



**Gay rights is a life-or-death issue for Steve Farmer**

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**U.S. radical reports on Cuba's fight to break Yankee stranglehold**  
(En español y en inglés)

Centerfold

# The Freedom Socialist

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

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## Nationalize healthcare under workers' control!

Clinton plan protects profits by rationing services

BY LINDA AVERILL AND SUSAN WILLIAMS, M.D.

**T**he Democrats tell us they'll fix the crisis-racked healthcare system. But a close look at their plan, managed competition, proves this is just another empty promise.

The D.C. elite wants to pretend the problem is limited to high costs and the lack of coverage for 37 million people. But that's only a small part of what's wrong.

Today a Rockefeller can walk into a U.S. hospital and buy the best medical care available anywhere. Yet a boy growing up in Harlem has less chance of surviving to old age than a boy in Bangladesh.

The healthcare racket, like every other cog in the capitalist machine, profits from human loss. And it is fundamentally biased against the categories of people who already have to work twice as hard, and put up with twice as much, to survive. The world's richest country is home to one of the most inequitable distributions of medical care in existence.

The solution is to **take the profits out.**

**Free Enterprise is making us sick!**

For the last decade, Democrats and Republicans have tried to cure their terminally ill profit system by deregulating everything, busting unions, and axing needed services. Their efforts have produced an epidemic of severe health problems, from on-the-job injuries to contaminated-water-supply poisonings and teen suicides.

The healthcare business is booming. Prices climb three to four times faster than inflation. While more people need healthcare, fewer can afford it, and the U.S. remains one of only two industrialized countries — the other is South Africa — with no national health plan.

Public anger has now forced the government to take action.

**Managed care: profits before people.**

The scheme Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton are devising behind closed doors continues the pampering of big business. It organizes everyone into Health Insurance Purchasing Cooperatives that, theoretically, would reduce costs by giving clout to big blocs of consumers and

increasing competition among providers.

The sketchiest part of managed care is where money would come from to pay for its expanded coverage. The likeliest candidates are painfully familiar: higher taxes on workers, including steeper "sin taxes" on cigarettes and alcohol.

States that have adopted managed care, like Oregon, show what's in store. In March, Oregon received an administration waiver allowing it to restrict Medicaid treatment to a list of 568 procedures. The state will add 120,000 uninsured people to Medicaid by restricting care for all. Among the 120 services not covered are certain therapies for cancer and AIDS and remedies for chronic back pain.

The philosophy of managed compe-



A coalition of labor unions rallying at New York City Hall for universal health insurance coverage.

tition is that healthcare should be universal (nearly), but not equal. It would preserve industry megabucks by rationing care and harden-

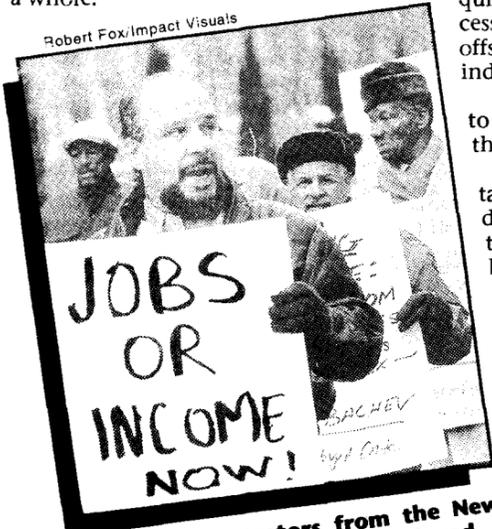
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## Right old wrongs with a labor counteroffensive

BY ANDREA BAUER

**H**ow much betrayal by Bill Clinton will it take before top labor leaders stir themselves into action on behalf of workers?

The rank and file shouldn't hold their breaths waiting for the answer. It's their action that can start to shake some changes out of labor officialdom and the system as a whole.



Jobless demonstrators from the New York Committee of the Unemployed.

**Clinton: no break with the chilly past.**

The Reagan-Bush years left a big legacy of anti-labor legislation and policy. Although Clinton came to power by promising working people a better deal, his actual intention all along was to mire workers in self-defeating "labor-management cooperation," much touted by new Labor Secretary Robert Reich.

This supposed "win-win" approach requires unions to make tremendous concessions — accepting pay cuts, mass layoffs, etc. — in the interest of increasing industry competitiveness.

In other words, it encourages workers to see their bosses' enemies, rather than their bosses, as their enemy.

Labor-management cooperation certainly did the trick for Clinton the candidate. His largest campaign contributor was big business, at \$13.7 million, but unions were a close second.

Desperate to retain their precarious role as the mediator between labor's ranks and the employers and government, trade union bureaucrats are by and large signing on to Clinton's agenda of worker sacrifice. The AFL-CIO is abandoning important elements of its position on every major issue, from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to health-

care. They have gone so far as to support Clinton's economic plan, which includes items like an

across-the-board 1994 pay freeze for federal workers!

**A pro-worker program.** Does the labor officialdom's unrequited love affair with Clinton mean that workers must suffer the setbacks of the '80s forevermore? No! Labor's muscle lies where it always has — in the ranks, especially among those who are worst paid and most discriminated against. They have the power to force union leaders and elected Democrats to take the offensive for workers' rights — or be replaced.

What follows are some of the demands that the rank and file must not let languish; they can be put in the form of resolutions, passed by local unions, and then taken to the internationals for consideration, adoption, and implementation.

• **Jobs — no cuts!** The positions we have should be protected and new ones must be created. No more plant closures and run-away shops. Make the bosses pay for too few jobs by instituting a 30-hour work week with no cut in pay.

• **Nationalize healthcare.** The only new system that can resolve the crisis is one that eliminates insurance companies and does away with private profits in the whole medical industry. (Please see article above.)

• **Not any NAFTA.** The AFL-CIO says "Not this NAFTA." But whether the capitalists call it "free trade" or "fair trade," the game's exactly the same — improve corporate profits at the expense of workers and the environment.

• **Anti-scab legislation — pass it!** Clinton has pledged to sign a law banning

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### Labor party

Your article on the need to get serious about a labor party (Vol. 14 #1) was right on. At a rally [protesting privatization of state workers' jobs] a *Daily Olympian* reporter interviewed me, and I told him that we need to stop putting faith in the Democrats and build our own labor party.

Sure didn't find *that* in the paper! Didn't see any pictures of the Freedom Socialist Party's "labor party" signs either. We need to break through the "media barrier" and get the message to the people *by any means possible!*

You should monitor talk shows and get into them. Lots of people listen to them. Reach out.

Thanks again to FSPers who participated in the rally!

**Dave Zink**  
Field Investigator  
Department of Ecology  
Olympia, Washington

### Working for change

Enclosed is \$10.00 for a one-year regular subscription for two people.

I am sorry [it's not more] but we are "regular" victims of capitalism. As volunteers there is no time to work for the blessed dollar. We still search for sources to support our efforts of change. There is always light enough to see the way. The words of FSP supporters free me.

**Mary J. Roderick**  
Columbia, South Carolina

### Sub Ideas

The *Freedom Socialist* is a publication whose time has come. What you need most is to increase membership. In every publication, have a coupon for people to send in names and addresses of friends. On your subscription renewal, have a section for people to send in at least three names and addresses. Then send those people a free FS.

## Letters

You must break down the stigma against your organization by developing a wider base and involving more people.

The people in this country want change. It's in the air!  
**Olivia Newbury**  
San Clemente, California

*Thank you for your marvelous ideas. You're just the kind of friend the FS needs to realize its full potential. Please note our use of your suggestions in the subscription ad on this page. —Ed.*

### Waco bombing

A terrible thing has happened in Texas, and if it's any measure of Bill Clinton's competence, our prospects are gloomy indeed.

