



**Anti-porn superstar
Catharine MacKinnon
falsifies feminism**

Page 3

**Chinese immigrants
preyed on by smugglers
and sweatshop owners**

Page 7



The Freedom Socialist

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

March - May 1994

Volume 15, Number 1

(\$1.00 outside U.S.) 75¢

Year one: a record of solid betrayal

New crop of Democrats yields same old harvest of broken promises

BY LINDA AVERILL

How does this first year of a Democratic president and Congress rate? It depends on whom you ask.

For women, lesbians and gays, people of color, the poor, and most workers, any high hopes they had dissolved into bitter disappointment as the Democrats betrayed one pledge after another.

Foe to workers, friend to business. Right off the bat, Clinton substituted "don't ask, don't tell" for his promise to end the ban on gay soldiers, and he forcibly returned Haiti's refugees after assuring them safe harbor.

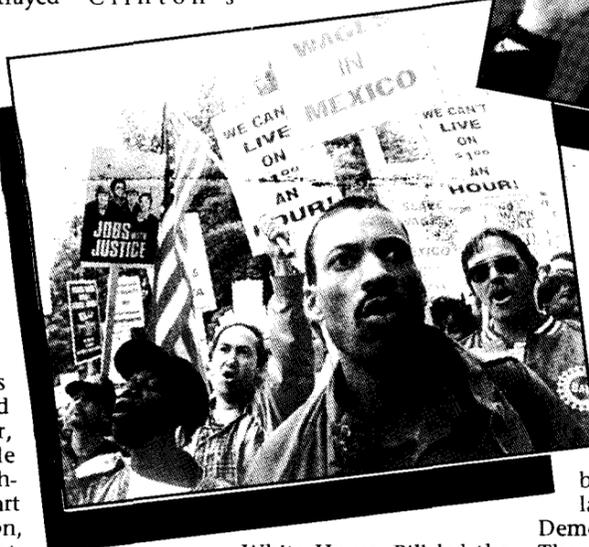
In June, the president bombed Iraq. He also rescinded Lani Guinier's nomination for the top civil rights post at the Justice Department — essentially because she was too committed to civil rights!

In October, the Clintonites cheered Yeltsin as he pounded Russia's parliament. In November, Clinton sided with Dan Quayle against Murphy Brown; single mothers and "illegitimate" children are part of the reason for social disintegration, after all. And congressional Democrats tried to out-macho Republicans on a crime bill that would make 47 more acts punishable by death.

The grand finale? Passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement, a feat that George Bush couldn't pull off.

The year passed with no legislation to ban the replacement of striking workers, or strengthen worker safety regulations, or restore federal Medicaid funding for abortions, or raise the minimum wage.

So who *did* like the Democrats' first year? Atlantic Richfield's CEO, Lodwick Cook, co-chaired Bush's reelection drive, but he celebrated turning 65 in Clinton's



White House; Bill led the birthday sing-along. Both Ford Motor Co. and Bethlehem Steel are also pleased with this administration, their chairmen say.

In sum, 1993 bore out an observation made long ago by James P. Cannon, a founder of U.S. Trotskyism. "The strong-



(Left) Michigan UAW members protest NAFTA in May 1993. Democratic actions speak louder than words — they are not the party of labor.

est opposition to the civil rights program, and the strongest support to anti-labor legislation in recent years, has come from labor's 'partners' in the Democratic-labor coalition, the Dixiecrats in the Democratic Party. That will not change. The capitalists, who in the last analysis rule the Democratic Party, will never permit labor to 'capture' it."

The Dems are a boss party in workers' clothing, and that's why Cannon urged working people to dump them and form an independent labor party.

Faithless on every front. The Democrats got elected by promising to reverse course from the Reagan/Bush '80s. Here's more of what they *actually* did.

Taxes: After vowing to "make the rich pay their fair share," Congress did indeed raise corporate taxes — *by one percent!* Taxes on the rich were hiked five percent, but a grace period gives them time to find new loopholes. The poor received an earned income tax credit, which was cancelled out by a gas tax hike of 4.3 cents per gallon.

Healthcare: If it passes, Clinton's Health Security Act will be a boon for large companies and a bust for small businesses and recipients of Medicaid and Medicare. General Motors now pays 19 percent of payroll for employee health-care. The president's plan caps the employer's contribution at 7.9 percent.

Funding to cover 37 million people who are now uninsured will come mainly from \$124 billion in Medicare cuts and \$114 billion in Medicaid cuts. Mammograms won't be covered. Neither will abortion, except in cases of rape or incest. Neither will services for undocumented workers ("illegal aliens").

Welfare: In the works is a proposal to cut women and their families from federal assistance after two years. To get welfare, mothers will be forced to name their children's father. Teen moms will be compelled to live with parents.

to page 3

Mexican rebellion tears facade off "free trade"

On New Year's Day, peasants in Mexico's southernmost state of Chiapas launched a rebellion that focused world attention on their fight for survival.

The mostly Mayan revolutionaries picked the date to coincide with implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, which they called a "death sentence" for indigenous people. Leaders declared that their goal is socialism.

The Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) wants land, jobs, justice, health-care, democracy, aid to impoverished families, and autonomy for Mexico's Native people. Women, who are in the EZLN's front ranks, have their own ten-point liberation program that includes the right to leadership in community affairs.

The uprising sparked a mass demonstration of 100,000 in Mexico City and sympathy protests internationally. It set off a still-growing chain of Mexican revolt, from urban bombings to seizures of town halls in rural areas.

Rebellion rooted in poverty. Rich in petroleum, timber, and other natural

resources, Chiapas is a state where extreme wealth and abject poverty coexist.

Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) rules on behalf of rich landowners and lumber barons, while Native peasants barely make a living on *ejidos*, the communal lands. Decent jobs are few, overworked land yields less and less, schools and hospitals are scarce, elections are rigged, and government promises of change languish.

Since the 1980s things have deteriorated. Under pressure from U.S. business, the PRI introduced austerity measures and privatized national industries. In 1992, President Salinas waived constitutional protections of communal lands.

This undeclared war on Mexico's poor has spawned repression and death. Up to 8,000 people sit in jail because of land disputes, while 15,000 people in Chiapas died last year from curable diseases.

NAFTA, with its provisions for overriding the few remaining protections for indigenous peasants, was the last straw.

In the uprising's first days, Salinas sent tanks, U.S. helicopters, and 20,000 troops to crush the insurgents. Hillsides were

bombed. Domestic and international outrage, plus some disquiet among the government troops, forced the PRI to agree to a cease-fire and negotiations.

Heroes of the whole hemisphere.

And the U.S., mindful that eruptions in Mexico can spread, announced that it will spend \$540.5 million to add 1,010 border patrol agents to the 3,461 who already police the border.

The U.S. government's fear is well-

grounded. Workers and poor farmers in *every country* of this hemisphere are disgusted with corrupt, lying politicians and heartsick over discrimination, poverty, homelessness, ill-health and illiteracy.

On top of this dry tinder, the ruling classes threw a lighted match — NAFTA. They have nobody but themselves to blame for the explosions which they have provoked — and which are just beginning.

¡Viva el Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional! □

**New Freeway Hall
5018 Rainier Ave. S.
Seattle, WA 98118**

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
SEATTLE, WA
PERMIT NO. 1003

In This Issue

Vol. 15, No. 1

March-May 1994

Voters nix New Democrats 6



After winning office in three provinces, Canada's New Democratic Party broke faith with its labor constituency. Voters recently registered a strong rebuke. Marcel Hatch and Dylan Kendrick report.

Why a vanguard party? 4

Merle Woo and Doug Barnes answer former Freedom Socialist Party members who now blame Bolshevism for the Left's failures. Not so, say our authors, who cogently explain Leninism's importance.



International	National	
Anti-NAFTA revolt in Mexico 1	Democrats in office 1	
Dateline Canada: New Democratic Party 6	Features	
Dateline Australia: ozone crisis 8	Radical Women 3	
Lesbian/Gay	Vanguard party 4	
Judy Ross 7	Editorials	
Sandy Nelson vs. The News Tribune 8	Bosnia 6	
	Labor council 6	
	Caravan to Cuba 6	
	Clara Fraser 7	
	Voices of Color 7	

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.

Our goal is to inject the socialist movement with the revitalizing ideas of Trotskyism and feminism in order to prepare it for victory in this crucial decade.

