

Eyewitness report from embattled Nicaragua

Stephen Durham and Susan Williams, M.D., the authors of the following eyewitness account of the embattled Nicaraguan revolution, are members of the Freedom Socialist Party National Committee. After presenting the inspiring theoretical paper "On the Nature of the Nicaraguan State" to the 1988 FSP National Convention, Durham and Williams were asked by their comrades to visit the country in order to test and expand their analysis. In April 1989, they spent two weeks in Managua and a week on the Atlantic Coast.

Their updated convention document will appear in an upcoming issue of the Freedom Socialist.

Nothing in this world astounds and inspires quite like the enduring spirit of a people who have made a revolution.

From the moment we stepped onto the dusty streets of Managua, Nicaragua, this spirit, that of a people fighting to rule their own destiny, surrounded and swept us up.

Everywhere people were open, eager to engage us in a candid exchange of ideas. Health care, abortion, agriculture, Indian self-determination, the Sandinistas, you name it; Nicaragua's people have an opinion on everything.

A defining characteristic of the people we talked with—factory, office, and domestic workers, women, young people, lesbians and gays, Miskito Indians, Creoles, community organizers, street vendors—is pride: pride in overthrowing Somoza; pride in their ten-year struggle against U.S. aggression; pride in the FSLN government—their government, installed by them, and in power today by virtue of their support.

Pride sustains the spirit. But spirit is not indestructible. The heady post-insurrection days are gone, and many Nicaraguans are becoming worn down, disenchanted, demoralized, disengaged, as the Sandinistas try the impossible, to reconcile mass democratic aspirations

with the tyrannical rule of an economic system still run predominantly by and for capitalists.

The poor—always with us?

What hit us immediately in the Land of Sandino was the devastating poverty, shown poignantly by children begging at the airport or snatching food off plates in restaurants. Few families can make a living without resorting to *bisnes*

When the Sandinistas threw out Somoza, they nationalized his extensive holdings. But capitalists, not the state, still own most of the country's property and business. They own an especially high proportion in the key fields of export production and industry.

Because what the state does own is a minority of the total economy and is not concentrated in crucial sectors, state enterprises must buy their raw



During their whirlwind tour of Nicaragua, co-authors Dr. Susan Williams (left) and Stephen Durham spend a happy interlude with Managuan children.

—street sale of goods made at home or gleaned from the black market.

Throughout Nicaragua we felt the grinding pressure of U.S. imperialism. For a decade, precious human and material resources have been plowed into the military and blown up in the Contra War. Thanks to the ongoing U.S. boycott, medications are in critically short supply, and milk is contaminated because pasteurization equipment lacks replacement parts.

materials from capitalist businesses and send their products out to compete in the capitalist market.

Thousands of workers have been laid off from state industry and government jobs in the latest austerity program. On the rationale of directing scant resources "to the productive sectors," food subsidies to the poor have been eliminated while big business owners still get cash and credit incentives. The toll of government policies is measured in rising infant mortality and human misery.

Everyone is caught up in the scramble for U.S. dollars, even the government. The only new building we saw in Managua was the state-run "Dollar Store," where imported luxury goods can be bought with U.S. bucks. The economy's dependence on dollars demonstrates the continued hegemony of capital in Nicaragua.

And still the economy sputters. To break the downward spiral and answer the people's needs, the Sandinistas must confront head-on the central question of property ownership and appropriate the major capitalists. This is the only way to defend the workers and peasants against the ravages of the capitalist market. The FSLN must drop its dead-end tinkering with the capitalist system and move boldly to a workers state by nationalizing the key forces of production.

On the Atlantic Coast. A particularly horrendous economic burden rests on the Atlantic Coast, home to most of Nicaragua's national and ethnic minorities, who have been hit hard in recent years by both natural and military disasters.

During our stay in Bluefields, the chief city of the southern coast, the people were still rebuilding what Hurricane Joan had torn down in 1988. Nowhere was Nicaragua's multi-racial, multi-cultural, and multi-national nature more evident, as the region's Black, English-speaking Creoles worked together with reconstruction with Indians and with mestizos, the country's Indian/Spanish majority.

The key question of democracy for all Nicaraguans hinges on how the revolution deals with the Creoles and Indians—Miskitos, Sumos, and Ramas—of the coast.

When the FSLN came to power in 1979, its failure to acknowledge that the indigenous peoples made up nations, with the right to self-determination, opened a rift between the new revolutionary state and the Indians. The rift became a chasm when the FSLN began usurping control of native government, production, and land and, in 1981, evacuated Indians from their traditional areas rather than give them arms to defend themselves against contra raids.

Into the chasm stepped the contras, who recruited with some success among the Indians. Many native people rebuffed the contras, but joined armed Miskito organizations fighting the Sandinistas for democratic rights.

Indians don't want to secede from the Nicaraguan state. But they demand recognition of their nationhood and historic right to self-determination. They demand the right to direct their economy and govern traditional lands in harmony with their Creole allies.

Full equality will do. The Sandinistas have partially corrected their early ruinous policies and, despite the CIA's best efforts, the contras are now thoroughly discredited. But social tensions on the coast continue to run high.

Arriving in the city Puerto Cabezas, the heart of Miskito lands in northeastern Nicaragua, we had the immediate sense of walking into an armed camp. This is occupied territory, with the Sandinista army on patrol.

In 1985, Miskito women initiated negotiations between Indian leaders in exile and the military. Since the signing of peace accords, 25,000 Miskitos have returned from Honduras and Costa Rica. But they are skeptical of the government's 1987 autonomy plan. Miskito leaders in the group KISAN for Peace told us they welcome many of the plan's provisions, but its implementation has been repeatedly delayed.

Moreover, it grants only partial Indian control, providing for neither complete withdrawal of Sandinista troops nor armed native self-defense.

Sandinista half-measures will not do. But if incorporated as equals in the Nicaraguan revolution, Indians will become an unparalleled revolutionary force. With their egalitarian traditions of communal property and mutual support, "Indians are natural socialists," as Amalia Dixon, an outspoken Miskito woman leader, put it.

Sandinista's daughters. Since the earliest days of the insurrection, revolutionaries the world over have been in-

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Radical Women's 23rd Anniversary Conference



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Freedom Socialist Party and Workers Socialist League debate China's way forward after Tiananmen Square. Might the regime be reformed or is political revolution necessary?

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Nicaragua report

On-the-scene reporters Dr. Susan Williams and Stephen Durham conclude that after ten years of U.S. assault, Nicaragua must choose: on to a workers state—or shipwreck.

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Populist Party

Klansmen seek ballot respectability via the Populist Party these days. They tried it last summer in Seattle and got squelched by the United Front Against Fascism.

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Freedom Socialist Credo

The Freedom Socialist boldly confronts and makes sense of the dizzying events shaping today's revolutionary world.

We're Marxists, Leninists, Trotskyists, feminists, humanists...we believe that all today's gigantic upheavals are links in an enormous global effort to topple the tyranny of imperialism or Stalinist bureaucratism or racist arrogance.

We hail the decisive leadership role played by people of color and by sexual and national minorities in the worldwide class struggle.

We focus on women's non-stop fight for equality which, in the final analysis, challenges every single basis on which capitalism rests. Feminism is essentially an energizing and unifying inducement to international revolutionary upsurge.

Our goal is to make these facts of life apparent. We aim to inject the socialist movement with the revitalizing ideas of Trotskyism and feminism in order to prepare it for victory in this crucial decade.

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Letters

Sounds like a good deal

I received your paper via a friend of mine. I would be interested in subscribing but unfortunately have no hard currency to pay for it. If it is possible, I would like to receive your paper free of charge. I am a member of the PPS-RD (Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution) and can send you our publications in exchange. Zbigniew Idziakowski
Warsaw, Poland

Interested

After reading the Freedom Socialist, I found a couple of articles very interesting. I agree wholeheartedly with the article about the common front against fascists, because skin-head groups and neo-Nazi activities, along with the Ku Klux Klan, have become more widespread here in Maine in recent years. I found the article about Merle Woo quite interesting, along with the article about growing interest in Trotskyism in the Soviet Union.

Once again, thank you for the information that you sent me. The FSP seems to be a very worthwhile and needed party. Benjamin Vail
Brunswick, Maine

Guilty of Leninism

Generally speaking, when the U.S. government makes an attack on any group for its politics, I will support that group's right to freedom of expression and action.

There are things I like about your group—strong anti-racist, anti-sexist, etc., and pro-class struggle.

However, people who loaned or gave you large sums

of money claim there was fraud involved. [Please see Freeway Hall Case story, page four—ed.] Who am I to believe, especially when your group idolizes Lenin and Trotsky?

These men believed they knew the workers' interests better than the workers themselves. Claiming to save the working class, they imprisoned and murdered working class opposition...

You have no excuse for not knowing your history, or for hiding the bourgeois nature of the Bolshevik leadership from your followers. Bill Meyers
San Diego, California

Gorbachev a capitalist?

You asked for comments on articles on Trotsky in the June-August 1989 issue.

It does not surprise us to see Gorbachev allow the rehabilitation of Trotsky. It goes along with his attempt to attack the legacy of Stalin in order to push the Soviet economy from state capitalism toward greater free enterprise.

Your article is exactly the kind of response that Gorbachev wanted—one that calls Trotsky "a caring, energetic man." This allows Gorbachev to discredit Stalin as a butcher while ignoring the substantive issues in organizing the economy.

You say that Soviet women "will not stand for regressive capitalist-style maneuvers made in the name of socialism." The fact is that Soviet women and workers already have seen capitalism implemented in their economy, else the Soviet Union would not have the problems it has now.

The revisionists in Poland and Hungary have transformed themselves into honest and simple capitalist politicians by formally dropping their claims to be Marxist. When will Trotskyists wake up and notice?

A former Trotskyist
Ann Arbor, Michigan

A prisoner writes

I really enjoyed the special supplement in your newspaper [FS, Vol. 11, #3]! [The authors] put an incredible amount of political and economic insight into that section. I was awed by just the economic section, which is about as far as I got, before I had to send all my property out (but I plan on having the newspaper sent back in). I am buying a couple of copies, because it's got a lot of helpful information for a more comprehensive understanding of our movement.

Dominic Olivo
Shelton Reformatory,
Shelton, Washington

Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphics, photographs, and pertinent information on world and national affairs.

Correction

In last issue's article about the European Open Conference held in Rimini, Italy in March 1989, we incorrectly stated that Freedom Socialist Party National Secretary Guerry Hoddersen "was the only woman leader to speak" at the gathering. Millie Phillips, a leader of the Workers Socialist League, also spoke.

We deeply regret the error.

Congratulations!

...to the families of Silme Domingo and Gene Viernes and the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes.

Your great and persistent work has paid off! Ferdinand Marcos stands convicted in U.S. federal court of ordering the 1981 murders of the Seattle labor leaders, champions of democracy here and in the Philippines.

Both men, as spearheads of anti-Marcos resistance, posed a severe threat to the

dictator and to imperialist interests in Asia.

You have utterly exposed the collusion of Marcos and the U.S. government—exempted from prosecution on "national security" grounds—and vindicated the martyrs.

All fighters for justice owe you an enormous debt of gratitude.

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Panama invaded, Noriega abducted

"Get Castro" drug trial looms

George Bush says he invaded Panama to save democracy there and because Manuel Noriega is a no-good dope-dealing s.o.b.

We'll leave it to the brain-dead to swallow that b.s.

Since when does the U.S. support democracy? And since when does the U.S. go after big-time dope dealers?

Let George Bush explain why, after the CIA has sponsored, financed, and colluded with dope-dealing governments from Pakistan to Paraguay for the last 40 years, our government should now be concerned with busting Noriega.

Hell, the CIA had him on the payroll since 1960. He was dealing a good portion of the time, with our government's full knowledge. According to John Kerry's Senate Subcommittee on

Narcotics, his name popped up in more than 80 different Drug Enforcement Administration files between 1970 and 1987. This didn't stop DEA chief John Lawn from lauding—in May 1986!—Noriega's "vigorous anti-drug policy" in Panama.

The idea that Bush invaded to stop Noriega from dealing is hogwash, except insofar as it makes him *look* like he's really out to stop drugs.

Here are some real reasons the U.S. went in. One was to tighten the economic screws on Nicaragua and Cuba. The Noriega government provided both nations access to a wide range of U.S. goods, from needed machine parts to toothpicks, softening the impact of U.S. trade restrictions.

The prospect that the U.S. will move to shut down these arrangements is a real threat, especially in Nicaragua,

where even short-term economic setbacks could jeopardize the government's chances in the February 25 elections.

Bush also went in to crush any Panamanian nationalism that might jeopardize the U.S. Southern Command. Headquartered in Panama, the Southern Command coordinates all U.S. military activities and military aid programs in Latin America. Command security is absolutely essential now because:

Bush has plans to turn his faltering "anti-drug" war into an all-out anti-communist crusade. The "anti-drug" rape of Panama's sovereignty was a dress rehearsal for a shooting war against "drug kings" in Colombia and Peru. Once in the Andean countries (assuming the U.S. public will stand for the incursion), U.S. forces will some-

how find themselves going head to head with leftist guerrillas there.

Then there's Noriega's upcoming show trial, which will be used to try to bag an even bigger "drug lord": the U.S. Attorney's Office claims it has "evidence" linking Noriega and Fidel Castro as co-conspirators in the coke trade. Twice in the '80s Noriega used his economic clout in Havana to rope Castro in as arbitrator in negotiations involving the Medellín cartel. The U.S. will endeavor to "prove" that, in the course of these negotiations, Medellín obtained favors from Castro, most likely the use of Cuban air space for planes transporting cocaine to Miami.

In this way, conjuring up—at last!—the dreaded commie-coke connection, the U.S. will reclaim the "moral initiative" in its war on the people of Latin America.

U.S. antiwar radicals and activists need to get cracking and demand:

- 1) U.S. out of Panama now! Dismantle the Southern Command.
- 2) Immediate reparations to the victims of the brutal U.S. assault.
- 3) U.S. hands off Cuba and Nicaragua. End the trade embargos.
- 4) Immediate release of Noriega, and condemnation of his abduction as a further violation of Panama's sovereignty and international law.
- 5) No "Get Castro" show trials.

Lastly, as part of all this, we must continue to expose Bush's "anti-drug" war as the latest twist in traditional anti-communist efforts to maintain Washington's imperial stranglehold on the hemisphere. □

Drugs and death squads— The CIA connection

Part 2

Part I of "Drugs and Death Squads" outlined the history of CIA involvement in the world drug traffic and the reasons behind that involvement. Part II provides a political overview of the drug wars, with a special look at the state of affairs in Colombia.

If you're alive and breathing, you're aware there's war going on in the Western Hemisphere.

It's a War Against Drugs, above all cocaine, the Colombian Dagger aimed at America's Loins.

George Bush is cranking up the hard artillery against dope pushers from Boston to Bogota. The way it's going, half the U.S. Army will have parachuted into the Andes by spring; the other half will be helping the cops and the National Guard put people in concentration camps up here.

If civil liberties get smashed on the way to a Drug-Free America, well, that's the breaks.

This is *war*—but if you think that the objective is to wipe out the dope trade, I'll sell you some stock in PTL Ministries cheap.

What's really happening is a U.S.-sponsored search-and-destroy mission against the rights and lives of the workers and poor of this hemisphere.

This doesn't mean that the drug war is entirely phony, exactly. After all, the dope trade has helped turn the Americas into an open sewer of misery and despair. U.S. inner cities are fast becoming crack-ridden graveyards for an entire generation. The drug epidemic, and the government's seeming inability to curb it, have engendered vast cynicism, violence, mind-boggling corruption of police and officials, pervasive despair.

All this has triggered a demand among federal, state, and local officials to smash the drug trade. Who in their right mind wants to try and govern a dope-riddled hell-hole?

Then there are the Andean countries: Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia are

being ripped apart. Cocaine production and export are sucking the juice out of the legal economies. Drug lords—called *narcos*—have carved vast regions of Colombia into private fiefdoms, replete with their own death squads, and openly challenge the authority of the government.

This political disintegration seriously threatens U.S. interests in Latin America. Capitalism much prefers safe and stable investment climates, and Wall Street is coming to see the dope trade as a danger to business. And if the U.S. is not really ready to eliminate the narcos, the State Department *would* like to bring them under some sort of control.

Meanwhile, the U.S. public, horrified at what the dope traffic is doing to American youth, and whipped into near-hysteria by U.S. anti-drug propaganda, is demanding the menace be dealt with.

It all adds up to enormous and growing political pressure to Do Something—*Now*—about drugs.

Roadblocks.

However, you're dreaming, if you think that George Bush is going to wage a fight to the death against dope. Economically, politically, socially, U.S. imperialism is *addicted* to drugrunning.

The trade as we know it was originally organized by the CIA in collusion with the U.S. Mafia. The mobsters were in it for the money, of course. The cloak-and-dagger boys were looking to cement control over postwar Europe and the Third World. Drugs also proved useful in dampening the U.S. social

movements in the '60s and early '70s.

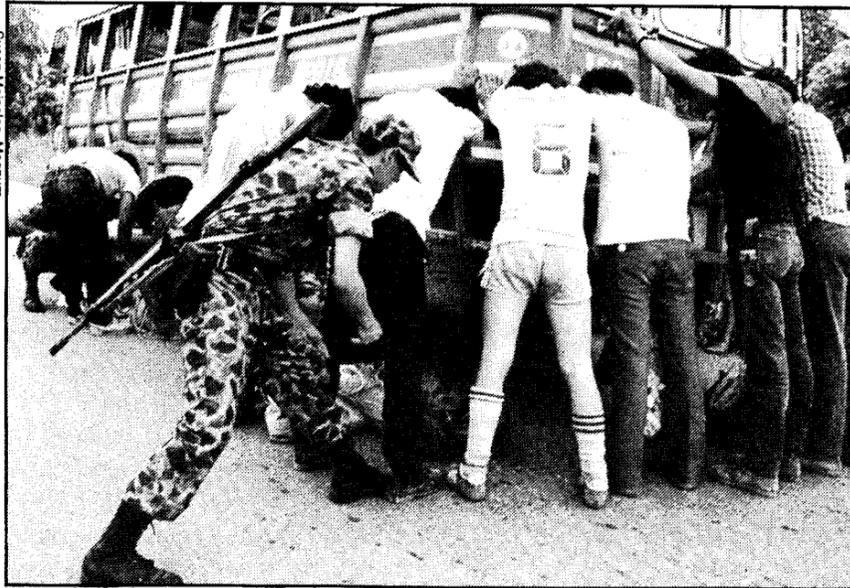
Today, drugrunning is key to funding and arming CIA-sponsored Latin American dictators and death squads—the gentlemen who stand on the necks of people from Bogota to Buenos Aires while the banks and business rip them off for every last dime.

Above the border, dope retains certain advantages from the government's standpoint: it keeps the ghettos and barrios strung out and sick. Instead of figuring out how to destroy a killer government—as young people are doing in

cos have half the government in their pocket, and work hand-in-hand with the army and cops to destroy leftist insurgency.

Also, wiping out the coca fields in Peru and Bolivia would send rural unemployment—already sky-high—clear over the moon, and thereby boost the insurgency.

Producer nations can't and won't fight drugs. At the same time, nothing could be better calculated to spark a Latin American explosion than unilateral U.S. "anti-drug" incursions.



Drug lords in disguise, no doubt: Colombian peasants roused by soldiers after attending a funeral in town.

Bad news banks.

Finally, there's the international banking system, drug-money launderer and investment counsel—or to the Medellín cartel.

Untold billions of narco-dollars are washed clean and stashed in banks from the U.S. to Hong Kong to Liechtenstein. The amount in the U.S. alone is staggering: an estimated \$5.2 billion in drug funds was discovered in Florida banks in the early '80s; \$3 billion in southern California banks in 1988.

Dirty money gets invested in clean business: It's believed that fully one-third of all foreign-owned U.S. farmland has been snapped up via money-laundering front corporations in the Netherlands Antilles.

Pressure is mounting now to stop the laundering and back-door investments. Here's how that's likely to work out:

In the first place, launderers and cops say the fee for washing drug dollars is seven to ten percent, a powerful

After five years of public outcry... Freeway Hall Case privacy appeal heard by state Supreme Court

The Washington State Supreme Court must have decided that four thousand postcard senders, six hundred endorsers, seventy legal brief signers, and preeminent constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin couldn't be wrong.

In September 1989, the court announced they would accept review of the Freeway Hall Case, and on October 23, Boudin and defendant/attorney Valerie Carlson traveled to Olympia, Washington, for oral arguments. With the rest of the defendants and legal team and eighty supporters crowding the courtroom, Boudin and Carlson urged the nine justices to uphold the right of radicals to meet, discuss, and organize free from government-assisted prying by political opponents.

Public sympathy for the Freedom Socialist Party's decision not to release its confidential meeting minutes has been strong since a court first okayed an ex-FSP member's demand for the minutes in 1985. Since the state Court of Appeals upheld the disclosure order in February 1989, solidarity with the party's privacy rights stand has grown even more clamorous.

Washington state legislator Gary Locke and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees international union were among about a dozen new signers on a National Lawyers Guild friend-of-the-court brief explaining why the functioning of all voluntary organizations is at risk if the FSP is forced to turn over internal documents. The case defense committee mounted a postcard campaign to urge the state's high court to agree to consider the constitutional issues, and supporters in the U.S. and Australia responded enthusiastically.

FSP asked for Boudin's help in preparing the crucial motion requesting Supreme Court review, and he agreed. Boudin was General Counsel for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, one of the first groups to join in the NLG amicus brief.

The state court got the message being delivered by this cast of thousands and granted review. Seven weeks later, Boudin left New York City bound for the Pacific Northwest. (Please see adjoining page for article on Boudin, who died suddenly of a heart attack a month after his trip to Washington.)

Boudin weighs in. Boudin relished a good fight, and made a good fight better. Since he began practicing law in 1936, he represented everyone from Black performer Paul Robeson, denied a passport because of communist ties, to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which sued the FBI over decades of illegal spying, blacklisting, and disruption.

A legal scholar, Boudin taught courses in constitutional, international, and conspiracy litigation at law schools that included Harvard, Yale, University of California at Berkeley, and University of Washington.

Boudin said that he knew of no other case in which a minor party was required to divulge minutes. He believed that winning the Freeway Hall Case is vital in order to ensure that this particular form of political attack and invasion of privacy does not end up with a judicial seal of approval.

The case originated in 1984, when Richard Snedigar sued the party and nine individual radicals for return of a \$22,500 donation made five years earlier to the party's eviction fund. Snedigar claimed that the party had manufactured an eviction crisis just to raise money, a ridiculous charge he retracted under oath early in the case.

But Snedigar managed to make his demand for internal material stick. A 1985 court order to give Snedigar everything he asked for—minutes and information about membership, supporters, and party finances—was ruled overbroad. It was followed by an order to hand over portions of eight years' worth of minutes.

The FSP refused to go along with the snoopers. It asserted that forced disclosure of the minutes would jeopardize

the jobs and safety of members and supporters and spread a pall of self-censorship over other voluntary organizations, depriving their members of the rights to free speech and association.

In 1987, King County Superior Court Judge Warren Chan placed the socialist feminists in default and, without a trial, ordered them to pay Snedigar \$42,000.

The Washington Court of Appeals upheld the disclosure order but said Chan had not provided adequate justification for imposing default, the most extreme sanction possible. In a precedent-setting move, the appeals court did as the FSP had asked and laid down explicit guidelines to protect First Amendment rights during the pre-trial discovery process. But much to the defendants' consternation, the court said the FSP had not demonstrated what harm would flow directly from turning over the minutes and so did not qualify for First Amendment guarantees!

War of words. At the state Supreme Court, Boudin and Carlson asked the justices to recognize that the confidentiality of internal deliberations of political parties, especially minor political parties, is assured by the federal and state constitutions. Boudin reminded the bench that "Among the most important activities of a political party is the free flow of debate." He urged the court to set a precedent for all voluntary organizations—parties, religious and political groups, and unions—guaranteeing "the ability to be robust in one's opinions."

Boudin and Carlson argued that this freedom cannot exist where members of organizations fear that their discussions will be replayed to political enemies, to the courts or other government bodies, or to *any* outsiders against the will of the group.

The two attorneys called on the court to adopt a three-step test to shield private organizations from finks and fishing expeditions. The U.S. Supreme Court developed the test during the 1950s and '60s, when the southern states used demands for NAACP records

as a weapon to wreck vulnerable civil rights organizations.

The test requires the person seeking discovery to show, first, the crucial relevance of the information and, second, the impossibility of gaining it through other avenues. If these are proved, the court must weigh the possible injury to First Amendment rights against the needs of the person attempting to obtain the material.

Boudin asserted that it was not legitimate for the Court of Appeals to say the test should only be applied in cases where people can first prove how they would be injured through lack of protection of their First Amendment activities. Constitutional privileges are applied to activities where it is an established assumption that injury could result if safeguards are not provided.

These arguments hit home for those listening to them in court. The extraordinarily diverse group of supporters attending included unionists, city workers, veterans of the McCarthy era HUAC hearings, lesbian and gay activists, National Lawyers Guild attorneys who had appeared as amici in the lower courts, and a legal worker who represents Chicano farm laborers.