The children were the key to this atrocity. Without them the Davidians were a gang, but with them they were a family. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms conducted an armed assault upon that family. To this day, it's uncertain what provoked the assault, but the government must have had innumerable options for dealing with the provocation. The government, by its own action (armed assault), rendered the most viable option (doing nothing to ensure the children's safety) inviable. Revenge for four slain agents took precedence over the safety of 17 children.

Janet Reno states that the President could have just said *no*, but unfortunately, Bill Clinton believes that his ass is covered as long as he doesn't inhale.

She then tells the nation that she made the decision and unequivocally assumes responsibility for it. This is an unacceptable deception because she simultaneously acknowledged that she made not one move without the President's approval.

*By notifying the president and proceeding with his approval, Janet Reno abdicated her responsibility to the president, who acknowledged and accepted it.*

If Reno were truly responsible, the children's deaths should have elicited her immediate resignation. Failure to do this is tacit admission that she wasn't responsible.

By participating in this deception, Clinton has committed an act of cowardice unprecedented in the checkered history of American politics.

**David A. Olson**  
Seattle, Washington

### Political workers unite!

Readers of the *Freedom Socialist* will notice a fresh addition this time — a second union bug.

Political Staff Workers Union represents workers for the Freedom Socialist Party, Radical Women, and community groups with anti-capitalist objectives. PSWU members do everything from writing to administration to cooking.

We've just chosen a new slate of officers and are about to negotiate our second contract.

Our contract is geared to serve members' on-the-job interests and to be a model for labor-management relations in other social-issue groups. Its principles of anti-discrimination and member involvement would work toward enfranchising women, people of color, and gays in any union.

We new officers intend to build relations with other labor organizations and, at the workplace, strengthen staff access to training and regular performance review. If you'd like more information, write us at New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Avenue South, Seattle, WA 98118.

**Luma Nichol, President**  
PSWU Local 1, Seattle

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

## ...Labor

### from the cover

the hiring of "permanent replacements" during strikes, a measure that was killed by a Republican filibuster in the Senate in 1992. But he must make sure the bill comes to him without pro-business compromises such as last year's Packwood/AFL-CIO amendment, which would have forced workers to accept arbitration as the price of protection from scabs.

• **Repeal all the anti-labor laws.** For starters: "right-to-work" laws, (including the one in Clinton's home state, Arkansas); the ban on picketing construction sites; Taft-Hartley, with its mandatory, strike-busting 80-day "cooling off" period; Landrum-Griffith, which prohibits secondary boycotts; and the Hatch Act, which strips more than three million federal and postal employees of the right to participate in political activities.

• **Extend unemployment compensation to strikers and farm-workers.**

• **Strengthen affirmative action and anti-discrimination laws.**

• **Defend and expand the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act).** Replace National Labor Relations Board members

who are hostile to labor with sympathetic officials.

Broaden the Wagner Act to safeguard the jobs of *all* striking workers, not just those on strike over union recognition.

Defend the NLRB ruling that labor-management cooperation programs are de facto company unions and hence illegal. The NLRB made a good call here; labor should take this recent precedent and run with it.

• **Increase on-the-job safety.** Pass the OSHA reform now before Congress — it would give workers more of a voice in safety matters, including the right to refuse hazardous work, and would treat safety violators more harshly.

**A labor party to achieve labor's aims.** The battle to make current laws labor-friendly is an uphill one. The new president's Democratic affiliation doesn't change that a bit. But a labor movement that's willing to push its own leadership, and push hard, *can* score meaningful successes.

But to really redress the wrongs done to labor in the '80s — as well as the decades before! — is going to take a *labor party*. The bosses have two parties; workers deserve and need one of their own. The formation of such a party will be *the* labor issue of the 1990s. □

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# Sandy Nelson: rebel journalist with a cause

## Noted free speech veterans go to bat for reporter rights

BY LINDA AVERILL

At a regional National Lawyers Guild Conference held in Seattle, Washington in May, socialist Sandy Nelson and three leading civil rights attorneys used a workshop on "Defending Journalists' Rights to Off-Duty Activism" as a practical brainstorming session on winning Nelson's case against her employer, the daily Tacoma *Morning News Tribune*.

Jim Coley

reporting and will soon file a complaint in the Superior Court of Washington for Pierce County.

Constitutional champion Kinoy helped workshop participants see the case's national importance by comparing it to some of the pivotal battles he himself has waged. During the '50s, Kinoy was an outspoken opponent of McCarthyism. In the '60s he defended activists campaigning for voting rights in the deep South, and in the '70s he won a U.S. Supreme Court ruling against government wiretapping of anti-war protesters.

Kinoy described Nelson's case as one that could stem a new McCarthyite tide. He advocated supporting the case through demonstrations, class-action legal intervention, and aggressive outreach to feminist, African American, gay, and other social-change groups.

Art Joyner, a former Equal Employment Opportunity Commission attorney now working for the Newspaper Guild, addressed the hypocrisy of publishers who belong to pro-business lobbies but impose "ethics codes" that deny reporters the same First Amendment freedoms.

Bill Bender, who along with Jim Lobsenz is representing Nelson for the ACLU, emphasized the *public's* right to have access to news written by civic-minded reporters, and Nelson herself underscored this point.

"The public is really where the battle is won. Involved reporters are better reporters and if I win, you win," she said.

Nelson's defense team, moralized by the outpouring of ideas, will be integrating them into their strategies as they put the finishing touches on written arguments for court. To help out, write Nelson's defense committee at P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98415. □



Nelson (center) reviews the outline for an ACLU suit against her employer with her attorney, Bill Bender (left), and legal luminary Arthur Kinoy.

The panel included Nelson, preeminent radical lawyer Arthur Kinoy, ACLU representative William J. Bender, and Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild Administrative Officer Art Joyner.

Nelson, formerly an MNT education writer, was transferred from her beat to the copy desk because management objected to her political organizing in support of a gay rights ordinance. The ACLU is backing Nelson's fight to be restored to

### Key issues of the case

#### ● Shackled reporters mean a shackled press

The duty of newspapers to inform the public is served only when journalists are free to exercise their constitutional rights, on and off the job. When management removes or silences reporters who obtain their knowledge of the community through firsthand experience, it infringes *readers' rights* as well.

Employer ultimatums against news workers being politically active, like the one the *Morning News Tribune* issued to education reporter Sandy Nelson, are a form of internal censorship — tailoring the news by tailoring the people who deliver it. These strictures enforce the status-quo bias of the media, short-circuiting stories that might offend big-business advertisers, national or local politicians, or the Pentagon.

But the whole world depends on the U.S. press for its news diet. Reporters who maintain an independent and critical stance are crucial to us all.

#### ● Denial of free speech and association rights

Management would like journalists to accept a role as a subclass of serfs, political eunuchs deprived of full citizenship rights. But Sandy Nelson and her colleagues in the news industry are entitled to the same rights to freedom of speech and association as everyone else.

#### ● Different standards for owners and workers

Publishers are at liberty to protect their class interests through involvement

in various business or community groups and industry lobbying. Case in point: Former MNT Managing Editor Norm Bell, who took Nelson off her beat because of her off-duty political organizing, regularly trumpeted pro-management political opinions from the editorial pages.

Yet working journalists are told that protecting *their* class interests is forbidden, because it compromises the employer's "appearance of objectivity!"

This argument is a ruse, a myth that management uses to punish workers who oppose its agenda or threaten to upset its friends.

#### ● Double jeopardy for being gay

Bans on free speech and association compound discrimination when the targeted reporters are female or gay, like Nelson, or of color. For them, activism is a matter of survival.

#### ● McCarthyism in the boardrooms

Unconstitutional conduct codes are being used increasingly in every corporate field to control workers' off-hours lives. More and more bosses are trespassing into the private lives of employees by requiring them to submit to lie detector, drug, and even cholesterol tests, and by laying down edicts against everything from political campaigning to smoking and drinking.

