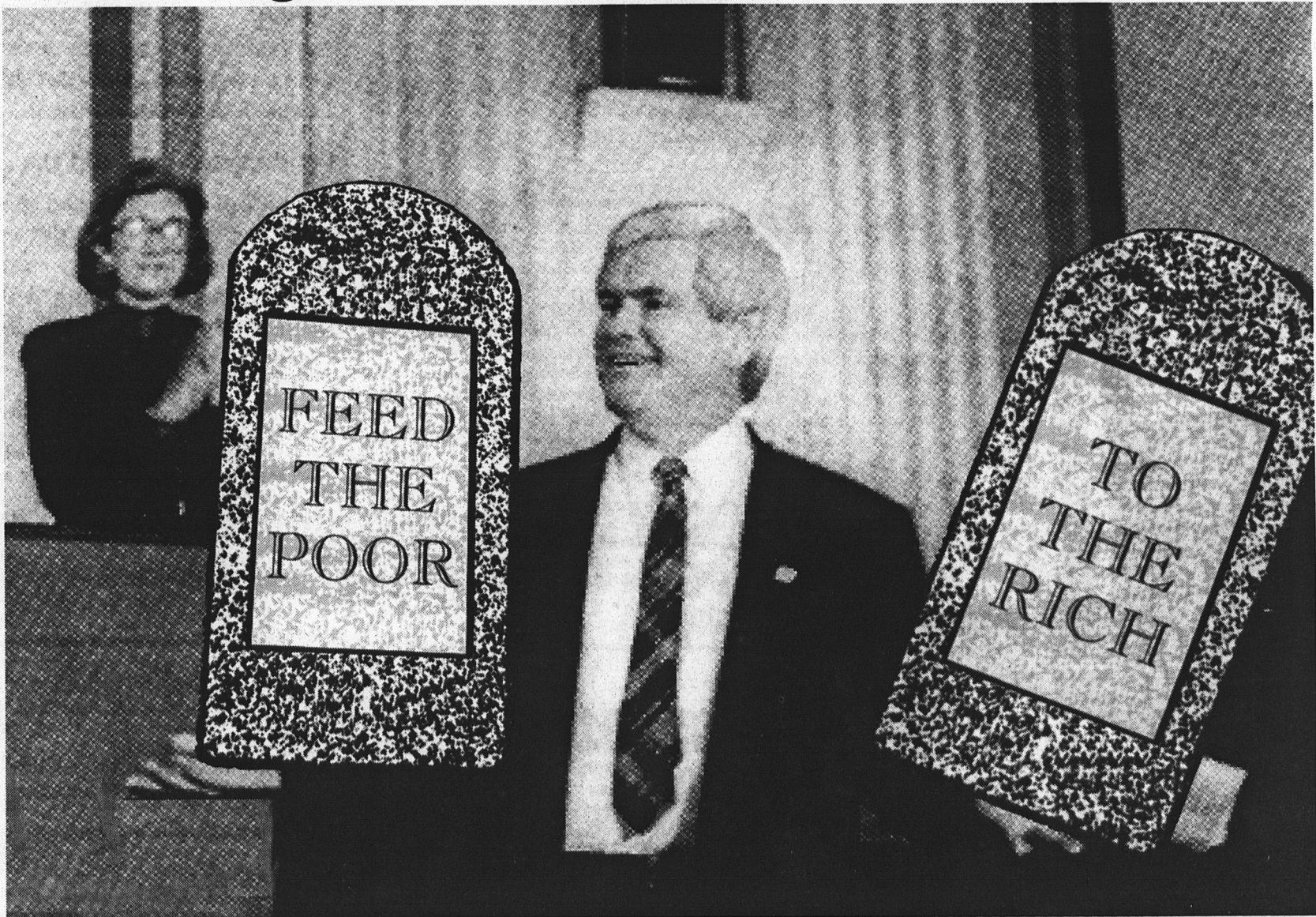
VOICE

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MEETING WITH THE ENEMY: Ralph Fiennes with Liam Neeson as Schindler.

Public Higher Education Neutered



Welcome to the first spring semester edition of the *Voice*. With the introduction of the 104th congress, and the sweeping political changes that it represents we have a series of articles, features and commentaries attempting to clarify what all these "changes" amount to. Also throughout the paper are articles concentrating on the struggle against racism in conjunction with Black History Month. Though we see this national ceremony in many ways as a form of tokenism the struggle for self-determination of black people against the racist US state is not.

With the election of Governor Pataki CUNY is bracing for impending budget cuts and tuition increases (as the paper was on its way to press the Advance reported the tuition for full-time students may increase by \$1000.) The *News* section covers the last wave of city government budget cuts and some of the consequences it has upon the student body, in particular the effect is has on registration.

Throughout the pages of the *Feature* section there are a series of insightful submissions. The changing political scene in New York, a Democratic dominated area, has its roots in the finance center of the

world - Wall St. An article on page four, *Privatizing the New York economy*, analyzes the relationship between the rightward shift in NYC politics and the failing capitalist economy. Other features deal with the controversial Isis Papers (see page 5,) terrorist attacks by the religious right at abortion clinics (page 5,) and other intriguing things.

The *Commentary* pages, as usual, have sharp opinion about present day society. Highlighting these pages is an essay written CLR James, a scholar and revolutionary that few have matched. We extracted an essay of his dealing with the "Negro

Question" in capitalist society. Despite the generational gap between when the essay was written and today his analytical and theoretical observations are resources which still bear fruit in today's struggle for racial equality and working class hegemony.

In the *Art* section we have our usual inventive, creative activity spread out in the poetry pages, plus an article on the history of the use of black and white films (see page 13.) Enjoy this issue of the *Voice*

Privatizing the New York City Economy

see page 4

CUNY Students Sue Giuliani Over Cuts

by Devon Blinth

On January 9 a group of student leaders from all six CUNY community colleges filed a suit against Mayor Giuliani; with the goal of thwarting his attempt to impound \$7 million in funds to CUNY community colleges. The suit, on behalf of CUNY community college students, was announced by attorneys from the Puerto Rican Legal Defense & Education Fund, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund and Ron McGuire an attorney specializing in the representation of CUNY students.

According to New York education law the city is required to contribute no less funding to CUNY community colleges than it did the previous year; the mayor's move will reduce the city's contribution from \$79.2 million last year to \$71.5 million this year. The mayor has stated that the cuts are necessary to close the deficit in the city budget. Many students are not buying the mayor's logic however. Jonathan Brown, a CUNY community college student remarks, "We keep on hearing that in order to compete in the global economy we need to educate ourselves. That's fine, but the politicians are cutting money to schools. How the hell are we going to compete if we can't even afford to sit in a classroom to begin with?" Candice Camillio, Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) Student Government President states, "the cuts will result in the elimination of 1,110 classes". CUNY will then be forced to defer the enrollment of 7,000 freshmen

and transfer students this semester. The result being the end of CUNY's historic policy of open admissions which promises any New York City high school graduate an opportunity for higher education.

The cuts will also result in the elimination of \$2.5 million in funds for full and part time faculty and staff, and the loss of matching funds for the Adult Literacy Program. It is against state law for CUNY to charge students more than \$2,100, the current tuition; but CUNY community college students pay more in tuition than 95 percent of all community college students nationwide. Presently, the state assumes 37 percent of the total cost of the average CUNY student's tuition; the city takes on 24 percent, while students bear 39 percent. Enrollment has increased by 3,000 to 74,000 in the community colleges; 16 percent of these students are from households receiving public assistance. Fifty six percent come from homes with a per capita income of less than \$8,000, and 13 percent are single heads of households. Says one Bronx Community College student leader, "...the city can find millions of dollars to help Wall Street with no problem, but when it comes to investing in students and working people these politicians never seem to have the money."

Tuition and Fees Increase, Again

by Devon Blinth and Andrew Bove

A recent study concludes that public college and university fees continued to climb last year.

Tuitions for the fall 1994 semester rose an average of 6.1% to \$2,590, compared to a 7.6% increase in 1993. The study, conducted by the American Association of State Colleges (AASCU), was based on data from 533 public, four year institutions throughout the country.

But according to AASCU President James B. Appleberry, the news is not all good. "Instead of basing funding priorities on the belief that educating citizens benefits the country as a whole, institutions and governments continue to transfer more of the cost of education to the students, questioning the original premise of public education," he said. "Education has come to be viewed as a 'consumer product' benefiting only the person who buys it."

Alex Weingarten, Executive Vice President of the Associated Students of the University of California agreed with Appleberry. "What concerns me more (than the cost increases) is that education is no longer the priority it once was," he said. "I don't think this is as bad as it's going to get." California schools showed the largest increases in the country this

year, a 15.3 percent hike from \$2,268 to \$2,614. The study pointed to trends in student borrowing as evidence that fewer students than ever are able to afford higher education. According to the report, students now borrow four times as much as they receive in grants.

Fifteen years ago, students borrowed only two dollars for every one grant dollar received. The AASCU study reported that public institutions have undertaken measures such as reducing time to graduation or levying surcharges on students who take more than the specified number of credits to fulfill degree requirements.

Some institutions have reported having vacant full time faculty positions, and nearly 20 percent reported increases in class sizes.

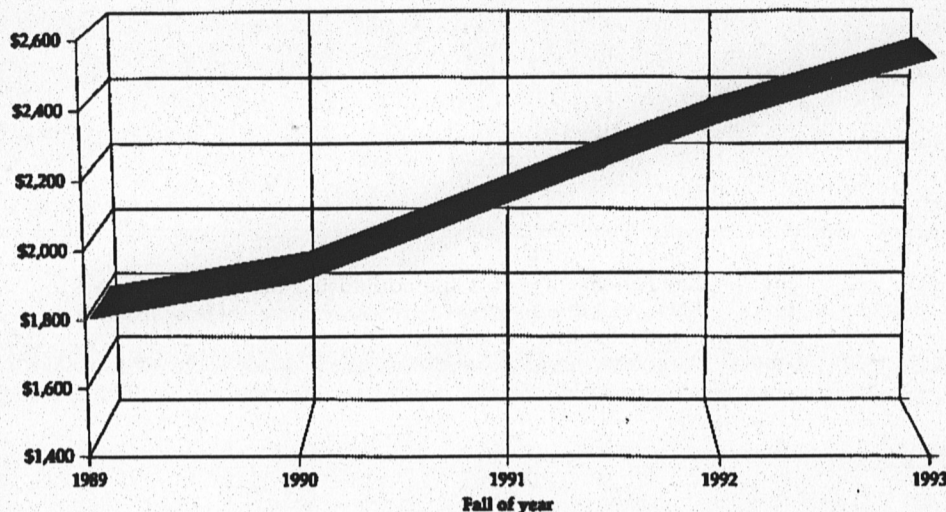
"Universities [such as CUNY] have trimmed everywhere they can," according to Weingarten.

Any more cuts, he said, would likely affect the academic quality of public education. "One of the benefits of public universities is that they're accessible. The more expensive they become, the less accessible they are to students who desperately deserve a first-class education," he said.

College/(total cuts)	Canceled Sections	FTE's	Can Absorb Elsewhere?
Borough of Manhattan (\$1.446m)	315		1,575
Bronx (\$0.975m)	145		725
Hostos (\$0.738m)	275		1,375
Kingsborough (\$1.354m)	330		1,650
LaGuardia (\$1.174m)	314		1,570
Queensborough (\$1.161m)	485		2,425
Total	1,864		9,320
Over 5000 students are expected to be locked out of CUNY			

Average undergraduate resident tuition and fees at public, four year colleges and universities, 1989-93

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 1993



By: Ragami Harris

National Student News Service

CUNY BUDGETARY FUNDING AND DEMOGRAPHICS

by College Voice Staff

Enrollment at the community colleges grew by 28%; in 1988/89 there were 57,818 students enrolled as compared to the present figure of 73,823, an increase of 16,005 students: 1988-89. When you contrast the student growth in CUNY to the amount it is funded by the city we see an inverse effect, whereby the city government is decreasing CUNY's budget in an eerie like pace, in the opposite direction, to the growth of the student population. The city's adopted budget in 1989/90 was a \$122 million compared to the 1994/95 budget of \$78.5 million. The city has decreased its funding by 36%, that is, \$43.5 million. Mayor Giuliani, with the blessings of the bank, proposed a mid-year cut of \$10.5 million reducing the city's share of supporting higher education to \$70.9 million.

Tuition Increases

During this period of City budget cuts, tuition was increased three times at the community colleges — for the Spring Semester 1991-92, and for the academic year 1992-93. Through these three actions, tuition climbed from \$1,225 to \$2,100 per year for a full-time, resident student, an increase of more than 71%. As a consequence, tuition revenue, which in 1989-90 was 21% of the community college budget, has become the largest funding source of the community college budget at 39% in the current year.

National Community College Tuition Rates Tuition at CUNY's community colleges is higher than 95% of the community colleges in the country. For example: Los Angeles Community College District \$405; Miami-Dade Community College \$1,073; Seattle Community College \$1,110; Baltimore City Community College \$1,320; Milwaukee Area Technical College \$1,733; SUNY \$1,901; and City Colleges of Chicago \$1,922 (rates are for 1993-94).

Productivity

CUNY community colleges already operate at extraordinary levels of efficiency and productivity. Faculty workload is at the 27 hour contractual limit. Over the past five years, the number of FTE students produced by every faculty FTE has increased from 18.8 to 21.8, or 16%. At the same time, public tax-levy dollars per student FTE decreased 22% from \$4,815 to

\$3,764. The availability of full-time faculty to provide classroom instruction to a growing enrollment has plummeted, yielding a 20% increase in the percentage of adjunct instruction (from 46% in 1989 to 55%, currently.) Finally, class section size has increased 12% over the past five years.

Welfare Recipients

CUNY community colleges serve some of the most vulnerable of the City's citizens, including 17,500 welfare recipients, offering the prospects of future employability and freedom from public assistance.

City Cuts in 1994-95

Currently, the City has proposed cutting the community colleges by \$10.5 million in the current year. (OMB has agreed to apply \$800,000 in pension savings, and \$2.9 million in debt service savings from outside the budget, lessening college cuts to \$6.8 million.) Each community college will be forced to reduce counseling, library services, instructional supplies, maintenance, and:

Student Impact (4,320 FTE students)

Of the \$10.5 million cut, \$4.6 million would be saved from the above class section cancellations. This represents 28% of planned spring adjunct expenditures. In order to sustain this magnitude of a reduction in mid-year, the University will be required to defer the admissions of 6,000 new / transfer students.

CUNY Proposal

For 1994-95, reduce impact of October Financial Plan cut to the community colleges of \$7 million by recognizing \$2.9 million in debt service savings (done), \$800,000 in pension savings (done), and \$600,000 in energy savings. Rescind December 15 cut of 1%, \$879,000; exempt community colleges from January 6 cut of 3%, \$2.6 million. Colleges would still have to enact mid-year cuts of \$2.7 million, but would be able to accommodate fully spring enrollment growth. For 1995-96, continue City support at 1994-95 year-end level. An additional 2,000 students that are projected for Fall '95, would be able to enroll. Currently proposed '95-96 budget would require layoffs/student deferrals.