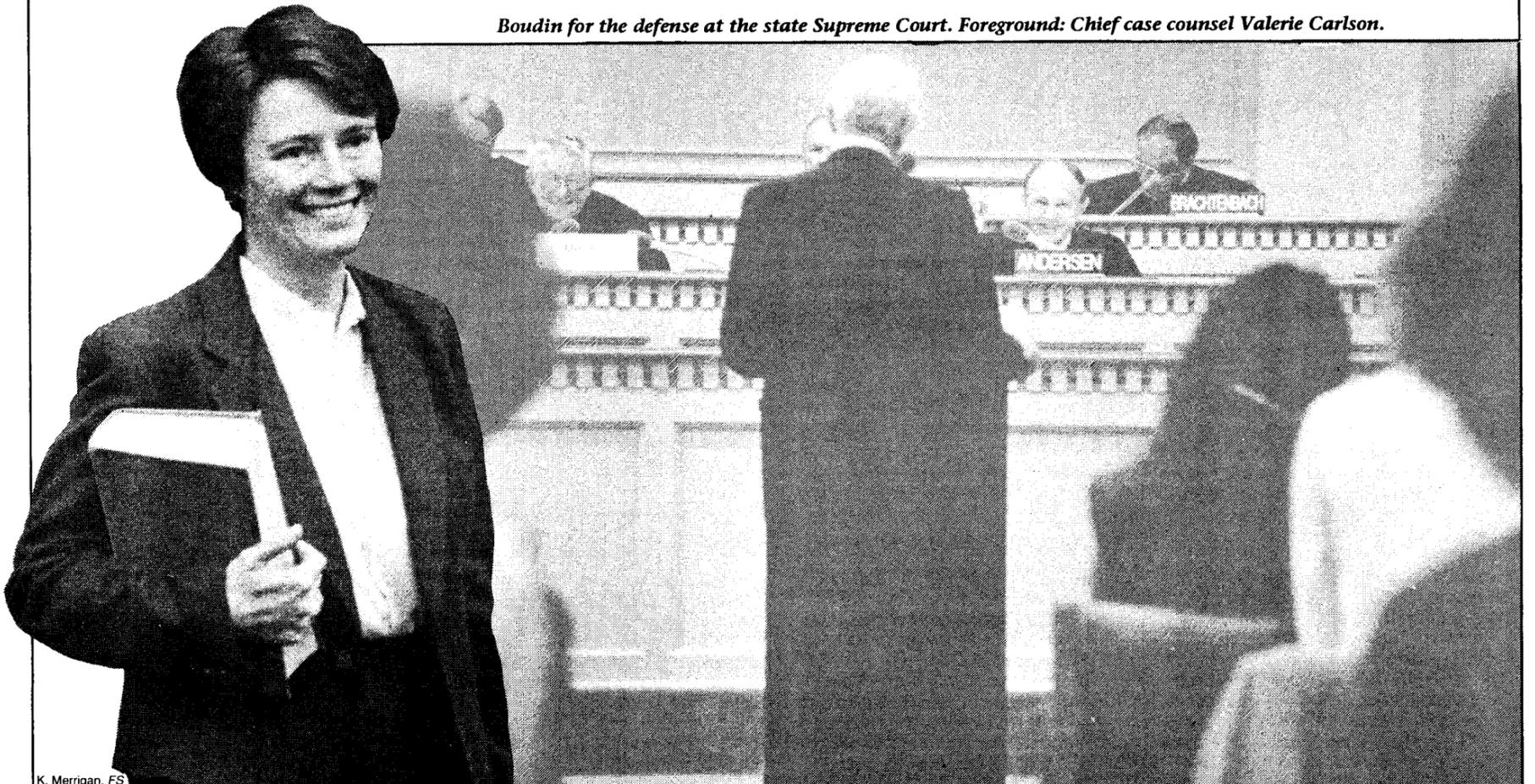
Remarking before the proceedings that he was at his best in a courtroom, Boudin displayed an impressive knowledge of the justices' written opinions in other cases. Following his give-and-take with members of the bench, attorneys Michelle Pailthorp and Thomas Wampold spoke for Snedigar.

Redbaiting took the place of rational argument. Wampold attacked the FSP for refusing to hand over the minutes to a judge to review privately ("in camera") to decide whether they should be given to Snedigar.

"We have a judiciary system whereby the courts determine conflicts between parties. But the defendants don't want a court to decide. *They* want to decide," Wampold spluttered. "Because they're a small political party, they want to be immune from discovery, immune from suit."

Justice James Andersen broke into Wampold's crude tirade: "There's no question your client has the right to

Boudin for the defense at the state Supreme Court. Foreground: Chief case counsel Valerie Carlson.



sue, but the First Amendment is an extremely sensitive area. We have the function of drawing the line."

In an affidavit submitted earlier to the Court of Appeals, defendant and FSP National Chairperson Clara Fraser had explained that releasing the minutes for in camera review would still result in a chilling effect. With the information under government control, it would only take a later court order to unseal a file and make the minutes available to police agencies or others.

Carlson pointed out in court that the in camera provision is not part of the federal Supreme Court test.

She summed up her incisive rebuttal by saying, "The question before the court is whether Snedigar is abusing discovery or whether we're abusing First Amendment privilege."

Time of testing. The current turbulence in the U.S. over civil and constitutional rights is a time of testing—of individuals, movements, institutions.

Freeway Hall Case defendants have been tested plenty. On the front lines of the privacy battlefield before privacy rights became headline news, they were slapped with contempt charges, nearly hustled off to jail, and in danger of losing homes, jobs, and property for their principles.

Two of them, FSP leaders Guerry Hoddersen and Doug Barnes, proved the point about the dangers of public identification by landing on a hit list circulated by neo-fascist Reverend Robert LeRoy after thwarting LeRoy's efforts to get his Populist Party onto the ballot in Washington state's King County. (Please see article page seven.)

Now the courts are on the line. What will they do about abortion, forced AIDS and drug testing, affirmative action? Can the reaction gripping much of the judiciary be challenged?

The case defense committee and FSP provided forums for the discussion of these questions during summer '89. In Tacoma, Washington, "Do you know where your privacy rights are?" was addressed by four eloquent panelists: Eldon Durham, case defendant, retired minister, critic of the McCarthy era, and war resister; Linda Shaffer, shop steward and Pierce County Labor Council delegate for Amalgamated Transit Union Local 758; Ricardo Hidalgo, chairperson of Committee in Defense of Immigrant Rights; and Dan Albertson, attorney and member of the American Civil Liberties Union. In Seattle, eight prominent activists spoke on "Civil rights, abortion, the First Amendment, privacy: Defy court roll-backs!"

Though an arm of the government, the courts bill themselves as the guardian of the people. They can be encouraged and emboldened by an aware and aggressive populace to protect individuals and groups from blatant encroachments on their rights.

This is what the defendants are fighting for, to hold the system, flawed as it is, to its promises. At stake is the continued ability of reformers and revolutionaries to avert the legal imposition of an outright police state.

New supporters continue to join

Leonard Boudin

1912-1989

Renowned civil liberties lawyer and advocate for FSP in Supreme Court

Leonard Boudin described himself a few weeks before his death as "not a political man."

But Boudin became famous and respected as a defender of leftists: old and new, avowed and accused, domestic and international. His clients ranged from veterans of the anti-fascist Abraham Lincoln Brigade, who were witch-hunted in the 1950s, to the Socialist Workers Party in the '80s. Boudin represented the governments of Cuba, Chile under Salvador Allende, Greece, Algeria, Libya, and British Guiana and was General Counsel for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

And he came from political stock. His uncle, Louis Boudin, also a brilliant lawyer, was part of the early American socialist movement, counting among his friends Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg.

What Boudin meant by saying he was not political is that he never joined in the rough-and-tumble of party politics, with its campaigns, factions, and daily organizing. Instead, he worked as an advocate, teacher, and student, most at home in courtrooms, classrooms, and law libraries.

But he held party activists in high regard. He believed that engagement in partisan politics is the highest expression of civic responsibility.

So it is perhaps not surprising that Boudin, at 77, would cross a continent to come to the aid of the Freedom Socialist Party and the Freeway Hall Case defendants.

Barely a month later, on the night of November 24, Boudin died at St. Vincent's Hospital in Manhattan after a heart attack. The news shocked and deeply saddened those of us who, though our acquaintance was short, already counted Boudin a colleague and friend.

When the Washington State Supreme Court accepted review of the case, Boudin had earned our heartfelt gratitude by agreeing to fly out from New York City to the Pacific

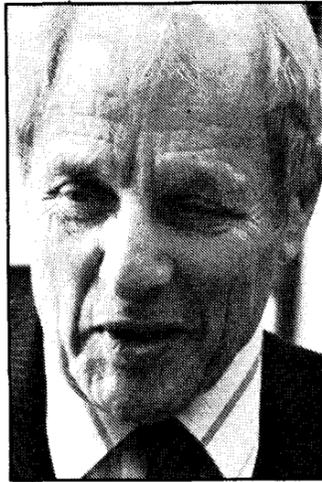
Northwest for oral arguments on October 23, offering his time without charge.

He was moved to take such an active role, he said, because the case's uniqueness makes the court's ruling especially significant. Boudin knew of no prior case in which a minor political party was required to disclose minutes. He said that the "extraordinary number of amici" (co-signers on the National Lawyers Guild friend-of-the-court brief) is a testament to how strongly people identify the minutes grab as a new "opener for oppression."

As thoroughly unassuming as he was cosmopolitan, Boudin charmed case supporters at a dinner party in his honor two days before the Supreme Court hearing. His new and old friends gathered at the home of defendant Guerry Hoddersen and her sister Heidi Durham, who risked losing the house by putting it up as bond to halt Richard Snedigar's vicious collection attempts (FS Vol. 10, No. 4). Boudin praised the work of defense lawyers Valerie Carlson, Fred Hyde, and Dan Smith, teasing that they were doing such a splendid job that he was tempted to just turn around and jet back home.

Boudin's humor, though frequent, barely disturbed either his typically grave expression or thoughtful, deliberate pattern of speech—characteristics that antagonists must have found unsettling when facing him from the wrong side of a courtroom.

Boudin became widely known during the McCarthy era for interceding on behalf of people victimized by the witchhunts. Among the 20 or so cases he argued before the U.S. Supreme Court was the Abraham Lincoln Brigade case, in which the court struck down a Justice Department order requiring the volunteers in the fight against fascism in Spain to register as subversives. Boudin also represented Paul Robeson, the internationally sought-after Black actor and singer, in a seven-year battle over the government's refusal to give Robeson a passport be-



Jonathan Foe, FSP

cause he would not disclaim membership in the Communist Party.

In an interview before he left Seattle, Boudin said that his work had been "directed largely to the right to know. The right to travel is important because Americans should not be obliged to get all their information about foreign affairs from State Department press releases."

In scores of appearances before HUAC and similar committees, Boudin argued that the right to privacy barred inquisitions into people's political associations. But, said Boudin, the courts of the late 1940s and early '50s "refused to uphold the right to be silent about political association."

The right to privacy, Boudin said, is "the right to be let alone." He explained that it was first raised on the U.S. Supreme Court by Justice Louis Brandeis in a dissenting opinion. The court majority ultimately accepted Brandeis' position in wiretapping cases, and developed it in litigation over birth control, abortion, and the confidentiality of NAACP records.

When America's dissidents went on the offensive again in the 1960s, Boudin was ready. He defended anti-Vietnam war activists Daniel Ellsberg and Dr. Benjamin Spock against conspiracy charges and helped Black leader Julian Bond, another opponent of the war, take his seat in the Georgia

House of Representatives when the legislators tried to bar him.

The war came home for Boudin in the most intimate way when his daughter Kathy, a member of the Weather Underground, was forced into hiding after a 1970 bomb explosion, and then arrested 11 years later for taking part in an armored truck robbery in which a guard and two police were killed.

Boudin and his wife Jean, a poet, called or visited Kathy at the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility several times a week and Boudin continuously worked toward shortening her 20-year sentence. He was proud of the literacy and other programs Kathy initiated in prison and described her as someone who "cares deeply and genuinely about other people."

Boudin believed that the Bill of Rights is threatened by a "terrible anti-communism" promoted by those in power. This "has an impact on the courts," Boudin said, but he pointed to the controversy over the nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court as an example of "the American public articulating their concern over constitutional rights."

For more than five decades, Leonard Boudin was a standard-bearer for fundamental liberties. He fought to make "the ability to be robust in one's opinions" an equal-opportunity freedom, as available to reformers and revolutionaries as it is to bank presidents and twin-party politicians.

We who worked with him on the Freeway Hall Case will never forget his enormous contributions toward making the USA more just, enlightened, and civilized. These were Boudin's personal characteristics in a vicious, soiled age, and we will miss him.

Not a political man? No other word describes a man who, with courage and unflinching dedication, spent a lifetime working for the unrepressed flow of political ideas and political activity. □

—ANDREA BAUER

them in the cause. Recent endorsers include Belgium's Ernest Mandel, globally recognized Trotskyist scholar and writer; Peter Milton, Australian Labour Party representative to the federal parliament; and Peter Matthiessen, explorer, naturalist, and author of *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* and the award-winning *Snow Leopard*.

While the defendants wait to hear the Washington Supreme Court's decision, expected early in 1990, they continue on the course described by poet Karen Brodine in "Drawing the Line":

We refuse to name names.
Subversive, we shove back.
Loyal, we hold in trust
each name given.
It is that difficult
and that simple. □

—ANDREA BAUER

The cost of privacy? \$100,000 and rising!

Donate generously today to the Freeway Hall Case

Volunteers have put in hundreds of hours for the Freeway Hall Defense Committee. Dedicated attorneys have worked for bargain rates. But it still takes lots of cash to defend constitutional rights in court.

Enclosed is \$_____ to help defend First Amendment rights.
(Checks to Freeway Hall Case Defense Fund.)

Add my (our) name to the list of case endorsers.

Add my name to the mailing list and keep me posted.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____

Mail to: Karrie Peterson, New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Avenue S., Seattle, WA 98118. Phone: (206) 722-2453.

FSP and RW National Comrades of Color Caucus convenes

Reaffirms political leadership role



Two big achievements spelled success for us at the Second National Plenum of the Comrades of Color Caucus of the Freedom Socialist Party and its sister organization, Radical Women. The first was mapping out a political direction for the two groups in the people of color movements. The second, infinitely important, was building participants' confidence in themselves as political leaders.

We learned a lot about leadership—what it is, the factors that inhibit leadership among us, and what we can do to shove those roadblocks aside. The plenum was a wonderful exercise in doing just that.

The meeting lasted three intensive days over the 1989 Labor Day weekend, September 2-4, in a home overlooking San Francisco Bay in the majestic Berkeley Hills. Black, Asian American, Chicano, and Alaskan Native comrades attended. Our agenda was packed, covering everything from firsthand reports on the situation of indigenous peoples in Nicaragua and Australia to a proposal and plans for an international FSP recruitment drive. We spent a lot of time evaluating the different movements of people of color and the work of party and RW branches in these movements.

We found time in the midst of everything to organize a forum on the Chicano struggle and to socialize. We ended companionably with humorous roasts of each other at a gala Chinese banquet.

The National Comrades of Color Caucus (NCCC) was established so that FSP and RW members of color can come together to discuss issues important to us and to take initiative, give direction, and propose policy on these issues.

Our role is vital in both organizations. The plenum made clear how vital, especially now, with the '90s upon us and the prospect of revolution in the U.S. becoming a palpable reality.

International rainbow.

The first day featured reports and discussion on a spectrum of movements: Black, Asian American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, and lesbians and gays of color.

We noted that many radicals of color are in the Stalinist milieu, members or supporters of groups such as the Communist Party or Frontline Political Organization (formerly Line of March). Though Stalinism is a bureaucratic distortion of Marxism, it's the dominant socialist tendency, and many committed revolutionaries have gravitated to it. It's our job as Trotskyists to recruit them by boldly demonstrating a democratic, feminist, workable alternative road to socialism.

In most communities there is more

openness to socialism than ever before. We concluded that our branches are doing good work in these movements and identified areas where we need to step up our involvement.

An arena where we need stronger intervention is in the Jewish community, now defending themselves against renewed anti-Semitism. We agreed that the NCCC should work with our Jewish comrades to launch a full-fledged discussion within the party and RW on the nature of Jewish identity and oppression and to intensify our work around Jewish issues.

We invited two of our Bay Area Jewish comrades to the plenum to begin an analysis of the Jewish question. Are Jews people of color or white? Are some Jews one and some the other? Or are they different from both? Is anti-Semitism racism? We didn't answer these questions, but our preliminary exploration of them was fascinating.

Also a plenum first was Chicano Moises Montoya's eyewitness account of the Australian Aboriginal struggle. Montoya traveled to Melbourne in August 1989 to visit and collaborate with Australians affiliated with FSP. He learned that the main Aboriginal issues are land rights, prison murders, education, and cultural survival. The NCCC pledged to study Aboriginal issues further and help guide the Australians' involvement in the movement.

Another first-person report on indigenous peoples came to us electronically. New Yorkers Stephen Durham and Susan Williams, M.D., FSP National Committee members who toured Nicaragua early in 1989, were unable to attend the plenum. Instead, they sent videotaped reflections on their interactions with Miskito Indians and Creoles on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

The Indios told

Durham and Williams that they support the Nicaraguan revolution, but criticize the Sandinistas for not supporting the Indios' rights, as nations, to self-determination. It was evident that how the regime answers the national question will determine whether the Indios continue their support and will make or break the revolution. (Please see article page one.)

During our final session, Merle Woo presented a proposal for the content of a document on Asian Americans, analyzing how they are exploited and discriminated against in the U.S., and shattering the stereotype of them as "model minorities"—passive and accepting of treatment as inferiors. Everyone agreed that the NCCC's deliberations on the document's political line were very productive.

Rising to new standards.

Each plenum discussion was fruitful, but just as important was what we learned from the experience as a whole.

The comrades gathered together ready to work, do the tough job of thinking politically on all questions. We demanded clarity of analysis from speakers when it was lacking, and we got it. In so doing, we pointed the way for higher standards in the party as a whole. We can be proud of ourselves because we showed each other "tough love"—the kind that demands we be the best we can be.

Great expectations, yes. To meet them, we have to fight against society's stereotypes about people of color as lazy, immoral, criminal, stupid, exotic, savage, passive, etc.

We must shed the second-class status capitalism has dictated

for us, and that means being conscious of how we inflict second-class citizenship on ourselves and each other. We must realize we do this at times and work to eradicate it from our behavior.

As FSP comrades of color, we are leadership—with a capital "L"—of a vanguard party that will someday spearhead a revolution ending all the ills peculiar to capitalism.

Seeing oneself as a leader and accepting the responsibility that comes with it is a heavy thing. Each one of the comrades of color sitting in that meeting room for three days and nights dedicated themselves to becoming a revolutionary leader. Without leadership, the revolution—our revolution—won't happen.

To lead is to direct the course, to step in front with a program spelling out how to topple this system and replace it with a better one, and to be clear and bold about it so others will follow.

It's not magic that has placed people of color in the forefront. Economics and sociology determined this reality long ago. People of color, people on the bottom, have the least to lose and the most to gain from revolution. Capitalism has made life hell on earth for us, creating in us a bottomless anger and the determination and capability to be trailblazers in throwing the old order out.

San Francisco comrade Tom Boot said it simply: "We have a job to do." We agreed, and left the plenum much clearer about what that job is and how to do it well. We have to go proudly into our communities as professional revolutionaries and recruit. Everyone will benefit, new members and old.

Collective education. At this plenum, we gained a better, confident understanding of the identity of the National Comrades of Color Caucus as a leadership body.

We learned that tough love—honest, timely, upfront criticism and demands on one another that we change for the better—is absolutely essential to growth.

We recognize that it will be we, the most oppressed, who will lead in changing the world. Rhetoric? No; fact born of economic and social necessity.

We left the plenum realizing we need to recruit more Blacks, Native Americans, Asian Americans, Chicanos, and other people of color to join what we have devoted our lives to. We have a socialist feminist program; others deserve it, and we have the responsibility to take it to them.

This we vowed to do. Forward! ¡Adelante! □

—YOLANDA ALANIZ



Hard at work: Some of the attendees take care of business at last September's 2nd National Plenum of the FSP and RW Comrades of Color Caucus.

Populist Party thugs threaten anti-Nazis

Remember the confrontation last summer in the Pacific Northwest between the neo-Nazi Populist Party and the Seattle-based United Front Against Fascism? The one in July when the Populists tried to get on the King County election ballot and 160 UFAF-led protesters rained on their miserable parade?

That square-off had some interesting sequences worth studying—for what they tell you about the methods of "respectable" fascists, and about the strategies that can stop them cold.

The set-to also sharply outlines just what's at stake in the fight to shut down Nazi organizing. The Populists may look like pasty-faced rejects in their ill-pressed polyester jackets and pants, but Hitler looked funny in uniform too, and look at the damage he did after anti-fascists failed to unite and drive him back under his rock.

Not welcome. UFAFers have read their history. A coalition formed by people of color and gay community activists, radicals, feminists and unionists, UFAF first gained a name last December when it organized over 400 North-westerners to confront Nazi skinheads in Washington state.

The skinheads had planned a memorial for slain neo-fascist Robert Mathews. National Nazi leaders Tom Metzger and Richard Butler were slated to attend. But the plan went awry when the protesters took over the entrance to the park where the memorial was scheduled.

Most skinheads stayed away, as did Metzger and Butler until the demonstrators had left, and the half-dozen or so attendees spent the day huddled back in the bushes.

The protest was telecast from London to Osaka, Japan. The message to all: Nazis aren't welcome on Whidbey Island or anywhere. Since then, goose-steppers in Seattle have been fairly circumspect. And militant anti-fascist organizing has picked up considerably around the U.S.

It's good to know that when people unite to tackle the bastards, the bastards back down.

Take that! The Populists actually should have known better: first they plastered Seattle telephone poles with a vaguely worded announcement of their plan to hold a convention in the city to get on the ballot. Then they rented a room at the Delridge Way Community Center—smack in the heart of a multi-racial workingclass neighborhood. They must have figured that only those whites in the far-right periphery would know who they were and what they were up to.

They hadn't counted on UFAF going door-to-door, arousing the neighborhood, talking to strikers, store-owners, and community activists, and counter-leafleting the convention.

The day of the convention, the Populists got shut down. No more than 15 woebegone supporters showed up at their shindig; the rest stayed away in droves. The party didn't come close to getting the 80 signatures they needed to qualify for ballot status.

Meanwhile, outside their meeting room, a throng of anti-fascists—labor, Black, Jewish, and Chicano activists, lesbians and gays, feminists, children and adults from the neighborhood—kept the pressure on all day, chanting, singing, leafleting, and marching past the meeting-room window to drown out the sick song being sung inside.

At the end of the day, a handful of Populists trooped out with boxes of literature and a limp American flag, only to face more heckling—seven hours after the demonstrators first showed up!

Nazis by other names. The Populists call themselves neo-Jeffersonian democrats, but that's as phony as the word "socialist" was the name of Hitler's German Nazi party. Their electoral platform advocates ending desegregation and busing; shutting down immigration of people of color; denying welfare recipients the right to vote; repealing abortion rights and all civil rights for lesbians and gays; abrogating all treaties with Native American nations.

Currently, they and other racists are warring on Lac du Flambeau Indians in Wisconsin for exercising their spear-fishing rights.

Some democrats. But then, Jefferson was a slave-owner, so maybe the Populists' embrace is appropriate.

Their platform certainly is appropriate to a party that ran Klansman David Duke as its 1988 presidential candidate. Recently elected to the Louisiana state legislature, Duke heads up the National Association for the Advancement of White People.

For now, Duke's thrown his bed sheets in a closet; he even blow-dries his hair and wears suits. Though he's spent most of his life chivvying "niggers" and "Jew Marxists," today he claims "no animosity" toward people of color. He's "simply a person who loves his race," the "increasingly-pressed Caucasian middle-class."

Meet David Duke, boyish Gestapo "civil rights" activist, political descendant of Hitler, the National "Socialist."

The Populists likewise try to gussy their image, styling themselves as "Christian patriots," wrapping themselves in Jefferson, foregoing the usual Nazi-style vitriol.

But Nazis they are. Founded in 1984 as the result of a call by David Duke and others for a U.S. far-right electoral vehicle, the Populist Party represents a convergence of old-line anti-communist John Birch types and hard-line white supremacists and rabid anti-Semites. Many come straight from the McCarthy witchhunt days and such paramilitary organizations as the Minutemen. For them, McCarthyism never died.

Their electoral strategy, consisting in the most thinly veiled appeal to "popular" bigotries, is stolen right out of *Mein Kampf*.

A leading luminary is Willis Carto, founder of the fascist Liberty Lobby and publisher of the *Spotlight*, a national tabloid mouthpiece for Klansmen and other "white patriot" garbage.

Populism the Carto way is Nazism. That's why UFAF showed up at Delridge Way. They know there's only one way to deal with the Cartos and Dukes: expose them for the Klansmen and fascists they are; then organize mass, vocal and unafraid opposition to confront them, intimidate them, and keep their support base small.

UFAF's face-off at Delridge was the first such effort we know of to keep the Populists off the ballot. It worked, and will work wherever the fascists try to reach out for the vote.

Hit list. Not that the Populists just disappeared. Things should be so easy.

Five days after the Delridge protest, UFAF leader and Freedom Socialist Party National Secretary Guerry Hoddersen received a scrawled note in the mail stating "Woman—your time is limited." The cheery epistle was affixed to a nationally distributed news release calling on "Christian Patriots" to "legally [sic] destroy" Hoddersen and two other UFAF leaders.

Included in the news release were the names and home addresses of Hoddersen and two other UFAF members, FSPer Doug Barnes and *Seattle Gay News* editor George Bakan.

The release was authored by Reverend Robert LeRoy of Whidbey Island. LeRoy, a Populist organizer, was a spokesman for the Nazi skinhead memorial on Whidbey and is founder of

Sharing Hoddersen's determination to continue anti-fascist organizing were six other speakers: Doug Barnes; UFAF founder and Black community leader Charlie James; Emmett Murray, president of the Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild; Dmitri Iglitzin of the National Lawyers Guild and Seattle Non-violent Action Group; Deni Yamauchi of the Center for Democratic Renewal; and Juan Bocanegra of the Committee in Defense of Immigrant Rights.

Cosponsoring the press release was the Freeway Hall Case Defense Committee, currently defending against a lawsuit brought by a former FSP member suing the party for return of a donation he made to an FSP eviction fund. He has waged the suit via fishing expeditions for party minutes and membership lists, a snooping operation which, if successful, could destroy the FSP and set off witchhunts against other political and community groups. (Please see article page four.)

Two people on LeRoy's list, Hoddersen and Barnes, are Freeway Hall Case defendants. Carlson, hit with obscene phone calls mentioning her sister, is a defendant and lead defense attorney. All this is interesting in itself: why did LeRoy and Co. focus on these three? Barnes and Carlson are not as prominent in UFAF as others who did not appear on the list; UFAF's sister has no connection to Carlson at all. And where did the hit team come up with



Neighborhood children were among 160 protesters organized by the United Front Against Fascism to "welcome" the fascist Populist Party when it convened in Seattle to get on the King County ballot. The picket stopped the Populists' electoral efforts cold.

the militarist hate group Christian Sons of Liberty.

He's also a would-be killer: "Christian patriots" aren't noted for observing legalities in attacks on enemies. Gang-murder, kidnapping, night-riding, and rape are more their style, if they think they can get away with it. LeRoy didn't publish those names and addresses for fun; he issued a *hit list*, and called on rough and ready Christian soldiers to finish the job.

