



## Millions rally on Earth Day But big polluters still thrive

### Pro-choice supporters mobilize at L.A. clinic



Pro-choice activists must keep mobilized to defeat the right-wing Operation Rescue.

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

People around the world turned out on April 22 to help save the environment. Organizers estimated that 200 million people in 136 countries took part in Earth Day activities.

In the United States, thousands of cities and towns held events. The largest gathering was in New York's Central Park, where over 1 million people came out. Close to 125,000 rallied on the Mall in Washington,

### Which way forward for environmental activists?

See pp. 12-13.

D.C. Another 125,000 attended a rally and exhibition in San Francisco.

People have been alarmed by a string of headline-grabbing environmental catastrophes, such as the Valdez oil spill of last spring. At the same time, the ever-present stench of daily life—smoggy cities, dying lakes and streams, and garbage-filled beaches—has also convinced millions that pollution and the rape of our resources is on the rise.

In a recent nationwide *Washington Post*/ABC News survey, more than half of those polled agreed that the world faces "an environmental crisis." This fact, which is also reflected by a rise in membership among environmental activist groups, shows the potential for building a mass movement of people who want to do whatever is necessary to see that the earth is cleaned up and restored.

Unfortunately, the major environmental groups have become bogged down by a faulty strategy. These organizations prefer to concentrate either on political lobbying and vote-getting, mass-media campaigning, or appeals to consumers to alter their personal lifestyles.

Left out of this strategy, however, are demands that can rally and organize people against the main polluters—big business and the government.

The *Washington Post* survey indicated that 44 percent of Americans realize that large corporations are most to blame for endangering the environment. But this growing awareness was largely ignored by organizers of the major Earth Day events.

### "Change your lifestyle?"

"The very core of the Earth Day message," counsels Christina L. Desser, executive director of Earth Day 1990, "is for individuals to bring about change through their voting, purchasing, and personal conduct at home and at work." (letter to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 27, 1990)

How are people to make changes in their "conduct?" In anticipation of Earth Day, numerous organizations and companies published "green" handbooks to guide the consumer. "Study and work by daylight," advises one pamphlet in all seriousness. "Avoid impulse buying," cautions another.

The cumulative effects of many individual solutions, such as recycling, are indis-

## AFL-CIO set to adopt position on abortion

By GRETCHEN MACKLER and  
CAROLE SELIGMAN

The largest labor organization in the United States may soon deliver a potent answer to the right-wing demonstration of 200,000 held April 29 in Washington, D.C., which called for the government to outlaw abortion.

Lane Kirkland, president of the national AFL-CIO, announced after the labor federation's last executive board meeting that the body would soon adopt a position on the issue of reproductive rights. He appointed a committee to make a recommendation to the board.

This committee—headed by William Wynn, president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union—has already been barraged with letters from anti-choice groups urging the federation to take no position, according to Kathy Parrent, Repro-

ductive Rights Project Director of the Coalition of Labor Union Women [CLUW].

CLUW is engaged in its own campaign to get the labor federation to adopt the pro-choice position of women workers. CLUW is circulating a petition for union members to sign in support of women's reproductive choice. [Readers are urged to support this effort. Contact the CLUW chapter in your area or CLUW's national office at 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone (212) 242-0700.]

Several unions have already adopted a pro-choice position. They include clothing, textile, and garment workers (ACTU and ILGWU), government employees (AFSCME and AFGE), flight attendants (IFFA), the Newspaper Guild, service employees (SEIU), autoworkers (UAW), electrical workers (UE), retail workers (UFCW), and the two teachers' unions (the AFT and the 2-million-member National Education Association).

Significantly, labor federations in Washington, Oregon, and Texas have already adopted pro-choice positions. Many unions have already demonstrated their pro-choice positions by endorsing and marching in the giant pro-choice mobilizations in Washington, D.C., in April and November 1989 called by the National Organization for Women.

### Labor support critical

Labor support is critical in the current struggle to preserve the rights of women to control when and if they are to bear children. A recent Gallup poll showed that women's right to abortion has the highest support ever measured in this country.

A California East Bay CLUW chapter resolution calls on the labor movement to "speak out in favor of preserving the right of all women to privacy in making reproductive

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# Ryan White—one of 78,341



## Fightback

By  
Sylvia Weinstein

On April 8, Ryan White died from complications of AIDS. He was 18 years old. Ryan, a hemophiliac, had contracted the virus through a blood transfusion in 1984.

Ryan became known to the entire world when the school he was attending in Kokomo, Ind., banned him from the classrooms and forced him to take his classes from his home through a telephone hook-up.

Ryan's family won a court decision, and he was reinstated into the classroom—but the hate be-

came too much. He was taunted at school by the other children, who wrote obscenities on his locker and shouted insults when he walked in the school hallways.

Vandals broke windows at his home and slashed the tires of the family car. Grocery store clerks would fling down change to Ryan's mother to avoid touching her hands when she shopped.

His family was finally forced to move to Cicero, a small farming town about 20 miles from Kokomo, and he began attending Hamilton High School. At Hamilton,

he was accepted and treated as just another student. He died before graduating.

Ryan White's family must have been very wonderful parents. They fought for their child the way most parents would have, but their love also gave him his personality. In television interviews, Ryan came across as a gentle, intelligent, mature young person who never expressed anger or hate towards the adult idiots who drove him from his home, school, and classmates.

### AIDS holocaust

Ryan's funeral was attended by the rich and famous, and flags were flown at half mast at the Statehouse. Everyone learned to respect and love Ryan and grieve for his death.

But as of April 22 of this year, 78,341 good people have died from the same disease that took Ryan. And that is just in the United States. Worldwide, it is estimated that there are 600,000 people infected with AIDS and that 300,000 people have died. More Americans have died of AIDS than were killed in the Vietnam War.

It was early in the 1980s when the first gay men began falling ill with a disease that was to become known as AIDS. However, it was not until Rock Hudson died in 1985 that the nature of this real health crisis was admitted. By that time 12,000 Americans were dead and hundreds of thousands infected.

The government of the United States and its economy, the richest in the world, have been shown to be incapable of doing anything to stop the spread of the disease or to effect a cure. The government's only concern is private profits—not the needs of humans.

During the Second World War, when this government wanted to develop an atomic bomb, they spared no expense. They initiated the Manhattan Project and built Los Alamos, a huge scientific complex. Hundreds of the best minds in the field of nuclear physics were recruited to develop the bomb—all at government expense (or the taxpayers' expense).

That's what should have been done to tackle the complicated problem of the HIV virus. Instead, for nine years AIDS has been a political football for both capitalist political parties. For eight

years the president, "Rotten" Reagan, did not let the word AIDS come out of his slimy lips while thousands of men, women, and children fell victim to the disease.

History will record that the United States had its own Holocaust. It will be called the AIDS Holocaust. And the capitalist system let it happen.

A bill scheduled for Congress would provide a meager \$600 million for the years 1991 and 1992 for emergency help to hospitals for AIDS patients in all of the cities in the United States. Very likely that amount will be cut as it goes through the sticky fingers of our Congressmen. Meanwhile, the Pentagon spends more than \$1 billion every working day.

What is desperately needed in this country is a political party of the oppressed, poor, and working class that would go to war against the economic control of our resources and taxes by the wealthy and their hired guns, the politicians—who use them for their own greedy interest.

We need to "ACT-UP" for human needs instead of profits. That's the only way we will ever stop the AIDS Holocaust. ■

## ... Millions rally on Earth Day

(continued from page 1)

putable. But such measures amount to little in the overall scope of things.

Moreover, most people—who must work for a living, go to school, or raise a family under increasingly difficult circumstances—should not be asked to make cutbacks in their lifestyles. How can people give up their gas-guzzling cars, for example, when no reliable mass transportation exists to take them to work?

It is incorrect to put the blame on individual consumers while letting the wealthy industrial and agricultural producers—as well as the U.S. government—off the hook. Consider the following facts:

\* Chronic pesticide poisoning, mainly from large factory farms, causes 20,000 cases of cancer a year. Some 375,000 tons of pesticides are used in this country annually. Virtually all of it washes into our streams and groundwater.

\* Some 150 million people in this country breathe air considered unhealthy by the Environmental Protection Agency. Almost three-fourths of airborne toxics are produced by big industrial corporations.

\* Between 1984 and 1988, oil companies spilled more than 83.4 million gallons of oil in the United States. Yet Congress still refuses to take measures such as requiring that tankers be equipped with double hulls.

\* The U.S. military operates nearly 1000 installations on public lands—which it uses as gunnery ranges, nuclear-waste dumps, chemical and germ-warfare factories, etc. None of these sites are subject to environ-

mental laws and restrictions.

These corporate criminals must not be allowed to get off scot-free. Unfortunately, the capitalists were able to have a field day with Earth Day. Dozens of new "nature-friendly" commercial products were timed to appear during the week preceding April 22.

The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) and the Business Roundtable, two employers' lobbying groups that usually work together to try to gut impending environmental legislation, scheduled a "pro-environmental" press conference. Representatives of several high-polluting industries—coal, chlorine, chemicals, plastics, and electric power—also shared the podium.

"A clean environment is not just a desired ... but a realistic goal, to which American industry is committed," said Alexander Trowbridge, former NAM president and former secretary of commerce. Besides, he told reporters (no doubt with a wink), it's "good business."

In the meantime, the National Chemical Association placed a two-page ad in the *New York Times* in which the affiliated 170 companies claimed to be concerned about ecology. "We're responsible," the chemical companies pledged, perhaps not realizing how true their words would ring to most readers.

Signers included Exxon ("responsible" for

the world's largest oil spill), Union Carbide ("responsible" for the deaths of 2300 people in Bhopal, India), and Dow Chemical ("responsible" for defoliating a large part of Indochina during the Vietnam War).

### A rally for the Democrats?

The Democratic Party also did its best to profit from Earth Day. "We love it," beamed Paul Tully, political director of the Democratic Party. Throughout the week, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee ran television ads declaring the party's commitment to the environment.

The *New York Times* pointed out that the Democrats treated Earth Day "as if it were their own organizing rally." Legions of Democratic candidates and elected officials were given the microphone at Earth Day events.

But the patience of the crowd had its limits. In San Francisco, when candidate John Van de Kamp, launched his "if I am elected governor" routine, he was booed roundly.

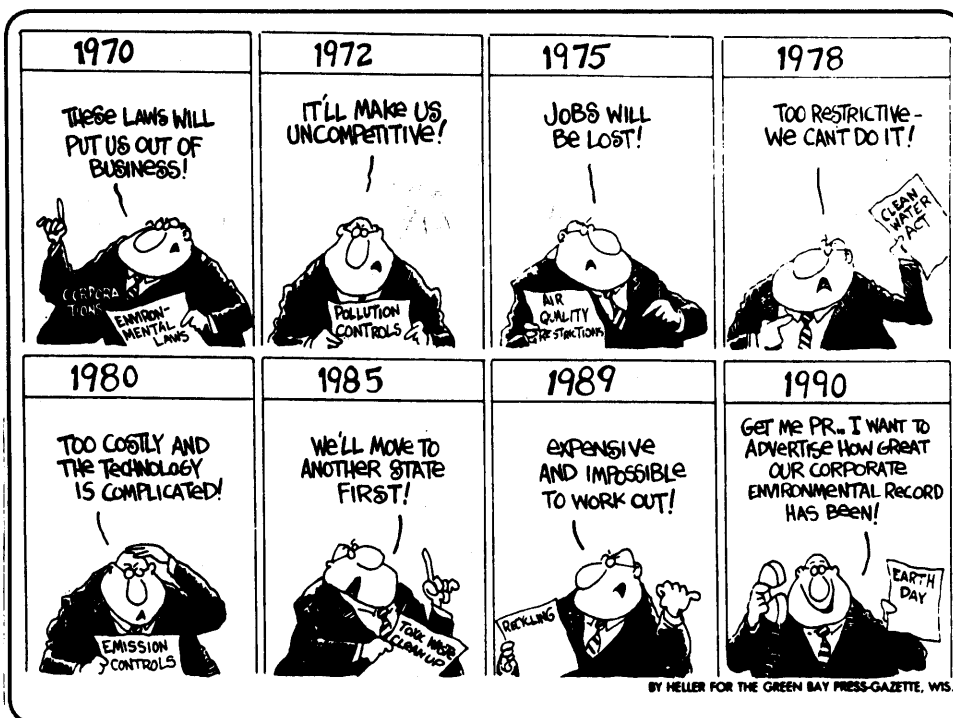
Meanwhile, the Republicans made an effort to keep up in the opinion polls. Even President Bush took a break from his weekend fishing trip in Florida to address a citizens' group fighting to protect a coral reef. He astonished reporters, however, by confirming that plans were in the works to open up portions of the California coast to oil drilling.

But it was Democrat Jimmy Carter who first undertook to expand drilling in California waters. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans are capable of taking the steps necessary to protect and restore the environment. Both parties are financed and run by the big polluting corporations solely to ensure that the employers receive ever-higher profits.

Environmentalists who attempt to get votes for Democratic Party candidates, or who concentrate their efforts on lobbying activities, are misguided. Other political movements of recent decades—such as those against the Vietnam War, for Black civil rights, and for women's liberation—have shown that it is necessary to stay independent of the ruling class parties in order to make gains.

In order to be fully effective, the fight to restore the environment must be made part and parcel of a full program of demands for jobs, housing, and social services that can appeal to working people.

To carry out the fight, working people need their own political party—a labor party. Ultimately, armed with a revolutionary program, working people will sweep out those who profit from pollution and establish a society dedicated to the betterment of all humanity and the planet we live on. ■



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By PAUL SIEGEL

# UNICEF report indicts capitalism for world hunger, deaths of children

*The State of the World's Children 1990.* By James P. Grant, Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Oxford University Press, 1990. 102 pp. \$8.50. Available free from UNICEF, 3 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Although that is not at all its intention, this official UNICEF report is a devastating indictment of the world capitalist system.

Unless there is a complete reversal of direction, the report points out, 100 million children under five in the Third World will die in the next 10 years of illness and malnutrition. Two-thirds of these children will die from five common diseases that could be easily and inexpensively prevented or cured with low-cost vaccines, oral rehydration therapy, and antibiotics.

The world pays little attention to this although the preventable fatalities exceed those of World War II. Yet all that is needed is the political will and the expenditure of between \$2 billion and \$3 billion each year.

This sum is "as much as U.S. companies have been spending each year to advertise cigarettes.... It is as much as the developing world is paying every week to service its debts. It is as much as the world as a whole spends on the military every day."

In addition, the report asserts, birth spacing is a most important factor for the health of both mothers and children, and "evidence from the *World Fertility Survey* suggests that if women who do not want to become pregnant were empowered to exercise that choice, the rate of population growth in the developing world would fall by approximately 30%."

It may also be pointed out that lower childhood mortality rates and adequate welfare measures would further reduce the drive of poor peasants to have large families in order to benefit from the labor of children and to gain some assurance of being taken care of in old age. The heartbreak and misery of childhood death and malnutrition are unnecessary and an affront to the world's moral conscience.

## Children pay IMF with health

But it is not merely that unnecessary suffering and death exist on a huge scale. In the last 10 years things have gotten considerably worse. This is primarily due to payments on the debt owed to advanced capitalist countries and to military spending, which together account for half of the Third World's total annual expenditures.

The UNICEF report quotes approvingly the statement by President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, "Few scourges in human history can claim as many victims as today's debt crisis." It characterizes the past decade as "the developing world's worst recession since the 1930s" and asserts that "the chilling injustice of what is happening is escaping our attention."

Those who are most affected by this scourge are those who are most vulnerable—the poor, and above all the children of the poor. In most of Latin America and in sub-Saharan Africa, where average incomes have fallen sharply, the children of the poor are paying the Third World's debt with their health.

The report states, "Over the last few years, a decline in health spending per person has been documented in more than three quarters of the nations of Africa and Latin America, and the decline is almost certainly more widespread than these figures suggest."

Another way in which the children of the poor pay the Third World's debt with their health is through their governments' withdrawal of subsidies on food. The real value of food subsidies in Brazil, Colombia, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru, and many other countries has declined in the 1980s.

The poor, who spend three-quarters of their incomes on food, suffer most from this. Moreover, so poorly are the food subsidies targeted—or so indifferent are the governments to the poor—that more than 50% of the subsidized food is bought by the middle and upper classes.

What the report calls the economic adjustment programs instituted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) also work against the poor. As it says succinctly and with considerable restraint, "The problem is that education, health, birth-planning services and natural resource protection all involve government spending, a habit which most adjustment programs are seeking to discourage."



**'Two-thirds of these children will die from five common diseases that could be easily and inexpensively prevented or cured with low-cost vaccines, oral rehydration, and antibiotics.'**

It is not, however, only those countries that have fallen into the debt trap that are suffering from poverty, malnutrition, and preventable disease. Asia, except for Indonesia, Myanmar (Burma), and the Philippines, has managed to escape the trap, but "45% of the children who are malnourished, 35% of those who are not in school, and over 50% of those who live in absolute poverty, are to be found in just three countries—India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh."

Nor is it just a matter of the huge populations of these countries. "The percentage of children who are malnourished is still significantly higher in South Asia than in any other region of the world—including sub-Saharan Africa."

## Not just poor countries

Finally, the report makes clear that poverty, malnutrition, and preventable disease are not confined to the poor countries. They have grown also in the last 10 years in the rich countries.

"In both the United States and the United Kingdom, for example, 10 years of steady economic growth has been accompanied by a doubling of the number of homeless families. And while the safety nets of social services have slowly frayed, the number of children living in poverty in the United States has risen by more than 3 million (from 11% of the child population in 1979 to over 15% today).

"Today, approximately one third of Hispanic Americans and one half of African-Americans are living below the accepted poverty line, as are 40% of the children of

New York, the financial capital of the world."

In the face of its grim statistics the report is determinedly upbeat. Its purpose is not to condemn the governments of the world but to exhort them to give "first call" to children. To this end it seizes upon every declaration by a head of government that serves as evidence of new emerging priorities.