Department's strategy Questionable

STUDENTS DENIED OVER-TALLY CARD

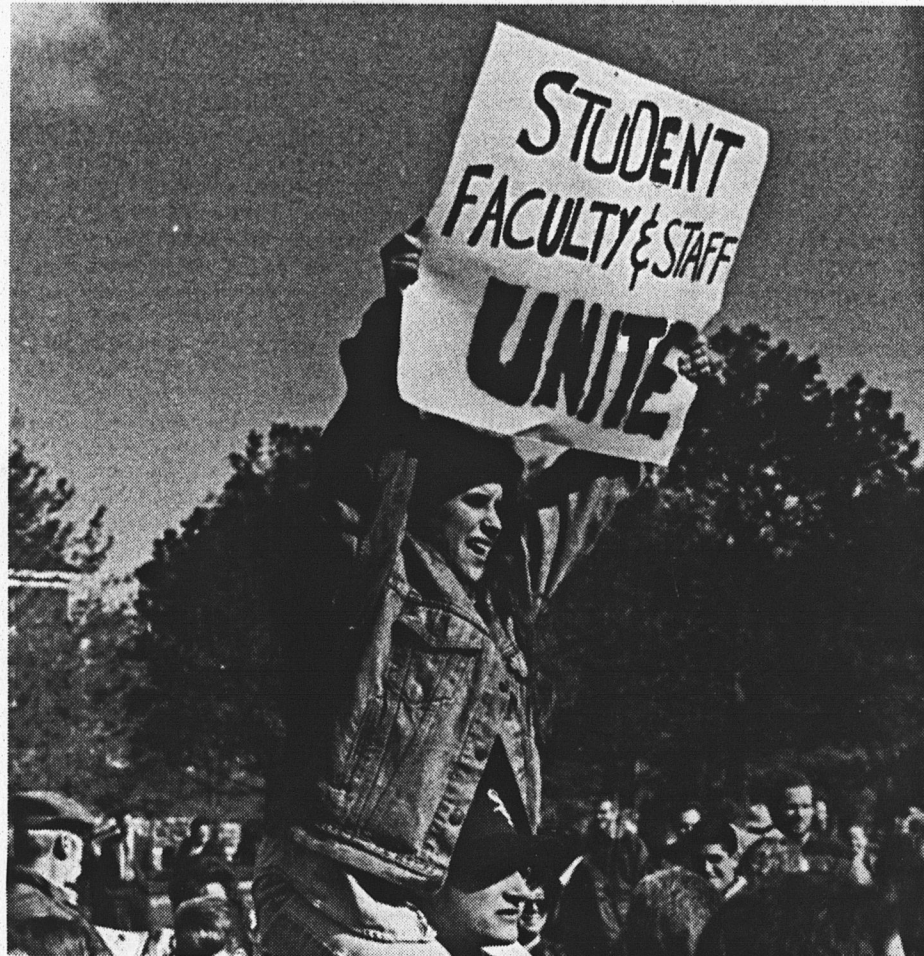
By Sarah Husain

Due to the lack of courses offered and overcrowded classrooms certain departments are no longer giving out overtally cards. These cards are given to students, who may need it to graduate or if it is of importance to them, by professors or the head of departments when a course is closed. The Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology Department, which already offers very few courses per semester, has adopted a no-overtally policy. This policy strictly prohibits any professor and the head of the department to give out overtally cards to students.

According to Prof. Sider, in the Anthropology department, this policy was apparently voted in by the department on the basis of initiating students, together with the department, to demand from the administration for more full time professors, and for a bigger budget. Professor Ragir states, "We are very understaffed and we have a huge number of adjuncts, which is not good." In the letter, which the department gives to students informing them of their policy, there is no mention of this demand. Instead, the letter states, "The reason for this policy is strictly educational: caps are set for each course based on an assessment of the maximal number of students (allowances are made for a certain number of dropouts) that can enroll in the course and still benefit from it academically. The policy is thus designed with the education of the student in mind."

They claim that the policy was shaped by the interests of students, however the strategy becomes questionable when the letter fails to mention the objective of attaining more faculty and funding from administration, and when no other form of organizing faculty or students to fight for this demand has taken place. Instead, many students have been walking away from the department upset and dismayed that they cannot get into the class they want. Due to their unmentioned demands for more full time professors in the letter, the department is only playing along with the administration. On the contrary, this tactic, which the department is using, benefits the administration because no students or professors have put forward their demands.

Such questions arise about the \$370 million or more spent on the new campus. This campus which looks bigger, but actually has smaller classrooms, a smaller cafeteria and a bigger library building whose shelves are less than half full. In addition, students in the near future are likely to be hit with a tuition increase and another CUNY budget cut. This policy and its strategy only hurts the tuition-paying students who also pay for a new campus which is of no benefit to them. Instead of working with the students to demand for a better budget and more full time professors, the sociology department is only harming them.



Students can not change the worsening situation without the help of CUNY staff and faculty.

Registration Tension

By JP Patafio

Registration is difficult enough for matriculated students, but the level of frustration rises during the open registration period when the combination of new students, transferring students and matriculated students run around the campus jockeying for the few remaining classes that are open. The venting of student anger is usually directed at college employees in either the registration or academic advisement departments as the causes of the problem are not revealed. Instead of examining the causes of CUNY's budgetary problems students and employees alike tend to focus on the practical problem making the best out of a bad situation.

Money for ads not for classes

Though students were searching for open classes in vain, and begging professors and department chairs for over-tally cards in order to receive admittance into over crowded classes CSI administration was spending thousands of dollars in ads in the Staten Island Advance. These ads were encouraging people to register for classes at the college. The absurdity of this was not overlooked by one student, Missy, who was waiting on the registration line hoping that her class would still be opened by the time she entered.

Missy was not the only student confronting the hectic process of registering. When students were asked about registration they commented upon the lack of classes offered (especially upper-level), problems with advisement and the long distances they had to walk only to discover that the class they needed was no longer open. One student, Diana, who intends to graduate after this semester was lucky to find the four-hundred level class she needed still open. She commented that not enough classes are offered at night for working students, and that she was lucky to have a job with flexible work hours or else she would have been unable to take this necessary class until next year, thereby postponing her graduation a year. Other working students who go to school part-time are not as lucky as she. This is

one reason why many CUNY student do not graduate in four years.

Another student who was transferring from SUNY was not as lucky. He was unable to find an available class and forced to leave school. Like other students before him he roamed in vain throughout the vast campus in search of a way to register for at least one class. With this reality it is no wonder why students expressed anger at the ad campaign, however, the ad is only a sign of the distance between the students needs and the administrations concerns.

"It's the staffs fault!"

When it comes to budget cuts most people are impressed by the reduction of classes, but there are other less visible effects that depreciate the quality of CUNY. Much of the staff that makes the school function each day have also been hit with the cuts increasing their workloads while their pay stays relatively the same.

Like the faculty, the full-time staff is replaced with cheaper (non or less benefits) part-time help. A consequence of this is an increased workload. So when students who have waited hours on line confront the staff person who is bogged with hundreds of people to service the outcome is not always hospitable. Many times the anger is directed at the worker or the ignorant student instead of at the people in charge.

While registering most students are serviced by part-time workers. There are only two full-time employees, down two from four. Over 12,000 students pass through registration the workload during peak periods can be overwhelming. Another department that bares the brunt of disgruntled students is advisement.

Similar to decrease of workers at registra the number of advisors has dropped. With the decrease in the size of full-time and tenured professors the availability of advisors has also decreased since adjunct (part-time) professors do not hold office

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The New Administrative Order

By Kassadore Ramkassoooy

The spring semester brought about many changes in CSI's upper level administration in the form of a new administrative restructuring plan. According to President Springer who stated in a special bulletin to the college community "this new program will strengthen the quality of our academic programs and foster the life of the college." The bulletin also stated that the newly appointed President has made many decisions that will intensify and speed up the inner workings of the senior level administrations.

The President aims to foster a more "labor saving" and "democratic" plan by appointing three new Vice Presidents that will answer directly to Springer. This decentralized control system is supposed to help our President pursue her administrative goals. This is best exemplified by her appointing three new Vice Presidents that will bring clarity and perhaps efficiency to our college. A new Dean of Humanities will be chosen as the semester progresses. Mirella Affron will assume the position of Vice President of for Academic Affairs / Provost. President Springer also recommended to the Board of Trustees that Carol Jackson who formerly held the position of Dean of Student affairs will now rise to the position of Vice President of Student Af-

fairs. The position that Carol Jackson once held will be freed in the new structure and the new Vice President for Administration of Finance will be created. A search committee for this position will be formed under the supervision of President Springer.

The noticeable "stepping down" of Vice President of Academic Affairs Barry Bressler might be a matter of interpretation. The recent controversy over this person can lead some to see a latent correlation. Others could speculate that the President needed some of her people in the administration to implement her views. Many of the colleges staff and administrators question Springer's decision to abolish Bressler's position without allowing him to stay on a transitional period in which he can help advise the new administration.

The President's restructuring plan has not had a formal meeting held to inform the College Community essentially what this plan is about and what are the underlying aims of the President's restructuring, and whether or not Springer's new so called streamlined administrative policies will benefit the processes and procedures and does it in the end benefit the overall College Community.

Update on BMCC Disciplinary Hearings

Special by Tom Smith

As of this writing, there has been no new hearings scheduled for Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) student government officials, including SGA President Candice Camilo, originally suspended by Dean Alvero, for alleged violations of the Henderson rules at BMCC. In the meantime, Camilo and other activists from the Community Colleges have been active in a lawsuit against the City for the new round of budget cuts, which they claim are illegal.

At the last hearing, the defense, led by

Attorney Ron McGuire, informed the CUNY General Counsel that their role as both prosecutor in the case and legal counsel to the disciplinary committee constitutes a clear conflict of interest. "This is a clear violation of professional ethics," said McGuire. It would, if continued, make CUNY liable for legal prosecution.

In a recent letter to him, according to McGuire, Deputy General Counsel Roy Moscovitz stated that CUNY did not believe that his office's dual role in this regard constituted a conflict of interest.

The Privatization of New York

By Manjula Wijerama

New York City public services are being destroyed with the combined efforts of Republican and Democratic parties with thousands being laid off and many thousands more being lined up to be axed. The Giuliani administration along with the Democrats and the trade union tops all are agreed that jobs and services have to be destroyed, differing only in terms of to what degree and what services. The Wall Street bankers and financiers are the architects of this program of layoffs and cutbacks and are placing their bets at the Stock Exchange in anticipation of the greater profits they will be collecting as a result of these attacks. Meanwhile the working class of New York lacks the organization and political leadership necessary to put its own needs on the political agenda and defeat this bosses program.

The Character of the NYC Economy

New York City has long been a central location for Finance Capital or what Bob Fitch, the author of "The Assassination of New York", calls by the acronym F.I.R.E. - Finance, Insurance, Real Estate. Manufacturing Capital or basic industry has traditionally been marginal to the NYC economy with only textiles and some other light manufacturing industries being present. Workers are mostly concentrated in Service Industry like transportation, food and health with a significant sector of these services being under City and State control. One only needs to walk down the streets of Manhattan to see how this setup manifest itself. On the one hand glittering glass towers where the throngs of FIRE personel make their dealings and down below the neon lit deli's and restaurants, subways and buses where the workers are.

This dependence on what Fitch calls a "casino economy" leads essentially to the fate of working people being tied to the gambling fortunes of the NYC elite. If the stocks and bonds markets suffers a collapse as a result of the bets of FIRE being misplaced workers are forced to lose services and jobs so that money lost by the gamblers on Wall Street can be recovered from the pockets and lives of workers. The Democratic Party in particular which has long been financed and supported by FIRE is given the task of convincing workers that the layoffs and cutbacks are necessary for the long term health of the city economy. In other words workers are told to accept that the only type of system possible is the present one where the profit interests of a few take precedence over the lives of the toiling millions.

The attack against jobs does not come at the level of the McDonalds worker or the waiters and waitresses or the messengers or the other privatized low wage work but at the level of public sector jobs such as transportation, health and education workers who have higher wages, benefits and are organized in unions. FIRE and its Republican and Democratic puppets take aim at this sector of the workforce in particular because they 1) want to destroy the unions which enable workers to maintain decent wages 2) want to redirect the public tax funds away from public services towards bailing out the brokerage houses and banks that fail.

In order to achieve this aim FIRE through its politicians and media: 1) carry out massive propaganda against welfare recipients and execute police attacks against the homeless and unemployed 2) racially divide the working class by painting welfare

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recipients as Black and taxpayers as white 3) equate public sector services with welfare. In other words under the racially charged rhetoric and real violence against the homeless and welfare recipients a massive attack is directed against their real target - the public sector unions.

The attacks against the public sector is not to destroy the services themselves but to privatize them so that they become institutions that could be run strictly for profit. Imagine the privatization of the public education system where schools will be opened only where it is profitable to do so, leaving millions of children from working class and poor families on the streets. FIRE understands this as well that is why the prison building industry is enjoying the greatest growth. "Out of the schools into the jails" that is their slogan.

Black, White, Men, Women, Native and Foreign Born, Workers Unite and Fight

How do workers combat this outrageous attack against them? The greatest obstacle right now is the treacherous leadership of the union bureaucrats who tie the workers to the Democratic Party and to the whole capitalist system. Workers need to fight within their unions to create unity amongst all those who in FIRE's aim across union lines, across racial lines, across gender lines, across national lines. The unions remain the most powerful defense of the city's workers whether they are in a union or not because they are organized and can use the weapon of the strike to bring FIRE to a dead stop. FIRE is terrified of this that is

why they concentrate their attacks against the unions. The unions need to go on a massive organizing drive to bring in the millions of unorganized workers from Mexicans working for slave wages and other undocumented workers who are presently totally divided from the organized working class. It these undocumented workers in particular who by the weight of their oppression will form the most militant vanguard of a united workers fightback. However they need to be reached out to and supported by the organized workers in unions in order for this potential to be realized. It is in the overcoming of the divisions that the bosses legal system and racism has established will a comprehensive and effective fight be waged.

However this united action must be in order to be realized be united in a political party that represents the interests of the workers. Such a party has to be completely independent of the Republican and Democrats and of the FIRE establishment. Today many activities are already underway to create such a workers alternative in the form of such efforts as Labor Party Advocates (LPA) which holds meetings in New York City as well as cities across the country. The creation of a workers party that champions the interests of the millions and puts forward human needs before private interests will set the stage for creating a society and a world where tremendous wealth and technology that exists will be for the development of our species rather than its destruction and that of the world.

Groundbreaking conference in Moscow discusses revolutionary legacy of Trotsky

Special by Marilyn Vogt-Downey

MOSCOW—On Nov. 10-12, 1994, more than 60 Russians and international guests met here for the first conference ever held in Russia on Leon Trotsky.

Leon Trotsky was co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution in October 1917. After Lenin's illness and death, he led the Marxist opposition in the Bolshevik Party to the bureaucratization process that Stalin embodied.

Yet despite his brilliance as one of the greatest Marxists of the 20th century, Trotsky's writings, indispensable to anyone who seeks to understand the world, were systematically falsified and brutally eliminated in the Soviet Union by the Stalinist bureaucracy for decades—until the glasnost openings in the late 1980s.

Moreover, history was rewritten to exclude Trotsky and falsify his ideas and the contributions of Trotsky and all the other Bolshevik leaders from Lenin's time who were murdered as a result of the purges of the Communist Party in the 1930s.

Trotsky continued his struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy and for a revival of revolutionary internationalism until his assassination by Stalin's agent in August 1940 in Mexico, where he was living in enforced exile.

In recent years, the historic truth has been allowed to resurface. The Nov. 10-12 conference in Moscow was a manifestation of this process.

The "international Scientific Conference on the Legacy of Leon Trotsky: Its Historical and Contemporary significance" was sponsored by Scholars For Democracy and Socialism and the Center on Problems of Democracy and Socialism of the Institute of Economics of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The purpose of the conference was "to discuss a broad range of issues related to contemporary interpretations of Marxism, the development of socialist theory and practice, Trotsky's role in the history of social and political theory and in the labor movement, the fate of socialism in the former Soviet Union, and the bureaucratic phenomenon and the means of struggle against it."

The conference was organized to allow presentations by participants, who were given 10 minutes each to summarize papers they had prepared—20 minutes with translation—on many themes related to the ideas of Trotsky. Each presentation was followed by a question and answer period.

In the late afternoon of the second day, there was a "round table" on the topic of

"Trotskyism and the Left Political Movements in Russia," where representatives of a number of Trotskyist and other political currents were given five minutes each to address problems and solutions to the current crisis of leadership in the working class. These presentations were also followed by discussion.

