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Coalition Politics and Bakke Committee Work

The National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision, a coalition of various anti-racist forces, has played a leading role in mobilizing opposition to the Bakke Decision. Many regional NCOBD rallies have drawn thousands of supporters. At the Washington D.C. rally on April 15, there were at least 20,000. More significant than the actual numbers present at these rallies has been the broad community representation. People of different ethnic groups, occupations, politics, and economic backgrounds have united in their efforts to fight racism and defend affirmative action.

Coalition Politics

Within the left, there are different responses to coalition politics. Since coalitions lack explicit analysis, left sectarian groups oppose this type of politics. Members of these groups will "join" a united front with the aim of "purifying" its members and supporters. Sectarrians hold the belief that work within a united front would compromise their revolutionary integrity and mislead the masses. However, a sizable and growing portion of the American left see **united fronts** as necessary to raising consciousness and to fighting the system of monopoly capitalism. The discussion among these leftists needs to be centered around the question of **how to bring a radical analysis into united front work.**

Below I will discuss the sectarian approach and its basic shortcomings as well as contribute to the discussion on how to approach united front politics, drawing on my experiences as a member of the NCOBD, Hawaii Chapter. The sectarian group we were faced with was the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), the youth group of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Most of the sectarian groups emerged out of the Civil Rights and anti-war movements of the 60's. One of the major shortcomings of these movements was that they **lacked a clear analysis of the cause of racism and of war.** In fact, many of the leaders expressed the view that the American system is good and that it's only a tragic miscalculation by policy makers that brings about these conditions. Partially in response to this shortcoming and partially out of an over-zealous belief that conditions were ripe for revolution, Marxist-Leninist (many of whom came to their political perspective only through involvement in the struggles of the 60's) formed various self-proclaimed M-L groups, each aiming to become the "vanguard" or guiding force of the Revolution.

Instead of taking a dialectical approach of study, discussion, mass work, and criticism-self-criticism in formulating their political line, strategy and tactics, these groups tend to use an elitist approach of unquestioningly following a line formulated by a few leaders. Instead of guiding people through attempts to gain reforms and consolidate the lessons of personal experience, they usually substitute preaching at them. Their means are primarily propaganda (usually rhetorical, with little substance) and agitation. Their tactics serve to isolate themselves.

RCYB's False Unity

The practice of the RCYB was to profess unity with the NCOBD but to do little work and to use our meetings as a forum to discuss anti-capitalism. A few months after our chapter was formed, an article in the *Revolution*—the RCP newspaper—called the NCOBD "reactionary," "reformist," and "ridiculous" and stated that we had the incorrect line. On the one hand, RCYB expressed unity with the article and refused to stop selling that issue of the paper, and, on the other hand, claimed to still be members of our chapter.



A resolution was passed by the Steering Committee saying that RCYB should be expelled and an emergency meeting was held to discuss the resolution. With almost its entire membership present, RCYB stacked the meeting. They distributed a position paper which attacked certain members of the Steering Committee, stated that we weren't revolutionary enough, and, in the same paper, expressed loyalty to NCOBD. They appealed to the sense of liberal democracy of the the unaffiliated, newly involved people—the middle forces of the Committee—by claiming that the Steering Committee was trying to suppress free speech. The meeting ended with more confusion than clarity, and with RCYB still as members of the chapter.

Damaging Effects

The struggle with RCYB had damaging effects on our chapter. From the time of our formation, there were undercurrents of strife which grew stronger until the *Revolution* article brought their culmination. Aside from hampering the mobilization work, this strife discouraged many of the middle forces. Right after the struggle broke out, our chapter grew smaller. Many of the middle forces dropped out.

However, RCYB's sectarianism continued. For the April 8th demonstration, RCYB decided to put out their own leaflet instead of helping us distribute the NCOBD leaflet. Their leaflet centered around the slogan "**fight imperialism**" and did not even mention the NCOBD. It appeared as though the RCYB were calling the rally and that its unity was anti-imperialism. After being criticized for this, they put out another leaflet with the phrase "called by NCOBD" just under the anti-imperialist slogans and just above the call to the rally. This time they made it appear as though the NCOBD were calling for an anti-imperialist rally. A policy was passed that at the rally all signs and banners must reflect the united front and that only NCOBD material could be passed out during the rally. But nevertheless, RCYB brought to the rally placards and a banner with anti-imperialist slogans, and armbands which they told people to wear. The idea behind the distribution of armbands (which had an RCYB slogan on them) was to make it appear as though RCYB were leading the rally. Several days after the rally they were voted out of the chapter by the members of the working committee.

RCYB's tactic of capitalizing on the mobilization work of others is an indication of their inability to mobilize on their own. For the April 8th rally, the NCOBD succeeded in bringing out not only activists who usually come to demonstrations but also other people from different sectors of the community. Among the groups represented were the YWCA, the National Organization for Women, the Samoan Action Movement of America, the Ethnic Studies Program at the UH, and the NAACP. All the organizations and individuals at the rally shared in their anger at the Bakke Decision and its implications for minorities and women. If RCYB had organized for the rally, the unity and agitation would have centered around anti-capitalism and only a small number of leftists would have shown up.

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Bakke Committee Work

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The system of monopoly capitalism cannot be successfully fought by a small group of people no matter how "pure" their views are. It is of utmost importance to broaden the Movement, to get as many people as possible in motion against the various forms of oppression. Direct experience serves as one very important factor in political education. As Lenin stated in his essay, **Left Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder**:

"Victory cannot be won with a vanguard alone. To throw only the vanguard into the decisive battle, before the entire class, the broad masses, have taken up a position either of direct support for the vanguard, or at least sympathetic neutrality towards it and of precluded support for the enemy, would be, not merely foolish but criminal. Propaganda and agitation alone are not enough for an entire class, the broad masses of the working people, those oppressed by capital, to take such a stand. For that, the masses must have their own political experience."

Implicit in the sectarian's purist approach to politics is the mechanistic notion that all compromises are incorrect. Lenin, in his essay on **Left-Wing Communism** and in some of his other works, points out the difference between a **principled compromise**, one which creates necessary alliances and brings more people into the front, and between a **bad compromise**, which pushes back the revolutionary cause. The approach of these sectarian groups has succeeded in isolating them from the broad masses of people who need to be mobilized and from other left and progressive forces.