Staff

Managing Editor Andrea Bauer	Staff Writer Linda Averill	Production Davyne Parks Val Mohney
Production Manager Kathleen Merrigan	Editorial Assistant Janet Sutherland	Camera & Printing Advertising Services VALCO Graphics
Design Su Docekal	Consulting Editors Yolanda Alaniz Doug Barnes Clara Fraser Guerry Hoddersen Henry Noble	
Photo Editor Steve Hoffman		
Business Manager Wendy McPherson		

The Freedom Socialist (ISSN 0272-4367) is published quarterly by the Freedom Socialist Party, New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Avenue South, Seattle, WA 98118. Phone: 206-722-2453. Subscriptions: 1-year \$5.00 (institutions \$10.00), 2-year Supporting Sub \$25.00, 3-year Sustaining Sub \$50.00, 5-year Sponsoring Sub \$100.00. Add \$5.00 for overseas airmail. Back copies \$.75 each. Checks or money orders to Freedom Socialist at the address above.

Letters



Melba Windoffer

Thanks for the piece on long-time socialist activist Melba Windoffer. Her memorial meeting, where family, friends, and former comrades in the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women remembered her 50 years in the movement, was inspiring.

A native Washingtonian, Melba knew Northwest labor history inside and out, having grown up around the Wobblies and participated in the early years of the Trotskyist movement. She made that history come alive for young activists decades later.

When I met Melba in the '70s, this 5-foot, 99-pound "sweet little old lady" was Radical Women's secret weapon, demolishing unsuspecting enemies with her fiery passion and acerbic wit. Thelma and Louise, move over!

Melba taught a generation of New Lefties what class lines are. She preserved for us our radical roots that the McCarthy era tried to obliterate. For that alone we owe her a great debt.

Sandy Nelson
Tacoma, Washington

Thanks for boost

The FS keeps on getting better. Keep up the good work!

Martha Roth
Hurricane Alice,
a Feminist Review
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Party, anyone?

I gather you are a split from the Socialist Workers Party due to its abandonment of the revolutionary position.

There are serious ills which plague the U.S. left — mostly among the leadership but also in the rank and file — which are causing unity among portions of the proletariat and given parties to take on a reformist guise.

Liberalism and reformism provide for no permanent solutions, and in many aspects are contradictory to proletarian ends. Our unions are deteriorating — while some union leaders are selling out to big business — and our youth have little hope for jobs and job security. All aspects of

the old degenerate imperialist system must be done away with so that no trace remains. We cannot leave capitalism one single toe-hold or it will spring back to life like the vile disease it is — just as in Russia today.

Another person and myself have been discussing the basis of forming a new political party and have opened talks with a group in this process now. We welcome correspondence from all militant left parties.

Kevin A. Conner #881980
Indiana State Prisoner
Post Office Box 41
Michigan City, Indiana
46360-0041

Free speech win

I want to share news of a victory for free speech and radical gay activism. The New Jersey court has dismissed charges against me for leafleting at the Walt Whitman Turnpike rest stop while en route to the National March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Rights last April.

Authorities agreed to bring the statute against distributing literature into line with the U.S. and state constitutions. With help from the New Jersey American Civil Liberties Union, my colleagues and I argued that the rule flagrantly violates First Amendment rights.

We never could have won without the hundreds of supporters across the U.S. and as far away as Australia who wrote letters and signed protest petitions.

The victory shows the effectiveness of people standing together against censorship, repression, and discrimination. We're determined to make sure New Jersey's governor keeps the promise to change the law. We'll keep you posted.

Stephen Durham
New York City

Durham is the NYC Organizer of the FSP and an internationally known gay activist. —Ed.

Count on it

Thank you for giving me the Freedom Socialist at the Jobs and Justice rally. Although I can't agree with everything in your platform, we need groups to keep the heat on corporations and bureaucrats. Keep fighting!

Jim Dipeso
Kent, Washington

Don't mourn — organize

Radical poet Meridel LeSueur sent us the poem below with her sub renewal. Thank you, Meridel! —Ed.

"Who's singing in us tonight?"
—Joe Hill

He aint never died
that song will never die.
before the first world war when
world imperialism was
planning the massacre of
world workers
Joe Hill belonged to the
International Workers of the
World
He sang against that slaughter
sang the workers song of
solidarity
he sang it in Rice Park and
Washington and Hennepin
on the Iron Range where ever
workers organize
it's there you'll find Joe Hill
his ashes were sent around the
world in little envelopes
we open one here
now the world struggle rises
from the ashes.

He sings now in the world
hurricane of the global dawn
in the great and thundering cry
of the workers of the world
The song of the workers now
rising singing
takes more than guns to
kill a man
says Joe I never died
he shouts workers of the
world unite

you have nothing to lose but
your chains
let each stand in his place
a better worlds in birth, he sang
don't mourn organize
we sing together the mighty
song
we have been naught we shall
be all
Let Freedom ring
sing together the mighty global
song
arise you prisoners of starvation
arise you wretched of the earth
we have been naught we shall
be all
we never die who have the
future in us
Joe Hill won't ever die
Meridel LeSueur
Hudson, Wisconsin

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

FS Sub Drive a Smash Success!

We kicked off 1994 by signing up 900 new subscribers in six weeks. Like them, you won't want to miss a single issue of the Freedom Socialist!



Join the Crowd — Subscribe Today!

Name _____ Phone(s) _____
(please print)
Address _____ City _____
State/Province _____ Zip _____ Country _____

Send checks or money orders to: Freedom Socialist, 5018 Rainier Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118. Add \$5 for overseas airmail. Australia: \$6.00 (AUD) for airmail to Freedom Socialist, P.O.Box 266, West Brunswick, VIC 3055. Canada: \$6.00 (CAD) for airmail to Freedom Socialist, 304-1575 Beach Ave., Vancouver, BC V6G 1Y5.

Radical Women Column

Catharine MacKinnon: crusader for a rightwing women's movement

BY ADRIENNE WELLER AND ANDREA BAUER

Catharine MacKinnon, known internationally as a radical feminist and superstar lawyer against pornography, is in fact a traitor to feminism and a pitbull for the U.S. government and right wing. Her insistence that women are pathetic victims who must be rescued from porn-driven men by the capitalist state makes her one of our most dangerous misleaders — the Louis Farrakhan of the women's movement.

Hypocritical crusade against porn. MacKinnon first received wide attention as the co-author, with Andrea Dworkin, of trail-blazing legislation that attacked porn as sex discrimination. But their promising approach was crucially flawed. It defined pornography super-broadly and included no language that would prevent the law's use against the usual targets of censorship: lesbians and gays, artists, sex educators, etc.

And their underlying philosophy is rabid and ridiculous. Says MacKinnon, "The mainspring of sex inequality is misogyny, and the mainspring of misogyny is sexual sadism." She believes that "to be about to be raped is to be gender female ... going about life as usual." Feminists who disagree with her are like "house niggers who sided with the masters."

MacKinnon and Dworkin developed their ordinance in 1983, in the middle of a Reagan administration offensive against sexually explicit material. Reactionaries like Suffolk County legislator Michael D'Andre in New York eagerly sponsored versions of the bill. ("I don't want to tell anybody what to do as long as they live by the Ten Commandments.")

But in the few places where the ordinance passed, it was either vetoed by higher officials or thrown out by the courts.

Smut is a terrorist industry that makes billions of dollars every year by abusing women. But MacKinnon and Dworkin's legal innovation — anti-constitutional, anti-male, and right-wing-friendly — does no favors for the anti-porn fight.

Now MacKinnon is back in the news. A tenured law professor at the University of Michigan, she has fashioned a career out of writing books and articles full of graphic descriptions of sexually assaulted women that read exactly like pornography and sell briskly. Her latest book, *Only Words*, argues that porn teaches men to equate sex with violence and is a *primary cause of women's subordinate role*.

This idea that men and women alike are slaves to men's demonic hormones belongs to the "biology equals destiny" school of thought. Why has MacKinnon become famous promoting this discredited and outrageous bilge?

Radical feminism sabotages female resistance. MacKinnon's message that the sexes are natural enemies is *useful* to capitalism, functioning the same way as reactionary cultural nationalism does in the race liberation movements. It encourages women to rage against men

instead of organizing against a *system* that profits off the exploitation and degradation of all workers — and that makes super-profits off those oppressed on the basis of sex, race, and nationality.

MacKinnon's gerrymandering by gender splits the working class in half, making revolt impossible.



MacKinnon: attempting to turn feminism inside out.

Radical feminism is an anti-workingclass politics of despair, cynicism, and separation. It's harmless to the status quo. Gaggles of female comics on TV, for example, are honing the art of male-bashing for perfection. It's fun for the underdog, but it hardly causes the pale male elite to shake in its boots.

Socialist feminism, in contrast, is the politics of workingclass *unity* — with the recognition that priority must be given to the issues and self-assertion of the people capitalism treats the worst. Women, far from being helpless victims, possess enormous power to lead a movement to destroy and replace the social machine grinding them down.

Hired gun for Croatian right. But MacKinnon has moved beyond implicit support for capitalism to active pimping for U.S. foreign policy. She is trying to peddle the horrific suffering of women in the Balkans as a reason for military aggression against the Serbs.