And just like during the McCarthy era, radicals are the first to be purged or retaliated against for nonconformity, especially in the media and communications industries.

## ...Australia

from page 6

People, but there is more to our struggle than the government realises or could comprehend.

As there is war elsewhere in the world between indigenous people and their oppressors, there is here.

#### Address the immediate issues.

The government needs to do it our way if it is serious about reconciliation. It must address the immediate issues, the oppression, the racism, the deaths in custody, the Third World conditions, the use and abuse of Black money, our culture, our future.

It must do this starting at the grass roots in the oppressed communities. No more bureaucrats sitting in offices reading reports. We are the most documented, reported people in our land, but to what avail? Shred the reports and go see for yourselves!

And the "reconciliation pact"? Who do we "reconcile" with? We have done nothing wrong; we are not the guilty party.

It is the government, as the successor of oppressors and cause of current oppression, which must make amends, right the wrongs and give us justice.

If the government is genuine we will assist in enhancing our future. The government has the power. It has the opportunity to set precedents for indigenous people in this our indigenous year. But I can't see the politicians and bureaucrats grasping that opportunity.

May our spirits guide us and protect us in this our year. Each indigenous people has its struggle, and I am as one in unity and solidarity with you all. May the spirits cease the struggle because the governments won't. □

## ...Healthcare

from the cover

ing the existing two-tier system. And a big chunk of every healthcare dollar would still be wasted in the mountains of paperwork that bill and justify each procedure to thousands of different payers.

#### Single payer: better, but flawed.

Labor organizations like the Communications Workers of America and International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, plus numerous consumer groups, are demanding a single-payer model like in Canada, where insurance for profit is abolished and the government covers everyone. Australia, England, and other countries have similar but less comprehensive plans that allow the wealthy to buy better, private coverage.

Canada is light years ahead of the U.S. But while nationalizing insurance is a big step forward, most of the rest of the healthcare machinery is still operated for gain.

Doctors, hospitals, and drug companies are still free to charge whatever they can get away with. Many retired people can't afford needed medicines. And as the economy wobbles, people are waiting longer and longer for necessary surgery. The quality of medical care is deteriorating.

#### Establishing right priorities.

The way to address the deficiencies of the single-payer arrangement is to socialize not just insurance, but the whole healthcare configuration, *especially* including the drug and medical supply companies.

And to guarantee quality of care, fairness, and inclusiveness, *workers, not bureaucrats, must run the industry.*

The vast majority of healthcare employees are those who are most abused by the current system. Seventy-five percent are women. These front-line providers have

the knowledge and incentive to fix what's broken. They are already leading many healthcare campaigns, both in the U.S. and in places like Australia, where the battle is against drastic funding cuts.

Control by workers will ensure that medicine prioritizes services for those with the greatest unmet needs: women, people of color, lesbians and gays, the disabled, injured workers, the unemployed and seasonally employed, non-citizens, the homeless, the mentally ill, elders, and children. A nationalized industry in which basic decisions are made by the wage-earners is one which will meet essential demands:

- Fund AIDS research, therapy, and education; make experimental remedies available to all at no cost.

- Provide full geriatric, psychological, and reproductive services.

- Maintain free, community-controlled drug rehabilitation centers.

- Implement affirmative action in medical schools.

Unstinting healthcare for all depends on revolutionizing more than just the medical establishment; the pressure to hold down costs by rationing care will exist as long as capitalism exists. But with healthcare center stage, unionists, feminists, and gay and race liberationists have an opening to redefine the terms of the debate and win reforms that will benefit the most needy today and point the way to socialized medicine as part of socialist society tomorrow. □

Contributors to this report: Gaylyne Noonan, Vancouver, Canada, and Allison Thorne, Melbourne, Australia.

## Socialist Feminist Cures for the Healthcare Crisis

### Freedom Socialist Party documents

A. AIDS Hysteria: a Marxist Analysis by Stephen Durham and Susan Williams, M.D. \$1.00

B. The War on the Disabled: Adding Insult to Injury by Heidi Durham \$1.00



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## Un testigo dice que la revolución asediada requiere ayuda global y una democracia socialista para sobrevivir

POR DOUG BARNES

Yendo por la autopista hacia La Habana en enero para una visita de tres semanas, el chofer de mi taxi se desvió para esquivar un autobús viejo y pesado. Con un gran esfuerzo debido a la carga y arrojando humo negro, el autobús iba repleto de pasajeros encaramados en la defensa trasera y colgados de las puertas y ventanas.

Mi chofer movió la cabeza. "No hay petróleo para más autobuses," dijo.

En 1964, los Estados Unidos respondieron a la revolución cubana imponiendo un bloqueo comercial. Para suministrarse de petróleo, alimentos, productos industriales y bienes de consumo, Cuba recurrió al bloque soviético, vendiendo su cultivo principal, el azúcar. Pero a medida que la antigua Unión Soviética y los países de Europa Oriental comenzaron a procurar su reintegración en el mercado capitalista mundial, éstos disminuyeron drásticamente el comercio con Cuba, lo cual causó una terrible escasez y el racionamiento de alimentos básicos.

Incitados por el olor a sangre, los Estados Unidos reforzaron el embargo aprobando el proyecto de ley Torricelli (la "Cuban Democracy Act" de 1992). Esta ley, respaldada por Clinton, prohíbe que los barcos de otras naciones anclen en puertos de Estados Unidos después de haber comerciado con Cuba y prohíbe que las subsidiarias extranjeras de compañías norteamericanas hagan negocios con la isla.

Durante todo este tiempo Estados Unidos ha tratado de minar la revolución cubana por medio de asaltos militares, espionaje y asesinatos, así como mediante presión económica. En abril, empezaron a blandir el sable una vez más.

La Casa Blanca acusó al **gobierno cubano en su totalidad** de ser una "empresa de negocios ilícitos" involucrada en el contrabando de drogas. Los abogados de la administración de Clinton están preparando acusaciones que les permitirán, según las leyes de empresas ilícitas, arrestar a oficiales cubanos y embargar los bienes del país en el extranjero.

Los cubanos se mantienen desafiantes. Alex, un estudiante universitario, me explicó: "Fidel no estuvo de acuerdo con la perestroika de Gorbachev. Cuba no venderá nuestro patrimonio nacional. Nosotros no luchamos durante 30 años para proveer a todos para luego darnos la espalda los unos a los otros. ¡No importa lo que traten de hacer los Estados Unidos, nosotros venceremos!"

Pero muchos isleños, no menos revolucionarios, se dan cuenta de que la lucha de vida o muerte de Cuba sólo se puede ganar ampliando el espacio democrático dentro del país y atrayendo el apoyo material y político del exterior.

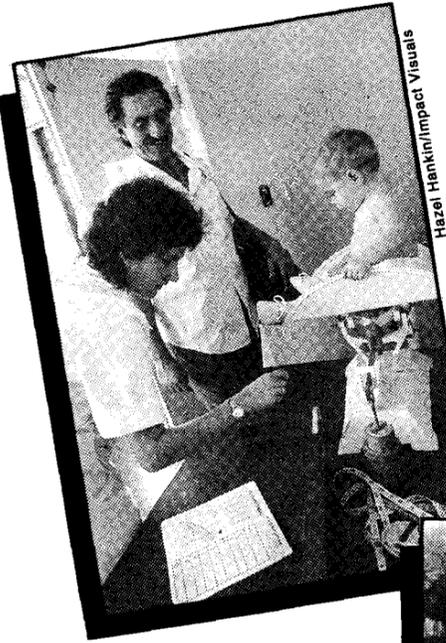
**Los vastos logros de Cuba en estado de sitio.** Los cubanos han conseguido tremendos logros desde la expulsión de Batista y la nacionalización de la economía, como el índice más bajo de mortalidad infantil en América Latina y uno de los índices más altos de alfabetismo en el mundo. El ejemplo de la isla continúa siendo contagioso no solamente en el Tercer Mundo sino también en las naciones industriales avanzadas. Hay visitantes que regresan a casa preguntándose, "¿Por qué diablos no hacemos esas

mismas cosas aquí?"