The question then arises, how does one introduce a radical analysis into united front politics? To work toward answering this question, there needs to be much dialogue and sharing of experience among the left. Within the local NCOBD chapter, **leftists have done a poor job of bringing a radical perspective to the anti-Bakke work.** This is partially due to an **over-reaction** to the sectarianism of RCYB and partially because we did not know how to go about it. However, nationally the NCOBD has had a good approach to united front politics.

The practice of the NCOBD has been to keep the agitation and unity around the issues of overturning the Bakke Decision, fighting racism, and saving affirmative action, but in education efforts, to show very concretely the **economic context of racism.** This ensures the broadest possible participation in the front, but still results in a **basic understanding of the issues at hand.**

The charge has been made that the NCOBD has had a policy of relying on the courts and thus has not been giving a true picture of their role in the perpetuation of the socio-economic system. It should be clear that the NCOBD has always concentrated on mobilizing the broad masses of people who are oppressed by racism—mainly working people. Most of these people are not clear on the type of role the courts play. Directing the demands to the courts (while warning against having faith in them) is necessary to the education process. When the courts fail to meet our full demands or act against us, they expose themselves. In the case of the Bakke Decision, the U.S. Supreme Court gave a negative ruling couched in diplomatic terms. This has caused much confusion among some anti-racist forces. But it's a matter of education work and time before it becomes clear that the **high court has legitimized racism.**

At this point two of the main tasks facing the left are **finding a basis for working together and pulling more people into the Movement.** Consciousness-raising is a gradual process which must be seen in the context of political experience.

We must not be fooled by the simple formulas and purism of the sectarians. The correct approach to united front politics will emerge as the result of a dialectical process, our dialogue with one another, as we sum up our successes and failures.

—Kyle Goffman



Bakke Decision Attacked

The day after the U.S. Supreme Court rendered its long-awaited decision in the Bakke case, over 40 persons rallied in Honolulu protesting the racist decision and vowing to organize against it. Demonstrations occurred nationwide, also led by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

The close five-to-four Bakke Decision of the U.S. Supreme Court comes at a time when racist attacks are on the rise. Minorities and women are increasingly being blamed for the economic crisis. Historically the courts have reflected these trends. They have legalized slavery, "separate but equal" segregation, discrimination in hiring, and now the new racism known as "reverse discrimination." Only when faced with protests have they given concessions to the people of this country.

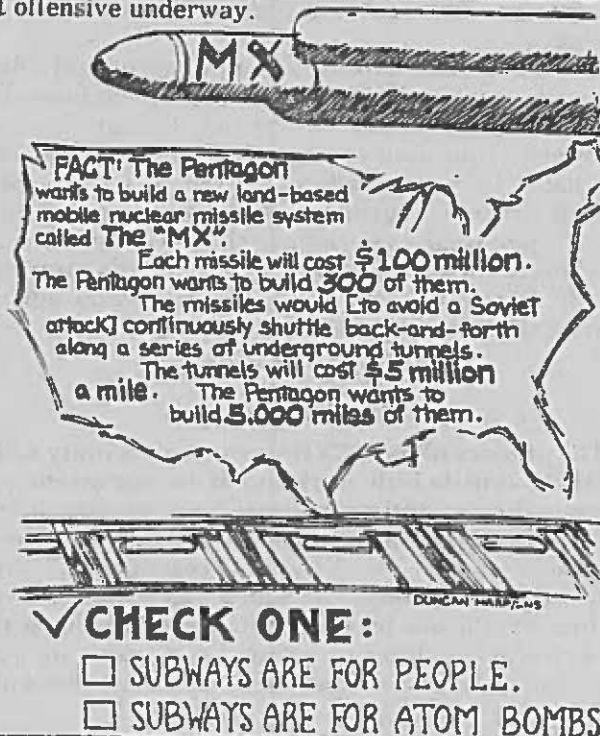
WHAT CAN WE DO?

Here in Hawaii we can't be fooled into thinking that Bakke won't affect us. We have a large minority population, and we're not the happy melting pot that many would have us believe. Obvious discrimination — especially among Hawaiians, Samoans, and Filipinos, which gives the basis and need for affirmative action in Hawaii. Many affirmative action programs already target these groups for social services, education and employment.

For example, at the University of Hawaii, Medical School the Imi Ho'ola Program presently receives funding of \$96,000 and is racially based. The Pre-admission Program at the Law School is also racially based, while the College Opportunities Program for undergraduates targets those lower-income groups grossly underrepresented in higher education. Funding from 1970 to date totals \$156,000. These are only a few programs that the Supreme Court ruling threatens by upholding Bakke and legitimizing reverse discrimination.

Hawaii must maintain, implement and expand affirmative action, in order to insure our community of equal participation in all aspects of life. The struggle against race and sex discrimination must continue. We cannot sit back, but must let our voices be heard by joining the mass movement growing across the nation to denounce 'the Court's ruling and to expand affirmative action for minorities and women.

(Contact the NCOBD in Hawaii at 941-6405 or 841-4145 to join with ongoing efforts against the Bakke decision and the racist offensive underway.)



China's Position—In Support of Reaction Speaking Out on Zaire

As the Western press goes all out to smear the Congolese insurgents in Shaba and Kivu provinces, calling them Cuban- and Soviet-led invaders, and charging them with massacring European men, women and children during the recent uprising in Shaba province, it is important to refresh our perspective and to rebut the lies spread by the imperialists. The excerpt of Colleen Richards' major article on Angola appears in this issue toward that end.

We also recommend Paul Rogers' excellent article on the Congolese National Liberation Front's uprising in Kolwezi and the Western powers' intervention, contained in the May 31 issue of *The Guardian*. Rogers' article refutes the slanders about guerrillas' massacres of whites with statements of survivors—engineer Raymond Korczak, for instance, who reported that Mobuto's soldiers rounded up about 30 Europeans in one room of a suburban villa and killed them. **"They talk of an orgy of killing—but it was the responsibility of Mobuto's Zaire Army,"** Korczak told the press four days after the media had filled our newspapers with stories from the French Foreign Legion about massacres by the rebels. Rogers also cites refugees' reports that Mobuto's soldiers looted freely and murdered whites indiscriminately—while the French legionnaires went through the town killing any blacks they found. None of the refugees reported seeing any white Cubans or Soviets among the guerrilla forces who they viewed to be peaceful, orderly and well-disciplined.