In a splashy cover story in Ms. maga-

zine last year, MacKinnon called for international patriots to halt atrocities against Croatian and Muslim women, which she described in sensationalistic detail. She stopped just short of openly calling for a U.S. knight in a white bomber to "save" women in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

MacKinnon has been hired by rightwing patriotic women's groups in Croatia who have driven antiwar *feminists* out of the country by fingering them publicly. Her job: to sell the lie that Serbia is solely to blame for the war and war crimes.

But *capitalism* caused this war when it began its comeback in Yugoslavia, pitting republic against republic for territory, resources, and capital.

MacKinnon wants to unleash on the region the armies that attacked Iraq, Somalia, Grenada, Vietnam. But only the antiwar campaigners whom MacKinnon and her nationalist clients are attempting to ban can bring the conflict to an end.

If the fascism analogy fits... MacKinnon is fond of comparing pornography to the Holocaust. But note her contempt for civil liberties, hatred for the "male-dominated" Left, support for ultraright capitalist regimes, and frenzied crusades against false enemies determined on the basis of characteristics like gender and nationality. She herself has traveled a fair distance along the road to Nazism.

In order to get rid of horrors like rape, pornography, and war, the feminist movement needs male and female leaders who are pro-workingclass bridge-builders, not führers waiting to happen. Let MacKinnon join the reactionary scum she works so well with; the real feminists will carry on with the task of changing the world. □

For Radical Women directory, see page 8.

...Democrats

from the cover

Civil Rights: Clinton still has not filled either the Justice Department's civil rights post or the leadership position at the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

Meanwhile, the courts are eroding the 1965 Voting Rights Act, without any challenge from the executive branch. In one example, a U.S. District Court ordered Louisiana to redraw the boundaries of two new predominantly Black districts that had produced the state's first African American representatives since Reconstruction.

No use voting for "good" Democrats. "We've just got to get some good people in there." This is a common thought among voters trying to be optimistic about the "lesser-evil" party.

A few Democrats were able to do a little good: Carol Moseley-Braun, the first Black female U.S. senator, blasted Capitol Hill's ol' boys for romanticizing the confederate South. Cal Anderson, Washington state's openly gay legislator, is pushing hard for gay civil rights.

But both legislators failed to "capture" their party's support on civil rights issues. And lacking the ballast of a rainbow, workingclass party to keep them honest, they sold out in other arenas. Moseley-Braun voted for NAFTA. Anderson voted to contract out the work of unionized public-sector employees.



Los Angeles activists vent their anger over Clinton's "compromise" on gays in the military.

Movement bureaucrats help the bosses. The past year's disastrous course is partly due to the complicity of labor bureaucrats and reformist political leaders who have tried to squash protest from the ranks.

After NAFTA's passage, many union locals and labor bodies voted to withdraw from Democrats. But AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and other top officials acted quickly to contain the rebellion. (Please see middle editorial on page six for one instance.)

Following the line of "labor-management cooperation," these misleaders disarm workers by trying to calm the class struggle, when what is needed is leadership to fight and win it!

For a U.S. labor party! Only an independent, united opposition that incorporates all worker-friendly struggles into one program — an anti-capitalist labor party — can stop the drift rightward. Let's make it happen! □

...Australia

from page 8

cancer, capitalism eats up resources and spits out toxins.

World economy pivots around the war industry, which produces only death, misery and pollution. It returns the raw material ripped from the earth to the population as bombs, bullets, or toxic clouds. It buys our labor at rock-bottom prices, and then uses our work against us. We are discarded like industrial waste when no longer required, to scavenge for existence in rotting cities and ruined forests.

A workingclass issue. Vili-fication of ecological activists is routine whenever contamination of the environment makes the front pages. Working people are fed the lie that conservation costs jobs. Crap! Proper management of the world's natural resources would *create* jobs which capitalism will not provide, such as forest regeneration, urban renewal and soil restoration.

Our environment is not only "nature." It's the factory floor strewn with chemical waste; the office saturated with radiation from computer screens; the chemically loaded air in the cities. Indigenous Brazilians flee as the bulldozers raze their forests, only to see their young people murdered by death squads in Rio — to "clean up the streets" for wealthy tourists!

Concern for the environment is not just an issue for a few committed green activists. It's an

integral part of the struggle of Labor against Capital.

Not limits, but a planned economy. Some environmental technologists call for limits on technological change and population growth. But the technology we working people have created is a powerful force for liberation, if only we gain control of it.

Workers in every country have fought hard for the comforts technology can bring. The task is to

raise everybody's living standards to those currently enjoyed by the wealthy few. With careful planning and environmental management, this can be achieved — *now*. But we must move from "conserving" the status quo to demolishing it. We must get rid of an economic system which turns beauty into defilement, and abundance into scarcity.

Capitalism has now poisoned *sunshine*. Enough! Time for the ultimate workingclass cleanup: a global socialist society. □

Weekly study groups for activists!

New York City

Caste, Class and Race: The Origins of Racism
Call 212-677-7002.

Tacoma, Wash.

America's Revolutionary Heritage
Call 206-756-9971.

Los Angeles

The Chicano Struggle: A Racial or National Movement?
Call 213-413-1350.

Seattle

Struggle Against Fascism in Germany
plus other topics
Call 206-722-2453.

San Francisco

African American Politics in the '90s
Call 415-864-1278.

Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Communist Manifesto
Call 604-688-5195.

Portland, Ore.

Communist Manifesto
Call 503-228-3090.

Melbourne, Vic., Australia

Trotsky on Literature and Art
Call 03-386-5065.

Call the Freedom Socialist Party branches listed above for times, locations, and texts.



BY DOUG BARNES AND MERLE WOO

The '90s are turbulent times, with the shattering of the ruling bureaucratic caste in the USSR setting off earthquakes in the political ground around the world. Communist Parties have been torn into fragments and other Stalinist groups, such as Line of March in the U.S., have collapsed completely.

The Freedom Socialist Party, like every other left group, has also felt the tremors and aftershocks. In October of 1991, a handful of leaders and members of the San Francisco Bay Area FSP and its sister organization, Radical Women (RW), resigned, claiming they had no differences with our fundamental ideas. However, it was clear to us that they had junked the concept of the vanguard party, one of Lenin's signature contributions to revolutionary thought and practice; they just did it in stages.

Nine months after they quit, this grouplet — headed by former FSP National Committee members Tom Boot, Roxanne Hindin, and Constance Scott — produced a paper called "Left Unity Through Innovations in Democracy" which they distributed at the 1992 Committees of Correspondence conference. They hoped the Committees of Correspondence, which arose out of the ashes of the Communist Party USA, would be a sympathetic audience.

In "Left Unity," the authors charged that undemocratic practices permeate the Left and sabotage its attempts to regroup, but they refrained from explicitly repudiating the concept of the Bolshevik-type party. More than a year later, in a September 1992 RW meeting, Hindin went so far as to say, "We're anti-any vanguard party we see on the face of the earth right now." In January 1993, at a Bay Area Committees of Correspondence study group on Marxist feminism, they finally came all the way out of the closet with Scott's flat assertion that Leninism produced Stalinism.

Our ex-members have now jumped on that crowded old bandstand which identifies Leninism as the culprit responsible for the fall of the USSR and for all the problems and deficiencies of the socialist movement in the '90s. Despite all their exhortations about "innovations," their position is anything but original. Our response to "Left Unity Through Innovations in Democracy" examines their viewpoint and shows why we continue to believe that Leninism is a positive and absolutely essential ingredient in creating a new social order friendly to the working people who produce the world's material and cultural wealth.

Background to the 1991 defections from FSP. In order to put the accusations and criticisms raised in "Left Unity" into context, it is necessary to know something about the issues underlying the exit of Boot et al. from FSP.

The dispute that led to their departure centered around how our party should respond to two incidents in which leading comrades behaved in an insensitive and racist way toward comrades of color.

A minority, brought together by Scott (a white woman), wanted blood from the offenders. The majority, including the overwhelming majority of the National Comrades of Color Caucus, demanded change from those responsible. The majority participated in a highly productive weekend-long race relations seminar conducted by members of the NCCC, a joint caucus of FSP and RW. Not so the "Left Unity" minority. While giving lip service to the merits of the training session, they did not attend. Their focus was on ferreting out racist "crimes," not consciousness-raising, practical solutions, and growth for the whole party.

Our membership rejected the attempts by Scott and her followers to manipulate instances of racism into a "get the leaders" hysteria rather than solve the problems. If Scott had been successful in imposing her "solution," the frank evaluation and education that took place in the race relations workshop would never have occurred.

When her witchhunt was rejected by the majority, Scott and her friends left, charging us with being undemocratic. Looking back, it is clear that race issues, along with the barrage of allegations about lack of internal democracy, were used as a smoke screen for the faction's pre-planned abandonment of the party and its Leninist program.