Todos los logros de Cuba se encuentran ahora en peligro.

Rita María Pereira, de la Federación de mujeres cubanas, me dijo cómo la escasez afecta a las mujeres — quienes, a pesar de un gran progreso hacia la igualdad, todavía son el factor primario en la creación de un hogar. En las mujeres recae la responsabilidad de lidiar con las crisis como la reciente epidemia de ceguera probablemente causada por una deficiencia vitamínica debido a la falta de ciertos alimentos; Pereira teme que esta carga fuerce a las mujeres a retirarse de la política justamente cuando sus observaciones y liderazgo son cruciales.

Problemas similares se presentan para superar los vestigios de discriminación racial.



Left, a Havana clinic provides free check-ups; right, oil shortage brings oxen back to farming. A la izquierda, una clínica de La Habana provee chequeos gratis; a la derecha, la escasez del petróleo exige de nuevo el uso del buey para la agricultura.

Los negros todavía no tienen representación proporcional como gerentes, por ejemplo, y el extenso cierre de fábricas debido a la falta de partes y de materias primas hacen que esto sea mucho más difícil de corregir.

Los Estados Unidos, con un poco de éxito, están tratando de utilizar la "privación" para provocar una rebelión desde abajo. Como Mario, un trabajador de La Habana, dijo, "Yo era socialista, pero como no hay comida, ya no soy socialista".

**La crisis crea oportunidades.** Pero muchos trabajadores están respondiendo a la presión del Norte exigiendo cambios políticos que resolverían viejos problemas dentro del establecimiento revolucionario en sí y que ayudarían a vencer la amenaza yanqui.

El Estado cubano es obviamente colectivo y progresista y se debe defender incondicionalmente en contra de las tentativas capitalistas de dar marcha atrás al reloj de la historia. Pero al mismo tiempo que se basa en una economía nacionalizada, también

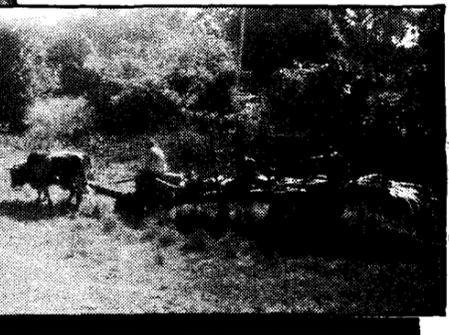
sufre por la falta de una democracia obrera — en otras palabras, es un estado obrero burocratizado.

A diferencia de la Unión Soviética, Cuba no depende principalmente del control policiaco de la población: todavía existe un apoyo masivo al gobierno y a sus líderes. Pero sólo se permite la existencia de un partido obrero, el Partido Comunista en el poder, y hasta hace poco tiempo se impedía el debate dentro del partido y la crítica del gobierno. Estas prohibiciones son auto-destructivas porque impiden que los obreros den su opinión acerca de los errores en las políticas gubernamentales y que se solucionen estos errores.

Si Cuba quiere evitar el destino de los países del bloque soviético, los obreros deberán tomar el poder en sus propias manos.

La iniciativa de masas está creciendo. Las discusiones anteriores al Cuarto Congreso del Partido en 1991 se convirtieron en debates organizados de masas. El intercambio de ideas generó llamamientos para extender el control local sobre determinaciones oficiales, para acabar con los tabúes con respecto a la homosexualidad, para permitir la nominación y elección directas de las autoridades y para reconocer cómo algunas de las reacciones del gobierno a la crisis actual exacerbaban la desigualdad. (Por ejemplo, las tiendas exclusivas en las que sólo se puede comprar con dólares existen ahora para atraer a los turistas.)

Estas exigencias producen resultados. En el congreso del partido se seleccionó a líderes nuevos y más jóvenes, se abolió el control del partido en la nominación de candidatos para elecciones municipales y el partido prometió que dejaría de dar órdenes



paternalistas a grupos como los sindicatos y la Federación de mujeres cubanas.

Para que Cuba sobreviva, el proceso de democratización proletaria debe seguir adelante. Debe incluir **un control directo de los trabajadores por medio de concilios en el lugar de trabajo.** Estas organizaciones son esenciales para el desarrollo de políticas y mecanismos para hacer que la producción agrícola e industrial funcionen eficientemente, para contrarrestar el poder creciente de la burocracia para racionar los bienes escasos, para cesar las ganancias privadas del creciente mercado negro y para resolver el dilema que presenta el embargo por parte de los Estados Unidos y la pérdida de los socios comerciales de Cuba.

**El internacionalismo, la llave para la libertad.** Cuba se encuentra inmersa en un espíritu de internacionalismo. Mucha gente que conocí me comentó con un gran orgullo acerca de cubanos que



están viajando para ayudar en otras luchas de liberación como Nicaragua y Angola.

Desgraciadamente la dependencia de Cuba con respecto al comercio con Moscú impidió el crecimiento de este internacionalismo.

La experiencia revolucionaria cubana ha comprobado que es necesaria la expropiación de los bienes de la burguesía y el movimiento hacia una nacionalización integral como único medio de satisfacer las necesidades de la gente y de salvaguardar sus logros iniciales, confirmando así la teoría de Trotsky de la Revolución Permanente. Sin embargo Castro aceptó la línea estalinista soviética y apoyó la adherencia de los sandinistas a una economía mixta de dominio capitalista en Nicaragua, ignorando las lecciones de su propia historia. Esto fue un suicidio, no sólo para la revolución nicaragüense sino también para Cuba; al final, Cuba podrá estar segura sólo como parte de una red de países que se aproximen juntos hacia el socialismo y que compartan sus recursos y sus medios de defensa.

A corto plazo el gobierno cubano necesita hacer un llamamiento para una movilización internacional de ayuda que sea amplia y poderosa para desafiar el embargo.

Esta movilización está creciendo, sobre todo a causa de los "envíos de la amistad" ("Friendshipments") organizados por los "Pastores por la paz".

En marzo el departamento de aduanas confiscó un bote en Miami que pertenece a Will Eickholt, un ciudadano holandés que reside en Estados Unidos. ¿Cuál fue su crimen? La entrega de leche en polvo y refacciones para motores de barco a cubanos necesitados.

Washington está decidido más que nunca a exterminar al Estado obrero cubano porque la continuación de su existencia contradice la propaganda de que "el comunismo ha muerto". Cuba sigue siendo un gran y tenaz experimento socialista que se rehúsa a fracasar a pesar de la campaña de tres décadas para destruirlo.

Nuestro movimiento en Estados Unidos juega un papel único en la lucha por Cuba, ya que nosotros tenemos la mayor oportunidad de influenciar a las clases gobernantes que abruma con mayor fuerza a Cuba — ¡sin lugar a dudas, llevando a cabo nuestra propia revolución! Debemos continuar enviando ayuda material y construyendo una base de apoyo pro Cuba en los sindicatos y en todos los campos de cambio social. A sí mismo el sector izquierdista del movimiento deberá tener cautela de no depender de los demócratas, los cuales han recomendado consistentemente la legislación y las operaciones militares que aprietan el nudo alrededor del cuello de Cuba.

A través de la organización para la defensa de Cuba, nosotros podemos explicar por qué el socialismo es superior al capitalismo en su capacidad para satisfacer las necesidades humanas y revertir el curso del planeta hacia la autodestrucción. Mientras sobreviva la revolución cubana, podremos señalar un lugar en el que han comenzado a germinar las semillas del socialismo, permitiéndonos tener una visión del perfil de una sociedad nueva para todos. □

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## El Partido de Libertad Socialista

POOR



International support for Cuba is shown through rallies (left) and aid deliveries like the Pastors for Peace "Friendships" (right). *Apoyo Internacional para Cuba se muestra por protestas (izquierda) y entregas de ayuda como en los "envíos de la amistad" de los Pastores por la Paz (derecha).*

the full flowering of this internationalism.