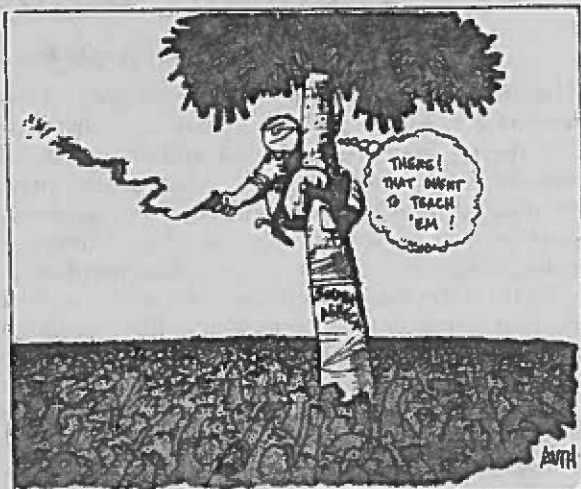
Such looting and killing by the Zaire army and its foreign supporters also took place after the 1977 invasion and uprising in Shaba province. Mobuto handed over a huge chunk of Zaire to a foreign rocket firm registered in West Germany, giving this company total sovereignty over the area and its people. U.S. cruise missiles are reportedly being tested from this area, and mass bombings are taking place in Shaba and Kivu provinces where the FLNC has joined with the Lumumbist People's Revolutionary Party to form the Supreme Liberation Council.

Despite Zaire's President Mobuto's ruinous mismanagement of Zaire for the sake of foreign capitalists, his active counter-revolutionary role and support for the South African regime, and his genocidal policies toward his own population, the People's Republic of China has come to embrace this dictator as a "patriot." During the Kolwezi operation, in the midst of the largest foreign intervention in Africa since the 1960's Congo operations, as thousands of Belgian and French troops were rushed to Mobuto's aid, Chinese Ambassador Hua landed in Zaire to denounce the insurgents' struggle as a Soviet and Cuban invasion "by proxy." The Chinese Ambassador praised the efforts made on behalf of Mobuto's regime. (*Peking Review*, May 26, 1978 and later issues.)

The Chinese position on Zaire has become the last straw for many of us. Seemingly blinded by their hatred of Soviet influence, the Chinese seem determined to oppose any cause supported by the Soviet Union. They have made very strange bed-fellows for themselves, and lost the support of many progressive forces throughout the world, as more and more genuine Marxist-Leninist parties come to oppose the Chinese government's international line and policies. The Chinese view that the USSR is everywhere the main danger to the world's people is ludicrous to the peoples of many countries, particularly in Latin America and Africa.

It is interesting to note that in China's criticism of Soviet and Cuban moves in Ethiopia, no mention is made of Eritrea. In our minds, Soviet and Cuban action against the Eritrean liberation movement is their most faultable conduct in Africa, and should be firmly opposed, not by supporting Western imperialist maneuvers but by building broad support and aid for the Eritreans.

"I am convinced that the Zairian people under the leadership of President Mobutu are capable of defending the independence, national sovereignty and unity of the country and repulsing all aggression from outside." —Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua in a most amazing statement on June 3, 1978, in Kinshasa, Zaire—about a leader who has sold out his whole country to Western imperialist interests, to the point of poverty, bankruptcy and ruin, and mass dissatisfaction.



The People's Republic of China has merited our attention and praise in the past, and even now, for the great revolutionary accomplishments the Chinese people have achieved under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party. Yet, today there are signs of some regression from the revolutionary line urged by Mao in internal policy—and China's foreign policy has become even more stridently anti-Soviet and almost pro-U.S. The application of the analysis of the Three Worlds has gotten dangerously off base and caused great confusion or bitter controversy. Even warfare between proclaimed socialist states (Vietnam and Cambodia) has been abetted by Soviet-Chinese rivalry, to the imperialists' delight. One hopeful sign is Premier Hua Kuo-feng's speech in North Korea, in which he cited U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of the Korean people's struggle for reunification, never mentioning Soviet social imperialism. This was a major departure from standard Chinese references to the world situation.

In southern and central Africa, U.S. and European imperialism have been the historic foes of people's liberation movements and is the major danger today: Zaire and South Africa are the major forces of reaction under their control, and are extremely rich in natural resources. Both Zaire and South Africa have intervened repeatedly in Angola on behalf of the imperialists, seeking to undermine and dislodge the genuine revolutionary forces there, led by the MPLA. These plots against the People's Republic of Angola and SWAPO, the people's army fighting for liberation of Namibia from South Africa, continue today.

The Chinese government openly supports the CIA-supported "liberation fronts" which are aligned with Zaire and South Africa—UNITA and the FNLA. These "liberation" organizations aim at disrupting the Angolan economy and overthrowing the MPLA-led government. They also harass the efforts of SWAPO and ambush the SWAPO guerrillas. China and self-styled Marxist-Leninist groups in the U.S. who follow China's line, supposedly support SWAPO while at the same time hailing the counter-revolutionary efforts of the anti-SWAPO guerrilla movements in Angola. SWAPO and the MPLA are allies, and the MPLA government has given maximum assistance to the SWAPO insurgency. China's position is contradictory and a real disservice to revolutionary forces in Africa. Who can deny that the MPLA victory in Angola has set in motion strong revolutionary tides throughout Africa, particularly in Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe?

Papers like *The Call* (CP-ML), *Getting Together* (IWK), *Revolutionary Cause* (ATM) have competed with each other in the virulence of their denunciation of Soviet-Cuban aggression in Zaire on the basis of the most discredited imperialist reporting and sources. Although the Carter administration and the CIA failed even to impress Congress of the truth of their charges of Cuban involvement, these "communist" groups have rallied to the right-wing war-makers' standard.