The FSP has always championed the Marxist concept that "ideas do not have a skin color" — meaning that a political position is judged on its worth, not the personal attributes of the individual advancing it.

The "Left Unity" authors don't agree. Rather than disputing our methods of correcting racist behavior, they change the subject by resorting to a crass, by-the-numbers version

The Case for the Winning solution to the crisis

of skin-color politics, attempting to belittle us in their paper for being "nearly 90% white." These are the same people who fled from our organization precisely at the point that they were being called on their racist and sexist refusal to encourage the leadership of the people of color in their branch. Significantly, after Boot, Hindin, and Scott absconded, the Bay Area comrades of color picked up the branch reins and exhibited the leadership the defectors had neither considered them capable of nor given them opportunities to demonstrate. (For a fuller discussion of these issues, please see "FSP Dropout Clique Excuses Self-Exile with Anti-Party Hysteria," Vol. 13 No. 4.)

Cliché #1: Left unity is a goal that transcends questions of program. The aim of the ex-FSP and ex-RW members, as announced in the title of their handout, is "left unity." They take as a given that left togetherness is desirable in and of itself, echoing Eduard Bernstein, the German Marxist-turned-reformist who said that the movement is everything, the ultimate aim is nothing.

We disagree. Harmony in the service of an incorrect program can be just as damaging to the working class as disharmony. Historically, unity of the wrong forces, over the wrong political agenda, with the wrong leadership, has repeatedly spelled disaster for revolution.

For example, examine the 1926 fusion of the Chinese CP, and the left forces it influenced, with the Kuomintang. That "unity" led to the mass slaughter of communists by the Kuomintang because it was predicated on the Stalinist *popular front* strategy. This strategy advocates deferring the proletarian seizure of state power in favor of a coalition with the national bourgeoisie.

Such collaboration between classes always has a program that serves the ruling class, not workers. Reformist and Stalinist leaders are forever urging workers to compromise their goals in order to ally with one or another wing of the bourgeoisie, but at no time has the capitalist class ever clamored to work with the proletariat toward proletarian goals!

In contrast to this, Trotsky's *united front* concept is not based on class collaboration. But neither is it homogeneous; it allows groups with differing politics to come together around *shared workingclass demands*.

Unity without regard to program or class allegiance is suicidal. Disunity *within* the working

class, on the other hand, has been the main obstacle to building revolution in advanced capitalist countries. It is created by the class collaborationism of a large layer of misleaders, such as labor movement bureaucrats, and by the sharp divisions among exploited people based upon race, sex, sexual preference, and nationality.

Left unity, to be of service to workers, must be based on a program that furthers *class cohesion* by forswearing accommodation with the bosses and aggressively challenging any and all of the divisive "isms."

The former FSP and RW members charge that vanguard parties retard regroupment among radicals, that revolutionary Marxists "promote their own organizations in opposition to strengthening the movement." But a vanguard party

makes *principled* regroupment possible by offering a clear *programmatic basis* for coalescing and acting.

Cliché #2: Revolutionary parties are anti-democratic. The faction asserts in their paper that left unity depends on "innovations in democracy" because radical organizations are mired in elitism and bureaucratism. They casually throw in the standard anti-Red canards:

- Leaders in any democratic-centralist organization "[tend] to concentrate more and more power into fewer and fewer hands."

- Vanguard parties by their nature become hopelessly sectarian and entrench "egotistical, elitist, 'we've got all the answers' leadership."

- "The 'President-for-Life' syndrome plagues...every political tendency."

In discussing "the source of sectarianism and bureaucracy," Scott and the rest say it doesn't "necessarily" rest in democratic centralism. But this qualification isn't meant to be taken seriously, because they devote a whole section to explaining how democratic centralism leaves Left groups "estranged from reality."

They preach more democracy and less centralism as the cure. Democratic centralism, however, is dialectical, and centralism is *part of* the way an action organization carries out democracy. Centralism serves democratic ends rather than being antagonistic to them.

In a Leninist party, members must exercise the right to dissent and debate with each other and with leadership, because that is the only reliable means to figure out a correct course. Once conclusions are reached by the majority, the



The vanguard party's program expresses the demands of the most oppressed workers. These demands may be limited, but they are actually revolutionary, because they cannot be conceded them. (Left) Women workers insisting on increased rations sparked the 1917 Russian Revolution. (Above) The Freedom Socialist Party marching as part of the 1979 Third World Lesbian/Gay

leadership has the responsibility to see that these decisions are carried out. Otherwise, the party becomes mired in endless discussion. If either part of the equation — democratic decision-making or unified implementation — is lacking, the party becomes hamstrung or ineffective.

The anti-Leninist faction came together over their desire to see FSP become a loose, decentralized federation of discussion groups. Unwilling to pursue a losing cause within the party, they defected, crying "lack of democracy."

This is a silly claim. For one thing, the dropouts possess hundreds of pages of minutes recording days and weeks of party debate over their initial criticisms of the leadership. For another, their Bay Area colleagues and the national FSP leadership repeatedly requested that they stay in the party to discuss their differences in an organized way. Finally, their leaving was propelled in large measure because their branch-mates had gotten fed up with *their* increasingly high-handed methods of running the local and were demanding more democracy!

In *Their Morals and Ours — Marxist vs. Liberal Views on Morality*, Trotsky responds to Victor Serge's assertion that the Bolshevik Party was destroyed by excessive centralism, a charge that prefigures the rantings of Boot, Hindin,



Vanguard Party Crisis of radical leadership

and Scott today:

"To invest the mass with traits of sanctity and to reduce one's program to amorphous "democracy," is to dissolve oneself in the class as it is, to turn from a vanguard into a rearguard, and by this very thing, to renounce revolutionary tasks...

"But...in demanding freedom "for the masses," Serge in reality demands freedom for himself and for his compeers, freedom from all control, all discipline, even, if possible, from all criticism. The "masses" have nothing at all to do with it. When our "democrat" scurries from right to left, and from left to right, sowing confusion and skepticism, he imagines it to be the realization of a salutary freedom of thought. But when we evaluate from the Marxist standpoint the vacillations of a disillusioned petty-bourgeois intellectual, that seems to him an assault upon his individuality. He then enters into an alliance with all the confusionists for a crusade against our despotism and our sectarianism.

"The internal democracy of a revolutionary party is not a goal in itself. It must be supplemented and bounded by centralism. For a Marxist the question has always been: democracy for what? For which program? The framework of the program is at the same time the framework of democracy."

Cliché #3: Leninism is the same as Stalinism. After the crackup of the Stalinist workers states, many disoriented leftists succumbed to the rulingclass drumbeat that some inherent flaw in communism, as promulgated by Lenin and his co-thinkers, brought this about.

Scott and her cohorts are among them. They have lost faith in the ability of the working class to make socialist revolution and have acquiesced to the shibboleth that Stalinism is the inevitable fruit of Leninism. This requires that they unlearn everything they know about the evolution of Marxist politics and the history of the Russian Revolution, an educational challenge they seem ready to take up without embarrassment.

In *The Revolution Betrayed* and other works, Trotsky showed with devastating clarity how the Stalinist bureaucracy *usurped* Leninism and mangled the revolution's original goals. Stalinism was so totally hostile to Leninism that an ocean of blood was required to change the country's course. To consolidate the rule of the new counterrevolutionary caste took more than a decade of horrific repression against the old Bolsheviks, the Left Opposition led by Trotsky, and anyone who might possibly have been moved to defend workers' democracy.

Cliché #4: Trotskyism is just as bad as Stalinism. Scott, Boot, Hindin, and the others aver that "vanguardism" infects Trotskyist parties as well as Stalinist ones, stating that "bureaucratic methods permeate the left" and citing their own alleged experiences in FSP. They charge that the FSP forced them out and Radical Women expelled them, when the truth is that they voluntarily separated themselves from us.

The effect of this chain of associations is to equate Trotskyism with the evil practices of Stalinism — and, supposedly, Leninism — while again ignoring program. But the abyss between Trotskyism and Stalinism cannot be dispensed with through mere slander and sweeping generalizations.

Contradictorily, at least some of the "Left Unity" signers still call themselves Trotskyists. This is ridiculous. Trotskyism is the body of thought that upholds and continues Leninism today, including Lenin's ideas about the necessity for a highly committed, theoretically advanced party to unite and lead the working class to overthrow its rulers.

It's true that sectarianism and bureaucratism are all too prevalent in radical and labor circles. But this is not the fault of Leninism or Trotskyism, but of a widespread failure among leftists to understand the importance of orienting to the most oppressed workers and a related tendency to try to strike deals with capitalists and their managers and politicians. The cause of both of these syndromes can ultimately be traced back to capitalist pressure and persecution and the gradual capitulation of many in the Left who once held great promise.