After the news release, the phone calls began. A message on Hoddersen's home phone, sent by a white male pretending to be Black, threatened rape. Several similar messages were left for Valerie Carlson, who'd had a letter published in the *Seattle Times* excoriating the Populists as rightwing extremists.

A chilling message left at New Freeway Hall, UFAF's contact address, said "We know who you are. Hail the Order." FSP headquarters in San Francisco got a similar call: "Don't forget life is short. Hail the Order." The Order, Idaho-based Nazi paramilitarists, murdered Jewish talk-show host Alan Berg in Denver in 1984.

Not-so-coincidental connection. When Nazis threaten from shadows, shine the light on them. Shortly after the hit list was published, UFAF called a press conference to focus attention on Reverend LeRoy and send him a message. The message, as delivered by Hoddersen, was short and sweet: "There is no way I'm going to quit speaking out or organizing against everything you stand for."

their addresses and phone numbers?

However they did it, that list underscores the necessity to defend the privacy rights of organizations, especially those likely to be targeted by hostile political forces. It also spotlights the connection between government and courtroom attacks on constitutional liberties and burgeoning "underground" rightwing terrorists.

Lastly, the connection boils down to the fact that Hoddersen, Carlson, and Barnes, all FSP members, are *socialists*, people who want to overthrow capitalism and its attendant horrors—racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, chauvinist "patriotism"—and who, by that token, have star billing not only in witchhunting courtroom dramas but on neo-Hitlerian hit lists.

Good odds. UFAF will continue to organize and the anti-fascist movement will move forward. The need is too great not to.

David Duke, Willis Carto, Bob LeRoy: they're out there trying to raise an army of bigots like themselves.

But the odds are on *our* side. We whom the bigots despise—because of our skin color, our sex or sexuality, or because we're Jewish, or immigrants, or belong to the working class—we are the *majority* in this country. We don't have to take an *iota* of crap from these bastards.

What we have to do is get mad, get together, and stuff them back into their rat holes. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN

She won the battle but harassment escalates: Merle Woo vs. UC Berkeley

A recalcitrant University of California administration continues its years-long war against outspoken Asian American lecturer Merle Woo.

Woo won a three-year-long union grievance against the University of California (UC) in February, 1989. Arbitrator Leo Kanowitz directed the university to reinstate Woo in the 1989 fall semester "to her position as a lecturer on the Berkeley campus with full back pay, benefits, seniority, and other privileges of employment." But she was not reinstated as directed.

The university stalled in its negotiations with Woo and her union, University Council-American Federation of Teachers (UC-AFT), and waited until mid-summer before making a proposal, one which Woo and her union found unacceptable.

Woo is demanding reinstatement, as per agreement, and back pay.

How long, oh lords? Woo was initially fired from Asian American Studies in 1982. She filed federal and state lawsuits based on violation of her First Amendment rights and discrimination on account of race, sex, sexuality and political ideology. The Merle Woo Defense Committee (MWDC) gathered international support and, in 1984, Woo and UC agreed to an out-of-court settlement agreement.

She was reinstated to the Graduate School of Education and was fired again in 1986. This time, UC-AFT filed a grievance charging arbitrary treatment and continuing discrimination and retaliation. The grievance concluded in an outside arbitration where Arbitrator Kanowitz ruled in Woo's favor.



More garbage from UCB. The university offered Woo two options: teaching in "Subject A" (a basic reading and writing course) or teaching Freshman Reading and Composition in the Rhetoric Department.

Woo and UC-AFT rejected Subject A because they believe that she should have the right to continue teaching in her field of interest and expertise, Ethnic Studies/Asian American Studies. The university had agreed not to place Woo in Subject A in 1984 when she won reinstatement. At that time, UC Counsel Philip Spiekerman agreed that Woo had a right to move beyond a Subject A work assignment.

Woo met with the chairs of Rhetoric and Reading and Composition, who

told her that the Rhetoric Department had a policy of not granting lecturers ongoing contracts. The agreement had been for Woo to be reinstated in a department where there was an opportunity for continuing employment.

"Personality conflict." Professor Carol Christ, representing the university during the latest negotiations, told Woo and UC-AFT that the Ethnic Studies Faculty were adamant about not accepting her back because of "bitterness" in Woo's relations with faculty.

Nancy Reiko Kato, coordinator of the MWDC, replied, "UC is trying to pit Merle Woo against everyone in Ethnic Studies. UC is hiding behind a purported 'personality conflict' to justify its own ongoing discrimination in depriving Woo of teaching in her field."

The conflict is between Woo and the UCB administration. As a Trotskyist feminist affiliated with Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party, Woo has openly criticized the university for violation of its own affirmative action policies, and remains a staunch advocate for women, people of color, lesbians and gays, faculty, staff, and students. As a trade unionist, she has joined with others in the fight for fair working conditions for lecturers and staff.

More abuse. The university's latest swipe against Woo shows that it will resort to any tactics to prevent its workers from protesting and organizing.

While the university was dragging on the grievance proceedings, Woo was forced to file a state court complaint in November 1988 in order to preserve her right to pursue remedies in this arena.

Woo and the MWDC did not want to drop the suit until the arbitration decision was implemented. But the university began to view the suit and the discovery process as a harassment tool of its very own.

UC hired an outside San Francisco law firm to work with its own battery of UC counsel to harass Woo, to deplete her of her back pay resources and time.

UC's attorneys demanded that Woo undergo a psychiatric examination because she is charging emotional and physical distress as a result of being fired twice. Woo refused. UC then filed a motion to compel a mental exam.

The MWDC got to work on research and writing. They filed papers arguing that Woo's complaints were not of an unusual nature and she was not calling in an expert witness. To be forced to undergo an exam would place a stigma on her reputation as a good, reliable, responsible teacher.

At the hearing in January, Judge Dawn Girard told UC attorney Lisa Wally that, after reading Woo's written opposition to the exam, she decided that Woo's position would prevail, that UC's argument had no merit at all, and that UC would be slapped with sanctions if it ever tried anything so abusive and frivolous again.

MWDC and UC-AFT are requesting that supporters write to Chancellor Ira Michael Heyman, 200 California Hall, UC Berkeley, CA 94720, and urge the university to immediately reinstate Merle Woo to a position where there is a need for her special skills in ethnic studies, women studies, or creative writing, and where there is ongoing funding and an opportunity for continued employment. □

...Nicaragua

from page 1

spired by the heroic role of Nicaraguan women. It was still a revelation to see firsthand how women keep together the fabric of daily life, with all its enormous difficulties and contradictions.

Women are an irreplaceable mainstay of the economy, responsible for half of agricultural production and 80 percent of commerce, the selling of goods in the streets and marketplaces. Sixty percent are single heads of households, and so suffer the economic brunt not only as consumers, coping with shortages and inflation, but also as family providers, confronting high unemployment, falling real wages, and no childcare.

Women also carry the burden of replenishing the war-decimated population. Appallingly, the FSLN's anti-democratic, Stalinist solution to the ravages of the contra war and Somoza dictatorship is enforced childbearing. Women bear an average of five to seven children and are denied sterilization until they produce six offspring.

Abortion is against the law. We had been in Managua for less than a day when we met a pregnant mother of two who was trying desperately to avoid having a child she could not support. Her search for a way around the illegal status of abortion lasted our whole trip, and ultimately failed.

Women are also vexed by the government bureaucratism and corruption that are eroding the FSLN's credibility. For example, when the high rate of milk contamination was exposed, officials responded first with denials, then rationalizations. The FSLN stated formally that the only entities "authorized" to comment on the quality of milk were the state ministries!

Feeling the effects of economic and social chaos most sharply, women are the keenest critics of wrong policies and bad leadership in the FSLN. We attended a Managua community meeting where poor barrio women castigated FSLN representatives for not checking police brutality against barrio youth and for sending "organizers" who blame working women for the high infant death rate.

In Puerto Cabezas, women blistered the mayor and the FSLN for not stopping price-gouging and for the failure of Cuban food aid to reach the people who need it.

Women's voices, raised at community meetings and rallies, in the streets and at home, showed the potential grassroots leadership that can push the FSLN and the revolution forward.

What do Nicaraguans want? Nicaraguans everywhere—workers in the street, soldiers, children—want peace. They told us they ache for an end to war and its impact on human life and their society's scant store of goods and capacity to produce. They want the opportunity to rebuild after years of destruction so badly that they are even willing to put up with letting ex-Guardia members, the torturers and assassins, out of prison and back into the barrios—even this, if it will buy a chance for peace.

They want an end to grinding poverty. For ten years, people explained, the contra war claimed their lives and toil. Now the military battle has worn down to mere aftershocks, yet the level of sacrifice required of them is even greater. Workers are demanding that businesses open their books and give workers control of production. They want to labor for the revolution, not the bourgeoisie.

People clamor for democracy. Despite profound respect for the Sandinistas, the people are growing more critical of bureaucratic, top-down leadership. At barrio meetings, among Indi-

ans, women, workers, we heard the demand for control of their own communities and workplaces. The future of Nicaragua depends on the mobilization of the people, and unless the FSLN hands them the power, the people will inevitably withdraw their support for the current government.

Socialism is on the people's agenda. Their socialist aspirations were inherent in so many of their concerns and were often articulated outright. The official government position is that Nicaragua can best meet its people's needs with a permanent mixed economy, but individual Sandinistas acknowledge their hopes for eventual socialism.

Many people we spoke with defended the mixed economy and the inclusion of capitalists in government—but only because they have accepted the argument that this is Nicaragua's path to socialism.

Our trip left us with no doubt that Nicaragua is a bourgeois state, but a highly unusual, contradictory, and unstable one.

The Sandinista regime that sits atop the state, a workers and farmers government, was put in power by a mass insurrection aimed at breaking imperialism's stranglehold and installing genuine democracy. Nicaragua's

contradictions are rooted in Sandinista efforts to reconcile the people's democratic aspirations with continued capitalist economic domination.

This is a precarious balancing act staged amid profound and protracted economic and social crisis. It cannot last. Either the revolution will succumb to capitalist pressure, or the Sandinistas will finally be moved to install a workers state—if only to ensure their own survival.

In this delicate situation, the intervention of U.S. radicals and humanitarians carries a wallop. Every serious challenge we launch at home against U.S. intervention weakens imperialism, tips the international scales in favor of Nicaragua, and pushes the FSLN leftward.

Equally real is the impact the Nicaraguan people have on us. The oppressed and exploited of the whole

world are rooting for the Nicaraguan revolution to succeed, because their victory belongs to all of us. The power of the Nicaraguan people, with national and ethnic minorities and women in the lead, and with our uncompromising support, can bring the revolution into full flower and spread it throughout the hemisphere. □

—STEPHEN DURHAM AND
SUSAN WILLIAMS, M.D.



FSP and WSL debate: What road for China?

The following letters have been excerpted from correspondence between the Workers Socialist League and the Freedom Socialist Party. The letters debate the question of whether workers' political revolution is needed in China, as WSL contends, or whether proletarian democracy can be achieved via reform of the regime.

Both letters will be published in their entirety in the forthcoming pre-conference discussion bulletin of the Coordinating Committee for a U.S. Open Trotskyist Conference, to which WSL and FSP belong. The conference is scheduled for April 13-15, 1990 in Detroit.

Steve Bryant, WSL, to Guerry Hoddersen, FSP

You asked what we call for in China today. I can say unequivocally that we call for the establishment of a Trotskyist party that will carry out a political revolution. This means that workers councils and soviets must be established that challenge the power and authority of the Chinese Communist Party. The problems of the Chinese revolution are not isolated but take place under the greatest crisis in history for world Stalinism.

The failure of the Chinese bureaucracy, including Mao, to have any serious plan that would industrialize the economy is now exposed in the rush to adapt capitalist market relations and investment by the Western imperialists.

The political and economic bankruptcy of the Chinese Communist Party did not start in 1989. It is important to note that like Castro and the Cuban Communist Party, the CCP began a "rectification campaign" in 1955-7. This effort after it failed was replaced by the "Great Leap Forward" of 1957-9, and this moralistic voluntary campaign to develop the economy failed like all the others. The lunacy of back-yard steel production led to the complete paralysis of the economy and contributed to the starvation of millions.

What was opposed in all these development plans was workers democracy/workers control in the planning of the economy. Instead the CCP bureaucrats sought to plan from the top down and with the view that China itself could industrialize by itself. It did not help, of course, when the Soviet Union cut off trade and industrial credits, but the main responsibility for the failure to industrialize and have any rational planning was the erratic and Stalinist methods that started at the top.

The continual rightwing and leftwing shifts of Chinese Stalinism in many ways has revolved around the question of "How China is going to industrialize and develop as a world power." In the course of these struggles, the bureaucracy has always in the end united to crush any movement toward workers democracy and has continually jailed and murdered Trotskyists and other Marxists who began to challenge and question the methods, privileges and corruption of the bureaucracy.

The "Cultural Revolution" led by Mao was a further catastrophe and set China back 20 years both in industrial development and in education.

It was a result of these fiascos that the Deng faction has won political power in the Chinese Communist Party. Deng recognizing that "economics has priority over politics" won out. Deng and his grouping within the CCP began a rapid turn to the market economy and investments from Western imperialism. In the midst of this turn, Deng, like the rest of his cronies, has crushed opposition from the left.

This included the Tiananmen Square incident of 1976 and the Democracy Movement of 1978-80. Many Marxist literary journals were produced by workers and these workers again were arrested. Many died in jail.

The recent Tiananmen Square incident is nothing new in the history of the Chinese party and should not be surprising to any Trotskyist who has studied the history of China since the 1949 revolution.

In fact, in 1982, the WSL had a meeting in San Francisco where comrades from the FSP were invited and we proposed a campaign to defend those Marxists who had been jailed as a result of their ideas. We also provided your

jailing and terror against the students and workers, but the continued penetration of capitalism in the economy. These without a doubt will lead to further explosions because of the contradictions they cause in society and the real threat they have already made against the gains of the Chinese revolution.

It behooves the FSP at this point to make a serious and materialist study of the lessons of the Chinese revolution in

reacraucy may yet provide dissidents inside and outside the Communist Party with the leverage to democratize the regime via reform.

We recognize that the massacre has drastically narrowed the scope for reform, and we see the ouster of Deng and Co. as absolutely necessary to democratization. But we think this can still be accomplished short of the generalized armed conflict that political revolution would almost certainly entail.

The process of reform itself may be accompanied by violence. But the probability of violence occurring in a political revolution is far higher, which is why reform of the regime is preferable, if at all possible.

The point is to minimize the conflict and save lives. And so long as it hasn't been proven that reform is impossible, the call for political revolution is irresponsible.

Where things stand now. Political revolution will be necessary the moment Deng consolidates his "victory" and imposes a monolithic police regime. Where is proof that this has happened? All evidence points to continued, if muffled, factional strife in the CCP and army.

To completely stamp out dissent at this point, Deng would have to kill the economic restructuring that fueled the democracy movement. This is impossible. China must modernize or perish: everyone knows this, including Deng.

As you point out, a modern economy is inconceivable without computers, fax machines, videos and other communications equipment. The mere presence of these gifts of technology is a source of considerable frustration to police censors intent on silencing clandestine organizers in China and abroad. Then too, the need for this technology mandates continued and expanding contact with the West and the Soviet Union, i.e., greater exposure to the siren song of bourgeois democracy and the seismic influence of glasnost.

Deng cannot turn back the political clock without turning back the economic clock. His only alternative to modernization is to attempt to return to Maoist autarky—and how long do you think he'd last if he tried that? He'd lose his head, to re-ascendant Maoists or to the currently ascendant bureaucrats whose entire careers have been staked on modernization (and who have profited handsomely in the pro-capitalist marketplace!).

Deng will have to seek ways to continue modernization. This will necessitate rehabilitation of gung-ho reformers as a political counterweight to retrogressive hardliners. Economic necessity will redouble pressure for political democratization. Inevitably, all the contradictions and conflicts that tend to split the regime will resurface in spades, limiting the scope for repressions and spurring the regime to seek solutions in accommodation.

Possibilities for reform. We agree that Stalinist policies are disastrous for China. But we think there is still room for opposition to these policies.

We repeat: *the divisions among the CCP factions are decisive.* They limit the ability of any one grouping—to impose its will to any final degree. This allows opposition to bloom continuously within the interstices of conflict.

Given proper ideological leadership and a little luck, this opposition can develop even now as an alternative to Stalinism, inside the CCP and in conjunction with mass self-organization.

We call for continued organizing among all sectors of the Chinese oppo-



Protesters thronged Tiananmen Square last May. Then, the massacre. The question remains: which road to democracy, reform or revolution, in China?

comrades with material on the numerous Marxist working class writers who had been jailed by the bureaucracy.

It is therefore astounding that the FSP still holds to the view that the Chinese Communist Party can be reformed. As far as I know, you are the only Trotskyist organization in the world to hold this view and it is complicated further with your position that there should be a political revolution in the Soviet Union but not in China.

As you point out in your most recent paper, Trotskyist meetings are taking place in the Soviet Union and Trotsky's writings are being openly circulated. This historic development should make it clear to you the contradictions of your position in relationship to China. While we still consider Gorbachev a Stalinist, it is clear that the Soviet bureaucracy has pragmatically recognized that you cannot develop a modern economy without opening up the society to computers, fax machines, videos and the other necessary communications and computer equipment essential to any modern economy. This temporary openness is now helping in the task of establishing a Trotskyist party that can challenge the programs and policies of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in the process move toward a political revolution.

What is now quite clear in regard to China is that the Deng plans for China not only mean more massacres,

order to confront your present position. I am sending along a copy of an article in *October Review*, a Trotskyist magazine of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USFI), and it would probably be useful if you distributed it to your members for some background on the history of the CCP.

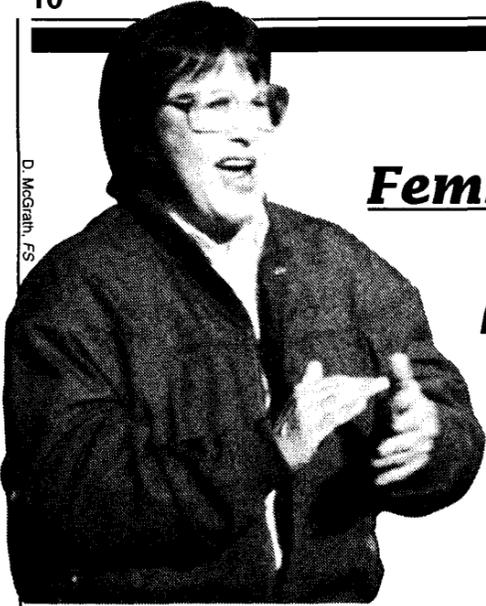
We also want to congratulate you and the FSP for calling a rally of Socialists in Support of Chinese Students and Workers. Despite our differences on the question of Stalinism in China, the FSP, as far as I know, was the only Socialist/Trotskyist organization in the U.S. that openly organized the left in concrete support of the students and workers. This showed that, in action, you stood with the working class and students against the bureaucracy.

Guerry Hoddersen & Robert Crisman, FSP, to Steve Bryant, WSL

Thanks for your July 4 letter and for the opportunity to open a written discussion in the Coordinating Committee on WSL's call for political revolution in China.

Before we address your arguments directly, let us restate our position and elaborate on it in light of the Tiananmen Square massacre:

We think that the call for political revolution in China is premature because the continuing splits in the bu-



Feminists tell off Supreme Court

"We'll never go back!"

The summer of 1989 may well be remembered by feminists, radicals, even liberals, as the summer they read the morning paper and threw it across the room screaming, "I cannot stand this!"

July was particularly hateful.

On July 3, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a woman's body is not her own—unless she can pay for the privilege of ownership.

While the court didn't reverse *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, it upheld a Missouri ruling in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* that severely restricts abortion access.

At a stroke the court buried abortion rights for poor women. It also spurred a concerted assault on reproductive rights by the states and boosted the national rightwing effort to topple *Roe v. Wade*.

Webster weakens federal protections by allowing states to: ban tax money for abortion counseling; stop public hospitals from performing abortions; permit doctors to test the "viability" of fetuses; and rule that life begins at conception.

But *Webster* also lit a fire so hot under the feminist movement that not even the winter winds could chill women's rage.

Immediately after the decision on July 3-4, protesters hit the streets nationwide to decry the court's ruling. On October 15, tens of thousands marched in San Francisco. Perhaps two million marched in Washington, D.C. and around the country in national protest on November 12.

Pro-abortion rights coalitions spread. Women and men, young and old linked arms in ever greater numbers to protect abortion clinics besieged by Operation Rescue (OR).

These efforts reflect the determination of millions, many of whom have never before been active, to fight for reproductive rights.

Feminists are sending a message to the courts and OR types: reproductive freedom, fundamental to women's equality and a basic human right, is **non-negotiable**. If abortion is made illegal, we will **defy** the law. We will maintain and extend abortion access for poor women. **We will keep the clinics open!**

And if you want war, you've got one!

After Webster. Since July, rightwingers have stepped up attempts to restrict publicly funded abortions, force teenagers to seek parental consent, give men rights to stop abortions, and imprison doctors who perform them.

Soon, the Supreme Court could be ruling to uphold parental consent laws.

Feminists can defeat these attacks—and have in fact wrested the initiative in the abortion war.

In October, the U.S. House of Representatives voted for the first time since 1981 to pay Medicaid costs for abortions for poor women in cases of rape or incest. George Bush vetoed the bill, then made large noises about what an agonizing decision it had been. Agony there was, over awareness that gathering feminist rage may yet help capsize his presidency.

Also in October, the Florida legislature, in a special session called by Governor Martinez, stopped Martinez from tightening abortion restriction.

Even the bourgeois media ascribe

the victories of pro-over anti-abortion candidates in the Virginia and New Jersey gubernatorial races, and in New York City's mayoral contest, to a decided leftward shift in the political winds of the abortion war.

Meanwhile, women of color are re-emerging as a visible, vocal leadership in the reproductive rights movement in such groups as the National Black Women's Health Project. This development undoubtedly spurred the recent pro-choice position taken by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the higher pro-choice profile assumed by such Black leaders as Jesse Jackson.

Grassroots working women are fiercely shoving inside the labor movement, too. At the Washington State Labor Council Convention in September, unionists waged a tremendous floor fight and won passage of a pro-abortion rights resolution—a resounding victory against WSLC bureaucrats who had declared that abortion is not a labor issue.

Feminist outrage and nothing else spurred the turn-around. The lesson: it's what reproductive rights activists do—not what the courts and cops and bureaucrats and OR do—that determines the fate of reproductive rights.

Together we stand. *Webster* raises the possibility that women may conceivably become the first group in the U.S. to **lose** a constitutional right. But women are not alone.

A look at recent Supreme Court decisions shows that the abortion rights battle is at the heart of a larger civil rights war.

Last year, the court gutted affirmative action in the Birmingham firefighter case and by striking government set-asides for minority businesses. And it hasn't been that long since the court outlawed gay sex in the Georgia sodomy case and upheld random forced drug testing for railway employees.

Meanwhile, the court has raped the Bill of Rights in the name of the war on drugs: police can now search cars and bank records, and tape telephone conversations, without a warrant or consent. They can get a warrant and search your home on the word of an anonymous tipster.

Why these attacks? It helps to look at things through the eyes of the U.S. establishment, of which the courts are an integral part.

The name of their game is political and economic control—and control is increasingly iffy for the powers-that-be. Jobs in the U.S. are going and gone as business flees overseas or into the money markets. Funds for social services? Forget it; military spending, the phony war on drugs, savings and loan bail-outs, the deficit—all are chewing up the budget. It's **austerity** time in the U.S. for the have-nots.

Who needs Blacks screaming for equal opportunity? Who needs rebellious employees? Who needs gays flouting official lockstep morality?

Women? For them, there's a two-pronged approach. Keep white working women barefoot and pregnant. That way they're out of the job market and politics. Better they're home making babies and tending the hearth for free, or slaving at minimum-wage work, than out in the world deciding how things will be run.

Women of color and poor women? Thanks to *Webster*, no access even to legal abortion for them. Not that they should make babies; there are no jobs

left for Black and Brown people. **Forced sterilization** is the answer for them.

The establishment is on the warpath. And if they can't **legislate** the take-away of reproductive rights, if they can't legislate a police state, they have Nazis, Klansmen, or OR types lining up to enforce one.

NOW and Dems. The Supreme Court didn't hand us legalized abortion. Feminists **won** it through militance and by linking the reproductive rights fight to affirmative action, childcare, and the civil rights struggle.

Then as now, reproductive freedom was joined to, and basic to, the larger question of equality for all. Gains were won via mass **demand** and refusal to compromise on fundamentals. The enemy in those days was the same as now, conceding nothing unless pushed to the wall.

Would that this lesson had been absorbed by the current abortion rights leadership in NOW.

After *Webster*, rank-and-file outrage forced NOW leaders to assume the cloak of militance. NOW President Molly Yard declared "war" on the system.

But NOW's war plans bear all the earmarks of past NOW campaigns—the ERA fiasco leaps to mind—in which all essential energies are spent lobbying the legislatures and electing "pro-choice" Democrats to office.

What's wrong with this picture? The victories of pro-choice candidates in the November elections surely highlight the strength of the reproductive rights movement. But these victories are the direct result of the radical grassroots anger that exploded after *Webster*. NOW would defuse this radical outrage by showing people onto Democrats' campaign trails.

Moreover, the whole idea of using pro-choice as the single-issue litmus test for politicians stinks. We'd love to see the roster of "pro-choice" Democrats who voted with Reagan/Bush on social welfare cuts and for contra aid. It's a fairly long list. And why? Well, the fact that the same monied interests who pay for the right wing also pay for the election of liberals, buying loyalty on both sides of the legislative line, has something to do with it.

Moneymen, reason, correctly, that while the pro-choice stance may win elections—at least while feminists are up in arms—it's behind the scenes where debts are called in and the dirty deals go down. They're running a shell game, made easier by NOW getting feminists to lay down their arms for the liberals.

We ought to remember how Congress disposed of the ERA. And how all

those liberals stayed silent while clinics were being firebombed. And how they sat on their hands until rightwingers handed us *Webster*, and possible loss of *Roe v. Wade*.

Why does NOW still go for Democrats? Because the alternative is an anti-capitalist reproductive rights movement—anathema to the largely white, middleclass, careerist feminist "elite" who compose NOW's leadership.

Racism. NOW leaders are careful these days to pay lip service to the special needs and demands of women of color in the reproductive rights movement. But their actions belie their rhetoric.

For example, during the Freedom Caravan for Women's Lives last fall in New Jersey, NOW revived overpopulation hysteria by showing a video of malnourished Third World people. The message: world hunger comes from too many people (especially too many people of color). Solution to the problem? A cut-down on their numbers via legal abortion.