"Only alternative to Stalinism"

The conference was opened by Alexander Buzgalin, who welcomed the guests and speakers on behalf of Scholars for Democracy and Socialism. The first speaker was Professor Mikhail Voeikov, Doctor of Economic Sciences and a department head at the Institute of Economics at the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS).

Professor Voeikov, one of the key organizers of the conference, spoke on "The Relevance of Trotsky's Ideas Today." He explained why Trotsky, with his analysis of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government as well as of the Communist International, offered the only alternative to Stalinism.

This is precisely why, Voeikov explained, the Soviet bureaucracy during the Gorbachev period held up Nikolai Bukharin as the preferred alternative to Stalin. Bukharin had gone along with Stalin in suppressing the opposition Trotsky led. However, Bukharin too later fell victim to the bureaucracy's bloody machine during the Moscow show trials in the late 1930s—after which he was shot.

Bukharin had never opposed the bureaucratization of the party and the state, and his ideas did not challenge the premises of bureaucratic rule. Trotsky, on the

other hand, exposed the causes and effects of the bureaucracy's rise to power and the counterrevolutionary nature of its policies. He called for the bureaucracy's overthrow.

As a result, the campaign to vilify Trotsky and falsify his ideas continues to this day.

There were at least 23 presentations—by scholars, professors, workers, and journalists—representing a broad age group, from the early 20s to a few septuagenarians. (But there was only one woman.)

They examined Trotsky's theories as they concerned the historic past and their application today. Most of the reports reflected considerable serious study of many of Trotsky's writings, as well as the context in which they were written, with unparalleled richness and depth. Some speakers relied on English translations of Trotsky's writings because the original Russian was unavailable.

New committee launched

One of the most important achievements of the conference was the decision to support a proposal initiated by Professor Voeikov to launch the "Committee for the Study of Leon Trotsky's Legacy."

The conference named an initial council of Russians and international supporters and two international coordinators to oversee the work, with the perspective of beginning immediately to expand the list of supporters in Russia and internationally.

The work of the new committee will include getting translators for the publication of "The Case of Leon Trotsky" and

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The Isis Papers

Afrocentricity vs. Homosexuality

Special by Matthew Quest

Dr. Francis Cress Welsing's *The Isis Papers* [Third World Press 1991] is one of the most popular texts of the much debated but loosely defined ideology of Afrocentricity. Arguing for the African origins of civilization by highlighting Egyptian and other Africans' pioneering achievements in architecture, science, and philosophy, Afrocentric interpretations of history subvert traditional Eurocentric fabrications. Afrocentric scholars also potentially open a path toward a new humanism, one which includes everybody with an African ancestry—the whole human race.

Unfortunately, misguided scholars often silence black women, gay men and lesbians, identifying these voices as oppressive and divisive manifestations of white supremacy. It is their reluctance to link questions of race with resistance to other oppressions that reinforces the categories of "race" that is the essence of Eurocentric denigration of "non-white" peoples.

The Origins of White Supremacy

Welsing articulates a familiar critique of white supremacy as the dominant system and culture in the Western world. However, her notions about the origins and perpetuation of racism are far from conventional. White supremacy according to Welsing began with the birth of albinos in Africa. These "recessive genetic mutants" began to mate with one another, producing what is now known as the white race.

Besides masking their African origin and proclaiming their affinity with Greece,

whites avoid the true meaning of skin whiteness: "a mutation and genetic deficiency state from the black norm, 'hue-man' norm." White supremacy is a psychological defense mechanism to genetic color inadequacy (whiteness). Dr. Welsing believes whites are "genetically vulnerable," and therefore over-compensate for their insecurity with oppressive behavior towards people of color.

Effeminization and Oppression

A major tool of those who subscribe to white supremacy, according to Welsing, is the perpetuation of black male passivity through encouraging effeminization, bisexuality, and homosexuality. Welsing believes this is "a problem of epidemic proportions amongst black people in the U.S."

Homophobia in communities of color is rampant... to the tenth power of the white mainstream. Why? Because the struggle for human rights against white supremacy has been disproportionately explained as the need to achieve "manhood rights", from the period of slavery to the present.

Welsing defines "primary effeminacy" and "secondary effeminacy" to distinguish white causes of homosexuality from black ones. "Secondary effeminacy" [black male homosexuality] is consciously imposed on the black man by the white man for the purpose of destroying the black family. Welsing attempts to propagate a patriarchal concept of the black family, which is curious, since it is an Afrocentric conventional wisdom that there was no patriar-

chy in traditional African societies.

Welsing does not mention the concept of gender roles being environmentally conditioned. However, a continuum would not represent qualities such as aggression and nurturing as universal that all humans can embody. Rather, the author clearly believes that in the process of the black man taking on homosexual tendencies, he is acting like a woman. She is firmly against this as illustrated by the following examples.

From her work with incarcerated black males, Welsing concludes that, as they have been broken by the system and forced to submit to an authoritarian environment, prison is the epitome of white supremacy. Black males are "feminized in jail" in the following ways: they are given orders by men to whom they must submit; they wait passively to be fed three meals a day by men; and finally, they have sexual intercourse with men.

Welsing, in an attack on the cross-dressers of the "Flip Wilson/Geraldine variety," implies that a real black man wouldn't wear earrings or bracelets. How can an African-centered critique of white supremacy discount the earring and bracelet wearing Masai warriors or the "Mau Mau," just two of the examples of "manhood" in resistance?

The author, angry with the American Psychological Association's relatively recent repeal of their former opinion that homosexuality constitutes poor mental health, prescribes a distinct position for black people. Black psychiatrists must understand that whites may condone homosexuality for themselves that but we as blacks must see it as a strategy for destroying black people. Welsing argues homosexuals or bisexuals should neither be condemned nor degraded, as they did not

decide that they would be so programmed in childhood. The racist system should be held responsible. Welsing believes the task for professionals who concur with her should be proactive treatment and prevention of homosexuality among black people.

Feminism

Welsing argues that, since there is no patriarchy in traditional African societies, a feminist critique is unnecessary. Besides, feminism is Eurocentric. I wonder what Angela Davis, Audre Lorde, Michele Wallace, and Bell Hooks would think of that. They're anything but Eurocentric.

Welsing, disgusted with the stereotyped image of the black male as "sex machine," believes the black male should be the guardian of Black civilization, not only in protecting the family even at consequence of death, but by procreating. It is their sperm which is endowed with the melanin that serves as the "hue-man" norm.

Welsing gives the black woman urgency in preserving black manhood from becoming the female, clown, infant, buffoon, transvestite, homosexual, etc. This should be done by denying these "effeminized men" "the right" to procreate, and should be enforced by the self-respecting black woman.

Revolutionary Treatise Problematic

Welsing offers the *Isis Papers* as a revolutionary treatise. This makes many of her assertions problematic. By equating black manhood with "not macho or money" but "warrior or soldier against the system," she attempts to deny black homosexuals, women, whites, and others, their necessary roles as revolutionaries against white

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Dr. Welsing, like many Afrocentrists, puts forward a conception of revolution that is doomed to fail.

"Pro-Life" Terrorist Activities

Marian Larrkin is the New York organizer for Radical Women (affiliated with the Freedom Socialist Party). After the killings in Massachusetts the group organized a demonstration which not only focused upon the recent terrorist attack but on the wave of religious right wing activity in the political sphere, especially its effect on working class women. The following is an attempt to clarify the relationship between "random acts of violence" and the political movement that gives cause to it.

Voice (V): Are the murders by John Salvi isolated incidences in the sense that they were the acts of one crazed man?

Mary (M): Definitely not. There are a couple of pieces to the picture here. One is that the whole environment that we're in right now, where we have not only a growing right wing in this country, including what people think of as very mainstream politicians, the Republicans and Democrats. It's something that really needs to be said. The Democrats as much as the Republicans are promoting an environment where they're looking for scapegoats, for the economic problems this country is facing and the incredible social and political problems that we're facing. Particularly, one of the key targets is women.

Clinton came out and said, very publicly, "Yeah, I believe that single mothers are major problems, that they're a major cause of the decaying of American society." We're seeing welfare mothers, very much under attack right now, abortion issues.... You know, there's a whole environment where on the one hand if you're a teenager who's pregnant, and have a baby it'll be taken away from you and put in an orphanage. Mothers will not be able to get welfare in the future. If you choose to

have an abortion you're threatened, sometimes killed, at the clinic. We're talking about politicians, even people who are supposed to be liberal, creating an atmosphere of scapegoating women. That's just making it that much easier for the right wing to get bigger and to get more extreme and to really escalate their war against women.

I think what happened in Massachusetts, what it really means, is that this symbolizes, or it heralds, or shows an escalation of this war and of the growing fascist movement in this country. This a fascist tactic to come in and shoot people; and, specifically over the issue of state control over women's reproduction; that's very much a part of the fascists program. So, I think we really need to see in it that context, and I don't use the word fascism lightly, I don't throw the word fascism around, you know, some people throw that word around a lot. But, it is, I think of it a...

V: Increasing resemblances...

M: Yeah, it's like the last card that capitalism has to play. When capitalism is on its knees it has to have absolute control over people, including absolute control over women and over workers. All oppressed people are used as scapegoats, different groups of people, you know, like people of color, immigrants, gays and lesbians, disabled people, Jews, and women are the problems that we're seeing; also radicals, the libertarians - all these people. All these scapegoats are part of the program. We're also seeing, for example, in California, Proposition 187 which really shows the full effort to scapegoat.

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RADICAL WOMEN CONDEMN SHOOTINGS AT MASSACHUSETTS ABORTION CLINICS

Statement to the press by Nancy Reiko Kato, National Radical Women organizer

"The war on women must be stopped." This was the message conveyed by National Radical Women Organizer, in response to the shootings at two Brookline, Massachusetts abortion clinics today.

"Women have had the legal right to abortion for 22 years. We will never let right-wing terrorism take away our right to control our bodies," Kato stated. She saw the increase of clinic violence and murder directly connected to the scapegoating of women, immigrants, people of color and gays and lesbians for the worsening economic conditions. "The killings today are evidence of a growing fascist tendency which must be stopped."

Kato called for the following measures to be taken to ensure the safety of clinics:

1. Community defense of clinics
2. Apprehension of the Brookline clinic murderer and full
3. Build an independent feminist labor party.

The Democrats and Republicans have shown they are unwilling to put women's reproductive rights and safety as a priority.

4. Repeal all laws which scapegoat women and other oppressed groups for society's problems. This includes California's Proposition 187 that blames undocumented immigrants for the economic crisis; parental consent laws for young women; the Hyde Amendment which restricts Medicaid payments for abortions, and anti-gay and lesbian legislation.

Kato disagreed with then National Abortion Rights action League's call for government infiltration into anti-abortion groups. "The Justice Department has a history of spying on feminist, pro-abortion, radical, civil rights, gay and lesbian, labor, student and environmental groups. Encouraging the government to infiltrate a right-wing group only opens the door for them to spy on us."

Radical Women in one of the oldest feminist groups in the United States and was founded in 1967. They have been in the forefront of the fight for abortion rights and were instrumental in getting abortion legalized in Washington State through a voter referendum in 1970. Radical Women defended abortion clinics against clinic bombers in California, Washington, Oregon, and New York. The Radical Women National Office is located at 523-A Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA 94110 and can be reached at (415) 864-1278 or (415) 864-0778 [fax].

The Facts, the Media and Jeffrey Dahmer

by Craig R. Whitney

The death of Jeffrey Dahmer at the hands of a fellow inmate at the Wisconsin Correctional Institution was certainly the death of an extremely wicked man.

The murder of one of America's worst serial killers took place in the prison's bathroom, where he was part of a three-man cleaning detail that included Christopher Scarver and Jesse Anderson, like Dahmer, a high-profile killer. Scarver, a strong suspect, probably used a broom to



bludgeon Dahmer to death. He assaulted and killed Anderson as well. Correctional officers were not present at the murder scene, although on prison guard was in the bathroom before the detail came in. When Dahmer, Scarver, and Anderson arrived,

he left. Extremely poor judgment and neglect on the guards' and officials' part made them believe that Jeffrey Dahmer would be secure from attack. Reason and common sense should tell them that convict like Dahmer are marked for cruel, "jailhouse justice". They are acceptable targets of abuse and scorn by any inmate behind bars. Scarver, Jeffrey Dahmer's killer, is sure to have his status increase dramatically among his fellows in the Wisconsin Correctional Institution. For many years to come, the assailant will be a "big man", a hero to be worshipped and assured by ordinary prisoners and relatives of Dahmer's victims.

In light of the basic facts and events, the media was impartial; the facts and events are stark and were there for the nation to see. But media fairness and straightforward coverage of the report stop after the facts are laid out. The image of Dahmer as an evil incarnation, a monster, a disciple of Satan that is portrayed in the headlines and stories is there to increase newspaper sales and news broadcasting ratings. The true, complete profile of Dahmer, evil and sick but confused about himself and unable to adequately control his life, is absent from the reports, newspaper columns and headlines. They're more concerned with the grotesque aspects of Dahmer and his crimes and death than with the motives that made him a "monster" and a "Devil's disciple".

The New York Post, delivering a perfect example of slanted media coverage, featured an article titled "Life and Crimes of Devil's Disciple". The piece dealt with major aspects of Jeffrey's Dahmer's life

such as animal mutilation, his homosexual rape at the age of 8, his life in school, the stint in the Army, and Satan-worship. While it deals with such things important to paint a portrait of the man, it is not very specific and does not explain why they are of paramount importance in the portrayal of Dahmer. Yes, Andy Slots, the writer of the NY Post column, tells of Dhaka's rape at a young age. But he does not graphically explain as Dr. Joel Norris had done in his 1992 book "Jeffrey Dahmer" that the forced homosexual encounter made Dahmer vehemently hate gay men and feel uneasy about his own homosexual leanings. In fact, the serial murderer had elaborate fantasies of brutality and homosexual intercourse since he was 15-years of age. The two parts of his adolescent fantasies, violence and sex, were interlocked in an iron grip and they consumed his thoughts in his early years.

His alcoholism was mentioned as well, but like the rape incident it was not explained why it was the downfall of the serial killer. Since the age of 13, when he was in intermediate school, Jeffrey Dahmer would consume alcohol to keep feelings of loneliness, boredom, and depression at bay. It succeeded for a while but as the feeling of his inadequacy and low self-esteem persisted and his drinking continued, alcoholic addiction was added to his list of problems. It was responsible, along with poor direction in life and general laziness, for his poor scholastic performance. It would also aid Jeffrey in earning an "other than honorable" discharge in the Army.

Dahmer's addiction decreased his judgment and mental perception. In his senior

year in high school, Jeffrey was well-known for his "Dahmers" (as his schoolmates dubbed his comedy acts), weird and incredibly hysterical things to attract his schoolmates to him and to make them laugh. For a boy with poor social skills, this was the best way for interaction with his peers. As booze and beer lowered his social inhibitions, he would drool, jump around, and imitate the slurred speech of a cerebral palsy victim for their amusement. On other occasions he would bleat like a sheep and trace bodies with chalk tin classrooms.

Jeffrey's fascination with torturing, killing, and burying animals mentioned in the article. It was not explained why he derived satisfaction and feelings of control over weaker forms of life. The morbid hobby have this individual feelings of domination over any form of life in years to come. To Dahmer, humans were there to fill a need. And if the need was for Jeffrey Dahmer to feel adequate and dominant at the expense of human life, so be it, his mind reasoned. It was a deadly precursor in his killing spree in Milwaukee. Andy Soltis made no mention of the motives behind his "hobby" at all.