We highly recommend *The Guardian's* May 24 issue on Africa, which is priceless as a useful resource in clarifying the issues revolving around African liberation struggles and the imperialist strategies toward them. (Write *The Guardian*, 33 W. 17th St., New York, N.Y., for a copy—or check out Red Flag Bookstore, 12 N. School St., Honolulu.)

—J.W.
(More on the Horn of Africa, China's policy and the nature of the USSR in future issues.)

The Angolan Conflict: A Black and White Picture

(excerpts from a paper by Coleen Richards)

The involvement of Zaire in the Angolan Revolution represents the efforts of black neocolonialist leaders to protect their privileged positions and the investments of foreign business interests upon which their privilege is based, much as South Africa's involvement was basically an effort to protect white minority rule. The difference, apart from the respective colors of the elites involved, is that, regardless of the outcome in Angola, white minority rule has no real future in Southern Africa. Their exploitation of the black majority is too obvious a target. There are several neocolonialist governments in Southern Africa and since not all are characterized by the notorious political corruption and conspicuous luxury of the Mobutu regime, they are not easily identifiable as targets of people's struggles. However, whether led by an enlightened "moderate" such as Kaunda in Zambia or a benign monarch as in Swaziland, the neocolonialist nations are all characterized by the continued deep poverty of the majority of their populations.

Because of this continued poverty, the neocolonialist leaders are threatened by the victory in Angola of a leadership which had made clear from the very beginning of its struggle, that

Angola would not be a nation with an affluent, privileged elite supported by Western corporations on the one hand and the labor of the masses on the other hand.

Under these neocolonialist regimes, "independence" has done nothing for the great majority of the people. Western business interests avidly exploit the natural resources of the land and the work of the people with the greater part of the wealth created by this exploitation leaving Southern Africa as profits for foreigners. That part of the wealth left behind, in concession leases, royalties, bribes, even wages, is not enough to build healthy societies for the people even when the share left isn't appropriated first by a ruling elite for their own personal aggrandizement.

These leaders, represented by Mobutu of Zaire, opposed the MPLA and lost. The 1977 Shaba Province Uprising in Zaire is their first taste of the future.

The U.S. in Angola and Southern Africa

The government of the United States has over 800 million dollars in aid and loans invested in Zaire. U.S. business interests have invested over 250 million dollars there. In South Africa there are 1.6 billion dollars in U.S. business investments and another 1.1 billion dollars goes there each year in U.S. exports. Throughout Southern Africa it is much the same situation.

Whereas the Soviets, as Henry Kissinger explained, do not have any "vital interests" at stake in Southern Africa, the United States very obviously does. These "vital interests" have grown huge under the protection provided by the structures that dominate Southern Africa: White minority rule and neocolonialism. If these structures are threatened then U.S. interests are also threatened.

Keeping this in mind, it is evident why the United States became involved in Angola in 1960 on behalf of repressive Portuguese colonialism. It is easy to understand why the U.S. provides millions upon millions of dollars to support the flagrantly corrupt neocolonialist regime of Mobutu Sese Seko and his effort to establish a similar regime in Angola for Holden Roberto. It is even clear why the United States allied itself with the shamelessly racist regime of South Africa. The U.S. does have vital interests at stake.

The United States did not become involved in Angola because of any misperceptions or errors in judgement. U.S.

"What moral basis can the U.S. have to speak about Cuban troops in Africa? What moral basis can a country have whose troops are on every continent, that has, for instance, over 20 military bases in the Philippines, dozens of bases in Okinawa, in Japan, in Asia, in Turkey, in Greece, in West Germany, in Europe, in Spain, in Italy and everywhere else? What moral basis can the U.S. have to use the argument of our troops being in Africa when their own troops are stationed by force on Panamanian territory, or . . . right here on our own national territory at the Guantanamo naval base? . . . Cuba's solidarity with the African peoples is not negotiable!"

—Fidel Castro, 12/24/77



decisions with respect to Angola were, and are, entirely consistent with the dictates of its vital interests in Southern Africa.

The United States went into Angola because it had no other options. It was essential to maintain the status quo in Southern Africa or at least to insure any change disturbed the "stability" of the region as little as possible for the sake of vital interests there.

If the MPLA, FLNA and UNITA had never received one bullet from socialist nations, the United States still would have gone into Angola. The vital interests so dictated. If the MPLA had never gotten a single rifle from Czechoslovakia, the CIA still would have provided covert aid to the FLNA.

U.S. interests in Southern Africa were threatened by the possible victory of the MPLA, but not because the Soviets might have gained some influence in an area where they had none previously. The MPLA was a threat to the U.S. because it was, basically, an anti-imperialist movement.

Even though the People's Republic of Angola, after 500 years of colonial rule is quite determined to maintain its independence from any superpower, including the one which made its victory a possibility, and even though the MPLA has pragmatically permitted the return of Western business interests, Angola is a threat to the United States because the victory of the MPLA resulted in the destruction of the detente which might have prolonged the existence of the white minority regimes of Southern Africa and because Angola, and Mozambique, will provide an example of progressive societies to the peoples of the neocolonialist nations and those peoples will no longer be content to live in poverty while their leaders allow them the "pride" of supporting luxury-consuming elites.

The United States is threatened by the People's Republic of Angola because of Rhodesia and Namibia and Zaire and South Africa. While some observers warn the United States that it can no longer afford to identify its goals with those of a Vorster or a Mobutu as it did in Angola with the Portuguese, and ally itself with an embattled regime, black or white, which is attempting to maintain a privileged status quo from which the U.S. also enjoys economic profit, such warnings are of little use.

The very nature of the system which created the "vital interests" of the United States in Southern Africa will dictate U.S. actions in the future. Whether taking a path of enlightened self-interest or persisting with the old ways, ultimately, in Southern Africa, the U.S. will be left with no choice.

The United States is being blown by the winds of history in Southern Africa. The clouds are gathering. The rain will not be stopped.

(The whole text of this article is available from Modern Times for \$1, plus 25 cents postage.)

Australian Environmentalist Presents Working Class Viewpoint

Peter Hayes, the founder of Friends of the Earth in Australia and co-author of *Atoms for the Poor? Nuclear Power and the Third World*, spent a busy 5 days in Honolulu in early July and opened some eyes on the possibilities of a strong alliance between labor and environmentalists.