The Cuban revolutionary experience proved the necessity of expropriating the bourgeoisie and moving toward complete nationalization as the only way to meet people's needs and safeguard their initial gains, confirming Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution. But Castro acquiesced to the Soviet Stalinist

line and supported the Sandinistas' adherence to a capitalist-dominated mixed economy in Nicaragua, ignoring the lessons of his own history. This was suicidal not only for the Nicaraguan revolution, but for Cuba as well; in the end, Cuba can be secure only as part of a network of countries moving together toward socialism and sharing resources and defenses.

In the short run, the Cuban government needs to issue a call for a broad, powerful, and international aid mobilization to challenge the embargo.

This movement is already building, most notably through the "Friendships" organized by Pastors for Peace.

In March, the Customs department seized a boat in Miami belonging to Will Eickholt, a Dutch citizen living in the U.S. His crime? Delivery of powdered milk and spare boat-engine parts to needy Cubans.

Washington is more determined than ever to kill the Cuban workers state because its continuing existence gives the lie to propaganda about the "death of communism." Cuba remains a grand, tenacious socialist experiment that refuses to fail, despite a three-decades-long campaign to snuff it out.

The U.S. movement plays a unique role in fighting for Cuba, because we have the greatest ability to influence the ruling class bearing down hardest against Cuba — most decisively, by making our own revolution! We need to continue to send material help and build a groundswell of support for Cuba in unions and all the social-change arenas. And the left wing of the movement must caution against reliance on the Democrats, who have consistently advocated legislation and military operations that tighten the noose around Cuba's neck.

Through organizing in defense of Cuba, we can explain how socialism is superior to capitalism in its ability to meet human needs and reverse the planet's course toward self-obliteration. As long as the Cuban revolution survives, we can point to a place where the seeds of socialism have begun to grow, enabling us to envision the contours of a new society for all. □

## Eyewitness says the embattled revolution needs global aid and socialist democracy to survive

BY DOUG BARNES

As I sped down the highway toward Havana in January for a three-week visit, my taxi driver swerved to avoid a lumbering old bus. Straining under its load and belching black smoke, the bus overflowed with passengers perched on the back bumper and hanging from the doors and windows. My driver shook his head. "No oil for more buses," he said.

In 1964, the U.S. responded to the Cuban revolution by slapping down a trade blockade. To supply itself with oil, food, industrial products, and consumer goods, Cuba turned to the Eastern bloc, selling its one major crop, sugar. But as the former USSR and East European countries began seeking re-integration into the world capitalist market, they drastically curtailed trade with Cuba, where terrible shortages and rationing of all food staples resulted.

Smelling blood, the U.S. strengthened the embargo by passing the Torricelli bill (the "Cuban Democracy Act" of 1992). The law, backed by Clinton, prohibits other nations' ships from docking in U.S. ports after trading with Cuba and bars foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies from doing business with the island.

Washington has all along tried to subvert the Cuban revolution through military assaults, spying, and assassination, as well as economic pressure. In April, it returned to saber rattling.

The White House charged the *entire Cuban government* with being a "racketeering enterprise" engaged in drug smuggling. Clinton administration attorneys are readying indictments that would allow them, under U.S. racketeering law, to arrest Cuban officials and seize the country's foreign assets.

Cubans are defiant. Alex, a college student, explained: "Fidel did not agree with Gorbachev's *perestroika*. Cuba will not sell off our national wealth. We did not struggle for 30 years to provide for everyone in order to turn our backs on each other now. No matter what the U.S. tries, we will prevail!"

But many islanders, no less revolutionary, realize that Cuba's life-and-death struggle can only be won by expanding democracy within the country and drawing material and political support from outside.

**Cuba's vast accomplishments under siege.** Cubans have chalked up tremendous gains since Batista's ouster and the economy's nationalization, from the lowest infant mortality in Latin America to one of the highest literacy rates in the world. The island's example continues to be infectious for not just the Third World, but advanced industrial nations as well. Visitors return home asking, "Why the hell don't we do

those things here?"

All Cuba's advances are now in jeopardy. Rita María Pereira, from the Federation of Cuban Women, told me how the shortages affect women — who, despite great progress toward equality, are still the primary homemakers. To women falls the responsibility for dealing with crises such as the recent epidemic of blindness probably caused by a vitamin deficiency due to unavailability of certain foods; Pereira fears that these burdens will force women to pull back from politics just when their insights and leadership are crucial.

Similar problems arise in overcoming the remnants of race discrimination. Blacks are not yet proportionately represented as managers, for example, and sweeping factory shutdowns due to lack of parts and raw material makes this much harder to correct.

The U.S. is trying to use deprivation to provoke a rebellion from below, with some success. As Mario, a Havana worker, put it, "I used to be a socialist, but there is no food, so I'm no longer a socialist."

**Crisis creates opportunity.** But many workers are responding to pressure from El Norte by pushing for political and social changes that would resolve long-standing problems within the revolution itself — as well as help defeat the Yankee threat.

The Cuban state is clearly collective and progressive and must be defended unconditionally against capitalist bids to turn back the clock of history. But while it is based upon a socialized economy, it suffers from a lack of workers' democracy — in other words, it is a bureaucratized workers state.

Unlike the former Soviet Union, Cuba does not depend primarily on the police to control the population: there is still mass support for the government and its leadership. But only one workers' party, the ruling Communist Party, is permitted, and until recently, debate within the Party and criticism of the government were both discouraged. These prohibitions are self-destructive, because they prevent workers from calling attention to mistakes in government policy and fixing them.

If Cuba is to avoid the fate of the Soviet bloc countries, its workers must take the power into their own hands.

Grassroots initiative is growing. Discussions before the 1991 Fourth Party Congress exploded into organized mass debate. The give-and-take engendered calls to extend local control over official decisions, end taboos against homosexuality, allow direct nomination and election of authorities, and recognize how some government responses to the current crisis exacerbate inequality. (For example, exclusive shops where goods can be bought only with dollars now exist as a lure to tourist trade.)

These demands produced results. At the party congress, new and younger party leaders were selected, party control over nomination of candidates for municipal elections was abolished, and the party promised to stop issuing paternalistic dictates to groups like the unions and Federation of Cuban Women.

For Cuba to survive, the process of proletarian democratization must go further. It must include *direct workers' control through workplace councils*. These organizations are essential to developing policies and mechanisms to get agricultural and industrial production working efficiently, counter the rising power of the bureaucracy to dole out scarce goods, rein in the private-profiteering of the growing black market, and solve the dilemma posed by the U.S. embargo and loss of Cuba's trade partners.

**Internationalism is the key to freedom.** Cuba is steeped in internationalist spirit. Many people I met proudly told me of Cubans traveling to assist liberation struggles from Nicaragua to Angola.

Unfortunately, Cuba's dependence on Moscow trade stunted

Announcing

# Freedom Socialist Party

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- The explosive power of workers of color
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## Editorials

### Chicana/o students rock the ivory tower

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA CAMPUS** at Los Angeles sits on land stolen from Mexico by Yankee marauders. There's rich justice in the fact that UCLA was turned upside down this spring by Chicanas and Chicanos determined to learn properly about their hidden history and stolen culture through establishment of a full-fledged Chicana/o Studies department.

On June 7, after nearly a month of riveting sit-ins, demonstrations, and hunger strikes led by students, administrators buckled. Although they tried to save face by refusing to institute a formal department, the César Chávez Center for Interdisciplinary Instruction in Chicana and Chicano Studies which they agreed to establish will fill the same needs.