Parts of Soltis' article dealing with Jeffrey Dahmer's life were incomplete as well. In 1977, when he killed hitchhiker Stephen Hicks, he made sure his wallet and its contents were destroyed completely. The corpse was dismembered, the flesh burned from the bones with acid, and the bones crushed into tiny pieces. There were no witnesses to Jeffrey's start of his killing

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Moscow Conference ...

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"Not Guilty," with historian Pierre Broue preparing notes reflecting newly found archival materials to accompany the texts.

The committee will also begin plans for a second conference, to be held Dec. 8-10, 1995, in St. Petersburg, on the 90th anniversary of the 1905 revolution. Reports made at the recent conference will be collected for publication in Russian and English.

Before the conference closed, it was agreed by most of those present to collect funds to send with a statement of support to coal miners in the Tula province, south of Moscow. Some 200 coal miners there had been on a hunger strike in the pits for a week demanding payment of unpaid wages.

The miners in that region were owed 22 billion rubles; the unpaid wages to miners alone in Russia amounted to around 50 billion rubles. Thirty of the miners had already been hospitalized as a result of the protest. Nearly 240,000 rubles were collected to send to them.

A brief report of the conference was featured on Moscow television news on Saturday night, the last day of the conference. The same newscast also reported that 10 people had frozen to death in Moscow that day. The economic crisis deepens.

Pushing forward the historic truth is a fundamental part of the task of helping clear away the debris and lies about the past in order to find the way toward genuine socialism and workers control.

Issis Papers ...

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supremacy. She suffers from the common reasoning among black middle class voices [common especially now in books articulating their "rage"] that are surprised and/or disappointed that "even when high income is allowed, there is no true power in its ultimate sense-meaning to protect, support and defend the lives of one's self, one's wife, and one's children." Dr. Welsing remains adamant that a class analysis of capitalism is not relevant to black people, as most Afrocentrists claim, because they are oppressed as a race.

Dr. Welsing, like many Afrocentrists, puts forward a conception of revolution that is doomed to fail. However, it has already been successful in provoking the politics of reaction, though not on the scale of her Eurocentric predecessors. Under the guise of unity she continues the alimentionation of black homosexuals as acting white and/or acting abnormal. Under an American system of white supremacy and capitalism, she attempts to put forward an Africa-centered agenda for black revolution that is woefully ignorant of the political economy that destroys both Africans and Americans and, for that matter, the diversity of the culture of the diaspora. No one should hesitate from pulling out all the stops to oppose such a retrogressive idea, even at the risk of being proclaimed an "Uncle Tom" or a race traitor.

Acts of Hypocrisy ...

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V: That's right, marginalize them so the Mexican workers that are working won't attempt to unionize, won't attempt to fight because they'd be scared that they'd be kicked out of the country. So, I can then assume that you think that some of the attacks on women are intended to deflect the working class's attention on the economic situation by saying, "Look, we're spending too much money on these social programs that give teen mothers money." So, you think that the base of this attack on women is a result of the economic crisis that capitalism finds itself in?

M: Absolutely.

V: What would the capitalists have gained by restricting the rights of women over reproduction and stressing the nuclear family. I know one of the things that it has to gain is that it deflects criticism on capitalism.

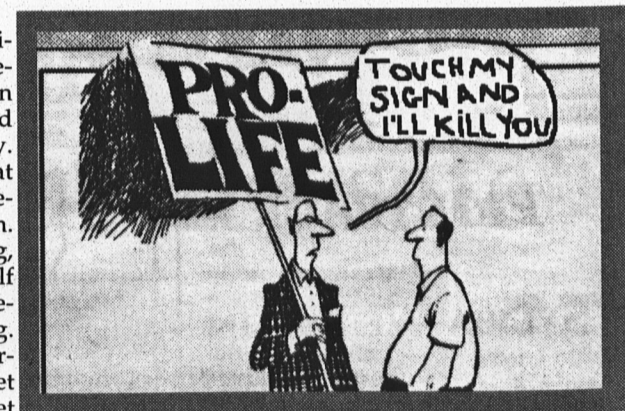
M: Yeah, that's one thing, it takes the focus off itself and puts it on the scapegoats, that's one the thing. Why are women also a target? Women are a target because it's a way to get

women back in the homes and out of the workforce. It's a way to scapegoat women for the fact that there are growing numbers of men, especially professional white men, perhaps. Men are having a hard time finding jobs. That's very ironic, actually, because in fact it's capitalism that caused women to come into the labor market, capitalism needs to keep women in these jobs. It's very contradictory, but yeah, that's one thing, is to provide a scapegoat. Another thing is the political side.

In the last three years, a lot has changed for women, we've made a lot of advances; most of us are in the workforce now. In the

workforce there is more leverage in this society, because of the social power of workers. Women didn't have this when we were just in the home as housewives; for those women who worked in the home. And, now as women are in the workforce and continue to be so, it gives us an economic and political independence that we haven't had previously in history.

Women also tend to be among the more militant sector of the movement; they're like the spark plugs in a way within the labor movement. Some of the most militant strikes that we've seen in the last 15 years have been among women workers, also industries that are primarily staffed by people of color and gays. I'm thinking of the airlines. There are the flight attendants (there's a profession that typically



hires women and gay men); a militant sector of the labor movement in the last 15 years. So, getting women out of the labor market has political consequences for the working class as a whole. If women can't control our own reproduction, it's definitely going to take some women out of the labor market. It's especially going to do that for white women. For women on welfare we can see an increase of sterilizations. In Chicago, for example, the number of Medicaid funded abortions went down by 1,000, because they weren't paying for abortions anymore, and the number of sterilizations went up by the exact same number.

The second half on the interview will appear in the next edition of the College Voice.

If you are interested in writing a feature for the Voice come to the office (Bldg 1C-RM230) and let's talk. Or if you have something written address it to Manjula Wijerama and drop it off. We'll get back to you.

spree because the event took place in Dahmer's home, and whose parents were in Wisconsin (the murder took place in Bath, Ohio) to visit relatives. Of course, after the murderer took evidence and destroyed it and left no one to witness the crime, no one noticed Hick's disappearance!



In the Army, Dahmer was known by officers and soldiers alike to wallow in his alcoholic haze and to be frequently late for duty. He would report for duty, guilty of being AWOL, unable to function or perform his duty his work as a medic and would be staggering drunk. Off duty, he would spend nights stationed in Germany drinking himself to sleep, listening to music, waking up to drink some more booze. In his barracks, Jeffrey Dahmer would racially insult black soldiers and threaten and verbally abuse other fellow

soldiers when intoxicated. The pattern was the same throughout his whole short career as a combat medic. After failing to adhere to a strict alcoholic recovery program the Army, sensing that Dahmer would not help himself, rid themselves of him and promptly discharged him. Before enlisting, Dahmer spent a quarter at Ohio State University and failed. His addiction was the reason. In his job at a Chocolate factory, he was cashiered from employment because of laziness, unexplained absences, and poor performance just weeks before his 2991 arrest for multiple murder. The cause was the same in all of his failures—alcoholism.

In fact, Dr. Joel Norris believes that Dahmer subconsciously failed in his military career and the alcoholic recovery program in order to get out of the military in order to find a secure place for his future murder spree. Since he was vulnerable as a soldier and had little privacy, he did what he could to get himself discharged. Years later, in 1988, he would leave his grandmother's house to live in an apartment close to the workplace for exactly the same reason

Soltis' article is most slanted on the issue of Jeffrey's worship of Satan. He was drawn to the occult because of its morbid nature and by his own murderous, sexually sadistic impulses. Jeffrey Dahmer may have had "the Satanic Bible" and griffins in his bedroom in his paternal grandmother's house, but he was not a full-fledged Satanist, and he was not devout in his that "faith". He read the Bible as well and used the "fire and brimstone", puritanical nature of the Old Testament Scriptures to justify his anti-homosexual hatred and desire for black subservience

to whites. He told Brother Ranieri, a counselor for troubled gays at a homosexual club that Dahmer frequented, that gays should perish from AIDS and that "according to all the bible stories, blacks should all be subservient to the whites anyway...". Brother Ranieri could sense that Dahmer's had inner rage and dangerous vigilance that belied his harmless, innocent-looking appearance.

Of serial killers, Dahmer, of course, was not the only one to be cast into and image which was greater than they were. In 1932, Albert Fish was arrested for cannibalizing and drinking the blood of a ten-year-old girl four years earlier in 1928. He earned the nicknames "Moon maniac" and "Thrill Killer" for his inhuman deeds. Later in the 20th Century, Charles Manson, Ted Bundy, and the Son of Sam (his real name was David Berkowitz) would be cast in a similar light.

Part of the blame for Dahmer's crimes rightfully lies with his father, mother, and neighbors. His parents failed to end his alcoholism when it began at age 13, an age when their influence and his manageability was present. Neighbors in Bath, Ohio viewed the carcasses surrounding the Dahmer residence but did not confront Jeffrey's parents about his sickly pursuits. The police and the courts share the blame as well. When Sinthasomphone was naked and bleeding several blocks from Jeffrey Dahmer's apartment, police officers ignored the black women's story and believed Dahmer's story about a lover's spat. When they left and sent the boy back to his apartment, after Sinthasomphone escaped before, Jeffrey Dahmer killed him. Police investigators neglected to detect Dahmer's spree and act upon it in Milwaukee. In 1988, when Dahmer stood trial for molesting the brother of Sinthasomphone, the 14-

year-old boy he would kill years later, he expressed false remorse and pled guilty. Judge Gardner failed to sense Jeffrey Dahmer's deep psychological problems and his compulsions of murder and sexual sadism. He gave him a one-year sentence.

The core of the blame, of course, lay on Dahmer himself. He chose to kill and dismember human beings. No one forced him and he had free will to do it or not. As a child, although he was emotionally deprived and lonely, was never beaten and abused in any other way as many other serial killer are. Pure malice, in hands with his need to dominate and feel in control, compelled him to kill and kill again.

Instead of giving a false portrayal of Dahmer and raising him to demonic prominence, the article should have explained the motives and the mind behind the man. And instead of simply being horrified over Dhaka's life, crimes, and death, we should see what makes him desire killing others.

Tension...

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hours. In Academic advisement which service students in the Associate degree programs there are no full-time employees. Staffed with only four part-time workers the school does not have to pay them higher salaries, nor give them benefits. The ratio between student and academic advisor is 1 to 400. They service over 1400 students each semester.

One worker at Academic advisement, Leslie, empathizes with students anger. She believes that the problem, however, is not bad workers or ignorant students but is directly related to budgetary matters. She believes that both students, faculty and staff bare the full brunt of budget cuts.

One worker at register stated the belief by which many administrators ponder in their comfortable offices. "If you do not have the budget for it (e.g., classes offered) you have to ask what is more important for the student body." Unlike administrators who manage the budget and oversee that the work is carried out "efficiently" the students and staff do not have accept these conditions. With coordinated actions by the students and the workers' unions the demand for an increase in the CUNY budget, better conditions for the staff (increased wages and full benefits) can change the frustration felt by each party into a better way of living.

Destroying the Rich ...

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workers (who were and still are in large poverty-stricken masses) would clamor for communism.

The wealthy in all countries owned most of the newspapers, magazines and other means of mass communication. They were able to misinform the people about the real essence of the Russian Revolution. The wealthy in the United States, France, England and Japan were also able to manipulate their own government and military into sending armies into Russia to fight on the side of the White Russian Army against the Red Russians. The public was never told of the advantages of socialism; how it could eliminate the gap between the rich and the poor, in theory at least, end unemployment.

The Russian people were so determined to change their system of enslavement, they helped the Red Army defeat the White Army and its capitalist allies. This defeat, little publicized in the allied countries, spurred the power interests in the losers' countries to unite with each other, and all other capitalist nations, to blockade the new Russian nation. The Soviet nation was prevented from receiving loans, trade, tourists, imports or information. Absolutely nothing was to cross the Russian border, in or out. It was under these conditions that Russian had to struggle to recover from world War I and the Civil War, as well as institute a new economic system and a way of life. Any Russian success would be without assistance from the outside world. The wealthy power interests in the other nations also created a massive outpouring of anti-Soviet propaganda. People in these nations would never hear of any Russian progress—only failure and exaggerated negatives could reach their ears.

The world moved through the 1920's toward the great depression of the 1930's. Germany, in particular, suffered terribly during the 1920's from having to pay for war debts without the aid of the empire taken from her in the Versailles Treaty. She was not allowed to sell her goods abroad to obtain money to pay for reparations or debt. Her economic system could not handle the impossible conditions that had been imposed on her. In addition, she had the usual capitalistic problems of unemployment and inflation. Inflation was so out of control that, at one point, it cost hundreds of millions of German marks for a family to buy its groceries for a day.

As in other countries, wages paid were too low to live on. An employer could always get someone to work for less because the unemployed competed for any available work. The wages of workers in most nations eventually were no sufficient to buy back the goods and services the workers produced. If employers cannot sell enough of their products, they must cut down on the amount of produced, which means firing employees.

As the depression of the 1930's worsened, the majority of the American people became so poor. One half of one percent of the population owned half the wealth of the country. In other words, 99-1/2 percent, altogether, owned only half the wealth of the nation. (Incidentally, according to the Government Accounting Office, the same tragic statistics are true in the U.S. today.)

When World War II became a reality, few people in the allied nations (USA, USSR, England, and France) realized it was caused by the depression, tariffs and the battle between the "have not" and "have" countries to see which would be

the "have" nations of the future. (It is strange, isn't it, that the losers, Germany and Japan, are the "have" nations at the end of the 20th Century?)

One must also understand that conditions in the USSR couldn't have been worse. Going back to the 1920's, Lenin, with Trotsky's aid, had lead the Russian people from the chaos and victory of the revolution to rebuilding a new, democratic nation from the ravages of World War I. When Lenin died, a powerful, corrupt, ambitious member of the Communist Party forced his way to the top by banishing Trotsky from Russia. This man, Stalin, made himself a dictator, against the expressed wishes of Lenin. Stalin drove his country to great industrial advances through a series of five-year plans. Because of these accomplishments, and his leadership through World War II, he was believed to be a hero.

However, he was never trusted by close associates or his foreign allies. He ruthlessly took over neighboring nations before, during and after world War II. It was later revealed that Stalin had caused the disappearance and execution of millions of his own citizens who opposed his policies.

Philosophers have acknowledged that the purposes, cooperation and idealism of developing a communist state by way of years of socialism should not be abhorred, but admired (at least theoretically). If it hadn't been for the ingrained fear of invasion (from past experiences), and with the right leadership, Russia could have developed into a great nation with rich resources, an excellent educational system and a philosophy that featured brotherly love and cooperation, not competition and profits for the rich.

**Join the Movement to
democratize the Faculty
Union!**

**Toward the Next Contract
A Conference on Contract Ne-
gotiations
Friday, February 24, 1995
Borough Manhattan Commu-
nity College
Fiterman Building
30 West Broadway
9:30 AM - 5:00 PM**

**For more information call
Steve London, Brooklyn col-
lege Chapter Chair, 718•951-
5638, or Prof. Seider, CSI
Sociology Dept.**

Build a Labor Party

With the coming of the spring semester CUNY is posed to be hit with additional budget cuts and tuition increases. Despite the growth in enrollment, indicating that there is a growing public need, the city and federal government have passed legislation widening the rift between itself and the majority of the populace. The "elected" politicians propose to cut the funding when they should in fact be increasing it. Be it Democrat or Republican in the government they serve the interest of the capitalist class.

Following a national trend Mayor Guiliani and Governor Pataki are giving tax-breaks/incentives to finance capital and multinational businesses. With one side of their mouth they talk of not having enough money to fund all of these public services, like CUNY (which they insist are wasteful) while with the other they decrease taxes for millionaires and corporations in the name of the economy and jobs. On the national level the congress and senate pass bills, such as NAFTA and GATT, which reduce the tariffs on capital between borders. A move good for capitalist because it allows them to reduce the wages of workers, and increase production hoping that it will get them out of the twenty year economic slump.