Peter spoke on several occasions in Honolulu; his trip here was supported by Life of the Land, Hawaii Union of Socialists, Friends of the Filipino People, and other groups and individuals. His words were based on concrete experiences in the "green ban," "black ban," anti-war and anti-uranium mining movements in Australia, movements based on and often led by working class organizations.

A high percentage of Australian workers are organized, especially in blue-collar trades (over 50%). There are some 400 unions representing 4 million workers, and several of the major ones have socialist or communist leadership and a very conscious membership, like the Builders-Laborers Union.

When construction projects were proposed that were harmful to the environment, like the oil and natural gas pipeline across Melbourne Bay, which, if ruptured would destroy fishing, boating and "bushwalking" in the area, the construction unions democratically declared a "green ban" on the project, forbidding their members to work on it. When scab labor was brought in by the government, 3,000 workers and environmentalists demonstrated against the project, and were attacked by the police. The people then dug up and destroyed the pipeline on shore, and arrests followed. But the pipe-manufacturing workers themselves supported the people's action, and somehow sand got into the machinery and halted production.

Hayes said it was important for the unionists to see environmentalists willing to fight and go to jail; in this way they realized that "the environmental movement was not a middle-class rip-off of workers, as it sometimes appears." And it was crucial for the environmentalists to support the workers against the government's union-busting effort.

Limits to Banning

Peter also mentioned how the unions had placed a "black ban" on the proposed demolition and "renewal" of Victoria Market, a popular, old, ethnic marketplace, and had stopped that redevelopment project for several years. (Black bans are placed on "sociologically harmful" projects, which hurt poor and working class communities.) He also pointed out the limits of the banning movement. "We can halt the deployment of capital into an undesirable project, but we cannot force its redeployment into beneficial projects. That question raises the problem of state power, and depends on which class controls the government."

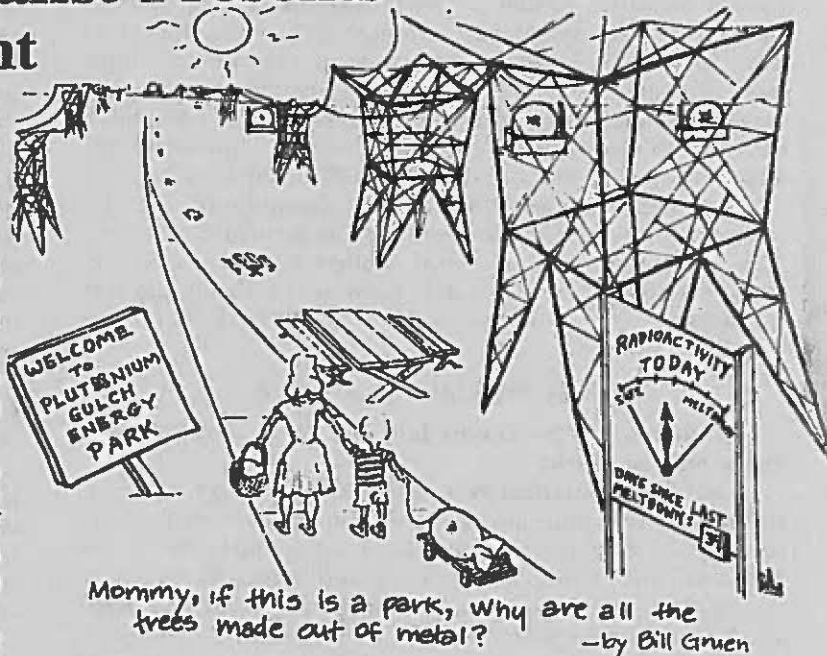
He rebutted the notion that these bans work only in times of boom, pointing out that they first began in a period of relatively high unemployment. "They actually depend on the political consciousness of the workers, who must take a long-range view of politics in order to make short-term sacrifices for the benefit of the whole class."

The radical environmentalists worked painstakingly to build this principled alliance with workers. First, they sought unity on local issues like the pipeline, or concerning projects which did not involve a lot of jobs. "The unions always correctly insisted that we get the community on our side before they would take direct action like a black ban. This community support proved vital every time, especially when the union was itself attacked by government."

The unions' ban on French shipping and commerce in 1971, to protest French nuclear testing in the Pacific, was supported by the Australian Labor Party government, which later won its case against France in the World Court. "The issue was raised sometimes in a nationalist or racist anti-French way, but it did promote awareness of irradiation dangers among Australian workers. From the contacts made then with labor, the anti-war movement in Australia was able to build strong working class support against Australia's alliance with the U.S. in Vietnam," Hayes pointed out.

The Uranium Mining Issue

The uranium mining issue was a natural and strategic



follow-up to these earlier campaigns. French companies were involved in uranium-hunting in Australia; uranium is a very strategic metal, essential for nuclear power and weapons. Important occupational health issues were involved for the workers mining the ore. The issue of solar and other forms of energy was also posed which was attractive to some liberals. One key concern was that the lands sought for the mining were sacred, communal lands of the aboriginal peoples of Australia; mining them would literally be a genocidal act against the remaining aborigines. Women were also very concerned about the nuclear and radiation issue since it affects reproduction; and the peace movement would also rise to an issue involving mining ore for nuclear weapons and war. Most importantly, Peter felt the uranium mining issue posed the whole question of Australia's structural dependency on the world capitalist economy—with its orientation toward export of raw materials, and its major cities serving as ports of trade. "The Australian economy served foreign imperialists primarily—as was clear with the uranium issue, since the government would insist on no real guidelines which might serve to keep some capital in Australia." So there was a possibility for a real united front around the uranium mining issue.