Cliché #5: We need a new kind of socialism. The "Left Unity" authors say we need to find "new models of organization that fit the goals of the socialist movement." They call for a "new" socialism, apparently to replace the "old" socialism.

Parties and leaders constitute not an independent, but nevertheless a very important, element in the revolutionary process. Without a guiding organization, the energy of the masses would dissipate like steam not enclosed in a piston-box.

—Leon Trotsky



This would tend to make someone thinking of joining up with these self-exiles want to ask a few questions. What do you mean by socialism? Do you really think the USSR, with its life-crushing dictatorship of a privileged minority caste, represented socialism? When you say socialism, do you mean socialism as defined by Marx and Engels? Lenin and Trotsky? Stalin? The U.S. State Department? Are we being advised to start all over again, to pretend that these questions have never been hammered out or decided in real life?

In practice, consciously or unconsciously, socialists operate under the influence of one of three basic ideologies: Trotskyism, Stalinism, or social democracy.

The program of *Trotskyism* carries forward the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin and asserts the need for and inevitability of uninterrupted, international revolutionary struggle — "Permanent Revolution" — led by the most oppressed and thus most dynamic workers.

The cornerstone of the *Stalinist* program from the very start was defense of the bureaucratized Soviet workers state at the expense of revolution elsewhere — "socialism in one country." Played out, this has meant the Stalinists share the same program of class accommodation and reformism as the *social democrats*, who are anti-Leninist and anti-vanguard-party.

All protestations about a "new" socialism notwithstanding, Scott and her crew are headed fast for a very old swamp ground: the most virulently anti-communist patch of the social-democratic movement.

Cliché #6: Class struggle is passé. The anti-party faction has essentially rejected the need for revolutionary struggle culminating in workingclass rule. They now define the Left's job as merely to "empower" workers and "promote the confidence" of the "politically and economically disenfranchised." They have adopted the Stalinist line that the capitalists will continue to rule for decades on end. They call murkily for the Left to win only "some power," to "help win more and bigger victories and re-shape the political landscape in favor of working people and the unemployed."

How vague, New Age, condescending, gloomy, reformist, and dangerously wrong! Bill Clinton's campaign writers couldn't have done a better job of turning bitter class conflict into pabulum.

In contrast, FSP wants the Left to *lead* the working class to *take the power* — all of it. We recognize that capitalism's acute economic crisis, and its proven inability to overcome it, spur workers' drive for power. We are also aware of the factors holding *back* revolt, but that's where our distinct program comes in. We don't just "promote the confidence" of people of color, women, and lesbians and gays, we acknowledge and promote the *leadership* of the margin-

alized majority — the missing link in the process of successful revolution.

Why the Leninist party is necessary. At the heart of all the half-thought-out formulations and non-specific cries for "innovations" bandied about by Scott and her friends lies profound hostility toward the vanguard party.

But the Leninist party will survive their enmity, because it plays a crucial role both in building the revolutionary movement and in the actual contest for power. A depository of accumulated and synthesized lessons, the party enables the movement to learn from the past, correct its mistakes, and chart a future course.

The party is the vehicle by which the working class trains its leaders, an intensive school providing theoretical development, critique, skills-building, encouragement, and education by example.

The party keeps the class struggle alive during periods of reaction when *mass* action has ebbed.

The party brings together the best fighters from the ranks of the doubly and triply oppressed and carries on an insistent fight against the bigotries used to divide the proletariat: racism, sexism, heterosexism, national chauvinism, anti-Semitism.

The party urges workers to break with middle-caste movement leaders who peddle reliance on the *capitalist* parties and who serve as a conveyor belt for bourgeois ideology into the ranks of labor. The party provides alternative leadership for the working class.

Finally, the party is a trained, disciplined, centralized and tested combat body, ready to defend workers in the most pitched battles with bosses, cops, and Nazis and to organize the final insurrection.

These are the reasons the FSP is such an unrepentant advocate of the revolutionary party.

And this is what Boot and the others are running away from. They want out of the firing line that accountable leadership is on. They want out of the heat generated by the multitude of struggles that are thrust upon a vanguard party — from face-offs with fascists and anti-abortion terrorists to battles with union sellouts and internal party disputes over racism, sexism, and methods of operating.

Which side are you on? At the moment, the faction of ex-FSP and ex-RW members seems to be swimming with a strong current. But today's anti-Leninist river will slow, meander, and trickle to nothing.

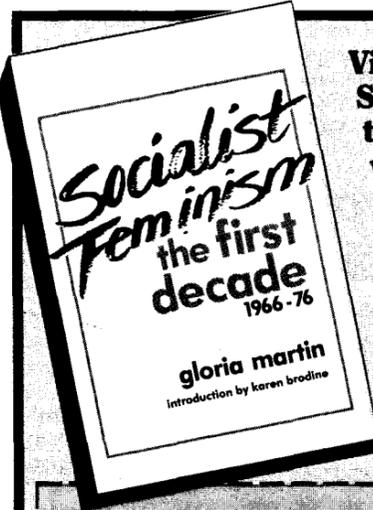
Why? Because there is another side to the collapse of the Soviet bloc workers states besides the impetus it now gives to anti-communism. The collapse has broken the Stalinist grip over the workers' movement worldwide and prodded many radicals to seriously analyze Stalinism and Trotskyism for the first time. Springs of rebellion have been revealed, and we see hints of what is as of yet underground.

From Berkeley to Moscow, fledgling groups are exploring the ideas and historical records of Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, and Trotskyism with new intentness. Like generations of activists before them, eager radicals are discovering that it is a *concrete socialist program*, not liberal phrasemongering about anti-Leninist "innovations in democracy," that will set the working class on the path to victory.

Clarity of purpose and total commitment will ultimately guide these contemporary rebels to a reclaiming of the vanguard party as a unique and irreplaceable component of the revolutionary journey. □

Doug Barnes, a Sovietologist and photojournalist, and Merle Woo, an educator and poet, are members of the FSP National Committee, the party's elected leadership body. Their article above was originally published as a document for discussion at the 1993 FSP convention under the title "Renegades from Leninism Wallow in Clichés."

For copies, send \$1.00 each (includes shipping) to Freedom Socialist Party, 409 Maynard Ave. South #201, Seattle, WA 98104.



Vivid account of the Freedom Socialist Party's early years and the dynamic impact of a modern vanguard party on the labor, feminist, people of color, gay and antiwar movements.

"Magnificent...extraordinarily honest, productively self-critical and powerfully inspiring."

—Dr. Cathie Dunsford, writer and Pacific lesbian feminist activist, New Zealand

Softcover, 244 pages, index, 17 photos • ISBN 0-932323-00-6

Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ copies of *Socialist Feminism: The First Decade* at \$8.95 per copy. Add \$1.00 shipping for first book, \$.50 each additional copy.

Name _____ Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Country _____

Return check or money order to:
Red Letter Press, 409 Maynard Ave. South, Suite 201, Seattle, WA 98104, 206-682-0990.

Editorials

Last thing Bosnia needs is U.S. "help"

WHEN THE BILLY BOY in the White House starts talking about dropping bombs in Bosnia to "stop the slaughter of innocents," it's time to dust off the "U.S. Out Now!" banners and head for the streets. The smell of napalm is in the air.

During the Vietnam War, the top military brass and politicians were blunt: We're going to bomb those commie bastards back to the stone age. But this is the New Age. The president's air strikes are "humanitarian." His interventions are "limited," and they come with more endorsements than a pair of Nikes.

And commie bastards aren't what they used to be, either. Most of them — the governing layers, anyway — are now aspiring capitalists. In Yugoslavia, these nouveau entrepreneurs began carving up the country along ethnic lines, kicking off a civil war.

Bill has no fundamental objections to that. Military policies motivated by business interests are The American Way.

So his "outrage" took a back seat while the multi-ethnic Bosnians — Muslims and otherwise — took a beating from Serbian and Croatian armed forces.

THEN, IF YOU BELIEVE IN fairy tales, Clinton was horrified to learn that *actual people* were *actually dying* in Sarajevo. So he mobilized his NATO friends to threaten air strikes against the Serbs. The condition for avoiding this pummeling is that *both* the Serbian attackers and the Bosnian defenders give up their heavy weapons in and around the capital.

The U.S. does not side with the Bosnian resistance fighting for a pluralistic society. In fact, the U.S. role in the conflict thus far consists of an arms embargo which has left the Bosnians almost defenseless — and should be lifted immediately.

BUT THE BOSNIANS do have real allies: the trade union and peace movements of Serbia and Croatia. Strikes, draft resistance, and feminist organizing across ethnic lines are putting pressure on war-makers to pull back. These anti-nationalist forces — not the U.S./U.N./NATO machine — deserve our support.

For those who think that U.S. foreign policy can *ever* be humanistic, we have four words for you (out of dozens that apply): Haiti, Somalia, Iraq, and Cuba. □

Union boss yanks radical from labor council

THE PASSAGE OF NAFTA has increased pressure on labor bosses to end their cozy bloc with the Democrats, which has cost workers decades of gains. Understandably, union bureaucrats are unhappy about this welcome development.