It thus quotes as recognition of "the rights of the child" George Bush's statement that "our national character can be measured by how we care for our children." It says nothing, however, of the fact that the Bush administration's budget is not at all guided by this noble sentiment and does not show the political commitment UNICEF says is necessary for helping the children of the poor.

Although the Gross National Product per capita of the United States—a statistical

average which hides vast differences in wealth among different sectors of the population—is exceeded only by that of Switzerland, 21 countries have lower mortality rates among children under five. UNICEF explains that this statistic is the most important indicator of the state of a country's children.

## "Capitalism with a human face"

UNICEF looks to "enterprise systems and market mechanisms" to stimulate development, but it warns against allowing the unrestricted law of the market to prevail. In essence it calls for capitalism with a human face, pointing to the rise in poverty despite economic growth "in several industrialized nations" (primarily, Thatcher's Great Britain and Reagan's America).

It also points to such contradictions in the Third World as the poor's use of ineffective and expensive anti-diarrhea drugs for childhood illnesses that governmental use of low-cost and low-profit methods would make unnecessary. This is because many times poor people are persuaded by commercial companies' advertisements to use high-cost artificial substitutes for low-cost and much more healthful breast milk.

What UNICEF ignores is a ruling class's drive under capitalism to accumulate capital for investment in order to maintain its social position. The logic of capitalist society militates against the "humanization" of capitalism.

On the other hand, UNICEF's own statistics show how the countries that have had proletarian revolutions since World War II have made remarkable progress in child health care and education.

## Cuba points way forward

Cuba now has the lowest mortality rate among children under five of all the countries in South and Central America and the Caribbean. Comparing it with the Philippines, which became a client state of the United States at about the same time as Cuba, but, unlike Cuba, did not liberate itself from the U.S.'s dominance, we find that the Philippines have 73 deaths per 1,000 children under five as against Cuba's 18 (the United States has 13).

Similarly, China, which has a Gross National Product per capita of \$290 as against India's \$300, has only 43 under-five deaths per 1,000 as against India's 149. This reflects the fact that, as the report says, China is "the country which has done more than any other to pioneer primary health care."

However, the report adds without giving an explanation that China has "largely dismantled its barefoot doctor system." Could this have something to do with the Chinese bureaucracy's growing campaign to institute "market mechanisms?"

While Stalinism has failed, this should not be confused with the superior health care provided to workers and peasants by a planned economy.

On the other hand—as the UNICEF report clearly demonstrates—capitalism itself has not only failed, it has also exacerbated the plight of hundreds of millions of children in the Third World.

Only through an international socialist order can what UNICEF calls "doing the obvious" be achieved: bending every energy to attain the entirely feasible goal of saving the lives of some 60 million children and protecting the normal growth of many millions more.

## East Coast Educational Conference

**'Labor's Turning Point' — Film and panel**

Friday, May 4, 7: 30 p.m.

Speakers:

Domenic Bozzotto, Pres. & Bus. Mgr., Local 26 H.E.R.E.; Linda Harrison, Bus. Agt., Local 2222 IBEW (NYNEX); Jake Cooper, Socialist Action; David Walsh, member TCU Local 1089; Roy Nutter, Pres., ATU Local 1205 (Greyhound)

**'The Struggle for Socialism'**

Saturday, May 5

10:15-12:00 — Prof. Chris Nteta: 'The Struggle in South Africa Today'

1:30-3:15 — Prof. John Edmond: 'The Economic Crisis of Capitalism'

3:30-5:00 — Jake Cooper & Malik Miah: 'Socialist Politics and the Need for a Revolutionary Party'

**Sponsored by Socialist Action  
Boylston Hall Audit., Harvard Yard, Boston**

# Can risk to potential fetus bar women from industrial jobs?

By SANDY O'NEILL

At the end of March, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear a case which challenges sexual discrimination practiced by a Milwaukee-based manufacturer of automobile batteries. In urging the Court to accept this case, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) argued that the defendant, Johnson Controls, Inc., "requires women to make an impossible choice between their fertility and their jobs."

A "fetal protection" policy established in 1982 at Johnson Controls bars women workers from holding any jobs in the plant where they are exposed to lead. The only exceptions to this ban are those women workers who provide medical evidence of infertility.

The company rule applies to all fertile women, including those who say they do not intend to have more children or any children. The policy covers the large majority of production jobs in the company's 16 plants nationwide. These production jobs pay significantly more than other jobs in the plant.

The suit against the company's policy was brought by several women workers in the Milwaukee plant and the United Auto Workers union (UAW). The women suing the company include one who decided to be sterilized in order to keep her job and a 50-year-old who lost her higher-paying job when she was transferred to another department.

## Solidarity from other groups

Women's liberation groups and civil rights organizations have joined other unions in supporting the workers and the UAW. "This reminds me of the old protective labor laws. They protect women right out of the good jobs," Kim Gandy, an officer of the National Organization for Women told *The New York Times* on Oct. 2 of last year.

Joan E. Bertin, who directs the Women's Rights Project of the ACLU, explains, "If the theory behind this case is sustained or at least not successfully challenged, it will institutionalize the second-class employment status of all fertile women."

A statement released by the Women's Legal Defense Fund on March 26 stated, "Employers have used women as the scapegoat of their failure to properly evaluate the harm caused by workplace hazards to both men and women."

An ACLU spokesperson, in an April 4 letter to *The New York Times*, explains that supporters of the union's case want to see federal laws enforced that secure not only equal employment opportunities for both men and women but promise all workers the

right to a safe and healthful workplace.

The plaintiff's lawyer points out that both men and women are as much at risk from lead exposure as a fetus is. Protective legislation should be aimed at safeguarding all workers. Johnson Controls and other companies use these discriminatory policies as a method of ignoring workplace safety issues.

## Protecting companies and fetuses

In March, the California Court of Appeals found that the company's policy was illegal. But that ruling only applies in the state of California. In an earlier ruling last October, the U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago upheld the company in a split 7-4 decision.

In ruling for the company, the court said there was clear scientific evidence that, "an unborn child's exposure to lead creates a substantial health risk involving a danger of permanent harm."

The majority of the court offered two legal theories for letting the policy stand, despite laws which prohibit sex discrimination. Under one of these legal theories, the company's policy of excluding women during their childbearing years qualifies as a "bona fide occupational qualification." The other theory justifies the policy as a "business necessity."

The majority decision said the fetal protection policy was "reasonably necessary to the

industrial safety-based concern of protecting the unborn child from lead exposure."

While legal briefs for Johnson Controls claim that their policy rests on their concern for workers' safety, workplace safety advocates explain that avoiding lawsuits is the real motivation in the adoption of "fetal protection" policies. "Workmen's Compensation" insurance, which covers companies for injuries workers receive on the job, does not cover fetuses—which are considered to be "third parties."

The concept of fetal protection has been experimented with in other areas of social policy as well as in the industrial sphere. Over the past several years, for example, courts have interpreted child abuse and neglect laws to successfully force pregnant women to enter drug-treatment programs and have Caesarean sections.

In other cases, judges have kept women arrested on charges like shoplifting in jail until the end of their pregnancies. The Supreme Court ruling in last year's Webster decision, which let stand a preamble to a Missouri law claiming that life begins at conception, gives a green light to those who want to use this concept to discriminate against women.

## Denying other jobs to women

A growing number of manufacturing corporations—using reasoning similar to that used by Johnson Controls—have adopted policies which exclude women from certain jobs. Included among them are General Motors, B.F. Goodrich, Allied Chemical, Monsanto, and Gulf Oil. As more becomes known about potential health hazards in the work place, this trend could increase.

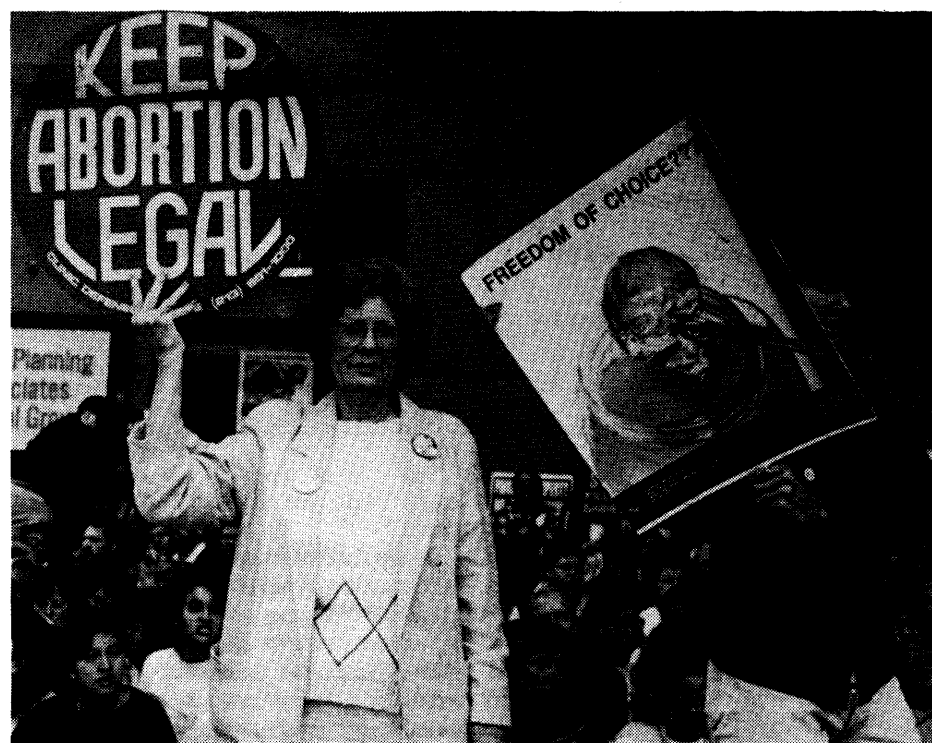
The ACLU points out, however, that leaving the decision of what are acceptable risks to the "employer's analysis of fetal risk could limit women's participation in nearly every area of economic life."

The ACLU's argument is backed by that of one of the dissenting opinions in the Chicago Circuit Court. Justice Frank Easterbrook's opinion is that this case is probably the most important sex discrimination case ever decided under Title XII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bars discrimination based on sex. Easterbrook estimates that women could be denied 15 to 20 million industrial jobs that have some risk of exposure to toxic chemicals.

The judge's opinion warns of the possible ramifications of upholding the company's policy: "A female bus or taxi driver is exposed to noxious fumes and the risk of accidents, all hazardous to a child she carries. Would it follow that taxi and bus companies can decline to hire women? That an employer could forbid pregnant employees to drive cars because of the risks accidents pose to fetuses?"

The date for the Supreme Court to hear this case has not yet been set. While the lower courts invalidated similar fetal protection policies in the past, they have become more common in recent years. Groups supporting the UAW are publicizing the case and its potential ramifications.

## L.A. pro-choice supporters defend clinics against Operation Rescue



About 350 pro-choice activists turned out to defend a Los Angeles abortion clinic on April 14. Supporters of women's rights mobilized against a two-day hit by Operation Rescue in the area. Photos by Kathleen O'Nan/Socialist Action

## Brandeis students defend choice

By CARRIE ALLISON

WALTHAM, Mass.—Students at Brandeis University are taking the lead at campuses across the country into a new decade of activism. Drawing on a statewide network of colleges and universities, they have called for a massive May 1st Student Walkout for Choice on the Boston Common.

"I think we are in a time when student activism is on the rise," Amy Rutkin of Brandeis Voice for Choice [BVC] told *Socialist Action*. The date of the Walkout links it with a previous era. It coincides with the 20th anniversary of the National Student Strike against the Vietnam War, held on May 1, 1970, which in Boston was sparked by a Brandeis student walkout.

This Walkout will feature speakers from "pro-choice" gubernatorial candidates, "pro-choice" congresspeople, as well as represent-

atives from pro-choice organizations and student groups. Other speakers will address related issues like health care, education, and lesbian/gay rights.

BVC got its start while helping to build NOW's April 9, 1989, March on Washington, to which BVC says they brought 10 percent of the Brandeis student body. A meeting last February brought BVC together with activists from other schools. Together they drafted an open letter and list of demands to be printed in campus newspapers. Since then, BVC has been working to strengthen and expand this campus network.

Along the way, BVC has faced a number of hurdles. Also on May 1, for example, Planned Parenthood is lobbying the state legislature to pass a controversial constitutional amendment recently proposed by Boston's Coalition for Choice, which includes NOW, Mass Choice, the state ACLU, the Religious Coalition for Abortion Right,

and the League of Women Voters.

The amendment, designed to outflank a possible ban on all abortions, imposes a time restriction on legal abortions. The 24-week cutoff week, after which a woman could not legally obtain an abortion, would disproportionately affect poor women and women of color, since they often must postpone abortions until they can come up with the money.

"Most of us on the [BVC] steering committee don't support the amendment," Rutkins said, "but certainly we can't speak for the whole student body of Massachusetts. The bottom line is we have two very different agendas." Rutkins isn't too concerned about losing participants to lobbying.

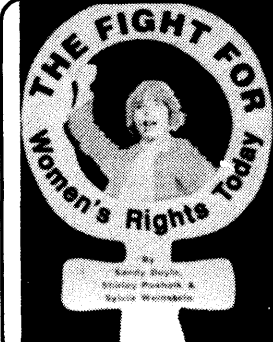
The momentum is building. BVC member Lisa Stein noted that "the five Amherst-area schools are working together for the first time, and they are mobilized and organized and ready to go." BVC members have spent

plenty of time on the phone with other campuses, urging the state's students to publicize the Walkout at their own schools.

Stein noted that the pro-choice struggle has blossomed at Brandeis itself. "There's also starting to be more networking among the women's political organizations on campus," she said. "People have kind of found a way to take their direction and add it into the organization."

And what about campus activism as a whole right now? "As the years have gone on," said Stein, "people have become more aware of the issues and are willing to put their time into them, and are beginning to see a political tinge to what's happening."

BVC plans to be around for whatever comes next. "The Walkout is just one part of BVC," promised Rutkin. "We will continue networking all over the Northeast." ■



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# Native-Americans fight to preserve spearfishing rights

By STEVE ARGUE

ST. PAUL, Minn.—On April 10, close to 250 people rallied on the Minnesota Capitol steps in support of Indian treaty rights. The rally was organized to welcome Native Americans and others who had been running for three days from Pipestone, Minn., to Lac du Flambeau, in northern Wisconsin.

The run and the rally were organized to publicize Native American spearfishing rights. Speakers at the rally included Native American leaders, leaders of the Black community, white peace and justice activists, and a few elected officials.

Last year in northern Wisconsin, thousands of white supremacists came out to protest spearfishing rights. They were opposing the treaties that gave Native Americans the rights to catch fish by spearfishing them at designated times and places.

The attackers threw rocks and bottles at the spearfishers, fired random shots at their supporters, forced their cars off the road, used speedboats to swamp their boats, and shot ball bearings from slingshots.

The governor of Wisconsin, Tommy Thompson, recently issued a statement that if there is violence in Wisconsin again this year, he will appeal to the federal government to amend the treaty rights. This statement turns the victims into the criminals

## 'For Native-Americans, the question of spearfishing rights and other treaty rights is a question of life and death.'

and encourages further right-wing violence this year. The governor's statement is like saying that if the Ku Klux Klan attacks any more Blacks, the right to vote for Black people will have to be reconsidered.

### Big business behind the scenes

Gov. Thompson's hostility is not based on concerns about violence or alleged overfishing. Acid rain, papermills and mining operations are a far greater threat to the fish populations than spearfishing. Resort owners claim that the fish are being depleted by spearfishing. But last year only 4 percent of the fish harvested were caught by Native Americans through spearfishing.

The areas in northern Wisconsin covered by the treaty rights contain some of the largest and richest mineral deposits in the United States. Major mining companies have a vested interest in undercutting Indian treaty rights that could restrict their ability

to exploit these deposits.

It is hardly a coincidence that a principal adviser to Gov. Thompson in this spearfishing fight is one of Exxon's chief Washington lobbyists. Thompson appointed the lobbyist to "negotiate" a suspension of spearfishing rights in return for a \$50 million payoff to the Indian tribes. The deal was rejected by Wisconsin Native Americans in a tribal referendum over the winter.

For Native Americans, the question of spearfishing and other treaty rights is a question of life and death. At the present time, because of racism, the unemployment rate for Native Americans in the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul is around 60 percent. Attacks on fishing rights in Wisconsin are a continuation of the centuries-old government policy of genocide against Native Americans and their culture.

At the rally, Vernon Bellecourt of International Treaty Rights revealed the hypo-

crisis of a recent statement by George Bush that said, "We will show the world that the United States is a country that keeps its word." Bellecourt pointed out that the United States is a country that has violated its treaties with Indians 250 times!

During that period, Chief Red Cloud gave a speech to prepare his people for war. In his speech, he described with a keen eye the way capitalist society functions. He said, "Seek out all things and pile them high. Be fat yourself and let the hungry die. Be warm yourself and let the naked freeze. So shall you see the trail the white man sees."