Some justification for reproductive rights!

The U.S. has used the overpopulation argument for decades to obscure the fact that its economic rape of the Third World is the real reason for starvation and misery there. The argument has also leveraged the forced sterilization of women of color at home and abroad.

How can an argument used to force sterilization bolster reproductive rights? Let the NOW logicians explain.

Clinics and RICO. Let NOW also explain how the use of government RICO laws against OR helps reproductive rights.

RICO—the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act of 1970—has been successfully used by women's clinics in Philadelphia and Washington state against anti-abortion fanatics who invaded clinics and harassed staff and clients. NOW Vice President Patricia Ireland hailed the convictions, saying that the defendants "acted like racketeers."

That's what the government says about social change activists. RICO gives the feds a hell of a weapon against them.

RICO allows prosecution for a "pattern" of racketeering—defined as committing or threatening to commit two criminal acts. It strips away the presumption of innocence, supposedly sacrosanct, for anyone so charged.

RICO also provides for huge fines against organizers of demonstrations should two or more demonstrators use force or the threat of force to achieve an objective.

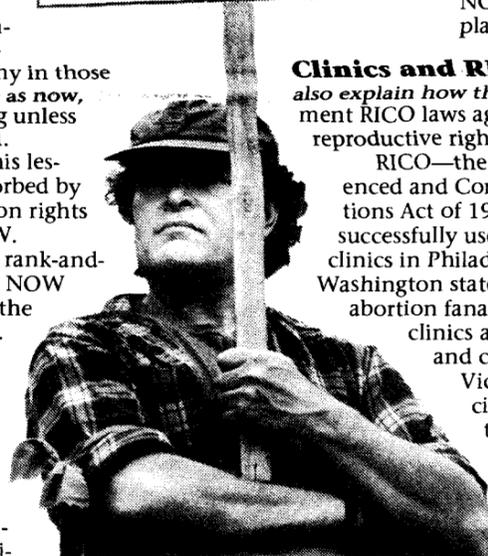
The potential for abuse of civil liberties under RICO is too obvious to need comment. The act has already been used against the United Farm Workers for supposedly making fraudulent statements about agribusiness, and to butcher the rights of political activists accused of crimes, e.g., the Black Liberation Army.

How long before RICO is used against abortion clinic defenders? Given the government's record, most likely not long.

NOW also pumps for the use of restraining orders—against clinic defenders and OR—and beefing up the cops to "defend" the clinics. With friends like this, the clinics don't need enemies.

It should be apparent that the only way finally to **stop** the OR fanatics and keep the clinics open is through organized mass defense by feminists and all

Ready
to FIGHT
for
abortion
rights



In the late 1970s, I asked Karen Brodine to do a reading at a women's conference which I had helped sponsor at the college in southern California where I was teaching. She introduced herself to the class as "a workingclass lesbian poet." "For a long time," she said, "I didn't know what to call myself because I didn't have the words. Now I know."

There was stunned silence. She stood tall, in a white tailored shirt and black baggy pants before and baggy pants were fashionable, in suspenders and slim tie. Then she read her poems quietly and purposefully for almost an hour: poems with clear images of a working, thinking, feeling, struggling, political woman.

In her audience were a few walk-in women from the community, but the rest were mostly students from my "returning women's" class, a group of women coming back to college after years of being cloistered in the house with their children.

Even though most were from middle class conservative homes, they had become used to hearing "nontraditional" women speakers every week in my class. But for most of these students, Karen Brodine was "more different" than all the other "different" women I brought into the class.

Among the evaluation forms that came back to me the following week, one confided, "I have been a wife and mother for nineteen years. Today, I am no longer a wife and the youngest of my five children is in high school and does not need mothering. I came into this class not knowing who I was. Now I know."



Karen Brodine has given me the words."

Several wrote that they had never met a lesbian before and were "surprised." There were variations of that surprise: she looked so "normal," was so "nice," "feminine," and "even good-looking."

Others said they never knew poetry could be so direct and talk about such "mundane" subjects (like how a receptionist has to lie for her boss), never thought they were capable of understanding it, being moved by it or liking it. Until they heard Karen Brodine.

Woman Sitting at the Machine, Thinking is Karen Brodine's fourth and last volume of poetry, published posthumously by Red Letter Press, and partially funded by her friends and

Book Review

The poet who sat at the machine

An appreciation of Karen Brodine

by Mitsuye Yamada

supporters. Most of the readers of this new collection will not be as naive as my students were more than ten years ago, but more than a few will find that she speaks for them, the disenfranchised, "...whose silence I turn to words."

These are political poems, for Karen was a committed and active socialist feminist who worked as a typesetter for many years, but they encompass a wider and deeper range of meanings than what is often thought of as "political."

Every 9 to 5 worker will see themselves reflected in her "work poems" in the opening section of the book, where Brodine captures the dailiness (or even "minuteness") of their lives "while we sell ourselves in fractions" with precision and, often, humor: "2 hours till lunch. / 1 hour till

lunch. / 43 minutes till lunch. / 13 minutes till lunch. / LUNCH." She rails against the system that treats workers like commodities, uses their bodies and spits them "out the door at sixty-five." But through the anger and the bitterness at the conditions they are forced to work in, she never loses sight of the context in which we all live. The woman is working at a machine, but she is always thinking. "...think of it—our ideas whipping through the air / everything stored in an eyeflash / our whole history, ready and waiting."

Our own past and the pasts of older activist women are also placed into the context of "our whole history." There were her radical reformist grandmother, Harriet Pierce; her mother, Mary Brodine; and sister poet, the once-blacklisted Meridel Le Sueur. We know

that the arrangement and format of this book was carefully planned by the poet herself shortly before her death. And we can see, in the arrangement of these poems, that she saw herself as part of a continuum of the women activists she admired.

The final section contains some of Karen's last poems and are the most poignant. They speak with a sense of urgency. The spreading cancer in her body and the political diseases in our society are melded here into one: a clear warning. Yet these are poems of endurance and even hope though she had few illusions. In the exquisitely beautiful poem "Casino Window," the speaker, whose "body was deserting her," watches a wedding in progress from her hotel window six stories above. A "maverick northwest wind" turns the romantic scene into a somewhat comical one. Sounds from the "avalanche of coins" in the casino accompany the silent wedding scene. One senses a resignation, even reassurance, from the speaker that life, good or bad, will go on.

These poems reassure us that out of new ways of thinking, working, and living, new forms of life will be created: "remember that fish / that lives so deep / it has grown its own light / energy glaring out the bulbs of its eyes."

Karen Brodine's poems glare out at us from the depths and dare us to think and act together. □

Mitsuye Yamada, a second-generation Japanese American, is a teacher and internationally renowned writer. Her latest book is *Desert Run: Poems and Stories*.

Become a patron of Karen's Kitchen

When feminist poet Karen Brodine died of cancer in 1987 at age 40, she left a generous bequest for the kitchen being built at New Freeway Hall, headquarters of the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women. Brodine saw preparing fine wholesome food as a revolutionary art form and wanted the entire community to benefit from affordable access to a first-class kitchen for social and political events.

Karen's Kitchen is now functioning. To make it a reality, renovations coordinating Maxine Reigel organized over 800 hours of volunteer labor—not counting her own! Right-hand man Mike Warner brought invaluable building skills to the project. Next big campaign: laying a tile floor, with names of those who donate toward the cost inscribed in the tiles.

Karen's Kitchen still needs donations of labor, materials, and money for the floor, additional lighting, and a new range and dishwasher. If you can help or want to be a tile subscriber, please call (206) 722-2453 or write Reigel at 5018 Rainier Avenue South, Seattle, WA 98118. □

...Abortion

lies, not through reliance on the government, courts and police.

But NOW, wedded to Democrats and fearing the radicals, is willfully, adamantly blind.

Now's the time. The pitfalls of NOW-style strategies are glaring. Meanwhile, the feminist movement is rolling at its greatest speed in 16 years, and the prospect for gains via radical action has never been greater.

Now is the time for the feminist Left and all abortion rights militants to turn up the heat.

It's time to unite the reproductive rights and all freedom struggles. The re-emergence of women of color, working women, and radicals as out-front feminist leaders enhances the prospects.

Reproductive rights demands include free, safe, legal abortion on demand; an end to forced sterilization; free childcare and health care; no state interference in women's reproductive lives. These can and will be linked with the entire range of social welfare and

workplace issues, from forced drug testing to affirmative action.

This can produce an unbeatable action coalition of human rights fighters capable of scotching the right wing.

The role of the feminist Left is critical. The battle for equality is an anti-capitalist fight. Feminist radicals can clarify this matter and spearhead the break from the Democrats. They can give the movement the revolutionary vision and vigor it needs, and lead it to socialism. That's where women's equality will finally be realized.

It's time. Women have been fighting to be free for *millenia*. We will never return to the days of back-alley butchery. We will extend abortion access to *all* women. We will end the horrors of forced sterilization. We will keep the clinics open come hell or high water. We won't stop fighting until we're *completely* free.

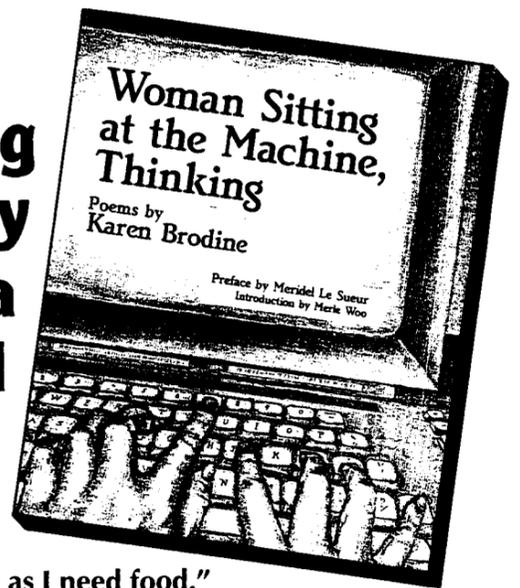
This is war. And *we* are going to win. □

—JULIE RUSSIE

Julie Russie is an abortion rights activist in Stockton, California and organizer of Central Valley Radical Women there.

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Editorial

El Salvador

The price of justice is war

Salvadoran rebels stunned supporters and opponents alike in November, when they launched the most dramatic and protracted offensive yet in their decade-old civil war against the U.S.-backed Salvadoran government and its death squads.

Insurgent Salvadoran workers and peasants, led by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), stated openly that their aim is to drive the fascist Arena party from power and initiate the "reconstitution" of the government and military. The FMLN citizen-soldiers want democracy; their next step is to declare a struggle for socialism.

The government answer to the FMLN offensive was slaughter. In protest, tens of thousands of U.S. residents took to the streets, demanding that Washington, D.C. stop bankrolling the assassination of unionists, nuns and priests, peasant leaders, rebels and civilians in El Salvador.

It was this mass outrage that forced Salvadoran officials to release U.S. peace worker Jennifer Casolo, whose arrest for "terrorism" was staged to chill the U.S. anti-intervention movement. *Sustained* protest in the U.S. is needed now to free Casolo's two Salvadoran associates and the hundreds of heroic political prisoners detained since the FMLN offensive began and to stop the flow of U.S. dollars, arms, and "advisers" responsible for the terror in El Salvador. Persistent vigilance and agitation by antiwar activists is also the only deterrent to war against neighboring Nicaragua.

In the spirit of international solidarity with the revolutionary people of El Salvador, it's time for a political offensive by the U.S. antiwar movement. Not only must we demand unconditional U.S. withdrawal from all of Central America, but we must also confront, expose, and eradicate the Yankee capitalist source of Central America's misery.

The antiwar movement will go nowhere—and do nothing to help the Salvadoran people—as long as its middle-of-the-road leaders squelch the voice of leftists for the sake of maintaining a spiritual and moderate veneer. The redbaiting of open socialists, which resulted in October in the exclusion of Left parties from participation in the coalition called National Action on Central America, only endorses domestic reaction and betrays the workers of Central America.

Paralyzed by their own fear of being redbaited, liberal antiwar leaders discount the potential of U.S. workers to respond to radical demands. Instead of calling for victory to the FMLN and an end to State Department/FBI/CIA attacks on the antiwar movement, they reject the necessity and imminence of a Central American showdown with capitalism and lull the antiwar movement with dreams of an unattainable negotiated peace.

The antiwar movement deserves credit for the liberation of Jennifer Casolo. A truly democratic, broad-based movement led by radicals could achieve the liberation of *all* Salvadoran political prisoners and end the bloody suppression of the Salvadoran revolution.

It could also spark revolution in the U.S., because the capitalist war on El Salvador has a domestic counterpart. Its weapons are austerity and repression, and its victims are the homeless, the AIDS-stricken, racial minorities, women, all workers and poor. The U.S. antiwar movement can take up the fight against the wars in both countries, and help topple the war-masters at home.

This is the guarantee that El Salvador, and all nations harassed and exploited by U.S. imperialism, will finally be free.

End all U.S. aid to El Salvador! Free all political prisoners in El Salvador and the U.S.!

Divert war funds to provide abortion, medical care, housing, food, childcare, and social services!

For democratic socialism throughout the Americas! □



Dateline Australia

5,000 rally against homophobic "Festival of Light" group

Just about everybody in Australia knows Fred Nile. He's a fundamentalist pastor who is a member of the State Parliament of New South Wales. He hates women, Blacks, unions, sex and homosexuality—particularly homosexuality. He's the founder of a Christian group called, would you believe, the Festival of Light.

His name stands for bigotry and many people find him amusingly bizarre. Well, he is bizarre, but, like all rightwingers, he's also dangerous, and when the Sydney gay community learned that he was planning to lead an October 2, 1989 "Cleansing March of Witness for Jesus" down Oxford Street, the gay hub of Sydney, it planned a counter-demo.

The exorcist. "Fred is Coming!" said posters in the windows of almost every business in the street. Nile was, once again, campaigning against the annual Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras, a celebration of Gay Pride which is one of the main summer tourist attractions in Sydney, and usually sees tens of thousands of lesbians, gay men and supporters filling the streets. Fred wants to "exorcise" this "abomination," and he and a bunch of like-minded bigots promised that 100,000 indignant Christians on the street would cleanse the city of its Mardi Gras sins!

He was also very upset because his head, in large effigy, was carried on a tastefully decorated silver platter through central Sydney during the last Mardi Gras. In this guise he was featured on front pages and TV news bulletins across the country!

Nile's provocation drew a swift response. The 1,000 hardened rightwingers who appeared were outnumbered five to one and drowned out all af-

ternoon. The media loved it and the message was broadcast on national TV that lesbians and gay men are not going to return to the closet! "We're Out! Out! Out!--And We're Not Going Back!" I yelled with 5,000 friends as Fred prayed and pranced.

The censors. The headlines were a great boost for gay rights. Unfortunately, the day was somewhat marred by officials from the Lesbian and Gay Mardi Gras Committee, who contained and demobilized the action and tried to censor the militants.

Just minutes after the rightwingers arrived, the committee marshals herded people to nearby Green Park for a picnic! One moment I was part of a jam-packed crowd in Taylor Square and minutes later most of the crowd was gone. Fortunately several hundred of the people refused to leave.

The Mardi Gras Committee carefully tried to keep the action focused on gay issues only. They also tried to seize megaphones when they didn't like the chants being raised! A gay socialist who raised the slogan "Damn the Nile—Block the Street!" was descended upon by a bunch of marshals demanding that he stop. He argued for the counter-demonstration to move on to the road, sit down and prevent Nile from getting to his truck and PA in Taylor Square. We had the numbers to do it, and doing so would have been an enormous victory.

"The police are on our side," the marshals bleated. Just then, my comrade Debbie was injured when police horses were used to push back the counter-demo and allow the right wing through. "The police are on my foot, not on our side," she muttered.

During the clash, I spotted a leader of the Committee to

Defend Black Rights, which is campaigning against the hundreds of murders of Aboriginal people which occur while they are in prison and police custody. What the hell would he make of the statement that the police are on our side? I was reminded of the 1988 "Invasion Day" March by Aboriginal people and allies against the Bicentennial "Celebrations." Marshals there had also attempted to censor socialists on the grounds that "other" issues—like lesbian and gay rights—might "confuse" Aboriginal people.

This kind of paternalism is what divides and demoralizes social movements.

Out of the ghetto. Earlier I'd heard a veteran activist yell at a member of the Mardi Gras committee that he came to fight for gay liberation, not for a commercial gay ghetto or "friendship" with the police. "Get a sense of history," he told the officious marshal.

The first Sydney Gay Mardi Gras was held in 1978 in June on the anniversary of the Stonewall riots, which had definitely *not* been about finding a niche in the heterosexist set-up. Sydney lesbians and gay men had their own Stonewall that night, with the police making 130 arrests!

We beat back the bigots on October 2. Nile was made to look foolish, particularly when a national poll published the next week showed strong majority support for homosexual law reform.

But the actions of the Sydney gay bureaucracy are dangerous, because it is only through the unrestrained mass mobilization of the gay community, linked with the struggles of all the oppressed, that we can make such victories stick—for good. □

—ALISON THORNE

Voices of Color

Huey Newton

1942-1989

Tribute to a fallen warrior

A hot August sun bore down on the quiet, pensive crowd gathered outside Allen Temple Baptist Church in East Oakland, California.

Hundreds of people—anxious, disciplined, young and old, a mostly Black though integrated crowd from the neighborhood and surrounding community—assembled to pay tribute to brother and revolutionary Huey P. Newton.

I was caught up in the charged silence. Images, memories and conclusions swirled through my mind.

A similar scene almost 25 years earlier: Faith Temple, 147th Street and Amsterdam in Harlem, February, 1965, the funeral of Malcolm X. What does it mean for Black people to have their radical leadership continually murdered or bought off?

Allen Temple and its vestibules were filled to overflow capacity. Those of us outside were separated from the service inside by an ominous gate. Here, a necessary separation, but one that brought reflections of past and present unnatural separations: Jim Crow. Segregation. The ghetto.

Loudspeakers amplified the service. Militant words from Bobby Seale, Erika Huggins, Johnny Spain and Elaine Brown entered ears and activated minds. Until, mysteriously, a major underground cable connecting the outside with the service inside was severed. Was somebody afraid of us that day? Afraid that the words would not only activate minds but a new movement? Competitive national me-

bly long struggle for Black freedom. His radical, investigative genius, his concern for the people, his desire for revolutionary change were extolled.

**By surrendering my life to revolution,
I found eternal life,
Revolutionary Suicide.**

—Huey P. Newton,
"Revolutionary Suicide"

When Newton, Bobby Seale and other Panthers stood defiant and armed on the capitol steps of Sacramento in 1967, revolutionary fire ignited the spirit, hopes and actions of Black people.

The white racist power structure was paralyzed—momentarily. And liberal, pacifist Black leadership stood aside, aghast.

By this single act, the Panthers grabbed the horns of a dilemma—the question of reform or revolution—still being endlessly debated today. The Panthers quite logically deduced and codified the answer: Black liberation necessitated revolutionary change.

Many of us agreed with "We Believe," the Panthers' ten-point program, a bold indictment of the U.S. government which called for the overthrow of capitalism.

Panthers were community activists. They established children's breakfast programs, free

and the Panthers sought unity among all oppressed races to destroy it.

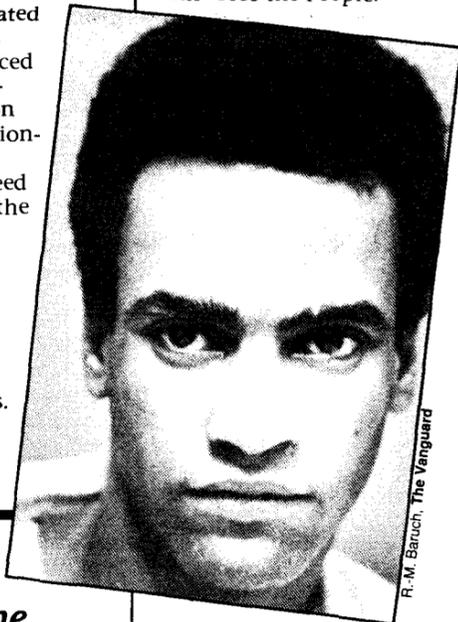
Newton defended Black women's equality and condemned homophobia, and sharpened the cutting edge of our consciousness. He expressed the thought that perhaps the Black woman, lesbian or gay, as the most vilified of the community, possesses the most potential for rebellion.

The Panthers' condemnation of nationalism and sexism remains critically important for me, a light-skinned Black gay radical, and for all of us.

Speeches, tributes and eulogies quickly fade from memory, as do the specifics of that August memorial.

However, Huey's revolutionary spirit will remain.

No COINTELPRO-style massacres, no government rampages can stomp out the meaning behind the slogan "Free Huey," now synonymous with "Free the People."



R. M. Baruch, The Vanguard

When Newton and other Panthers stood armed on the capitol steps of Sacramento, they confronted a dilemma—the question of reform or revolution. They logically deduced and codified the answer: Black liberation necessitated revolutionary change.

dia crews climbed the church roof for photos and footage. Would they show reality? Would the statement of Reverend Pinkard be broadcast? "They called Huey P. Newton a gangster. But we know who the gangsters are."

Huey Newton was not made into a legend or folk hero that day. There were no mythologizing eulogies.

Rather his story was simply retold. Immortalized were Huey's unique contributions and commitment to this terri-

schools and medical clinics.

Critically important was the denunciation by Newton and the Panthers of Black cultural nationalism and separatism. Dashikis might be vogue and Mother Africa's roots consoling, but practically speaking, that is the extent of it. Moreover, cultural nationalist bromides concealed an insidious message, that Black capitalists are the saviors of the race. But what of Black workers, sweated by bosses of all colors? The problem was the system,

It has been said that the movement in the '60s was about plowing new ground and any movement now is about protecting old ground.

But while protecting old ground, being torn apart by racist reaction faster than it can be held together, we must move quickly to do more. Critical problems affecting Black people are far worse than 20 years ago: poverty, unemployment, homelessness, police brutality, drugs, George Bush's genocidal "anti-drug" war.

What does it mean for Black people to have their radical leadership continually wiped out? With Huey, Malcolm X and others gone, we need new leaders, a revolutionary program and decisive action now.

As former Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) said, we must "take Huey's spirit and use it to enhance our struggle and forever move forward." □

—TOM BOOT



Clara Fraser

A half-century of struggle at Boeing

MY HEART LEAPS UP anytime workers win a strike. And when 43,000 Boeing employees in Washington state won their 48-day walkout just before Thanksgiving last year, I felt exhilarated.

I was "made whole" again, as the courts say—because 41 years ago I was part of a wonderful and tragic Boeing strike that lost. The 1948 action, the first Boeing strike, turned out to be a six-month-long losing battle against a vast array of enemies:

- The labor-hating, union-busting, scabherding, strikebreaking Boeing Airplane Co.
- The labor-hating, union-busting, scabherding, strikebreaking Teamsters head, Dave Beck, who colluded with the company to raid and smash the Aero-Mechanics Union (Industrial District Lodge 751 of the International Association of Machinists).
- The AFL bureaucracy, abetted by the Seattle Central Labor Council, which cheered Beck's nationwide recruitment of finkers and stinkers.
- The anti-union Taft-Hartley Act, delaying tactics by the National Labor Relations Board, and local court injunctions against mass picketing.
- Press hostility.
- Irritation and timidity of the International officials (who delayed granting strike sanction and doling out strike benefits until company refusal to negotiate scandalized them into it).

NINETEEN FORTY-EIGHT WAS A TIME of labor retreat, like the past period of the '80s. The postwar tidal wave of strikes was receding in the wake of the Mohawk Valley Formula, a blueprint for strikebashing crafted by the craftiest captains of industry and their lieutenants like President Truman and Congress.

Nonetheless, the majority of Boeing strikers bravely held out. Who couldn't stand the gaff were the union officials.

IAM paid staff weren't allowed to collect their pay during a strike. The slippery NLRB, moreover, promised that if the strike were ended, all strikers would be rehired and allowed to vote in a representational election between Machinists and Teamsters.

Terrified of Beck, the International and the Aero-Mechanics officials stampeded the demoralized unionists back to work.

NATURALLY, NOT ALL THE STRIKERS were permitted to return. Hundreds of the most devoted activists were barred from the gates by police; a blacklist was in full effect. I, of course, was on it.

The NLRB later let some of us back in but ruled against many for no stated reason. They demurred at calling us radicals or communists, but that was generally their dividing line between the acceptable and the pariahs.

I never did get back to Boeing, where I had been an "A" electrician heading a crew on the final assembly line producing Stratofreighters, Stratocruisers, and the B-52s that carried the atomic bomb. And Beck along with the FBI got me fired from a dozen subsequent jobs.

But we all got even in a way.

The IAM won the jurisdictional election in 1949 and Beck and his minions ignominiously departed the scene.

Wary of being spied on, pestered by FBI jerks, and suddenly cast out of jobs like a leper, I got a job driving for Yellow Cab and won full membership in the belly of beast Beck's Teamsters Local 451. When the bosses and Beck finally discovered me there six months later, they were so apoplectic that they handed me, along with my final paycheck, a refund of the hundreds of dollars I had paid in union initiation fees and dues.

They expunged me from Teamster history—no record exists that I was ever a member in good standing!

SO WHEN the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers waged a popular strike and returned to work last November 22 with an improved contract, my spirits soared. I congratulate them, even though I feel that they could have stayed out longer and won a lot more, given the changes in political climate and widespread sympathy for their plight. The International this time was more militant than the local officials, and many Teamsters respected the picketlines.

I also should warn the union.

Scabs have still not been dealt with—fined, expelled, or put on probation. And recent massive layoffs—clearly retaliatory and punitive—are not being adequately protested.

Boeing management today is the same Boeing management as 41 years ago—unreconstructed foes of laboring women and men of all hues, ethnic and political. Boeing is also rife with corruption and extortion.

Beating Boeing demands tight organization, strong community outreach, full internal union democracy, and the guts and gall that stem from commitment to trade union principles.

THE UNION MAKES US STRONG—but we must resist and change all the inner negatives that weaken the union.

It is no crime to be defeated in an unfair match; another day will dawn. It is irresponsible to follow nervous misleaders and surrender to their cynicism and expediency and super-caution.

History has a way of catching up with the villains. Our job as workers is to give history a hand. □

...CIA & Drugs

from page 3

incentive for bankers, not noted for conscience, to continue operations.

