

# A Socialist ACTION



**Civil War  
in  
Yugoslavia**  
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Vol. 9, No. 8 AUGUST 1991 50 CENTS

## AFL-CIO predicts 200,000 for Solidarity Day in D.C.

### Labor's first national action in 10 years

By CARL FINAMORE

Several hundred thousand people are expected to participate in Solidarity Day '91, an AFL-CIO national demonstration planned for Washington, D.C., on Saturday, Aug. 31.

The 13 million-member trade-union federation is appealing to all American trade unionists and labor's traditional allies "in such areas as civil rights, healthcare, education, freedom of association and worker rights, the environment, and job safety" to join in.

The demonstration will demand legislation prohibiting the permanent replacement of strikers, enactment of national healthcare

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Sept. 19, 1981,  
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trade unionists**

reform, and collective bargaining rights for all workers—particularly public sector employees.

Although the giant labor organization certainly has the capacity to build a massive national protest, it seldom has chosen to do so. In fact, this is only the second time in its history that the AFL-CIO has called a national demonstration.

The first time was the Solidarity Day in Washington, D.C., held on Sept. 19, 1981—100 years after the American Federation of Labor was founded. It was a huge success.

Over 500,000 people demonstrated in the streets of Washington, D.C., that day. They marched against the budget cuts of the Reagan administration, against tax giveaways to the rich, and in support of legislation protecting workers' rights and safety.

The first Solidarity Day came on the heels of then-President Ronald Reagan's firing of 12,000 air traffic controllers (PATCO) in 1981 simply for exercising their right to strike.

A militant contingent of PATCO members received a tremendous response to their chants of "Ronald Reagan take a hike, PATCO has the right to strike!" To this day, only two modern industrial nations fire striking workers—the United States and South Africa.

The 1981 Solidarity Day demonstration raised hopes that the labor movement was returning to its past traditions of militancy. Lane Kirkland, head of the labor federation, gave a stirring speech recalling that "we have come too far, struggled too long, sacrificed too much, and have too much left to

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*It's been a long time: Over 500,000 trade unionists demonstrated in Washington, D.C. on the first Solidarity day, Sept. 19, 1981. In the interim, government and employers have increased attacks on working people.*

## Nat'l Organization for Women calls for giant mobilization in Spring 1992

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

"We are launching a campaign of defiance because we are not going to let women die," declared Eleanor Smeal, past president of the National Organization for Women. She was speaking at the annual NOW conference, in New York City, July 5-7.

Over 2000 feminists attended the national gathering, which marked NOW's 25th anniversary. A large banner at the front of the hall proclaimed the conference theme, "Empowering Women."

This gathering, however, was not a celebration of the accomplishments of the last 25 years so much as a strong rebuke to the new wave of attacks on women's rights. Recent Supreme Court decisions, coupled with restrictive anti-abortion laws passed in several states, made the delegates quite aware that women's right to safe, legal

abortion has been seriously undermined and is in danger of being outlawed altogether.

The main resolution backed by the NOW leadership, "We Won't Go Back," contained a six-point program to defend abortion rights. The program includes overturning the Supreme Court's "gag rule" against women's health clinics, defeating the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Court, recruiting and running "feminist" candidates in upcoming elections, and civil disobedience.

March on Washington, D.C.

Most significantly, the resolution called for the "largest march on Washington in our nation's history in the spring of 1992." It also called for actions on "campuses and in cities big and small and in states" this fall to build toward the spring mobilization.

The call for such a march is an aggressive step by NOW. To put a million

people in the streets of Washington, as NOW Executive Vice President Patricia Ireland promised in her keynote speech, would be an unprecedented display of the solidarity and strength of the women's liberation movement.

The building actions necessary to accomplish this goal would re-energize the movement and provide a focal point for pro-choice organizing nationwide. A mobilization of such historic proportions would take the women's movement off the defensive and add forces to the growing pro-choice majority in the population.

The realization of this goal, however, depends on the extent to which the march is a clear and independent affirmation of women's right to choose. If efforts to build the demonstration give support to various politicians, its size and effectiveness could

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# Living in poverty is a very personal thing



## Fightback

By  
Sylvia Weinstein

We keep getting statistics on children in this wealthy country. One out of five children live in poverty in the United States; 40,000 infants die in their first year; 2000 minors were murdered in the U. S. in 1988; and 78 percent of child deaths in the U.S. are caused by accidents, suicide, homicides or other violence. Medicaid, the so-called government healthcare program for the poor, covers barely 40 percent of those living below the poverty line.

Living in poverty is a very personal thing. I was born in 1926—just in time for capitalism, barely three years later, to prove it doesn't work.

### I had no shoes

One of the most embarrassing events of my life occurred when I

was seven years old. I didn't have shoes for school.

When our shoes got holes in the soles my grandmother stuffed them with cardboard. When they were hand-downs and too large, she stuffed paper in the toes. If they were a little too tight she poured boiling hot water into them and when the water cooled down we put our feet into the shoes—water and all—and walked around until they stretched. So when I say I had no shoes, I really had no shoes.

I did have a pair of red rubber boots given to me by a neighbor whose child had outgrown them. I really loved those red boots; they were shiny and bright. One day I had to just wear the boots—without shoes—to school.

At school that morning, the

teacher demanded that I remove my boots and put them in the cloak room. They were rain boots and not to be worn in class. I had no shoes on so I just refused to take off the boots. I was sent to the principal's office for being stubborn and sassy.

The principal wormed the truth out of me and forced me to walk back to the class in my stocking feet. She had me stand up in front of the class and made me request that children bring shoes to school the next day.

For two weeks my class was covered by old worn-out children's shoes. I took them home and all of my sisters and brothers wore them.

### Please the 'church ladies'

Other memorable occasions were the dresses from the Ladies Aid Society. These were church ladies who sewed up dresses and brought them to our school for the "poor children." Of course, I was eligible. However, the dresses were sewn from the same bolt of ugly cloth and all the same size pattern.

The "Ladies" would come into class, and we girls would have to go into the cloakroom, put them on, and give a fashion show for the class and the "Ladies." Since I was short, the dresses always just topped my ankle and the sleeves

fell off my shoulder. None of this mattered—the teacher would praise the "Ladies" for their generous spirit and make us children thank each "Lady" profusely.

My grandmother would not alter the clothes to fit because she thought this would make the "Ladies" angry, and they would stop giving me dresses.

But I was a dreamer. After listening to Little Orphan Annie on the radio and seeing some Shirley Temple movies I used to dream that some day some rich person would come along and demand to adopt me because I was so charming. After all, it always happened to Shirley who suffered no end until some wealthy person took over and she lived happily ever after.

I even considered that perhaps I had been given to this poor family by mistake, and someday my real rich mother and father would drive up in a big car and rescue me from poverty.

I had no idea that it was the rich of this country who were the cause of the problem. That came later. I remind the reader this all took place in the 1930s, during the Depression.

A few weeks ago, all of these memories came back to me when I read an article in the June 20 issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. It concerned the Gordon

Gettys and their new home. Gordon comes from the billionaire family of oil-rich Gettys. He got his money the "old-fashioned way." He inherited it from his father who inherited it from his father, etc., etc.

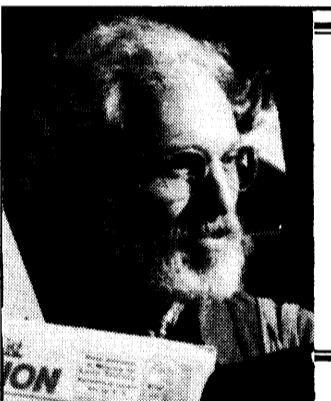
### Conspicuous consumption

Gordon and his wife Ann, are buying a \$4.25 million home next door to their \$3.75 million mansion. They want to convert this new home into a concert hall with a swimming pool. It will be connected to their original home with passageways and will cost \$500,000 to remodel to their satisfaction. The city planning commission granted them permission. Hey, let them eat cake!

In California, those in the top one percent income bracket, (those who make \$550,000 a year or more) paid \$84.4 billion dollars less in state and federal taxes in 1990 than they did in 1977. It is the working class and poor families who are paying the taxes for the rich.

When I was a child I was embarrassed at being poor. I thought it was my fault. Becoming a socialist taught me different. Now I wouldn't be embarrassed. I am just mad as hell at the outrageous conduct of the rich in the face of all of this poverty. ■

# How schools in Britain are being gutted



## Behind the Lines

By  
Michael Schreiber

For decades, teachers in the United States have been inspired by the liberal educational methods in use in Britain, such as those that encourage students to progress at their own rate. Today, unfortunately, Britain's "model" educational system is being torn apart—a victim of the government's "free market" designs.

I stayed recently with some friends in a small town in the English Midlands. One evening, I

shared a table at a local pub with two primary school teachers. Both of my companions were angry and felt the need to let off some steam.

"The government has tried to hijack education for its own purposes," they complained. "The entire process of liberal educational reform is being undone."

Several days later, I spoke again with one of the teachers, Tony Lane. He explained that education-

al "modernization" had been a pet project of former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her Conservative Party. "When the government failed to make its promises good," he said, "they started looking for scapegoats. Education was an obvious choice."

### Teachers' strikes defeated

About seven years ago, a series of strikes by the teachers' unions were defeated. The media did their best to portray the strikers as "lazy" and "greedy." After the defeat, the government quickly took the opportunity to reorganize the schools.

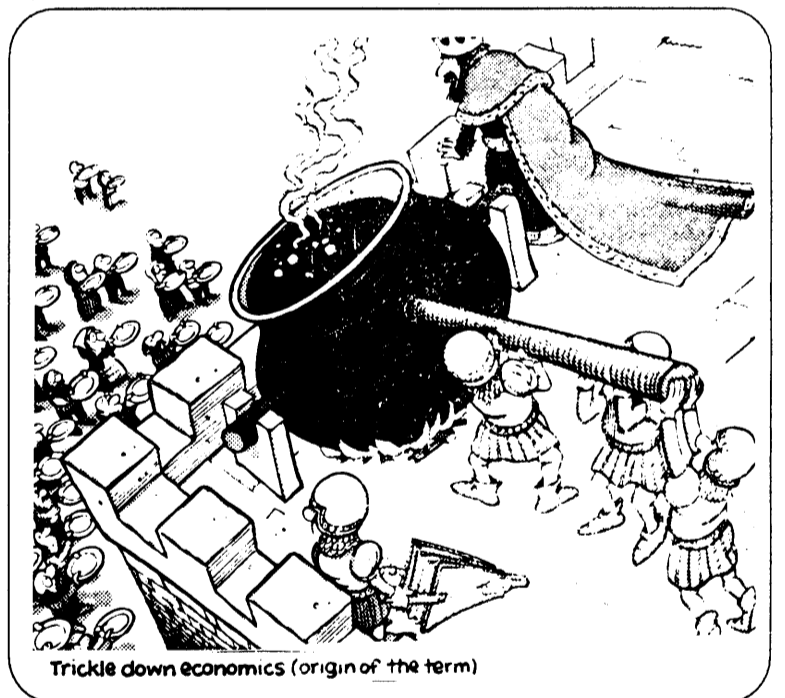
Several laws were passed to force the teachers to "work harder." For example, 1) more control was placed over the minimum number of hours teachers have to work; 2) school administrations were allowed to "direct" more of the teachers' time outside of class; 3) teachers were forced to put in extra preparation time without pay; 4) teachers lost the right to negotiate their hours through collective bargaining.

But Thatcher's "modernization" plan went far beyond those measures. This year, a new "national curriculum" is going into effect. Courses are becoming standardized. Children will have to memorize the material in government-approved texts (such as a pro-British Empire view of history) in order to perform well on standardized written examinations.

George Bush has proposed a similar plan for this country. "But when you teach," Tony Lane pointed out, "You just can't do it that way. You have to tailor the material to the children's needs."

### Run schools like business

The heart of the "modernization" scheme is an attempt to make the schools "independent" of financing and control by the local authorities. Those schools that take the bait are rewarded with



slightly larger government grants. The more students they can attract, the more money they receive from the government.

Thus, schools are driven to compete for government funding; they even have to try to lure pupils away from other school districts. This is done, in part, by demonstrating that they can produce higher scores on the new government exams.

Unfortunately, the children in poorer communities (with less educational resources) usually have lower test scores. Their schools often have declining enrollments, and thus face diminished government funding.

This forces the poorer districts into a vicious cycle. They must lay off even more teachers and pare down their programs. At the same time, the remaining teachers must work harder and try to manage larger class sizes. As a result, their test scores will probably continue to plummet.

In some cases, schools have been forced to look for corporate

sponsors for student plays and other "extracurricular" activities. (This is happening in this country, too!)

### Education for the rich only

The plan for "independent" schools, said Tony Lane, "is really part of the government's strategy to bring back the old system of education for an elite—to create ghettos in culture. Mrs. Thatcher and the government have made it a crime to be poor. Yet they've made poverty inevitable."

More and more, it seems, the state schools in Britain are to be run along the dog-eat-dog principles of private profit. But many teachers are actively opposing the government's reorganization scheme. In Scotland recently, teachers refused to implement the new standardized examinations—and they were backed up by the parents.

"Education is about enlightening minds," Tony Lane underscored. "It can't be put on a profit basis. It won't work." ■

## Socialist ACTION

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# Gorbachev and the G-7 conference: Lots of promises, but little cash

By NAT WEINSTEIN

The leaders of the capitalist world meeting in London in mid-July again failed to come up with much more than vigorous encouragement to Gorbachev's efforts to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union. They essentially told him that he still has a long way to go before they will risk investing their capital on any significant scale.

Meantime, only token amounts of cash were provided amid promises of "technical assistance" to help Gorbachev and his bureaucratic soul-mates find their way to instituting the market conditions without which capitalism cannot flower.

The Group of Seven—Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States—are understandably reluctant to pour the kind of cash into the floundering Soviet economy that is needed to keep it from sinking even further into a black hole.

All sides seem to agree, moreover, that the collapsing economies of Eastern Europe can precipitate a catastrophic social explosion. It is also widely feared that its consequences can have unpredictably far-ranging destructive economic and political effects on the world's bureaucrats and capitalists.

But so far, world capitalism seems paralyzed by growing doubts that the East European economies can be restored to capitalism.

After all, it took thousands of years of development of markets and private ownership of the means of production before capitalism was possible. But, so far, after some six years of tinkering, the Soviet leadership has made very little progress, and every measure instituted for the return to capitalism has constituted another reduction in living standards for the workers.

## No historical precedent

It is clear, therefore, that what is meant by "social explosion" is an uprising of the workers, who will then be impelled to take the economic system and society as a whole into their own hands.

Besides, there is no historic precedent for turning the clock of history backward. There are no examples to learn from to help find the way back to the system of production driven by profits. And every effort so far made to recreate the preconditions for capitalism has disrupted the planned economies further. Thus, capitalists and bureaucrats alike have good reason to be pessimistic.

Meanwhile, the workers in all these countries look with outrage at the antics of would-be capitalists who are (without capital) attempting to rip-off a piece of state property for themselves. Reports indicate that most workers are greatly resentful of these legions of entrepreneurs—with the Stalinist bureaucrats leading the pack—enriching themselves at everyone else's expense.

Many workers probably would tolerate re-privatization if new capital were being introduced, which could modernize the existing outworn and outmoded industrial facilities—that is, if they could see the objective conditions for a better life looming in the not too distant future.

But the additional capital necessary for modernizing existing plants and building new up-to-date factories does not exist within these countries. In the past, the traditional source of new capital had come from the surpluses created by state-owned industry. Now, with the planned economy disrupted by market mechanisms (which don't work), new financing of industrial facilities could only come from outside—from the imperialist countries.

This is the dilemma for both bosses and bureaucrats:



**'This is the dilemma for both bosses and bureaucrats: The imperialists won't invest until market forces are in place, and the attempt to introduce market forces disrupts the existing system without putting a profit-driven economy in its place.'**

The imperialists won't invest until market forces are in place, and the attempt to introduce market forces disrupts the existing system without putting a profit-driven economy in its place.

Meanwhile, the crippled planned economies sink further down. Last year alone, throughout Eastern Europe, they contracted by 11 percent.

## Inter-imperialist competition intensifies

And this is not all. A main problem the Group of Seven met to try to resolve is the developing stagnation of the global economy as a whole. The United Nations has just released its World Economic Survey for 1991. It shows that global economic growth slowed to one percent last year and is falling to zero this year. And since world population is growing by 1.8 percent a year, living standards are deteriorating for most of the world's 5.3 billion people.

There appears to be no evidence that the heads of world imperialism have come up with anything more than girding themselves for increased economic competition. That's the meaning of the increasing line-up of economic alliances in three sectors of the imperialist world: Europe around its famed Common Market, Japan around the market it dominates in Asia, and now the so-called American free-trade zone.

Furthermore, a division seems to be opening up among

European imperialism. Germany came to the London summit agitating for more imperialist loans and investments, especially in the Soviet Union, as necessary to help Gorbachev make a successful transition to capitalism before East Europe blows up in all their faces.

Germany, however, has special incentives for coming to Gorbachev's aid. This is partly because the German capitalists had agreed to pour scores of billions of dollars in grants and loans to the Soviets in exchange for facilitating the unification of Germany and for removing Soviet troops from its own soil and from the rest of Eastern Europe. But another motive impelling German capitalism to assist Gorbachev and Co. is the potential opportunity to strengthen their economic position vis-a-vis American and Japanese imperialism.

The Germans have so far placed themselves in a most advantageous position for gaining the most from Gorbachev's pro-capitalist orientation, providing they can pull off a successful transition to capitalism in the new eastern part of a united Germany.

But this goal—even with the obvious advantage of being the only Western nation to have incorporated one of the "socialist countries" within its boundaries—is proving far more difficult than anyone expected.