### Get involved!

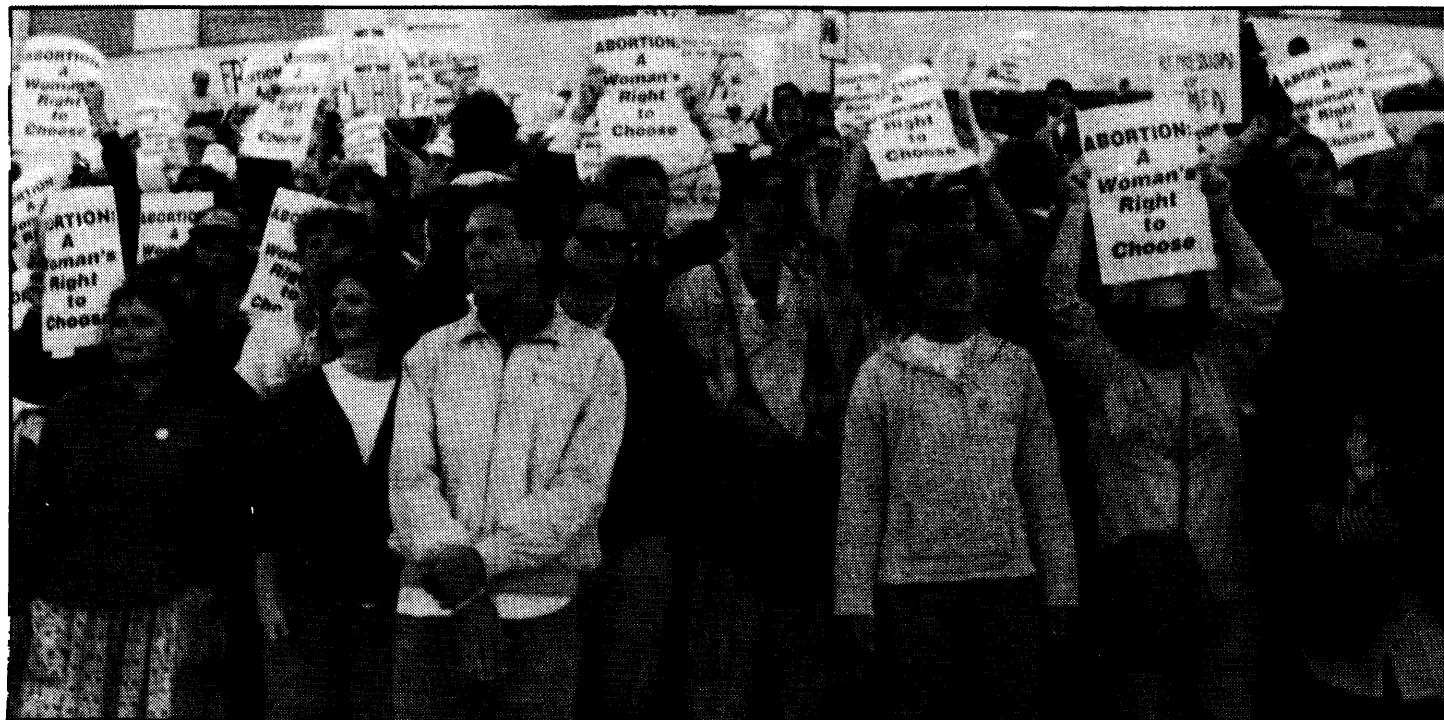
In their drive for giant profits, the big lumber and mining companies would like to convince working people that we have the same interests. They insist that there would be more jobs if treaty rights are broken. Meanwhile, these companies are trying to bust our unions and drive our wages down.

Every working person, everyone who is exploited, and everyone who is sickened by injustice should raise the demand of ending racist violence and ending treaty violations.

Non-violent witnesses are being organized to go to northern Wisconsin for the spring spearfishing season. Socialist Action is planning to be part of this. Continued public education and demonstrations are what are needed in this anti-racist struggle.

As Chris Nissan, a local Black leader, pointed out at the rally, treaty rights are a question of democratic rights. If the racists can get away with these attacks we are all in trouble.

Nissan finished his talk by encouraging everyone at the rally to educate others on the importance of defending treaty rights. To get involved, call the Twin Cities Treaty Rights Coalition at (612) 874-8782. ■



Joe Ryan/Socialist Action

## ... AFL-CIO & abortion

(continued from page 1)

choices without government interference."

"An injury to one is an injury to all." This solidarity slogan of the labor movement when it fights to defend the interests of workers applies with full force now. If women are denied their right to control their own reproductive lives, their ability to participate in the workforce will suffer. Their families will suffer. The only victor will be the employers.

Employers already use women's child-bearing role as an excuse to keep women earning lower wages and to deny them access to higher-paid job categories, job security, and advancement.

Union support to women's choice in reproductive matters is a strong statement to the boss that, "No, you will not divide women and men workers and then use that division to keep all of our wages down!"

### All workers stand to gain

When working people are united—in this case for women's rights—the whole working class stands to gain. Of course, working men are concerned and affected by the size of their families and the quality of the healthcare and lives of their wives, sisters, and daughters.

Access to decent employer-paid healthcare was a fundamental gain of the labor movement—a first step towards a national healthcare system that guarantees health services to all workers, regardless of their current employment status. Denying women access to reproductive health services, such as abortion and birth control, is a serious blow to that gain.

The main issue for the unions, of course, is the same issue that the pro-choice organizations have been explaining all along. Outlawing abortion causes women to die. If the government outlaws abortion, women will still seek to exercise some degree of control over their lives. Many will obtain illegal or self-induced abortions, and many will die.

Botched abortion is the major cause of maternal death in Third World countries where abortion is illegal. Outlawing abortion here—the goal of President Bush and the anti-choice movement—will cause women to die.

Restrictions already enacted in the United States, including the cut-off of federal funds for abortion and requirements that minors obtain parental permission to obtain an abortion, have caused deaths—and this in a country where abortion is still legal! Union brothers and sisters, join the struggle to keep abortion safe, legal, and accessible! ■

## Canadian women face-off against attacks on choice

By SHIRLEY PASHOLK

A House committee recently completed hearings on proposed restrictive abortion legislation introduced by Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

After listening to testimony from

women's organizations, labor representatives, and physicians as to the negative impact this would have on Canadian women and testimony from anti-choice bigots demanding greater restrictions, the committee sent the bill on to the full House without amendment or recommendation for or against passage. The House is expected to debate and vote on it shortly.

The Tories attempted to gain public support for the proposed legislation by means of a last-minute cabinet shuffle. Kim Campbell, a Tory politician with a reputation for supporting women's issues, became the new justice minister, the first woman ever to hold this post.

Campbell argued that this bill is necessary to fill a legal vacuum and prevent the provinces from enacting even more restrictive legislation. But these arguments have not succeeded in halting widespread opposition to the bill.

In the meantime, police are using the threat of arrest to intimidate pro-choice activists and discourage them from political activity. Two people were arrested when Toronto police attacked a peaceful pro-choice march on Feb. 10. Over a month later, a participant in an anti-

apartheid demonstration was arrested and charged with evading the police at the Feb. 10 march.

Operation Rescue named the week before Easter a "week of sacrifice" and vowed to mount a "constant presence of counselors and pickets in front of the Scott clinic" for the entire week. Pro-choice forces outmobilized these goons throughout the week.

A Holy Thursday rally called by Students for Life was billed as a highlight of this "week of sacrifice." Although Catholic schools closed early that day, and many teachers and administrators urged students to attend this rally, only 25 to 30 did so. They were heavily outnumbered by pro-choice supporters.

Plans are continuing for a cross-country day of pro-choice actions on Saturday, May 12. Demonstrations are planned in Calgary, Halifax, Montreal, Quebec City, Saskatoon, Toronto, and Vancouver, as well as in many smaller towns. ■

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# 25 years ago Berkeley students waged battle for free speech, democratic rights

By HAYDEN PERRY

*Berkeley at War*, by W.J. Rorabaugh. Oxford University Press, New York. 277 pages, \$24.95.

This book, published in 1989, is very timely. Last year marks the 25th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement (FSM) on the University of California campus at Berkeley. Plans to erect a memorial to this historic struggle on campus are arousing considerable controversy.

The FSM rallies, sit-ins, and confrontations set the tone for a decade of struggle that started with students and widened to involve the faculty, the anti-war movement, the New Left, the counterculture, and almost every element of protest in the country.

Into the vortex of struggle were drawn the university administration, the Board of Regents, faculty, the Berkeley police, the National Guard, and Governor Ronald Reagan.

W.J. Rorabaugh, who was in Berkeley part of this time, has traced the course of this turbulent movement in a lucid and scholarly fashion. His account ranges from such broad questions as the impact of rock music and the counterculture to details of battle tactics executed under clouds of tear gas.

## "Inheritance of a sterile world"

Many have wondered why such a student revolt erupted at a time when it was easier to go to college and when most graduates had good job prospects. Rorabaugh says that the civil rights struggle and the Vietnam war provide only partial answers. He points out that the student uprising was a global phenomenon, with young people from Paris to Tokyo marching and demonstrating.

He points to a common denominator underlying every issue. He writes, "What students in all these countries faced ... was a world created and then frozen into place in 1945.... For students born just before, during, or after the war, the projection of 20 years of stasis indefinitely into the future promised the inheritance of a sterile world without any chance to alter it."

In the 1950s, the university administration made sure that students did not become movers or makers of a new world. Communists were barred from campus, tables with political literature were banned, and only a gray conformity was permitted.

A loyalty oath, imposed on students and faculty, weeded out radicals, while Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) intimidated dissenters on and off campus. A visit by the committee usually led to lost jobs and ruined careers.

When HUAC visited San Francisco on May 13, 1960, citizens saw something new: hundreds of students being washed down the city hall steps by fire hoses—into the arms of waiting police. They had come to protest the subpoena of a Berkeley student by HUAC inquisitors.

The fire hoses soaked the protesters but enflamed the University of California campus. The next day, 5000 students and others besieged the HUAC hearing room. It was the beginning of a new social force on the American scene.

## "Operation table"

Back on the campus, several years of low-key struggle between administration and students ensued. Tables with left-wing literature, barred from the campus, were set up just outside. In September 1964, the administration, claiming jurisdiction, banned these tables also.

A number of students had spent the summer on Freedom Rides in the South. After fighting for civil rights in Mississippi, they were not prepared to lose them in Berkeley. They moved their tables to the campus's forbidden zone—Sproul Plaza.

The university responded by suspending eight students. Hundreds more young people came forward to keep the tables in place in front of Sproul Hall, the administration building.

On Oct. 1, 1964, university police drove into the plaza and arrested Jack Weinberg, a

student leader of "operation table." He was put in the patrol car, but the car could not go anywhere. It was surrounded by hundreds of students, who were sitting down. For 32 hours the deadlock continued, with Weinberg in the car and students on the roof addressing the crowd.

A new student leadership emerged from this confrontation. Most came from radical families. Many of their parents had been victimized by the witch hunt. This made the students super-sensitive to any infringement of civil liberties.

However, most of these students thought their parents politics were irrelevant. They felt that the "Old Left" had failed, and had little to contribute. Their attitude was expressed by the aphorism coined by Jack Weinberg, "Never trust anyone over 30!"

## "To make their own world"

Rorabaugh quotes Mario Savio, a student who clearly expressed the view of the New Left when he wrote in 1964: "Young people resent being handed a world delineated, finite, and limited; they expect to make their own world.... I am tired of reading history. Now I want to make it."

In Sproul Plaza, the students found they could make history simply by sitting on the ground. They created an impasse that could not be ignored. Clark Kerr, the liberal university president, wavered between the pressures of the students and the directives of the conservative Board of Regents. He negoti-

ated, compromised, and promised to ease restrictive rules.

Meanwhile, police were massed nearby, ready to clear the plaza by force. They were not needed as the students accepted the compromise as a victory and lifted the siege.

It was only a partial victory, however, as Clark Kerr reneged on a promised amnesty and red-baited the growing Free Speech Movement (FSM). It was time to raise the struggle to a higher level. First, the troops had to be prepared.

A simple demand, the traditional right to free speech, rallied the maximum number of students to the movement. They wanted an end to the regulation of political activity on campus.

Rorabaugh expresses admiration for the political savvy that FSM leaders had gained from the civil rights struggle in the South. He writes: "They knew when to advance, when to retreat, how to use crowds, how to use the media, how to intimidate, and how to negotiate. The activists understood their ultimate weapon, the sit-in, and were prepared to use it."

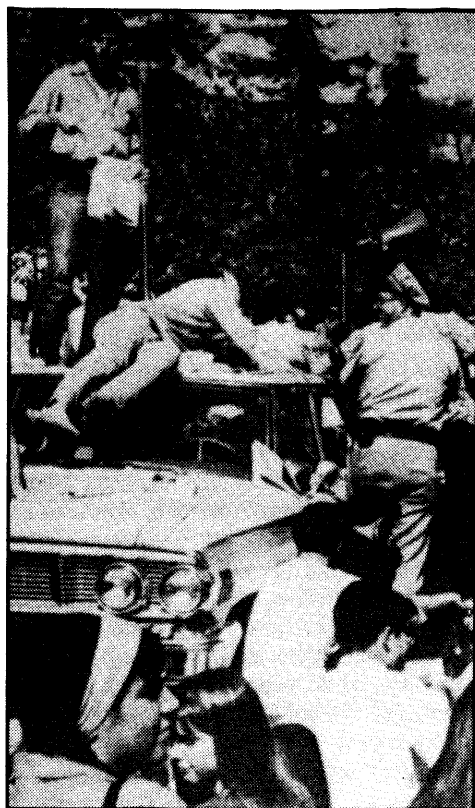
The ultimate gains from a sit-in were described by Rorabaugh: "First it would galvanize, mold, and radicalize student opinion.... Friends would join, then friends of friends, and the feeling of camaraderie experienced in the sit-in [would give] the movement what it needed most: bodies."

"Bringing police onto the campus would generate benefits.... Above all, the faculty would not tolerate the university run as a police state.... Thus a large sit-in would demonstrate widespread support for the FSM and push the faculty to act."

## "You've got to make it stop!"

Mass rallies, attracting as many as 5000 students, were held in Sproul Plaza almost daily. They sang civil rights songs, and original songs satirizing thought control on the campus.

A climax was reached on Dec. 2, when Mario Savio gave voice to the deep anger,



Students keep police from arresting student leader Jack Weinberg.

ated, compromised, and promised to ease restrictive rules.

them. The students went limp and had to be carried out. This operation took till 4 in the afternoon, making the police operation visible to everyone on campus. Over 770 were arrested and taken to a prison 25 miles away. As FSM predicted, faculty members were repelled by the police action. They organized car caravans to go to Santa Rita Jail and bail out the prisoners. A student-faculty alliance now isolated Clark Kerr.

Kerr was further isolated by a one-day student strike on Dec. 4. Half the students stayed away, many from classes cancelled by teaching assistants. These were graduate students who served as part time lecturers, but were not considered faculty members. Inspired by FSM, they pushed for union recognition and better conditions. Thus, the students won another important ally.

Victory was assured when the faculty senate voted 824 to 115 for FSM proposals for free speech and civil rights on campus. Clark Kerr said the Regents would never accept such liberal rules. The faculty bypassed Kerr and negotiated with the Regents themselves.

The Regents were tired of the struggle and anxious to settle. Similar rules had been adopted at nearby San Francisco State and other universities. They accepted the faculty proposals. The war was won.

## More battles to be fought

But there were many more battles yet to be fought. In subsequent chapters, Rorabaugh follows the course of the "Filthy Speech" campaign, the Peoples' Park battle, and the Berkeley students' role in the anti-Vietnam War struggle.

He does not limit his focus to the campus. He covers the rise of the Black Panther movement, the impact of the Beat Generation, the counter culture, and the alternative press.

However, his concentration on happenings in Berkeley alone might lead the reader to forget the student protests breaking out in other universities throughout the country. The FSM was a part of this national and international student protest. It was also a trend-setter, emulated on campuses from coast to coast.

While he reports on the activity of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance on the Berkeley campus, Rorabaugh assigns them a subsidiary role. Marxism was not the guiding ideology of the student protest, he observes.

Yet without a Marxist ideology, the student movement lacked the staying power and program to challenge the power structure. That's one reason why the FSM did not survive as an organization after its victory.

But the FSM was not without historic significance. Rorabaugh concludes: "The sixties, like a tidal wave that had crashed on a beach, dramatically changed Berkeley. Gone was the university's traditional power over its students.... Gone was the cruelty of racial segregation ... gone too was self-confident triumphant liberalism."

Twenty-five years later it appears that many of the battles of the '60s will have to be fought over again. Rorabaugh's book is a valuable critique of the generation of students and others who pulled us out of the despair and pessimism of the McCarthy era. ■

# The struggle for socialism around the world today

By ALAN BENJAMIN

*The following article is based on a report adopted by the National Committee of Socialist Action. The report, which was presented by Socialist Action editor Alan Benjamin, has been adapted and updated for publication.*

Hardly a day goes by without an editorial in the mainstream media proclaiming the death of socialism. The international capitalist class is hell-bent on convincing working people the world over that capitalism is here to stay and that socialism has shown itself to be bankrupt.

A recent article in *Business Week* magazine (April 16, 1990), for example, warns the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa "not to follow the abysmal records of other nations that were seduced by socialism."

The author of the article, economics professor Gary Becker, urges "South Africa's Black leaders to ponder the miserable performance of these controlled economies." For Becker, the evidence of the 20th century shows that "private enterprise and the quest for profits not only promote economic growth but also open up opportunities to unpopular minorities"—whereas socialism "discriminates in favor of politically powerful groups and retards economic progress."

Of course, what Becker and the countless other writers of his ilk forget to point out is that the world capitalist system is on the verge of collapsing under the pressure of a growing mountain of debt and overproduction. They also leave out the fact that hundreds of millions of people around the world have been pushed to the edge of starvation by a system that long ago outlived its usefulness. [See UNICEF article, page 3.]

Becker and others would like the South African masses, who are fighting to overthrow what they call "racial capitalism," to accept capitalism with a "human face," that is, capitalism without apartheid. They are anxious that the regular flow of super-profits to the South African bosses and multinational corporations not be interrupted.

But the most blatant lie promoted by this growing chorus of capitalist apologists is the equation they make between socialism and Stalinism. It is the Stalinist system which is crumbling before our very eyes—not socialism, which has never existed in these countries.

Socialism requires the fullest development of workers' democracy, of a planned economy run and controlled by the workers. But such a system is incompatible with bureaucratic rule and privilege. Socialism, in fact, is the mortal enemy of Stalinism.

### A theoretical problem for us?

Unfortunately, many in the socialist movement have been influenced by the capitalist propaganda blitz and have been demoralized by the recent events in Eastern Europe.

Take Oliver MacDonald, for example, one of the most prominent socialist scholars in England. In a recent issue of the British monthly *Socialist Outlook* (No. 22, March 1990), MacDonald states that "[f]or hundreds of millions of people in Europe, this [the situation in Eastern Europe] is not simply a defeat for communism with a capital 'C,' let alone a defeat for Stalinism, but a defeat for communism with a capital 'M,'—for Marxism itself.