On the local level the Mayor just handed CS 1st Boston \$50.5 million dollars in tax breaks/incentives. He says that it will keep 3,704 jobs in the city. However, with the signing of other bills the Mayor, with the approval of the City Council, has fired over 15,000 city workers and cut CUNY as well as other public services. To add insult to injury the politicians claimed that it was forced upon them because they do not have enough tax revenue, and if working people wanted to have the same services they would have increase their taxes. What audacity!

The problems with government extend beyond which party is controlling what office, it is, however, important to recognize the need to challenge the capitalist state on all levels. The Democratic and Republican party are party's of the bosses. What workers need is a mass party of their own. A party based upon the organized section of the working class, i.e., unions. Unions represent the diversity of the working class, e.g., race and gender, and can organize unity as opposed to the divide and rule tactic of the two capitalist party's. The ideology of racism and sexism look to divide workers with false conceptions, divorced from reality. Such *political* ideologies favor the ruling class solely, which is one of the reasons why their politicians preach "tolerance" instead of looking to eradicate from society. A Labor party will not only fight for economic issues of working people, but in doing so will help lead to the elimination of these social diseases.

CUNY Students Must fight Back!

The Governor's latest proposal with budget freezes, cuts and tuition increase is a devastating blow to CUNY. These cuts will further block public access to a "public" education. When the time comes for action and students, staff and faculty take the struggle to the streets (the only place where the process can be reversed) and lock up buildings the rhetoric of "locking students out of classes" will surely be spoken by the administration and other "community leaders." The response to such gibberish should be, "No! We are opening them!"



National Student News Service, 1995

RACIST AND INJUSTICE IN BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS !!!

I would like to bring to the attention of the editor an issue that has been missing in the Buildings and Grounds Department for same time of racism and injustice to fellow workers.

The issue is that favoritism is very apparent no more of Spanish speaking origin, and those who do not have the pleasure of Speaking Spanish tend to be given not only the worse jobs of the department, but are been unfairly treated for actions that are committed by all the workers.

An incident arose, were a non-speaking Spanish worker completed his overtime on a Sunday, but was sick Monday. For this, the worker in question was suspended from overtime for three months. This same action was undertaken by a Spanish speaking worker, but as usual he was nor given the same punishment. In fact, he was nor punished our all.

I have to bring this to the attention of all, because discrimination should not be allowed to happen in an equal society.

If you are intersted in what the College Voice has to say, the news it reports, and the political positions that it takes drop on by. We are located in the Campus Center (Bldg 1C) on the second floor in room 230. The Voice holds weekly meetings, each Wednesday, during club hours.

For any letters or submissions please have it handed in by Wednesday February 22.

THE COLLEGE VOICE

The College of Staten Island Student Newspaper

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The Ten Commandments of Newt

By JP Patafio

With the excitement of a well rehearsed sitcom corporate media covered the Republicans taking control of the Congress and Senate from their political opponents, the Democrats. Swearing to change the "way things are run," the Republicans have a "contract" for restoring an ailing American Civilization. What needs to be analyzed is the class nature of this "revolutionary" contract? Is their rhetoric and proposed plans for governmental reform the way forward for the American working class?

One of the most significant results of the past mid-term elections for corporate media analyst was the "landslide" victory of the Republicans across the country. The huge victory of the Republicans over their sibling party the Democrats was nothing short of a democratic fraud. An electoral hoax of the greatest proportion.

When only 38% of the voting population participates in the elections the most astonishing thing is why more than half of those eligible to vote did not. Indeed, the landslide victory of the Republicans only amounted for 15% of those who did vote. The legitimate question to pose is whether the present government can claim to have any mandate for presiding over the country at all? Despite this fact politicians with demagogic authority are increasing their attacks upon the working class. The latest gimmick of the politicians is the Contract with America.

Before midterm elections (a record breaking \$500 million was spent on campaign spending) the Republicans placed an ad in TV Guide, it was their famed Contract with America. Jumping on the political bandwagon of decreasing gov-

ernment bureaucracy and restoring the American dream they introduced their reforms and bills. Their intent was to restore "the faith and trust of the American people in their government." I assume they are regarding not only those 15% who voted for them but the entire populace, however, the contract is nothing but a face lift that will barely hide the essentially ugly feature of this unfair government of the ruling class.

One of the reforms (the seventh) will "require a three-fifths majority to pass a tax increase." With the standard of living decreasing workers may demand that the present regressive tax structure which favors the rich disproportionately be replaced with a progressive tax structure reversing the twenty year trend that has

allowed the top ten percent to see their taxes decrease while that of the working class has risen. The politicians for the rich want to make sure that this trend stays in place. The eighth reform describes a zero base-line budgeting process to assure "honest accounting" of our tax dollars. (Does this include the millions and millions of dollars that the CIA uses without congressional approval or know how?) After a set of reforms the contract proposes ten bills to be presented to the floor for "full and open debate, each to be given a clear and fair vote."

The first bill, The Fiscal Responsibility Act, is intended to "require" an "out-of-control" congress to "live under the same budget constraints as families and businesses." Needless to say that such foolery

exist only in the minds of congress people who have more perks than CUNY administrators and salaries ten times higher than the average American. When they say that they are going to behave more like businesses does that mean that they are going to layoff thousands of workers (and increase the workload of those who remain) like so many corporations are presently doing? I suppose that this is moving them closer to privatizing most governmental functions so that businesses do not have to worry about those pesky laws concerned with the environment and workers rights that limit profits.

The second bill, The Taking Back Our Streets Act, spouts the usual moralistic

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The Incredibly Rich are Destroying Everything (Including You)

This paper by retired Economics Professor Robert W. Taylor is concerned with who is robbing the future of the people in the United States and the world. The message needs to come to the attention of the people who have so often been kept in the dark. It is my hope that you can help stimulate debate within our educational system and communities on the topics: "America run by wealthy power interest, yes or not?" and "Are we the good guys or the bad guys?" Only through healthy debate and an honest look at our past can we bring our country back from the brink of bankruptcy. Can you help?

Are we the good guys or the bad guys? Who told us we are the good guys? Do people in other countries, who we think are the bad guys, think they are the good guys? If the world is ever to become a secure place where we feel it is worthwhile to plan for the future, all of us must be conscious of who we really are. Each nation devotes considerable time and energy on propaganda to convince their citizens that they are doing what's right at least what is best for their own well being. Most citizens accept the propaganda without questioning who determines what is best, why it is best and for whom and how it will affect others. These questions must be asked before we can protect ourselves or solve our problems. We cannot find the answers without knowing the historical process which led to the present state of the world. It may not be what we were told in school.

For untold centuries, and in most countries, the defrauding of common man by the wealthy class has resulted in poverty, starvation and slavery. Various religions emerged as a response to man's misery. Religion convinced the people that their plight was predestined and must be accepted. They would reap their reward after death. Those who refused to submit to oppression were destroyed. Revolts,

revolutions and civil wars almost always resulted in eventual victory for the rich and powerful rulers. The wealthy, the bluebloods, the kings, queens and crown princes (often aided by the church) always prevailed in the end. The people did not live happily ever after as we were told. Ask the Native Indians.

The success of the affluent classes was due to their power and their ability to communicate with each other to prevent the masses everywhere from discovering the injustice suffered under the landlords who made the rules. Early in the 20th Century, when conditions throughout the Earth were intolerable but communication was improved, leaders welcomed war as a way to divert attention from local upheaval. Leaders could place the blame for domestic turmoil on foreign countries. They were the military. It also provided the profits of war to those in power and gave them the welcome opportunity to exact revenge on competing nations. Thus, early in this century, national leaders with wealth and power cooperated in creating World War 1 in Europe.

Russia was the first nation to collapse. She surrendered to Germany after several horrible years of war. The Russian people were sick of invasions from previous wars; sick of centuries of poverty inflicted on them by the Czars, the noble class, the wealthy church and landlords; sick of the bitter cold winters. To a Russian soldier, victory in the war simply meant returning to lives of degradation.

The defeated Russian people, who suffered from the previously described conditions as well as a devastated land, rebelled against the Czarist government. The people, called the Bolsheviks, started a civil war against the White Russian Army of the Czar. In danger of losing, the Czar persuaded his former allies (France, England, USA and Japan) to send armies from the European theater of war to fight

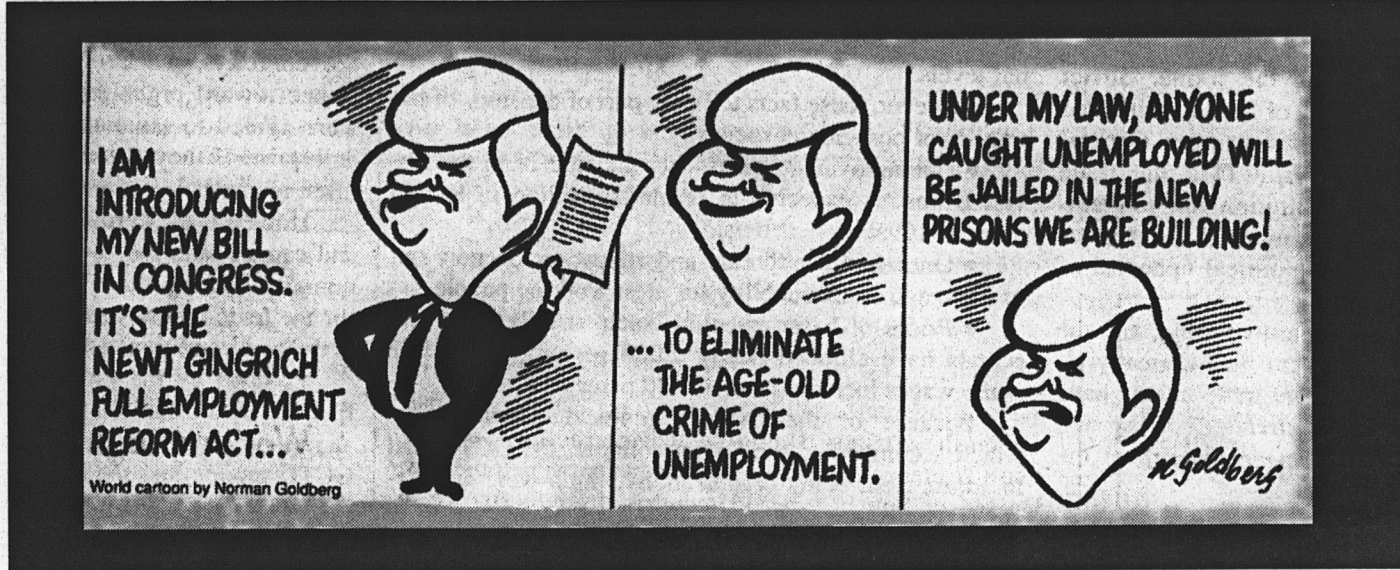
against the Bolsheviks (the Red Army). It seems strange that these war-weary troops and nations would willingly enter still another war, especially against an ally of people who were fighting to improve their pitiful lives, but they did!

The Russian Red Army, under Lenin, was fighting for the right to change their feudal capitalistic economic system to one in which the masses could own and manage their own economy. All private property was to be eliminated, the workers were to run and control all elements of the economy: means of production, manufac-

turing, distribution, marketing, farming, services, ect. All elements would cooperate (not compete) in production in order to meet the needs of the people. All workers would receive a decent wage because profits for the rich would be eliminated.

The wealthy class in industrial nations was secretly horrified by the possibility that such an economic system might succeed. They were terrified that, if Russia prospered under this radical new system of economic reform, their own nation's

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The Revolutionary Answer to the

Cyril Linel Robert James (1901-1989) was a black revolutionary theoretician from the West Indies. Propelled toward Marxism by experiences with British colonialism and contact with working-class and revolutionary movements in England, where he worked as a journalist, James became known as a brilliant theoretician and analyst of class, race, and gender. During the 1930's and 1940's, James was part of the Trotskyist movement. In celebration of the Black History Month, the College Voice reprints below one of James' works from 1948.

Though this document is dated its analytical insight and theoretical conclusions are still of tremendous value today for the working class. We reprint this article as a tribute to his genius and the struggle of the dual oppressed in capitalist society.

The decay of capitalism on a world scale, the rise of the CIO in the United States, and

episodic value and, as a matter of fact, can constitute a great danger not only to the Negroes themselves, but to the organized labor movement. The real leadership of the Negro struggle must rest in the hands of organized labor and of the Marxist party. Without that the Negro struggle is not only weak, but is likely to cause difficulties for the Negroes and dangers to organized labor. This, as I say, is the position held by many socialists in the past. Some great socialists in the United States have been associated with this attitude.

We, on the other hand, say something entirely different.

We say, number one, that the Negro struggle, the independent Negro struggle, has a vitality and a validity of its own; that it has a deep historic roots in the past of America and in present struggles; it has an organic political perspective, along which it is traveling, to one degree or another, and

we are able to see the roots of this position in a way that was difficult to see ten or even fifteen years ago. The Negro people, we say, on the basis of their own experiences, approach the conclusions of Marxism. And I will have briefly to illustrate this as has been shown in the Resolution.

First of all, on the question of imperialist war. The Negro people do not believe that the last two wars, and the one that may overtake us, are a result of the need to struggle for democracy, for freedom of the persecuted peoples by the American bourgeoisie. They cannot believe that.

On the question of the state, what Negro, particularly below the Mason-Dixon line, believes that the bourgeois state is a state above all classes, serving the needs of all the people? They may not formulate their belief in Marxist terms, but their experiences drives them to reject this shibboleth of bourgeois democracy.

On the question of what is called the democratic process, the Negroes do not believe that grievances, difficulties of sections of the population, are solved by discussions, by voting, by telegrams to the Congress, by what is known as the "American way."

Finally, on the question of political action, the American bourgeoisie preaches that Providence in its divine wisdom has decreed that there should be two political parties in the United States, not one, not three, not four, just two; and also in its kindness, providence has shown that these two parties should be one, the Democratic party and the other, the Republican, to last from now until the end of time.

That is being challenged by increasing numbers of people in the United States. But the Negroes more than ever have shown it- and any knowledge of their press and their activities tells us that they are willing to make the break completely with that conception....

As Bolsheviks were jealous, not only theoretically but practically, of the primary role of the organized labor movement in all fundamental struggles against capitalism. That is why for many years in the past this position on the Negro question has had some difficulty in finding itself thoroughly accepted, particularly in the revolutionary movement, because there is this difficulty-what is the relation between this movement and the primary role of the proletariat- particularly because so many Negroes, and most disciplined, hardened, trained, highly developed sections of the Negroes, are today in the organized labor movement.

First, the Negro struggles in the South are not merely a question of struggles of Negroes, important as those are. It is a question of the reorganization of the whole agricultural system in the United States, and therefore a matter for the proletarian revolution and the reorganization of society on socialist foundations.

Secondly, we say in the South that although the embryonic unity of whites and Negroes in the labor movement may seem small and there are difficulties in the unions, yet such is the decay of Southern society and such the fundamental significance of the proletariat,

particularly when organized in labor unions, that this small movement is bound to play the decisive part in the revolutionary struggles that are inevitable.

Thirdly, there are one and a quarter million Negroes, at least, in the organized labor movement.

On these fundamental positions we do not move one inch. Not only do we not move, we strengthen them. But there is still remains in question: what is the relationship of the independent Negro mass movement to the organized labor movement? And here we come immediately to what has been and will be a very puzzling feature unless we have our basic position clear.

Those who believed that the Negro question is in reality, purely and simply, or to a decisive extent, merely a class question, pointed with glee to the tremendous growth of the Negro personnel in the organized labor movement. It grew in a few years from 300,000 to 1 million; it is now one and a half million. But to their surprise, instead of this lessening and weakening the struggle of the independent Negro movement, the more the Negroes went into the labor movement, the more capitalism incorporated them into industry, the more they were accepted in the union movement. It is during that period, since 1940, that the independent mass movement has broken out with a force greater than it has ever shown before.