And while the cost of bringing the highways, railroads, telephone system, and other basic elements of the infrastructure up to West German standards is as heavy as expected, the economic collapse of all of former East Germany's old trading partners in Eastern Europe unexpectedly adds mightily to its difficulties and threatens to trigger worse problems yet.

On the other hand, imperialist Germany stands to gain the most if there is an economic revival in the East, especially in the Soviet Union. This is because the economies of Germany and Russia have been historically related.

## The stakes are very high

Thus, for all the above reasons, German capitalism appears to be more open to gambling on an economic partnership with a Soviet Union that takes more time in introducing market mechanisms than other imperialists are prepared to accept. Such an economic bloc could sweep all of Eastern and even most of Western Europe into Germany's economic orbit. Such a combination could rival American imperialism for world economic domination. The stakes are very high.

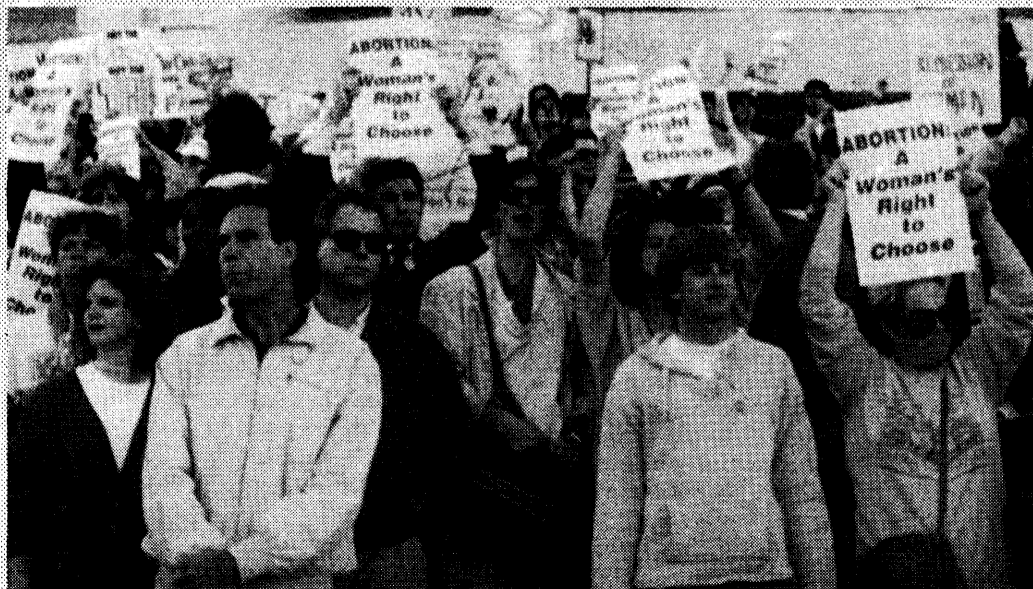
This potential seems to be a more important motive for Germany's, France's, and Italy's urging of the Group of Seven to be more generous in providing Gorbachev with increased economic assistance. It is even more important than the feared avalanche of refugees that would flood these three countries if there were a social explosion in the East.

What has been played down, moreover, is that those fleeing social and economic chaos in the East will contribute further to the developing economic crisis in all of Europe.

Both Gorbachev and Bush, each for his own reasons, timed their agreement on a nuclear arms treaty with the opening of the Group of Seven summit in London. It was scheduled to be formally concluded at the summit meeting held in Moscow at the end of July between the two powers.

Despite sharp denials by President Bush, suspicions are reported to have sprouted among delegations at the London summit that the purpose of announcing the Soviet/American nuclear agreement was to focus world attention on, and to reinforce the central role of American imperialism in Bush's new world order.

Unreported are what deals, if any, have been struck by the members of the Group of Seven to deal with the mounting problems of world capitalism. What seems to have surfaced so far has essentially been a jockeying for position by all the competing imperialist powers at this critical juncture in world history. ■



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TDU-supported candidate Ron Carey speaks to the 1,926 delegates after his nomination for president.

# Teamsters convention: Is a sleeping giant awakening?

By HAL MERCER

The June 24-28 Teamsters Convention, held at Disneyworld in Florida, was entirely different than past conventions and, for that matter, the conventions of most other North American trade unions. Some commentators now claim that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) is the most democratic union in the United States.

Sometimes chaotic, free-wheeling debate characterized some of the sessions. The first day opened with a rare display of unanimity as the delegates united to drown out President George Bush's video greetings and then went on to boo their unpopular IBT president William McCarthy.

McCarthy, at least, could draw laughter as he retorted, "I don't know why the hell you boo, I'm packing it in anyway."

This convention was shaped by the existence of a growing reform movement in the union, organized by the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) together with the nationwide campaign of Local 804 President Ron Carey, who has been conducting a vigorous grass-roots bid for the IBT presidency.

## Impact of reform movement

Under a 1989 consent decree settling a Justice Department racketeering suit against the IBT, the union agreed to amend their constitution to provide, for the first

time, direct membership election of the union's top officers as well as election of delegates to the convention. In the past, appointed officials, staffers, and local officers automatically became convention delegates.

So, with the existence of an organized rank-and-file movement, this was a different ball game. In addition, a court-appointed overseer had brought charges against 117 Teamster officials for criminal activity in violation of the IBT constitution (15 for being members of "La Cosa Nostra") and had by the convention already barred many of them from union activity. The bureaucracy is split and reeling.

Out of 1926 delegates, 289 were Ron Carey supporters, a significant enough minority to put central campaign issues before the convention, and force the factions of the hierarchy to deal with them.

Carey has been campaigning for an end to nepotism and perks that enrich the bureaucrats at the expense of using the union's resources for organizing and mobilizing the members against the employer's offensive. This is summed up in his campaign slogan, "The Party Is Over," and it indeed seems to be for the parasitic layer of business unionists who have enriched themselves until now.

Despite last minute negotiations, the Teamsters old guard remained split into

two hostile factions—the Walter Shea Slate, which is strongest in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and the R.V. Durham Slate, which controlled the convention. With the December election looming, many of the Shea delegates voted with the reform movement to embarrass Durham. This division in the hierarchy allowed the ranks to make some important gains.

## R.V. Durham Won't Stand Up!

IBT strike benefits have been very low and the officials successfully resisted TDU-inspired attempts to raise them at previous conventions. Now, however, in an upset vote, the benefits were quadrupled to \$200 a week, sending the employers an essential message that the union will henceforth stand behind its striking members.

In a "division of the house" standing vote, some 1000 delegates chanted "Stand Up, R.V. [Durham]!" exposing this group's opposition to the increase. This gave rise to the slogan, "R.V. Won't Stand Up for the Members!"

Another important gain was winning the right for hundreds of thousands of Teamsters covered under master agreements to vote separately on their local riders and supplements—something most other unions already guarantee. The members' right to vote for their top officers and majority rule on contract votes (issues that

TDU had long campaigned for) were added to the IBT constitution.

With both bureaucratic slates trying to outbid each other as born-again reformers, the convention voted unanimously to sell the union hierarchy's private jet fleet, and to hold future conventions in union facilities.

Over the objections of the Durham faction, the convention twice voted to stop inviting employers to the convention. The chairman, Secretary-Treasurer Weldon Mathis, however, refused to recognize the vote—one of his many violations of convention democracy (not surprising from a man convicted of stealing the election in his former home local).

Nevertheless, on most votes the bureaucracy managed to unite to defend their privileges. For example, they voted down an amendment to end multiple salaries for officials and voted to never again have this type of open convention by ending direct election of delegates to the convention.

This latter amendment is in defiance of the 1989 consent agreement, which will mean continuing the union's expensive court battles (already \$12 million has been spent of the members' money) against the right-to-vote provisions of the order. Speakers for the Carey Slate also spoke against government interference in the union, but focused on the union's failure to clean house itself and on the necessity of keeping the right-to-vote provisions of the consent decree in the union's constitution.

## A Real Choice

The convention delegates nominated the three slates and a few individual candidates for the December general election. Durham had the most support with 1001 votes, Shea had 574, and Carey 289. Despite these figures, the race is expected to come down to a close one between R.V. Durham and Ron Carey.

The question posed is: The same old leadership or the Carey Slate? The millionaires' slate representing business unionism or a revitalized union with leadership that is pledged to deepen democracy and take on the employers?

The Carey Slate could win if it is able to raise the funds to carry out a deep-going national campaign that reaches the membership in the shops and warehouses. Up until now, members have never had a chance to vote on anything meaningful regarding their union.

Election of the Carey Slate could be a big step in mobilizing the ranks. Such an outcome would indicate that the membership wants to turn the union around and transform it into an instrument to fight the class battles necessary to win back past gains, organize the growing non-union sector, and reinvigorate the IBT. Such a development would undoubtedly have a galvanizing effect on the rest of the labor movement. ■

## Interview with S.F. socialist mayoral candidate

Staff writer Suzanne Forsyth caught up with Socialist Action's San Francisco mayoral candidate, Joni Jacobs, who was able to stop campaigning long enough to answer a few questions on her electoral strategy.

**Socialist Action:** One of the most pressing and visible issues facing San Franciscans is providing shelter for men, women, and children living on our streets. What steps would a socialist mayor take to resolve this crisis?

**Joni Jacobs:** As a socialist, providing for people's needs would be my top priority. Therefore, housing would be a top priority. The way the City is run now, San Francisco is becoming a resort town for the rich, rather than the union town it once was. New hotels are going up, displacing housing and work places, while nothing is being done to house the people living in the City's streets, parks and doorways. Concretely, I would introduce a strict rent control cap based on 10 percent of a person's income.

**SA:** What do you say to those complaining this would force landlords to neglect unprofitable property?

**JJ:** Housing is a right, not a luxury.

If landlords can't maintain property properly it would be up to the City to buy it up and manage it for the benefit of the City's residents. In addition, abandoned or under-utilized property should be condemned, seized, improved, and made available immediately.

**SA:** Where would you get the money?

**JJ:** There are many sources for the money, but one that immediately comes to mind is suspending interest payments on bonds.

**SA:** But won't that victimize retirees and other people on fixed income?

**JJ:** Actually 71 percent of bonds are owned by the richest 2 percent of Americans. In any case, I'd implement these measures so as not to victimize working people or retirees, but rather force those making profits to be accountable for the needs of society.

Of course housing is a bigger problem than could be solved in San Francisco alone. I would use my resources as mayor to help build a movement to demand a national public works project to build quality affordable housing, schools, hospitals, etc. and at the same time make jobs available to the unemployed. These are the things

the country's resources should pay for, not military expenditures.

**SA:** Speaking of the unemployed, what would you do to make San Francisco a union town again?

**JJ:** The people who work in San Francisco and make it run should be able to enjoy the fruits of their labor and live in this city as well. No City work would be unorganized or go to non-union contractors. Labor boycotts would be publicized and observed by the City, and municipal services would be denied to employers refusing to bargain with workers.

For example, the Parc 55 Hotel, which refuses to recognize the union and viciously harasses the workers, would come under intense public scrutiny. I would write legislation requiring businesses to open their books for the public record and prove they cannot afford workers' demands—and also, every wire, fire escape, and kitchen had better be up to code.

No city police would be used to protect scabs or prevent workers from picketing or striking. I would not enforce unconstitutional infringements on workers' rights such as injunctions limiting the numbers of picketers and

where and when they may picket.

Also, to spread around the available work, I would advocate 30 hours work for 40 hours pay.

**SA:** Sometimes using union contractors has been used as a way to shut out non-white workers from public jobs. How would you address the concerns of unions and minorities at the same time?

**JJ:** I believe a radical affirmative action program, with quotas, would be necessary. In order to fill these jobs I would set up job training programs at union wages. And this would strengthen the union, too.

**SA:** How would you answer those "pragmatists" who claim a vote for you would be a wasted vote?

**JJ:** Working people need to stop the cycle of voting for the lesser of two evils. We need to run candidates who truly represent our interests and keep registering protest votes against the system until we launch a movement powerful enough to win. The mayor's office doesn't run this city, the workers do. To paraphrase Eugene V. Debs, who received over a million votes as a socialist candidate for president 70 years ago: I'd rather vote for what I want and not get it, than vote for what I don't want and get it. ■

# Solidarity Day '91

(continued from page 1)

do to allow all that we have achieved for the good of all to be swept away without a fight."

But, alas, Kirkland and other top labor officials did nothing during the last 10 years to put his words into effect. As a consequence, the economic situation for American working people has gotten worse.

## Ten years later

Today, social services to the poor, sick, and unemployed are at an all-time low, while rises in taxation and inflation continually chip away at every worker's paycheck. Meanwhile, profits for the bosses climbed in the last decade.

The wealthy have grown richer at our expense and get bailed out of failed schemes, like the savings and loan debacle, which have robbed ordinary Americans of their life savings.

Along with these worsening social conditions, the power and authority of the unions has declined. Union membership is at its lowest point in 50 years. The failure of labor officials to mount an effective response to government and business attacks on our standard of living has largely contributed to this decline.

These were some of the factors which undoubtedly led Lane Kirkland and other leaders of the AFL-CIO to call for another national march.

In the last several months alone, there have been two examples of why labor should flex its muscles on a regular basis and not just on Labor Day holidays.

A 22-month strike against Eastern Airlines ended this year with Eastern going bankrupt. Strike solidarity among all airline workers, with the full backing of the AFL-CIO, could have shut the airports down until Frank Lorenzo backed off his Wall Street scheme to bust the union and auction away Eastern assets to the highest bidder. Instead, over 30,000 workers lost their jobs—while junk bond raider Lorenzo walked away with millions of dollars.

On April 7, some 230,000 rail unionists stopped work after rejecting a humiliating package lowering wages and eliminating

jobs. By midnight, President Bush and Congress passed emergency legislation forcing everyone back to work. Last month, a Congressional-appointed board ruled that rail workers must swallow the companies' terms.

When have the Democrats and Republicans in Congress ever acted that fast to stop layoffs or to halt pay cuts?

These are only a few of the reasons why working people should flood into Washington, D.C., on Aug. 31. The New York AFL-CIO has already reserved every available bus in the metropolitan area. Several labor councils throughout the country are following New York City's example by cancelling regularly scheduled Labor Day activities in order to increase participation in the Washington protest.

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) also took a big step by declaring

Unfortunately, the top leaders of the AFL-CIO who are organizing Solidarity Day '91 are not promoting this idea. In fact, notwithstanding the importance of initiating Solidarity Day '91, there is no indication that the labor bureaucrats have changed their fundamental orientation of relying on liberal Democrats rather than on the mobilized power of the union membership.

Douglas Fraser, then head of the powerful United Auto Workers of America (UAW), told the massive audience at Solidarity Day in 1981 that he saw the rally as a way of "stiffening the spine of some of our friends" in Congress. Ten years later, his successors are repeating the same mistake.

George Kourpias, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers of America (IAM), recently commented on Solidarity Day '91 and made the same point. He said that we should see the demonstration as a chance to "hold leaders accountable for the misery their political decisions have caused."

If pressuring labor's so-called friends in

strategic role in production.

Those who attend this year's Solidarity Day will see for themselves a vivid example of labor's potential power to reverse the setbacks of the last decade.

## Labor power and politics

Extremely significant is a project which has been recently organized, called Labor Party Advocates (LPA). This new committee seeks to channel labor's potential power in a new direction. It is based on the idea that the power of working people must be brought to bear on the political level if workers' interests are to be defended and advanced. The LPA promotes the formation of a labor party, based on the unions, and independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

The campaign has been launched by Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) Secretary Treasurer, Tony Mazzocchi.

LPA seeks to popularize the idea that the bosses have two parties, so working people should have their own political party. Mazzocchi reports broad popularity for the idea. Clearly, there are millions of disaffected eligible voters. On average, 65 percent don't vote in national elections.

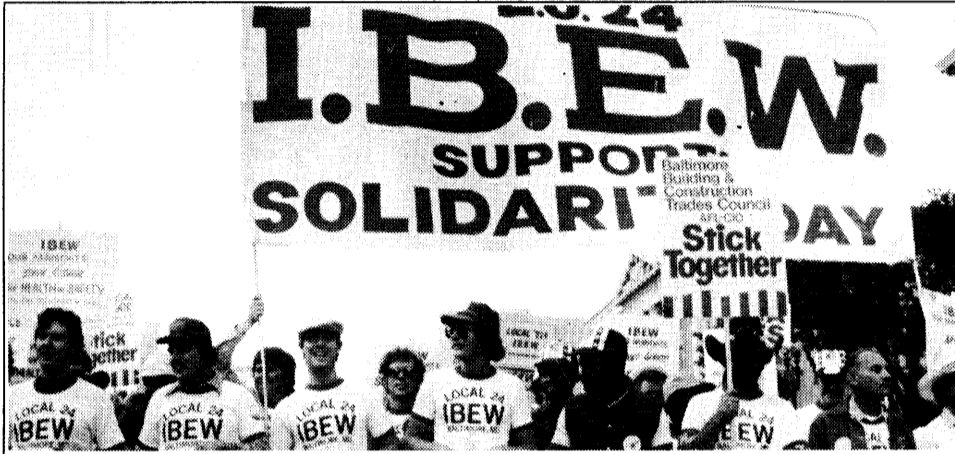
But these figures do not simply represent workers' apathy. The betrayals of the two capitalist parties, and their role as the representatives of big business, is provoking a more extensive discussion of a labor party in this country than at any other time in decades.

In a speech to the San Francisco Labor Council, AFL-CIO, Mazzocchi reported that in his polls of over 50 unions, an impressive average of 40 percent to 60 percent responded in favor of an independent party of labor.

Mazzocchi also reported a recent surge in the number of invitations to speak before local unions since he began agitating for the idea several years ago. For example, he stated that he is inundated with invitations to speak from rail unions—themselves the most recent victims of the government working hand in glove with the bosses.

The Solidarity Day '91 marchers can be expected to be even more responsive to the LPA call. The radicalizing impact of participating in a massive, labor-led solidarity demonstration will be far more significant than the affect of any of the ill-advised speeches which ask workers to give the Democrats another chance.