"Serious Marxists will not just brush this aside and say, 'This is not our defeat, we are advancing,' and all that. This is a serious practical and theoretical problem for us."

MacDonald goes on to say that the political revolutions are failing in Eastern Europe because they have not been led by socialists,



***'We are confident that the workers will resist the further inroads of capitalism in the workers' states—not out of ideological preference (many of them will continue to harbor illusions in West German-style capitalism)—but because they will oppose unemployment and the lowering of their standard of living.'***

but by people "who see the only viable alternative as being Western capitalism."

That the struggles in Eastern Europe are not being led by socialists is true—at least for the time being. But MacDonald leaves out one very important factor in his assessment of these events, and that is the role of the working class.

We in Socialist Action are not in need of soul-searching about the "theoretical problems before us." Quite the contrary. We have hailed the unfolding political revolution in the East as one of the most advanced stages of the class struggle in this century.

Unlike others who are confused by the appearance of things—believing, for example, that the statue of the Goddess of Liberty represents a call for the return of capitalism—we have kept our eyes on the working class and their struggles.

We were inspired by the Chinese workers who established their own independent unions in the months leading up to the events at Tiananmen Square. These workers lambasted the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy for instituting capitalist market reforms that created further inequalities and attacked their standard of living.

We applauded the workers' general strike in Czechoslovakia that brought down the Stalinists. We hailed the formation of the workers' committees and councils in Romania—the embryonic forms of workers' rule—that brought down Ceausescu.

We welcomed the many proletarian forms of struggle in Romania, East Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union itself: strike

committees (such as in Vorkuta), soldiers' committees, factory committees, etc.

All of these embryonic or potential forms of workers' rule are stifled and limited at this moment, it is true. This is because of the petty-bourgeois leadership that has championed the fight for democracy and, at least for now, has been placed in the leadership of these movements. These people, it is quite obvious, have no perspective for waging a struggle for socialist democracy.

### Workers will resist inroads

We are confident that the workers will resist the further inroads of capitalism in the workers' states—not out of ideological preference (many of them will continue to harbor illusions in West German-style capitalism)—but because they will oppose unemployment and the lowering of their standard of living.

These workers, we must understand, will not be getting Western European capitalism as part of the "new deal." Theirs will more resemble South Korean or Brazilian enclave capitalism than anything else. The overturn of the planned economies in the East will signify unemployment and increased misery for millions of workers and their families.

In Poland, the young workers are already openly defying the "sell-out" Walesa and leading wild-cat strikes. A new opposition current called Solidarnosc '80 (to denote its identification with the initial goals of the union) was just founded.

In the Soviet Union the coal miners, with their powerful general strike last year, sent a

message to Gorbachev that perestroika austerity is unacceptable. This is what accounts for Gorbachev's impasse in moving full steam ahead with the pro-capitalist reforms he has promised.

### Building revolutionary parties

We in Socialist Action believe that tremendous opportunities have been created in the East for building revolutionary-Marxist combat parties on the basis of the political program put forward by Leon Trotsky over 50 years ago in the founding documents of the Fourth International.

Trotsky's "Revolution Betrayed" and "Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution" remain the cornerstone theoretical documents for revolutionists in this epoch. They have been proven correct by the recent events in the East. It is uncanny how relevant they are to the situation today.

The situation is wide open for the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, to intervene with its banner raised high. There is a giant political void in Eastern Europe that must be filled.

With a corps of militants articulating the right ideas, the Fourth International could, without any doubt, be propelled into the leadership of the mass movements against capitalist restoration and austerity that are just down the pike.

The Fourth International could and should be part of this developing fightback, seeking to take it all the way to the establishment of

(continued on page 8)

(continued from page 7)

a genuinely socialist society.

### On the upsurge in China

A sign of the immense possibilities opened up to the Fourth International is the recent appearance of a magazine published by Chinese "pro-Democracy" dissidents that takes a clear position in favor of socialist democracy.

The magazine is called *Open Forum*. To quote its masthead, it is a "trilingual [English, French, Chinese] review edited by the Association 'Looking for a New Path for the Democratic Movement in China.'" It is published every two or three months in Paris.

The second issue of this magazine (February 1990) reflects a growing understanding of the meaning of the recent events in Eastern Europe and the need for socialism.

The lead editorial titled "Long Live Democratic Internationalism," states:

"The notion of proletarian internationalism appeared publicly with the Manifesto of the Communist Party in 1848. For Marx and Engels, 'the working class knows no borders.' The slogan is 'Proletarians of the world, unite!' reinforced by the Internationale, the symbolic song of the Paris Commune. Since then, proletarian internationalism has been the ideal and the directing line of both communists and socialists."

The editors of *Open Forum* go on to explain how Stalinism "deviated the communist movement from its role," with Stalin "defending the absurd thesis that 'socialism can win in one country.'"

The consequence of this, the editors state, is that "orthodox Marxism thus loses both content and form. The countries of the 'communist bloc' only preoccupy themselves with their particular interests and sometimes show intentions of hegemony.... This explains the crisis in the 'socialist' camp and in these Stalinist movements."

They continue:

"In the face of this situation, expected for so long, international reactionary imperialists boil over with ardor and joy and a few convenient men of letters and anti-communist experts hasten to announce the final defeat of communism and socialism and to proclaim loud and clear the victory of capitalism. Some even go as far as saying with impudence that the '1990s are the end of the ghost.'"

"We do not agree with these extravagant predictions and cheap maledictions. It is obvious that many scandals and crimes have marred the international communist movement and the 'socialist' camp. Indeed, some of its leaders have trodden on human rights by repressing any democratic upsurge."

The editorial continues further down:

"The political and economic crises which we can observe today in China, in the USSR, and in the Eastern European coun-

tries in no way mean that socialist and communist doctrine was fundamentally mistaken or that it has failed in practice.

"What these crises prove is only that Stalinism has erred fundamentally and failed totally. Stalinism is false socialism; it is an amalgam of social fascism, imperial chauvinism, bureaucratism, and dictatorial absolutism. Until today, no country has succeeded in founding a socialist society based on scientific socialism, which is the ideal realm of Marxism. How then can one prophesy its total defeat?"

They go on to say:

"Real socialism cannot be established in just one or several isolated countries (least of all in Third World countries). Neither can a real democratic system be established in only one or several isolated countries. Real socialism must be built up progressively on the basis, for example, of the experience of the Paris Commune and of the soviets which resulted in the [Russian] October Revolution."

The editorial then attacks the Stalinist policy of allowing ever-growing imperialist penetration into the workers' states, pointing out that the bureaucrats are becoming "compradores of capitalism" and are seeking to establish a "new liberal form of bureaucratic capitalism." It concludes by calling for genuine proletarian internationalism to defend the Chinese anti-bureaucratic revolution.

The people who are involved in the "Association" that publishes *Open Forum* are not of secondary importance in the Chinese pro-Democracy Movement. The main person in this current is Lin Xilin, who was imprisoned for 15 years in China after her leading role during the 1956 "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom" period.

Another person involved in this magazine is Yue Wu, who was one of the central leaders of the Autonomous Workers Federation of Peking. Yue Wu was one of the coordinators of the workers' contingent at Tiananmen Square.

Others include lesser-known leaders of the student movement at Tiananmen Square, journalists, workers, and intellectuals. All of them are in exile. Most of them live in France, where the pro-socialist Chinese dissidents have regrouped.

(Unfortunately nearly all the Chinese dissidents in the United States have been co-opted by the U.S. State Department—even though George Bush sends friendly delegations to visit Deng Xiaoping and refuses to extend their student visas.)

### Impact of Eastern Europe

One of the reasons why these Chinese dissidents have developed so quickly over the past year is the unfolding political revolution in Eastern Europe.

On Jan. 9, for example, the core group of the "Association for a New Path" issued a statement titled, "For our people, hope has been renewed with the demonstrations in Eastern Europe." In it they write:

## Chinese dissident hits Bush's hypocrisy

Many in the Chinese pro-Democracy Movement are beginning to understand the hypocrisy of President Bush's "support" for human rights and democracy in China.

Lin Xilin, a leader of the 1956 pro-democracy movement in China who spent 15 years in prison, spoke out against U.S. policy at a Feb. 11-12 meeting in Paris on the theme "Revolution is Rising in the East of Europe." She said:

"My 40 years of experience in the struggle for democracy have helped me understand that the imperialists, in the final analysis, have the same interests as the dictators throughout the world..."

"After the [June 4, 1989] Peking events, I saw young people who had placed their hopes in imperialism, in America, who said, 'You see the United States is supporting us; they are placing sanctions on China.'"

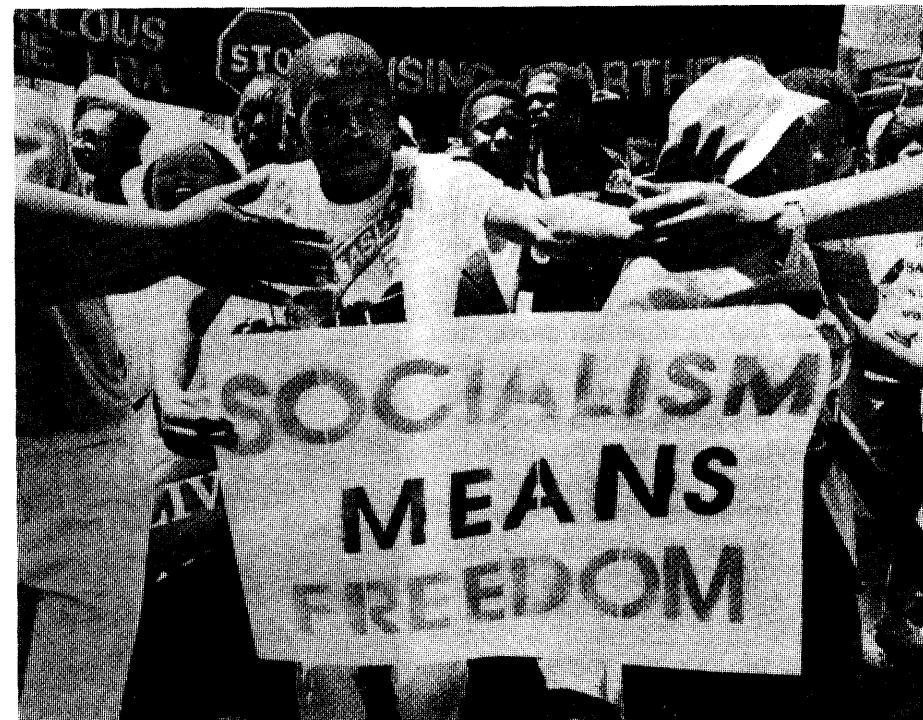
"In my opinion, these sanctions are

nothing but hot air. They amount to nothing. The U.S. government is not about to give up its interests in China for the sake of human rights.

"Deng Xiaoping and all the people of his clique, all the privileged ones, have had extremely tight links with the West.... So when I hear about sanctions it makes me laugh.

"Bush, in his attempts to get closer to the Chinese leaders, will carry on as he has done in the past with all dictators. He will continue to support the regime of Deng Xiaoping.

"We are therefore in a situation where the only path left open to us is to reinforce solidarity with all democratic movements in the world. The interests of the workers in the West are the same as the interests of the workers in the East.... The only path for democratic revolution is unity and internationalism." (reprinted from *International Tribune* No. 15, March 1990)



"What do the Romanian people and we have in common? They, like we, fought a dictator who claimed to represent the working class but who starved the people to pay back the debt owed to the International Monetary Fund, and who didn't hesitate to massacre the people at Timisoara to hold onto power.

"The Chinese workers are also held under tight rein under pretext that it is necessary to pay back the imperialist debt. But the debt of Deng Xiaoping is not the debt of the Chinese people. No more than the Romanian people, the Chinese people never saw a single cent of these loans benefit them; the money was used to enrich the layer of corrupt bureaucrats who are willing to sell the country off to the highest bidder, just like in the days prior to the War of Liberation.

"For our people, who were in shock after June 4, hope was renewed with the demonstrations in Eastern Europe. Hence one could read *dazibao* [political posters] in Peking which read, 'Our blood was not shed in vain—Berlin!'

"We are also aware of the fact that Czech students mobilized by the thousands, carrying banners which read, 'Tiananmen Square encouraged us.'

"We, who for so long have been cut off from the world working class, have been encouraged by the renewal of solidarity among the peoples. We now know that it is not only possible to make the dictators tremble; it is possible to defeat them!

"Did you know, for example, that students in Peking organized a major celebration after it was announced that Ceausescu had been executed? They put together a story mural devoted to the Romanian revolution. One of the cartoons showed Ceausescu as a dog, with a caption, 'This dog fired on the demonstrators just as his master did on June 4 at Tiananmen Square.'

"From now on it will no longer be possible to keep a people in isolation."

### Chinese workers' movement

The question of the workers' movement in China is also extremely important. From the major media, it appeared that this was only a marginal development. Judging from more recent reports from China, it appears that the workers were beginning to organize their factory committees and independent unions in more places than just Peking.

This is obviously what brought fear to the bureaucrats. They may have been able to co-opt the student movement, but when the workers began to mobilize around their own demands, this was too much for Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng.

But what this meant is that the large bulk of those who were arrested and tortured after the June 4 crackdown were workers. A recent article in the *Los Angeles Times* (Feb. 6, 1990) bears this out. The article states:

"The Asia Watch report [which was released the previous day] notes that there have been at least 40 officially announced executions of protesters, including many convicted only of crimes against property, such as burning vehicles or setting fire to trains.

"While most international attention has been focused on the situation of students and intellectuals, the Asia Watch report states that 'it is the workers in China who have in fact borne the brunt of the recent and continuing repression.'

"Workers' form the great majority of those who have been detained," the report states. "Their conditions of detention are much harsher than those of other groups.... They are also the ones most likely to be subjected to torture and other forms of gross ill-treatment during police interrogation. Significantly, all those known to have been executed since June 4 were either workers or unemployed."

This article gives you a sense of the threat to the bureaucracy posed by the Chinese workers' movement.

### On German unification

One issue over which there has been tremendous confusion within the radical movement is the issue of German unification. This is understandable given the imperialist propaganda barrage on this issue. It's not a simple question either.

Our starting point in approaching this discussion must be the needs, demands, and aspirations of the German workers' movement. Without this perspective, we are inevitably led into the trap of seeing these events solely from the point of view of the imperialists.

Obviously, as revolutionary socialists we are not indifferent to the character of the reunification that takes place in Germany. But we don't stand off on the sidelines telling whoever will listen that German unity is ex-





clusively an imperialist ploy aimed at destroying the East German workers' state and annexing it.

We would not get much of a hearing among the East German workers for such a view. Why is this?

This is because the goal of unity is a deeply felt aspiration of German working people. And it is a progressive aspiration. There is a specific German national question, even though the German nation is not an oppressed nation in the same sense as Lithuania or Armenia.

The German working class was divided against its will following World War II and was subject to the occupation of four imperialist armies and then to a division which was the basis for maintaining the capitalist status quo in Europe during the entire post-war era.

Today the question of German unification has appeared with full force. It is on the agenda not because of the "vengeful" will of German imperialism, but because the workers have placed it there.

The Fourth International has always argued that as soon as German national sentiment was reborn, it would be necessary to integrate it into the struggle for socialism. But how can this be done?

The first thing is to avoid the mistake made by many on the left in Germany who hold that the demand for German unity is a totally reactionary one.

These forces have tended to take the side of former East German Stalinist Prime Minister Modrow, arguing that he and the Stalinist bureaucracy represent the "last line of defense" of the East German workers' state against its absorption by West Germany.

But Modrow is no ally of the workers' state; he is among its best gravediggers. It was he who, shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, opened up the gates to imperialist penetration, selling off major sectors of nationalized industry to the West German capitalists and laying off thousands of government workers.

The way to integrate the sentiment for German unity into the struggle for socialism is by championing the workers' demand for unity on the basis of a political program that champions *all* of the working class demands against capitalist exploitation and Stalinist oppression.

It is necessary to formulate a series of demands aimed at advancing the struggle in both components of Germany against the bureaucrats and the bosses: Equal Pay for Equal Work — Shorter Work Week With No Cut in Pay — Full Employment! But the starting point in formulating demands such as these must be support for the German

people's right to self-determination.

In this context, it is worthwhile examining the March 18 elections in East Germany.

#### Meaning of March 18 elections

What is clear from these elections is that the demand for German unification, as we predicted, overshadowed all other political questions.

The party that most strongly articulated the need for unity—Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Coalition—was the winner because it promised East German workers immediate unity with full rights, equal opportunities, and unlimited wealth. East Germans, from day one, would have the same standard of living as workers in West Germany, Kohl proclaimed.

This, of course, was sheer demagoguery because Kohl's goal is to annex East Germany and turn it into a pool of cheap labor for West German capitalism. Kohl's program, only recently released, calls for closing down hundreds of "unproductive" state-owned factories, which will lead to a loss of an estimated 2 million jobs.

Soon after Kohl's Christian Democratic ally was elected in East Germany, Kohl and his party reneged on their first promise: The East German mark would not be traded at parity with the West German mark, as promised, but would be converted at the rate of two East German marks for one West German mark.

This meant that the savings of East German workers would be cut in half with the stroke of a pen. It also meant that the average wage of an East German worker would be only 30 percent of that of a West German worker. (Even with parity, the East German workers will only make 60 percent of what their counterparts in the West make.)

Immediately, East German workers were again in the streets to demand parity of the mark. Kohl was forced to retreat and to offer a compromise financial package to the East Germans.

#### Role of Social Democrats

Prior to the elections, most opinion polls indicated that the new East German Social Democratic Party, the SPD-East, would be the vehicle most likely to translate the East Germans' aspiration for unity *and* social welfare.