By the way, it would be interesting to speculate what effect the laundering revenues have in terms of beefing up regular banking activities and, conversely, the adverse impact a stoppage of laundering would mean.

Take the case of the 30 large U.S. banks whose listed assets of \$23 billion were disclosed in a recent study to consist entirely of uncollectible Latin American debts—whose vaults, in other word, are bare as a bone. U.S. banks are supposed by law to have six percent of their assets on hand to protect depositors; might it not be tempting for executives of the above-mentioned banks to pad their "assets" with laundering fees—against the day when the economy nosedives and screaming depositors line up at the pay-out windows?

The banker's nightmare is the inability to head off depositor panic, ensuing foreclosures and spreading collapse of the banking system.

It can happen here. In the meantime, here's a fact that has so far had decisive impact on efforts to go after launderers: the same scams available to drug kings are also used by Fortune 500 tax evaders, U.S. covert operators, and Latin American elites (who have managed since 1980 to smuggle over 200 billion dollars out of their debt- and revolution-wracked countries). None of these financial and political powers wants government regulators snooping over their shoulders.

Beyond that, bankers and governments are loath to scare away capital searching for unfettered profit opportunities. South Florida's 100 international banks bring \$800 million to the local economy. During the Reagan years, the gusher-flow of Latin American export capital helped finance the U.S. debt.

Crack-scam. You could say that the drug trade is like metastasized cancer; it's gone too far to operate.

Yet Bush's War On Drugs is being waged as if the narcos just bombed Pearl Harbor.

The drugs will continue to flow; stopping them is hardly the point. The point is continued U.S. control of the hemisphere.

Control is iffy. Latin America is a powder keg. In the U.S., jobs for the working poor are history, ghetto misery a spreading plague, and social horror a daily staple of life. Trouble is coming. Control now means readying the troops against troublemakers—Latin guerrillas, homegrown radicals, Blacks, Latinos, small "d" democrats, you and me.

But after Iran/contra, Gorbachev's love-fest with Wall Street, and the breach in the Berlin Wall, Washington needs a hell of an excuse to issue the marching orders.

Holy War Against Drug Scum is, for the moment, the only pretext around.

Amazing: illegal drugs have propelled up U.S. operations for the last 30 years and more; yet political necessity now dictates an apocalyptic jihad against druggies.

As an inevitable *extension* of its covert *pro-drug* policies, Washington has launched its "anti-drug" blitzkrieg.

The Colombian connection.

You can't understand the whys and wherefores of the cocaine trade without understanding Colombia—where all the contradictions of the drug wars collide head-on and, in doing so, reveal to the fullest extent the drug-spiked corruptions of the American Empire.

It was U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration chief Peter Bensinger who, in 1978, prodded Colombian President Julio Turbay to unleash the Colombian army against "drug smugglers." Two years later, after 60,000 people, mostly Indian and labor activists, had been arrested, tortured, or assassinated, drugs had become the country's number one export, fetching over \$3 billion a year.

By the mid-'80s, the exponential growth of the trade had provoked a reaction in Washington and Bogota and brought a new twist to the drug wars: it looked for the first time that the anti-druggies were about to get serious.

Up north, politicians from Reagan on down were hopping aboard what would become the "Just Say No" bandwagon. In Colombia, outrage was building as violence and addiction soared to unimaginable levels.

Most unsettling was the erosion of government. Narcos flouted all law; corruption defined the administration of state; officials who couldn't be bought off were knocked off—often in broad daylight.

Washington and Bogota figured they better try and bring the narcos under "control"—though what control would consist of, god only knows.

Bombs over Bogota. War broke out in 1984 when the narcos murdered Colombian Justice Minister Bonilla Lara.

Bogota lost hands down. The government passed a law for the extradition of drug lords to the U.S. The narcos simply killed or ran out of office any judge crazy enough to try to enforce it. The only drug king ever extradited was Carlos Lehder—and the scuttlebutt is that he was set up by Pablo Escobar after Lehder murdered one of Escobar's bodyguards to get at the man's wife.

How could Bogota win such a war? The narcos are Colombia's richest capitalists. An estimated one-third of the Colombian Congress is on their payroll. Also, they work hand-in-glove with the army, killing off leftist insurgents: fifty-nine active-duty military officers were charged as members of narco MAS death squads in 1983.

Bogota forgot: you can't make war while rolling in bed with your enemy, and taking his money to boot.

Play it again, Virgilio. Is anyone surprised at the way current president Virgilio Barco's anti-narco war is

turning out? All that sound and fury: 10,000 "drug pushers" arrested in August; hundreds of millions of dollars in property confiscated (to be returned by cowed courts)—and after a month, the government was looking for ways to sue for peace!

The narcos, meanwhile, have bombed half the country and terrorized the rest. They forced the new Justice Minister, Monica DeGreiff, to resign after mere weeks in office.

Why, they reasoned, should they be inconvenienced because Wall Street got nervous and George Bush wants to restore some semblance of "order" and look good in the process?

Rodriguez Gacha got knocked off in December, of course, but so what? You can't restore order without breaking eggs. Look at the killing also as a result of Bush and Barco's need to show some drug-war results, and especially Bush's need to still the growing chorus of U.S. pro-legalizers fueled in recent weeks by the utter and manifest failure of anti-drug efforts.

Bush sent the word out: Get me the head of Rodriguez Gacha...or somebody. Who knows what deals he had to make to get it? Maybe, for favors down the line, Escobar set El Mexicano up. Maybe the poor man was sold out by an ambitious lieutenant.

Whatever, Gacha was thrown like a bone to drug-war skeptics: Bush has his trophy; chalk one up for the Forces of Right.

And the narcos' empires remain—a relief to Colombia's Congress and all those who worry that leftist guerrillas are still making trouble.

You can bet Bush worries. That's why he shipped that \$65 million in military equipment to Barco's internal security strike forces. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN

Part III of "Drugs and Death Squads" will spotlight the more sinister aspects of Bush's "anti-drug" terrorism at home, and detail the ways we can end it.

...China Debate

from page 9

sition—workers, students, women, soldiers, intellectuals, artists, disaffected CCP cadre—and for strengthening the contacts and unity among them that was begun during the occupation of Tiananmen Square. We call for ideological discussion and debate as the necessary basis for effective organizing, and for the injection of Trotskyist ideas into the debate.

We think that this course is at present the starting point for pro-socialist organization of the Chinese masses and, simultaneously, for formation of a Trotskyist Left Opposition inside and outside of the Chinese CP. Such a development might still result in the democratization of the regime.

A review of WSL's argument. Your argument seems to rest

on the contention that the Chinese bureaucracy is a Stalinist organism, and therefore no different than the Soviet ruling caste. Hence, political revolution is as necessary in China as in the USSR.

You cite as evidence the economic disasters and failure to institute rational planning that have resulted from the Chinese bureaucracy's Stalinist methods of rule. Further evidence lies in the fact that the regime has always united "in the end" to crush any movement toward workers' democracy, and "continually jailed and murdered Trotskyists and other Marxists who...challenge and question the methods, privileges and corruption of the bureaucracy." Also, that the regime's policies, whether Maoist or Dengist, will lead inevitably to capitalist restoration if not overthrown.

This argument begins to disintegrate the moment you undertake a study of the respective histories of the two regimes. Examination of the record discloses not only the underlying differences between the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies, but places their differ-

ences in proper perspective. It underscores that the *differences* are decisive with regard to whether or not to call for political revolution.

The Soviet regime. The Soviet Stalinists are first of all a *usurping* caste. They consolidated power over party, army, and society through systematic destruction of workers' democracy and the moral and physical annihilation of all political opposition (and ten million peasants besides).

The methods of the Soviet bureaucracy's ascent to power necessitated a police regime, antithetical to socialism, and monolithic in its relation to the Soviet people.

The bureaucracy's traditions, habits, self-awareness—its entire socio-political physiognomy—are consequently stamped with an unalterable police character, notwithstanding glasnost and Gorbachev's mod facade.

When Soviet dissidents mass in Red Square by the thousands, the bureaucracy will bring out the tanks and truncheons to crush them, and *no* one will

imagine it could have been different.

Different kettle of fish. Chinese bureaucrats are not usurpers; they made the revolution, for better or worse. Riven by factions from the start, they have never been able to consolidate in the manner of the Soviet caste. All importantly, no one faction has ever been able to control the army for any decisive length of time. Consequently, each faction has had in some degree to depend on mass support for its policies.

The Chinese people, despite the lack of formal democratic organs, have used divisions within the bureaucracy to win demands. Their victories have been limited, conditional, and often reversed. But the pressure they have exerted on the regime has been a constant factor in Chinese politics since 1949.

You state that the bureaucracy has always united "in the end" to crush any move toward workers' democracy. The use of the phrase "in the end" is unfortunate, implying a finality to revolutionary development that does not in fact exist. The bureaucracy has indeed united at critical junctures to stamp out dissent. But this unity, and the ensuing repressions, have invariably been transient, unstable, and limited.

Moreover, purges have never been carried through to a Soviet-style conclusion: ousted leaders such as Deng Xiaoping have been bounced more than once, only to rise again when the vicissitudes of the revolution made it necessary for their opponents to allow them back inside the corridors of power.

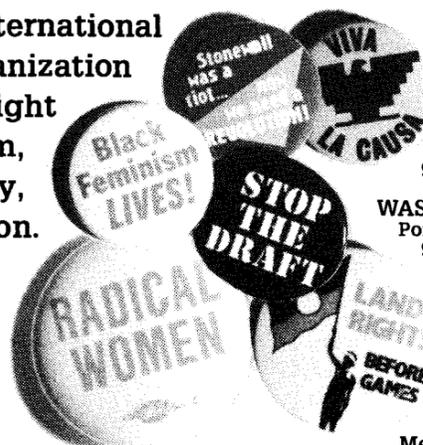
We don't believe for a minute that Deng, Zhao, or any of the present leaders can or will help advance socialism in China. The thinking they all represent—whether hardline or pro-market Stalinism—can only steer China toward eventual capitalist restoration. The hope here is that they can be replaced, and the CCP and regime democratized.

Should one bureaucratic faction or another assume absolute control, we'll change our position. But the mere existence of a Stalinist regime, even one as hideous as the one in China, is not enough to mandate the call for political revolution. □

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ERIC BOUYER, Gamma Liaison

Eastern Europe's workers rout Stalinism And the Walls come tumbling down

"Something there is that doesn't love a wall," wrote Robert Frost in the poem "Mending Wall." The people of Eastern Europe are proving him breathtakingly right.

Stalinist bureaucratism is the wall that separated workers from the promise of the 1917 Russian Revolution, which was true socialism—democratic, egalitarian, humane, populist, feisty, culturally progressive. In 1989, Stalinism was upended, and the socialist promise renewed.

Instead of the Berlin Wall, now the symbols of the East are *people*—defiant, jubilant, triumphant—who swarmed the wall, crossed back and forth through it, and finally obliterated it.

Meanwhile, in Poland in February, a banned trade union met for the first time with government officials. Six months later, it *was* the government.

In Hungary, 100,000 people turned out for an opposition rally on May Day. The following day, the barbed wire along the Austrian border began to

come down.

They say in Bulgaria that "When the Gypsy's bear is dancing in your neighbor's yard, you know it will soon come to yours." Hardline head-of-state Todor Zhivkov saw the bear coming and resigned in mid-November.

Czechoslovakian President Gustav Husak, who crushed the Prague Spring in 1968, was briskly removed and replaced by a playwright and sometime political prisoner, Vaclav Havel.

Nicolae Ceausescu—who raided or-

phanages to supply agents for his secret police—still thought he could cheat history. He was executed on Christmas. Two days later, Romania legalized abortion. The next night, it ran the first Western feature film shown on TV in quite some time—Charlie Chaplin's "The Great Dictator."

Optimistic capitalists are loudly advertising these cataclysmic changes as the "Death of Communism." The astute among them, however, have a chill intuition that they actually may be witnessing its *birth*.

Great beginnings commence with chaotic upheaval. Leon Trotsky, leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, believed that where Stalinist thugs ruled, political revolution would be needed to dislodge them.

True to his prediction, the people of the Eastern bloc are in the process of dismantling entire Stalinist regimes, using whatever force necessary, to clear the way for actual workers' control of the societies run in their names.

This process is perilous. In Poland, Solidarity leaders, betraying their past, plan reinstatement of capitalism. But the workers are striking against them; they want socialism *and* democracy.

Stalin originated the deception that socialism can flower in any one country, or one bloc, surrounded by hostile capitalist neighbors. Socialism cannot be secured by checkpoints and secret police, but only by workers' democracy and international revolution.

Eastern European workers will meet setbacks and tragedies on the road to final triumph. But they have dealt a heroic, decisive blow against Stalinism, the last big obstacle but one standing between humans and human liberation. □

...Poland

from page 16

sive, a vast army of impatient, economically vulnerable, and militant young workers.

The new pro-market economic package promises to bring this clash to a head. The plan ends all price controls on basic necessities—food, heat, transportation, etc.; restrains wage increases; devalues the Polish currency to make it convertible on the world market; ends government subsidies of major industries; and puts all state-owned enterprises up for sale to the highest bidder.

Not surprisingly, those in line to buy up these enterprises—Western businessmen, the *nomenklatura* (government and party bureaucrats), and former top-level Solidarity leaders—are the plan's biggest supporters.

The lightning speed with which the plan was implemented is an attempt by the government to set it in motion before resistance crystallizes into organized, nationwide opposition.

Walesa on the hot seat. Numerous opposition groups already exist inside Solidarity, which re-emerged from illegality a much-changed and divided organization. While parading in the West as Solidarity's leader, Walesa is widely discredited at home.

Ten million Poles belonged to Solidarity in 1981. In 1988, membership was down to 2.5 million. Many strikes are now being led by the OPZZ, the union organized by the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, Poland's Communist Party), which is attempting to outflank Solidarity from the left. Others are led by independent unions and by unions which proclaim themselves part of Solidarity, but have no direct ties to the national organization.

The largest opposition group inside Solidarity, the Working Group, was formed after Walesa rejected a call by 22 members of Solidarity's original National Committee for new union elections. Many regional sections of Solidarity have aligned themselves with the Working Group, which opposes the government's economic reforms.

The mass base of opposition to Walesa's policies are young workers who are impoverished, alienated and the most likely to face unemployment. Although they have rejected the corrupt PUWP, young Poles nonetheless

adhere to the egalitarian, socialist ideals they were raised on. They see basic social services and a job as inalienable human rights, threatened by a market economy.

Women: out in front. Disaffection is widespread among women workers as well. Low-paid, and trying to feed families amidst rising prices and food shortages, women have consistently resisted austerity programs—whether initiated by the PUWP or Walesa.

In 1985, when Walesa at the last minute canceled plans for a symbolic, 15-minute general strike against government price hikes, Anna Walentynowicz (whose firing from the Gdansk shipyards sparked the 1980 rebellion) rallied workers to strike anyway.

In the three years prior to the April-May 1988 strike wave, it was women workers who conducted the largest and longest strikes—with little help from the union leadership.

Women are also sure to knock heads with the new, devoutly Catholic prime minister over abortion and birth control. The church, whose power has grown enormously under the new government, has already forced the removal of sex education materials from school textbooks.

Revolutionary leadership.

Opposition to Walesa is hardly new. During the years of martial law a huge underground press flourished, featuring a raging ideological debate over the direction of Solidarity. In this process an organized left wing emerged which rejected Walesa's pet concept of a "self-limiting revolution," i.e. *reform* of the Stalinist bureaucracy, as a solution.

A much more sophisticated and consciously revolutionary leadership now exists, reflected in organizations like the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution.

PSP-DR leader Jozef Piniour sums up their analysis of the current situation:

"Political wisdom has led the bureaucracy to look for an agreement with the Church and the opposition..."

"The Walesa opposition has agreed to support this process toward the embourgeoisement of the *nomenklatura*. These reforms are supposed to make the economy more dynamic. In fact, they are aimed at providing the world with cheap labor and dooming the youth and majority of the workers to destitution..."

"Sooner or later this will end up in

a rebellion of Solidarnosc's grassroots...it is stupid to think that the workers will not react to the capitalist appropriation of the means of production by the ruling elite."

The PSP-DR's platform attests to their clear understanding that Stalinist bureaucracy is antithetical to socialism, that it must be forcibly overthrown and completely dismantled in a *political revolution* if workers are finally to assume control.

The PSP-DR's conclusions regarding the new Polish government echo Trotsky's prescription for ending the horrors of Stalin's regime in the 1930s: not surprising, given that there are Trotskyists in the membership.

The PSP-DR has also moved far past early Solidarity's narrow national focus. For example, in demanding that Poland refuse the debt to the Western banks incurred by the Stalinist regime, PSP-DR characterizes the debt crisis as an international problem, and explicitly repudiates the notion that socialism in one country can break the stranglehold of world capital.

The implication? That *internationalism* is central to a winning program for workers' control. Trotsky likewise saw the international reality of the problem, characterized first of all by the economic weakness of the workers states in relation to the imperialist West.

Trotsky insisted that the problems of socialism would not finally be solved until capitalism was effaced internationally by workers' revolution. This means that socialism in one or several backward countries cannot compete with the West: historically underdeveloped, denied full access to the world's resources, financing, and technologies essential to modern economy, such workers states must remain also-rans in the contest with imperialism.

These states remain prey to bureaucratism—to "policemen" regulating the scramble for scarce goods (while skimming the cream for themselves). Poverty and isolation being the condition for their privilege, the bureaucrats have jettisoned the idea of international class war against capitalism. To cement their hold, they have historically throttled any move toward the egalitarian democracy that is the first political requisite for a healthy workers state. Lastly, in seeking "peace" with the West, they have betrayed workers' movements internationally, strengthening the imperialists and increasing the danger of capitalist restoration.

—SUSAN DOCEKAL

Was it just ten years ago that Solidarity arose in Poland to challenge the Gierek regime? Those angry Gdansk shipyard workers could hardly have imagined that massive waves of humanity would rise by the end of the decade to change the face of Eastern Europe forever. The dramatic toppling of the Berlin Wall was a fitting end to the '80s—and to the Stalinist era.

What a whirlwind in 1989 alone! Polish workers installed long-banned Solidarity in power; massive reforms swept Hungary; and the hard-line Stalinist governments of East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria fell over like dominoes. Without Soviet tanks to prop them up, the isolated, discredited and corrupt bureaucracies simply melted. The only bloodbath occurred in Romania, where Ceausescu's brutal security forces had prevented the emergence of any organized opposition.

Chinese dissidents, South African miners, and U.S. strikers cheered wildly as East European workers chalked up one victory after another.

President Bush's response was less enthusiastic. Government leaders from the U.S., West Germany, Japan and Britain scurried to "assess the situation" and urged "restraint" as Gorbachev's carefully choreographed glasnost erupted into revolution.

What makes the long-time proselytizers for the "roll-back of communism" so nervous? The "Soviet Empire" is crumbling after all! Here is Gorbachev, hat in hand, begging help from Western "entrepreneurs." Strike up the band—the markets of the East are open again!

But the *workers* of the East are marching to a different drummer and pounding out a counter-rhythm to the discordant pro-market reform.

It is in Poland where worker hostility to capitalism is most clearly focused.

The new Polish government's crash program of market reforms triggered strikes involving more than 35,000 miners this January. The December 26, 1989 *New York Times* had cautioned that "...social unrest caused by the program may be so great that it will bring down the Solidarity-led government. It may be replaced by left-wing Solidarity leaders or by Communist populists..."

No wonder Western banks are so reluctant to invest in Poland. Battle-hardened Solidarity members have already toppled two governments in ten years. And they are boiling now as market reforms allow recently deposed bureaucrats to buy up state-owned enterprises with the wealth they skimmed in



POLAND

Capitalism cannot be imposed short of fierce civil war

their years at the top.

The battle against yesterday's Stalinist despot is becoming simultaneously a battle against tomorrow's bourgeoisie, making it impossible for capitalism to make a comeback in Poland short of civil war.

Biting the bullet. Austerity plans have always proven politically volatile in Poland. Communist Party boss Jaruzelski's efforts to get Polish workers to bite the bullet in 1988 resulted in nationwide strikes. Desperate, Jaruzelski asked longtime Solidarity leader Lech Walesa for help.

In the Round Table negotiations that followed, Walesa promised labor "peace" in return merely for Solidarity's legalization—but he'd neglected to consult the union membership, who considered it a measly settlement. Walesa's admonishments to go back to work were drowned out in another strike wave as massive pressure from below

swept stunned Solidarity leaders into power.

Solidarity found itself heading up a country on the brink of economic collapse. A legacy of Stalinist mismanagement and a crippling \$39 billion debt to Western banks have led to 900 percent inflation, rising food prices, shortages, and plummeting production rates.

The question now is how to resolve this crisis. Poles, including Solidarity members, are split over the answer.

On the one side, promoting market reform via transition to capitalism, are Walesa, his hand-picked circle of top Solidarity leaders, and the former Communist Party elite—including General Jaruzelski, architect of martial law in 1981.

On the other side of this class war, advocating workers' control of production, are an amalgam of leftwing Solidarity leaders and ranks, Communist Party union activists, and, most deci-

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FREEWAY HALL CASE
Our big day in Wash. State Supreme Court
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PANAMA, DRUGS, & DEATH SQUADS
page 3

Freedom Socialist

The Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

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"No return to coathanger abortions!"

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TOWARDS *the '90s:* Approaching the Final Conflict

by Guerry Hoddersen and Clara Fraser



PART 2

"Towards the '90s" is a dynamic analysis of the recent progress and current prospects for the world class struggle. Written on behalf of the National Committee of the Freedom Socialist Party, its assessment and optimistic conclusions were endorsed by the party's September, 1988 National Convention.

IV: The Home Front: Restiveness, Polarization, and the Leadership Vacuum

RECAP

In the previous installment of "Towards the '90s," the authors assess the global state of the class conflict at the end of the 1980s.

Hoddersen and Fraser begin with the economy, explaining how the painful mechanisms that have averted full-blown crisis in the past, like the recessions of the mid-70s, are no longer capable of holding off disaster. Inflation and debt soar while markets shrink. International capitalism is headed for a final crash.

The system's distress produces increased misery, inequality, and repression for the world's workers—provoking, in turn, accelerated resistance to hardship and tyranny.

In the Third World, the war takes the form of revolutionary struggles against domestic dictators and imperialism; in the workers states, the fight for socialist democracy; in the imperialist bloc, mounting opposition to austerity measures and the steady erosion of democratic freedoms.

The authors conclude that, despite a vicious counter-offensive by the powers-that-be, the oppressed and exploited are dramatically gaining momentum in their efforts to usher in a new world.

Following is the second of the document's three installments. In it, the writers turn to the U.S., examining the gains and setbacks registered by the revitalized labor and people of color movements.

Contradiction marks the political scene in the USA.

On the one hand, the bosses, government and right wing are on the warpath against labor, the super-oppressed, and radicals. This onslaught generates a conservative climate.

On the other hand, resistance to this retrograde shift is high and intensely felt.

Even conservatives are not lining up in droves to march off to war or to loudly hail a return to McCarthyism. Opposition to the war drive is rising, especially after the shock of the Iran-contra-hostages-arms scandal. Neither the new war on drugs nor old-time anti-commie scares rally much open support for trampling underfoot our heritage of civil liberties.

Workers are fed up with takebacks, management high-handedness, and spineless union officials. Any labor group that takes a stand against the political neanderthals attracts instant support. Awareness of the need for solidarity among adherents of the varying social movements is strong and expanding.

Protest demonstrations are fewer and smaller than they were several years ago—but this declining number doesn't mean that people are unconcerned, disinterested, or unaware. People turn out in droves for educational events and fundraisers and give unstintingly of their time and money in support of a kaleidoscope of causes.

A close look at the state of various movements, and at the issues that attract activists, brings the heightened polarization between left and right into sharper relief and illuminates

the old problem of a dismal vacuum of good leadership in the mass movements.

Labor: A House Divided

Organized labor is in deep trouble.

Membership is dwindling, decent contracts are exceptionally difficult to win, wages and conditions deteriorate and jobs evaporate as multinational corporations move around the globe in search of cheap labor.

Management arrogance is high. Violation of anti-discrimination laws, business mergers and phony bankruptcies, lockouts, mass firings of unionists, and unilateral wage cuts are the scenarios for clubbing labor into line.

To compound its difficulties, the leadership of the AFL-CIO is philosophically opposed to mounting a counter-offensive. They fear that unleashing workers against the bosses may cause their own caste of officialdom to fall from grace in the eyes of industry and government titans (with whom they share a pro-imperialist world view), and ultimately in the eyes of their own members, who would expect them to carry out a fight to the finish.

So the labor bureaucracy will do almost anything to keep a lid on the ranks.

Furthermore, the majority of the working class is composed of people of color and women who are mostly unorganized. The white male labor generals are not prepared for or interested in organizing this multi-hued strata into a fighting force. And they are either ignorant of or hostile to many of the issues of concern to the new majority: race, sex, political, and sexual orientation discrimination; immigrant rights; gay rights and abortion; free speech and self-assertion; war and peace; colonialism and imperialism; childcare; safety and health; a voice in management decisions; and refusal to be scapegoated for bad management practices.

Rather than organize the unorganized, the labor lieutenants of capital prefer to preside over the decline of unionism. But the middle caste's defeatism, capitulation and passivity before the bosses does not reflect the attitude of the rank and file.

Protests, lawsuits and favorable media coverage of labor uprisings abound, particularly where unions of professionals and the glamour-proletariat are involved. Athletes, actors,

writers, newscasters, musicians, professors, and teachers are often proving to be effective organizers and media-wise publicists for their cause, and they mobilize enormous public sympathy. Even the wretchedly conducted National Football League strike ignited widespread public sympathy.

Labor, in its mod guise, is on the comeback trail, arrayed in an attractive new aura and sporting an exciting new multi-racial and pro-feminist image. This is the other wing of unionism—its driving wing.

A Not-So-Quiet Revolution

When business magazines start to discuss the simmering dissatisfaction of workers and the danger this discontent poses to employers and union leaders, management listens—and so should radicals.

On August 11, 1986, *Business Week* analyzed "Unions Divided: The Revolt of the Rank and File." The article cites numerous examples of discontent: the strikes at Hormel in Austin, Minnesota and at canneries in Watsonville, California, both mounted against the wishes of their internationals; several instances where the ranks

dumped local officials who advocated endless concessions to management; fights brewing over sell-out contracts and unacceptable new work rules.

One dissident, referring to the mounting anger against leaders who easily buckle under, calls it "the quiet revolution."