For more information, call 1-800-LABOR 91.



Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

Friday, Aug. 30, a national work-free holiday for union coal miners. Workers will be able to take the day off to make it easier to travel to Washington.

These examples indicate that the projected attendance of 200,000 is realistic.

## Working class power in action

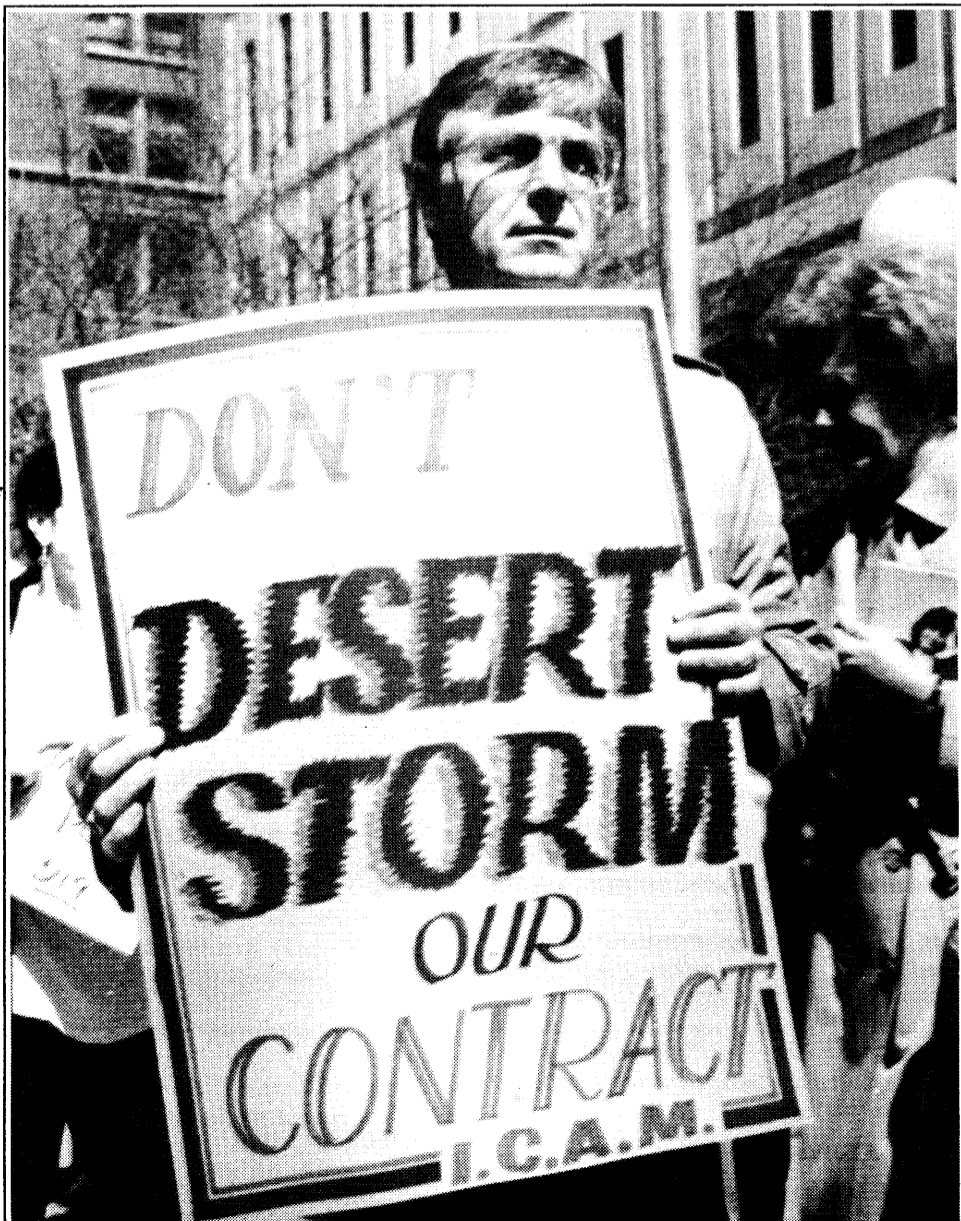
As we face the certainty of increased employer attacks on our standard of living, the need for more Solidarity Days in every town and city throughout this country will become more evident to the thousands marching up Constitution Avenue.

Congress, and expressing labor officialdom's disappointment with the 1989 election of George Bush was all that Solidarity Day '91 was about, there wouldn't be much point. But the impact of the march goes well beyond the conservative intentions of its main organizers.

There are certain to be more struggles in the months and years ahead, and each of these fights will challenge workers to relearn basic political lessons of labor history which have been long forgotten or ignored: To rely on the power of their numbers, their organization, and their

## Gov't imposes concessions contract on rail workers

Eva Akesson



Eva Akesson

By LYNN HENDERSON

Last April, Congress ordered some 235,000 striking rail union members to return to work. A special board was set up at the time to settle the issues.

On July 19, the Congressional Board ruled against the workers and for the railroad companies on all issues that had led to the strike. This action represents a new stage of direct government intervention and control of the unions.

The unions had challenged some 40 recommendations that were made last January by the original Presidential Emergency Board set up under the Railway Labor Act. These contract recommendations had given the rail owners virtually everything they demanded:

- 1) They shifted the financial burden of health, medical, and hospital benefits onto the workers.
- 2) They drastically changed work rules, which would within months eliminate 20,000 jobs and further erode already dangerous safety conditions.
- 3) They would reduce the real wages of rail workers by 20 percent to 30 percent over the course of the contract.

The Congressional Board has now denied all the union challenges and reaffirmed in total the original recommendations of Presidential Emergency Board 219, which had provoked the April strike.

The government has, in effect, written and imposed a contract on rail workers over which the unions, officers, and membership have no say. This goes beyond anything sanctioned in the Railway Labor Act.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers International President Lawrence McFather expressed the stunned reaction of all the rail

union presidents when he lamented, "They've taken us to the cleaners!"

But McFather is hardly blameless in the disaster. He and all the other international rail union heads have, ever since the end of World War II, followed a path of entirely relying on the politicians and Democratic Party "friends of labor" to barter a good deal for them.

The growing anger and frustration of rail union members was expressed at the international convention of the largest of the rail unions, the Transportation and Communication Union (TCU), representing railroad clerks and carmen, which was meeting in San Francisco the same week of the board's voting. The delegates took the virtually unprecedented action of removing President Richard Kilroy from office and voting to freeze all international officers' salaries.

Don't miss it!  
**Tony Mazzocchi's**  
 speech:  
**"Why We Need A Labor Party"**  
 Next month in  
 the Sept. issue of  
**Socialist Action**

# Women's right to choose is restricted in 45 states

The following is a speech given by Joni Jacobs at a July 3, 1991, rally in San Francisco to protest the second anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court's Webster decision. Jacobs was speaking on behalf of the Reproductive Rights Task Force of the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

In 1973, women in the United States won the right to control their own bodies when the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the state of Texas's anti-abortion laws. The historic *Roe v. Wade* decision guaranteed women in all 50 states the right of privacy

abortions may be performed after viability except to preserve the life of the woman.

No public funds, public facilities or public employees may be involved in performing abortions, except to preserve a woman's life. And minor women must obtain the consent of one parent or undergo a complicated judicial bypass procedure to receive an abortion. In Missouri, women no longer have the right to choose.

In Pennsylvania, a restrictive abortion law was signed on Nov. 17, 1989. This law, which currently is enjoined and on its way to the Supreme Court, requires a married woman to notify her husband of her

law declares all abortions illegal. The only exceptions are for a woman's life, grave damage to the woman's medical health, grave fetal defects, and rape and incest if reported to a law enforcement agency by the victim herself or someone acting on her behalf and if performed during the first 20 weeks of pregnancy. Anyone who performs an illegal abortion is subject to a \$5000 fine and/or five years in prison.

Utah's law was amended twice, once because as written it would have provided for women to be sentenced to death for having an illegal abortion, and once because as written it would have penalized anyone

*Hodgson v. Minnesota* decision. Thirty-five states have passed laws which require teen-age women to either notify or obtain the consent of one or both parents before receiving an abortion. In some states, teen-aged women may receive a judicial bypass to avoid telling their parents.

In some states, minors must wait 24 or 48 hours after notifying their parents before receiving abortions. While in 20 states, these laws are enjoined by court order until their constitutionality can be reviewed, 15 states currently enforce these laws.

Under the *Hodgson* decision, minor women no longer have the right to choose in these states: Alabama, Arkansas, Indiana (where teenager Becky Bell died from this law), Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Carolina, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Among the other states, three have passed parental consent laws. However, until a court decides whether these laws are constitutional, they are not being enforced. This means that depending on how the courts rule, minor women may not have access to abortion in Alaska, California and Washington.

In 1976, Congress passed the Hyde amendment, which prohibited the public funding to provide low-income women with abortions. These cruel laws impact most harshly on women of color, who are more likely to need financial assistance for their healthcare.

Thirty states have followed suit, and in these states low-income women do not have access to abortion. The following states prohibit public funding for abortions except when necessary to preserve the life of the woman: Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Texas.

Among the remaining states, the following prohibit public funding for abortions except when necessary to save the life of the woman, or in limited cases of rape or incest: Idaho, Iowa, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

In New Jersey and Vermont, only through a court order may low-income women receive public funding for abortions.

That leaves only five states—Connecticut, Hawaii, New York, North Carolina and Oregon—which protect the right of women to choose abortion regardless of her age or economic status.

But women in these states—and all others—face another threat to accessible abortion. That threat comes not from politicians, but from a group of antichoice terrorists known as Operation Rescue, which for the past four years has been blockading family planning clinics throughout the United States, physically preventing women from exercising their constitutional rights.

## 'Operation Rescue' terrorism

Last Saturday, Operation Rescue blockaded a private doctor's office right here in San Francisco. San Francisco's Board of Supervisors passed a resolution two years ago requiring that anyone interfering with women's right to abortion be arrested and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

San Francisco's mayor proclaims that he is pro-choice and supports the right of women to seek abortion. A statewide injunction prohibits Operation Rescue from being within 15 feet of any family planning facility in California. And the San Francisco Police Department has established guidelines and trained officers to enforce the injunction and ensure women's right to safely enter family planning clinics.

However, despite all these so-called safeguards, when Operation Rescue blockaded the doctor's office last Saturday, the police did not enforce the injunction and did not arrest any of the law-breaking, antichoice terrorists.

They were allowed to walk away completely free, only to return to the doctor's office two hours later and harass her again. Abortion isn't accessible if women cannot enter facilities to receive them, and every woman in every state is threatened as long as Operation Rescue is allowed to continue its reign of terror and intimidation.

On May 23, 1991, the Supreme Court cast another black pall across the entire

(continued on next page)



Joni Jacobs speaking at July 3 rally.

Joseph Ryan/Socialist Action

in making crucial, personal decisions regarding their reproductive lives.

Since that day, those who want to oppress women in the name of saving the lives of unborn fetuses have consistently chipped away at our right to choose. They have used the chisel of parental consent laws, which deny teen-aged women the right to abortion. They have used the chisel handed them by the 1976 Hyde amendment, which denies low-income women the right to choose by prohibiting public funding for abortion.

## Webster decision

But two years ago today, on July 3, 1989, the U.S. Supreme Court turned these antichoice chisels into sledgehammers with its *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* decision. No longer is the decision to choose abortion left in the hands of women and their doctors. The Supreme Court gave politicians and state governments the right to interfere in women's lives and restrict access to abortion.

Since the *Webster* decision, 235 restrictive measures have been introduced in state legislatures all across the country. Most of them died in committee before reaching the floor for a vote. Others were voted down. Still others were passed, but vetoed by governors. But this alarming figure clearly shows what the intent of legislators throughout this country is: to restrict abortion as much as possible, or outlaw it altogether.

The National Organization for Women demands that abortion be safe, legal, and accessible to every woman in the United States—regardless of her age, skin color, or economic status. If one woman is denied the right to choose, the rights of all women are threatened. But what is the status of abortion rights in America? Where do women under age 18 have access to abortion? Where do low-income women have access to abortion?

Missouri is the state that gave us the *Webster* decision, which opened the door for states to restrict women's right to abortion. Under Missouri law, a doctor who suspects a woman is 20 weeks pregnant must perform tests for viability, and no

Joni Jacobs is the Socialist Action candidate for Mayor of San Francisco.

**'We must have the right to control our reproductive lives. If we cannot make these important personal decisions free from governmental interference we can never control our own lives.'**

decision to receive an abortion. Doctors must perform viability tests to determine the gestational age of the fetus before performing any abortion, and no abortion may be performed after 24 weeks except to save a woman's life.

Women cannot receive an abortion until 24 hours after a doctor informs them of specific mandatory topics, including showing pictures of fetal development, and no abortions may be performed for sex selection purposes, in addition to a host of other technical restrictions.

Pennsylvania also prohibits women minors access to abortion without the consent of one parent or without receiving a judicial bypass. No public funds may be used to provide abortions for low-income women except in cases of rape or incest or to preserve the life of the woman. No abortions may be performed in public facilities except in cases of rape, incest, to preserve the woman's life, or if no other facility is available for 20 miles. Under Pennsylvania law, women no longer have the right to choose.

## Fines and imprisonment

In the U.S. territory of Guam, restrictive abortion legislation was signed into law on March 19, 1990. This law, which is also enjoined and on its way to the Supreme Court, restricts women's right to abortion in the following ways: Any person providing or assisting in an abortion, except to preserve a woman's health or life, is guilty of a felony. Anyone soliciting a woman to have an abortion is guilty of a misdemeanor. Under Guam law, women no longer have the right to choose.

In Utah, restrictive abortion legislation was signed into law on Jan. 25, 1991. This

helping a woman to obtain an abortion, including organizations like NOW which try to inform women of their legal rights. These provisions were removed, but under Utah law, women no longer have the right to choose.

And, of course, in Louisiana, the legislature overrode Gov. Buddy Roemer's veto on June 18, 1991, to enact the cruelest antichoice law to date. This law prohibits abortions except to preserve the life of the woman, or in certain extremely limited cases of rape or incest. Victims of rape or incest must report the crime within seven days, and seek medical attention within five days from a doctor other than the one performing the abortion (to ensure that the woman was not pregnant before the sexual assault).

No abortions may be performed after 13 weeks. There are no exceptions for the health of the woman or in cases of profoundly deformed fetuses. Doctors found guilty of performing abortions face a sentence of 10 years in prison and \$10,000 in fines.

This law was designed as a direct challenge to the constitutional right of women to seek safe, legal, accessible abortions. Under this law, a 15-week pregnant woman who discovers that her pregnancy threatens her life must seek an abortion outside the state. Under this law, a woman pregnant with severely deformed fetuses cannot obtain an abortion; rather, she must give birth and watch her baby die. Under Louisiana law, women no longer have the right to choose.

## Parental consent laws

Last June, the Supreme Court upheld parental consent and notification laws in its

# N.O.W. calls mobilization for Spring '92

continued from page 1

be severely limited.

The resolution, however, calls for the march "to make the 1992 elections ... become a national referendum on whether or not this nation will go backwards into a shameful era of racial and sexual oppression or forward into the 21st century."

Such language makes it clear that the leadership of NOW intends to use the march as a tactic to corral activists into the 1992 presidential election process—and not to build a mass, independent movement. The lack of clear demands focusing on abortion rights cuts across the potential to mobilize a million people in defense of abortion rights.

NOW member Joni Jacobs, the Socialist Action candidate for mayor of San Francisco, tried unsuccessfully to get the floor in order to amend the resolution to demand full reproductive freedom for all women. Her proposed amendment pointed out that "limitations on young or poor women's access to abortion are a direct attack on all women. We will not accept any compromises on this basic human right." Her amendment also would have deleted references tying the march into the 1992 elections.

While this attempt to amend the resolution failed, the NOW leadership may find that the process of building such a huge mobilization will have its own dynamic. Their intent may be to herd the movement into the Democratic Party, but the lessons learned by women and men organizing in their own interests could spark a fire for political independence that can't be easily contained.

Many delegates sported buttons declaring, "I'm ready for the party" to show their



Patricia Ireland Marty Lederhandler-AP

**'This conference marked a further entrenchment of the NOW leadership.'**

anger with how the Democrats and Republicans have trampled on women's rights and their support for a new political party. Of the 200 NOW members who crowded into a Saturday morning workshop on "a new party," only a handful opposed NOW initiating such a party.

### A "new party" discussed

Those speaking on the need to stop supporting Democratic and Republican party candidates were roundly applauded. Even most of those who favored NOW's supporting "feminist" Democrats and Republicans failed to raise their hands when asked if they were personally willing

to volunteer to work on such campaigns.

There is no clear agreement, however, that the kind of "new party" needed to change politics in this country is a labor party representing the interests of working people, women, African Americans, and other minorities.

Despite the growing anger of NOW members with the two ruling parties, this conference marked a further retreat into the Democratic Party on the part of the NOW leadership. Although the leadership's resolution on political action details many of the bipartisan attacks on women's rights, it fails to call for ending support to candidates of these twin capitalist parties. And an hour of the Saturday afternoon plenary session was spent raising Political Action Committee (PAC) funds for Democrats.

This conference also marked a further entrenchment of the NOW leadership. Terms of office were extended from three to four years. An all-out arm-twisting effort by the leadership succeeded in defeating a proposed by-law change that would have allowed candidates for national NOW office to run independent of slates.

Parliamentary maneuvers assured that only those resolutions which the leadership wanted debated reached the floor. Floor microphones were carefully manipulated to limit discussion on those issues that particularly concerned the leadership.

### Protest against the FBI

Despite these limitations, the mood of the rank-and-file members was expressed at times. When delegates learned that the FBI had been invited to set up a recruitment table in the exhibition area and had a full-page ad in the conference program book, enraged NOW members started a petition campaign to bring a resolution to the floor demanding an explanation. An impromptu demonstration was organized against the

FBI presence.