Throughout January, hundreds of thousands of workers turned out to hear West German SPD leader Willy Brandt. But at its founding conference in Leipzig in February, the SPD-East backed off from its support to a prompt unification of the two Germanys, proposing instead a lengthy unification "by

stages."

The economic policy statement of the SPD-East also backed off from support to the social gains of the East German workers' state (full employment, free education and healthcare, etc.). The SPD-East called instead for a "free market economy" where such social programs would be at the mercy of market forces.

Hence the SPD-East turned the masses directly over to Kohl and to his reactionary Christian Democratic coalition, which appeared in the eyes of the workers to be the champion of unification and a higher standard of living.

That the East German workers were initially looking to the Social Democratic Party does not mean they were moving in a right-wing direction either. They were looking to the old working-class party that was banned in 1946 and that hadn't been tainted by the brush of Stalinism.

Wenzell Woborill, a historic leader of the SPD in what became East Germany, was a prominent speaker at the rallies in Berlin and Leipzig after the Wall came down. He addressed an Open Letter to the December 1989 SPD Congress in West Berlin in which he gives a sense of why workers initially looked to the SPD:

"Comrades, I call upon you today for I am convinced that the Berlin SPD and the SPD as a whole should participate in the fight of the old social-democratic comrades and of all those who fight for free and true socialism.... For we are not only confronted with the apparatus of the SED [Stalinist party], but with the apparatus of the entire state.

"The conquests of the GDR [East Germany] today (state property and cooperatives, low rents, social security, guaranteed minimum standard of living, and so on) must absolutely be defended. Especially in relation to the economic reforms in East Germany, these conquests must be protected against the West German big monopolies.

"But this can only be done by solidarity in action among workers with their independent trade unions, and an SPD defending the traditions of the labor movement....

"Comrades, the German question is on the agenda! This means that the right to self-determination of the German people will settle this question. This makes it all the more important that the SPD should pronounce itself in favor of the right to self-determination for GDR citizens and that it should do so publicly in front of the masters of GDR.

"We are Germans first. GDR citizenship was imposed on us. For the free democrats and socialists who remained here, German unity has always remained on the agenda. We must achieve it now. We don't want to suffer from the consequences of the capitalist market economy (mass unemployment, impoverishment, increasing numbers of homeless people, drugs).

"The task of forging a united Germany is the task of constituting a free, democratic, and socialist Germany, a Germany of work-

ers' unity." (reprinted in *Tribune Internationale* No. 15, March 1990)

This working-class component of the fight for German unity has been deliberately hidden by the imperialist mass media. They would like everyone to believe that right-wing nationalism is on the rise and that the Fourth Reich is on the horizon.

But these totally reactionary views have little to do with reality. The East German workers have ripped such right-wing propaganda into shreds when it has been distributed by totally marginal groupings at the regular mass rallies.

East German workers have illusions in the West, this is true. This is fully understandable. But these illusions will be fully shattered when they begin to see that the unity proposed by Kohl with a sugar-coating is, in fact, capitalist unity; that is, unemployment, plant shutdowns, loss of savings in East German marks, higher rents, inflation, and so on.

A political current that articulates the need for a unified, socialist Germany is bound to get more and more of a hearing from workers as these illusions are shed and workers begin to form their own committees and unions to defend the gains of nationalized property and to fight for their rights.

People who warned of the dangers of capitalist reunification without showing their support for the legitimate demand for self-determination and unification will be relegated to the sidelines. They will influence no one but themselves and perhaps a tiny group of their "new left" sympathizers.

For us, moreover, the fight for a unified, socialist Germany is a component of the overall fight for a united, socialist Europe. And yes, this question has been placed on the agenda by the unfolding political revolution in Eastern Europe.

The capitalists have their plans for a unified Europe. They call it the "Europe of 1992." Of course, this is a pipe-dream. Already inter-imperialist rivalries have developed over the German question. France and England fear a German super-imperialism. They want to make sure that the structures of NATO and the European Economic Community are securely in place so as to hem in the new German Goliath.

We must counter the "Europe of 1992" or the "Homeland of Europe," as Gorbachev calls it, with the slogan of a United Socialist Europe. Common initiatives and campaigns must be proposed throughout Europe to give this slogan a real working-class content, with rallies, common election campaigns, and the like.

#### On the situation in Nicaragua

Political power has officially been transferred in Nicaragua from the Sandinistas to the right-wing UNO coalition headed by Violeta Chamorro.

The Sandinistas, you will recall, agreed to

(continued on page 10)

## 'E. German workers don't want unemployment'

Why do East German workers favor unification with West Germany?

Franz Schubert, a candidate of the Circles for Workers' Politics and Democracy in Leipzig, explained why during the recent election campaign in East Germany. He said:

"The tens of thousands of people who have been demonstrating week after week in Leipzig [at the regular Monday evening demonstrations] are not right-wingers, as the media would like us to believe.

"They, along with most of the workers in East Germany, are for the unity of Germany not because they want to become unemployed or because they want to pay higher rents, but because they want to have the same rights and living standards as their comrades in West Germany. They want equal pay for equal work. They don't want to become West Germany's poor relative....

"In the region of Dresden alone, 35 to

40 workers' councils have been formed in the factories since the Wall came down. In every city similar committees have been formed. Workers want to form new independent unions; this is one reason they have formed these factory committees. They want to get rid of the official Stalinist union federation, the FDGB.

"But the Stalinists who are still in control of the factories are doing everything to stifle the formation of these factory committees and councils. They want to discipline the workers with the same kind of labor legislation that has saddled the workers in West Germany.

"But the workers in these committees are strongly resisting these pressures and attacks. They don't want to 'participate' in the decisions made by someone else; they want to decide for themselves what policies will be carried out in the factories and in society at large." (reprinted in *Tribune Internationale* No. 15, March 1990)

# ...Struggle for socialism

(continued from page 9)

make numerous concessions to the contras and U.S. imperialism—concessions that ultimately led to their ouster from power—on the promise that the contras would be demobilized.

The contras were to be demobilized by Dec. 1, 1987—and then the date was pushed back time after time, while the imperialists pressed for further concessions from the Sandinistas.

Well, election day has come and passed and a new president has been sworn into office—and still the contras are not demobilized! Twelve thousand contras remain fully armed inside Nicaraguan territory, poised to come to the aid of Chamorro in the event the “unruly Sandinista mobs” aren’t willing to turn back their farms to their former landowners, or the workers decide to strike against the new government.

The day after Chamorro took office the contras were—once again—to begin laying down their arms. One week later, only one contra, literally, had agreed to put down his gun. The rest openly stated their refusal to do so until the Sandinistas had been driven from all positions of influence in Nicaragua.

Today, all the forces of world counter-revolution—from the imperialists to the Stalinists to the Social Democrats—are rushing to prop up the UNO coalition and government. They are also pressing the Sandinistas to collaborate with the new regime. The buzz word is “national reconciliation.”

Unfortunately, the top leadership of the Sandinista Front has shown its willingness to cooperate in this reactionary venture.

FSLN Commander Humberto Ortega, for example, has agreed to become the head of the new army under Chamorro, who will become the new Defense Minister. Ortega’s role, according to Chamorro, is an interim one: to disarm the civilian militias (tens of thousands of guns are still unaccounted for among the population) and to rebuild a disciplined capitalist army.

Chamorro’s close advisers have been willing to alienate many of the top contra brass by appointing Ortega to head up the army. They believe that the Sandinista leaders are needed to disarm the people and “depoliticize” the armed forces.

## Class struggle not halted

The entire Nicaraguan and Central American revolution was dealt a severe blow with the Sandinistas’ electoral defeat. But the class struggle hasn’t been halted. The rank and file of the FSLN are angry and are addressing some of their fire at their own leadership for helping to pave the way for the UNO victory.

Workers and peasants who have supported the government and revolution are saying they will fight to preserve the gains of the revolution.

We should remember that the Nicaraguan people haven’t forgotten the torture clinics set up by former Somoza National Guard Col. Enrique Bermudez and his cronies. Bermudez, a leading contra commander, is expected to return to Nicaragua to be part of the new government.

The Sandinistas, under pressure, released close to 8000 contras and ex-Somoza guardsmen from prison. These are people who killed, raped, and tortured. Members of the Sandinista army and militias—as well as the members of the cooperatives and other “footsoldiers” of the revolution—will not easily tolerate having these contra terrorists on the loose.

They are worried that the contras will seek to take their revenge against those who have supported, and will continue to support, the Nicaraguan Revolution.

It is in this context that the comrades in the Movement for Revolutionary Unity (MUR) have a good opportunity to link up with the workers, peasants, students, and Sandinista rank and file who made the revolution and defended it against all odds for more than 10 years.

The MUR put forward a revolutionary alternative to the Sandinistas in the February elections and won one seat in the National Assembly. [See electoral platform of the MUR in the October 1989 *Socialist Action*, and recent interviews with MUR leaders in the April 1990 *Socialist Action*.]

Following the elections, leaders of the

MUR have been invited to union meetings and informal gatherings of Sandinista members to present their views on what should be done next. They are being looked to for answers about why the Sandinistas lost the elections and what strategy should be followed to defend the gains of the revolution.

The reason they are being sought after is

## A Soviet view on Nicaraguan elections



Contras in Nicaragua: Despite Chamorro victory, they refuse to disarm.

If anyone ever harbored illusions in the so-called progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy’s foreign policy, these illusions should be put to rest by a recent article on the Nicaraguan elections published by a leading Soviet official.

The article, titled “A free and just vote,” was written by Alexander Baryshev, deputy editor-in-chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences journal *Latinskaya Amerika*. Its official character is indicated by the fact it was released by the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

To read it you would think Ronald Reagan had written it. The author states:

“The backlash against the Sandinistas was largely justified. Their thoughtless economic administration and suffocation of the market hit the economy hard. Ousted from political offices, the private sector was unwilling to give a helping hand to the floundering Sandinistas.

“On the contrary, in a huff, many politically indifferent entrepreneurs joined the opposition and called fire and brimstone upon the heads of the ideological eager beavers. Blunders in the agricultural and cooperative sector only fueled the dissatisfaction....

“The Nicaraguans have made their choice and the Sandinistas had to go.... [T]he defeat may become a useful reminder for any government to listen to the people, even the opposition, and be

because they were able to reach tens of thousands of people with a program that called for defending, deepening, and extending the Nicaraguan Revolution on the road to socialism.

## On events in South Africa

The world working class won a big victory with the release of Nelson Mandela, a victory which should not be attributed to any one particular anti-apartheid organization—namely, the ANC.

It was the continued mobilization of millions of Black workers, slum dwellers, students, and peasants throughout the 1980s—the numerous general strikes and stayaways, the constitution of mass Black trade unions (COSATU and NACTU)—which sent a signal to the white minority that apartheid had outlived its usefulness and was creating a situation so explosive that capitalist rule itself was in danger.

Understanding this new situation, imperialism began to put pressure on the South

African ruling class to change the form of political rule from apartheid to a more traditional form of neo-colonial, capitalist domination.

Imperialism also sought Gorbachev’s support to help stabilize South Africa through this potentially explosive transition. (Gorbachev wields tremendous influence with the South African Communist Party, and also with the ANC.) Not surprisingly, Gorbachev willingly acquiesced.

We can expect that the imperialists (and

derail the freedom struggle of the South African people.

They are aware of the fact that the ANC leadership, at its December 1989 meeting in Paris, “disavowed the old rhetoric of nationalizing business ... and recognized the need for rapid growth,” to quote an article that appeared in the *Daily Nation* of Nairobi, Kenya. (reprinted in *World Press Review*, April 1990)

*Newsweek* magazine (April 16) explained Mandela’s defense, following his release from prison, of the old ANC policy on nationalizations “largely on his need to maintain credibility among the more radical activists [in the ANC].” They expect he will back off from this position if the apartheid regime grants him some political concessions to show the South African masses.

The imperialists are also aware of the fact that in his trial in 1960, Mandela was willing to compromise on the issue of Black majority rule. Mandela stated at the time:

“We believe for the moment that whites are not ready for a Black-majority government. We think we could give you 60 seats [in the national legislature], which means that the Black people will designate 60 Blacks to represent them in the parliament. Five years later, we could review the terms of the agreement.”

“In my opinion,” Mandela said in his trial, “this will be a great victory. I will tell them I agree, but I will never give up our demand to have the right to vote.” (quoted in *Fraternité-Matin*, Abidjan, Ivory Coast, March 18, 1990)

Articles in the bourgeois press, such as the one in *Fraternité-Matin*, are hoping Mandela will back off from Black majority rule today and seek an interim compromise that would “lead South Africans to national reconciliation.” The ANC could save face, they say, by promising majority rule sometime in the future.

The ANC’s call for a non-racial South Africa (as opposed to Black majority rule), as well as its commitment to a mixed capitalist economy, make it particularly vulnerable to imperialist pressures and maneuvers.

This commitment to a mixed economy was spelled out specifically in the ANC’s new Constitutional Guidelines adopted in 1988. The combined tasks of the South African revolution—the struggle for democracy and against apartheid combined with the struggle against capitalist exploitation—are dismissed by the ANC’s new Guidelines.

Meanwhile, thousands upon thousands of anti-apartheid activists in South Africa have called for a fight against “racial capitalism” and for socialism.

Currents such as the Azanian People’s Organization (AZAPO) and the Cape Action League are raising the call for a Constituent Assembly and “one person, one vote”—without any two-chambers to restrict Black majority rule.

At the 9th National Convention of AZAPO, held in Johannesburg on March 3-4, the 7000 delegates put forward the call for a Constituent Assembly within the overall call for a “Socialist Azania.”

These currents are opposed to negotiations between the ANC and the ruling apartheid regime behind the backs of the people and without their input. They argue that only a Constituent Assembly, where the masses themselves can decide on a new constitution and future, can meet the democratic needs of the people.

They correctly understand that in this epoch of secret negotiations and “regional agreements” between Gorbachev and Bush, the bourgeois-democratic demand of a Constituent Assembly has an immensely revolutionary dynamic for the South African masses.

## Build the Fourth International!

Whether it be Germany, Nicaragua, South Africa—or the United States—the struggle for socialism is very much alive.

Our movement, the Fourth International, is the only one today in the workers’ movement that can rightfully claim that its banner is untarnished. Our program holds the only hope for millions of people worldwide seeking a way out of capitalist exploitation and bureaucratic oppression.

To meet its historic responsibilities, the Fourth International must seek to win the best militants in all these countries to our program and organization. This, in fact, is the essential question facing our movement in every arena of the class struggle: the need to build parties of the Fourth International based on the historic program of our movement. ■

democratic and quick to respond.” (reprinted in *Times of Latin America*, March 21, 1990)

This piece by Baryshev represents an open and criminal attack on the Nicaraguan Revolution. It whitewashes the role of U.S. imperialism and of the Nicaraguan capitalist class in destroying and sabotaging the economy.

It was the contra war, the imperialist trade embargo, and the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie’s decapitalization which accounted for the “floundering economy”—not the thoughtless Sandinista administration or their stifling of the market.

In fact, the opposite is true. The Sandinistas bent over backwards—incorrectly—to provide the private sector with generous incentives to produce. But this money wound up in the coffers of the contras, not in the productive sphere.

Today, the Soviet bureaucracy, along with the reformists of all stripes, are rushing to the aid of the new Chamorro government.

In line with Gorbachev’s “new thinking,” the president of the new UNO-dominated National Assembly in Nicaragua is none other than Luis Sánchez, the head of the pro-Moscow Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN). The PSN, along with the PCN (Communist Party of Nicaragua), is part of Chamorro’s reactionary UNO coalition.—A.B.

Gorbachev) will place increasing pressure on the ANC to preserve capitalism and to limit or restrict Black majority rule. Gorbachev has already suggested a two-chamber parliament for a post-apartheid state in which a white minority could veto the decisions of the Black majority.

We must fully understand that Black majority rule is the central political question in South Africa today. De Klerk has announced that he is willing to work out a formula for whites to share power with Blacks in South Africa—but he has explicitly ruled out Black majority rule.

De Klerk said that majority rule (a very elementary bourgeois-democratic demand) was “not suitable for a country like South Africa because it will lead to the domination and even the suppression of minorities.” (*New York Times*, April 18)

## Pinning hopes on ANC

The imperialists are pinning their hopes on the top leadership of the ANC to secure a negotiated solution that would cut short and

# SWP leadership sends ominous statement to Socialist Action

The following statement was issued by the Political Committee of Socialist Action on April 24, 1990.

On March 28, 1990, Socialist Action received an ominous letter from the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. It contained grave threats, which, if carried out, would reintroduce into the workers' movement the Stalinist practice of using strong-arm methods to settle differences among organizations on the left.

The SWP letter was reprinted in an SWP Information Bulletin titled "Socialist Action Fink Book Campaign." It is the SWP response to a bulletin produced by suspended SWP member and former SWP National Chairman Malik Miah. Miah's bulletin documents his bureaucratic removal from the SWP and his political differences with the SWP's trade union policy. It has been distributed to SWP members and supporters in the United States and internationally.

The SWP Political Committee letter characterizes Socialist Action and Miah as "finks." The dictionary definition of a fink is a police informer or strikebreaker. Union militants have always regarded finks as class enemies who were to be dealt with accordingly. This is exactly the conclusion the SWP Political Committee draws, stating that Socialist Action members are not "to be treated as fellow workers."

The SWP Political Committee also states it will not "accept" distribution of Miah's

**'The SWP political committee should retreat from its current course. If it does not, it will only discredit itself and do harm to the broader socialist and labor movements.'**

bulletin "Documentation on the Expulsion of Malik Miah from the Socialist Workers Party" to SWP members and supporters, nor the "soliciting of names and addresses" of such members and supporters by Socialist Action.

The SWP letter concludes with a final implied threat: "Socialist Action bears full responsibility for the consequences of any continuation of this course."

Socialist Action does not yet know what "consequences" the SWP Political Committee threatens us with, nor do we know what they mean by not "accepting" distribution of the Miah bulletin to SWP members and supporters. So far, the SWP has limited its actions to banning SA members from attending SWP public functions and election campaign headquarters and bookstores.