And a worried labor expert acknowledges that "the distance between the two [members and leaders] hasn't been so great since the 1920s."

The quiet revolution will become much noisier as workers grow weary of management ruthlessness and the shameful rout of labor's top echelons.

Extraordinary P-9

The meatpackers' strike at Hormel in Minnesota stands out because it is exceptional. Not many unionists are prepared to break so dramatically and completely with the compromisers as did the Local P-9ers.

When the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) International placed the local in receivership, the strikers announced plans to form an independent union—the North American Meatpackers Union—and sued the International for violating their

democratic rights.

Because the strikers fought so heroically and the UFCW leadership has been so treacherous, the strike drew a line throughout the labor movement: for or against union democracy, for or against givebacks.

Workers and labor officials chose sides. Hundreds of local unions endorsed P-9's fight and contributed funds, while the AFL-CIO fat cats almost invariably sided with the International.

Grassroot Sophistication

Other landmark strikes in recent years have been led by women and people of color who have won impressive support outside the labor movement and breathed new life into the struggle.

Strikes by Chicanos and Mexicans in food, canning and mining industries in California, Texas and Arizona mobilized widespread support from the Latino community and from students and radicals.

Striking TWA stewardesses resisted union-busting in the deregulated airline industry by exposing the arrant sexism of their bosses.

These workers quite naturally linked their fight against the employers with the race and sex discrimination they face in society as a whole.

Public employees evinced continuing militancy, especially in the 1986 Detroit and Philadelphia strikes and in numerous teachers' strikes across the country. In Detroit, workers shut down city government temporarily when they surrounded city buildings!

Public sector strikes terrify the establishment because they directly challenge the authority of the state, expose the corruption of the politicians, and win the support of the public. This sector of the labor movement is growing by leaps and bounds and now constitutes one-quarter of all union members.

Service workers are an increasingly large and visible contingent of labor. Composed primarily of low-paid women, people of color, immigrants, gays, young people, and elderly employees, service workers have tackled the barons of the hotel, restaurant and entertainment industry with the rage of people to whom givebacks mean destitution.

They are all too aware of how the "other half" lives—the well-to-do clientele they serve. As the gulf separating the rich and the working poor widens, service workers' willingness to fight expands.

All these job actions are doubly meaningful because of the sheer courage and determination it takes to strike these days. The cost can be very high, but workers strike nevertheless—for workplace dignity; against takebacks; over safety, benefits, and comparable worth; for a voice in policy-making. They fight against sophisticated but stepped-up discrimination and regimentation. More and more workers push their unions to take positions against apartheid and war in Central America or on issues like abortion, gay rights and civil liberties, with augmented success.

This alertness and concern hardly gives the picture of a docile

Dedication

To the shining memory of
poet Karen Brodine, Free-
dom Socialist Party Na-
tional Committeewoman
and San Francisco Branch
organizer, who died in 1987
at the age of 40.

Movement into dance
Language into poetry
Thought into action.
You showed us

Change is transformation

—Tamara Turner

labor force cowed into line by labor or management bureaucrats!

What is sorely lacking is bold leadership that can turn labor's decline into a new upswing. This forward motion is feasible and realistic given a cogent transitional program of organizing the unorganized and demanding government jobs and retraining programs for displaced workers, worker involvement in decision-making, training and employment for unemployed youth, a reduced work week, enforcement of anti-discrimination laws, a sliding scale of wages, improved health coverage and benefits, and the building of a Labor Party.

But the FSP can and should go further. We should demand the outright expropriation, with no indemnification, of industries which shut down to cut costs, or to bust unions, or to move their operations to the cheap labor havens they thirst after. These companies should be reopened under worker management.

The airlines industry is an excellent place to start. The carnage in the skies has mounted yearly since deregulation and busting of the PATCO air traffic controllers' strike, and airline unions have come under ceaseless assault by management.

The arrogant overlords at American Airlines are now suing the pilots' and mechanics' unions for millions and millions of dollars because the unions pressured the government to launch an investigation of safety violations. A coalition of consumers and unions that raised the demand for expropriation of American Airlines alone would be a tremendously educational, consciousness-raising event.

The call for expropriation puts the question this way: why should capitalists who endanger the public, create unemployment and unsafe working conditions, and mismanage an industry so badly that they can't even provide decent service be allowed to retain control of an industry we all rely on for transportation? Put the airlines under workers' control—that is our demand.

There are many other equally timely demands included in the **Transitional Program** (drafted by Trotsky in 1938 and adopted by the Fourth International).

With the endless rise in unemployment (despite the Labor Department's phony statistics to the contrary), now is the time to again raise the demand for a *sliding scale of working hours*. Instead of going along with layoffs which pit unem-

ployed against those still working, unions should demand that the hours of the *entire* workforce be reduced, in order to spread the work around and guarantee that everyone's wages are maintained at the full rate.

Should employers complain that they cannot comply without going bankrupt, boo-hoo, unions should demand that company books be opened for inspection—and if bankruptcy is the real possibility (usually because of mismanagement), let the workers take over the company and run it!

Another demand—for a massive program of public works to put the unemployed back to work—is also contained in the **Transitional Program**, as is the reopening of closed private businesses as public utilities managed by workers' committees.

These demands show workers an alternate way of dealing with the capitalist crisis. Employers must pay for the unemployment and suffering they cause, and workers' control of industry must be advanced as the only reasonable alternative to mass, permanent unemployment.

This is not the kind of program that labor's middle caste likes to put forward, but if the present officialdom can't and won't lead, new forces are emerging who will. The coming "perestroika" of American labor will be so titanic in scope and depth as to cast into the shade the tumultuous eruption of the CIO in the 1930s!

People of Color: The Ordeal of Survival

Increasingly in the '80s, workers of color are scapegoated for the system's inability to provide jobs and opportunities for all. Economic degeneration and stepped-up racism always go hand-in-hand.

Racial stereotypes have been revived to justify the degradation of minorities even as a handful of successful individuals are vigorously publicized as "proofs" that the system works.

Equal opportunity is out and bootstraps are in.

Insidious campaigns are perpetrated against the "special privileges" of people of color (welfare mothers in Cadillacs, etc.). War is waged against bilingual education, affirmative action, voting rights, human rights agencies and laws, and Indian treaty rights.

It is then discovered that high

unemployment is the fault of the influx of illegal immigrants—or legal immigrants if they are Southeast Asians—and that the welfare rolls are bulging with slackers. Wanting to work, or inability to find a job, or demoralization, are now crimes.

As tension mounts in the ghettos and barrios and Chinatowns, police forces are beefed up. Brutality is condoned as the price of keeping the peace.

An avalanche of "blame the victim" propaganda engulfs us. Beviens of sociologists, psychologists, columnists, academicians, policy-makers—and some middle class minority fig-

foist onto workers of color the cost of perpetuating a dilapidated system is backfiring. The will and desire and need to resist the reactionaries exists in every community of color, and where there is any kind of responsive leadership, the struggle to preserve and advance human rights rages.

The Black Struggle: A Mixed Record

Black America never saw the sunrise that Reagan promised in his 1984 electoral bid. A few official statistics draw a chilling picture of conditions in 1987:

The epoch of wars and revolutions—65 years of it!—will reach its apex and resolution in this century. The malignant profit system is rapidly running out of time, and is serving as its own best gravedigger.

—“Towards the '90s,” Installment I

ures—tout, as the reasons for poverty, those old standbys: teenage pregnancies and promiscuity, drug and alcohol abuse, high school dropouts, working mothers, female-headed families, and the disappearing two-parent family.

It's a musty blueprint for salvaging the system on the backs of the most troubled and helpless.

These conditions have touched off riots—in 1980, Blacks in Miami, Orlando, and Chattanooga raged over police brutality and joblessness—and have triggered discussions about the crisis of leadership within the people of color movements, as well as lawsuits to defend affirmative action. Insults and violence against minorities provoked the largest civil rights demonstrations since the '60s, in the north and the south; galvanized Asian Americans to combat racist stereotypes; propelled Native Americans into renewed defense of treaty rights; and ignited Latino protests against the treatment of undocumented immigrants.

The plan of the power elite to

Thirty-six percent of all Blacks live below the poverty line, more than twice the (steadily rising) poverty rate.

The Black unemployment rate is placed at 20%, three times the rate for all workers. But these figures are doctored to hide the reality that two-thirds of Black youth and one-third of Black adults cannot find work.

Police homicide against Blacks is nine times higher than for whites.

Blacks make up 46% of the mushrooming prison population even though they constitute only 12% of the population.

Black college enrollment in predominantly white schools has dropped 50% in the last decade. Many Black colleges teeter on the edge of bankruptcy.

The second Great Depression has already begun in Black America. Yet the national radical leadership needed has not yet emerged. It soon will. The voice is there already in the writings of Black feminists, lesbians, and radical men—and in the struggles of Black workers, activists, and grassroots organizers.

The ghetto is a tinder box which will explode once again as it did in the '60s.

Angry Black Workers

It is no accident that Martin Luther King, Jr. was shot and killed while lending his support to striking sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee.

King crossed over the line of acceptable, middle class reformism when he drew together the civil rights movement, Black labor struggles, and opposition

to next page

New York hotel workers, on strike in June 1985, held the line against givebacks at a time when too many unions were caving in to bosses' demands. Their secret? In-your-face militance and willingness to go public with their issues.



S. Dunham, FS



to the war in Vietnam.

He had finally gone "too far" and had to be stopped.

Two decades after King's death and the passage of major anti-discrimination and affirmative action legislation, job bias tops the list of grievances among Black workers.

Whether for professionals, service workers, teachers, athletes, skilled or unskilled workers, or public and private sector employees, the deferred dream of equal job opportunity is creating a crescendo of bitterness among Blacks. Job bias is the source of an endless barrage of complaints and grievances, lawsuits against employers and unions, pressure for human rights enforcement, and demands for anti-discrimination and affirmative action clauses in union contracts.

Any city agency which holds a hearing on affirmative action will hear from dozens of exasperated Blacks fed up with unfulfilled promises of improved opportunities.

Among Black trade unionists, the failure of their unions to back them up in confrontations over management practices is the number one complaint.

Blacks in management seethe over being passed up for promotions to top positions.

Workers who battered down the doors of construction unions with lawsuits and demonstrations in the 1960s and '70s have been sidelined by unemployment. Says Jim Houghton of Harlem Fightback, which led such protests: "We have to agitate against racism wherever we find it. I remember the large crowds of support we used to get in the 1960s. There was a high degree of consciousness. We need that again."

Black workers are acutely aware of the drive to destroy any semblance of equal opportunity in employment and are determined to preserve and expand it. Public workers are front-runners in this fight, because where government is the employer, discrimination is doubly and triply rankling. Frustration runs high among public employees who know their rights. They also know how government subverts, undermines, and weakens their rights all along the line. And they are not the least bit shy about speaking up and out where they see wrongdoing.

In Seattle, workers at the public electrical utility formed the City Light Black Employees Association (CLBEA) to monitor management hiring, promotion and upgrading practices, and to press for Black advancement. The association includes workers from many different job classifications, professional and hourly employees, clericals, and electrical trades workers. CLBEA plays a leadership role in resisting Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) violations, pressuring the city administration to promote Blacks into top positions, and supporting employees who file race discrimination suits.

CLBEA also works with members of Blacks in Government, a national organization of federal workers, and the Committee for Equal Rights at City Light (CERCL) to keep a constant spotlight on discriminatory practices citywide. In the last few years, these three groups have been the predominant voice for city workers in the fight

against discrimination, and they attract more support and attention all the time.

The high concentration of Blacks in public employment portends a greater combativeness from this sector of labor in the years ahead, a development already seen in the Philadelphia city workers' strike which tackled the Goode administration and won. The political importance of this development should escape no one: When public workers take on their employer, they take on the government *directly*, and they often have the sympathy and support of the public which they try their best to serve. Lately, strikes by public workers have come to focus on issues of public concern—classroom size for teachers, patient loads for nurses, management cutbacks and safety issues which redound against employees and customers alike.

Public workers, acting in the interest of consumers in a head-to-head confrontation with the government, could spark a new kind of Black leadership—the kind that takes on the Black middle caste and reformist politicians. Government employees have nothing in common with the likes of Mayor Wilson Goode, who tried to break the 1986 city strike in Philadelphia, or with Maynard Jackson, who fired 700 striking sanitation workers when he was mayor of Atlanta, or the leaders of the NAACP and Operation PUSH who agreed to call off the Black boycott of Coors in return for a promise of \$325 million.

Rev. King's dream—about which the middle caste talks so much and does so little—may very well be fulfilled by those whom he died defending—the public workers.

Black Politicians Exposed

The ascendancy of Black politicians to state and local offices since the '60s is often touted as the major achievement of the civil rights movement. But in the '80s, the powerlessness of these politicians, and the evidence of their collusion with the white power structure, were graphically exposed in Atlanta and Philadelphia. Respect for them among the Black masses is rapidly eroding as a result.

Atlanta is boosted as the South's most progressive city. Yet in 1981 a series of brutal murders and unexplained disappearances of poor and proletarian Black children was covered up for more than a year by the city establishment headed by Maynard Jackson, the Black mayor.

When parents demanded a full investigation—and some undertook armed patrols of the Black commu-

The high concentration of Blacks in public employment portends a greater combativeness from this sector of labor and, in a head-to-head confrontation with the government, could spark a new Black leadership—the kind that takes on the Black middle caste and reformist politicians.

nity—the FBI was brought in and the murders were quickly "solved." Wayne Williams, a Black gay man, was railroaded into prison on three murder charges, even though few of the parents of dead and missing children thought he was guilty, and more than 25 of the crimes remained unsolved. But the Atlanta cops and

the FBI were off the hook and the appearance of justice was served.

Five years later, Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode ordered the fire-bombing of MOVE, a Black counter-cultural group with a history of confrontations with police. The resulting conflagration was allowed to rage, killing MOVE women and children and incinerating a Black workingclass neighborhood.

Protest against this outrageous overkill was muted because of MOVE's unpopularity among Blacks and Goode's appointment of a blue ribbon committee to investigate his handling of the affair. As the investigation unfolded, however, it became apparent that both the police and fire department heads had ignored Goode's order to contain the fire, yet he had covered up for the white power structure.

Neither Atlanta nor Philadelphia sparked national protests against the Black establishment, but events there exposed the complicity of Black politicians who are more concerned with squelching Black protest, protecting the white establishment, and preserving their own privileges than in tackling the system which perpetuates oppression. This consciousness is widespread, even if not acted on.

The gulf separating the Black grass roots from its middle caste leadership widens inexorably under the intense pressures of social decay. And this gulf will lead to a new explosion and a fresh leadership.

Even the extraordinarily seductive Jesse Jackson will disappear in this chasm unless he moves left. Like the Wilson Goodes, Maynard Jacksons, and Andrew Youngs, he does not have the answers desperately sought by Blacks in the 1980s. His Blackness is exciting—but is that enough? Was Geraldine Ferraro's sex enough? She was a thrilling phenomenon, yet today she is a footnote in history. And Jesse Jackson's adherence to the racist Democrats cannot but expose and discredit him, sooner or later, among Blacks. For the price of being a part of the boss party system is selling out Black demands, the way Ferraro ultimately betrayed women by her total immersion in capitalist finance and culture.

The Jesse Jackson Sensation

Jesse Jackson's 1988 run for the presidency electrified the country.

In 1984, Jackson was portrayed in the media as the candidate of Blacks alone. The multi-racial appeal of the Rainbow Coalition was ignored and denigrated by racists. Not so in '88: his focus on economic and foreign policy issues that no other candidate will touch, and the enthusiastic response of widening sectors of the electorate to his stand on these and social justice issues, have left no doubt that Jackson is a fully "legitimate" candidate.

That there ever were doubts about this fact can be chalked up to the entrenched institutional racism of the electoral process.

Jackson appeared to have a strong shot at the Democratic nomination in March 1988 when he trounced Democratic frontrunner Mike Dukakis in the Michigan primary. After his loss to Dukakis in the New York primary in April, his chances didn't look too good. But in the month between Michigan and New York, when Jackson and Dukakis battled toe-to-toe for delegates, all eyes were on Jesse. And for the first time in this nation's history, the mainstream media was forced to acknowledge the possibility that a Black man might actually be nominated by a major political party and might actually be elected president in November.

Who could ignore Jackson's burgeoning appeal in the primaries to Blacks, other people of color, peace-niks, feminists, gays, and growing numbers of white workers? Who could deny the power of his demand for an end to the economic violence by corporate despoilers? And who could disregard the palpable excitement he created reflected in the overflow crowds he attracted on the campaign trail?

One thing was unmistakably established in the 1988 campaign: a candidate who will take a stand against the plutocratic abominations and social horrors of capitalist America can galvanize voters and precipitate an electoral revolt. Yet that is only half of Jackson's significance, for he himself is no radical.

He is committed to the Democrat Party, the two-party system, to capitalism. He

proposes bourgeois solutions—non-solutions, actually—to system-engendered terrors. For example, he calls for an end to "Reaganite" warmongering in Central America—yet refuses to demand that the U.S. get out of that region!

But by dint of his anti-corporate rhetoric, he has forestalled any move by the dispossessed majority toward independent, third-party electoral politics. He—and only he—has enabled the Democrats again to pose, however tenuously, as an alternative to the nakedly rapacious Republicans.

Jackson alone in 1988 provided the excuse for U.S. Stalinists and sundry "progressives" to help funnel potentially dissident voters to the Democrats. Without him the two-party system might not have survived the election.

And it does not matter that Jackson became a loser to Mike Dukakis in the race for the nomination. Such stalwart boosters of Jackson as the Line of March then busily attempted to convince people to "widen the class struggle" inside the Democratic Party by "building on what Jesse has started." Translation: "Vote for Dukakis."

Had there been no Jackson, the Dems would have had to invent him. They would have had to come up with a radical-sounding, almost-anti-capitalist Pied Piper, preferably Black, to charm away a potential third-party revolt.

Leftists and progressives of all

colors ought to take heart from the fact that the Dems were prepared to go to a "radical" Black man they despise in order to save themselves from sudden political obsolescence. The mere *fact* of Jackson is a measure of the deep trouble in which the Dems and the capitalist system find themselves.

Imagine the impact that a *genuinely* radical, independent Black candidate could have had in the election!

The Rainbow Politics

Rev. Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition burst into prominence in vivid technicolor in the '84 presidential sweepstakes.

All the single-issueists who had spent a lifetime carefully segregating issues watched in wonder as the FSP line—that multi-issueism has power and pizzazz, and is the wave of the future—sprang to life before their eyes.

As usual, super-oppressed Black America confounded the experts and leapt to the head of the class.

But the story didn't have a happy ending. This particular freedom train was hitched to a capitalist party on the fast track to nowhere, and a candidate who sold out his constituency to the party machine—a fact not lost on the millions of minority voters who viewed Jackson's sickening capitulation at the Democratic convention in San Francisco in '84.

Nonetheless, the Jackson candidacy changed something in America. The Rainbow Coalition legitimized multi-issue, multi-constituency politics.

After '84, Blacks continued to organize multi-racial coalitions. The scope of the demands expanded from Black justice to include feminist and gay issues, labor, war in Central America, and the concerns of other minorities. This shift was especially noticeable in the anti-apartheid forces.

Conservative preachers and Democrat politicians still monopolized the podium, but a renewed willingness to collaborate with radicals emerged. In Seattle, the FSP worked closely with Black activists to strengthen anti-discrimination legislation, to commemorate Martin Luther King, Jr. with a large march, and to further anti-apartheid actions.

The "Rainbow" isn't radical. And Jackson means to keep it firmly within the Democratic Party; he repeatedly rejects the idea of forming a third party. But a split is inevitable, because Black politicians have nothing to offer the masses except a deteriorating status quo.

Anti-Apartheid: A Movement Is Born

Within weeks of Reagan's lopsided electoral victory in 1984, three national Black leaders were arrested for refusing to leave the South African embassy in Washington, D.C.

They had gone there to press for the release of Black trade unionists held incommunicado by the Botha regime, and, as arrestee Randall Robinson of TransAfrica said, "to put the issue in the middle of the U.S. agenda."

From this modest beginning, a militant, Black-led, multi-racial movement to end U.S. support for apartheid was born in the U.S.

Two years later, the movement delivered the most resounding foreign policy defeat Reagan had suffered up to that time. In October 1986, Congress overrode Reagan's veto of a bill mandating stiff economic sanctions against South Africa.



"Justice for Everybody," Black unity march protesting racist attack in Howard Beach, New York

In between, the movement had galvanized supposedly apolitical, career-oriented college students into the largest mass protests since the end of the war in Vietnam. College administrators and campus police suddenly found themselves locked in combat with a short-tempered and politically sophisticated student movement determined to force schools to cut off all investments in corporations doing business with South Africa.

The divestment campaign spread like wildfire after students sitting in at the University of California at Berkeley were arrested in a dawn police raid in the spring of 1985. Over 120 colleges in 35 states were eventually involved.

This movement was no simple repeat of the '60s student rebellion. This time around, students built close ties with labor, Black community groups, other off-campus people of color organizations, and antiwar groups. And the students solidarized with other campus struggles.

At Berkeley, following the 1985 arrests, a class boycott initiated by teaching assistants received immediate endorsement from the Alameda County Central Labor Council and an AFSCME local representing university clerical workers. Later the Berkeley anti-apartheid activists provided important support to striking Chicana and Mexicana cannery workers in Watsonville, California.

At Columbia University, students worked closely with New York City Black trade unionists and won the support of District Council 65 of the United Auto Workers, which later helped to sponsor the largest U.S. anti-apartheid demonstration ever held. In June 1986, 100,000 people jammed into Central Park to demand an end to U.S. support for apartheid and to listen to politically minded musicians.

Contingents of workers, marching under their union banners, were a key part of the protest, and Teamsters, among others, helped provide security for the march. When Mayor Koch tried to address the throng, he was driven off the podium with a thunderous chant of "Go home, Koch," a spontaneous expression of anger and discontent with the white establishment in this country!

The anti-apartheid movement has won some stunning victories. In addition to Congressional economic sanctions, South African consulates in a number of cities have closed, the result of weekly civil disobedience in over 25 locales. The movement has also forced 15 states and 70 municip-

pal governments to sell (or announce plans to sell) \$18.5 billion in stocks of U.S. companies doing business in South Africa. The total divestment of 120 colleges and universities now equals about four billion.

In the last three years, more than 70 large U.S. firms, including IBM, General Motors, and Warner Communications, decided to abandon their South African operations because of domestic protests and the deteriorating political and economic situation inside South Africa.

The anti-apartheid movement still needs to make a greater effort to link its demands with the fight inside the USA against racism, austerity, police brutality, social service cutbacks, and political repression. Anger over these issues runs deep in the Black community, as the response to Mayor Koch showed, but it has to be tapped and directed toward a confrontation with the white masters in this country.

Deepened struggle in the home office of imperialism is essential to winning Black freedom in South Africa and the U.S.

Black Feminism and Black Gay Liberation

A revolution in ideas has already begun in Black America—a process led by Black women, many of them upfront feminists and lesbians.

The new revolutionaries are writers, scholars, playwrights, poets, and critics. Their weapon is the pen, and their battlefields are novels, plays, poetry, anthologies, historical and sociological studies, autobiographies and biographies, and political writing.

Collectively they are challenging the myths, stereotypes, and misconceptions about Black women and the Black female experience. And they are tackling Black sexism and shaking up the Black male literary establishment.

This revolution didn't begin with the publication of Michelle Wallace's *Black Macho* and the *Myth of the Superwoman* in 1979 but in the '60s and '70s, when Black women began writing not only as Blacks, but as women, political activists, workers, and lesbians.

A debate was touched off which has yet to subside. *Black Macho*, and the highly successful Broadway play for colored girls who have considered suicide when the rainbow is enuf by Ntozake Shange, which premiered in 1978, were exhaustively reviewed in the Black press, in literary and scholarly journals, in college

classrooms, and in the Black community at large. The debate still rages over women's right to redefine Black life and politics from their perspective and to deal openly with Black sexism.

When colored girls opened, Vernon Jarrett of the *Chicago Defender* compared it to the racist movie *Birth of a Nation*. Rumors abounded that white feminists had ghost-written *Black Macho*.

In 1985, eight years after colored girls, the debate erupted with renewed force around *The Color Purple*, a movie which was picketed for its portrayal of a Black man as a wife beater and rapist.

Poet and novelist Calvin Hernton examined the reaction of the male literary establishment in the July/August 1985 issue of *The Black Scholar*:

The word went out: White males were using black women as a backlash against the black male's dynamic assertion of manhood during the 1960's... The men said that black women writers were aiding the white male-dominated, racist capitalist society in the historical oppression of black people.

Regardless of the backlash, Black women continue to write for a growing audience of Blacks and whites alike. The books of Alice Walker, Maya Angelou, Toni Morrison, and June Jordan reach a mass audience. Writers Audre Lorde, Barbara Smith, Hattie Gossett, Pat Parker and the Combahee River Collective reach an actively feminist audience.

Comrade Tom Boot evaluates this group of writers as follows:

These women have spoken out and written about how sexism and homophobia divide the Black community, and how in overcoming this division the community will be propelled in a revolutionary direction. They have trod a path few dare to try. They have forced the community to stand up and take sides, to face the fact that it can no longer ignore the reality of Black lesbianism and Black male homosexuality, and that homophobia within the community stems from a deeply en-

to next page



trenched social, political, and economic denigration of the Black woman.

The number of Black feminists concerned with theory and activism is growing. The logical extension of Black feminist thought is to incorporate Marxism and the struggle for socialism so that Black women's liberation can be realized.

Together Black feminists and the Black lesbian/gay movement will be the core of a new revolutionary politics within the Black community.

Waiting for Lefty

There is a deep river of discontent and anger and frustration running through Black America. It is so deep and wide that the Black middle caste is terrified of channeling the power and fury of this torrent against the system. The reformists are terrified of stirring up the waters too much, causing the river to overflow its banks and flood anything in its way—including go-slow, work-within-the-system, prayer-and-pleading Black leaders.

So Black people wait for a radical leadership that will assert the audacity of the Black Panthers, the bravery of the early civil rights workers, the expanded human concerns of Black feminists and gays, the tenacity of Black workers. The next time around, the Black struggle is for keeps; half-way measures, pacifism and promises, Kennedy dynasties, Black yuppies, and slick Black politicians will not suffice to meet the demand of the masses for fundamental change.