In Seattle, Washington, AFSCME Local 435 President Vikki Goodman unilaterally removed labor party advocate Fred Hyde as the union's delegate to the King County Labor Council (KCLC), a seat he had held for 16 years.

Hyde is internationally respected as a Freedom Socialist Party attorney who helped win victories against the odds in important First Amendment clashes like the Freeway Hall Case (in which he was also a defendant) and FSP founder Clara Fraser's discrimination suit against Seattle's public electrical utility. Goodman's McCarthyite maneuver followed the printing of a letter to the editor by Hyde that cited NAFTA in calling on workers to break with the Democrats and form their own independent, anti-capitalist party.

DOZENS OF KCLC REPRESENTATIVES and other union members angry about the silencing of a delegate with a strong record of principled socialist leadership are demanding Hyde's reinstatement. In his union, supporters formed the Committee to Restore Democracy to AFSCME Local 435.

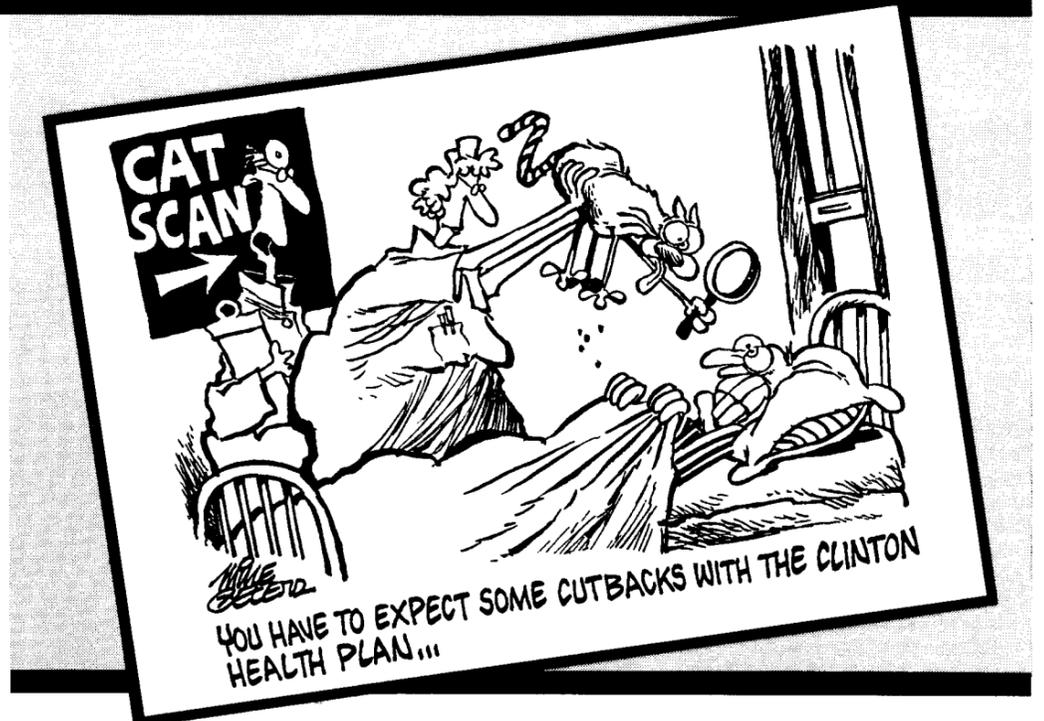
The besieged labor movement needs its radical voices desperately. Readers can help by urging Goodman to reappoint Hyde to the labor council. Please send mail to AFSCME Local 435, 444 NE Ravenna Blvd., Seattle, WA 98115, with a copy to Hyde c/o the FS, 5018 Rainier Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118. □

¡Abajo el bloqueo! Down with the blockade!

A U.S.-CUBA FRIENDSHIPMENT bearing medical and school supplies is heading for Havana as we go to press. Among the caravanistas is Chicana writer and leader Yolanda Alaniz, an FSP candidate for Seattle City Council in 1991 and, like Fred Hyde (see above), a defendant in the Freeway Hall Case over the right to privacy and freedom of association.

ALANIZ JOINS MORE THAN 250 ACTIVISTS from Canada, the U.S., and Mexico who are challenging the U.S. embargo of Cuba by transporting aid. During the last Friendshipment, U.S. Customs detained blockade-busters trying to take a school bus over the Mexican border. But a 23-day hunger strike forced the government to back down.

This group of caravanistas will arrive at the border on March 9 ready to resist any attempt to stop them. They are insisting on the right of *working people* to "free trade." We'll carry a firsthand report on their progress next issue. □



Dateline Canada

Voters punish treachery by New Democratic Party

BY MARCEL HATCH AND DYLAN KENDRICK

In last October's federal elections, Canadians sent two of their major parties packing.

It's easy to understand disenchantment with the Progressive Conservative Party, the Tories. This outfit introduced Canada's deepest recession ever, presiding over the loss of two million jobs. Ideologically, the Tories are kin to Reagan and Thatcher.

But why did voters overwhelmingly reject the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) — seemingly the good guys in the white hats?

Angry voters, big upsets. First, election results:

- The Tories plunged spectacularly, keeping *only two* of their 155 parliamentary seats. They also lost their official party standing and government funding, because these privileges

depend on having at least 12 members sitting in parliament.

- The NDP, Canada's version of the labour party, dropped dismally as well, from 43 seats to nine. NDP, too, lost official status and financing.

- The main beneficiary of all this crashing and burning was the middle-of-the-road Liberal Party, who are similar to the U.S. Democrats. They jumped from 79 seats to 177 and won the biggest percent of the vote. Their party head, Jean Chrétien, became prime minister.

- The Bloc Québécois, a bourgeois pro-separatist party, claimed Quebec and spurted from eight seats to 54, becoming the powerful official opposition.

- Alarmingly, the ultraright Reform Party leapt from one seat to 52. This coalition of laissez-faire capitalists and fundamentalist Christians opposes Quebec independence, immigration, abortion, homosexuality, civil rights, labour rights, and secularism. As happens in every economic crunch, some people are looking for easy scapegoats, and it takes a strong left alternative to counter the attraction of

quick-fixers like the Reformers.

Which brings us back to the question of the NDP.

NDP sells out. The New Democratic Party began in the 1930s as a farmers' cooperative movement and has been the Canadian section of the Socialist (or Second) International since 1961. The labour movement is officially affiliated with the NDP, and the party is seen as the representative of all the progressive social movements.

In the early 1990s, the NDP won office in Ontario, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia, which together have 52 percent of Canada's population. Its record in Ontario shows most

formist ideas began to take hold in the International early in the century. By World War I, it had degenerated so much that its representatives in various national parliaments sided with their own profit-seeking bourgeoisies in the conflict.

Today social democrats preach reliance on elections over mass action, try to tempt the petty bourgeoisie into coalition with workers by de-radicalizing the socialist program, timidly advocate only a partially socialized economy, and pray for capitalism to evolve into socialism without revolution.

Social democrats are part of what Trotskyists call the middle

caste, a global layer of influential movement nay-sayers and go-slowers with two functions. The first is to keep working class militancy from exploding into revolution. The second is to preserve their own privileged positions as the recognized mouth-

pieces of the working class, which means they have to exert *some* effort on workers' behalf.

For a united left ticket. Radicals in Canada must take heed of the two disasters of the election, the fall of the NDP and the rise of Reform, and turn crisis into opportunity.

How? By combining to create united left electoral tickets. We need ballot-box options that not only provide an explicitly anti-capitalist program, but have the backbone to implement it.

The NDP should be encouraged to join in. Its leaders may feel it is in their interest of self-preservation to participate. But even if not, great numbers of NDP rank-and-filers would be delighted to work for a slate that champions the program their party is *supposed* to stand for.

With those who have the most to gain in the forefront of a united effort, the discontent that produced October's election reversals can break out of the bounds of liberalism and reformism and become a powerful force for much-needed revolutionary change. □

Social democrats timidly advocate a partially socialized economy and hope for the gradual evolution of capitalism into socialism.

clearly why voters rejected it so utterly in October.

The Ontario NDP got elected by promising to institute publicly owned auto-insurance, improved labour laws, equal pay for equal work, affirmative action, full access to free abortion, gay rights, and tax reform requiring corporations and the wealthy to pay a bigger share.

Under pressure from business, the NDP sold out every one of these issues. And it added a fifth twist of the knife — the "social contract," similar to Australia's "social accord" among labour, business, and government. What this high-sounding pact amounted to in Ontario was a two-billion-dollar deficit reduction program that called for firing more than 40,000 public sector workers.