Later, Patricia Ireland took the floor to apologize for the political error of having invited an outfit which has spied on and disrupted the work of many civil rights and socialist organizations. She gave as an example the FBI's 40-year campaign of harassment of the Socialist Workers Party.

The workshops provided an opportunity for feminists from around the country to engage in a rich discussion on such diverse topics as Operation Rescue, youth activists in the 1990s, reproductive health issues, affirmative action quotas, and maquiladoras (the low-wage Mexican factories used by American companies to increase their profits).

Issue hearings which produced resolutions for consideration at the Sunday plenary session included economic rights, lesbian rights, global feminism, racial and ethnic diversity, violence against women, reproductive rights, feminization of power, feminization of poverty, and women's health.

Participation by young feminists was evident. The first national Young Feminist Conference in February passed resolutions on a full range of topics. These resolutions were brought before the national NOW conference for a vote. In general, these resolutions were more action-oriented than their counterparts from the national NOW conference. A Conference Implementation Committee was officially established, making the Young Feminists an ongoing part of NOW.

A global feminist conference, projected to attract some 2000 feminists from around the world, is planned for January 1992 in Washington, D.C. The next national NOW conference is scheduled for June 26-28, 1992, in Chicago, with a special emphasis on issues affecting women from racial minorities. ■

## 'Gag' rule decision draws 7000 in NY protest

By JONI JACOBS



July 6 demonstration at Columbus Circle.

Donna Blinder/Impact Visuals

"The age of defiance has begun. We won't stop now and we won't go back!" declared Eleanor Smeal, NOW leader and keynote speaker at a July 6 demonstration in New York City against the "gag rule."

The demonstration, sponsored by NOW in coalition with WHAM (Women's Health Action Mobilization), ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power), and other New York City pro-choice organizations, was organized as a companion activity to the national conference of NOW.

More than 7000 people marched several blocks through midtown Manhattan, gathering at Columbus Circle for a spirited, one-hour rally. Marchers wore surgical masks with "censored" emblazoned across their mouths. These masks dramatized the plight of federally-funded health care workers who were recently denied the right to inform women of their legal right to abortion.

Speakers at the rally included Irving Rust, the Bronx Planned Parenthood doctor who brought the *Rust v. Sullivan* case which challenged the constitutionality of federal regulations against abortion counseling.

These regulations require that any family planning clinic which receives Title X funding cannot refer women who ask about abortion to a clinic that provides them, even in cases where a woman's health or life may be threatened by her pregnancy. On May 23, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld these regulations as constitutional.

In her speech, Smeal laid out NOW's upcoming agenda to defend abortion rights to a receptive audience which frequently interrupted her with applause.

Smeal declared NOW's first task was to be passing laws overturning the effects of the gag rule. She reported on the huge Congressional vote which looked promising enough to overturn a promised presidential veto of the legislation.

## ... Restrictions

(continued from preceding page)

country. Its *Rust v. Sullivan* decision prohibits federally-funded family planning clinics from informing women that they have the legal right to abortion. If a woman asks about an abortion, the clinic staff must tell her: "This facility does not consider abortion an appropriate method of family planning and therefore does not counsel or refer for abortion."

The court has effectively destroyed the privacy of the doctor-patient relationship and denied the constitutionally-protected free speech rights of every federally-funded health provider in the country.

### We cannot trust the politicians

We cannot let this attack on liberty continue. Women must have the right to control our reproductive lives. If we cannot make these important, personal decisions free from governmental interference, we can never control our own lives.

Each year over 250,000 women die worldwide from botched, illegal abortions. We remember how many American women died before *Roe v. Wade*. We will not go back to those days. We will not go back into the back alleys and the closets.

No longer can we rely on politicians or the courts to protect our rights. They are hopelessly out of step with majority opinion. While 80 percent of Americans remain pro-choice, state after state restricts our rights, and the courts uphold these laws. We must ask ourselves, whose interests do these institutions represent? Certainly they're not the interests of women.

We must join together, all of us—teen-aged women, women of color, working women, lesbian women—to stand up to the misogynists in the Supreme Court, the state legislatures, and the police departments.

We must come together and build a movement to demand that every woman be allowed unrestricted access to safe, legal abortion. We must demand an extension of reproductive rights to include access to prenatal and postnatal programs, treatment and counseling for drug-dependent mothers, and childcare. When women have abortions because they cannot afford to raise children, their choices are just as limited as when abortion is outlawed.

Only when women and prochoice men unite in a powerful, independent movement will we achieve our demands. Only then will safe, legal, accessible abortion be a reality for every woman in every state of this country. Only then will women be unbound, ungagged, and truly free. ■

## 'Operation Rescue' escalates attacks



Clinic defenders in Minneapolis, Minn., stand ready for Operation Rescue.

By CAROLE SELIGMAN

On Saturday, June 29, Operation Rescue escalated their terrorist tactics against women's rights in San Francisco. They blockaded Dr. Madelyn Kahn's office, locking the doctor and her staff inside, and her patients out. Over 50 pro-choice clinic defenders went there to try and reopen the office so the doctor could attend to her patients. The doctor has a private obstetrics and gynecology practice and two of her patients were in labor at a nearby hospital.

Dr. Kahn wrote to both daily S.F. newspapers saying, "I will never forget the fear that I experienced that Saturday morning when my person, my property and my practice were threatened. The inaction by the police and their refusal to

remove the demonstrators...who were blocking the entrance was inexcusable."

The S.F. Police Department refused to arrest the offenders or make them leave. Finally, after the pro-choice defenders made it clear that they would start removing the blockaders themselves, the police warned Operation Rescue to leave or be arrested.

At that point, the blockaders filed out to the street and walked away from their crime—*scot-free!*

The doctor, women's rights activists in NOW, and other Bay Area medical and women's rights organizations are protesting the blatant refusal of the SFPD to uphold the law which prohibits the blockading of medical facilities that dis-pense reproductive services in California.

# Did Belgrade regime provoke secession of Croatia, Slovenia?

By GERRY FOLEY

The attempts to use military force against the self-determination struggles of the Slovene and Croatian peoples have led to stinging defeats for the main conservative forces in Yugoslavia—the procapitalist federal government and the neo-Stalinist regime of the Serbian demagogue Slobodan Milosevic.

The military crackdown in Slovenia blew up in the faces of those who ordered it. The federal army suffered the bulk of the casualties. Slovenian territorial forces captured about 2000 federal soldiers, who were stripped of their uniforms and sent home. A thousand federal soldiers, including Serbs, deserted to the Slovenians, according to the July 8 issue of German magazine *Der Spiegel*.

On the political front, the results were still more damaging. Some 3000 parents of Serbian soldiers in Slovenia demonstrated in Belgrade demanding the return of their sons. The Slovene president, Milan Kucan, was adroit enough to invite them to Ljubljana. About 800 of them staged an impressive antiwar demonstration at the scene of conflict in Slovenia.

On July 3, a TASS dispatch reported that thousands of students had demonstrated in Belgrade demanding withdrawal of the army from Slovenia, the resignation of the Serbian and federal governments, and the formation of a government of national salvation. It was interesting that *Pravda* reported this prominently, since it backed Milosevic and the federal government.



Anti-government Serbian protestors: "Bring our sons home!" *Der Spiegel*

Earlier, in March, students demonstrated in Belgrade against Milosevic, introducing a new element into the political life of the republic.

#### Past demonstrations set the scene

At that time, their demonstrations coincided with actions by the main opposition party, led by Vuk Draskovic, who is at least as chauvinist as Milosevic.

Nonetheless, the March mobilizations marked the beginning of a crisis for the neo-Stalinist regime, which called for special powers to "restore order."

On April 18, over 750,000 workers in Serbia declared a general strike, among other reasons because many had not been paid for up to three months. Their demands were quickly met by the apparently frightened regime. But the incident revealed an explosive social climate in Serbia, which, like the rest of Yugoslavia, has been experiencing a galloping economic crisis.

In this context, it is hardly likely that Milosevic can continue to meet the demands of the workers. In Poland, for example, before the explosion in 1980, the government kept shifting scarce resources

around to satisfy restive groups of workers. This sort of juggling cannot go on for long. However, the Serbian workers, who have a first taste of social mobilization and of victory, will continue to press their demands.

The student, worker and antiwar protests seem to offer hope finally for the emergence of a democratic opposition to Milosevic. The Serbian demagogue has managed in the past to mobilize masses of Serbs on chauvinist themes (although he called these actions "the antibureaucratic revolution").

On the basis of his chauvinist appeals, Milosevic succeeded in getting 60 percent of the vote in the first multiparty elections. And his principal opponents up until now have tried to outbid him in Serbian chauvinism.

Thus, the rise of social movements combating the regime represents a very big change. For years, the neo-Stalinist Serbian government has been poisoning the political situation in the country. Now, it is beginning to look shaky.

Threatened for the first time in his own bailiwick, Milosevic clearly started looking to the army under its predominantly Serbian officer corps. In the meantime, however, he conceded most of the immediate demands of the March demonstrations.

But on March 14, during a meeting of the Federal Council, the federal president at the time, Borislav Jovic, a Serbian stooge of Milosevic, proposed declaring a state of emergency throughout the Yugoslav state. When this was rejected, he resigned.

Jovic went on TV March 15 to declare that the country was "in a critical state of breakup, provoked by the actions of separatist forces." The only positive references

## Civil War

## The impact of Stalinism's legacy

By GERRY FOLEY

The Soviet newspaper *Pravda* was quick to draw a moral from the armed clashes in Yugoslavia, which formally is a multinational confederation like the Soviet Union. The Soviet Communist Party (CP) organ argued that far more autonomy had been granted to the Yugoslav republics than to those of the USSR, but it was now clear that such concessions had not brought a solution to national conflicts. Instead, they had encouraged the "virus of separatism."

Commentators in the Western press followed a parallel line, moralizing about "irrational national hatreds" and so on.

Both Washington and the European imperialists made it clear that they were opposed to the breakup of Yugoslavia. They hedged their positions on this only after the onset of armed clashes made them want to avoid appearing to support attempts to maintain the union by force.

In fact, in its July 1 issue, *Pravda* noted an accusation by the chair of the Slovenian parliament, France Bucar, (made in an interview with *Der Spiegel*) that the U.S. secretary of state "secretly approved the use of armed force in Slovenia."

The Slovenian leader was quoted as saying "[Ante] Markovic [the Yugoslav federal premier] and the army could not have done anything without the approval of Baker."

Washington's interest in maintaining a united Yugoslavia had, in fact, long been notorious in the country.

Many months ago, the liberal (and federalist) Croatian weekly magazine *Danas*, for example, raised the spectre of a "New Yalta," that is, Washington consigning the restive Yugoslav republics to Serbian domination as it supposedly handed over Eastern Europe to Moscow.

The U.S. government cannot afford to be seen as backing the neo-Stalinist Serbian chauvinist leader Slobodan Milosevic.

Its favorite in Yugoslavia is clearly the liberal federal premier Markovic, who is responsible for implementing capitalist restorationist economic reforms under the aegis of the IMF and other international capitalist institutions.

However, Markovic wields no real politi-

cal or material power. The only ones who have the strength to attempt to dominate Yugoslavia are Milosevic and the Serbian army officers.

#### History of repression

In the series of crises leading up to the Slovenian and Croatian secessions, Milosevic deliberately tried to create a situation in which the army could take control of the country.

As far back as 1988, a military coup was planned to stop democratization in Slove-

nia. The plot was exposed by the journal of the liberal Slovenian Communist Party youth organization, *Mladina*.



Captured federal soldiers in Slovenia: "Stripped of their uniforms and sent home." *Der Spiegel*

The federal authorities responded by trying to victimize the staff of the youth magazine, provoking a major campaign by anti-totalitarians in defense of the right of free speech throughout the Yugoslav state.

Appropriately enough, the present Slovenian minister of defense, Janez Jaksca, was the *Mladina*'s military expert at the time of the prosecutions.

Once again, he seems to have outsmarted the federal army chiefs, who suffered

#### The Croatian Spring

The premier of Croatia, Franko Tudjman, is also a former victim of "antinationalist" repression, as is Stjepan Mesic, the Croatian representative on the Federal Presidium, and now federal president. Both were jailed in the aftermath of the crushing of the Croatian Spring of 1971.

The Croatian Spring, like the Slovenian

democratic movement in the 1980s, combined demands for greater economic and political rights for the republic with political liberalization.

At that time in Croatia, notably, Trotsky's works were published for the first time in Yugoslavia. The purge that ended it, moreover, led to a general crackdown on democratic rights throughout Yugoslavia.

In 1971, the Titoist regime used "leftist" arguments to justify the repression, charging that the Croat CP majority represented "bureaucratic nationalism," as well as vestiges of bourgeois nationalism. The

Croats were accused of wanting to shirk their responsibilities to the poorer republics and of cozying up to the imperialists. The same arguments have been used against the Slovenes in the past period.

In the wake of the Croatian crisis, the Titoist regime made important new concessions in the 1974-1976 constitution on the national question. It recognized the Muslims for the first time as a nationality (they speak Serbo-Croat but have a Near Eastern culture).

#### Titoism's false feathers

Autonomous provinces were established in Serbia to accommodate a large Hungari-

an minority in Voivodina and an Albanian majority in Kosovo.

The operation was in fact very similar to Gorbachev's "New Treaty of Union" scheme—that is, an attempt to head off growing demands for national rights by doling out concessions from above. It blew up in the face of the regime for the same reason that Gorbachev's proposals have already blown up in his face in several republics and will do so in others, as the process proceeds.

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# Provoke Yugoslavia?



home!" Der Spiegel

8, over 750,000 workers in  
ed a general strike, among  
because many had not been  
three months. Their demands  
met by the apparently fright-  
But the incident revealed an  
ial climate in Serbia, which,  
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around to satisfy restive groups of workers. This sort of juggling cannot go on for long. However, the Serbian workers, who have a first taste of social mobilization and of victory, will continue to press their demands.

The student, worker and antiwar protests seem to offer hope finally for the emergence of a democratic opposition to Milosevic. The Serbian demagogue has managed in the past to mobilize masses of Serbians on chauvinist themes (although he called these actions "the antibureaucratic revolution").

On the basis of his chauvinist appeals, Milosevic succeeded in getting 60 percent of the vote in the first multiparty elections. And his principal opponents up until now have tried to outbid him in Serbian chauvinism.

Thus, the rise of social movements combating the regime represents a very big change. For years, the neo-Stalinist Serbian government has been poisoning the political situation in the country. Now, it is beginning to look shaky.

Threatened for the first time in his own bailiwick, Milosevic clearly started looking to the army under its predominantly Serbian officer corps. In the meantime, however, he conceded most of the immediate demands of the March demonstrations.

But on March 14, during a meeting of the Federal Council, the federal president at the time, Borislav Jovic, a Serbian stooge of Milosevic, proposed declaring a state of emergency throughout the Yugoslav state. When this was rejected, he resigned.

Jovic went on TV March 15 to declare that the country was "in a critical state of breakup, provoked by the actions of separatist forces." The only positive references

in Jovic's speech were to the federal army. Immediately after the session of the Federal Council at which Jovic resigned, the army high command announced that it was ready to take the "essential measures."

The resignation of Jovic created a constitutional vacuum, since the law makes no provision for such an eventuality. The presidency of the Federal Council rotates among representatives of the six republics. The next in line was Stjepan Mesic, representative of Croatia. But Milosevic was not having him.

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On March 16, the representatives of Montenegro and the autonomous province of Vojvodina, two other stooges of Milosevic, also resigned from the Federal Council, depriving it of a quorum. Milosevic pronounced the Federal Council dead: "No patriot can consider a collective leadership that acts against the unity of the country to be legal."

However, Milosevic's moves met with opposition in Serbia itself, and both he and the army retreated from the brink, allowing the Federal Council to function again. A period of direct negotiations among the leaders of the republics followed. But at the same time, Serbian secessionist takeovers began multiplying in the Serbian-dominated communities of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and led to armed clashes.

The summit negotiations were poisoned by the Serbian secessionist operations. More fundamentally, they were stalled by Milosevic's intransigence. The Serbians denounced the Slovenian and Croatian proposals for a confederative union as a definitive breakup of the country. The latter, on the other hand, made it clear that if

they could not gain sovereign rights within Yugoslavia, they would secede.

Given the long history of Slovenian and Croatian grievances against Serbian domination (going back to the interwar state and the period before the Serbian centralist Rankovic was toppled in the mid-1960s), Milosevic's chauvinist campaigns and bullying made it absolutely certain that the restive republics would secede rather than knuckle under.

By May, it became clear that chauvinist

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But the Serbian leadership rejected the rules of the federalist system and blocked his accession. It seized on a formal provi-

sion requiring that the elected, although the automatic rotation. The vassals (including a ha- tive of Kosovo) kept a majority.

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They were put in a had no choice but eit- Serbian neo-Stalinist c- from the federation. It- domination and antide- that is the issue.

Referendums in Slov- produce overwhelming p- pendence. But in its- London Economist p- polls showing that the- republics was almo- between an immediate- negotiations, with a m- ing out of the federat- confirmation that the r- Croatsians and Sloveni- ing the union on a basi-

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# Civil War in Yugoslavia

## Legacy

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Using leftist-seeming arguments, the Titoist regime separated "workers self-management" from political democracy. Its spokespersons argued that the existence of national conflicts, in effect, made political democracy impossible. They claimed that since any opposition parties would be nationality-based, it was necessary to wait for the national conflicts to be overcome before a multiparty system could be allowed.

The population groups were supposed to dissolve into a network of workers' cooperatives. They were to be coordinated by "a social market," in which market forces would be directed by the government through various fiscal mechanisms. National identity was to be eliminated by "freeing the individual."