Methodology of Organizing

The methodology of the organizing is interesting to examine, and different than usual left methods in the U.S. Two to three years were spent primarily on research and education. A tabloid for workers ("Slow Burn") was printed (150,000 copies), with workers active in its production, and taken around by activists to unions, saying that "workers have a right to know." The ruling Labor Party supported uranium mining at the time, as did most top union officials regionally and nationally. The activists lobbied within the party and in 1975 made it a key issue at the Labor Party conference, losing the vote but exposing the leadership to the rank-and-file. At the same time, the activists' concentration was on the local party levels and unions. The left political unions were the first to oppose the uranium mining, and they took responsibility for organizing workshops with other unions, while environmentalists organized community action, bike rides, rallies, etc. There was a clear division of roles within the broad front, and it was important that environmental organizations like Friends of the Earth not attempt to speak for the unions. The "Uranium Moratorium" provided the spokesmen for the combined effort, and workers' leadership of the moratorium was consciously striven for and achieved.

The main slogan became "The People's Right to Decide", which was not only anti-nuclear but political in essence, squarely posing the issue of democracy against the increasingly repressive Australian government. With this slogan, broad support was obtained; the Labor Party was forced to change its stand by an overwhelming vote, and mining was halted for a number of years.

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Environmentalists' Advice

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The right-wing government now in power has recently passed measures outlawing anti-uranium mining demonstrations (with a 3-year jail sentence) and giving the green light to speedy, ruthless extraction of the ore by major mining companies. The aborigines who have organized some resistance to the mining and land thefts, have been ordered to negotiate or be subjected to a government-appointed arbitrator's decision on selling or leasing their lands to the companies. These mining operations can be counted on to ruin these ancestral lands possibly forever. The movement faces a critical challenge at this juncture. (Peter showed an excellent slide show on the aborigines and the mining issue which we hope to bring back to Hawaii sometime soon.)

Basic Principles of Alliance

In closing, Peter Hayes laid out these principles to guide similar work:

- * environmentalists relinquish control over some of the decision-making and strategy, especially decisions affecting working people, and work consciously to set up broad effective fronts with workers and unions in the lead;

- * environmentalists must demonstrate solidarity with workers on trade union issues like wages, organizing the unorganized, and contract fights by educating their own constituencies—even at the risk of losing their upper middle class supporters.

- * information should be developed by and for unionists, and should concern the workers' own work and recreational environments.

- * on inter-union conflict, environmentalists must be as honest as possible and support the best political stand;

- * environmentalists should retain their integrity and not compromise on an issue just because there is criticism from backward sectors or because of the social structure's "divide-and-rule" effects.

- * environmentalists must recognize that bans and other trade union measures of support are holding actions, temporary measures, since they cannot force positive uses of capital but only prevent negative ones, for a period. "The issue of socialism vs. capitalism is very much at the heart of the issue of jobs and environment and key to a real, lasting labor-environmentalist alliance," Hayes asserted.

Kahoolawe's Meaning

In regard to the Environmental Impact Statement submitted by the Navy, I find it is not an impartial assessment of the effects of the use of Kahoolawe as a bombing target but appears to be a legal brief to justify the bombing. It seems to go out of its way to quote derogatory statements by so-called authorities, such as "Kahoolawe is destitute of every kind of shrub or verdure except a species of coarse grass," and "Kahoolawe will be forever uninhabited because life there is impossible," and "The lack of traditions for Kahoolawe is mute evidence of the unimportance of the island."

Further on, however, the EIS points out that 76 species of plants, 11 species of birds, including quail and pheasants, continue to survive on the island. The report also states that parts of the island receive 25 inches of rain annually. This is nearly twice as much as is received by Israel or Orange County, California. Yet agriculture thrives in those places...

The EIS not only fails to deal adequately with environmental effects and alternatives, but fails to properly assess cultural and historical aspects. In fact, I have a feeling that an EIS is irrelevant to the situation because Kahoolawe has become a spiritual and moral issue. It is a mark of incipient racism to ignore this and to refuse to recognize the right of the Hawaiian people to determine for themselves what they consider sacred. For Kahoolawe has become a shrine to many Hawaiians. It is the only area left of their former great nation which is not over-run by plantations, hotels and subdivisions, owned and controlled by non-Hawaiians. It may appear to be only a barren rock to some people, but to them it is sacred *aina*. Consequently, every bomb that falls on Kahoolawe pains many Hawaiians as though a dagger were stuck in their back. You can't devise an environmental statement to justify this, no more than you could write one which would justify bombing Jerusalem, the Vatican or

Halt Nuclear Power

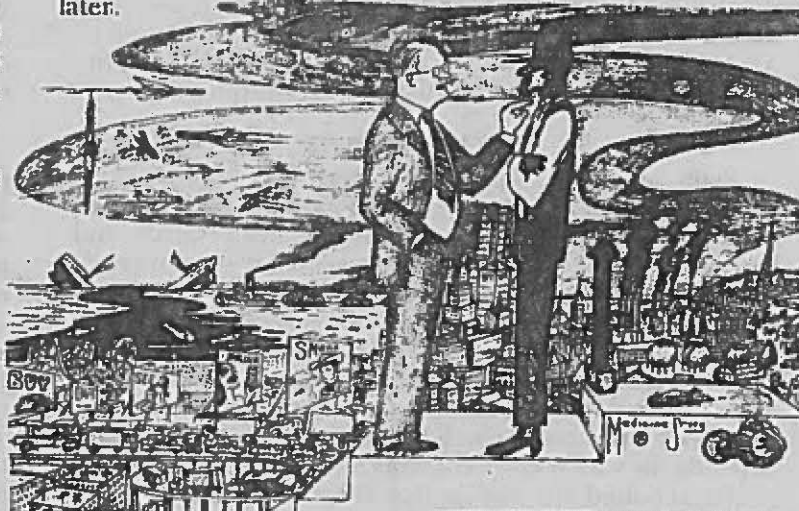
"Political education is crucial to our efforts in Australia. What we've gained can easily be taken away unless workers and their allies defend them vigorously. The aborigines are occupying lands and rances once stolen from them, and are resisting the mining cartels. Halting nuclear power development everywhere possible is now the strongest act of international solidarity to save the aborigines. Today thousands are ready to fight and be jailed in Australia on this issue, to take on the official state violence which is the whole history of Australia. We have people-controlled radio stations established around the country, able to get out the word fast, supported by unions and environmentalists. Whether we have enough strength to combat and overcome the rising reaction visible in Australia is a difficult question, but we will make a fight of it."