The NDP's abandonment of its stated working class agenda is a direct product of its nature as a social-democratic organization.

Serving two masters. Social democracy started out as a revolutionary movement whose national sections made up the Second International. But re-

Voices of Color

No "Gold Mountain" for Chinese immigrants

BY EMILY WOO YAMASAKI

My gung-gung ("grandfather" in Chinese) arrived at the U.S. immigration port of Angel Island after an inhuman voyage at sea. He was detained on the island for a year and a half.

After diligently preparing himself for the tricky naturalization test, grandfather won citizenship only to end up working two jobs to survive. He supplemented his low wages as a butcher in Chinatown during the day by gambling at night — which meant spending part of his income to pay off the cops.

Since my grandfather made his home here, very little has changed for Chinese immigrants, who have been targets of economic abuse and scapegoating since the mid-1800s. In recent months, the government and media have seized on smugling incidents like the one involving the Golden Venture, the rusty tramp steamer that ran aground off Queens, New York, in June 1993, to increase anti-Chinese hysteria.

The Golden Venture carried nearly 300 people in cramped and unsanitary conditions, similar to those my grandfather endured, in its cargo hold. Some passengers had been aboard for six months. Food and drinking water were scarce. When the ship ran aground, crew members urged the panicked travelers to jump into the cold, pounding surf and swim for shore. Ten died.

The survivors were thrown in jail, thanks to a Clinton policy enacted just weeks before. They will stay there until immigration judges rule on their asylum claims, which may take two years.

A month after the Golden Venture beached, President Clinton introduced legislation to tighten already restrictive entrance policies. His bill would provide for stricter screening of applicants abroad; make it much easier and quicker to reject and deport asylum-seekers; and add 600 officers to the border patrol. In motivating his callous proposal, the president declared, "We will not surrender our borders to those who wish to exploit our history of compassion and justice."

Such shameless demagoguery from the betrayer of the Haitian boat people! What Clinton *didn't* say was that U.S. borders are open only to those whose labor his capitalist class wishes to exploit.

Criminalizing the victims. Federal officials said the Fuk Ching gang, one of a number of international crime syndicates smuggling people into the country, planned to collect as much as \$30,000 from each Golden Venture passenger. Once in the U.S., immigrants often end up in sweatshops to work off their debt to these extortionists, or "snakeheads."

Media coverage has focused on the criminal role of the gangs — the predators — to stigmatize Chinese immigrants — their prey — as illegal, alien, and they're manipulative of an over-generous system.

By doing this, the media is cooperating with the government and right wing in an inflammatory campaign to blame "foreigners" for unemployment and social and economic crisis. This rac-

("hard labor" in Chinese). They were indispensable to expanding capitalism, which was gathering steam in gold mining and railroad construction.

Today, capitalism is capsizing. More than ever, it needs cheap labor to stay afloat.

One source of this labor is dissidents seeking to leave countries like China and Russia, where Stalinist-style bureaucracy and totalitarianism hijacked socialist revolutions and set the stage for capitalism to falsely advertise itself as the "democratic" alternative. Workers there are now fleeing chaos and clampdowns.

Another labor pool is made up of refugees and immigrants from places where the U.S. ruling class either props up vicious, near-fascist dictatorships, or has bled the country dry economically, or both: Haiti, most of Central America, the Philippines, etc. Workers from nations like these are lured away by the promise of a better life, however faint.

The U.S. establishment hypocritically rails against the influx of new residents, but it is U.S. policy that is responsible.



On landing in New York, arrested Chinese passengers from the "Golden Venture" find a callous disregard for the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

Socialism: the path to Gold

Mountain. It is time for Asians to shatter the stereotype of us as the model minority by providing bold, radical political leadership.

We should demand that Clinton's administration ensure full rights for all immigrants and undocumented workers and we should challenge every rightwing attempt to cut off health benefits and public education for immigrants or their children.

But the reality is that as long as capitalists are at the helm of state, whether Democrats or Republicans, newcomers will never find friendly shores. Immigration will continue to be a door that swings open and closed according to the economic and political needs of big business.

I believe there is no better homage to my grandfather than fighting for a **socialist** society, one with no need to manufacture disparity between new arrivals and the already settled. Only under socialism can the U.S. become everyone's Gold Mountain. □

ist war on "foreigners" extends to everyone whose skin isn't white, without regard to citizenship.

Racism against Asians functions just as other forms of racism and sexism and homophobia do. They all keep workers divided and at each others' throats and justify poverty-level wages, discrimination, and political disenfranchisement.

Asians in the U.S. are portrayed as especially adept at "making it." Vilified as cunning and dangerous on one hand, they are gunged over as the "model minority" on the other. But the reality of life for the majority of Asian Americans and for Asian immigrants, who toil long hours in restaurants and garment factories for less than minimum wage, is light years away from the fables of academic prodigies and financial magnates highlighted in glossy magazine stories.

Capitalist ship hits shallow shoals. The first Chinese immigrants called California "Gum Sahn" — Gold Mountain. They sought prosperity, but were worked to death as "coolies"



Clara Fraser

More socialism for skeptics

IN MY LAST COLUMN, I INAUGURATED a kind of socialist catechism. A friendly reader transmitted the column via computer network and received some fascinating responses.

A man in Finland requested an FS subscription. A woman in California is distributing the column to a group which is producing an "FAQ" (Frequently Asked Questions) paper on socialism. A Missouriian posted my words on another computerized bulletin board.

Another man hated it. He professed amazement at hearing from an open socialist — a dying breed, he said — and accused me of stacking the deck with lame questions leading to blah answers. Ouch!

His argument, condensed: "No group can know enough to centrally plan a modern economy. Capitalism isn't directed by some sinister cabal, but by millions of individual owners. The whole system is coordinated through trade and the money prices that trade generates."

OK, Mr. Free-Market Champion, let me respond to your critique.

FMC: MODERN ECONOMY IS TOO COMPLEX to plan.

CF: STOP WITH THE MYSTIFYING and mystifying already! With a little work, study and experience, anyone who can manage their own household economy can supervise the flow of money through a business, an entire industry, a government, banking, the stock market, and the compulsive flight of capital around the world.

Capital is simply money and commodities assigned to create a profit and be reinvested. Profit is made by the "magical" addition of **surplus value** to the value inherent in the product. The "added value," the profit, is produced by workers.

And this capital is **born to expand or die**. To be useful, the investment must result in **only in a profit** or die. To be growing, the investment must result in **only in a profit** or die. To be growing, the investment must result in **only in a profit** or die.

The outcome of capitalism is hardly the dramatic and sexy individual entrepreneurship extolled by the financial and journalistic nations. No, the real end product is world domination (cartels, multi-nationals, international agreements) by a few huge conglomerates who each control a segment of the global market: imperialism.

The Zapatistas in Mexico today, the Chinese coolies under Chiang Kai-shek, the peasants and workers in Tzarist Russia, the Black South African workers and farmers — all were smart enough to understand the private-profit system and what the hell it was doing to them.

You, too, my critic, should be sufficiently intelligent to grasp the nature and laws of the system you consider incomprehensible. Said Lenin, "Every ruler shall learn to cook and every cook shall learn to rule the state." Can you cook? Then there's hope for you.

FMC: MARKET RELATIONS AREN'T PLOTTED by a group of secret schemers.

CF: SO WHO SAID THEY WERE? Much engineering and manipulation and control through pacts does go on, but for the most part, you're right. It was Marx who pointed out the truly anarchistic nature of modern industrial capitalism — an irrational, disorganized hodge-podge operation that enormously rewards price fixers, crooks, gangsters, exploiters, con artists, gamblers, stock manipulators, and all manner of corruption. It's a crazy and ruthless economy that survives by inflicting anguish on untold billions.

So why has this stupid, hideous arrangement not been extinguished? Because sinister cabals, whose existence you dispute, use their vast power to employ violence beyond imagination against workers and whole countries, so that their investments are protected and sealed off from the very labor that produced the profit.

True, market prices and successes can't be totally profited, but **the underlying profit system is perpetuated** by mostly unknown industrialists and financiers, and the governments they own.

FMC: THE SYSTEM IS REGULATED through trade and the prices set by trade.

CF: YOU'RE CONFUSING THE SYSTEM and the market. The **market** is coordinated by trade (what sells and what doesn't), but the private profit system is perpetuated by those with power and guns.

Furthermore, "trade" doesn't determine basic prices anyway. Rather than being basically dependent upon supply and demand, prices in the marketplace actually fluctuate around the **real value** inherent in a commodity.

The value of a commodity comes from the labor invested in it, including the labor that manufactured the machinery and extracted the raw materials used to create the item. And the boss' profits do not come from his smarts or his capital investment or his mark-up, but from the value created by labor — specifically, surplus-value.

Surplus value derives from unpaid wages. **The worker is never paid for the value of the product**, only for the value of her or his **labor time**, which is **theoretically less**, and which meanders widely depending upon the historical, cultural and social conditions of a country.