Following this line, paradoxically, the Communists became more pro-free enterprise and individualist than the national movements that they accused of being pro-capitalist.

Thus, when the new Tudjman government renationalized an electricity trust in Croatia, Danas, still in the hands of the beneficiaries of the crushing of the Croatian Spring, complained bitterly. This was an attempt, these publicists wrote, to reassert "political control" over the economy, and therefore ran totally counter to the "objective laws" of the "social market."

### An earlier perestroika

The fundamental fact is, however, that while the social market was supposed to liberate the workers "freely associated" in their collectives, it functioned in effect to atomize the working class and thereby to preserve the rule of the bureaucracy. It was also designed to absolve the bureaucrats of responsibility for the functioning of the economy.

In this sense, Yugoslav "self-management" was quite similar to Gorbachev's perestroika. It had the same logic of carrying through the "privatization"—begun by the bureaucracy's expropriation of political power from the workers—to actual capitalist restoration.

This process began earlier and is further advanced in Yugoslavia than in other East

European countries or the USSR. But the results have been the same—economic chaos and a catastrophic decline in the workers' standards of living.

The process of capitalist restoration in Yugoslavia has been conducted primarily by the Titoist federal bureaucracy. There is no reason to see the national governments in Slovenia and Croatia as necessarily any more procapitalist than the federal authorities.

Moreover, the governments of the restive republics are not necessarily separatist. Their objective is a confederated system, that is, a union of sovereign republics.

The Croatian and Slovenian national governments have been driven to declarations of independence by the attacks of the Serbian rulers on the rights of the other peoples of the Yugoslav state. The basic issue, therefore, is not a conflict of economic interests or policy but the question of political democracy.

The problem is not a general one of resurgence of "national hatreds." The rise of national demands has had a fundamentally different evolution and direction in Slovenia, Croatia, and Kosovo on the one hand, and in Serbia on the other.

The rise of nationalism among the smaller peoples has gone hand in hand with attacks on totalitarian domination. The rise of nationalism in Serbia has had a neo-Stalinist and anti-democratic character. The objective of the Milosevic and other Serbian nationalists is not more freedom for Serbians but the recentralization of the Yugoslav state around Serbia.

### The Albanian resistance

As in the Soviet Union, in Yugoslavia the movements of the oppressed nationalities were the first to break the ice of the totalitarian state.

Branko Horvat, a leading Yugoslav economist and a federalist liberal, pointed this out in a courageous book on the Albanian question in Yugoslavia. He noted that the first independent political activity in the Titoist state was the defense by Yugoslav intellectuals after 1966 of victimized members of groups seeking unity with Albania.

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Marshall Tito in 1974

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Der Spiegel

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sion requiring that the federal president be elected, although the practice has been automatic rotation. The Serbians and their vassals (including a hand-picked representative of Kosovo) kept Mesic from getting a majority.

It was this final violation of all the elementary rules for equal relations among the republics that set the stage for the Croatian and Slovenian declarations of independence at the end of June.

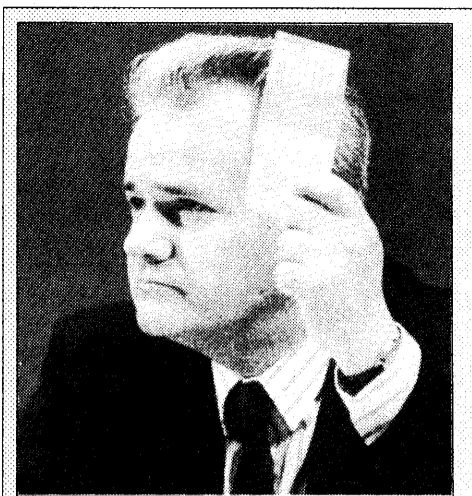
They were put in a position where they had no choice but either to capitulate to Serbian neo-Stalinist overlordship or break from the federation. It was this rejection of domination and antidemocratic intimidation that is the issue.

Referendums in Slovenia and Croatia did produce overwhelming majorities for independence. But in its June 29 issue, the London *Economist* pointed to opinion polls showing that the population in both republics was almost equally divided between an immediate break and continuing negotiations, with a majority against walking out of the federation. This is another confirmation that the real aspirations of the Croats and Slovenians are for maintaining the union on a basis of equality.

It is the antidemocratic forces, Milosevic, and the other Great Serbian chauvinists, the procapitalist technocratic leadership of the federal state apparatus, and the Serbian military officers who are breaking up Yugoslavia.

In launching an armed assault on the Slovenians they drew an "x" in blood across the Yugoslav federation. And no Great Serbia is likely to arise out of the chaos as a redoubt of bureaucratic power.

The Serbian national consensus has clearly been cracked and the cracks should deepen. The way seems to be opening for a chain reaction of working class and popular mobilizations against the consequences of Stalinism and its poisonous decay. ■



Slobodan Milosevic

Milosevic alienated even the Croat Stalinists. The chauvinist campaigns of the Serbian demagogue more and more alarmed the hardened "antinationalist" Communist Party (CP) leaders who presided over Croatia before the first multiparty elections.

The latter had been installed following a purge of the Croatian CP majority in 1971, who were accused of "bureaucratic nationalism."

The Stalinists tried hard to prove their devotion to Yugoslav unity but were more and more pushed into a corner by Milosevic's operations.

The Croatian CP leader Stjepan Suvar echoed the Serbian chauvinist accusations against the Kosovo Albanian movement, for example, in his book "Socialism and Nationalism" (1988). He called it "the counterrevolution." But the Croatian CP permitted criticism of Milosevic's abolition of Kosovo's autonomy and his military occupation of the area.

*Danas*, the major Croatian news weekly, published many telling facts about the repression in Kosovo.—G.F.

# War in Yugoslavia

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Marshall Tito in 1974: His brand of Stalinism has always ruled in Yugoslavia

the repression against them was on a rather large scale. Horvat estimates that it affected about 100,000 people in one way or another.

The next challenge to the totalitarian state was the Croatian Spring of 1971, followed by the Slovene democratic movement of the 1980s. Finally, the explosion of Albanian national feeling in Kosovo in the early 1980s became a decisive test for the Yugoslav state and all its components.

In order to repress this movement, the Serbian government turned to chauvinist demagoguery. Their theme was that the Albanians were driving the Serbians out of the historic heart of the Serbian nation, since Kosovo was the center of the Serbian state that existed before the Turkish conquest in the early 15th century.

The Albanian mobilizations were denounced as a "counter-revolution," not only by the Serbian rulers but by the heirs of the crushing of the Croatian Spring, such as Stjepan Suvar, the ruler of Croatia

until the recent multiparty elections.

In contrast, principled democrats, like Branko Horvat, came to the defense of the Kosovo Albanians.

Even the bureaucratic leaders in Croatia and Slovenia became increasingly alarmed by Milosevic's attempts to crush the Albanians.

The Kosovo Albanian resistance itself led to independent mass mobilizations, militant strikes and the rise of an independent fighting workers' movement.

The Slovenian and Croatian defiance of the federal government and the neo-Stalinist Serbian regime has widened the possibilities for the masses to organize in defense of their interests, in Serbia as well as in the rest of the Yugoslav state.

The result of this conflict, therefore, need not be "balkanization." Rather, it can open the way toward a reunification of the peoples of the Balkans on a basis of workers' democracy if conscious political forces develop that can represent the real interests of all working people in Yugoslavia. ■

By MAY MAY GONG

# Free Geronimo Pratt!

Imagine yourself accused of a robbery and murder which occurred hundreds of miles away from where you actually were at the time. Imagine you had concrete evidence of your whereabouts, but this evidence suddenly and mysteriously disappears. And imagine that after being wrongly convicted of these crimes, you spend the next 20 years of your life in jail—eight of those years in solitary confinement with no bed, toilet facilities, or books.

Where in the world could such a nightmare take place? South Africa, some would say. Or perhaps the Soviet Union?

No, these incidents took place right here in the United States, bastion of "freedom and democracy." And the prisoner we are talking about is Geronimo Pratt, a former Black Panther Party leader.

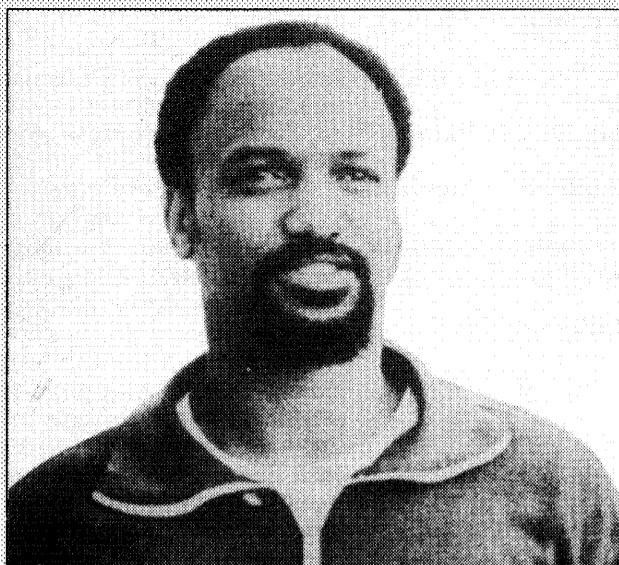
The persecution of Pratt was and continues to be part of

**'Geronimo Pratt is one of the longest held political prisoners in the United States today. He is another working-class hero left to rot in jail for a crime he did not commit.'**

the official but unspoken U.S. government strategy to discredit and destroy the Black liberation movement. In 1968, the Counter Intelligence Program, or COINTELPRO, defined its goal as: "to prevent the coalition of militant Black nationalist groups, to prevent the rise of a leader ... to prevent these militants from gaining respectability and to prevent the growth of these groups among American youth."

**"Key Black extremist"**

Pratt was a leader of the Los Angeles Black Panthers. Because of Pratt's leadership role in the Black Panther Party, he had been designated a "key Black extremist" by



Geronimo Pratt

the FBI and listed as a "threat" to the government. Not long before his indictment, the Los Angeles police department (under the directives of COINTELPRO) attempted to murder Pratt in his sleep (on Dec. 8, 1969), just as the Chicago police had murdered Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in the Chicago Black Panther office four days earlier.

Their assassination attempt failed, however, and so the FBI went on to frame Pratt for the unsolved murder of Caroline Olsen, which had taken place in Santa Monica, Calif., in 1968. The star "witness" for the Los Angeles police was a paid FBI informant, Julius Butler.

Other Panther members who could have testified that Pratt was with them in Oakland, Calif., at the time of the murder did not do so because of what they now recognize as internal factionalism (between the Huey Newton and

Eldridge Cleaver wings of the Black Panther Party), which had been inflamed by COINTELPRO. A petition for a new trial, filed in June by Pratt's attorneys, includes new evidence proving Pratt's innocence as well as evidence that had been suppressed by the government.

**Evidence of a frameup surfaces**

Some key pieces of evidence include the fact that Kenneth Olsen, the surviving victim of the 1968 murder, had made a positive identification of another man a year before he ever saw Pratt. But the results of that previous lineup and Olsen's positive ID had mysteriously "disappeared" from the case file.

In addition, two private investigators (who were pursuing a separate case) examined FBI logs of telephone wiretaps of the Oakland Panther headquarters. They have stated that those records show a call received by Pratt in Oakland at 5:30 p.m. on Dec. 18, 1968. The murder was committed at 8 p.m. that same day, 400 miles to the south in Santa Monica.

And now, six former Panthers—including David Hilliard and Bobby Seale—have come forward to testify that Pratt was indeed with them in Oakland at Panther headquarters on Dec. 18 and 19, 1968.

Geronimo Pratt is one of the longest held political prisoners in the United States today. He is another working-class hero left to rot in jail for a crime he did not commit, while the true criminals of this society—the Democrats, the Republicans, the big business swindlers who lie, cheat, and steal from working people all over the world—go not only unpunished but very handsomely rewarded.

Labor support for Pratt has been growing steadily over the last few years—especially in the San Francisco Bay Area, where the International Longshore and Warehouseman's Union has helped build support. Resolutions calling for Pratt's release have been passed by the Alameda and San Mateo County Central Labor Councils.

For the last 20 years, Geronimo Pratt has been paying the price for being Black in a white, capitalist society. His release has been long overdue. We must all demand "Freedom for Geronimo Pratt!"

# Calif. river goes belly up after train derailment spills poisons

By HAYDEN PERRY

Bureaucratic ineptitude in Washington, penny-pinching policies in corporate headquarters in California, and reckless operation of a railroad (the Southern Pacific) have combined to create one of the most costly derailments ever.

The derailment occurred July 14 in the Siskiyou mountains in northern California. Here the steep hills and deep canyons bring delight to nature lovers, but dread to railroad engineers.

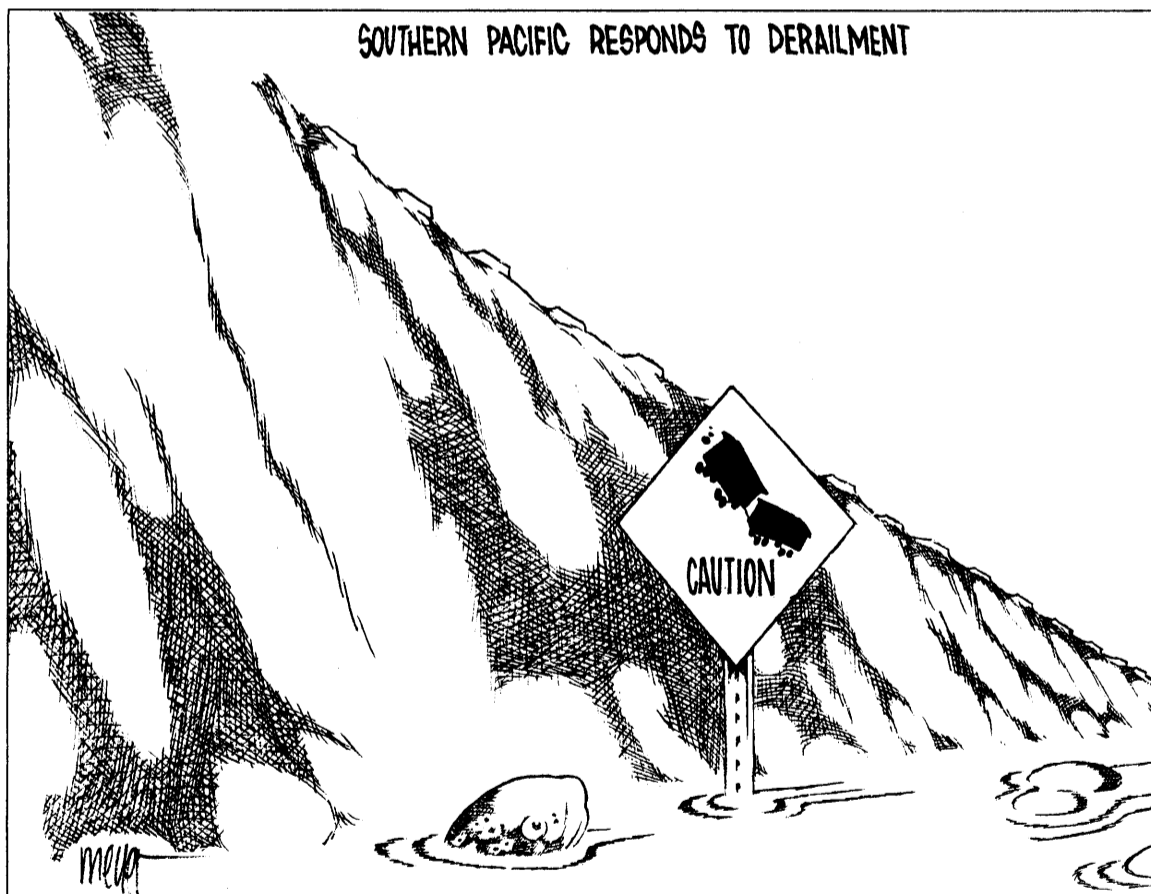
To run trains through the mountains, railroad tracks had to curve sharply, climb steeply, and then descend as suddenly. An article in the July 18 edition of the *San Francisco Chronicle* describes the ordeal of an engineer driving a mile-long freight train through these mountains.

Speculating on the cause of the derailment, the author writes: "The task of using the strength of locomotives to move the deadweight of scores of railcars creates a host of dangerous conditions that can derail a train. Going uphill, the engineer watches the ammeters that tell how much power is being used by the motors." The locomotive may be pulling too hard. That could yank cars off the tracks.

"Even when the engineer does everything right," the article says, "a brake could stick on a car a half mile from the locomotive. This could pull against the train and break it in two ... or yank some of the cars off the rails."

In the past, a brakeman in a caboose at the rear of the train could see problems like this. But there was no caboose on this train. Putting profit ahead of safety, the railroad executives have eliminated this traditional feature of American freight trains.

The derailment might not have happened likewise if there had been a helper locomotive near the end of the train. But a Southern Pacific engineer pointed out to reporters that the railroad has eliminated the pusher engines on all but the heaviest



trains in order to save money on wages and fuel.

In addition, he said, the rail owners made the situation worse by adding more grease to the rails in the vicinity of the derailment in order to decrease wear and tear on the track. "Ever since they cranked up the lubricators," he said, "you can feel the wheels slip on the way up and slide a bit on the way down." (*Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 1991.)

People who live along this treacherous stretch of track call this series of curves and grades "an accident waiting to happen." Indeed, they have witnessed 41 rail accidents in the area in the last 15 years.

They suggest that Southern Pacific reroute its main line to by-pass this dangerous segment. At least, they ask, don't send hazardous freight over these unsafe tracks. But both suggestions have been ignored by

Southern Pacific and government regulators.

The July 14 derailment has devastated 45 miles of one of the best trout fishing rivers in the country, threatened the water supply of millions, and affected the eyes and lungs of scores of local residents.

The tracks at this point run along the edge of the Sacramento River. Seven cars toppled over and fell into the water. A chemical load poured out through the ruptured tank of one of the cars, turning the water gray and emitting a foul odor.