That is the problem that we have to face, that we have to grasp. We cannot move forward and we cannot explain ourselves unless we have it clearly. And I know there is difficulty with it. I intend to spend some time on it, because if that is settled, all is settled. The other difficulties are incidental. If, however, this one is not clear, then we shall continually be facing difficulties which we shall doubtless solve in time.

Now Lenin has handled this problem and in the Resolution we have quoted him. He says that the dialectic of history is such that small independent nations, small nationalities, which are powerless-get the word, please-powerless, in the struggle against imperialism nevertheless can act as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which can bring onto the scene the real power against imperialism-the socialist proletariat.

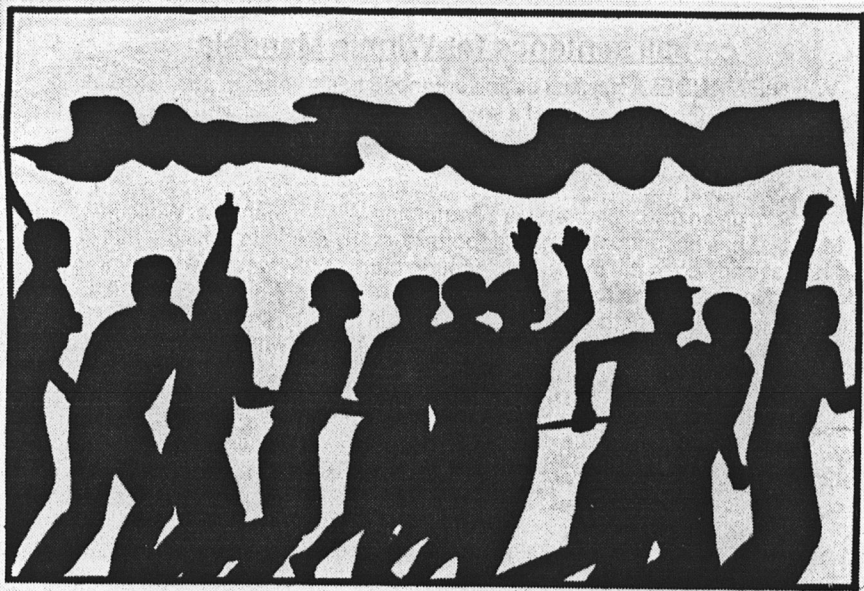
Let me repeat it please. Small groups, nationalities, themselves powerless against imperialism, nevertheless can act as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli which will bring onto the scene the real fundamental force against capitalism-the socialist proletariat.

In other words, as so often happens from the Marxist point of view from the point of view of the dialectic, this question of the leadership is very complicated.

What Lenin is saying is that although the fundamental force is the proletariat, although these groups are powerless, although the proletariat has got to lead them, it does not by any means follow that they cannot do anything until the proletariat actually comes forward to lead them. He says exactly the opposite is the case.

They, by their agitation, resistance and the political developments that they can initiate, can be the means whereby the proletariat is brought onto the scene.

Not always, and every time, not the sole means, but one of the means. That is what we have to get clear.



We are able to see and I will show in a minute that the Negroes are able by their activity to draw the revolutionary elements and more powerful elements in the proletariat to their side.

the struggle of the Negro people have precipitated a tremendous battle for the minds of the Negro people and for the minds of the population in the United States as a whole over the Negro question. During the last few years certain sections of the bourgeoisie, recognizing the importance of this question, have made a powerful theoretical demonstration of their position, which has appeared in *The American Dilemma* by Gunnar Myrdal, a publication that took a quarter of a million dollars to produce. Certain sections of the sentimental bourgeoisie have produced their spokesmen, one of whom is Lillian Smith. That has produced some very strange fruit, which however has resulted in a book which has sold some half a million copies over the last year or two. The Negro petty bourgeoisie, radical and concerned with communism, has also made its bid in the person of Richard Wright, whose books have sold over a million copies. When books on such a controversial question as the Negro question reach the stage of selling half a million copies it means that they have left the sphere of literature and have now reached the sphere of politics....

We can compare what we have to say that is new by comparing it to previous positions on the Negro question in the socialist movement. The proletariat, as we know, must lead the struggles of all the oppressed and all those who are persecuted by capitalism. But this has been interpreted in the past-and by some very good socialists too-in the following sense: the independent struggles of the Negro people have not got much more than an

everything shows that at the present time it is traveling with great speed and vigor.

We say, number two, that this independent Negro movement is able to intervene with terrific force upon the general social and political life of the nation, despite the fact that it is waged under the banner of democratic rights, and is not led necessarily either by the organized labor movement or the Marxist party. We say, number three, and this is the most important, that it is able to exercise a powerful influence upon the revolutionary proletariat, that it has got a great contribution to make to the development of the proletariat in the United States, and that it is in itself a constituent part of the struggle for socialism. In this way we challenge directly any attempt to subordinate or to push to the rear the social and political significance of the independent Negro struggle for democratic rights. That is our position. It was the position of Lenin thirty years ago. It was the position of Trotsky which he fought for during many years. It has been concretized by the general class struggle in the United States, and the tremendous struggles of the Negro people. It has been sharpened and refined by political controversy in our movement, and best of all it has had the benefit of three or four years of practical application in the Negro struggle and in the class struggle by the Socialist Workers Party during the past few years.

Now if this position has reached the stage where we can put it forward in the shape that we propose, that means that to understand it should be by now simpler than before; and by merely observing the Negro question, the Negro people, rather, the struggles they have carried on, their ideas,

The backwardness and humiliation of the Negroes that shoved them into these industries is the very thing which today is bringing them forward, and they are in the very vanguard of the proletarian movement from the very nature of the proletarian struggle itself.

Negro Problem in the United States

So that we can look upon this Negro movement not only for what it has been and what it has been able to do—we are able to know as Marxists by our own theory and our examination of American history that it is headed for the proletarian movement, that it must go there. There is nowhere else for it to go.

Now it is very well to see it from the point of view of Marxism which developed these ideas upon the bias of European and Oriental experiences. Lenin and Trotsky applied this principle to the Negro question in the United States. What we have to do is to make it concrete, and one of the best means of doing so is to dig into the history of the Negro people in the United States, and to see the relationship that has developed between them and revolutionary elements in the past revolutionary struggles.

For us the center must be the Civil War in the United States and I intend briefly now to make some sharp conclusions and see if they can help us arrive at a clearer perspective. Not for historical knowledge, but to watch the movement as it develops before us, helping us to arrive at a clearer perspective as to this difficult relationship between the independent Negro movement and the revolutionary proletariat. The Civil War was a conflict between the revolutionary bourgeoisie and the southern plantocracy. That we know. That conflict was inevitable. But for twenty to twenty-five years before the Civil War actually broke out, the masses of the Negroes in the south, through the underground railroad, through revolts, as Aptheker has told us, and by the tremendous support and impetus that they gave to the revolutionary elements among the abolitionists, absolutely prevented the reactionary bourgeoisie-revolutionary later-absolutely prevented the bourgeoisie and the plantocracy from coming to terms as they wanted to do. In 1850 these two made a great attempt at a compromise. What broke that compromise? It was the Fugitive Slave Act. They could prevent everything else for the time being, but they could not prevent the slaves from coming, and the revolutionaries in the North from people and their readiness to revolt at the slightest opportunity, that as far back as the Civil War, in relation to the American bourgeoisie, they formed a force which initiated and stimulated and acted as a ferment.

That is point number one.

Point Number two. The Civil War takes its course as it is bound to do. Many Negroes and their leaders make an attempt to get incorporated into the Republican party and to get their cause embraced by the bourgeoisie. And what happens? The bourgeoisie refuses. It doesn't want to have Negroes emancipated. Point number three. As the struggle develops, such is the situation of the Negroes in the United States, that the emancipation of the slaves becomes an absolute necessity, politically, organizationally, and from a military point of view.

The Negroes are incorporated into the battle against the South. Not only are they incorporated here, but later they are incorporated also into the military government which smashes down the remnants of resistance in the Southern states. But, when this is done, the Negroes are deserted by the bourgeoisie, and there falls upon them a very terrible repression.

That is the course of development in the central episode of American history.

Now if it is so in the Civil War, we have the right to look to see what happened in the War of Independence. It is likely—it is not always certain—but it is likely that we shall see there some anticipations of the

there. The Negroes begin by demanding their rights. They say if you are asking that the British free you, then we should have our rights, and furthermore, slavery should be abolished. The American bourgeoisie didn't react very well to that. They Negroes insisted—those Negroes who were in the North—insisted that they should be allowed to join the Army of Independence. They were refused.

But later Washington found that it was imperative to have them, and 4,000 of them fought among the 30,000 soldiers of Washington. They gained certain rights after independence was achieved. Then sections of the bourgeoisie who were with them deserted them. And the Negro movement collapsed. We see exactly the same thing but more intensified in the Populist movement. There was a powerful movement of one and a one quarter of a million Negroes in the South (the Southern Tenant Farmers' Association). They joined the Populist movement and were in the extreme left wing of this movement, when populism was discussing whether it should go on with the Democratic party or make the campaign as a third party. The Negroes voted for the third party and for all the most radical planks in the platform. They fought with the Populist movement. But when populism between 1896 and about 1910 the desperate, legalized repression and persecution of the Southern states.

Some of us think it is fairly clear that the Garvey movement came and looked to Africa because there was no proletarian movement in the United States to give it a lead, to do for this great eruption of the Negroes what the Civil War and the Populist movement had done for the insurgent Negroes of those days. And now what can we see today? Today the Negroes in the United States are organized as never before. There are more than half a million in the NAACP, and in addition to that, there are all sorts of Negro groups and organizations—the churches in particular—every single one of which is dominated by the idea that each organization must in some manner or another contribute to the emancipation of the Negroes from capitalist humiliation and from capitalist oppression. So that the independent Negro movement that we see today and which we see growing before our eyes is nothing strange. It is nothing new. It is something that has always appeared in the American movement at the first sign of social crisis.

It represents a climax to the Negro movements that we have seen in the past. From what we have seen in the past, we would expect it to have its head turned toward the labor movement. And not only from a historical point of view but today concrete experience tells us that the masses of the Negro people today look upon the CIO with a respect and consideration that they give to no other social or political force in the country. To anyone who knows the Negro people, who reads their press—and I am not speaking here specially of the Negro workers—if you watch the Negro petty bourgeoisie—reactionary, reformist types as some of them are in all their propaganda, in all their agitation—whenever they are in any difficulties, you can see them leaning toward the labor movement. As for the masses of Negroes, they are increasingly pro-labor every day. So that it is not only Marxist ideas; it is not only a question of Bolshevik-Marxist analysis. It is not only a

logical development which appeared in the Civil War. They are

question of the history of Negroes in the United States.

The actual concrete facts before us show us, and anyone who wants to see, this important conclusion, that the Negro movement logically and historically and concretely is headed for the proletariat. That is the road it has always taken in the past, the road to the revolutionary forces. Today the proletariat is that force. And if these ideas that we have traced in American revolutionary crises have shown some power in the past, such is the state of the class struggle today, such the antagonisms between bourgeoisie and proletariat, such, too, the impetus of the Negro movement toward the revolutionary forces, is stronger today than even before. So that we can look upon this Negro movement not only for what it has been and what it has been able to do—we are able to know as Marxists by our own theory and our examination of American history that it is headed for the proletarian movement, that it must go there. There is nowhere else for it to go. And further we can see that if it doesn't go there, the difficulties that the Negroes have suffered in the past when they were deserted by the revolutionary forces, those will be ten, one hundred, ten thousands times as great as in the past. The independent Negro movement, which is boiling and moving, must find its way to the proletariat. If the proletariat is not able to support it, the repression of past times when the revolutionary forces failed the Negroes will be infinitely, I repeat infinitely, more terrible today.

Therefore our consideration of the independent Negro movement does not lessen the significance of the proletarian—the essentially proletarian—leadership. Not at all. It includes it. We are able to see that the mere existence of the CIO, its mere existence, despite the fakery of the labor leadership on the Negro question, as on all other questions, is a protection and a stimulus to the Negroes. We are able to see and I will show in a minute that the Negroes are able by their activity to draw the revolutionary elements and more powerful elements in the proletariat to their side. We are coming to that. But we have to draw and emphasize again and again this im-

The actual concrete facts before us show us, and anyone who wants to see, this important conclusion, that the Negro movement logically and historically and concretely is headed for the proletariat. That is the road it has always taken in the past, the road to the revolutionary forces. Today the proletariat is that force.

portant conclusion. If—and we have to take these theoretical questions into consideration—if the proletariat is defeated, if the CIO is destroyed, then there will fall upon the Negro people in the United States such a repression, such persecution, comparable to nothing that they have seen in the past. We have seen in Germany and elsewhere the barbarism that capitalism is capable of in its death agony. The Negro people in the United States offer a similar opportunity to the American bourgeoisie. The American bourgeoisie have shown their understanding of the opportunity the Negro question gives them to disrupt and to attempt to corrupt and destroy the labor movement.

But the development of capitalism itself has not only given the independent Negro movement this fundamental and sharp relation with the proletariat. It has created Negro proletarians and placed them as proletarians in what were once the most oppressed and exploited masses. But in auto, steel, and coal, for example, these proletarians have now become the vanguard of the workers' struggle and have brought a substantial number of Negroes

to a position of primacy in the struggle against capitalism. The backwardness and humiliation of the Negroes that shoved them into these industries is the very thing which today is bringing them forward, and they are in the very vanguard of the proletarian movement from the very nature of the proletarian struggle itself. Now, how does this complicated interrelationship, the Leninist interrelationship express itself? Henry Ford could write a very good thesis on that if he were so inclined.

The Negroes in the Ford plant were incorporated by Ford: first of all he wanted them for the hard, rough work. I am also informed by the comrades from Detroit he was very anxious to play a paternalistic role with the Negro petty bourgeoisie. He wanted to show them that he was not the person that these people said he was—Look! He was giving Negroes opportunities in his plant. Number three, he was able thus to create divisions between whites and Negroes that allowed him to pursue his anti-union, reactionary way.

What has happened within the last few years that is changed? The mass of the Negroes in the River Rouge plant, I am told, are one of the most powerful sections of the Detroit proletariat. They are leaders in the proletarian struggle, not the stooges Ford intended them to be.

Not only that, they act as leaders not only in the labor movement as a whole but in the Negro community. It is what they say that is decisive there. Which is very sad for Henry. And the Negro petty bourgeois have followed the proletariat. They are now going along with the labor movement: they have left Ford too. It is said that he has reorganized it at last and that he is not going to employ any more Negroes. He thinks he will do better with women. But they will disappoint him too....

Let us not forget that in the Negro people, there sleep and are now awakening passions of a violence exceeding, perhaps, as far as these things can be compared, anything among the tremendous forces that capitalism has created. Anyone who knows them, who knows their history, is able to talk to them intimately, watches them at their own theaters, watches them at their dances, watches them in their churches,

reads their press with a discerning eye, must recognize that although their social force may not be able to compare with the social force of a corresponding number of organized workers, the hatred of bourgeois society and the readiness to destroy it when the opportunity should present itself, rests among them to a degree greater than in any other section of the population in the United States.



Media Deception And The Yugoslav Civil War

By Barry Lituchy,
Adjunct Professor of History,
Brooklyn College.

Will Americans be sent to die in a war for Islamic Fundamentalism and Croatian Fascism? If public firms and the media have their way, the answer is yes.

It is said that the first casualty in war is the truth. Of course, today with the appalling spectacle of the civil war in Yugoslavia filling our TV screens and newspapers, this old truth has taken on an uglier, more sinister meaning. If four years ago we could say that the American public was totally uninformed about the conflict ready to unfold, today we can say with equal justification that Americans are doubly or triply misinformed, and dangerously so, about this tragic and completely unnecessary war.