One last note of interest: Hayes was strongly critical of China's position urging third world countries to import nuclear technology and to develop nuclear defense capabilities against the superpowers' monopoly. "That only plays into the hands of imperialism, threatens widespread destruction and definite impoverishment and dependency for the third world countries." This is because importing nuclear technology rather than relying on local sources of energy makes third world countries even more dependent on the advanced industrial nations. Nuclear weapons, Hayes said, are "not weapons of national liberation"—and it "would be difficult, if not impossible, to exercise democratic control over their use."

"The use of weapons that cause indiscriminate killing of a foreign working class does not seem consistent with socialism and seems to imply a chauvinist or racist attitude," Hayes asserted.

Jobs and Environment Conference

Some interesting food for thought—and action! Life of the Land is now working with some unionists and environmentalists to develop a conference on jobs and the environment to be held next November. This could be a significant step forward for our local movement. More details later.



— AKWESASNE NOTES cartoon by Medicine Story
"Trouble with you people is you never knew how to use the land."

Kahoolawe is part of a bigger world struggle between those who would use the human and natural resources of our planet for the betterment of mankind and those who would exploit these resources for their own power and enrichment. Today this struggle expresses itself as the desire of Third World people for self-determination and their just share of the world's wealth. The established powers react not only by trying to keep what they already have but to increase their share, and they have the technology and weapons to do this.

This brings us to the problem of armaments. Must our nation spend more than \$130 BILLION a year on instruments of death? And billions more to provide these armaments to other countries, including nations where millions of people suffer from malnutrition in filthy ghettos.

Those who profit from the arms industry say the weapons are needed for national defense. It's possible we'll soon be spending so much on national defense there'll be nothing left to defend.

True, under present conditions, nations must have a degree of security from attack by other nations. This has resulted in an arms race that wastes the resources of each nation and the entire world. The big powers have enough atom bombs to destroy all civilization. By spending so much on arms, nations deprive their people of needed schools, hospitals, housing and even food. . . .

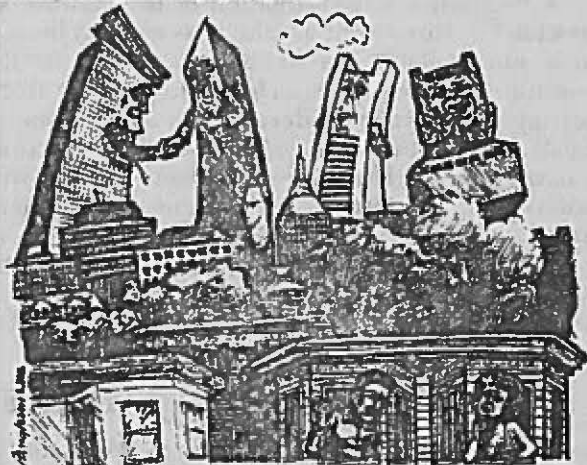
W. Reich, in testimony to the Navy

PACE Celebration Well-Attended

PACE's third anniversary celebration on July 15, attended by over 500 persons, was a great success, especially given the short time in which it was organized.

The program that night was lively and varied—including short speeches by residents and supporters, including a woman resident from Niumalu-Nawiliwili on Kauai, disco dancing, an RCP disco rock group, a Hawaiian chant and dance performance by the Revolutionary Youth League (which raised the call to rally behind the Hawaiian Nation), an inspiring original Chinatown dance by the May Day Dancers, and a special, sensational appearance by guest Hawaiian artist Genoa Keawe. There was a good cross-section of people, and the stew-and-rice dinner was very tasty. PACE netted several hundred dollars from ticket sales.

The turn-out demonstrated sustained and growing support for the Chinatown struggle at a crucial time in its history. Two fires in recent months have hit Chinatown buildings targeted for eviction, including the PACE office building. There is some evidence that they may have been deliberately set. The residents at 4-A N. Hotel St. face dates in court in the immediate future.



City housing officials have finally agreed to meet directly with PACE members and residents at 1189 River St., to offer them temporary relocation housing to Maunakea or Pauahi Hale buildings, both owned by the City. The recent film on Chinatown on commercial television, and, even more likely, the successful mobilization for the July 15 celebration, may have prompted City officials to back off from their refusal to meet with PACE and the residents, and to come up with new tactics for dealing with PACE.

The staying power of PACE and the Chinatown residents and supporters—who are now in the 8th year of struggle—and their ability to prevent evictions and continue to draw support are notable achievements. But a plan to win decent, low-cost housing—and a strong political offensive—are urgently needed. PACE is readying such a plan, and the labors of many of us will be required. Attend the PACE meetings every Wednesday night, 7:30 p.m., at 1189 River St. and assist in the vital planning and support work being done.

Capitalism

is when they have it to burn and we have it to earn.



Book on C.P. Falls Short

Al Richmond, *A Long View from the Left: Memoirs of an American Revolutionary* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1972; paperback edition 1975)

While by no means a great book, this is a book worth reading. Richmond is not a master of the memorable phrase, but he is a competent journalist; the Communists and Wobblies he describes, sometimes vividly, are flesh and blood people without horns or halos, and Richmond himself comes through as a devoted, courageous, and relatively open-minded person. One of my friends says of him: "You can disagree with him politically without being made to feel a moral leper."

There is not much analysis of the Communist Party in Richmond's book; on that score Joseph R. Starobin's *American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957* is far more rewarding. Four-fifths of Richmond's book is memoirs: Richmond's early childhood years in Soviet Russia with his heroic-spirited revolutionary mother; his American boyhood of grinding penury; his adolescence during the Great Depression; his apprenticeship as "semiprofessional revolutionary" doing Jimmy Higgins work for the Young Communist League and then the CP; his organizational work among the bitterly exploited seamen on the Baltimore waterfront (the most interesting part of the book); his emergence as a journalist on the *Daily Worker*; his 31 years (1937-68) as editor of the *San Francisco People's World*; his ordeal as a defendant in the California Smith Act case (1950-51), which makes the Hawaii Smith Act case look comparatively like a picnic; his first-hand observation of Dubcek's "socialism with a human face" in Czechoslovakia and its suppression by the Soviets; his resignation as editor because he could not agree with the American party's endorsement of the Soviet action.