The opening volleys in this new level of struggle have already been heard in Forsyth County, Georgia. After a tremendously successful demonstration of interracial solidarity against the Klan (25,000 people marched), Georgia's Black leaders are split over how to follow it up. Rev. Hosea Williams, former colleague of Dr. King and the man who initiated the action, wants to regularize the civil rights movement. Williams told reporter Jim Nesbitt of the *Orlando Sentinel* (reprinted in the February 15, 1986 *Seattle Times*):

Everybody's been calling me an old battle-fatigued general who could not change with the times. But the people have caught back up with me. People are tired of that passive stuff; they're disgusted with passive leadership because they see us losing ground.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is furious with Williams. What they want are backroom negotiations with county officials over housing, equal employment opportunity, and compensation for Black families driven from the county in 1912.

Reporter Nesbitt neatly summed up the split:

Since the assassination of King, the vanguard of the civil rights movement

has splintered. In the place of King's action-oriented tactics, there are the politics of accommodation with the white power structure and quiet negotiations on economic issues.

Some have said the movement has left the streets and lost its energy. And in these days of Reaganomics and rampant conservatism, the movement is powerless to defend the gains made in the 1960s, they argue.

Accommodationist politics will ignite a radical new leadership, arising like a phoenix from the flames incinerating Black America.

Asian Americans: Shattering Myths

Asian America took to the streets in the '80s, shattering the media view that all was progress and upward mobility for the nation's "model minority."

Virulent anti-Asian racism in films, and racially motivated mur-

another outrage: Chin's murderers were fined \$3,780 apiece and released on probation.

Asian American reaction was swift. Demonstrations occurred in Detroit and New York City. American Citizens for Justice was formed to demand federal intervention, and nationwide protests obtained it. Chin's killers, Ronald Ebens and his son Michael Nitz, were indicted on two counts of federal civil rights violations. Nitz was found innocent and Ebens was sentenced to 25 years. When his conviction was overturned in 1986, it touched off another series of protests. The attorney general agreed to re prosecute Ebens but he too was eventually found innocent.

Corky Lee, a veteran New York City activist, summed up community feeling at the time of the first trial when he said, "With the national climate the way it is, we'll probably see more violence. But we won't take it lying down. We'll defy the stereotype of the quiet minority."

On the Warpath Against Hollywood

If Hollywood had paid any attention to the growing anger of Asian Americans against prejudice, pro-



May '83: Detroiters demand an end to bigoted violence after Vincent Chin's murder.

ders and violence, ignited the smoldering fuse of discontent. An explosion of protest blazed across the nation.

Buy American: Recipe for Murder

In the early '80s, heightened economic competition among the capitalists spawned a jingoistic "Buy American" campaign directed against Japanese imports.

Racism was the main ingredient in this patriotic hard sell, and backward labor officials were its chief boosters. White workers in the auto industry were told that jobs were drying up because of the flood of cheap Japanese cars onto the market. (European cars made by white workers were not targeted for boycott.)

Through subtle and unsuitable means, a climate of anti-Asian hatred and hysteria was fomented. A wave of violence ensued, culminating in a series of attacks and murders on Asian Americans and Asian immigrants.

One particular attack typified the insanity. In June 1982, Chinese American Vincent Chin was beaten to death by two white auto workers who thought he was Japanese. This heinous crime was compounded by

ducers might have avoided a head-on collision with this particular minority.

But studio moguls actually believed the ludicrous Asian stereotypes presented in their films—a disastrous mistake for the white boy wonders of the industry.

Hollywood got its first taste of Asian American outrage when it released *The Fiendish Plot of Fu Manchu* in 1979. Then came *Charlie Chan and the Curse of the Dragon Queen* in 1981, a revival of the kowtowing movie detective from the '30s and '40s. In San Francisco, the Coalition of Asians to Nix Charlie Chan organized a boycott; helped by feminists and other people of color organizations, they made a short run of Chan's resurrection.

In 1986, director Michael Cimino released *Year of the Dragon*, about a white New York cop assigned to clean up Chinatown. As Comrade Nellie Wong has written: "Again and again, Asian Americans are portrayed in movies as murderers, as cunning, devious, weak, passive—all the negative stereotypes that have plagued us since our arrival in the U.S." This description applies all too well to *Year of the Dragon*.

Actress Emily Woo Yamasaki was an extra in the movie. She wrote in

the Volume 9, Number 3, 1986 issue of the *Freedom Socialist*:

When I decided to take part as an extra, I also decided to participate in any protest organized against the film, if it turned out to be reactionary. At the press screening, my excitement about being in the movie turned quickly to anger—*Dragon* was far worse than I had ever expected. I felt used and exploited. The film was such a slap in the face to Chinese Americans and women—and Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Italians, Poles, and the Irish...

The National Asian American Telecommunications Association called a protest meeting in New York City and formed the Coalition Against Year of the Dragon. Radical actress Yamasaki appeared on "Entertainment Tonight," a highly popular national TV program, where she condemned the racism and sexism of the movie.

The Coalition set up chapters in New York City, Los Angeles, Seattle, Boston, and San Francisco. Boycotts, picket lines, and press conferences were held. Comrade Merle Woo, Yamasaki's mother, spoke at a San Francisco protest demonstration.

As box office sales plummeted, the producers of *Dragon* offered to negotiate. They refused to withdraw the film from circulation, but they did agree to add a disclaimer to it stating that *Dragon* was not intended to be a real life depiction of Chinatown.

In the end, *Year of the Dragon* bombed. And since profits are something Hollywood does understand, perhaps this time Asian Americans have gotten through to the boardrooms. As Yamasaki wrote:

Hollywood filmmakers have been sent a clear message that racism and sexism aren't marketable, and that the community is ready to boycott and protest exploitative films. Our protests showed the potential of the Asian American community and its allies to make Hollywood respect and reflect multicultural diversity.

A Diversity of Struggles

The issues around which Asian Americans fight are as diverse as the community itself.

Japanese Americans still fight for redress and reparations from Congress and the courts for their mass incarceration during World War II.

Asian American students in United People of Color at the University of California at Berkeley are at the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Gays and lesbians have been stalwart supporters of popular teacher Merle Woo, now in her second fight with the university administration at Berkeley, California to retain her teaching post. After firing her in 1982, the university was forced to rehire her in 1984 when she won her sex, race, sexuality, and political ide-



ology discrimination suit, but she was laid off again in 1986.

Woo has renewed her battle to be allowed to teach her way—as an outspoken, radical woman of color and lesbian.

Despite this span of issues, the media still promotes the image that everything is fine in Asian America. This myth has been both built up and belied by the experience of newly arrived immigrants from Southeast Asia.

New Immigrants Face Old Myths and Fresh Battles

Immigrants from Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea (Cambodia) were also victimized by the anti-Asian violence of the '80s.

In 1981, Vietnamese fishermen in Texas were attacked by the Ku Klux Klan. Then, in 1982, Kampuchean activist An Pech was bludgeoned to death in Dallas. And in the spring of 1983, a Vietnamese student in Davis, California was knifed to death by a fellow student shouting racial epithets.

The home of the free and the land of the brave is a nightmare for poor and workingclass immigrants. Jammed into overcrowded ghettos, they compete with Blacks, poor whites, Chicanos and Mexicanos for dwindling jobs and social services. Tensions run high, often erupting into interracial violence.

Comes now the English Only campaign, spearheaded by rightwing ideologues like S.I. Hayakawa, to make life worse. This unholy crusade seeks to make English the "official language" of the U.S. English Only laws have been passed in numerous states, including California; under this legislation, money for bilingual education, ballots, social services, and court services is eliminated. Speaking a non-English language in effect becomes a crime punishable by exclusion from participation in society.

This cruel act of forcible assimilation is directed at poor immigrants—largely Mexicanos and Southeast Asians—who are dependent upon public services and public education. It has been vigorously assailed by Chicanos and Asian Americans.

Hence, the reality for many Asian immigrants is a mosaic comprised of discrimination, poverty and violence, all largely ignored by the media. What is featured are the success stories of middle class immigrants to prove what a swell place this country is for Asian Americans. Writes Comrade Nellie Wong:

Those immigrants who worked with and for Uncle Sam—as in Viet Nam—are being elevated to the status of the new model minority. The papers are full of Asian Americans who laud American democracy because they escaped the "evils" of communism, because America is where they can be truly "free." It is disheartening to see how young Asian Americans graduating from high school or college are put up on a pedestal because they're pro-capitalist...

Asian America took to the streets in the '80s, shattering the media view that all was progress and upward mobility for the U.S. "model minority."

because they come from families which stress education as a way to get ahead.

This kind of coverage puts us in the pigeonhole of having it made. And if we're so successful, what do we have to complain about, and how in the hell are we oppressed? Never mind the killings, epithets and stereotypes.

Reality has a way of breaking through myths. And in the decade of the 1980s, Filipinos were anything but a model of complacency and passivity.

Filipino Americans and "People's Power"

Filipinos have a long, militant history of union and radical activism, beginning in Hawaii in the early 1900s where they engaged sugar plantation owners in battles over wages and conditions.

Filipino radicals, along with Chicanos, organized the first farmworker unions in California, and, together with Chinese workers, they unionized Alaska canneries.

Filipinos led the U.S.-based opposition to Marcos in the Philippines and provided essential support to the revolution. They also kept constant pressure on the U.S. government to prevent military intervention in the tension-racked months before the "people's power" overthrow of Marcos in February 1986.

And the Alaska Cannery Workers Union suit against Marcos' role in the murder of Seattle union leaders Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo has focused national attention on the collusion of U.S. and Marcos' spy agencies.

The "people's power" revolution in the Philippines will lend impetus to Filipina feminism in the States. Women workers played a pivotal role in the revolution and are a source of inspiration and pride for Filipinas everywhere. A Woman's Party was recently formed in the Islands, and as women gain a greater voice in politics, the voice of stateside Filipinas will rise as well—particularly as they strive to distinguish themselves from Corazon Aquino's shift to the far right.

Asian American Feminism

Feminism is alive and growing among Asian Americans.

Following the First National Asian American Women's Conference in Washington, D.C. in 1981, numerous women's groups were formed.

The Organization for Asian Women in New York City, Asian Women United on the east and west coasts, and Pacific/Asian women's groups throughout the country have organized since '81 around issues affecting women and the community. In 1986, the Organization for Asian Women marched in the New York City gay pride demonstration for the first time.

Although these groups tend to be middle-of-the-road, focusing on overcoming obstacles to success

within the system, they demonstrate the burgeoning self-awareness among women of color.

The radical voice of Asian American feminism finds its finest expression in the writings, poetry, speeches and organizing of our comrades and supporters: Merle Woo, Nell Wong, Emily Woo Yamasaki, Pat Hirose, and Nancy Kato.

Merle Woo succinctly expressed their sentiments in the Spring 1981 *Freedom Socialist*:

We are fighting every single thing that has kept us down as women of color. The exploitation of all Yellow immigrants—that's race and class. And sexism cuts across everything, all over the world... Connecting these struggles means a lifelong commitment to ending the divisions, and the only way Yellow feminists can achieve this unity is through revolution—through socialism.

At national and regional women's conferences, lesbian and gay pride marches and conferences, labor marches and political demonstrations, and on campuses across the country, these radical women are sought-after speakers because they link movements and struggles together, and they do it in a fresh, sparkling way.

Writes Nell Wong, "...we're a lone voice advocating the issues of race, sex, and sexuality linked to the class struggle."

Model Revolutionary Minority

Although Asian American leaders tend to be well ensconced in the Democratic Party, the mounting problems of Asian Americans demand the kind of radical leadership displayed by our "Yellow feminists."

Writes Comrade Wong: "How does the economic or political success of a few Asian Americans change things for all Asian Americans?"

"It doesn't." And herein lies the objective propulsion, the dynamic for new leadership of what will come to be known as the model *revolutionary* minority.

Chicanos: La Guerra En El Norte

Four great strands are interwoven to create the fabric of Chicanoism: (1) the proud labor history featured by shoulder-to-shoulder battles with other workers of color, immigrants, and whites; (2) the struggle of the Chicano people, as a

racial and cultural minority, for democratic rights; (3) the historical, cultural and racial ties with Mexico; (4) strong identification with the proletariat, the poor, and revolutionists in Latin America.

Out of this powerful tapestry of consciousness and struggle was born the Chicano movement with its unique sense of internationalism, inter-racialism, and class struggle. At its height in the '60s and '70s, the movement conducted heroic crusades for civil rights and unionization of farmworkers and against INS persecutions and the war in Vietnam.

Chicanos are fighting today to stop a new war in Central America and the persecution of new refugees from these tormented lands. Chicano workers are still in the forefront of numerous labor battles, and organizing drives by farmworkers continue in the Midwest, Northwest, and Southwest. Barrio activists across the country still fight INS and police terror, racism, and national chauvinism.

Overall, however, the movement has drastically receded from the dynamic tempo of its heyday. Cesar Chavez and other leaders of the United Farm Workers bear a large measure of responsibility for this decline in movement momentum.

Unions and justice for farmworkers were once a powerful national focus for the movement, generating support from coast-to-coast and winning the sympathy of millions. But Chavez seized this mighty engine of combined labor and civil rights struggle and directed it away from class consciousness into abject reliance on the beneficence of bourgeois politicians, the church, liberals and the labor aristocracy.

As organizing drives, strikes, picketing and boycotting stores dwindled, so did the fortunes of the national movement. Where once the movement concentrated on getting workers signed up for unions and mass protests, the UFW and super-respectable organizations like League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and Mexican-American National Women's Association (MANA) are now absorbed with registering voters for the Democratic Party (which incidentally supports war in Central America, anti-immigrant legislation, union-busting, etc.).

A wide chasm exists between this leadership and the interests, needs and consciousness of Chicano workers—a widening chasm, as shown by the failure to mount an effective offensive against Simpson-Rodino.

Immigration Bills: Strife and Sell-Outs

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voters overwhelmingly adopted Proposition 63, an amendment to the state constitution making English the official language of the state.

Two days later, President Reagan signed into law the Simpson-Rodino Immigration Reform and Control Act which puts a seal of approval on racist, anti-immigrant sentiment in the U.S.

These two pieces of rotten legislation are part of the perennial drive to divide U.S. workers along lines of culture, nationality, and race—a drive which accelerates in direct proportion to the economic crisis of the '80s. Legislators and congresspeople invariably become mouthpieces, more or less, for employers hungry for cheap labor and workers easily convinced that immigrants, not bosses, are the enemy.

But what about the role of Chicano leaders?

Simpson-Rodino was supported by five out of eleven members of the congressional Hispanic caucus—and by César Chávez. Caucus leader Esteban Torres called the act “generous” because of the so-called amnesty plan for undocumented workers who can prove they have lived here continuously since January 1982. Chávez feared that defeat of the bill would only result in worse legislation down the road.

Thus, with a sigh of resignation and a shrug of cynicism, did the Chicano middle caste give its stamp of approval to the most reactionary immigration law in decades.

The bill includes an “amnesty” program for eligible undocumented workers which will be completely under INS control; fines and jail sentences for employers who hire undocumented workers; and a “guest worker” provision allowing agribusiness to import 350,000 seasonals to harvest perishable crops.

The effect on Chicanos, Mexicanos, and refugees from Asia and Central America will be far-reaching. With a beefed-up budget, the INS will step up its terror and raids internally and on the border. With more raids will come more beatings and brutality. Workers who apply for resident status will be completely at the mercy of INS, which has the authority to decide who can stay and who will be deported.

Amnesty specifically excludes lesbians and gay males, communists, “national security risks,” the physically and mentally disabled, and anyone likely to need welfare.

The sweeping power granted the INS will be turned against radicals, unionists, community organizers, any undocumented worker standing up for basic rights.

Furthermore, the bill legalizes something new: discrimination based on the status of being an alien. Citizens may now be hired in place of non-citizens, even those with full documentation of their legal right to work. And the sanctions against employers encourage discrimination against all dark-skinned workers including citizens; bosses will defend their discriminatory practices by saying the minority applicant could be undocumented.

Finally, the use of legal, temporary Mexicano agricultural workers will provide growers with a hand-crafted labor force to break strikes and make abominable conditions even worse, as has happened many times before. Stripped of any protections and vulnerable to terrible abuses by growers, the temporary workers will be virtual slaves.

This program revives the infamous bracero program, instituted in 1942 and extended until 1964, to remedy the labor shortage caused by World War II. The bracero scandal



In Chicago, a “National Day for Justice” rally in October 1985 targets the hated anti-immigrant Simpson-Rodino bill.

reaped a harvest of shame when the inhuman mistreatment of “guest workers” came to national attention in the early '60s.

In a sense, then, Congressman Torres was right. This bill is “generous”—to racists, employers, agribusiness, and the INS.

National protests against the bill were considerably reduced from the 1983 outpouring against Simpson-Mazzoli, the predecessor legislation. At that time, the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund in Los Angeles and the Committee to Defend Immigrant and Refugee Rights in Seattle were among many organizations which participated in efforts to stop Simpson-Mazzoli. Protests were held throughout the country in June 1983, including a demonstration by 3,000 Los Angelenos.

But this time around there was no nationwide mobilization, even though opposition to the bill runs high among Chicanos and Latinos.

This relative passivity is explained by the ties of most Chicano leaders to the Democrats and to that old lesser evil policy of accommodation and compromise, which sells a victory for the bosses as “the best” that workers can get. Many leaders have convinced themselves that people will not respond to a call for action; they underestimate or ignore struggles and victories that take place without them! And their cynicism and inaction are often richly rewarded by their cohorts in the Democratic Party.

Chávez long ago traded in militant grassroots organizing for Democrat Party wheeling and dealing. In 1982, UFW donated \$780,000 to candidates for California office, making it one of the biggest donors in the election.

UFW has a very mixed record on the matter of organizing Mexicanos. At one time, it forged an alliance between Mexicano and Chicano farmworkers, but later Chávez joined in denunciations of Mexicano labor, going so far as demanding INS crackdowns on illegals, reporting undocumented workers to the border patrol,

and even catching Mexicanos and turning them over to the INS.

The antiwar and sanctuary movements could have provided strong opposition to the act, since it will result in the deportation and persecution of Central American refugees, most of whom arrived here after the cut-off date for amnesty. But the Stalinist/pacifist leadership of these movements has been rigidly single-issue, lobbying Democrats rather than organizing protests that connect the war drive to the economic crisis of Latin America and assaults on foreign and domestic labor.

Hence, no national organizing impetus came from these quarters.

However, the reality of stepped-up INS terror in the barrios and fields, on job sites, and at hiring halls and community centers is sure to spark a new uprising.

As comrade Yolanda Alaniz has written:

There are strong historical and cultural ties between Chicanos and Mexicanos which cannot be broken by the Simpson-Rodino Act. Chicanos will fight the mistreatment of immigrant workers by the government, especially since we ourselves will be singled out for new abuses based on our skin color.

Brown Workers: A Dynamic Force

In 1979, an AFL-CIO study revealed that 30% of Latinos belong to unions as compared to less than 20% for workers as a whole.

Chicanos, Mexicanos, Puertorriqueños, and other Latinos have struck, boycotted, bled, and died to achieve this impressive statistic. They have held out and held on when others gave up. They have earned a richly deserved reputation for being at the forefront of labor struggles in the fields, mines, restaurants and hotels, canneries, and the

garment industry.

And they fight the old-fashioned way—they organize across lines of race, nationality and sex; they mobilize support from families, community, churches, and civil rights and political organizations; they seek help from other unions and social movements. And they often win.

It is not surprising, then, that Chicanos and Mexicanos have waged some of the most militant, uphill labor battles of the last five years. While the top white male AFL-CIO hierarchy decides not *whether* but *how much* to give back to employers, Latinos have been resisting concessions and encouraging proletarian pride.

One of the most heroic labor battles was the 1983-85 strike against Phelps-Dodge by 2400 copper miners and smelter workers in Arizona and Texas.

The strike was launched when the company demanded that the predominantly Chicano, Mexicano and Native American workforce, affiliated with United Steelworkers of America and twelve other unions, grant much larger concessions than those extorted by other copper companies.

The workers refused and the longest copper strike in U.S. history was underway on July 1, 1983.

Phelps-Dodge has a long history of high-handed and brutal treatment of Chicano and Mexicano workers in the Southwest. In 1916, 1200 miners were fired for requesting a raise and a grievance procedure. The miners struck and the company retaliated with vigilantes and thuggery. The company president was eventually indicted for instigating violence, although the charges were dropped before the case reached trial.

The 1983 walkout had barely begun when the Arizona courts issued an injunction limiting the number of pickets. Armed state police escorted the scabs. The Morenci, Arizona strikers and their families borrowed a page out of history and an earlier strike by copper miners—brilliantly depicted in the movie *Salt of the Earth*—and organized an all-female Citizens for Justice as well as a Women's Auxiliary.

The auxiliary raised money and built support for the strike. Citizens for Justice organized mass picket lines and defied the injunction.

Six weeks into the strike, a picket line of 1000 miners and their supporters closed down the Morenci mine. Democrat Governor Bruce Babbitt called for a ten-day cooling-off period, during which the mine would stay shut. Although the rank and file was uneasy about losing momentum, the Steelworkers leadership agreed to halt picketing. Babbitt used the time to mobilize the National Guard and, on the tenth day, ordered seven units of guardsmen into Morenci. The mines were reopened by soldiers with guns, and they stayed open.

The miners next faced a concerted Phelps-Dodge campaign to drive them out of the mines forever. Many were evicted from company-owned homes, and credit was cut off at the company store. Children were threatened with expulsion from school if they talked about the strike during school hours. The state refused the miners unemployment benefits and food stamps. The National Guard was called in twice more.

But the strikers held out.

More than a year after the strike began, the NLRB ruled that only scabs could vote in a decertification election, and in January 1985, Phelps-Dodge mines went non-union.

The copper bosses won—with enormous help from the governor (previously endorsed by AFL-CIO), from federal and state agencies, and from top AFL-CIO officialdom which never mobilized the support needed to win.

In mid-August 1983, while Governor Babbitt was using club-wielding, gun-toting state police and national guardsmen to break the strike, the AFL-CIO held a national convention in Florida. The main topic of discussion was endorsing Mondale's presidential bid. The copper strike was never raised.

In September 1984, more than a year after the strike began and two months before the presidential election, the Steelworkers held their 22nd convention. The theme was "Vote and Organize for the Future." USWA President Lynn Williams made it clear who the delegates should organize for, and it wasn't the copper miners. Orated Williams, "The election of Fritz Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro will do more for our future than any other single action."

Beating the drum for duplicitous Democrats was accompanied by a chauvinistic assault on foreign workers and imports. Williams called for quotas on imported steel, infuriating Canadian delegates, whose jobs depend on exports to the U.S. He also introduced a resolution which called for legislation "to assure that the flow of future undocumented aliens be stopped."

This flag-waving Democrat labor hack had the gall to condemn foreign workers while Mexicano and Chicano miners were suffering deeply as they fought to save the USWA in the copper industry!

And Governor Babbitt briefly became a leading liberal contender for president! Why not?

The price of losing a strike that workers sacrifice everything to win is very high. Shortly after the NLRB election which decertified the union, six other copper companies threatened to shut down mines unless the unions accepted bigger cuts than those won by Phelps-Dodge in Arizona and Texas.

And in 1986, USWA settled for cuts amounting in some instances to **\$360 per month per worker**.

For the first time in 33 years, not one strike erupted in the copper industry. By relying on the strikebreaking Democrats, USWA betrayed brown labor—its best fighters—and the bosses scored a victory over all labor.

Women miners at Phelps-Dodge fought hard for jobs in the industry and they fought hard to save them. They were repeatedly jailed for violation of the injunction against mass picketing, matching the courage and determination of their Latina sisters in many industries.

In March 1987, a thousand predominantly Chicana and Mexicana frozen food workers triumphed in a strike which had begun in Watsonville, California in September 1985. Their walkout was sparked by issues reminiscent of the Phelps-Dodge struggle: proposed wage cuts of up to 40% and virtual elimination of vacations and benefits.

Most workers were denied unemployment compensation and many were evicted from their homes. The

strikers also had to resist Teamster officials who opposed the strike and then gave only grudging support when they realized the women intended to fight on, with or without them.

The Watsonville victory came after the original employer, Watsonville Canning, went bankrupt rather than come to terms with its workers. The new purchasers of the company were desperate to settle the strike and get the plant into operation. They offered major concessions on wages, union recognition, and rehiring of strikers.

But the contract proposal fudged on health care. Nevertheless, the Teamsters tried to shove this contract down the throats of the workers. The strikers insisted on holding out until this crucial issue was resolved, and again they forced the boss and the Teamster bureaucrats to meet their demands.

The Watsonville workers re-taught the labor movement some old lessons about building support from college campuses, across state and union lines, and in the Latino community. This tried-and-true strategy gave them the strength to hold out.

Latinas in the service and food industries are also earning a reputation for being warriors against concessions.

Chicanas and Mexicanas at Mission Foods tortilla factory in Richmond, California struck against a proposed 30% wage cut in 1984. That same year, Latinos at Bruno's restaurant in San Francisco, many of them women, joined in a high-spirited strike against givebacks. The Mission Foods strikers joined mass rallies on behalf of the Bruno strikers.

And in January 1985, Latina housekeeping and laundry workers walked off their jobs at the Holiday Inn in Burbank, California over wage cuts, increased workloads, and racist treatment.

Chicanas and Latinas play a vital role in union reform movements. For many years, District 1199 of the Hospital and Health Care Employees Union, composed primarily of Black and Latina women, had an unsurpassed record of militancy, union democracy, and progressive stands on social issues. But a corrupt union leadership, headed by President Doris Turner, changed all that, and her high-handed ways got her in trouble with the rank and file.

In May 1986, in a hotly contested election, Turner was voted out of office by the Save Our Union Coalition. The large turnout by Latinos was the crucial factor in her ouster; she had run afoul of them when she

Committee (FLOC) in Ohio won a three-way contract-negotiating agreement among small farmers, the Campbell Soup Company, and the union. FLOC demanded that Campbell be a part of the contract process because it sets the price for produce and dictates the method of harvesting it. In November 1986, the Heinz Company followed suit and agreed to negotiate a similar contract.

Not only farmworkers hold out for unionization. In 1981, 400 mostly Black and Latino female service and maintenance workers at the Hyatt Regency in New Orleans voted to join the Service Employees International Union. Management fired the pro-unionists and contested the election all the way to the Supreme Court, where the union won. These workers are still fighting for their first contract.

While union officials moan about givebacks and the loss of members, Chicanos and Latinos have been organizing unions, fiercely resisting concessions, and breathing new life into democratic, militant, class struggle unionism.