Soon scores of fish came floating to the surface, belly up. Obviously this was an extremely toxic substance, but what was it? How could it be neutralized? The rescue crew could not tell. There was no label on the tank car identifying its deadly contents.

For three and one half "nail-biting" hours the crew debated. "Do we throw foam? Do

we throw dirt on it? Do we evacuate the area?" Frantic calls were made to Southern Pacific headquarters, the poison control center, and the shipper (AMVAC Chemical Co. of Los Angeles). Meanwhile, the toxic pollutant was flowing unchecked, killing all life in its path.

Finally the toxic cargo was identified. It was a pesticide used to fumigate the soil before planting. Its most active ingredient, metamsodium, was related to the chemical that killed so many in Bhopal, India, in 1984.

Why was this vital information not plainly marked on the car? Other deadly chemicals have to be so labelled.

The U.S. Department of Transportation, which compiles the Hazard Commodities Materials Code, does not consider metamsodium a hazardous material, so no warning label is required. "It is something we have to explain to a lot of people," spokeswoman Claire Austin admitted.

State authorities in California, where the toxin is manufactured and shipped, are equally irresponsible in failing to protect the public.

The Birth Defects Prevention Act requires tests to determine the toxicity of new chemicals. Tests on metamsodium were supposed to be completed by March 1987. If not, the product must be taken off the California market.

The tests have not been completed, but the pesticide is rolling about the countryside in unmarked thin-skinned containers that are given no more care than a load of bricks.

The damage already inflicted runs into millions of dollars. Southern Pacific says they are not responsible and will not pay. Dan Weigandt, in a column in the *San Francisco Examiner*, asks, "Hasn't the company learned anything from the Valdez spill? From Exxon's stonewalling? From Exxon's pathetic public relations department? It doesn't look like it."

The damage from the derailment will be felt for years, but a certain fallout may be beneficial. The wide coverage of the accident has drawn public attention to the criminal negligence of government and corporate authorities. The public will ultimately demand that railroad officials stop playing Russian roulette with the deadly cargoes they are carrying.

# Soviet bureaucrats announce new political project to spur restoration of capitalism

By GERRY FOLEY

After the Russian presidential elections, a new operation has been launched to broaden the political support for the "restructuring" of bureaucratic domination in the Soviet Union.

It follows in line with the April 23 agreement between Gorbachev and Yeltsin and the leaders of the nine republics whose governments are still controlled by the Communist Party. It confirms the alliance between the two Soviet leaders sealed after Yeltsin won the Russian presidency.

The Movement for Democratic Reforms, proclaimed on July 1, associates the oppositionist mayors of Moscow and Leningrad—Gavril Popov and Anatoly Sobchak—decried as "anti-Communists" in the official Soviet press—along with lieutenants of Yeltsin, and top advisors of Gorbachev.

The movement's declaration was also signed by, among others, A. Yakovlev, a senior advisor of Gorbachev; A. Rutskoi, vice president of the Russian republic; I. Silaev, premier of the Russian republic; A. Volkii, the former Moscow-appointed administrator of Nagorno-Karabakh; S. Shatalin and N. Petrakov, economic advisors of Gorbachev.

Eduard Shevardnadze, former Soviet foreign minister, prepared the ground for the announcement of the new movement during an international tour shortly before. He is one of its main spokespersons.

## Stabilize the political situation

The declared aim of the new movement is to "stabilize the political situation." Its statement said: "The country can only be saved by immediate consolidation of the most conscious, constructive, responsible part of the society, capable of holding it back from anarchy, leading the country through the complex transition from bureaucratic dictatorship to democracy."

It was to be a movement of compromise: "A destructive lust for battle and demonstration of force are alien to us. We are against whipping up any 'militant spirit' in society, when man rises up against man, class against class, nation against nation, when one political party declares a holy war against any other. We are for seeking compromises and agreement, for cooperation. The country will not survive a second civil war."

The statement declared explicitly its support for the April 23 agreement: "We support the Novo-Ogarevo [the name of the *dacha* where the agreement was signed] process ... as a means of saving our multinational commonwealth, of preserving it in the form of a state of a

new type." The Novo-Ogarevo accord also includes a call for a ban on strikes.

Summarizing the statement on the national question, Aleksander Ginzburg wrote in the July 5 issue of the Paris Russian-language paper *Russkaya Mysl'*: "It calls for national cooperation, the preservation of the historic core of the state as a union of free and sovereign peoples, and condemns all forms of national extremism, chauvinism and racism." This sounds very much like Gorbachev's formulations and his New Treaty of Union.

## Attitude toward national movements

In a July 5 rally in Leningrad for the new movement, Sobchak said: "The movement of democrats was created in the first place to break and oppose the very dangerous tendency that is producing its results in some republics, where the regimes developing are more and more reminiscent of fascism."

This attitude toward the national movements in the non-Russian republics is quite similar to that of the official Communist Party press. Not all these movements, of course, are free from undemocratic tendencies. But in general, they have been the icebreakers of the antitotalitarian movement in the USSR. They deserve, and have won, the support of consistent Russian democrats.

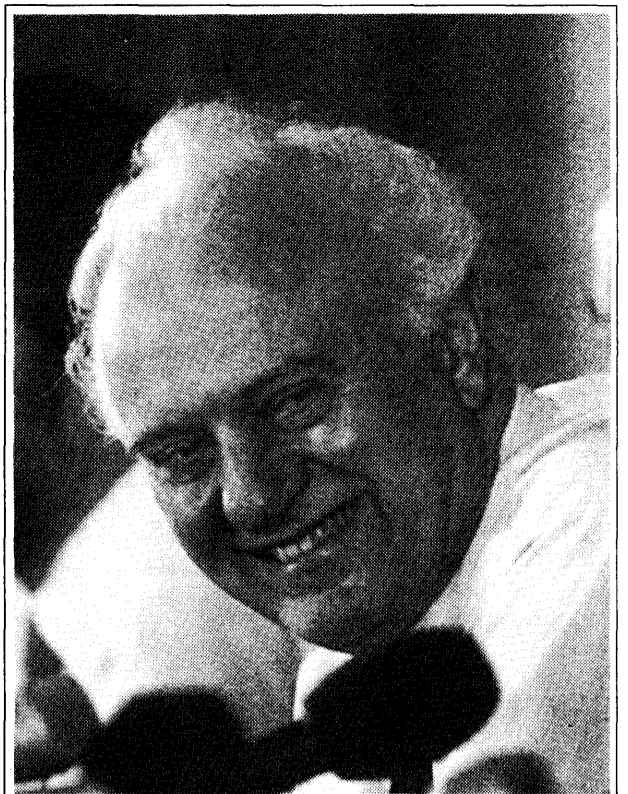
By defining the new organization as a broad movement rather than a party, the question of whether it is really oppositional to the Communist Party has been left unclear. This has aroused well justified suspicion among the oppositional forces.

For example, Nikolai Travkin, a leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, broke from the project, with the following denunciation: "There had been a preliminary agreement that the initiators of this process would quit the party. Now there is no word about that. Moreover, it is being said that one can be part of this movement and not leave the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Then, it is a reform CPSU and not any kind of democratic movement."

## New cover for the bureaucracy

Clearly, this movement is a new political instrument for the bureaucracy. The latter is divided over the project, as it is over perestroika, of which the new movement is a logical consequence. But the initiative seems likely to draw an even greater division among the opposition.

For the first time, opposition leaders who support capitalist restoration have openly aligned themselves with Gorbachev's program for restoring capitalism and



**'Eduard Shevardnadze, former Soviet foreign minister, prepared the ground for the announcement of the new movement during an international tour ... He is one of its main spokespersons.'**

for maintaining the rule of the bureaucracy through "constitutional" forms.

This operation may temporarily divide the antibureaucratic movement. But it will also help to clarify who is for real democracy, democracy for the working people, and who is for the continued rule of privilege in a new form. Certainly, the anti-Communist rhetoric of a Sobchak, for example—who supported renaming Leningrad "St. Petersburg"—has not kept him from joining in a project to "stabilize the political situation" in the USSR on the lines advocated by Gorbachev, the chief of the ruling bureaucracy. ■

By HAYDEN PERRY

Today 20 million people are on the move, leaving their homes to work in another country often thousands of miles away. Filipinos are working in Saudi Arabia, Turks are in auto plants in Germany, Vietnamese and North Koreans have taken jobs in Siberia.

Unlike earlier migrations, few of the 20 million have left their homelands for good. They are "guest" workers or contract laborers, expected to return home when their jobs fold.

This international reserve army of labor is ideal for today's capitalist countries. Businessmen are relieved of the costs of extended unemployment benefits and old-age pensions. Healthcare can be limited to short-term treatment. Governments do not have to worry about permanent settlers from Asia or Africa, although some guest workers stay a very long time.

Today, few cities on the globe are more than 12 hours air-travel time apart. Jobs at high wages are the lure that draws workers out of the Philippines, Bangladesh, Morocco, and some European countries. "High wages" is a relative term, however. A janitor in Kuwait earns \$112 a month, starvation wages to an American. But a worker in Bangladesh makes only \$113 a year!

## 'Aliens' with no rights

The Bangladesh worker in Kuwait could send at least half his salary to his family back home. These remittances from Bangladeshis overseas add up to \$700 million a year in hard currency.

Jordan earns 120 percent more from remittances than from exports. Other countries benefiting from their citizens working abroad are Egypt, with \$3.4 billion in remittances; India, with \$2.9 billion; and Pakistan with \$2 billion. Surprisingly, Yugoslavia earned the most hard currency, \$4.9 billion in 1988, by sending its work-

# Largest migration in history occurs as workers from poor nations seek jobs, decent wages



**'This international reserve army of labor is ideal for today's capitalist countries.'**

ers to toil in capitalist states.

Today's contract laborer remains an "alien" with no rights, working at the worst jobs, and often isolated in compounds like the hostels of South Africa. Turks and Algerians may live for years in Germany or France but they remain aliens subject to deportation.

The United States had its "guest" workers when the Bracero program to import temporary farm labor was in effect in the 1940s. Today, immigration laws are revised almost yearly to regulate the flow of foreign workers to the United States. This ambivalence leaves the undocumented worker helpless against super-exploitation and government repression.

Free Trade treaties with Mexico and moving U.S. plants there will not stem the

flow of the desperately poor to the United States. So long as a worker in Mexico makes only 50 cents an hour, he or she will cross the border to become part of the most vulnerable and super-exploited section of the American labor force.

Both Iraq and Kuwait treated their "guest" workers as less than guests during and after the Gulf War. Thousands of Jordanians and Indians were sent home without notice. Palestinians, who have no home, were simply pushed over the border, into the desert.

The Philippines lost \$400 million when its nationals were kicked out of Kuwait. Forty countries lost a total of \$40 billion as their expatriates lost their jobs.

In the meantime, the recession is wiping out the jobs of millions of other contract

laborers. They get no unemployment benefits or social welfare. They are simply shipped back home, where they can only survive as best they can while waiting for jobs to open up elsewhere.

Their prospects can only be low-paid work that keeps the contract laborer at the bottom of the economic ladder. This international reserve labor pool of over 20 million will grow larger as the gulf between the rich and poor nations widens. The gap is bound to grow as the poorest nations export their most valuable asset.

The funds these workers send home helps their families, and part of the hard currency may be invested, but this hardly compensates for the country's loss of human resources.

## Right to travel

Every worker should have the right to travel and work anywhere. But 90 percent of the migrants prefer to work in their own country. It is only the gap between rich and poor nations that drives them to slave as second-class "aliens" in a distant land.

There can be one favorable outcome of the new migration that the rich and powerful will not favor. Travel and work in foreign lands must broaden the outlook of workers who had been bound by ancient customs at home.

Some men and women will have taken part in mass production, experienced union life, and learn working-class politics. They will not be satisfied with the stagnant status quo at home.

From their ranks will come new leaders, who will challenge their own ruling class and free themselves from the dead-end prospect of being part of the international "reserve army" of low-paid labor. ■



Undeterred by murderous attacks by riot police, South Koreans have refused to end their fight for political democracy.

## South Korean students, workers demand repressive gov't resign

*The Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), the Fourth Internationalist Youth organization in France, has found the rebellion of young people in South Korea a particularly inspiring example of the potential of new generations for fighting Bush's "new world order." The following article in the June issue of its paper, L'Égalité, summarized the events in the struggle against the South Korean regime and the most recent developments.*

In the first part of June, confrontations were continuing in South Korea. In Seoul [the capital] and Pusan, workers and students faced up to the riot police, suffering hundreds of casualties. On June 3, the death of a high-school student was announced. He had burned himself alive a couple of weeks before.

[A week earlier], the Korean premier, Ro Jai-Bong, submitted his resignation on May 22 after a month of demonstrations against the government. This revival of the protest movement, representing a real political crisis, came after a student died on April 26 as the result of a police beating.

Even though the resignation of Ro Jai-Bong had only a limited importance (the post of premier is essentially ceremonial in South Korea), it marked a weakening of the police state of "President" Roh Tae-woo, especially since the latter had declared that there was no question of making any concession on this point under the pressure of street demonstrations.

On May 1, the wave of protests initiated by the students and youth crossed a threshold with the entry on the scene of thousands of workers. Despite the ban on celebrating the international day of workers' action [May Day], a cortege of 15,000 persons marched through the streets after a rally at the University of Seoul.

In Kwangchu, 10,000 workers and students demonstrated. For the first time in three days, a student tried to immolate himself.

After a week, five students had killed themselves in this way, demanding the resignation of Roh Tae-woo.

Michel Rocard [French premier at the time] was visiting the region and was supposed to go to the University of Seoul on May 2. He decided that it was more prudent to call it off.

### Actions continue despite threats

On May 9, 400,000 demonstrators marched all across the country demanding the resignation of the government. In Seoul, more than 120,000 students and workers repulsed the riot police and took control of the streets for a period of time.

According to state TV, 50,000 students demonstrated in Pusan, and a 30,000-strong contingent was attacked by the

police in Kwangchu. Protests were noted also in Taegu, Masan, Tajon, and other cities.

On May 13, the students wrecked the headquarters of the Conservative Party. While the regime and its party, the Democratic Liberal Party, seemed to be beginning to divide over what orientation to follow, the government finally announced its determination to oppose the demonstration. Minister of information Choi Chang-yoon declared "now it is necessary to restore public order."

The threats did not discourage the students and workers determined to honor the youth Kang Jaung-dae, who was beaten to death by special police units. On the day in question, after the funeral, they clashed violently with forces under the Ministry of the Interior and the army sent to disperse them.

The participants called new actions spaced out up till May 18, the anniversary of the massacre of Kwangchu in 1980, when several hundred persons were killed by the dictatorship's paratroop regiments.

On May 18, 250,000 people went into the streets across the entire country to commemorate the Kwangchu mass insurrection, which was crushed by the South Korean army with the aid of the US occupation troops.

### Role of U.S.

In 1980, a hundred people demonstrating for democratic freedoms were killed in Kwangchu. The regime extended martial law throughout the country.

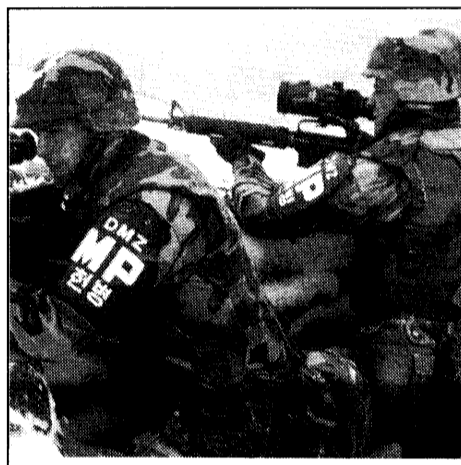
The entire city of Kwangchu then rose up against the government, with armed groups of the population rapidly taking control of the streets. Mass meetings organized by students' and citizens' committees called for the end of the dictatorship.

The army staged a terrible counterattack, using tanks, helicopters and heavy machineguns. Government representatives acknowledged that 200 people were killed. But independent observers estimated the deaths at nearly 2,000.

Many Koreans held Washington responsible for the Kwangchu massacre. And more and more are coming to think that it is U.S. imperialism, in league with its agents in Seoul, who are benefiting from the division of the country and maintaining it.

The country is cut in two by a wall that cost \$3.5 billion to build. The regime in the South forbids all contacts with the North, which are considered to violate the national security law, and punishes them accordingly. There are 1300 political prisoners in South Korean jails.

Back in 1989, the JCR supported an appeal launched by the Young Communists and the Christian Worker Youth



42,000 U.S. troops poised and ready

(JOC) for two of them—the student Rim Su-kyeung and the Catholic priest Moon Ky-young. They were thrown in prison for the "crime" of crossing the demarcation line.

The partition of Korea in 1945 was a result of the Second World War and the Yalta accords, which confirmed the occupation of the North by the Soviet Union and of the South by the United States.

After the failure of the imperialists to conquer the entire country in the 1950-1953 Korean War, South Korea has always been a U.S. frontline against the Soviet Union and China.

Following the war, in which 3 million people were killed, the country was definitively divided at the 38th parallel. On one side was the "people's" state of North Korea. On the other was the capitalist police state of South Korea, with more than 46,000 U.S. soldiers—with hundreds of nuclear weapons—stationed at 42 bases.

Every year since 1976, joint U.S.-South Korean maneuvers have been held. The last exercises, entitled "Team Spirit '91," involved a simulated North Korean invasion. Since the inauguration of the Bush administration, threats and provocations have been multiplying.

With the procapitalist decomposition of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR, Soviet aid to North Korea has been greatly reduced. Like Cuba, it is being directly threatened today by the USA. But this project is being made more difficult by the widening of the protest movement in the South, some tendencies in which are for a socialist reunification of Korea.