And there's a very good reason why. A malicious campaign of war propaganda, anti-Serb hatred and just plain lies has flooded the American media. It has been financed and run through public relations firms, non-governmental organizations and human rights groups with the patronage of various governments, all with the single purpose of mobilizing public opinion on the side of the Bosnian Muslims and Croats, and against those "horrible people"—the Serbs. The truth, the lives of innocent people, and the real dangers of a wider war are all forsaken; the main thing is to twist or to invent the facts so that they fit in with American's foreign policy objectives in Bosnia. Every step of the way, the media has acted as a co-belligerent, with the aim of whipping up anti-Serbian sentiment and support for military intervention on the side of the Muslim and Croat forces.

Many of the stories on the Bosnian conflict that we read about and see on TV are actually fed to the media by public relations firms. Jim Harff, Director of Ruder & Finn Global public Affairs, the PR firm that handles the accounts of Bosnia, Croatia and Albanian opposition in Kosovo, argues that modern wars cannot be fought and won today without good public relations work. "In terms of persuading and convincing the UN to take proper measures," says Harff, "it's even more important." According to US Justice Department records, Bosnia and Croatia pay Ruder & Finn \$10,000 a month plus expenses "to present a positive image to members of Congress, administration officials and the news media." Harff is himself and insider in Washington where he has worked for three different Congressmen over the past decade. Because of international economic sanctions imposed on the Serbs by the UN—largely due to false stories in the media—the Serbs, ironically, are barred from hiring a public relations firm.

The use of public relations firms to manufacture "the news" and shape public opinion is a dangerous phenomenon that threatens the live and freedom of people around the world. But it is not entirely new. It was used to devastating effect during the Gulf War. John R. MacArthur, publisher of Harpers magazine and author of Second Front, and expose of media disinformation during the Gulf War, has compared media coverage of the Bosnian conflict to that of the Gulf War.

In one of the most hideous examples of disinformation ever used to launch a war, the public relations firm of Hill and Knowlton produced a 15 year old girl named Nariyah who testified before a congressional committee that she had seen Iraqi soldiers tearing Kuwaiti babies from hospital incubators. After the war was over and 100,000 Iraqis had been killed, the story was revealed to be a fraud, and the girl to be the daughter of Kuwait's

In the case of the Yugoslav civil war, the sheer scope of the propaganda campaign hurled at the Serbs far exceeds anything used against Iraq.

ambassador to the US. Hill and Knowlton was employed by the government of Kuwait. But at the time, the media ran the story uncritically, as did most of the leading human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch which widely publicized these faked atrocities. Says MacArthur: "...human rights hawks have become less interested in the objective investigation of atrocities than they are in their own arguments for armed intervention, whether genuine or merely alleged."

In the case of the Yugoslav civil war, the sheer scope of the propaganda campaign hurled at the Serbs far exceeds anything used against Iraq. Stories depicting the Serbian side in the conflict as subhuman have been a constant feature in the media. Serbs have been accused of everything from systematic rape and ethnic cleansing, to bombing of civilians, to genocide. But facts are stubborn things. None of these extraordinary charges have ever stood up to close scrutiny.

A regular feature of nearly every article in the New York Times or Newsweek has been an accompanying photograph of Muslim women and children fleeing from war. We never see Serbian women and children maimed or killed by the war. Nor are we told that gunfire coming from Serb positions in sarajevo is return fire aimed at Muslim snipers in the city's tall buildings. Occasionally, in the desperate search for pictures to "document" Serbian atrocities, the media uses photos of dead Serbs and labels them "Muslim victims," as was the case with the January 4, 1993 issue of Newsweek and August 1993 issue of the New York Times.

In August 1992 British television helped publicize the supposed existence of concentration camps allegedly used by the Serbs to exterminate Muslims and Croats. To prove that what they had discovered was not a prison but rather a Nazi type death camp, ITN and others broadcasted pictures around the world, focusing on one emaciated man, presumably Muslim. Eventually that man was identified as Slobodan Konjevic, a Serb suffering from tuberculosis for ten years, arrested for looting. But by then the story already had been seen by millions of people. The fact that everyone else in the photos of these "death camps" was well fed just somehow escaped reporters' attention.

At about the same time as the death camp fabrication was the "ethnic cleansing" story. While it is true that some Bosnian Serb forces have evicted Muslims from their homes in Serb held areas, what was not said was that Muslim and Croat forces were carrying out the exact same policy. But the media still presented it as purely Serbian crime, peculiar to Serbian policy and thinking.

Thus, it would surprise most people to learn that 600,000 Muslims and Croatian refugees had been given refuge in Serb dominated Yugoslavia. That's never mentioned. Nor was it reported that after Croatia declared independence in 1991, Serbs in Croatia were asked to take a loyalty oath. Forty thousand who refused to do so were forced out of their homes. Nor did the media cover the Muslim government's bloody campaign in August 1994 that ethnically cleansed northern Bosnia of Serbs, and then forced 60,000 Muslims in Bihac, who support the Serbs and hate the criminal Government in Sarajevo, to flee from their homes. The media just didn't think the story was worth reporting.

Then, in Fall 1992 came the story of Serb rapes of Croat and Muslim women. The NY Times reported in December 1992 that 50,000 Muslims and Croatian women had been raped and that it was official Serb policy to do so. Anyone with the least bit of common sense should have said: "Hey, what kind of horse shit is this?!" But not the media or the human rights groups; they at it up, and believing their own lies, sent teams of reporters to Bosnia to interview the victims. One embarrassed French journalist, Jerome Bony, explained it this way: "When I go to 50 kilometers from Tuzla I was told 'Go to Tuzla high school. There are 4000 raped women.' When I got 20 kilometers from Tuzla the figure dropped to 400. At 10 kilometers only 40 were left. One at the site I found only 4 women willing to testify," (Le Point, March 13, 1993). Poor Peter Jennings from ABC, having organized an entire special program on Serb atrocities, he was forced to air the statement of a representative from Helsinki Watch that the story of massive Serbian rapes originated with the Bosnian and Croatian governments and has no credible evidence. What he didn't say was that it was Ruder & Finn who was mainly responsible for disseminating the story in the first place.

The rape story has not gone away despite the fact that no proof exists anywhere or more rapes by Serb soldiers than by Muslims or Croats. But that hasn't stopped the media's yellow journalists. In his NY Times column of June 27, 1994, Anthony Lewis declared that the Serbs were "at the level of beasts." The message is clear: these people are not good. But imagine if your entire ethnic background were described that way? Of course, if you are African-American, you don't have to imagine it; you've been there. When the American ruling class wants to destroy a particular ethnic group, they will invent racial stereotypes to degrade and vilify the entire people. The Serbs have been so marked.

Incredibly, there are even worse examples. On February 5, 1994 there was the infamous Sarajevo market massacre where 68 people were killed. The Serbs were blamed for it, that is until the story leaked out on French TV that the UN knew that the Muslims had bombed their own people in order to induce UN and NATO military involvement. The disgusting ploy worked—NATO bombed Serb positions several days later. But the truth will out eventually, and the UN has revealed other instances of Muslims government forces bombing their own and selling it as a Serb atrocity. Similarly in 1994 there was the battle for Gorzde. The media reported that the Serbs had intentionally bombed Gorade hospital, killing many civilians. It turned out that the hospitals was never hit. Then there was the battle for Bihac last December when the media claimed that the Serbs were poised to commit horrible atrocities against the civilian population. As it turned out, the Muslims government forces had committed the atrocities, occupying civilian homes and putting thousands of Muslims civilians in peril by using them as human shields. The so-called "safe heavens" have served as a treasure through of "atrocities" stories because they are defended by the UN and used by the Muslims government as staging areas for military offensives.

The media has disseminated even crazier stories designed to keep anti-Serbian

continued on last page

The Quarrel Among NATO Allies

Their Present Involvement in the Bosnian War

by Craig R. Whitney

On Monday, Nov. 28, the Serbs showed the world what NATO truly is: a paper tiger. Responding to Serbian assaults on Bihac civilians, NATO planes bombed Udbina and a Serbian air base. The Serbs retaliated and continued their siege on Bika, attacked British planes, and repaired Udbina's base. Two days later, on Nov. 30, NATO jets struck three Serb missile sites. Serbian forces captured more than 250 U.N. soldiers as prisoners of war, leaving Monday's lesson well, when they retaliated for a second time.

NATO's weakness lies more than with feeble, half-hearted military intervention (which is always supported by a clandestine, subliminal imperialistic motive). Its ineffectiveness is also due to the Allies' conflicting interests and quarreling among themselves. Both factors, working hand-in-hand, display the extent of NATO's emptiness.

The U.S. has proposed to contribute 2,000 marines and naval men to the Bosnian War. They will only serve a non-combatative rule; this military dispatchment is to rescue downed NATO pilots and evacuate them. The U.N. commanders' hesitant stance in the Balkan peninsula proves the U.N.'s supportive rule to be as hollow as it was during the entire 32-month war and the past. The U.N. commanders even waver to protect Bosnian civilians from Serbian attacks.

The three intervening parties, the Americans, the Europeans, and the Russians, each have different interests and viewpoints regarding the bitter conflict. The U.S. uses "moral" reasons to justify its position—it sees Serb forces as malicious, butchering Muslims and Croats in Bosnia. The Europeans and Russians, on the other hand, see malice on both sides and are enraged by American attempts to lift the arms embargo of Bosnia.

Quarreling among the NATO Allies was clearly evident in its past. In 1956, in the wake of the Suez Crisis in Egypt, overlapping interests between France and Great Britain corroded the organization's effectiveness. These two nations invaded Egypt, along with Israel, to regain the Suez Canal. They did this solely for their own imperialistic interests. Merchant fleets and overseas trade of the two countries would suffer as the Suez passage was blocked, and the sea traffic shifted around Africa's continental coastline. Quarrels arose among themselves, showing NATO's hollowness. In time the invasion ended.

Also in 1956, as in the present, imperialism, military interests, infighting, and ineffectiveness are bound together. The facts presented justify the disbanding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

In the next issue of the Voice Professor Dobos, of the History Department, will respond to the comments of Barry Lituchy concerning the war in Yugoslavia

The Re-emergence of Black-and-White Films

by Frank Giallombardo

I have a friend who knows someone that works in a major Hollywood studio. Surprisingly, this person though has never seen classic films like "Casablanca", "March of the Wooden Soldiers", "Citizen Kane", and even "King Kong". The reason for this is less for the movies' subject matter, or the casting, than for something more obvious which each has in common with the other: they are all filmed in black-and-white (B&W). Yet the fact that a person may use color content as a basis for restricting his/her viewing of a film is not so far-fetched. Since reality exists in color, and most people's eyes are designed to discern multi-chromatic hues, the idea of watching a B&W movie is often not too appealing.

To a color-blind person the matter is academic; but to everyone else who enjoys the spectrum of colors spread before them, B&W films are antiquarian museum pieces. In the 1920s and 1930s audiences rushed to view the first color movies and embrace the new technology. Whether the technique used was frame-tinting or Technicolor, audiences looked on the innovation with the same enthusiasm they gave the advent of film sound, or the coming of television as radio's replacement. By the 1960s mostly every film produced was shot in color. Movie studios used color as a way to keep audiences in the theaters and away from their T.V. sets which broadcasted mostly B&W programs. When the novelty finally wore off audiences hardly even blinked at a B&W film.

But despite the opinion that monochromatic photoplays are considered anathema and box office poison by most theater owners, a whole new generation of film artists have decided to produce their own B&W projects for today's audiences. In a time when many old movies are being colorized, film-makers are choosing to shoot in B&W more for its aesthetic appeal, a concept often overlooked by the big

been shot in color. Then again, a longer film like "Gone With The Wind", can never be imagined in black-and-white.

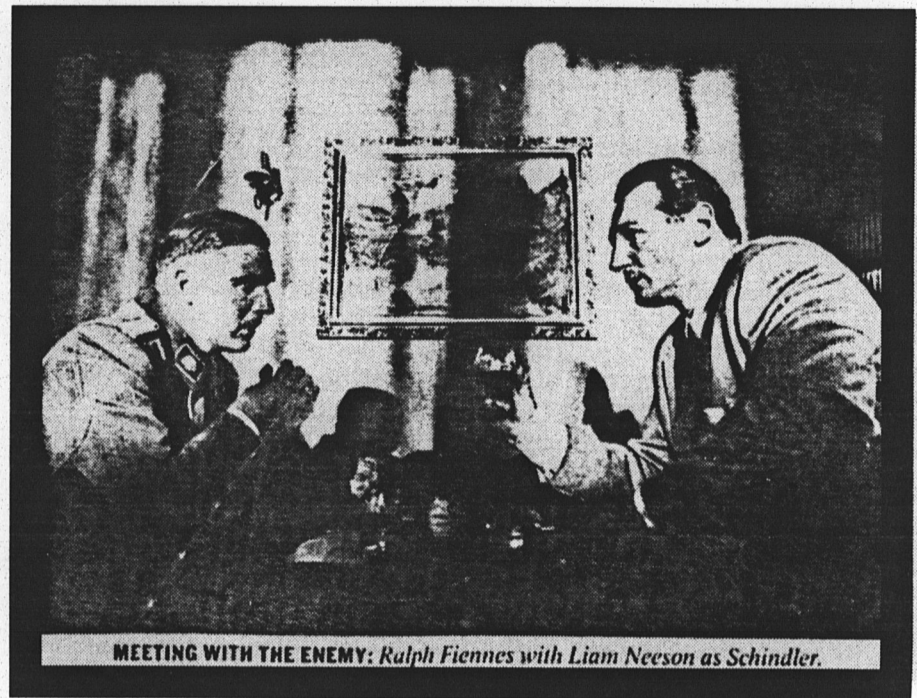
Film-makers have seen the advantages of using B&W in "noir" mysteries, and in showing past occurrences. The absence of color provides an escape and detachment from realism, as well as a moody quality which often adds tension and suspense.

Black-and-white films initially began to return to theater franchises in the 1970s from directors like Peter Bogdanovich and Woody Allen. For his films "The Last Picture Show" and "Paper Moon" Bogdanovich employed B&W to illustrate stories set in the 1930s and 1950s. Allen, however, set his films "Manhattan" and "Stardust Memories" in contemporary times, and used B&W, especially the dance of light and shadow, to convey dream-like aspects of New York City.

For the comedy "Young Frankenstein" Mel Brooks filmed in B&W as a homage to the old Universal horror vehicles. The Steve Martin parody "Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid" had B&W for its imitation of 1940s/1950s detective thrillers. In his bio-pic "Lenny", about comedian Lenny Bruce, Bob Fosse skillfully used B&W to paint an impression of dingy, smoky 1960s nightclubs.

The respect for the B&W film finally changed in 1980 when Martin Scorsese shot "Raging Bull", the story of hard-nosed boxer Jake LaMotta, as a noir-expressionist tragedy. The only color shots were those in Super 8 home movies of Jake's wedding. The film was nominated for a Best Picture Oscar.

By the 1980s David Lynch was shooting in B&W for the films "Eraserhead" and "The Elephant Man" to propel the viewer through a surreal world of industrial nightmare and the gloomy London slums of a century past. Woody Allen did the same with his Kafka-esque tale "Shadows and Fog", coming right on the coat-tails of Steven



with his and Emma Thompson's 1940s counterparts. This year Alan Rudolph applied this technique for his bio-drama of the Algonquin Round Table writers, "Mrs. Parker and the Vicious Circle". Dorothy Parker's heyday in the 1920s is shot in color, but all of the anecdotal scenes of her post-Algonquin life as a ungratified Hollywood screenwriter or depressed poetry reciter or inebriated aging New Yorker, are filmed in B&W. Parker's own world seems to turn colorless as her appearance ages, her loneliness increases, her writings become forgettable, and her fame dwindles.