**STUDENTS HAVE FOUGHT FOR 25 YEARS** for a Chicano Studies department at UCLA. The most recent proposal, developed by the Chicano student group MEChA, went to Chancellor Charles Young in 1992. He chose to announce his rejection of the plan on April 28, 1993, on the eve of Chávez' funeral, knowing that many Chicana/o students would be gone for the funeral.

Incensed at this and at budget cuts threatening the Chicana/o Studies Library, Conscious Students of Color occupied UCLA's exclusive faculty club on May 11. Property was destroyed and university officials called in riot cops, who jailed 83 protesters. A mass demonstration that had already been organized by MEChA for the next day demanded that the administration drop all charges against those arrested, reverse its decision against Chicano Studies, and fully fund *all* the ethnic and gender studies programs at UCLA.

Justice for Janitors, a predominantly Latino union, was among the first to join the student mobilization. A heady rush of multi-racial support from other unions and student groups, UCLA alumni, faculty, staff, community organizations, and legislators soon followed.

On May 25, a group of students and a professor began a dramatic hunger strike that lasted until the university capitulated.

**WHY DID THEY BELIEVE** that Chicana/o Studies was worth dying for? Because they live in a city and a nation being torn apart by racism. In the words of the fasting teacher, they decided to "assume responsibility for the solution."

Since the days when federal troops squelched the uprising that greeted the first trial and acquittal of Rodney King's tormentors, Los Angeles has been a city waiting for leadership. These Chicana and Chicano students provided it.

More power to them. □

### Clemency now for Steve Farmer!

**LESBIANS ARE ON THE COVER** of *Newsweek*. Out attorney Roberta Achtenberg has been named chief of fair housing in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. One and a half million gays, bisexuals, transgenders, and their supporters — the largest civil rights demonstration in U.S. history — marched on Washington, D.C. in April. Has the gay rights millennium arrived?

**NOT HARDLY. JUST ASK** Steve Farmer, the Seattle gay man who was convicted of a petty sex crime involving Polaroid photos, forcibly tested for HIV, and sentenced to *seven extra years* in prison when he turned up positive.

A state Supreme Court ruling later found the forced-testing unconstitutional, but refused to overturn the sentence that was based on this violation!

Farmer has served two years of this unjust term, and his health is deteriorating. His defense network has launched a campaign for clemency.

Farmer's fate rests to a large degree on how "liberal" the relevant members of the state's Democrat-dominated machinery are willing to be.

**THIS IS NOT AN ENVIABLE POSITION** to be in. The current crop of Washington state Democrats are proving to be just about as reliable in their commitment to the downtrodden as their counterparts in Washington, D.C. Talk is cheap, as nobody demonstrates better than Bill Clinton.

But the number of people in this country who are punished every day for their sexuality — through losing their jobs or their kids, being bashed, etc. — has not diminished just because they can now read about themselves on the front page and hear about themselves on the prime-time news.

To prod the system into *action*, and to ultimately bring about the gay rights millennium, will take a sustained, militant, and uncompromising movement — one that is already developing and is the *reason* gay issues are headline news.

You can help build that movement, and help Steve Farmer, by writing a letter urging the clemency board to set Farmer free. Mail it to Clemency and Pardons Board, c/o Office of the Governor, P.O. Box 40002, Olympia, WA 98504, and send a copy to the Stonewall Committee, 6727 Seward Park Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118. □



## Dateline Australia

### Government tells Aborigines, "We're sorry for the genocide"



BY  
KAREN  
MORAN

SPECIAL TO THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST

Last year Australia's High Court abolished the racist legal doctrine terra nullius ("no-one here"), which the British used to rob the original owners of this continent. In the *Mabo* decision, the High Court recognised native title, opened up vast tracts of vacant Crown territory to potential land claims, and brought into question the validity of mining and pastoral (ranching) leases.

This threw the Australian ruling class into a frenzy and resulted in a campaign by the federal government for "reconciliation" with Black indigenous peoples.

Karen Moran, a radical woman of the Bundjalung people of northern New South Wales, gives her views below on this latest attempt by Australian capitalism to stifle indigenous organising for justice.

**T**his "Year of Indigenous People" should be one of celebration and gratification, but for many Aborigines it is a symbol of the struggle for human rights, recognition, justice, equality and alleviation of the plights we endure.

I am an Aboriginal woman of Australia. Each new day brings for my people a new frustration, a new struggle.

Our struggle began 205 years ago when Europeans set foot on our sacred land and declared our mother earth "terra nullius" — disregarding us, a people of high morals and intelligence, a sacred and spiritual people who lived in harmony and as one with the land. We were classified as an inferior race.

**Ignorance breeds contempt.** The settlers, the missionaries and the do-gooders decided to make a "goodwill pact" with us "backward na-

tives." Dispossession, genocide, extermination, rape, murder, assimilation and kidnapping resulted from this "goodwill."

As do I, so do many other Aboriginal Australians sit contemplating what "goodwill" the government has in store for us this time, for "Reconciliation" is but another empty gesture. The government wants to pass the buck to hypocritical do-gooders who portray themselves on the international platform as so concerned and humane.

I have seen their faces when on many occasions I aired my grievances about the Baryulgil asbestos mine where our people were forced to dig the asbestos poison. We had low wages, poor housing and choking white dust to eat and breathe. We had death, oppression, misery, agony and anguish in every facet of our community. They look at me and I see so clearly on their faces the "just another Black problem" expression.

**Policy set by "mission managers."** How then does the government contemplate

"reconciliation" when it turns its back after closing its eyes, thinking "We have done so much for them, we have made so much progress"? That is a sentimental, mission manager's mentality. We have been dispossessed, made curiosities, a sporting game, been assimilated yet excluded, a race to be left on the fringe of a bureaucratic white society. Is this progress?

They expect us to embrace reconciliation with open arms, to "bury the hatchet." As if to say "Look, we're sorry for the genocide and its aftermath, can we call it quits and get on with our lives?"

To hell with this mentality of the bureaucrats and pastoralists. We want what's coming to us after the two centuries of depravation and deceit they

have bestowed upon us. If this government is genuine about righting wrongs, good — but we'll take a lot of convincing.

As it is, all we can see is greed and a fight for power within the bureaucracy. "Which of us can conquer the Aboriginal problem?" is their concept of reconciliation.

**Black bureaucracy.** They have Aboriginal advocates to make it look good; they set up the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) to "support" self-determination. But ATSIC consists of recycled Blacks we call "coconuts" (Black on the outside, white on the inside) who forget where they come from and ignore the plight of the grassroots people. We are the very basis of the struggle but we are forgotten.

The Deaths in Custody Royal Commission made many recommendations. But hiding in the fine print is the real concern of the bureaucrats: cost.

ATSIC has money. But when I asked ATSIC for money for a school project to benefit our children and enhance their education at a cost of \$20 million over five years, I was told, "ATSIC could not tap into it."

What is happening to our money, our future, our self-determination? ATSIC bureaucrats, both Black and white, enhance their fu-

ture and feather their nests but scapegoat us for questioning their far from "white" track record. Mr. Robert Tickner, the latest Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, is no different from his forerunners.

ATSIC, Aboriginal Affairs, and the Australian government are only out to protect their international image.

The "reconciliation" concept was conceived as a "good will gesture" to us indigenous people in this Year of Indigenous

to page 3

**If the government is serious about reconciliation, it must do it our way.**

## Voices of Color

# For the good of Palestine and Israel: Bring the political exiles home!

*The National Comrades of Color Caucus of the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women turns to Dr. Raya Fidel, a Jewish activist and professor of library and information science at the University of Washington in Seattle. The column below was written in February 1993 and widely published in Jewish, left, and mainstream papers. Since then, the situation for Palestinian detainees has only worsened.*

BY RAYA FIDEL

On December 17, 1992, the Israeli government dumped more than 400 Palestinians into a barren, no-man's-land in southern Lebanon to collectively punish all Palestinians for the death of an Israeli soldier. As a Jew born, raised and educated in Tel Aviv, I condemn the deportees of the Palestinian expulsee.