What disappoints me most in the book is the little space and attention devoted to Richmond's main life work, editing the *People's World*. We get nothing about the problems of meeting deadlines day after day, year after year, on a shoestring, in an atmosphere of general hostility or indifference, of how CP control of the paper was exercised, and what relations were between the party and non-party supporters such as the ILWU; of how the PW was able to break free to some extent from the deadening party jargon of the *Daily Worker*; of how the staff adjusted their conscience to such things as defense of concentration camps for Japanese-Americans and military rule of Hawaii.

The remaining fifth of *A Long View* is three "essays," chapters II, V and VIII. There are some very sensible observations in them. "The Generations" emphasizes that earlier American radicals, men such as the Socialist Debs, and I.W.W. Haywood, the Communist Foster, had a much clearer idea of class divisions and the class struggle than many present-day radicals. "An Old Problem of American Radicalism" discusses its traditional weaknesses, "a lack of theoretical culture and a consequent dependence on others (or its twin opposite, a supercilious national exclusiveness)." For American Marxists, all too often another country, first Germany, then the Soviet Union, today China, has been the source of wisdom; they have been too timid to think for themselves.

The longest "essay," "Notes of the Revolution and the 1930s," points out how the idea of the United Front (of workers' forces) and People's front (workers and other progressive forces) developed from the situation the Communist Party found itself in; and how validity of the idea was proved by its results, in the United States particularly by the building of the CIO.

—John E. Reinecke

Nuclear Bombs Out of Hawaii

Hiroshima-Nagasaki Days to be Remembered by Action

8

The newly formed OPIHI ALLIANCE for a Nuclear-Free Hawaii has called for a commemoration ceremony Sunday, Aug. 6, 12 noon at City Hall to remember the atomic bombing of Honolulu's sister city Hiroshima (and of Nagasaki). Following the ceremony, at 1:30 p.m. people are urged to meet at the Honolulu Zoo's main entrance for a walk through Waikiki returning to Kuhio Beach Park for a 15-minute silent vigil, followed by a pot-luck picnic at Queen's Surf Beach Park (call 949-1210 for more information).

The Alliance's leaflet cites some statements and facts about the "crisis situation" threatening Hawaii and the world because of the presence of nuclear weapons in Hawaii:

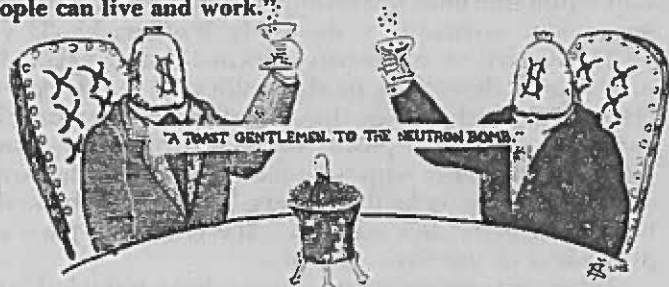
The island of Oahu is the major U.S. command and weapons stockpile center of the Pacific. Fully 25% of the island's land is under the control of the military, which numbers 110 separate installations throughout the state of Hawaii.

At this moment 48 nuclear weapon storage bunkers are being constructed at Pearl Harbor's West Loch—less than 10 miles from Waikiki Beach. West Loch's stockpile, while constituting a threat to entire continents, represents locally more immediate hazards: possible sabotage or accidents; a primary target for nuclear attack.

An Expert Testifies: John W. Gofman M.D., Ph.D., a leading authority on the biological effects of radiation in cancer production, has called the existence of nuclear weapons at West Loch "an environmental disaster waiting to happen."

The U.C. Berkeley professor emeritus, who has also served as Associate Director of the Lawrence Livermore (Radiation) Laboratory and plutonium group leader on the Manhattan Project, further states:

"Under no circumstances should nuclear weapons be stored in the Pearl Harbor vicinity. A dispersal of plutonium or uranium . . . would create a disaster of the first magnitude. A very large part of inhabited Oahu island could be made unsafe for human habitation . . . Honolulu as a tourist facility would become a ghost city if a plutonium dispersal occurred . . . To contemplate having a nuclear weapons storage depot in the Pearl Harbor-Honolulu area is the same as to contemplate the acceptance of total ruination of Hawaii as a viable economic unit where people can live and work."



"THE BOURGEOISIE OF THE WHOLE WORLD WHICH LOOKS COMPLACENTLY UPON THE WHOLESOME MASSACRE AFTER THE BATTLE IS CONVULSED BY HORROR AT THE DESECRATION OF BRICK AND MORTAR!"
KARL MARX, THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE

Come to the Labor Day Picnic!

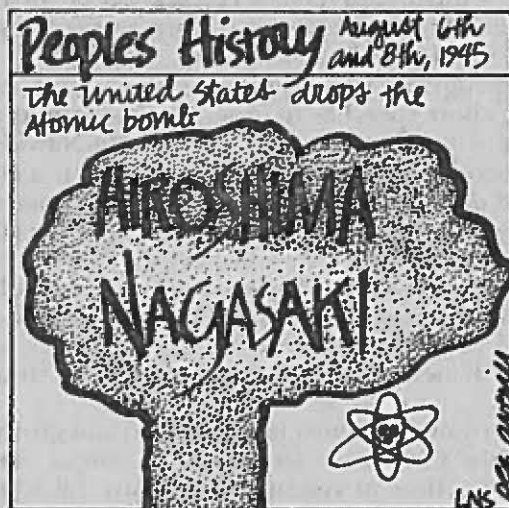
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Hawaii National Question Pamphlet Now Available

"A Preliminary Investigation of the Hawaii National Question" by three local socialists has recently been printed and is now available free of charge through the Red Flag Bookstore, 12 N. School St., Honolulu 96817 (call 538-3129 weekday afternoons). *Modern Times* also has some copies available. The pamphlet has some interesting data and seeks primarily to provide a theoretical framework for study and resolution of the important question of sovereignty and Hawaii nationhood. Socialists and supporters of the Hawaiian movement are urged to read this initial attempt and respond; the writers hope to organize forums on the issue in the future, and work with others on researching the many remaining questions.

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