### Korean democratic movement

The Korean democratic movement has long been led by the "Three Kims"—Kim Young-sam, Kim Jong-il and Kim Dae-jung. The first two today have more or less gone over to the regime. Kim Dae-jung, long an idol of the French Communist Party, defends the interests of

a petty-bourgeoisie frightened by the regime's excesses but by no means favorable to the workers and students.

In 1986, Kim Dae-jung said: "We need the support of the middle class. They want democracy but fear disorder." In the recent wave of protests, he refused to call for the resignation of Roh Tae-woo, which earned him an egg-throwing reception from the University of Seoul students.

Despite the repression it has suffered and the banning of its National Council, the student movement has considerable potential for mobilization. It is the youth that is in the frontline of the struggle to oust the government, as it was back in 1960, when it brought down Syngman Rhee, the first of a long series of U.S. puppets.

The main ideologies of the youth are Marxist and Minjung thought. The latter (*minjung* means "masses" in Korean) is a sort of populist mysticism inspired by a long tradition of peasant revolts.

The Minjung current is strongly marked by nationalism and calls for a workers' and peasants' government in opposition to the rule of the U.S. through its local puppets. This current has been at the head of the most violent actions, such as the Death Brigades for the Salvation of the Nation and the wave of self-immolations.

The Marxists are organized in underground "study circles" (*Chiha*) and call for a revolutionary reunification of Korea from below. They oppose Gorbachev, whom they accuse of treason for making an official visit to Seoul.

But they harbor, it seems, a lot of illusions about North Korea and the Stalinist-dynastic regime of Kim Il-sung. This is still more of a problem now because Kim Il-sung has just made a spectacular diplomatic turnaround, accepting the possibility of sharing a seat in the UN with the South. The division of the country would thus be legitimized *de facto*.

The opposition's determination—and also its political confusion—have been revealed by the increase in self-immolations, whose number has risen to nine.

### Decisive weight of workers

There is a lot of hope, however, that the workers will become more involved. They have a long tradition of struggle against the government unions and the monopolies.

Four years ago, a student mobilization managed to spread to the workers, bringing down Chun Doo-wan, the regime's former strongman. Like today, the events started at that time with the murder of a youth by the police.

Chun Doo-wan was replaced by his crown prince, Roh Tae-woo. The United States supported this move. It had begun to find Chun-Doo-wan a burden, and wanted to give the regime a more presentable image. But the American-Korean-style "democratization" was limited, and the workers mobilized again in the spring of 1989.

The conflict got rolling with a strike of subway workers, and spread to the shipyards. At Hyundai, the workers stood up to 10,000 riot police. In 1990, an independent union confederation (the Chonnohyop, National Council of Workers Unions) was created in opposition to the official "unions."

The promises of liberalizing the regime (freeing political prisoners, more numerous authorizations for demonstrations) ensued in order to defuse the mass movement.

Despite the diversion attempted by the liberal opposition—which is trying above all to get representation in a government of "national salvation"—the workers and youth remain focused on the demand for the resignation of Roh Tae-woo. Their combativity is shaking one of the historic pillars of U.S. domination in Asia. ■

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The following article is reprinted from the May 18, 1991, issue of *Socialist Outlook*, a newspaper published by the International Socialist Group (ISG), sympathizing section of the Fourth International in Britain.

When the Mexican government announced in August 1982 that it faced bankruptcy and might not be able to pay its debt, shock waves spread through the international banking system.

Mexico was not the first state to face insolvency—other Third World countries were in a similar position—but the sheer scale of its debt threatened a major crisis in the world economy.

Mexico was the world's biggest debtor after Brazil, owing some 10 percent of the world total. Letting Mexico default would have signalled to other countries that this was a way out for them too.

An international bank crash was only averted by a rescue plan cobbled together by governments, private banks and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Short-term relief for the bankers though, merely served to extend the burden of debt on the Third World. Debts were not written off but simply rescheduled for payment at a future date.

Even tougher austerity measures were laid down by the IMF, and Third World governments were strong-armed into accepting these penalties. The debt crisis has continued to deepen, rising from \$763 billion in 1982 to over \$1.2 trillion today, and it remains just as unsolved today as it was nine years ago.

What are the fundamental reasons for the debt? Foreign debt is nothing new. All the imperialist powers were originally built on it and still gorge on it today. In fact, the largest debtor country in the world is the United States—although it has the immense advantage of being simply able to print more dollars—unlike Brazil, Sudan or Bangladesh.

In fact, the Third World "debt trap" dates back to the last century. In those days payments of debts were enforced militarily. Today the IMF imposes debt repayment through threatening to cut off future credits—which would make new imports impossible and financially wreck the [Third World] countries concerned.

#### Bretton Woods

The IMF came into existence at the end of the Second World War. However, its roots lie in plans that were drawn up during the war to ensure the expansion of U.S. capital in the post-war era and thus increase the economic and political hegemony of the United States.

The founding conference of the IMF took place in 1944 at Bretton Woods in the United States. Most Third World countries were still under the yoke of the imperialist powers. Not surprisingly, the interests of the colonial and semi-colonial world were not represented here.

What the key imperialist players wanted was a plan that could avoid a repetition of the world economic crisis of the 1920s [and 1930s], which had facilitated the rise of the Nazis in Germany and, consequently, the Second World War.

The main players in the conference were Britain and the United States. It was inevitable, given the declining role of sterling and the ascendancy of the dollar, that U.S. interests won the day. Stalin's representatives were also present, but in the era of "peaceful co-existence" and "socialism in one country," they had no impact on the outcome of the talks—indeed the Soviet Union has still not joined the IMF.

While there was agreement between the main imperialist powers around the pillars of the "new order" (free world trade, fixed exchange rates, and equal treatment for trading partners) there was disagreement over what to do about balance-of-payments deficits and foreign debt.

John Maynard Keynes, leader of the British delegation, proposed a plan for countries with a surplus to finance the deficits of others. Both debtors and creditors would end up paying towards the imbalances.

#### The World Bank

Realizing that in the future it would have high balance-of-payments surpluses, the United States rejected Keynes's plan.

# Third World debt crisis kills millions every year



**Underdeveloped countries are getting poorer. A central cause of their misery is the austerity measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to cope with the \$1.2 trillion owed to the West.**

Instead, they pushed through a plan to put the burden of debt onto the debtor countries themselves. The IMF would be responsible for short-term aid, and in conjunction, the World Bank was set up to provide long-term development aid.

Since 1945, membership in the IMF has been crucial to Third World states to ensure credit for imports and development. But IMF "aid" is always on the terms of the capitalist West.

Real power in the IMF lies with the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Japan—but with the United States as overwhelmingly the dominant power.

If debt has always been a problem for the Third World, the present chronic crisis started at the beginning of the 1970s.

The 1973 Arab-Israeli War led to the Arab states using oil prices as a weapon against the West. In October 1973, OPEC doubled the price of oil, then in December doubled it again.

Rich oil producing states were consequently awash with financial surpluses which they deposited in European, and especially American, banks. Eager to make profits from these deposits, the banks then turned to lend these "petro-dollars" to countries in the Third World. The huge amounts of money loaned to the Third World were rarely used productively by those countries' rulers, but generally for "prestige" projects, armaments, or even salted away in private fortunes in Swiss bank accounts.

But although the oil crisis gave the debt problem a special twist, in fact, it had been accelerating since the 1960s.

In 1960, Third World debt had stood at \$18 billion. By 1970, it had shot up to \$75 billion. At the beginning of the oil crisis it was \$112 billion. These figures show that there has been a long term worsening of the overall position of the Third World countries which has progressively worsened their debt situation.

In 1950, the share of world trade involving Third World countries was 32 percent. By 1970, it had fallen to 17 percent. High inflation in the advanced capitalist countries pushed up the costs of imports to the semi-colonial world even further.

Between 1973 and 1982, there was a mass explosion of loans to the Third World. As the recession deepened, the debtor countries were forced to borrow more and more purely to service the interest on these loans.

After the near disaster with Mexico in 1982, the IMF stepped in much harder to keep the semi-colonial world in line. Debts were rescheduled through IMF negotiations and debtor governments were forced to adhere to a strict "stabilization program." These adjustment policies are used to control the debts of more than 80 percent of loans granted.

Their effects are devastating for the peoples of the semi-colonial world.

Governments are told to cut spending on



welfare and subsidies on food and housing, cut wages, deflate and restrict credit, devalue the currency, and of course encourage "free enterprise" and foreign investment.

In order to force through these austerity measures state terrorism and repression are often used against workers and peasants who organize or who are suspected of organizing opposition to the onslaught.

The facts speak for themselves. In 1970 Africa fed itself. By 1984, 140 million out of 531 million African people were being fed on imported grain. Today, 29 million people on this continent face starvation.

#### Disease and epidemics

Millions of people worldwide die from preventable diseases each year. The cholera epidemic now sweeping [through] Latin America is not caused by an "act of God." It is caused by poor sanitation and lack of investment in local infrastructure and healthcare—all of which have been cut back because of the IMF-imposed austerity programs.

The AIDS crisis in many Third World countries, and events like the disaster in Bangladesh, have the same roots in world poverty.

There is increasing concern that the debt will never be finally repaid. As a result, new and not-so-new methods are being employed to seize the assets of debtor nations. The secondary market in foreign debt is growing rapidly. This means that a third party buys up a portion of debt at discount, and then trades it for some asset of the debtor.

Another idea, which is already widely being put into practice, is "debt for equity" swaps. In other words, the banks annul part of the debt in exchange for ownership of industries and businesses in the debtor countries. This just increases the stranglehold of the capitalist world over the semi-colonial world.

How can the Third World break out of the debt crisis? For an individual country it is incredibly difficult to repudiate its debt. Repudiation of the debt would lead to an immediate cut-off of credits, and the debtor country would be unable to gain loans and foreign currency to buy imports. Trade sanctions by the United States and other Western countries would devastate the economy of a country which defaulted on its debt.

Repudiating the debt could only be realistically achieved by a series of major countries like Brazil and Mexico acting together. The main obstacle to that, of course, is that a full-scale confrontation with the imperialist powers is not in the interests of the capitalist leaders of most Third World countries.

Repudiating the debt is a task of revolutionary proportions, which needs revolutionary answers in the Third World. Meanwhile, it is an elementary duty for socialists in the West to demand that the debt be cancelled. ■

# Do the visual arts have a future?

By FRANKLIN BALCH

Today the visual arts are in serious trouble. Interest in them has palled, and sales are down. Reasons for this are not hard to find. Since the Impressionist years, the visual arts have been dehumanized—divorced from all social and political meaning. More and more, they are mired in irrelevant abstraction.

As far back as the early 20th century, Mondrian in painting and Brancusi in sculpture pioneered movements toward pure abstraction. Mondrian is reported to have said, "Yes, all in all Nature is a damned

## Opinion

wretched affair. I can hardly stand it." His persistent efforts to rid painting of social meaning, along with Brancusi's obsession with creating "a universe of form" in sculpture, have, despite some stunning achievements, led to a growing sterility in the arts.

In the 1940s and '50s, expression was said to have been made abstract, though how this could be done was never satisfactorily explained. In recent decades we have been treated to various forms of post-modernism, such as minimalism and post-minimalism, and finally to eclecticism—its subject matter drawn from past centuries, and little of it relevant to the times in which we live.

The phenomenon that today we call modern art is in reality the fragmented remnants

of the great French Renaissance in painting that began with David's somber Death of Marat in 1793, and ended with Picasso's powerful Guernica, an evocation of horror and pathos.

Since the death of Picasso in 1973, no painter or sculptor has emerged who even remotely approaches the stature of a Monet, a Cezanne, a Renoir, or a Daumier—to name a few. A falling away of the arts after a period of sustained and powerful creativity, lasting centuries, is not a new phenomenon.

The Italian Mannerists, for example, were at their wits' end, scrambling to find ways to perpetuate the great traditions of Italian art as represented by the classical perfection of Raphael and the power of Michelangelo. The task was beyond them. They finally gave up and began to turn art on its ear.

In her book, "The High Renaissance and Mannerism," Linda Murray summarizes some of the salient traits of Mannerism, equating it with "subject matter either deliberately obscure, or treated so that it becomes difficult to understand ... distorted proportions of scale—figures jammed into too small a space ... vivid color schemes, employing discordant contrasts."

### Is it "art?"

Murray's analysis raises the question of whether much of what is called "art" today is even art at all.

Paul Mattick Jr., writing in *The Nation*, notes that "the idea that there exists an aesthetic sphere untouched by social and political meaning is an ideological fiction." This seems a very significant point, one

usually brushed aside in the contemporary art world.

By Mattick's criterion, most contemporary "art" will be found wanting, or at best borderline, its social and political meaning hard or impossible to read. Take, for example, Juliari Schnabel's "Fox Farm Paintings." Ken Johnson, writing in *Art in America* (April, 1990), sees these paintings as "metaphorical expressions—part visual, part verbal—of a pervasive mood of our times, one of apocalyptic despair." But Johnson confesses that what the paintings actually mean is "a puzzle which, one suspects, the artist himself hasn't solved."

Puzzles and abstractions, carried to extremes, deny mood. Failure to convey an identifiable mood based on the personal experience of the artist works to the detriment of today's art, depriving it of social and political meaning.

### Painting for the market

In the final decades of the 20th century, contemporary art has maintained a precarious existence in a multitude of galleries, museums, and money marts of the great auction houses, here and abroad.

Because it is trendy—the reputation of an artist sometimes rising and falling within a single season—there has been difficulty in establishing a firm market for its sale. Yet it often brings high prices.

In general, contemporary art may be described as the plaything of a monied elite and of art professionals, whose appreciation of and interest in it has been largely reduced to what Marx called "callous cash payment."

In America, today's art is firmly

ensconced within the "free" enterprise system, hence the artist is a prisoner of schools, galleries, museums, foundations, etc., all with powerful boards that include a sufficient number of wealthy board members able to dominate their operations.

In order to succeed, which today usually means "making it big," the artist has to "paint to the market," to quote Arthur Danto, writing in *The Nation*. Otherwise he is forced to do something else with his talent: "teach, illustrate, decorate."

The corporate power brokers who run our society and its art enterprises are well aware of art's potential as an enabler of social change (read, revolutionary change), hence their wish to keep it as it is, safe yet looking progressive—outwardly daring, outrageous, and "radically" avant-garde, and inwardly escapist and dead. No need to disturb the masses, whose interest in contemporary art remains near zero!

### What about the future?

How long will this malaise in which contemporary art finds itself last, and what is the future of art in America? Generally speaking, a government such as ours, fueled by greed and imperial ambition, and always disguising its intentions, does not inspire great art, except for stimulating those opposing it from within.

As the clock runs down for capitalism, as a flagging economy sinks into insolvency, and a somber, desperate mood seizes the people, there may yet be a role for some iconoclast artists. Let them paint life in our society as it really is in all its savage inhumanity!

Let them look deep into the plight of the unemployed, the homeless, and the hungry, and decipher their misery for others.

In this way, American art will have a future, a future as the catalyst of a kind of class struggle not yet seen in America! ■

*Back to Normal*, a play by the San Francisco Mime Troupe. Directed by Ed Holmes. Script by Joan Holden, Ellen Callas, Elliot Kavee, Gregory R. Tate, and Isa Nidal Totah.

By CAROLE SELIGMAN

"I'm not ready to laugh about the war," a friend told me on my way to see the San Francisco Mime Troupe's new play, "Back to Normal."

The laughs in this buoyant performance, however, are not at the expense of the Iraqi war victims but at the amazing ways the U.S. ruling class worked to sell the war to the American people and, as the war ended, to convince us that everything was "back to normal."

The high point of the show comes when the main character makes a casual wish on a lamp containing a magic genie. That wish suddenly causes President Bush, during a televised appearance, to stop his "jive talk" and to tell the truth about why the United States invaded Iraq. This unaccustomed truth-telling is hilarious. (I won't spoil it for you by repeating the jokes.)

Another high point in the show is the chorus of Hollywood "celebrities" who

## Mime Troupe pokes fun at U.S. Gulf 'triumph'



Left to right: Daniel Chumley, Keiko Shimosato, Arthur Holden, Isa Nidal Totah and Michael Sullivan from the Mime Troupe's *Back to Normal*.

sing their support for the war—a satirical put-down of an actual pro-war video made by Hollywood personalities in a conscious effort to slow the spread of the anti-war movement, which had mounted giant national mobilizations on Jan. 19 and Jan. 26.

Michael Sullivan, who plays the part of Marine Lance Cpl. James (Jamal) Sullivan has a wonderful singing voice, and the performance level of all the ensemble players, musicians, and behind-the-scenes crew makes for exciting theatre.

But—and this cannot be ignored—there is a strong political message in this play. Unfortunately, it is not a good one. Several characters seem to express the hope that there could be someone like JFK or Bobby to run against Bush in '92!

This message of unapologetic liberalism, and the show's view that a rightwing conspiracy (rather than the whole ruling class and its servants in both the Democratic and Republican Parties) is responsible for all that's rotten in the United States, mars an otherwise diverting piece of political entertainment. ■

## Spike Lee's *Jungle Fever*: a visceral portrayal of Black-white relations

*Jungle Fever*, a film written and directed by Spike Lee. Music by Stevie Wonder.

"*Jungle Fever*" is a terrific movie. It's about real human beings living in the real world of Harlem and Bensonhurst, N.Y.

"*Jungle Fever*" is not a political movie. There are no proposals for how to deal with the devastating social conditions it reveals: racism, sexism, oppression within the family—and most poignantly—drug addiction. This is not a weakness, however, because political solutions to social crises are not necessarily the province of art.

This movie's province is the illumination of the lives of several characters in their family, neighborhood, and work settings. At the end of the film, we know these characters. (How many movies can you say that about?)