I have long felt that Israel must return the occupied territories and allow Palestinians to form a state — as the first step in building a joint, socialist state governed by both peoples. But as long as Israel continues to occupy the West Bank and Gaza, it is responsible for the well-being of the inhabitants.

### Israeli rationales don't wash.

The deportees were primarily highly educated men against whom no charges could be brought because no evidence exists that any of them are linked to the soldier's death. The Islamic organization Hamas took responsibility for the killing, so Israel "justified" its action by claiming that the deportees are Hamas supporters.

Israel was later forced to admit that some of the deportees had been seized by mistake.

The conditions under which these men are trying to survive remind me of descriptions of the death camps in Bosnia.

On exposed, rocky ground, the Palestinians live in flimsy tents in sub-zero weather. The Israeli government refuses to allow the Red Cross to provide food and medical supplies and has even tried to prevent villagers in the area from helping. Some of the men are in serious need of medical care, but only a few have been permitted to receive it.

Despite their cruel actions, Israeli officials deny any responsibility for the fate of the deportees. Instead, they blame the Arab world — particularly Lebanon and Syria — for not taking the men into their countries. Israel has always done this to cover up its own racism and ethnocentrism.

This repellent violation of universal ethical and human values makes no sense to me. First, the Jewish tradition is humanistic. Every life is precious both for itself and for the progeny it will bring forth. Jews of the Diaspora fought to end suffering of all people, knowing that oppression against any persons would lead to the suffering of Jews as well.

Second, the deportations achieved the exact opposite of Israel's stated goal. Instead of intimidating the Palestinian community and dissuading it from further protests against occupation, waves of massive demonstrations sweep the occupied territories, another Israeli is killed, and the Palestinian delegation withdraws from the peace talks.

This outcome is hardly surprising: on every Passover, we are reminded that the harder the Egyptians pressed the children of Israel, the stronger became the resistance of our oppressed ancestors.

The Israeli government is obviously ignoring this ancient lesson.

**Zionism is the cause of this injustice.** Why does the government

ist movement makes no effort to disguise its racism. Early on, Menachem Begin declared that the Palestinians were beasts with two legs; former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir claims Arabs have no respect for human life and enjoy murder.

As an Israeli child, I was taught in school that the Arabs were not human beings like us, that they didn't need to eat more than a few olives a day, and that they would stab you in the back no matter how friendly they might seem.

This Zionist ideology also governs the justice system. The Israeli Supreme Court declared the deportations to be legal and usually allows Jewish rightwing fundamentalists to go unpunished when they murder Palestinians.

The Palestinian uprisings (Intifada) of the last several years clearly show that faced with continuing oppression, resistance ever intensifies.

And Zionism, born out of the desire for a secure Jewish homeland, will inevitably lead to destruction of that very Home.

**End expulsions by ending U.S. aid.** We in the U.S. can help prevent the twin disaster to both Palestinian and Jewish peoples



**Palestinian women are in the forefront of the long campaign to free the massive numbers of political detainees, including many teenagers, who are victims of the Israeli government's Zionist policy.**

of the Jewish state ignore the lessons of Jewish history and act in such an un-Jewish manner? Because the government is Zionist.

Zionism is a nationalistic ideology which is based on the assumption that Jews are the only legitimate owners of the "promised land." The ideology is fanned today by memories of the Holocaust and is embellished by U.S. oil interests in the Mideast.

Spurred by intense European anti-Semitism in the 19th century, the growing Zionist movement called on Jews to emigrate to Palestine — blind to the fact that the area was already densely populated.

The Israeli regime perpetuates this blindness, but the Palestinians persistently rebel.

In response, Zionism evolved into a blatantly racist ideology.

The right wing of the Zion-

without spending a dime for troops. We can do this by halting the billions in U.S. aid for Israeli aggression.

Countless Jews like myself in Israel, America, and around the world call on President Clinton and the new U.S. Congress to cut off all support to Israeli militarism and to return the deportees. Israel's security rests not in missiles but in collaboration with its co-inhabitants and neighbors. Jews will never be safe while Arabs are exterminated.

Hoped for the Middle East resides in achieving Arab-Jewish harmony, which in turn must rest on a rejection of imperialist values and the creation of a mutually beneficial socialist sharing of resources, knowledge and common goals. Two great peoples can live together — communally. □



Clara Fraser

## Ebony and Ivory — the paradox and the promise

**WHOOPI GOLDBERG WAS INTERVIEWING** a rising Black actor, and they were comparing experiences in Africa.

Goldberg was deeply troubled. She had expected to undergo a dramatic rapport with her roots, she said, but instead she felt like an outsider.

Her guest laughed sympathetically and replied, in effect, "We all feel like that when we visit Africa! Let's face it, we're Americans now — we changed the damn country and it changed us."

"African"-Americans are treated as colonized enemies in their own land. Even so, the vast majority do not want to go back to Africa. What they *do* want is fair play in the country whose politics, economics and culture were changed radically by their very presence here.

So why are many Blacks nationalists?

**THEY CITE A PROFOUND SENSE** of shared origin and destiny. "Nationalism" is their operative word to connote militancy, pride of color, disgust with the status quo, and connectedness to one another and to a movement. And it expresses desire for the liberty to *choose* when to relax with the sisters and brothers and when to mingle with "the others" and suffer the stresses of interaction and the stings of prejudice.

Black nationalism, then, functions as a code word for racial affinity, self-esteem and social protest. Militants who have no intention of trying to establish a Black state, who would never dream of moving to Africa, and who fight like hell for justice in the USA, still think of themselves as nationalists.

Nationalism can be the outgrowth of a despairing belief that separation may be the only answer. Nationalism can stem from the fear of losing identity in the assimilationist melting pot. It can result from the lure of the siren song of "Self-Determination" — an extension of the right of *nations* to secession to a racial group that is not a nation.

But whatever else it's attributable to, the impulse toward nationalism often conceals a *revolutionary ideology*. Blacks joke that it's hard enough to be Black, so why be Red too? The nationalist tag is easier to live with than the M-word — Marxist.

**AND THEREIN LIES THE RUB**, because Blackness cannot overcome *without* being Red. A society based on private ownership is *never* going to surrender the enormously profitable, and hence institutionalized, practice of racism.

Like all other near-radicals, Blacks grapple with the dilemma of endorsing a depraved and depriving system or embracing a political philosophy that will thrust them out of the mainstream and impede their chances for decent work and community acceptance. The nationalist posture sidesteps the conflict by being fiery yet unthreatening to the ruling class.

But sometimes the shortest route to winning majority support for a cause is exactly to move to the nether regions of unpopularity. The shock effect of a woman or man of color who stands tall and confident and insists on fundamental change is especially galvanizing, to self and to the world.

Black fighters lead the way for whites. Yes, most Blacks are weary of fighting and helping whites. But most whites can't help themselves. Whites are screwy (perhaps you've noticed); overburdened by guilt and denial and uncertainty, they won't mobilize for progress on their own behalf — but they will for others. If Blacks demand that non-Blacks demand revolution, it will come to pass.

**WHITES OF GOOD WILL** don't want a white nation. Most Blacks don't really want a Black nation. Good god, who really wants *any more* nations? Any more of the religious and ethnic mania gone berserk in the Balkans, the Middle East and the fractured Soviet Union?!

No, the tormented world cries out for *internationhood*, for co-existence in a harmony of diversity and mutual aid, for an end to self-segregation along secondary or superficial or down-right imbecilic lines. We can't go home again — the places of origin have changed, history has moved on, and our new homeland is called Earth. The continents are now suburbs of each other, and pan-cultural solidarity is the tie that binds.