The biggest push for more B&W films came at the end of 1993 with Steven Spielberg's "Schindler's List". This three-and-a-half hour Holocaust epic transported the viewer back to a Nazi-run Poland of the 1940s. Even though Spielberg was able to put the Holocaust straight into our faces, the use of B&W served as a detachment

for the viewer, especially during the scenes with blood and gore. It became the first B&W film in a generation to win the Academy Award for Best Picture.

In 1994 movie-goers got to watch more B&W films: "Suture", "Federal Hill", Chris Newby's "Anchoress", Kevin Smith's "Clerks", the lesbian-oriented "Go Fish" by Guinevere Turner and Rose Troche, and Tim Burton's "Ed Wood", which scored a big hit and was shot like a 1950s Hollywood Grade-B horror movie.

Though it is uncertain how many more B&W motion pictures

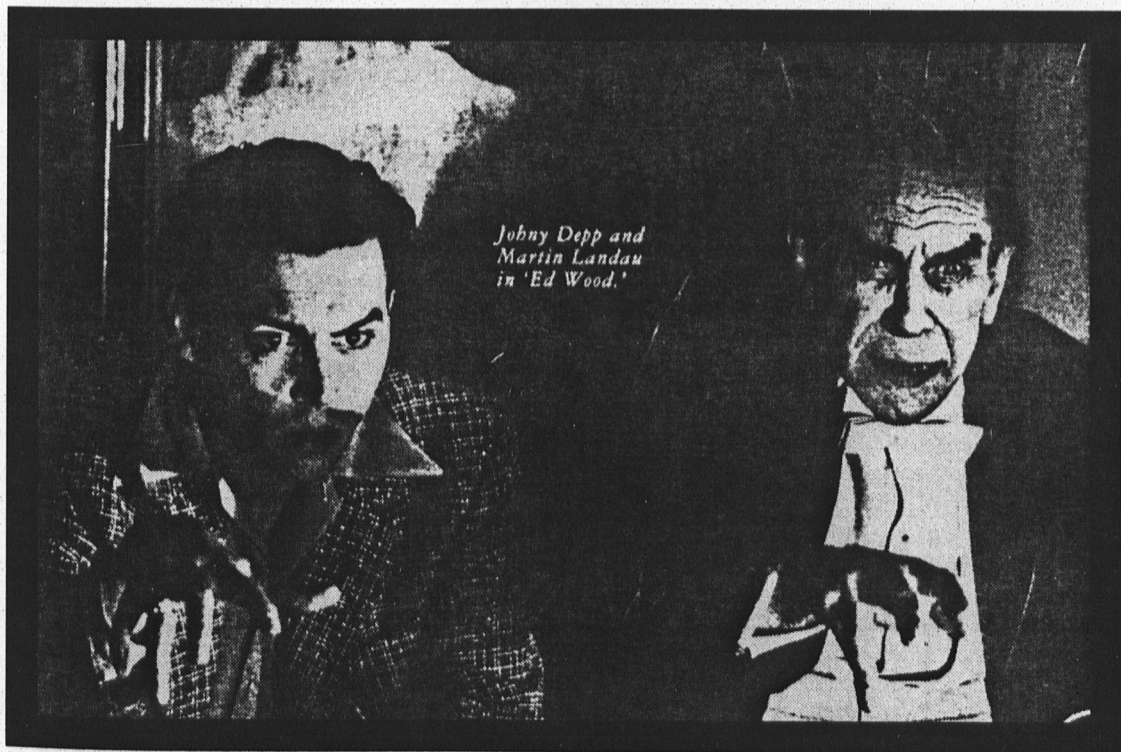
are to be released in the future, it is clear that a trend has been set and that audiences are not responding with disdain. It is doubtful though that we will return to a time when there were just as many B&W films produced as there were color ones. In terms of what is

put out as art, audiences are more conscious of how color and monochrome aid in the communication of a story. What will continue, however, is the debate over colorizing certain films, especially the classics. Some feel that there are a few films which should have been shot in color to begin with, like "Yankee Doodle Dandy" and "The March of the Wooden Soldiers". Regarding these films and their directors' artistic choices it is puzzling as to why Michael Curtiz and Hal Roach would consciously choose to film waving American red-white-blue flags, and Toyland with a red-clad Santa Claus, in black-and-white. After colorization it is thought that these films are improved and much more interesting to watch, providing the colors are realistic and not washed out. Advances in digital colorization have now given B&W films an impression that they were originally shot in color. What must be researched then is what films should not be colorized out of respect for a film director's "vision" and artistic intentions.

But even though the future of B&W films may not be as grey as its celluloid, the majority of theater-paying audiences still prefer color. Whether this fact will help or hinder the production of more B&W films remains to be seen at one's own local movie theater. END.

The Revolutionary Socialist Group will be sponsoring a forum focusing in on the struggle by the Workers and Peasants Movement against the brutal dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Soka. What role is the Us playing in the region? Come and find out.

Date: Thursday, Feb (Time: Club Hours, 1:30 - 3:30 Place: Campus Center, room 1C-111 (the far end of the cafeteria



studios. Movies were usually not shot in B&W of any artistic decision on a director's part. Monochrome film stock has always been cheaper and more plentiful than color stock. We can wonder what "Schindler's List" might have cost Steven Spielberg had it all

Soderburgh's "Kafka", a film which switches to color (like "The Wizard of Oz") halfway through the story. There were also Jim Jarmusch's "Stranger Than Paradise" and "Down By Law". In "Dead Again" Kenneth Branagh managed to use B&W only for scenes

Icelandic Views

by Frank Giallombardo

Where was Odin when I needed a god
 To pray to for guidance in Snaefellsnes,
 As I thought of the love I had just lost,
 Screaming in my ear like a valkyrie
 Charging into Valhalla through Bifrost
 With a voice that causes one such distress?

Modern viking girls live in Reykjavik,
 Blondes who can lead one to an open door;
 They made me forget who I'd left behind
 Without a care if she was well or sick,
 For I was with the Maidens of the Rhine
 And the men who strolled through the city like Thor.

Looking into the deep windy chasm
 Above the grey Vatnajokull glacier
 I realized my loss should cause no alarm
 And learned from stones of volcanic spasms—
 There are many places where it's hotter
 In Iceland than between my lover's arms.

Playing God
by David Lipp

Intensity is felt
 a reality is created
 and I am God,
 your God,
 God to all your
 petty thoughts and
 desires, able to
 create and able
 to destroy. Change
 flows through my
 fingertips, do you
 want to take a chance?
 I know what you're going
 to say and when you're going
 to say it, so don't. Just sit back, relax, and
 enjoy the ride.

Floating Thoughts

by Carbo

A cool breeze on a sweating summer night; very rare. Wait! Are not my windows closed?

Yes.

Yes? Where did that sound come from?

Here—here in the corner.

Just relax, there are no sounds in this room. Stare at the ceiling and fall to sleep.

White! Your ceiling is white.

Yes, you are right, but who are you?

Look good, is your ceiling plain?

No. Something is different tonight. I don't know if I'm going crazy, but is that the sound of a child I hear.

No.

Don't look up.

Why?

I fear children.

Why?

Restless—they don't know what it means. Fear—they do not have. Pain—hasn't hit them yet. Love—who ever hears their cry and comes to them.

Then why do you not respond to that child cry? Do you not need to be loved?

No. I need too much love. The children and then disappear. Then what love will I have? except that of an empty heart.

To be loved you must first love. One who does not take the chance will never feel the joy.

I'm afraid. I do not want to take the chance. What if the child reject me?—

What if the child accepts me? Then I must always be there for the child, only to be left.

Is it not better to be loved and have lost, then never had loved, or been loved?

But now I ask you, is it better to have been loved and hurt, then never to have loved and never been hurt?

Hurt is love.

What do you mean?

That sound, that sound of a child on the ceiling, do you not recognize it?

No. Should I?

Yes

The child is you, the cries are your, the love is your own.

I do not understand.

You will always be a child. The child never leaves any of us. If you do not love the child and nurture it, the child will cry. Then the adult shall feel the pain. If you put the child to sleep it will only wake to find no one there to nourish it. You must not leave a child alone. Take to the ceiling, answer the child's questions, make the child laugh, let the child play, see the child. Do not be afraid, it will never leave you. It is you who leaves it.

"Children need love, adults need strength; together they need no one."

The Voice is looking for radicalizing youth interested in deconstructing bourgeois art. Would you like to join? If so contact Debra Behr or Lou Bardel in the Voice office or catch them frolicking around our aesthetic campus grounds.

Doing the Mall
by David Lipp

I am part man, part plastic
I walk through my kigdom a penniless victim
I am the king of my castle.
My castle is my wardrobe
my wardrobe is sold in stores
the stores are in the mall
the mall is my kingdom
I am the king of my castle
I am doing the mall.
Will I die in the mall.
Will I die in the mall of paranoia?
the mall security is trying to steal my identity
they want to kill me
they want me to be their little Jimmy Hoffa secret
they want to turn me into one of their mannequins
they want to dress me in the finest clothing
they want to kill me and mark me 20% off
I am doing the mall.
Everyone is just so beautiful here
everyone is dressed like the were at the Palladium
Everyone is still beautiful here
maybe it's the lighting?
I am still king of my castle
I am still a penniless victim
I am still walking through my castle
I am still doing the mall.
I am walking and shopping
I am doing two things at once
I just bought a pack of gum and I am now chewing
I am doing two things at once
I am doing three things at once
I am so gifted, yes I am.
For four hours I am walking through my kingdom
I am walking empty handed
people are staring at clothing
and clothing is staring back,
this is where great conversations start.
It's 9:00, only one half hour to close
these people are brain dead
the brain dead are walking
I am among the walking dead,
and boy do they walk slow.



(Poem) Russia Is To Awaken!
by Craig R. Whitney

For many miles from land and sea
Russia has stood as a great country,
her nuclear warheads buttressed her night,
her Red Army stood ready to fight;
she had struggled with her enemy
throughout the whole worlds' peoples to see

But as time passed on to modern day
her industries fell into decay;
The factories had stopped and shut down
leaving few workers jobs to be found;
spirits of chaos are out of hand
spreading the fear all across the land

The Great Russian Bear now is asleep
but her pride is strong and very deep;
her present slumber will be broken
for Mother Russia is to awaken;
Military might is her power
that will grow rapidly by the hour

Commandments...

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hate that comes from the mouths of hypocritical senators, such as Phil Graham of Texas. "There's too much social spending in the last crime bill, let's cut some of that pork-fat and spend even more money on building prisons." Such ingenious ideas from these worthy Christians. Focusing on the petty criminals who's harm is exaggerated (How many good cop bad criminal shows air each night?) by the media the weakest targets are attacked. I wonder how Newt Gingrich can justify his support for Oliver North's senatorial bid? The crimes that Oliver North committed (e.g., drug smuggling, lying to congress and the support of terrorist activities in other countries) have caused more violence on the streets of America than anyone of the petty crimes that most of the "criminals" in jail have committed. Ofcourse, this does not include all the violence created by corporate CEO's who dump toxins in waterways, junk bond workers pensions and rob millions from the government each day, i.e., the Savings and Loan scandal. For the congress and President the focus must remain on the "criminals" who are responding to their humiliating and criminal conditions not on those responsible for the existence of these conditions.

Bills three, four and five are attempts to justify the Christian nuclear family even in

the unhealthiest situations. With one hand these hypocrites propose to give a \$500 tax credit per child for those "good" mothers, while with the other they cut welfare support to teen mothers. Such double talk is in the name of American values, indeed it is! Traditional family values keep women locked up in the house ("Where they belong!") Attacking women's rights, the poor and immigrants are part of the package which seeks to convince the working class that their real enemies are not above them but below. That the reasons for "bad government" is not that it favors the rich but that it is too concerned with poor and working people. We are all middle-class, that imaginable class that America must save.

The sixth bill states that US armed imperialism will act on its own and will not place any troops under the control of the UN, as if it does now. What was Haiti? Somalia? Grenada? Panama? Iraq? etc. Did not the US act unilaterally? They also call for increasing the funding for military expenditures as if half the federal budget is not enough. When they talk about maintaining "our credibility around the world" it must be in reference to the loathing the US earns by supporting brutal dictators the world over.

The seventh bill is a considerate act of manipulation. Why should not those who

worked for over forty years have the right to be continued wage-slaves like the youth? Since Social Security benefits are not enough anymore for retirees to live on they either depend on the children for assistance or work. The congress is awfully conscious of this dilemma and will increase "the limit [they can earn] which currently forces seniors out of work." What a way with words bourgeois politicians have. As if retired workers wants to labour for a minimum wage in McDonalds instead of enjoying the remaining years of their lives in comfort.

The Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act, is clearly one of the most inventive bills of the ten. Once again tax cuts and incentives will stimulate the economy out of its tepid recovery. Small businesses will become the force behind newly developed part-time low paying jobs. The funniest remark is the "straightening the Regulatory Flexibility Act and unfunded mandate reform to create jobs and raise worker wages." How does a "unfunded mandate" work? Like the Democrats they voted in favor of NAFTA and GATT, two international economic policies that weaken the position of labour, and lower wages. Perhaps jobs will be created by these policies but with what wage and benefits, and will it increase the standard of living of workers the world over? I

seriously doubt it.

The ninth bill claims to have "common sense" and indeed it does. The low level intelligence that permeates the airwaves of corporate media. Due to costly lawsuits in which corporations had to pay millions for negligence on their part that resulted in the death or abuse of others the bill proposes to put an end to it. Now not only will CEO's and government officials not go to jail for their crimes they will no longer have to pay for their criminal actions. The last bill calls for term-limitations as if the essence of the country's problems is career politicians (like Gingrich) and not the foundation on which it is built, capitalism. It makes no difference if the politician is in and out of office every year, the problems confronting the majority of Americans, i.e., the working class, the middle-class and poor, are to be found in the economic interest these politicians cater to.

The Contract with America" was aptly adjusted by the liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy the Contract on America, however, the problem is not that we need more liberal Democrats in office but that we need a mass party based upon the need of the working class. A party based on labor unions that will not hide behind some Christian morals or attack minorities and women but one that will fight for the needs of that majority which feels no compulsion to vote for hypocrites, red white and blue.

Media distortion ...

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feeling at a high pitch. But what may be worse are all of the stories swept under the rug. Croatia today is ruled by a neo-fascist leader who has denied that the Holocaust ever happened and who claims that Croatian fascists during World War II were just doing their jobs. Soldiers in the Croatian military, the HOS, salute with the same straight-armed gesture used by Nazis half century ago. Neo-Nazis from around the world have flocked to Croatia to fight in the HOS. The HOS has been the source of real, unreported atrocities.

Just as Croatia is patronized by Ger-

many, the Bosnian Muslims are bankrolled by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey. The government is led by a man who for 25 years has called for an Islamic fundamentalist state and society that leaves no room for non-Islamic cultures. The presence of CIA and US military advisors on the ground, building airstrips, providing intelligence and training is reported in the European press, but not here.

Forty-seven years ago George Orwell gave us a cautionary prediction of where the modern media was headed in his novel 1984. People today who are concerned

with issues of peace and social justice have plenty of reason to be disturbed by the precedents set in the media's propaganda war against the Serbs, and not just because the propaganda war is the prelude to a real war. Clinton has already promised 20,000 American troops for Bosnian if the UN requests it. But will American know what they are fighting and perhaps dying for? Not if the media, human rights groups and PR firms "do their job. Then Ruder & Finn can proudly can proudly proclaim "1984 'R' us."

The Intercollegiate/Intramural Rec. Dept. is sponsoring four student activities; a Billiards tourney, a Table Tennis tourney, an Intramural Bowling league and a Chess tourney. For more information call 390-7685, 982-3122 or go to room 214 in the Campus Center.

The Economic Draft



National Student News Service, 1995

By Kelly Campbell