This, in itself, is bad enough, for such bans are a blow to the workers' movement as a whole. They restrict workers' democracy

and foster the idea that political differences among organizations of the left should be settled by walling off organizations from each other rather than by comradely discussion and debate; that is, using organizational, and not political, methods.

Socialist Action rejects the false and harmful charges made against it by the SWP Political Committee. Our record in the workers' and socialist movements is sufficient refutation that we are not "outside the workers' movement"—to be dealt with as "finks."

We have written to the SWP to refute each and every charge falsely leveled against Miah and Socialist Action. In particular we have responded in detail to the SWP's false charge that Miah's bulletin, which uses the first names of some SWP members and the full names of public SWP leaders, constitutes a "hit list" for the government.

Miah's bulletin follows the same tradition of the SWP in regard to the use of members' names. Furthermore, the material published

by Miah was first widely circulated by the SWP itself.

Socialist Action has defended—and will continue to defend—the SWP against every form of government intervention and attack. We have actively defended SWP member Mark Curtis against the government's frame-up conviction. The SWP's victory in its historic lawsuit against the U.S. government's COINTELPRO operation, and its subsequent victory in the Gelfand case, are victories for the entire workers' movement which we have enthusiastically hailed.

Hopefully, our response to the SWP will be sufficient to deter them from carrying out their implied threats.

Socialist Action believes that the SWP action, which takes place on the eve of its national convention, is designed to prevent a discussion inside the SWP of the political questions raised by Miah prior to his suspension from the party. The action is also designed to prevent the continuation of comradely discussions which have begun on an informal level between members of the two organizations over the past year or two.

With the recent events in Nicaragua, Eastern Europe, and the USSR, many SWP members have indicated a new interest in the Trotskyist program which the SWP has retreated from in the past decade. They have also indicated a need to reassess the positions adopted by the SWP over the past 11 years.

Implied threats of violence are no substitute for fraternal discussion of political differences. Rather, they are a sign of lack of confidence in one's ideas and fear of one's own membership's eagerness to hear all sides of a dispute.

The SWP Political Committee should retreat from its current course. If it does not, it will only discredit itself and do harm to the broader socialist and labor movements. ■

## Imprisoned SWPer, Mark Curtis, fighting for justice on many fronts

By HAYDEN PERRY

Mark Curtis, a member of the Socialist Workers Party from Des Moines, Iowa, is serving a 25-year prison term in the state penitentiary on a frame-up conviction of rape and burglary.

In a new ominous development, Curtis is being sued by the parents of the girl he is accused of sexually assaulting. July 9 has been set as the date for the trial. Keith and Denise Morris, parents of the alleged victim, are seeking punitive damages for the "pain and suffering" inflicted on their daughter.

They are also laying claim to money from the "commercialization" of the case that might have been received by Curtis; his wife, Kate Kaku; and John Studer, the Coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. If allowed, this would be an unusual legal step because the defense committee's finances are completely independent of Curtis's personal funds.

If the Morris family wins, the wages of Curtis, Kaku, and Studer could be garnished for at least the next 10 years to pay the debt. The Curtis defense would be severely crippled, and a dangerous precedent set for other cases.

The Workers League, an anti-labor sect, is a force behind the campaign to deny justice to Curtis. It spreads a carpet of lies about the case wherever the Curtis Defense Committee goes.

When Kate Kaku went to Iceland, for example, she found that a daily paper, *Thjodhviljinn*, had editorialized against "support for the rapist." The Workers League had reached Iceland with its smear publication, "The Mark Curtis Hoax: How the Socialist Workers Party Tried to Dupe the Labor Movement."

Despite the efforts of the Workers League, Curtis defenders have won considerable support. The Icelandic chapter of Amnesty International will urge the center in Geneva to accept Curtis as a prisoner of conscience. A convention of the International Christian Exchange viewed the Curtis Defense video, and expressed support.

A group of women members of Iceland's parliament pledged financial support to the campaign, while a young Curtis supporter volunteered his blues band for a fund-raising concert at the local high school. About \$150 was raised at a public meeting.

Meanwhile, the Curtis case is before the Iowa Court of Appeals. Defense lawyers contend that violations of Curtis's constitutional rights and the lack of evidence justify a new trial. A verdict is expected in about two months.

Curtis also has a civil suit pending against the police who beat him up. He is demanding \$300,000 in damages for his shattered cheekbone and injuries that took 15 stitches to repair. This case will go to trial on Nov. 13. ■

It is for these reasons that the criminals who slandered Malcolm yesterday seek to hide behind him today. They can't urge Blacks and others to read and study Malcolm because those who do will see Malcolm did not support Democrats or Republicans for their central role in the oppression of Blacks. They will learn that Malcolm stood for freedom and against imperialism.

Black youth, students, workers, and others, will not be diverted by these hypocrites, as they study Malcolm's speeches themselves. The impending social crisis in the United States and abroad will lead to more resistance—on the picket lines, to union-busters like Eastern Airlines' Frank Lorenzo, and in the communities of the oppressed.

We can be sure that the ideas of one of the world's greatest revolutionaries, Malcolm X, will be a major inspiration to these fighters.



Joe Ryan/Socialist Action

## Socialist speaks at S.F. Black Firefighters forum

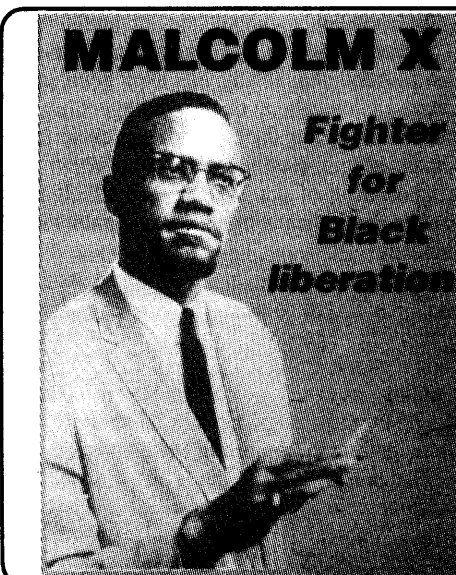
On Saturday, April 14, Roland Sheppard, a national committee member of Socialist Action, spoke at a forum sponsored by the San Francisco Black Firefighters Union. Sheppard used the forum to express the idea that white firefighters have to support unconditionally the fight for affirmative action if all firefighters are to defeat the belt-tightening measures of Democratic Party Mayor Art Agnos. See next month's issue for an in-depth story.

## ...Malcolm X

(continued from page 16)

American problem any longer. It's a world problem, it's a human problem. And so we're striving to lift it from the level of civil rights to the level of human rights. And at that level it's international. We can bring it into the United Nations and discuss it in the same language as the problems of people in other parts of the world also are discussed." (Page 89, *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, Pathfinder Press.)

Like Malcolm X predicted, a quarter of a century later the fight for Black equality is still on the agenda. The struggle of the South African Black masses to win control of their own country is still to be won. The fight of working people here and abroad is still to achieve success.



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# Which road forward for environmental activists

## Personal solutions or challenge the system?

By LINDA THOMPSON

*This is the final installment of a five-part series of articles on the environment.*

While money, unfortunately, does not really "trickle down" in the capitalist system, pollution and toxic wastes do. Instead of providing people with an improved standard of living, capitalism is offering us a synthetic and dangerous "imitation of life."

It has become clear that industry and the giant corporations are responsible for most ecological disasters on a global scale.

The National Wildlife Federation has released a report naming the top 500 toxic-polluting facilities in this country. Together these big corporations are responsible for 70 percent of the 10.3 billion pounds of toxics released in the United States in 1987. Their sites *legally* spewed 7.5 billion pounds of chemicals into the atmosphere.

Since the spotlight of media attention is on them, these corporations are trying to appease public opinion without making essential changes in their productive processes.

Public-relations firms are advising the corporations to clean up their image—if not their act. Glad Bags advertisements, for example, now feature smiling Native Americans.

The major polluters routinely donate large contributions to conservative environmental organizations. The two companies responsible for the worst ecological disasters of the 1980s (Union Carbide, which was responsible for the Bhopal, India, chemical leak and Exxon, which is responsible for the Valdez Oil Spill) gave at least \$65,000 between them to the Conservation Foundation and the World Wildlife Fund.

### Pro-pollution lobbyists

At the same time, these giant corporations routinely lobby against proposed environmental restrictions. If they cannot defeat new regulations, they attempt to gut them and weaken their effectiveness.

Officials of LTV Steel Tubular Products Corporation revealed in their company newsletter how big corporations use their power to lobby politicians to achieve their aims. It was reported that the company's government-affairs representative works with legislatures to defeat "costly provisions in the energy or workers' compensation areas, onerous solid waste regulations, and steel can recycling statutes."

The newsletter bragged that "working with a coalition of companies, trade associations, and legislators, the Ohio EPA was urged to take a 'second look' at costly and unreasonable water-quality standards just hours before regulations were to have been finalized. Similar coalitions were organized in Indiana and Illinois."

When environmentalists in one community threatened LTV's use of a deep-well disposal system (which is dangerous to drinking water supplies), the company's government affairs department blocked their efforts by convincing key legislators of the "unique environmental and economic advantages" of the deep-well system.

In addition to individual company efforts, industrial corporations have banded together to defend their economic interests. Not surprisingly, their campaign against environmental regulation goes hand in hand with their assault on organized labor.

Beginning in 1970, lawyers and lobbyists were hired to battle the expanded powers of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Consumer Product Safety Commission, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

In 1972, top corporate executives—including the heads of America's 70 largest companies—met to escalate this campaign. They called themselves the Business Roundtable.

Since then, they have united with other business groups—including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and local trade

associations—to gut legislation such as the Clean Air Act and the Humphrey-Hawkins bill for Equal Opportunity and Full Employment.

### Public agencies protect polluters

The numerous government agencies and departments that are supposed to protect our national resources have actually facilitated the ability of the capitalist class to dominate public life.

The Environmental Protection Agency, under the leadership of Reagan-appointee Anne Burford, became embroiled in charges of criminal wrongdoing. EPA officials were said to have held secret meetings with people representing Super Fund waste generators in order to cut deals favorable to the polluters. Public trust in the agency was badly shaken.

Learning from this experience, Bush ran on an "environmental" program and made a

public health before action can be taken to ban it.

As a result, EPA activity has been mired in meaningless bureaucratic red tape, wasteful and unnecessary "scientific studies," and ineffective control measures.

TLVs were arbitrarily adopted by OSHA in 1968 for over 400 chemicals. They now exist for over 600 substances. However, the chemical industry produces well over 26,000 chemicals, one-quarter of which are believed to be dangerous.

The OSHA standards were decided upon by a non-governmental volunteer group which did very little scientific research and relied heavily on industry's own records and estimates of what were safe levels.

All industry has to do to delay a disputed regulation or ban on a substance is to argue in court that more scientific evidence is



Tom Murray/The Chronicle

have financial assets greater than those of most countries and that they rise above governmental jurisdictions. These giant conglomerates continue to expand and take over markets around the world with the sole motive of producing ever greater profits.

Their exploitation of the soil, air, and water is beyond the earth's ability to regenerate its resources. Thus, any rational solution to the environmental crisis, given its magnitude, must involve economic and social planning on a global scale.

The system of capitalist production must be abolished and replaced with a socialist system to serve the needs of all people—and to simultaneously preserve and renew the ecosystem.

### Forces of social change

In "The Closing Circle," Barry Commoner states: "To resolve the environmental crisis, we shall need to forego, at last, the luxury of tolerating poverty, racial discrimination, and war. In our unwitting march toward ecological suicide, we have run out of options. Now that the bill for the environmental debt has been presented, our options have been reduced to two: either the rational, social organization of the use and distribution of the earth's resources, or a new barbarism."

Sweeping social change of this magnitude can only be effected by rational, informed collective action on a massive scale. In the Stalinist countries, the task lies in defending the collective property relations while organizing a complete political revolution. In the advanced capitalist countries, it lies in abolishing the private organization of production and in reorganizing the economy based on social need.

More and more activists in this country are aware that the only meaningful environmental action that can be taken involves taking on the major industrial forces and their representatives in the government.

Denis Hayes, who was the coordinator of Earth Day 1970 and is chairman of Earth Day 1990, states in an article in the February issue of *Rolling Stone*: "You're talking about pulling the United States off of oil, coal, and nuclear energy in the course of the next 25 or 30 years."

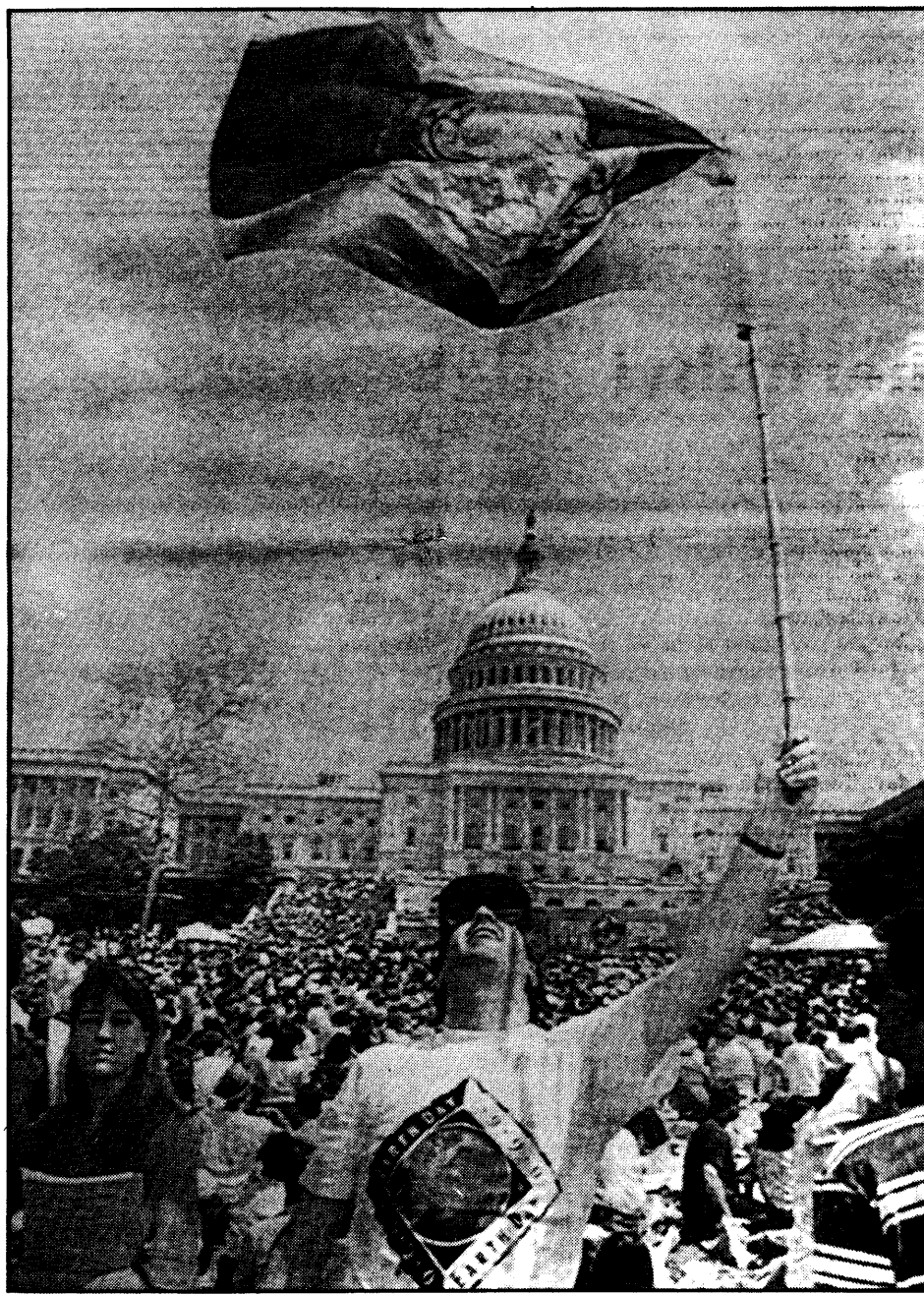
That would mean, of course, that the fossil-fuel industry—one of the most powerful economic interests in the world—would have to swallow a substantial cut in its income.

### What kind of action?

Hayes says: "If you're going to take on that kind of power, you're not going to do it with something that looks like the current American environmental movement."

Hayes describes why he felt the environmental movement was so vulnerable to Reaganism. He said that the movement split between those who decided to work for change within the political system and the existing capitalist parties and those who thought real reform lay in changing their own personal ways of living. "One group put on suits and ties, while the other group moved to Idaho to live in yurts and hand-card wool."

He says that the "yurt-dwellers" began to



AP

point of working with the new head of the EPA, William Reilly, a former head of the Conservation Foundation and the World Wildlife Fund.

Nevertheless, as columnist Jack Anderson has pointed out, Reilly has long been implicated in an ethics question regarding improper lobbying on an environmental issue. Confidence in Reilly plummeted further after his handling of the Valdez oil spill; for two weeks, he insisted that Exxon could handle the clean-up.

No matter who was standing at its head, the EPA failed to stem the tide of pollution. During the agency's 20-year existence, environmentalist and author Barry Commoner estimates, over-all pollution levels were reduced by only 20 percent in this country, and those gains are beginning to be eroded.

The EPA bases itself on three false premises: (1) There are safe TLVs (Threshold Limit Values) for toxins. (2) Pollution can be "controlled." (3) It must be scientifically demonstrated that a substance is dangerous to

needed. Action can be forestalled for years. The EPA has acceded to this ruse time and time again.

### Need for a planned economy

As the Greenpeace Newsletter has pointed out, pollution must be *prevented*—not controlled. Once a toxic substance is produced, there is little that can be done (other than recycling) to control contamination. The EPA has refused to consider this approach, since it would begin to infringe on the rights of industry to determine production.

We can no longer afford to allow the anarchy that reigns in the capitalist market to continue to determine the major decisions regarding what or how goods are produced. The very fate of the planet is at stake. If corporations refuse to bring production in line with social needs, then they should be nationalized and run democratically by the workers.