**SO LET US NOW BUILD** a global revolutionary party of Blacks and the otherwise-hued, women and the otherwise-chromosomed, workers and the otherwise-employed, gays and the otherwise-oriented and all the malcontents ready to challenge the ruling sadists. And let the savvy Blacks of North America stay here, dig in, and guide us all out of the wilderness and into new life paths where beings of multiple colors and talents can balance and integrate our diversity *and* our oneness.

The world looks to America for strength. U.S. frontrunners — U.S. Blacks — will again come to recognize and respect their own power as leaders of the human race.

Bill Cosby, Black actor/producer extraordinaire, says that Americans hate each other — but the real problem is that nobody wants to leave. Right on. □

## Dateline Canada

# Tories slam the door on neediest immigrants

BY MARCEL HATCH

Last year, while Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was peddling the "free trade" pact between Canada, Mexico, and the U.S., he was simultaneously restricting the free entrance of immigrants and refugees into Canada.

The message of his harsh new legislation, known as Bill C-86, could provide the copy for a wanted poster from a corporate head-hunting agency: "\$250,000 or rare skills in the nuclear, computer, or aerospace industries guarantees Canadian citizenship. Third World workers and political refugees need not apply."

But the crackdown on immigration is producing angry counter-organizing, as in the case of a young Iranian woman served with deportation papers last November. A coalition led by immigrant women of color, radicals, and lesbians and gays fought back successfully, and even gained ground: It established a first by forcing the government to grant a woman refugee status because of *sexist* persecution in her country of origin.

**Welcome mat for the well-off.** Historically, Canada has used immigration to meet the needs of a hungry market for low-paid labor. Bill C-86, passed by parliament in autumn 1992, marks a shift to feeding an economy now desperate for capital and technological expertise.

The bill stipulates that the majority of arrivals be highly skilled workers in high-tech fields or "Investor" or "Business"

entrants with a minimum of \$250,000 ready cash. It drastically cuts back on immigration geared to reunite extended families. Like most of its provisions, this primarily penalizes immigrants of color.

Political refugees get short shrift. Bill C-86 forbids entry to those who were tagged as dissidents in their native country. Also, new sanctuary-seekers can't work until their claims are settled, forcing them onto welfare. As well as causing poverty and privation, this gives ammunition to right-wingers who scapegoat refugees for the country's increasing economic woes.

**Sexism creates refugees.** Five thousand refugees were deported last year. The story of why twenty-year-old Vancouver resident Caroline Teghizadeh was not one of them provides a model for how to challenge xenophobic legislation.

In Iran, Teghizadeh had been imprisoned and tortured for not wearing the veil properly. After fleeing to Canada, she was denied political refugee status.

When all her regular legal appeals went nowhere, she went public and became a leader in the Caroline Teghizadeh Defense Committee (CTDC).

While fighting for her own life, Teghizadeh connected all the issues facing immigrants. She demanded a declaration of amnesty for all refugees from repressive countries and the extension of the definition of refugee to include those discriminated against because of their sex or sexual orientation.

CTDC included the Coalition United

to Fight Oppression, Intl. Federation of Iranian Refugee Councils, Freedom Socialist Party, and Radical Women. It educated about conditions for women in Islamic countries and organized a broad outcry from unions, feminists, lesbian and gay groups, and ethnic and immigrant associations against Teghizadeh's expulsion.

Just days before police were to apprehend her, the Tories backed down and waived the deportation order.

**Takes all of us to win.** In contrast to Teghizadeh's precedent-setting experience, a February hunger strike by 10 other Iranian refugees achieved only meaningless government promises that their appeals would be reconsidered on a case-by-case basis. The leaders of the hunger-strike campaign opportunistically relied on media melodrama and closed-door negotiations with immigration bureaucrats rather than on all-inclusive grassroots coalition-building. And they refused to criticize the Canadian government for its culpability in the fate of the refugees once sent back to Iran.



A February hunger strike won 10 Iranians a deportation reprieve, but the government has promised only to review their cases.

The fight for immigrant rights unites the issues of class, race, sex, and sexuality inseparably, and Teghizadeh's case points the way to victory. Only an open-door united front that is feminist, internationalist, and critical of capitalist injustice in every form can turn the anti-immigrant tide. □

**Marcel Hatch, an immigrant to Canada from the U.S., is a typesetter and socialist feminist organizer in Vancouver.**

## On burying the Master Race ideology forever



BY GUERRY HODDERSEN

**I WAS BORN IN THE SOUTH**, the daughter of a Southern feminist and a preacher whose parish stretched over seven tiny congregations in Madison County, North Carolina.

When I was 11, my mother took my brother and me on a trip through the Carolinas. I still remember our shock at seeing Black men working in chains beside the road while white men stood over them, cradling their shotguns with the air of the master race.

That summer marked the beginning of my political education. After we moved west, I received further instruction from John Birchers and McCarthyites in southern California and union-busters in the Los Angeles school district where my mother taught.

When I was 20, my schooling was taken in hand by the white people of Carthage, Mississippi, where I registered voters and tested public accommodation laws for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. I graduated from Mississippi's Academy of Terror and Bullying convinced there was a fundamental sickness in this country, having to do with economics and race and sex.

Years later, I discovered Radical Women, a group that gave me a name for the disease — capitalism — and launched me on a lifetime of higher learning about Marxist theory and the quests of oppressed people for liberation.

**IN APRIL, I RETURNED** to the South for the first time in more than 20 years. I was invited to speak on behalf of United Front Against Fascism at a two-day symposium in Memphis, Tennessee, commemorating Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The event was hosted by the National Civil Rights Museum, housed in the Lorraine Motel, the site of King's assassination.

Called "March On: A 25th Anniversary Tribute to the Life, the Man and the Movement," the event included a march by AFSCME Local 1733 and a 5,000-person rally and concert at Mason Temple,

the last place King spoke publicly.

King, the critic of capitalism who was planning the 1968 Poor People's March on Washington at the time of his murder, had come to Memphis in response to a desperate appeal from the striking sanitation workers of Local 1733. He was intent on forging a coalition of labor, anti-war, and civil rights forces to challenge the economic inequality at the heart of the racial caste system in this country.

The conference brought together legendary civil rights and labor organizers — Julian Bond, David Dennis, Bill Lucy, Jesse Epps, Bob Moses, Dorothy Cotton, Cornell West, Reverend C.T. Vivian.

Their message: The civil rights struggle had been a *movement* — not a personality — filled with passion, hope and colliding political viewpoints.

But the sense of urgency which marked King's life and death was lacking from this gathering. There was more looking back than forward.

Progress was measured by the increased number of Black elected officials. But as one of the few community people present pointed out, these politicians "overcame right on over the top of me" and are now part of the problem.

The voice that was missing in Mem-

phis was that of a radical Black leadership with a critique of the profit system and a program for reigniting poor people's freedom struggles.

But that voice is bound to be heard again before this bigoted century ends. Necessity demands it.

**TODAY THE NAZIS** and KKK infest the emerald woods of the Northwest. The old South of my childhood may be gone, but in its place is the new Northwest, with skinheads and hate crimes for all. It is no longer possible to pretend that incipient fascism is a Southern problem.

And with the system in permanent crisis, neither is it possible to pretend that capitalism is good for all the people. The basic *unreformability* of the social machinery is evident.

The time is coming when educated people will make an educated decision to junk this worn-out way of life for a new one based on sharing wealth and opportunity instead of hoarding it. That is when we will be able to bury the Master Race ideology once and for all. □

**Guerry Hoddersen of Seattle, Wash., is National Secretary for the Freedom Socialist Party and a United Front Against Fascism founder.**

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## Radical

(rad'i-kal) Arising from or going to a root or source. One who advocates political and social revolution.

## Women

(woom'en) Oppressed sex comprising over 50% of the working class and leading the battle for human liberation.

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