They have not always won, but they are showing how future victories will be scored.

Chicano Internationalism and the Stalinists

U.S. imperialism aims to stop the spread of revolution in Latin America, but its nefarious deeds have a directly opposite effect.

By supporting maniacal dictators, the U.S. government creates political refugees who disseminate revolutionary ideas and sentiments throughout the Americas.

The debt squeeze, moreover, forces millions of others to leave their homes in search of work, and many of them end up in the U.S., documented or undocumented, becoming an integral part of the working class and of political movements in this country. These workers link up with Chicanos, who by and large belong to the same class and with whom they share a common heritage

and a common enemy—U.S. capitalism, the exploiter of brown-skinned people in North, Central, and South America.

In this way does the process of Permanent Revolution in the Western Hemisphere continue to foment, infuriating the imperialists.

Because of their intrinsic link

with the Latin American revolution, Chicanos are a leading force in the antiwar and sanctuary movements. At a 1984 commemoration of the Chicano moratorium against the war in Vietnam, Andrea Carmen of La Raza Unida Party succinctly expressed the connection:

What the people of El

Salvador and Nicaragua are fighting for are the same things which we here want for our communities... We will not send our brothers and sons to fight and kill people who look like us and speak like us in Central America!

Natural affinity between the continents, however, is as always sabotaged by the Stalinists, who never link up the war drive to the

need for revolution in this country. Overimpressed with the power, status, and wealth of the Catholic Church and the Democrats, the Communist Party and its fellow and sister travelers drastically tailor their words and actions to suit these foes of revolution.

In the process, the struggle for the Latin American revolution and for Chicano rights in North America become subsumed under

and secondary to such derivative issues as "peace," "friendship," "sanctuary," "cultural exchange," etc., etc., etc.

A good example of Stalinist closet-radicalism is the role of El Centro de la Raza in Seattle's antiwar movement.

An ex-schoolhouse occupied and transformed by Chicanos into a community center in the 1970s, El Centro in its early days was a magnet for Chicano activists and their supporters. Today, except for the social services it provides, El Centro's attention focuses on support to the Nicaraguan government and the local Democrat Party machine.

El Centro's neo-Stalinist leaders vehemently oppose broadening the peace movement beyond cheerleading for Sandinistas and inducing Democrats to approve innocuous "sister city" programs with Managua. Convinced that revolution in this country is unlikely, the Centro leadership is a prime impediment to radicalizing the antiwar forces. In classic middle caste fashion, they care far more for the esteem of politicians, liberals, priests, and preachers than for the welfare of the movement and of radicals.

Hence, they try to maintain bureaucratic control over the movement so that their buddies will be spared embarrassment from unseemly calls for revolution here or anywhere.

By attempting to hermetically seal the antiwar movement from "extraneous" issues, the Stalinists sabotage everybody's struggle. Their highfalutin' internationalism is a downright fake, running counter to the true meaning of international solidarity, which consists of reciprocal support and combined struggle—not one-way endorsements and everlasting postponement of your turn to take up the cudgels against your own oppressor.

Together With Others

Many Chicano activists display a rare quality in these times of intense intergroup rivalry: they work cooperatively with a wide diversity of groups around an even greater diversity of topics.

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Chicanos, Mexicanos, Puertorriqueños, and other Latino workers have held out and held on when others gave up. They have earned a richly deserved reputation for being at the forefront of labor struggles in the fields, mines, restaurants and hotels, canneries, and the garment industry.

published new bylaws in English, rammed through their adoption, and only afterwards published them in Spanish!

In the contest for hanging on through thick and thin during organizing drives, Chicano workers walk away with first prize.

In February 1986, after a six-year strike, the Farm Labor Organizing

Whether the issue is police brutality, racist violence, lesbian/gay rights, abortion, South Africa, Native American sovereignty, civil liberties, job discrimination, or prisoners' rights, some Chicanos are always there.

Chicanos and Latinos are movers and shakers among lesbians/gays of color. Over the years, they have led in organizing numerous national conferences which bring this strata together for discussion and action. Comrade Yolanda Alaniz writes of such a meeting held in November 1986 in Los Angeles:

There is an untapped resource of energy and an abundance of radicalism among lesbians and gays of color. They want to talk ideas and politics because they know this system is at a dead end and want to change it. They just don't know how. What they need is help in terms of program and leadership, and they will rise to meet the occasion.

This kind of intergroup and interracial solidarity is replicated in many spheres of activity.

In Texas, Chicanas work with Native American women in *Artistas Indigenas*—a political/art group which promotes their cultural heritage.

In Seattle, the Committee to Defend Immigrant and Refugee Rights was one of the earliest endorsers of the FSP's four-year legal battle to protect our membership lists and internal documents from court scrutiny. The important Freeway Hall civil liberties case has wide ramifications for the Committee and all other groups working with undocumented refugees.

In Dallas, Blacks and Chicanos joined forces in 1984 because of police use of deadly force against suspects. That same year found Black and Chicano families on the west and southwest sides of Chicago fire-bombed and stoned by whites, and the Coalition Against Racist Attacks was formed to combat this terrorism.

The list of such exemplary, cooperative efforts is long.

Viva la Raza

The mighty Chicano power surge of the '60s and '70s is not forgotten. It is sorely missed, and will be resurrected on an even higher level.

By putting on the front burner the major subjects affecting Chicanos—immigrant labor, unionization and union-busting, affirmative action, bilingualism, education, war in Central America, racism, sexism, homophobia—the movement will become a battering ram against the right wing.

Experience, consciousness, and a tradition of spirited insurgency have molded La Raza for a vanguard role, and we can confidently anticipate the emergence of Chicano leadership more than equal to the historic task of forging a revitalized nationwide movement for the liberation of all.

We look especially for the rising of the women to spur the rising of La Raza. Chicanas are the proud descendants of a long line of female warriors stretching back through history to the Mexican Revolution and beyond.

Native Americans and the Everlasting Warpath

More than a decade has passed since the Justice Department rolled armored personnel carriers onto the Oglala Sioux reservation at Pine Ridge, South Dakota to dislodge American Indian Movement members who were occupying the town of Wounded Knee in a revolt against their corrupt tribal officials and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

That memorable confrontation is still fresh in the minds of Indian activists who have conducted a 10-year campaign to free Leonard Peltier, framed for the 1975 murder of two FBI agents at Pine Ridge.

Countless defense committees have been built for other AIM militants imprisoned, under indictment or hounded by cops and courts for participating in the occupation. Dennis Banks, Kamook Banks, Dino Butler, Robert Robideau, James Theodore Eagle, Ted Means, Lorelei Means, Madonna Gilbert, Leonard Crow Dog, Russell Redner and Russell Means are just a few of the many who languished in prison as a result of the three-year roundup that followed Wounded Knee.

Altogether, federal officials made

562 arrests.

The memory of the Wounded Knee uprising also haunts Washington, D.C. The government's ruthless suppression of the occupation aroused the wrath of world opinion, galvanized the international struggle for indigenous rights and sparked a

The memory of the Wounded Knee uprising haunts Washington, D.C. The government's ruthless suppression of the occupation aroused the wrath of world opinion, galvanized the international struggle for indigenous rights and sparked a Native American solidarity movement stretching from the U.S. to Europe and Australia.

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Wounded Knee lives on today as a symbol of Indian defiance against the great white chiefs, a warning to them of the cost of running roughshod over Native American rights. And the shadow of Wounded Knee has been cast over the country once again since Congress made plans to move 10,000 Diné (Navajos) off their traditional homeland at Big Mountain, Arizona.

Big Mountain Women

Sioux and AIM women were deeply involved in the Wounded Knee occupation in 1973.

They organized picket lines and demonstrations, raised money, and smuggled food, supplies and ammunition right through the lines of armed marshals. They nursed the wounded, they cooked, and they carried guns.

But the AIM men did most of the talking. And men are usually the only ones referred to as Wounded Knee warriors. At Big Mountain, however, Diné women, many of them mothers and grandmothers, were doing the talking. And what they said had the resounding ring of defiance.

The women told the world they were not going to move off their land just so that Kerr-McGee, Exxon, and Peabody Coal could get richer from the natural deposits under the soil. The women said they didn't accept

the authority of the Hopi and Navajo tribal councils or the government, who all colluded to strip them of their land, culture, and religion.

The Diné and Hopi people are sovereign nations, they insisted, standing together against forced relocation.

Big Mountain was shaping up to be a repeat of Wounded Knee—but with the difference that women were the guiding force. They were doing the talking now as well as carrying the guns, a point not lost on Congress as the July 7, 1986 deadline neared for removing the Diné from land jointly controlled by the

Hopi and Navajo tribal councils.

Given the valor of the Dine women and the impressive national network of Big Mountain support groups, a confrontation wasn't necessary. Congress decided to "study" anew the feasibility of relocation. And if efforts are successful to repeal Public Law 93-531, which mandated the removal of the Diné, no showdown may occur.

In the meantime, a renewed sense of pride and combativeness has been instilled in the Indian movement, especially among women. Dauntless organizers like Dee Johnson of Seattle are the backbone of the Big Mountain support network, and together with the Diné women they have left an indelible mark on the Indian movement.

These heroines are not the first women to lead Indian nations in struggle.

Janet McCloud, with the stalwart encouragement of her late husband Don, was at the forefront of the historic battle for fishing rights on the riverbanks of Washington state in the early '70s.

In 1976, Ramona Bennett, Puyallup Tribe chairperson, led an armed takeover and occupation of the huge Cascadia Juvenile Reception and Diagnostic Center in Tacoma, Washington. The state had refused to recognize the Puyallups' treaty rights to the land on which the center was situated; the tribe quickly won control and reorganization of Cascadia as a result of its daring, dramatic, and beautifully organized coup. (See *FS*, Fall 1976 issue.)

In November, 1987, Bennett hit the press again when she publicly protested being fired from an Indian agency by the top Indian woman executive, a conservative bureaucrat and red-baiter.

This breed of unflinching front-runners must summon energy for an uphill drive against super-machoists in the movement. Some women, weary of the constant underestimation and denigration of their contributions, have left the movement, while others gave up fighting for leadership and joined the attacks on white feminists, as if the latter were the source of the division between Native American women and men.

Now, however, fresh leadership is emerging from new quarters—seasoned fighters like Diné elders Roberta Blackgoat and Katherine Smith, Alaskan Native Dee Johnson, and Yakimas Myra Sohappay, Hazel Umtuch, and Lavina Washines as well as young women like Debra O'Gara of FSP, poet Dian Million, and those associated with Northwest Indian Women's Circle and Women of All Red Nations.

About the Authors

Guerry Hodderson, FSP National Secretary, and **Clara Fraser**, FSP National Chair, represent two generations of socialist feminist thinkers and builders.

Guerry Hodderson's radical instincts first found expression in the Black civil rights struggle and the Berkeley Free Speech and anti-Vietnam War movements. In the early '70s, she became one of the first women in Seattle to enter non-traditional trades as a truck driver. Her spirited leadership and intransigent, principled politics have earned her great respect in all the social movements. She is an initiator of the emerging U.S. mobilization

against neo-Nazis and was an FSP delegate to the March 1989 European Open Conference of Trotskyists in Rimini, Italy.

Clara Fraser spent 20 active years in the Socialist Workers Party. In 1966, after the SWP's orientation to the labor aristocracy had congealed into terminal op-



Clara Fraser and Guerry Hodderson

portunism and bureaucratism, she led in founding the Freedom Socialist Party—the world's first feminist Trotskyist party. Fraser was the victor in a celebrated, eight-year-long, groundbreaking suit against Seattle City Light on the grounds of political and sex discrimination. She has authored numerous theoretical works, teaches Marxist economics, and is a featured columnist for the *Freedom Socialist*.

Both Hodderson and Fraser are defendants and key legal strategists in the Freeway Hall Case.

The two produced this document during an intensive, five-

month retreat, where every waking hour was spent examining and recording the faltering vital signs of world capitalism and the vibrant health of revolutionary and democratic struggles around the globe. Their scholarship and firm optimism in the socialist future shine through on every page of this work.

These courageous speakers, organizers, and writers are the wave of the future; for sovereignty to be won, Indian women like them must be an integral part of the leadership.

There are still battles to be fought over sexism and homophobia in the Indian movement, as in all social justice circles. But women will emerge victorious; it is their destiny because it is their history.

The fight for native sovereignty is a revolutionary struggle which challenges every precept on which capitalism is founded: the sacred right of private property, male supremacy, white dominance, class rule. The sovereignty struggle cannot be led by anybody who adheres to these bourgeois articles of faith, which deflect the movement from hurling its basic and ultimate challenges. And no one understands this truth better than Indian women.

The native woman has withstood 400 years of genocide against her people and diminution of the high place accorded her sex in traditional Indian society. Native American women and their nations will rise together to reclaim their rightful place.

The Lost Leader

Wounded Knee left its scars on the Indian movement.

Government hounding and harassment of the movement, especially AIM, was intense after the occupation. And subsequent defeats and setbacks caused the retreat into cultural nationalism of leaders like Russell Means. The concept that race unity supersedes class allegiance, and that "my" race is superior to all others, soon led to an obsession with spiritualism and then a scurrilous political attack on white radicals.

In 1980, Means delivered a blistering diatribe against Marxism at the Black Hills International Survival Gathering in South Dakota. In an ignorant and absurd speech titled "Fighting Words on the Future of the Earth," he castigated Marxism as a European doctrine which despised Indian spiritual traditions and culture and advocated sacrificing Indian homelands. Capitalism, he opined, was preferable to socialism because it only exploited the earth for profit whereas Marxists exploited to be "efficient," and so on and so forth.

Very few Marxists answered Means; cowed by his white guilt-tripping and red-baiting, or opportunistically hoping to avoid argument with AIM, they were disgracefully silent. So were many Indian leaders who had worked warmly for many years with radicals.

The FSP alone responded emphatically. In the Spring 1981 *Freedom Socialist*, we said:

The great dividing line in capitalist America is not between "spiritual" Indian and "anti-spiritual" European-Marxists, or between Indians and Europeans.

The real battle line lies between capitalists (of all colors) and the oppressed (of all colors).

By adopting the reactionary, cultural-nationalist line that secondary, "porkchop" traditions are more important than class issues, and that everything Indian is good and everything European is bad, Means seriously deflects his struggle away from the corporations and the gov-

ernment, and opens fire instead on his actual and natural allies, the radicals.

...The warrior is weary and scornful—even of his own leadership. So he bitterly lashes out at Marxists and Europeans as conventional scapegoats for his problems. Blinded by all-too-commonplace prejudices, and mistaken in his theoretical and historical analysis, he reaches a philosophical, political and spiritual blind alley.

Prophetic words, all too soon proven correct as Means became a tool of the State Department and the right wing in his opposition to the Nicaraguan revolution and eventually joined the rightist Libertarian Party (which rejected his bid to be their presidential nominee).

Nicaragua Nightmare

The Sandinista revolution in 1979 spurred the hopes and dreams of Indians all throughout the Americas.

Here was a daring, insurgent government committed to freeing the downtrodden from the iron heel of oppression. Surely it would grant autonomy to the indigenous peoples.

But the Stalinistic Sandinistas did just the opposite: they refused to recognize the nationhood, and consequent right to self-determination, of the Atlantic Coast Indians. And they proceeded to turn potentially great allies and friends into bitter enemies.

Right from the start, the Sandinistas committed stupid, arrogant, and inexcusable blunders in their relations with the Miskito, Rama, and Suma Indians. The government refused to recognize Indian leaders and organizations. Then it imposed a literacy program in Spanish, and Indian languages were included only after intense protest and pressure. Then in 1981, two years after the revolution, 33 Indian leaders were arrested and 10,000 Indians forcibly removed from their homelands.

Though Managua has since made an effort to correct this disastrous course, animosity and fighting continue to this day. And the White House and State Department still exploit the mistreatment of the Natives (treatment which the U.S. often exaggerates or fabricates) as their most convincing propaganda tool against the revolution.

A wonderful opportunity was lost to win 25 million Indians in the Western Hemisphere to revolutionary socialism. Instead the anti-communists have a heyday as self-righteous advocates of Indian rights.

Means Tours for Moonies

In early 1986, Russell Means and

Northwest Indian leader Hank Adams visited Nicaragua at the invitation of MISURASATA, a Nicaraguan Indian organization engaged in a guerrilla war with the Sandinistas and negotiating with them for autonomy.

When Means and Adams returned to the States, Means promptly went on a national speaking tour sponsored by a religious group associated with Sun Myung Moon, the rightwing Korean demagogue with a large following of brainwashed teenagers in the U.S.

Means' message was simple: godless, anti-spiritual communism in Nicaragua was committing untold atrocities against the Atlantic Coast Indians.

His talks sounded like State De-

rights. Appearing bored and disdainful of the whole proceeding, he called for an alliance between the Indian nations and the U.S. government to stop the tide of communism in Central America.

When asked in discussion to explain his support for the Navajo tribal council, he scornfully dismissed the Diné struggle, saying the Hopis and Navajos had a long history of animosity.

The Means saga had run its dreary course. This Wounded Knee hero started out in the early '70s as an uncompromising opponent of the feds and as an eloquent spokesperson for Indians. Ten years later, he was launching tirades against Reds, signalling to the powers that be that he was ready to make a deal and join

forces against the Left. By 1986, Means was little more than a pathetic mouthpiece for the very forces he started out to oppose—forces which all good use of demoralized former militants and carve out great media coverage for them. By 1987, his association with the Libertarians drew little more than a yawn from the media.

Means is not the first to traverse the path of the renegade, and he won't be the last. But there is a lesson inherent in his degeneration that is worth re-learning: the trajectory from red-baiting to collusion with the enemy is short and swift.

AIM's Inexplicable Zigzag

While Means was traversing his shabby course, other people in AIM were attracted to the Sandinista revolution or heavily influenced by the Stalinists.

Without ever disavowing or answering Means' 1980 denunciation of Marxists, leading figures like Vernon Bellecourt made an unexplained zigzag and conferred totally uncritical support to the Sandinistas—many of whom are Marxists, but whose Indian policy was indefensible for Marxists.

AIM's refusal or inability to explain this sudden shift confused many people. Should one believe Russell Means—who said the Sandinistas were murdering and torturing innocent women and children—or believe Bellecourt—who said vast progress was being made in Sandinista-Indian relations and called Miskito leaders CIA agents.

In the confusion, charges flew that this or that Indian group was CIA-funded. Some certainly were. Nonetheless, the desire for autonomy of the Atlantic Coast Indians, and their clear right to it, were obvious. But Bellecourt had little to say on this score, except for a meritless complaint that the Indians displayed poor timing in raising their demands while the Sandinistas were fighting the contra war.

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Portrait of Diné elder Katherine Smith, by Carolyn Brooks.



Confusion still abounds in the Indian movement with regard to the revolution in Nicaragua, because both Means and Bellecourt are mistaken, albeit in different ways.

Means says Nicaraguan Indians should ally themselves with any group—contras, the CIA, Congress, rightwing millionaires—willing to give them money and guns to fight the Sandinistas. According to Means, the native struggle for self-determination has nothing in common with the life-and-death struggle of Nicaraguan mestizo peasants and workers against imperialist domination. Therefore, alliances with the mestizos' enemies are OK as long as they force the Sandinistas to recognize Indian autonomy.

But the Yanks and the contras, etc. are also the enemies of Indian nations. Should the contras succeed in overthrowing the Sandinistas tomorrow, they would smash the Indian nations the day after that. Contras are simply soldier robots for the moguls who want to keep Nicaraguan natural resources and labor inside the imperialist orbit.

Bellecourt says the Sandinistas are on the side of the oppressed in Nicaragua, despite their mistakes with the Indians, and face overthrow by imperialism. To criticize the Sandinistas in any way, therefore, is to cross class lines and abet the enemies of the revolution.

The FSP proffers a third course, a policy that was eloquently and powerfully expressed by Comrade Yolanda Alaniz at a noteworthy October 1985 Seattle FSP forum, "The Indian-Sandinista War in Nicaragua." Yolanda and Vernon Bellecourt shared the podium. Alaniz said that the Sandinistas do stand with the workers and peasants against imperialist enslavement, so we unconditionally defend the revolution. But we do not unconditionally endorse *everything it does*.

Unlike other Left groups, we accept our obligation to criticize the Sandinistas when they act in a fashion that threatens their own revolution!

And provoking the Indians to pick up guns by denying them autonomy deeply hurt the revolution, opening the door to counterrevolutionary sentiments among worldwide supporters of Indian rights to self-determination.

Addressing the large forum audience in Seattle, Alaniz asked, "Who among you would not pick up guns and defend your rights if you felt there was no other alternative?"

As we wrote in the Volume 9, Number 3, 1986 issue of the *FS*:

Lenin left no doubt that it was up to workers of the oppressor nations to prove their dedication to the principles of liberation even to the point of allowing the oppressed nations to secede and set up their own state. If the workers of the larger state remained the perpetrators of national oppression after the revolution, the responsibility was theirs for the inevitable reaction against the revolution.

FSP criticizes the Sandinistas in hopes that they will change course and strengthen the revolution. Until radicals like Bellecourt do the same, AIM will continue to sow chaos in the movement it purports to lead.

Fourth World Advocates

In the split among U.S. Indians over Nicaragua, a third group emerged known as the espousers of the Fourth World.

They maintain that the indigenous nations of the world are a totally distinct and separate economic and political strata, outside the contentious forces of capitalism and socialism, and different from the colonies and underdeveloped countries of the Third World. They advocate Indian self-determination and a return to their traditional economies and cultures. This is where Russell Means started out.

Teacher and writer Ward Churchill also belongs to this school of thought, but he brilliantly exposed the inaccuracies and lies propounded by Sandinista apologist and academician Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, who had been a notorious and eccentric radical feminist in the flaming '60s. She maintains that Nicaraguan Indians are not nations because, among other reasons, many belong to the Moravian Church!

Nevertheless, the Fourth World view that Indian nations can establish insular societies completely dissociated from the dominant world

In four hundred years of colonization, the U.S. has never once granted the Indian nations inside its own borders the right to control their destiny. The White House and Congress will hardly encourage this democratic process in Nicaragua.

Tomorrow and Tomorrow

From the most northern reaches of Canada to the southernmost tip of South America, Indian nations striving for recognition and self-determination are involved in a ceaseless clash.

In the U.S., Indian nations regularly square off against the mightiest ruling class ever to afflict the human race. The towering righteousness of their cause elicits wide sympathy and will draw Indians and the working class together in a joint venture for universal social justice.

system is utopian and dangerous. Indians are not Gypsies or Doukibours or nudists—they make up *nations* and they need a vast land base. Capitalism will never relinquish its domination over them, for that means giving up control of rich land and natural resources capitalism needs for *its* survival and plundering.

Revolutions against imperialism and capitalism, furthermore, must be endorsed by indigenous nations in order to succeed. The Sandinistas learned that lesson and have altered their policy noticeably since 1981.

By equating socialism and capitalism as enemies of native people, the Fourth Worlders are embarked on a perilous course. Said the *Freedom Socialist* in 1981, "...to make identities out of differences and buddies out of mortal enemies...can spell disaster."

The debate about Nicaragua is far from finished in the Indian movement and the Left. The FSP maintains unconditional support for the Sandinistas against imperialism and counterrevolution while simultaneously urging the Sandinistas to recognize the right to autonomy of the Atlantic Coast Indians. For this principled stand, we have been called contra-socialists by some radicals and betrayers of the revolution by others.

But we have also won the respect of many Indian activists who know instinctively that a U.S.-backed counterrevolution in Nicaragua will hardly further the cause of Indian self-determination in the Americas.

Arrayed against them are multinational corporations, bourgeois democracies which trample on rights, dictatorships and juntas.

Yet the Native peoples battle on, a seminal component of the revolutionary process in the western hemisphere.

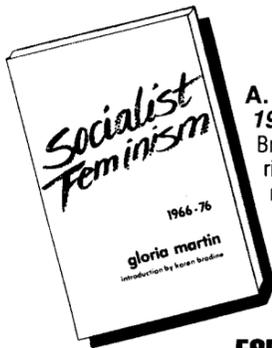
In the U.S., Indian nations regularly square off against the mightiest ruling class ever to afflict the human race. And they often win! They wrest fishing and land rights and dollar settlements from the colossus that dominates the world—an extraordinary feat for people burdened by centuries of genocide.

Fortitude and spirit and determination are their weapons of war, attributes that illuminate the reason for their becoming an integral part of revolutionary struggles in Guatemala, Bolivia, and Peru.

The towering righteousness of their cause elicits wide popular sympathy and will once again draw Indians and the working class together in a joint venture for universal social justice.

Self-determination in a socialist context and a socialist world: that is the synthesis of the traditional ways, the contemporary reality, and the shape of the tomorrows to come. For socialism, after all, is nothing more or less than the "revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient matriarchal clans," as Lewis H. Morgan, the great American anthropologist, recognized and revealed in the year 1877.

Socialist Feminism— LIVE from our BOOKSTORE!



A. *Socialist Feminism: The First Decade, 1966-76*, by Gloria Martin; introduction by Karen Brodine. An inspiring chronicle of a very happy marriage of ideologies which shows how socialist feminists build and sustain a movement and a party from the streets to the legislature, from lecture halls to courtrooms. \$8.95

FSP Convention Documents

- B. "Towards the '90s: Approaching the Final Conflict,"** by Guerry Hoddersen and Clara Fraser. An exhilarating trip around a world on the verge of revolutionary explosions. **\$8.00**
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NEXT INSTALLMENT

In the third and last installment of "Towards the '90s," the authors continue to investigate the U.S. social movements. They show how the feminist movement survived the rumors about its early demise and how it has been galvanized by the threat to abortion rights. They give the lesbian/gay movement high marks for responding with resiliency and tenacity to feverish rightwing attacks and analyze its radical/reformist split.

Hoddersen and Fraser also discuss the fights for democracy and left politics in the antiwar/antinuke campaigns and evaluate the state of human rights and civil liberties in the "land of the free."

Flowing from their analysis of the domestic and international scene is the authors' assessment of the tasks and perspectives facing the FSP in the '90s. They urge the strengthening of the party and its sister organization, Radical Women, through intensive theoretical education and recruitment. Other priorities include winning the Freeway Hall Case, sending delegates to Nicaragua, running candidates for public office, building a dynamic antiwar movement, working toward a U.S. labor party, and launching a united front against reaction.

The resolution concludes by affirming the necessity and feasibility of socialist revolution in the USA and across the globe.