At the same time, it must be recognized that the largest transnational corporations

(continued from previous page)

lose power, and the "suits"—mainly lawyers who worked for the mainstream environmental groups—dominated the movement. They lost power because they no longer had a broad mass movement behind them and because they limited themselves to lobbying and working within the Democratic and Republican parties.

What Hayes calls the "yurt-dwellers" are the forces who believe that change will come by convincing enough individuals to change their life-style, purchase environmentally approved products, and either limit consumption or renounce it entirely and "return to nature."

Yet while it makes sense to eat, buy, and live self-protectively these days (primarily for health considerations) individual acts can never achieve the massive reorganization that is needed in the economy to provide a safe environment.

Such proposals usually come from middle-class individuals who forget that the crippling problems that most poor and working-class people face around the globe are due to the lack of cheap and accessible products to achieve even a minimum standard of living.

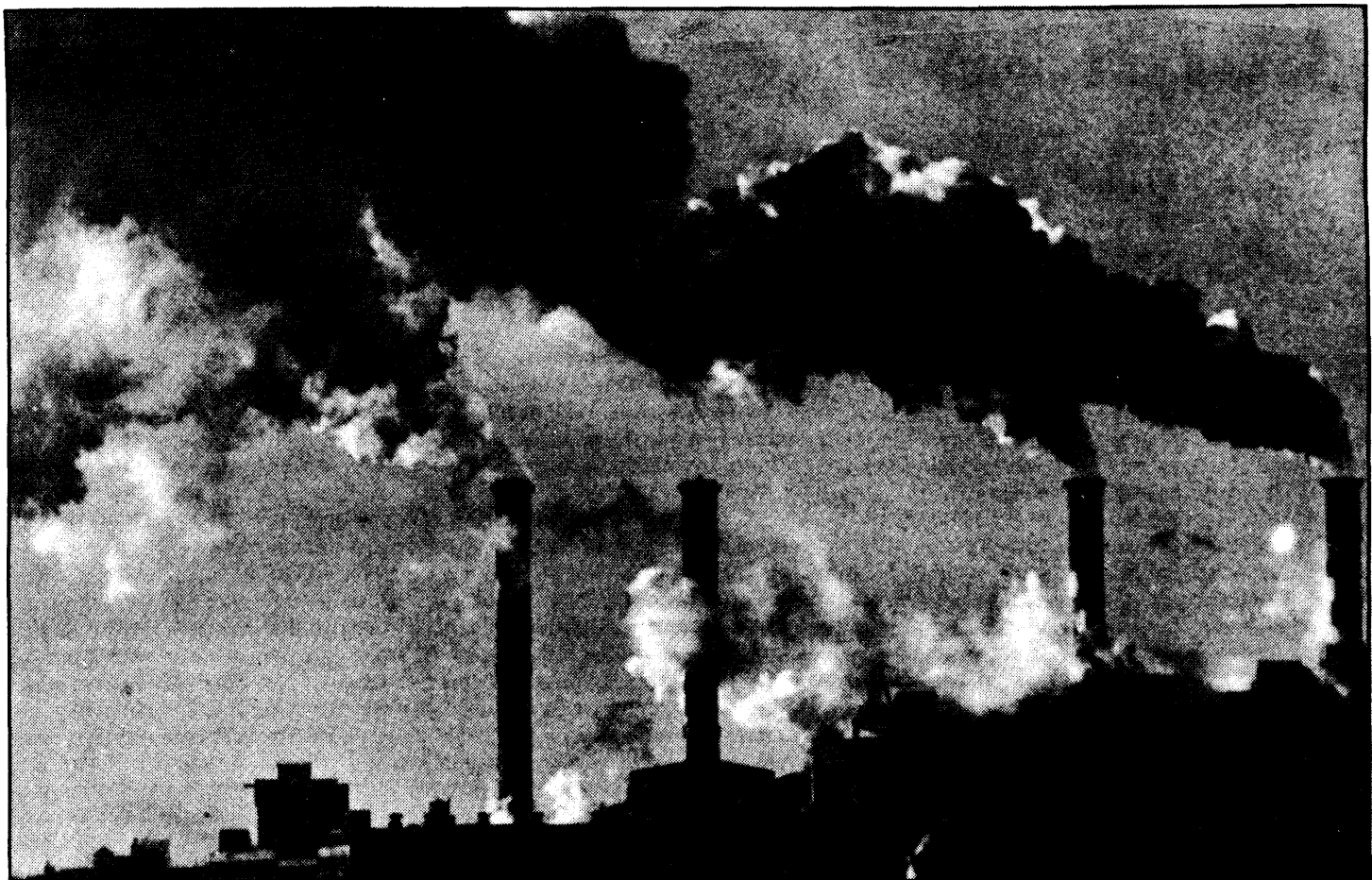
It is ludicrous to suggest that a single-parent mother in the ghetto should "cut back" her purchasing. Most health foods and safe products cost more than the cheaper and dangerous synthetic products and cannot be afforded by many working families.

The environmental movement has mass support, as every poll has indicated. A Gallup poll taken in Britain in 1982 showed that 50 percent of the population favored protecting the environment over keeping down prices. By 1988, 74 percent were in favor of environmental protection even if it meant higher prices.

However, the movement now has to reach out and tap into that sentiment by projecting mass-action strategies that can mobilize people for the tasks ahead.

The current Earth Day coalition has set up task forces to reach out to the Black community and the labor movement, to involve forces that have so far been only minimally involved in environmental issues. These attempts to broaden the base of the movement are headed in the right direction.

The most promising forces in the movement are the grassroots toxic-waste coalitions that have sprung up all over the country in working-class communities, workers



**"...big corporations are responsible for 70 percent of the 10.3 billion pounds of toxins released in the United States in 1987."**

who are beginning to address health and safety issues on the job, and student organizations on campus. These forces have undertaken the most consistent actions against the polluters and are beginning to engage large numbers in concrete actions.

#### Job blackmail by the bosses

Unfortunately, organizing industrial and factory workers on health, safety, and environmental issues has been made more difficult due to job blackmail by the employers.

Richard Kazis and Richard L. Grossmand

outline this problem in their book, "Fear at Work—Job Blackmail, Labor, and the Environment." They point out the power that employers hold over the workers' livelihood enables them to fire and intimidate individual workers who blow the whistle on dangerous practices.

When governmental regulations or union opposition is involved, the bosses invoke the threat of factory closings. Often they have planned to phase out out-moded facilities anyway, and make the decision to close when faced with the introduction of new pol-

lution-control devices.

Union campaigns for a healthy and safe working environment picked up steam in the 1960s, and some unions began to collaborate with environmental groups on joint campaigns. Unions such as the United Auto Workers; the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers; and the Steelworkers threw support to environmental legislation.

In 1981, environmentalists and 12 international unions supported a demonstration near the Three Mile Island nuclear plant, which was called by the the Greater Harrisburg Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment. Some 15,000 workers, activists, and community residents attended the largest labor-led anti-nuclear demonstration in history.

Some union leaders, on the other hand, have endorsed the false position put forth by the bosses that environmental protection "destroys jobs." The employers have done all they can to widen the split between the environmental movement and parts of the labor movement.

Environmental activists should point out that protecting our natural resources does not cause unemployment; it is caused solely by the drive by the big corporations for more profits. Clear-cutting the forests, for example, means less timber-related jobs in the long run than the practice of selective cutting in order to conserve our timber and wildlife.

#### A program to save the earth

It is time to demand that the huge profits that industry gains from despoiling our soil, air, and water be redirected to provide jobs and social benefits for all. Tax the big polluters 100 percent!

When corporations claim they "don't have enough money" to clean up the environment or to give jobs to the people who need them, the environmental movement should answer: "Open your account books to public view! Let the people judge!"

If the corporations continue to produce toxic wastes, clear-cut the forests, strip-mine the land, destroy our wildlife, or shut down factories and throw people out of work, they should be nationalized under the control of the workers.

Environmentalists should join with other social activists in demanding an end to the government's military campaigns in Central America and other regions. No more money for war!

All the money that now goes to buy tanks, helicopters, and nuclear missiles should instead be used to restore the environment and to provide people with social services that include free healthcare, free mass transportation, low-cost housing, and efficient, renewable energy sources. These measures will also create many more jobs.

In order to achieve these demands, it's necessary to break with the Democratic and Republican parties—which are run by and for the capitalists—and to build a workers' political party with a revolutionary program.

Ultimately, the working class around the world will take the lead in reconstructing our society along socialist lines. That is the essential step in safeguarding the future of the earth. ■

## Stalinism also has left its mark on the environment

People who support environmental goals often point to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China to "prove" that planned economies cannot solve environmental problems any better than capitalist economies.

This point of view ignores the fact that a socialized system of production is inherently superior to the "private-enterprise" system because a plan exists that can be altered in terms of ecological needs. In addition, these countries are not hampered by the capitalist drive to exploit the earth's resources in search of ever-increasing profits.

It is true, nevertheless, that the Soviet Union and its neighbor countries are grappling with ecological disruptions at least as serious as our own. Since the rapid industrialization that followed World War II, pollution problems have intensified in this region due to inefficient technology and the pressure of bureaucratic expediency.

According to the Polish Academy of Sciences, one-third of that country's 38 million people live in "areas of ecological disaster." The Academy reports that toxic pollution is expected to kill off 20 percent of Poland's plant life and 15 percent of its animal life in the next 10 years.

A 1989 report from the East German Environment Ministry says that one out of every two children living in the highly industrialized areas of the country suffers from lung ailments and skin diseases. Children in some areas of Czechoslovakia are sent away to the mountains twice a year to prevent permanent lung damage.

Eighty percent of the rivers in China

and Poland are polluted. The Dniester River in Moldavia is no longer suitable for vacationing or industrial needs.

The Elbe River, which flows through Czechoslovakia and East Germany, is so thoroughly poisoned with mercury and lead that some ecologists estimate it could take 50 years to return the water to its 1970 level of purity—if nothing else is dumped in the river.

In the Soviet Union, data for 1986 show that the thyroid glands of 5800 children and 7000 adults were damaged by radiation from Chernobyl. Three years after the accident, as many as 4 million people still live in areas that are dangerously contaminated. In some villages, livestock and plants are grossly deformed.

Due to industrial waste and the overuse of irrigation, the Aral, Caspian, and Black Seas are becoming so polluted that the fish are dying. Last year, the magazine *Novy Mir* reported that women who relied on water from the Aral Sea were giving birth to an increasing number of deformed babies, including ones without any skull bones and others without anuses.

#### Struggle for socialist democracy

Under the Stalinist regimes in these countries, working people have been denied a role in social planning. Instead, production has been manipulated to serve the interests of a relatively small parasitic caste. This privileged bureaucracy, like the capitalist class in the West, borrows some of the cost of production from the ecosystem

in the form of pollution.

For this reason, the struggle over environmental concerns has become a part of the overall struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and the countries within its "sphere of influence." As in the West, women have been prominent in this movement.

In Hungary, environmental protests caused the government to cancel plans for a multimillion-dollar dam project that was counter-ecological. In the Soviet Union, following public protests after the Chernobyl disaster, 15 to 20 nuclear reactors at six to eight plants have been closed down or remain unbuilt. Protesters in Siberia forced the shut-down of a dangerous weapons-dismantling facility.

The outcome of the battles shaping up in this region can have tremendous ramifications for the fate of the earth and the global struggle for conservation. If the planned economies are dismantled and replaced by free-market relations by Western capitalists and the bureaucracies, the pace of environmental destruction can be expected to escalate.

Hilary F. French, author of an article in the March/April edition of *Worldwatch* magazine, said that environmentalists are worried that Western penetration of the East could lead to ecological disaster. The fear is that Western companies would try to sell obsolete and ineffective anti-pollution equipment to the Eastern bloc or "technological band-aids," rather than assisting with technology that could root out pollution at the source.

If the masses mobilize to establish genuine organs of workers' control of industry and planning, they would have the kind of power that is needed to effect meaningful anti-pollution technologies. If they are successful, the environmental movement would gain a powerful new ally. —L.T.

# Lorenzo is gone, but strikebreaking isn't

Frank Lorenzo is out at Eastern Airlines. On April 18, Federal bankruptcy court Judge Burton Lifland appointed a trustee to run Eastern Airlines. Lorenzo is chairman of Texas Air, which owns Eastern. The airline filed for bankruptcy reorganization in March 1989.

Judge Lifland told Lorenzo he was "not competent to reorganize this estate." Lifland appointed former Continental Airlines president Martin Shugrue as trustee. Continental is also a subsidiary of Texas Air.

The International Association of Machinists (IAM) on strike at Eastern since March 4, 1989, hailed Lifland's decision, but said the union would stay on strike until a new contract was negotiated.

Less than 5 percent of IAM members have crossed

The unity of the three Eastern unions, particularly during the first several months of the strike, surprised Lorenzo. He had few pilots to fly his planes. For several months he had less than 10 percent of Eastern flying. The anti-union business traveler eventually abandoned Eastern. (Ironically, the passenger load factor at Eastern in 1990 is one of the highest in the industry—over 65 percent. Yet most of these passengers are buying low-cost, tickets that barely cover Eastern's costs.)

Unfortunately for the strikers, the top labor leaders gave little more than lip service during this crucial period of the strike. The workers at other airlines were not mobilized to back the strike. Officials of concerned unions followed court injunctions to the letter of the law. The main tactic of the strike became the boycott—keeping passengers off the planes.

The IAM and AFL-CIO officials have also drawn a lesson—but one that is *incorrect*—from the strike. To avoid future Easterns, they now urge workers to look at ESOPs (Employee Stock Ownership Plans) as the method to "save our jobs." At United Airlines, for example, the IAM, pilots and flight attendant unions have formed an ESOP to try and buy the company. [See story on page 15.]

Nevertheless, the brutal competition in the airline industry—combined with the determination of the strikers—prevented Lorenzo from turning Eastern into another Continental.

What comes next? The IAM is seeking to negotiate a return to work for its members. The trustee is talking to them. But he is unlikely to replace any of the 18,000 mostly non-union Eastern employees to bring back IAM strikers.

Lorenzo is gone at Eastern. But his departure is not a turning point for labor. The other airline bosses continue to press for concessions. And the labor officials continue to play ball with them.

While working people should applaud the downfall of a hated union-buster, we must begin to learn the key lesson of the Eastern strike: unity by labor is the starting point in any conflict with the bosses; victory, however, is only possible when working people shut down the struck company tight and force the employer to the bargaining table. ■

## Our readers speak out

### Ryan White

Dear editor,

Ryan White, the AIDS victim who made national and international news, died in April at the age of 18.

In many appearances on TV news and talk shows, White never separated himself from any of the other AIDS sufferers. Unfortunately, this was not the case with some of the media and politicians who portrayed Ryan White and other children with AIDS as victims deserving of assistance, while implying that the majority of those with AIDS—gay men—somehow deserve what they got.

In the same vein, statements of sympathy by President Bush and former President Reagan, who have done nothing to advance research into this grave disease, rang hollow to all of those whose lives have been touched by this fatal illness.

Ryan White often said that he only wanted to be treated like any other child and to live as normally as he could. He succeeded in doing that while helping with fundraisers for AIDS research.

S.O.,  
San Francisco, Calif.

### In depth

Dear editor,

As I again renew my subscription, I want to thank you for providing *in depth* analysis of the important events of our time. I find your weaving of history into the present and future as an integral component (rather than as a backdrop) very helpful in assessing trends and directions of change.

N.V.,  
Baltimore, Md.

### Partners?

Dear editor,

I came across this article in the April 9 issue of *Spark*, which you might wish to reprint. It gives a concrete example of why workers should oppose Employee Stock Ownership Plans, or ESOPs:

"In mid-March the president of the Steelworkers union at Michigan's McClouth Steel, John Skidmore, was suspended and then fired by management. He was accused of leaking information that the company had lost money because of two serious accidents in the mill.

"In early April, management reinstated Skidmore, but without back pay, and with his being on probation for a year.

"MacClouth Steel, outside of Detroit, Mich., is supposedly owned by the workers. In 1988, after McClouth had gone through years of financial turmoil, the International leadership of the Steelworkers union and McClouth officials negotiated an ESOP (Employee Stock Ownership Plan) by which millions of dollars of workers' money was used to bail out the company.

"Officials of the company have referred to this ESOP as a "cooperative partnership structure, providing a mechanism for labor and management to work together."

"What kind of a partnership is it when it's the workers who have bailed out the company to the tune of buying up 87 percent of the common stock; when it is workers who have given up 10 percent of their gross wages, so that they make the same amount in wages today that they made 10 years ago;

but when management can still fire the president of the workers' union—and then just for speaking the truth about the financial status of the company?

"Some partnership! The words of some McClouth workers best sum up what they think of the ESOP: It stands for "Employees Still Only Peasants!"

G.B.,  
Oakland, Calif.

### Soviet Jews

Dear editor,

I found Michael Schreiber's two articles about the USSR in your April issue (based on his first-hand observations) fascinating. In large part, they confirmed things I have been hearing from recent Jewish emigres to Brooklyn and the Bronx. But they also contained details, experiences, and opinions that are completely new to me.

From what I've read and heard, I can clarify and add a few points. Not only are rightwingers blaming Jews for the economic crisis and everything else that's wrong, they are also "blaming" them for "Bolshevism" and "Communism." Of course, this is an old tactic. During World War II, invading Nazis would ask, "Where are your Jews and your commissars?"

Everyone who arrives here is terrified of Pamyat. Everyone knows horror stories concerning this anti-Semitic group. But none of the people I've met has run into them or knows first-hand of someone who has. Pamyat certainly exists, but they appear larger than life.

It would seem that a massive rumor campaign is being perpetrated to make people mistrustful of one another. Both the size and the apparent goals of this campaign make me think that those most likely to be responsible are in the highest layers of the bureaucracy.

We should be careful about complaints about the "quota system" for higher education in the Soviet Union. It is actually an attempt at affirmative action. Jews are at least as well educated and as concentrated in the intelligentsia and in the Communist Party as any other group.