The main character is Flipper Purify (Wesley Snipes), a successful Black archi-

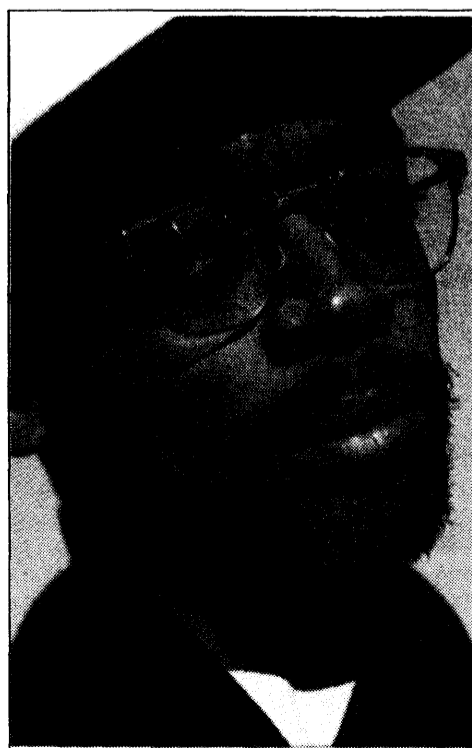
tect, loving husband, and father. Purify lives in Harlem. He's trying to become a partner in an architectural firm that has made lots of money because of his projects. He works a lot of overtime.

Flipper has an affair with Angie

### Movie Review

(Annabella Sciorra), the skilled temporary secretary hired by the firm to work for him. Angie goes home from her job to cook dinner and clean up after her widowed father and two macho brothers.

Angie's been going with her boyfriend for a long time and is a little bored. She lives in Bensonhurst, the New York Italian neighborhood where an African American teen, Yusuf Hawkins (to whom the film is dedicated), was murdered by racist punks in 1989.



Spike Lee

# What Clarence Thomas' nomination tells us

Thurgood Marshall's retirement from the U.S. Supreme Court has shaken the liberal establishment. Marshall was the first Black person to serve on that august body.

But President George Bush's nomination of Clarence Thomas, also Black, to replace Marshall has sent shock waves among civil rights, women's rights, and labor organizations. The Congressional Black Caucus has also condemned the nomination and pledged to fight it.

Thomas, you see, is a conservative. Derrick Bell, a liberal Black professor at the Harvard University Law School, calls all Black conservatives "opportunists." "These guys," he says, "run the gamut from political opportunists to out-and-out hustlers."

Charles Rangel, the Black congressman from New York, adds, "There is no support in our communities for this man." Yet recent polls indicate that while a majority of Blacks disagree with many of Thomas' views, they support his appointment to the high court.

## Liberals vs. conservatives

What are Thomas' views? He agrees with the Bush administration and other conservatives that affirmative action programs that go beyond reversing individual discrimination are wrong. Thomas says Blacks should pull themselves up through self-help and individual initiatives.

The civil rights agenda of the liberals, he continues, is no longer valid with the end of legal segregation. He and other conservatives—Blacks and whites—in fact point to the hard statistics that the lives of a majority of Blacks have not qualitatively improved with the government programs advocated by liberals.

In a speech given in February 1986, while head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Com-

mission, Thomas said preferences based on race or ethnic origin were "a ticking time bomb" that would "hasten the socio-economic demise of Black Americans."

Thomas adds that he simply favors the type of economic nationalism advocated by people such as Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan. As a poor Black from rural Georgia, Thomas says, it was education, discipline, and hard work that made it possible for him to get where he is.

Yet Malcolm X, Louis Farrakhan, and Clarence Thomas have very little in common except the color of their skin. Farrakhan, the head of the Nation of Islam, does not represent the interests of the Black community. He is a demagogue, a supporter of capitalism, and has promoted the Democrat Jesse Jackson and other capitalist politicians over the years.

## The common enemy

Malcolm X, on the other hand, was one of the most outstanding working-class Black leaders of this century. He not only advocated Black self-determination, including Black control of the Black community, but the need for all oppressed people to recognize their common enemy: the capitalist system.

Malcolm, in his last months before his brutal assassination in February 1965, had reached the conclusion that one's friends could not be judged by the color of their skin. He had met white and brown revolutionaries on his trips to Africa and the Middle East. That's why he said Black nationalism could not define his entire political outlook anymore. He had developed a world view of the Black struggle for freedom.

Not surprisingly, Malcolm criticized the liberal civil rights leaders. He denounced their view that the capitalist system could

## Which Side Are You On?

By  
Malik Miah



be reformed and that capitalism could allow true equality for Blacks. He also called on Blacks to stop backing the Democratic and Republican parties.

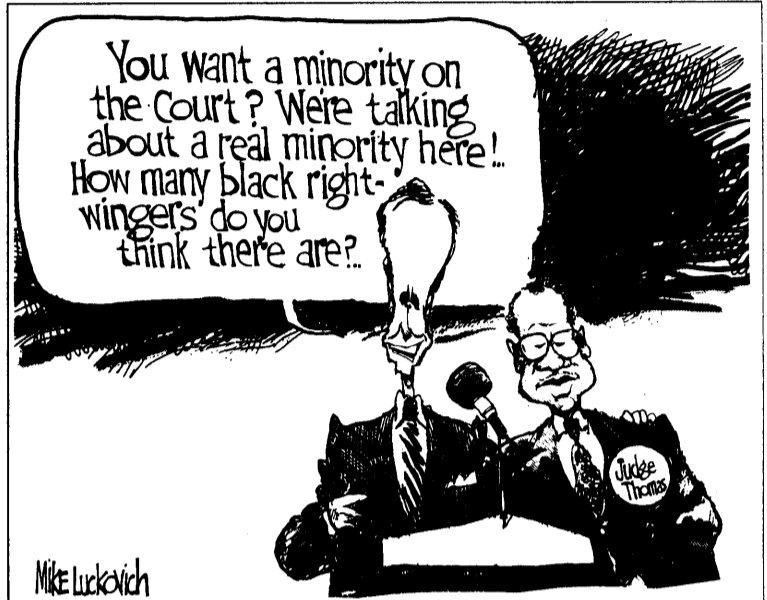
Clarence Thomas and the leadership of the NAACP, the National Urban League, and the Congressional Black Caucus reject Malcolm's views. In fact, both Thomas and the liberals share a common framework on Black politics: capitalism is the answer. Their differences are over tactics on how to reform the system that's responsible for racism.

Black liberals and conservatives are truly not that different. Both support the system that is the source of racial oppression.

Why a Thomas comes along today is not a fluke either. For more than a decade, the government and employers have been attacking the gains of the civil rights movement, the rights of women, and labor as a whole. Yet Bush picks a Black for the Supreme Court.

## Black middle class

Thomas was promoted by Bush, in part, because there is a growing Black middle class. They provide the social base for the misleadership in the Black nationality. The middle class is a by-product of the victory of the



civil rights movement that opened the door to the Thomases (and Jesse Jacksons) of the world.

The Black nationality is more class-divided than ever before. The Black liberals who led the civil rights movement because they also suffered from legal discrimination are not interested in fighting the institutionalized racism affecting most Blacks. They can make it. They have their eyes on Wall Street, the chief of staff of the U.S. military, and even the White House.

Moreover, the rulers reject a return to Jim Crow. It isn't profitable. The demographics of the country are such, in fact, that people of color and women are the majority of the working population. White males are now a minority.

The real problem for Blacks and other working people is not the politics of Thomas, conservatives, or liberals *per se*, but the lack of an independent Black and working class movement to challenge the current crop of misleaders. ■

## Our readers speak out

### Immigrants

Dear editors,

Your readers might not realize that a majority of the recent immigrants from the Soviet Union to Israel and the West Bank are not even Jewish. The Israeli government admits to a figure of 25 percent. Apparently, the criteria for emigration from the Soviet Union is a Jewish relative at some point in several generations.

The recent wave of immigration is the result of an agreement between Gorbachev, Bush, and Israeli officials dictating that all emigrants from the Soviet Union be directed to Israel.

This agreement cuts off virtually all immigration to the United States. It stipulates that once the immigrants get to Israel, they will not be allowed to leave.

As a result, some Soviet immigrants are being used to "Zionize" the Occupied Territories. Conditions are so bad for the new Soviet immigrants that four to five families might occupy the same apartment. Prostitution is spreading amongst the immigrant school children. Three soup kitchens now exist in Jerusalem alone for the hungry and homeless immigrants.

Claudette Bégin,  
Union City, Calif.

### Candidate

Dear editors,

I was delighted to read in your June issue about Joni Jacobs' campaign for San Francisco

mayor. I am glad to see socialists using the electoral system to advance socialist politics. Please accept my small donation to help with the propaganda.

Chad Anderson,  
Champaign, Ill.

### Hayden Perry fan

Dear editors,

A note of appreciation for Hayden Perry's articles every month. They are always sharp, clear, and informative. I photostat them on the xerox ledger and pass them around. I'm enclosing money for three subscriptions.

Henry Austin,  
Detroit, Mich.

### Cuba

Dear editors,

In your July issue, you reprinted an article by Janette Habel on the economic squeeze facing revolutionary Cuba following the collapse of the Soviet-led ECOMCON trading bloc, in the context of U.S. imperialism's criminal embargo.

The article is informative and timely. But there are formulations in it that advocate reforms that go in the direction of decentralization and greater use of market mechanisms as an answer.

But giving more powers of control and management to the enterprises only leads to greater

dislocations as they begin to compete with each other. The whole experience of Yugoslavia is a case history of the total failure of that road.

What is needed is to take the ideas behind Cuba's plan of "rectification" to their conclusion. Those ideas advocate drawing working people ever more into decision-making and participation in production on the basis of furthering the well-being of everyone—especially those on the bottom.

That would mean not only volunteer work, but real workers' democracy through organs of workers' political power from the local to the national scale. It would also mean development toward workers' management in the enterprises.

To achieve a real step forward in the empowerment of the workers, these measures require central planning of the economy—not decentralization. Without workers' management of the whole of the economy through an overall plan, working people can have no real power.

Conscious organization, education, and mobilization of the workers along these lines is the only road forward in fighting bureaucratic chaos. It is also the road toward developing communist values of cooperation, equality, self-sacrifice, and devotion to the well-being of all. It would greatly enhance the example that revolutionary Cuba shows the world.

Barry Sheppard,  
San Francisco, Calif.

### Socialism

Dear editors,

As a retired trade unionist, I have been following the news which is being made in Eastern Europe and Russia.

I read where Erich Honecker, the head of party and state in the former German Democratic Republic, was responsible for the deaths of persons shot and killed while trying to flee over the Berlin Wall.

I wonder if you can blame these actions on socialism. If so, then the apartheid system and thousands of deaths in South Africa must be

the fault of capitalism. I say that socialism is still the best answer for the people that produce the wealth of our world. Socialism has been too busy trying to out-gun the capitalist. Socialism must learn how to lead the people and be part of the people—not follow the capitalist ideas, as some of the leaders have done in the past.

Joseph L. Stack,  
San Francisco, Calif.

We welcome letters from our readers. Please keep them brief. Some letters may have to be edited for space.

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# As South African regime is rocked by scandal: Which way forward for the ANC?



Rab Mayet / Impact Visuals - Afrapix

Members of the Women's League of the African National Congress (ANC) rally in August 1990.

**South African officials have denied charges that a "third force" within the government was aiding the conservative Inkatha movement in its armed clashes with supporters of the African National Congress (ANC).**

**Last month, evidence came to light that government ministers—with access to a \$132 million secret slush fund—had supplied money and arms to Inkatha goon squads. President de Klerk himself authorized some of the funding.**

**The growing scandal, already dubbed "Inkathagate," has torpedoed talks between the government and Black organizations. What will be the effect on the policies of the ANC? The article below gives essential background to answer that question.**

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

The recent conference of the African National Congress (ANC), held in Durban July 2-7, was its first in South Africa since being banned over 30 years ago. The meeting, attended by 2244 delegates, marked the organization's passage from an outlawed liberation movement to a recognized "player" in negotiations with the South African government.

A large majority of the delegates voted in favor of the negotiations—as a step toward their goal of a democratic, non-racial South Africa.

They also approved a more "flexible" policy toward worldwide anti-apartheid sanctions. Their decision would allow a phased rollback of sanctions as long as the South African regime takes significant steps—such as freeing all political prisoners and ending the violence it has abetted in the Black townships.

Following the conference, South African President F.W. de Klerk said that he welcomed the ANC's new flexibility. He added, "We are in a hurry to get a multiparty conference together to start serious negotiations." This was barely a week, however, before the news of government support to Inkatha, the ANC's conservative rival, broke like a tidal wave over De Klerk's regime. Now the entire project of negotiations has been put on hold.

The international big business media and chiefs of state were also quick to laud the ANC's "new realism." The *New York Times*, for example, chose to headline the fact that "moderates," led by Nelson Man-

dela, were elected to lead the organization. And President Bush affirmed that he intended to "consult" with Mandela every step of the way—as the U.S. government acts to end its sanctions.

Mandela, however, rejected Bush's overtures. Speaking in Spain on July 23, he said that the efforts of the United States and the European Community to lift their sanctions "have betrayed the cause of the majority of the South African people."

#### A militant opposition

Over 700,000 new members have flooded into the ranks of the ANC since it was legalized a year and a half ago. The new recruits have come from a variety of backgrounds—some from the guerrilla movement in exile, others from the mass organizations and trade unions.

Strong divisions came to the surface during the conference, especially on the questions of sanctions and negotiations. In addition, a number of younger and more militant members spoke out against the "elitist" style and the go-slow policies of the old leadership.

In order to placate the opposition, the ANC's new president, Nelson Mandela, had to choose his words very carefully. "Negotiations do not win our freedom," he said during the closing session, "but represent the recognition of victories we win on the ground."

The congress voted to undertake a campaign of demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts. It also agreed to support the formation of community-controlled

defense groups in the Black townships to counter attacks by police and the conservative Inkatha group.

#### The response to redbaiting

In the last few months (before the "Inkathagate" disclosures), President de Klerk did his best to entice the ANC with prospects of a "closer relationship" with his National Party. He emphasized, however, that the major impediment to a warming of relations was the fact that a majority of the ANC's National Executive Council—both before and after the conference—are members of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

De Klerk knows full well that the Communist Party is no more "revolutionary" than its Stalinist cousins in the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union. But he realizes that the SACP—because of the lack of a mass revolutionary party in South Africa—represents the perspective of "socialism" for many Black working people who are fighting for a better life.

Not long ago, a whole layer of socialist-leaning trade-union leaders joined the SACP. They included people with an anti-Stalinist background (such as Moses Mayekiso of the metalworkers), as well as top officers of the COSATU union federation. De Klerk is thirsting to isolate these workers' leaders, while encouraging more "reasonable" people in the ANC leadership to shun the goal of socialism.

Some liberals in the anti-apartheid movement—such as the Rev. Allan Boesak, who was recently accepted into membership in the ANC—have also taken part in the red-baiting campaign.

Now it appears that these divide-and-conquer tactics might have had some success. Some ANC leaders, for example, stated that the movement's close relationship with the SACP had helped to retard the ANC's ability to recruit among whites, Indians, and mixed-race people (who are generally more privileged economically than Black Africans).

Finally, in an interview printed in the July 18 edition of the *Johannesburg Star*, Nelson Mandela said: "The SACP has declared that their cooperation with us is only up to the point of the overthrow of the apartheid state. After that they take their own line," which "we will not follow."

"We won't follow socialism," Mandela concluded. "We've got our own program."

The ANC's "new realism," which has been cheered on by the capitalist media, is hardly new.

In the 1980s, for example, a section of the trade union movement (including Moses Mayekiso in his younger days) emphasized the need for a full program of struggle that—unlike the ANC's founding document, the Freedom Charter—could represent the needs of workers. Also, many trade unionists spoke about the need for a labor party.

But the ANC refused to make common cause with these militants, viewing the fledgling Black trade unions as its rivals. Instead, it took another road—which was pitted with contradictions.

On the one hand, the ANC has tried to respond to (and give leadership to) the mobilizations of Black people fighting for freedom. On the other hand, it has tried to reach an accommodation with the demands placed upon it by the "liberal" wing of the South African capitalist class and their middle-class apologists.

But this contradictory course is doomed to failure, since the demands of the Black masses—for jobs and a living wage, schools, land, and democracy—and those of the "liberal" capitalists are necessarily counterposed.

It is still too early to gauge the full effects of the "Inkathagate" scandal on the course set by the ANC. But it is clear that the Black freedom movement cannot pursue negotiations with the government in its discredited state, and the ANC has said as much.

Mass actions—such as demonstrations in the streets and stay-aways from workplaces and schools—have come more to the order of the day.

Demands for the government to resign—including De Klerk himself—are certainly in order. The demand for a constituent assembly (elected according to the principle of one person, one vote) is likewise apropos; one should be convened in order to ensure that future governments will never again be able to resort to such murderous behavior as the De Klerk regime.

It is time now for the ANC to put aside its "new realism" and to act decisively. It must join with the trade unions and other Black organizations to build a new mass movement for freedom. ■

## S. African socialists meet

*The following is from International Viewpoint, published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.*

The Workers Organization for Socialist Action (WOSA) held its first national conference May 31-June 2. Attended by over 200 delegates, it marked a significant step forward in the building of an independent socialist organization in South Africa.

Delegates discussed a number of vital issues affecting the broad liberation movement—including the call for a constituent assembly and the violence tearing the townships apart.

Delegates noted that the state, by employing a strategy of reform from above while directing a low-intensity war on the Black population, had forced the mass movement onto the defensive, and the De Klerk regime was thereby seizing the political initiative. The easing of international pressure on the government had also widened its room for maneuver.

A resolution was passed calling for a mass united campaign for a constituent assembly.

The conference noted that only the united response of working-class communities can counter this attack; this means building independent, nonsectarian self-defense committees, building peace from below, and avoiding undisciplined and undemocratic actions which could further drive hostel workers into the arms of the Inkatha leadership and other reactionaries. ■