But Jews do not form a nation. Especially in the large Russian cities, they are virtually indistinguishable from their non-Jewish neighbors. The Yiddish language is a thing of the past. Religious beliefs and practice, while on the rise, are still at a low level.

By maintaining "Jewish" as a nationality, the bureaucracy has prevented the assimilation of the majority of Jews, setting the basis for the current wave of anti-Semitism—and ultimately forcing many Jews to emigrate.

John Halabi,  
New York, N.Y.

### A reply

Jews and non-Jews alike in the Soviet Union have been organizing grassroots committees to combat anti-Semitism and to support the right of Jews to self-expression in religion and culture. These goals provide an alternative to emigration and should be supported.—Michael Schreiber

We welcome letters from our readers. Please keep them brief.

## Editorial

the picket line. They struck for their dignity and the right to work at a union shop without fear of harassment. They pledged to stay out on strike one day longer than Lorenzo.

Lorenzo sought to rebuild Eastern as a non-union low-cost carrier. He had done this at Continental in 1983 and had hoped to repeat it. Most of the creditors, except the unions, backed him in this effort for 14 months. They had been fully re-paid in 1983.

But reality has turned out quite differently today. Lorenzo has lost more than face, as the *New York Times* called it. He lost half of his airline empire. And the primary factor has more to do with the workings of capitalism than any other reason.

Lorenzo's main competitors, unlike in 1983, went for his throat. Airlines such as Delta and American strengthened their hubs in Eastern strongholds. The all-important business traveler jumped ship and went to these carriers as soon as Eastern went into a tailspin, which began even before Lorenzo bought Eastern in 1986.

The IAM strike made the profit problem worse. Since the strike began, Eastern lost over \$1.2 billion, leading Lorenzo to sell off asset after asset.

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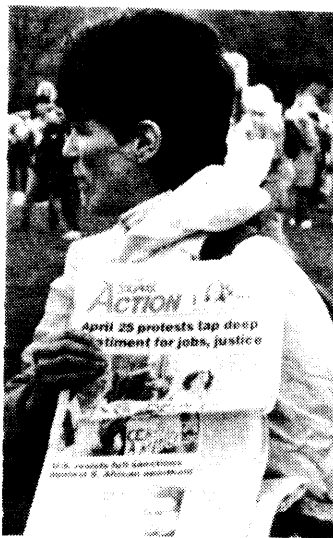
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# Why employee 'ownership' is not in our interest

BY MALIK MIAH

Should employees at the second largest airline in the country, United Airlines, support our union's proposed takeover of the airline?

I say no.

As an employee of United Airlines, Inc. (UAL) in San Francisco and a member of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) I will urge my co-workers to say no to the proposed ESOP (Employee Stock Ownership Plan) and labor agreement that District Lodge 141 UAL Executive Board has unanimously endorsed.

The proposed takeover of UAL by the three unions—the IAM, Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA), and the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA)—was agreed to by the UAL Board of Directors on April 6. For \$201 a share, or \$4.38 billion, the employees will own 100 percent of the company. The takeover will be financed primarily by major employee concessions and bank loans.

The three unions have reached labor agreements, pending ESOP approval by the banks, that will lead to \$2 billion in concessions over five years. The proposed no-strike contract is to run formally five years. However, under the IAM pact, the actual contract is longer. It includes a proviso that the new company and union will not seek a release from the National Mediation Board for an additional year after the contract

expires.

Key features of the proposal are an immediate 3.7 percent wage cut for "A" scale workers that "snaps back" in the second year. After that, there is a wage freeze for the duration of the agreement. "B" and "C" scale workers will get modest increases during the first and second years. Wage progressions will be evened out. Pensions are to be improved.

The new 15-member board of directors will include three union representatives—one from each union—while the majority of the board will be outside directors.

## In our best interests?

The IAM leadership says the ESOP and concessionary labor agreement are in the "best interests of the membership." It will "protect our jobs," we are told. John Peterpaul, general vice-president of the IAM and a key architect for the IAM in putting the ESOP together, said, "We have to put it [UAL] into employee hands. We have to get involved so that we are taken out of the grip of outside interests."

Last fall Peterpaul and the IAM leadership had a different view of a proposed ESOP put together by top management and ALPA. That deal fell through at the last minute primarily because of IAM opposition. Peterpaul called the proposed \$300 a share, or \$6.75 billion, ESOP as "the most ludicrous transaction we have ever seen."

What changed his and the IAM top officials' view of the ESOP?

The economics. The IAM officialdom was never opposed in principle to an ESOP financed by the employees. It simply thought that UAL Chairman and President Stephen Wolf and ALPA's leadership gave too much to the shareholders while burdening the new company with massive debt. The IAM tops now believe their ESOP can work without too much "pain" for the unions.

Unfortunately, the IAM leadership is wrong. ESOP then and now is against the best interests of UAL employees. It is a fancy expression for major concessions.

In fact, what most airline experts and bankers applaud as good in the proposed ESOP are the labor concessions. These concessions, they say, is what Wolf and top management were unable to get in the past.

The weakness of the overall economy, however, makes the

bankers jittery about any airline—even the strongest—surviving while servicing massive debt. Because of the cyclical character of the industry, airlines are extremely susceptible to sharp downturns in the business cycle.

## Will we really own it?

The new ESOP is a con. We will own the "new" UAL as much as we own it today. Because you own a share of a company does not make you an owner. When you join a credit union you become a shareholder. But do you really own it? Of course not.

Under an ESOP, management will try to use "employee ownership" to justify attacks on working conditions and safety. Our "representatives" will function like other directors: to get the most from us for less; to raise the profits of the company. This is the way the capitalist system works. The key to running a successful

business is to have higher productivity and lower labor costs than your competitors.

At least now we know who the boss is and why we have a union. If we fall for the scam of "ownership," we will weaken our ability to use our union to protect our jobs and working conditions.

Our stance should be: No Concessions. No ESOP. If we take a firm stand, the deal can collapse and we will be stronger for it. The threat that if we don't go along an "outsider" will takeover is blackmail. CEO Wolf said the same thing before his deal fell apart last October and nearly brought the Stock Market down too.

The unity of the three unions is good and necessary. But that unity should be used to fight the greedy shareholders and top management—not to sell a bill of goods to the membership. ■

## Which Side Are You On?

By  
Malik Miah



# Why I Joined Socialist Action

By STEVE ARGUE

I'd like to explain why I recently resigned from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and became a member of Socialist Action.

When I joined the SWP three years ago, I was committed to the fight for a socialist society, in which the working class runs the economy for human needs instead of the private profits of a capitalist minority.

I joined the SWP in agreement with its program and under the illusion that it was decided on collectively by the membership as a whole. During the first two years of my membership, however, I saw things that seemed to be abuses of internal democracy. But I was willing to give the SWP leadership the benefit of the doubt.

The last year of my membership in the Socialist Workers Party made it clear to me that democracy in the SWP is fake. Anyone in the SWP who doubts this statement will see that when they raise differences with the party leadership, they risk being expelled or driven out.

Socialist Action, on the other hand, is a democratic centralist organization with members in industry and on college campuses. That is one reason why I decided to join this organization. In addition, in the vast majority of questions where Socialist Action and the SWP have differences, Socialist Action has a better position.

## Bosses' attacks

Over the past 20 years, the U.S. capitalist class has been on an all-out offensive against the working class. They've been busting our unions, driving our wages down, forcing us to work harder for longer hours, and gutting safety on the job.

While correctly aiming its main fire at the bosses' attacks, Socialist Action doesn't hide its criticisms of the union bureaucracy. We come right out and say, for example, that the Eastern Airlines strike will be defeated unless there is a change in the policies of the present union leadership.

## A former leader of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) tells why he joined Socialist Action



The Eastern workers need to stop the planes from flying in order to win. And in order to do so, they need the militant support of other workers.

The SWP's position that the strike—already one year old—is being won and is now "stronger than ever" is just another illusion placed in the way of workers' seeing what it takes to win.

I am now proud to be part of an organization that has some ideas about how to win a strike and that doesn't duck these questions in order to avoid coming into conflict with the mistaken policies of the present union officials.

I also disagree with the SWP's position of not allowing students into membership. This policy represents an ultraleft error. Students are an important part of the struggle for social justice. The fact that they are getting an education doesn't mean they are going to betray the working class when they get out of school.

Socialist Action, however, welcomes students into our ranks and we welcome the op-

portunity to bring working-class perspectives to campus politics.

## Trotsky and political revolution

Today in Eastern Europe, the masses are rising up in the face of deepening economic problems. These movements open the possibility of the working class kicking the bureaucrats out of power to finally open the way towards real socialism.

Leon Trotsky was one of the outstanding leaders of the Russian Revolution during the time of Lenin and he exposed and fought against Stalin's betrayal of that revolution. Trotsky explained that a privileged bureaucracy had taken the revolution out of the hands of the working class and was running the revolution in its own interests.

He explained how and why that bureaucracy must be overthrown by the working class. What Trotsky explained then remains true today. His ideas, as expressed in the concepts of "permanent revolution" and "political revolution," will be an important part of the struggle for socialism in Eastern

Europe. Revolutionary socialists have a responsibility to bring these ideas into Eastern Europe in whatever modest way possible.

The SWP disagrees with the importance of Trotsky's ideas. They think that the workers of Eastern Europe should look to the leadership of Fidel Castro in their present struggle. But, unfortunately, Castro has a wrong analysis of what is needed in Eastern Europe.

In Cuba, Fidel Castro is leading the world's only non-Stalinist socialist revolution today—but he is on the wrong side in Eastern Europe. Castro calls the movements in Eastern Europe fascist or near fascist and opposes the fight for national self-determination being waged by the oppressed nationalities of the Soviet Union.

The root of his wrong position can be seen in the fact that he doesn't understand that the Communist parties of Eastern Europe are not really communist, that these parties do not represent the interests of the working class in any way.

Despite the important positive example that exists in the Cuban Revolution, Castro is alienating the workers in the Stalinized countries from that example. Workers are not going to listen to someone who is calling their movements for basic democratic rights fascist movements.

The SWP was likewise mistaken when it completely and uncritically endorsed the policies and program of the FSLN in Nicaragua—even going so far as to characterize it as a "sister party." Only in 1989, when faced with the increasingly disastrous results of these policies, did the SWP begin to take its distance from the role of uncritical cheerleader.

The only future capitalism holds for workers and poor farmers is a future of more poverty, wars, and disastrous environmental destruction. This fact assures that workers are going to fight in massive struggles that will shake the foundations of this society.

Building a socialist society is the only lasting solution to our problems. Gaining the experience, knowledge, and numbers to lead that struggle is at the heart of what Socialist Action is all about. Anyone in the United States who wants to join this struggle and be as effective as possible should join Socialist Action. ■

# Malcolm X (May 19, 1925 - Feb. 21, 1965)

## His enemies embrace him while they muddle his ideas

By MALIK MIAH

"We don't judge a man because of the color of his skin. We don't judge you because you're white; we don't judge you because you're Black; we don't judge you because you're brown. We judge you because of what you do and what you practice. And as long as you practice evil, we're against you.... This society judges a man solely upon the color of his skin. If you're white, you go forward, and if you're Black, you have to fight your way every step of the way, and you still don't get forward.... It's racism. Racism practiced by America.... So we're not against people because they're white. But we're against those who practice racism... We're not for violence. We're for peace." (Pages 158-59, *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, Pathfinder Press.)

Malcolm X spoke those words five days before he was assassinated by a hail of bullets in the Audubon Ballroom in New York City on Feb. 21, 1965. He was 39 years old.

Malcolm X was the main spokesperson for the Black nationalist religious group, the Nation of Islam, until he left the organization in March 1964 over religious and political differences.

He advocated that Blacks fight for their freedom by any means necessary and explained that Blacks natural allies were other oppressed people in the world standing up for their self determination from imperialist domination. The struggle of Blacks, he explained, was part of the international movement for national liberation.

### Rediscovering Malcolm X

Twenty-five years later the ideas of Malcolm X are more alive than ever. His face adorns T-shirts and buttons. And his voice is heard on the popular rap sound, "Self-Destruction," recorded by a group of musicians who call themselves the Stop the Violence Movement.

Pathfinder Press, the major distributor of Malcolm's speeches, has sold more than 500,000 books by and about Malcolm X, and since July it sold 33,000 copies of the recently published *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*.

The newly formed National Malcolm X Commemoration Commission, among others, seeks to establish Malcolm's birthday, May 19, as a *de facto* national holiday.

The *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, and *Los Angeles Times* have all printed favorable articles on what the *Washington Post* called "The Resurrection of Malcolm X." Jesse Jackson and other prominent Democratic politicians who are Black have spoken at Malcolm X memorial meetings.

The attention and praise for Malcolm's contributions to the anti-racist struggle reflect genuine interest in Malcolm's ideas, particularly among young people. The major capitalist press and Democratic Party politicians would like to see that interest in Malcolm's ideas channeled into "safe" activities that don't disrupt the racist capitalist system.

### Media hypocrisy

While alive, Malcolm X sharply criticized the racist big-business media and so-called Black leaders who refused to tell Black people the truth about their oppression and the true nature of the "American system."

An example is the *New York Times*, which now prominently features articles on or about Malcolm X around Black History Month and the dates of Malcolm's assassination and birthday. Their current flattering view, however, was not their view in 1965.

"He was a case history, as well as an extraordinary and twisted man, turning many



**"...Malcolm X sharply criticized the racist big-business media and so-called Black leaders who refused to tell Black people the truth about their oppression and the true nature of the 'American system.'"**

true gifts to evil purpose," said a *Times* editorial just days after the murder of Malcolm X. "His ruthless and fanatical belief in violence... marked him for fame, and for a violent end...."

"He did not seek to fit into society or into the life of his own people.... The world he saw through those horn-rimmed glasses of his was distorted and dark. But he made it darker still with his exaltation of fanaticism. Yesterday someone came out of that darkness that he spawned and killed him."

Malcolm the "race-hater" and advocate of "violence" is now someone to be praised and listened to. Why the turnaround?

Cheryll Greene, the executive director of *Essence*, a magazine for Black women, said people are finding that "Malcolm has many answers that are as relevant today as they were in the 1960's."

And not only for Blacks. Whites, Latinos, and Asians are also impacted by Malcolm's ideas.

The new generation hears Malcolm's words because his speeches are logical and hit home. Working people of all colors can identify with his stinging attacks on national oppression and exploitation practiced by the employers and bankers. Black youth especially can identify with Malcolm's sharp denunciations of racial discrimination and his call for Black people to fight back "by any means necessary."

The renewed interest in Malcolm X is a

sign of the times. Twenty-five years since his death all the problems he talked about still exist. They have taken new forms but are nevertheless still visible.

For example, Black unemployment remains in double-digits, always twice the official levels for whites—in other words, at depression levels. Black youth unemployment is over 50 percent.

The number of youth dropping out of high school continues to accelerate. Public education available to Blacks remains qualitatively worse than for whites. Housing is inferior in Black communities.

According to recent government reports, nearly 25 percent of Black men in their 20s are in jail, on probation, or parole. More Black men in their 20s are under court control than Black men of all ages in higher education. By contrast only 6 percent of whites are under court supervision.

The gap between the average income and standard of living among Blacks and whites continues to widen. While the living conditions for masses of Black people continues to worsen, a layer of Blacks has made some real progress.

### Black "Middle Class"

Since 1965 a significant number of Blacks have "made it" in capitalist society. They are the thousands of Black Elected Officials, professionals in large corporations, government

executives, and even top officers in the military.

This layer—called by the press and sociologists the new Black middle class—is a byproduct of the gains won by Blacks after the overthrow of Jim Crow segregation by the civil rights movement in the 1960s.

Before the late 1960s, members of the Black "middle class" were primarily in jobs oriented to the Black community—barbers, funeral home directors, professionals, and government employees. Institutionalized racism excluded Blacks from a number of service occupations and many skilled jobs, etc.

Most educated Blacks lived in segregated neighborhoods and attended all-Black schools. Opportunities were limited. Even in the military, Blacks were second-class citizens. The U.S. army was only desegregated after World War II.

The victory of the civil rights movement changed all of that. Blacks are now mayors of the largest U.S. cities. The U.S. military's chief of staff is Black. A few token Blacks sit on corporate boards.

The so-called Black middle class income is not far below that of the white middle class. They attend the best schools. They live in the better homes. They travel and dine out regularly.

The base of most successful Black politicians is this layer of the Black community. Jesse Jackson's presidential campaigns have been fueled by this layer. He reaches out from this base to other minorities and whites.

This layer of the Black community, however, is out of touch with the real problems of the majority of Blacks. They don't live in the poorest communities. They don't identify with their problems.

In fact, many in the Black "middle class" see the "Black underclass" as one of their main problems. They want more police to fight "Black on Black" crime and drugs. Many blame Blacks themselves for their conditions. Some even push the fictitious lie that U.S. society is color-blind.

### What's the reality

But reality does rear its ugly head at times. Lynching of Blacks in New York and race-baiting and cop violence in Boston and Chicago leads even this relatively privileged layer to take notice. Their gains, too, can be pushed back.

The renewed interest in Malcolm X is a reflection of this concrete reality winning out. More Black youth—working class and middle class—see Malcolm's words as relevant to themselves. Nationalist pride and identification with Africa are on the rise. They see overt racism. They want to stand up.

Black youth especially identify with Malcolm X's international perspective.

Malcolm X traveled wide and far the last year of his life. During his trips abroad he concluded that the fight for Black freedom could not be separated from the international struggle against national oppression and colonialism. He said that the fight for Black equality was a fight for human rights.

Soon after the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) was formed in June 1964, Malcolm gave an interview outlining his views on the fight for Black equality today.

He said: "One of the organizations which we've formed, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, has reached the conclusion, after a careful analysis of the problem, that approaching our problem just on the level of civil rights and keeping it within the jurisdiction of the United States will not bring a solution. It's not a Negro problem or an

(continued on page 11)