Labor-power is miraculous, like the Virgin Birth. You get more out of it than you put in. Workers produce a commodity which has more value than what they get in wages to keep them functioning. This differential is **surplus value**, which is the source of capital.

You referred me to Rules and Order by Hayek. I'm not impressed. May I refer you to Wage-Labor and Capital, and Value, Price and Profit, by Marx, and to "What Is Economics," by Rosa Luxemburg. Someday you may even be ready for Capital!

The secret of value, the **labor** theory of value, that was unearthed by the classical economists and by Marx is what the money barons fear and hate. It is the secret that will set the world free. People will learn how to control the supposedly sacred, eternal, and inscrutable method of production and distribution that now controls us.

Socialists will produce for use according to a reasonable plan and without a thought for the odious notion of profit. And with no insatiable parasitic class to maintain, socialist society will produce abundance for all. That's a fact. The global human family will arrange its standard of living as easily as affluent families do today. □

Judy Ross 1941-1993

Judy Ross, a longtime lesbian and gay rights champion, died of pneumonia in Seattle, Washington, on December 6, 1993, after a brave battle against cancer. She was 52 years old.

Most recently, Ross had been active in the "No on 35" Committee, organized to safeguard Seattle's domestic partnership law. Judy was deeply committed to winning equality not just for sexual minorities, but for everyone. She devoted three decades of her life to the civil rights, antiwar, and feminist movements.

Judy joined Radical Women in 1991, de-

lighted to belong to an organization that brought together all the struggles she cared about. She was an enthusiastic and valuable campaigner that year for two Freedom Socialist Party candidates for city council.

At a February 12 memorial held by Judy's sister and family, local RW Organizer Anne Slater said Judy lived a life rich with concern for others. "Like many people," she said, "Judy had a gut reaction against the things wrong with this world — but she made a difference by putting her feelings into action." □

Dateline Australia

Governments fiddle while ozone shrinks and weather wobbles

BY PETER MURRAY

"I love a sunburnt country," begins an Australian patriotic poem. The words are more apt than the poet knew. Since the early 1980s Australians have been exhorted to "slip on a shirt, slop on sunscreen and slap on a hat." The "ozone hole" looms overhead, and the sunburnt country threatens to turn into a radiation-scorched wasteland.

The government responds by downplaying the crisis or promoting inadequate personal solutions, because its main concern is to protect the rights of business to untrammelled exploitation — of resources and people both.

The sky is falling. Ozone gas in the stratosphere filters ul-

traviolet (UV) rays from sunlight; it is the world's sunshade. UV radiation causes cancer, eye diseases and immune system deficiencies in mammals and it attacks plankton, which forms the basis of the ocean food chain.

The ozone layer is shrinking. Normally, it averages 3mm thick, or one-tenth inches, but in the far south this year it will be just 0.1mm, or 4/1000 inches. This rarified region will cover five percent of the earth's surface.

Ozone depletion will lead to an increase in human deaths from skin cancer. Other species, particularly domestic livestock, will suffer similarly, and the ocean's plant life will be debilitated. A catastrophe is literally "in the air."

Apart from announcing token "targets" for reducing the production of chlorofluorocarbons

(CFCs) — chlorine-based compounds which destroy ozone — governments have done nothing to avert disaster.

CFCs also contribute to what is now a continuously rising average air temperature. But there is a bigger Greenhouse Effect villain — unprecedented quantities of carbon dioxide released through the burning of fossil fuels. And the mass destruction of the world's forests and the attack on ocean plankton, which both productively use up carbon, weaken the capacity of the environment to deal with the excess.

Capitalism is smothering the planet.

Ain't the weather strange? Global warming, floods in Europe, and record numbers of windstorms across the planet may foreshadow the cli-

mate of the future. Disruption of the ocean currents in the South Pacific threatens to make Australian cities uninhabitable and wipe out Peru's fisheries.

January's *Earth* magazine shows the fragility of the world's climate. Ice cores from Greenland have revealed a period between ice ages where weather patterns were wildly unstable. In one event, the average temperature fell by 25 degrees in *ten years*, rising again 70 years later.

Our heedless industrial activities today are affecting climate in complex ways scientists are only beginning to investigate, let alone understand. Research is needed urgently, but governments won't provide the money.



A canker on the globe. Industry requires renewable energy supplies to maintain growth. Yet the quest for a fast buck means that corporations worry only about where the next load of coal comes from — not the one after. Energy efficiency would be profitable in the long term, but the long term extends just as far as tomorrow's share prices. Like a

to page 3

Sandy Nelson vs. News Tribune

Reporter at center of Washington state storm over gay rights

BY LINDA AVERILL

In 1990 Sandy Nelson was an award-winning journalist for *The News Tribune* (TNT), the Tacoma, Washington daily. She was also a lesbian, unionist, socialist, and Radical Women organizer in the thick of mobilizing for a city anti-discrimination ordinance to protect lesbians and gays.

Management liked her work, but not her off-duty activism. In September 1990 they gave her an involuntary transfer to the copy desk.

Now, after four years of pushing to regain her job, Nelson is heading for court at the same time Washington is entering the national spotlight as a battleground over gay rights.

On one side of the statewide fight stand two anti-gay groups that filed petitions to legalize discrimination against sexual minorities. If they get enough signatures, their initiatives will go on November's ballot.

On the other side stand gay rights activists opposing the initiatives and campaigning for a state law against disparate treatment based on sexual orientation.

At a well-attended February meeting of the Sandy Nelson Defense Committee, groups organizing against the initiatives discussed Nelson's case as a textbook example of the need to defeat the rightwing homophobes and win explicit gay-rights guarantees.

Best defense is a good offense.

"Employers think diversity is great as long as it fits into their program," said Cathy Kaufmann of the Out Front Labor Coalition. But, she said, bosses will figure out a way to isolate a person who questions authority — and that's what happened to Nelson. "A victory for Nelson and passage of a gay civil rights bill would send a powerful message to employers."

Cate Milburn from Pierce County Hands Off Washington emphasized that if the gay rights legislation loses and the initiatives pass, what happened to Sandy will happen to others.

Susan Docekal of the Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights said she believes that the groups behind the initiatives, Citizens Alliance of Washington and Washington Public Affairs Council, perceive gay rights as a weak link in the chain of civil rights. Their overall agenda is broad, she warned, including opposi-

tion to abortion, the minimum wage, collective bargaining rights, and affirmative action.

"They're trying to put us on the defensive in order to divide and conquer," Docekal said. "But Sandy's case and the gay rights bill represent our chance to take the offensive!"

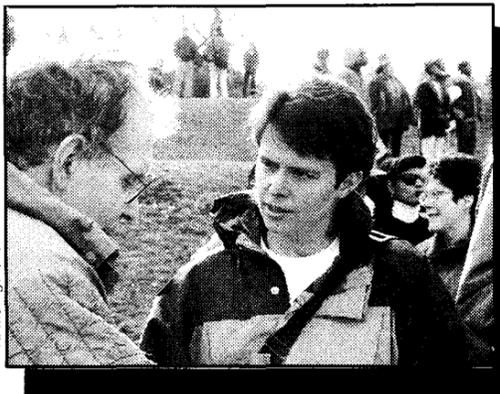
Big business busts reporters' rights.

Nelson started at TNT in 1983. At that time, reporters there were represented by Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild Local 82

and had a contract protecting them from retribution for their lifestyle or off-duty activities.

In 1986, the McClatchy newspaper chain bought TNT, abrogated the union contract, and threatened to impose an "ethics code" forbidding political involvement by reporters.

Then, in 1990, management told Nelson that her gay-rights organizing could potentially damage the newspaper's ap-



Nelson collects petition signatures at 1994 Martin Luther King, Jr. Day rally in Seattle.

pearance of neutrality and pulled her from her education beat. When the municipal civil rights initiative failed, her bosses made the switch permanent.

The Newspaper Guild went to the National Labor Relations Board twice over Nelson's transfer, but an increasingly anti-worker NLRB was unsympathetic. In August 1991, after five years of union-busting maneuvers by McClatchy, the union was decertified.

In 1993, the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington State took up Nelson's cause, suing the *Tribune* for violating employment laws and the state constitution. Both sides are now preparing for trial.

Keeping the chill off. Nelson was most recently harassed by TNT bosses after she called her legislator to encourage a yes vote on the gay rights bill. "TNT hopes that disciplining a 'controversial' person will disorient other reporters and chill dissent," she said.

To help prevent frost from forming on the First Amendment, send an endorsement or donation to the Sandy Nelson Defense Fund at P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98415, or call (206)756-9971 to volunteer other assistance. Current endorsers include the Washington State Labor Council, lesbian comic Kate Clinton, Black feminist Flo Kennedy, and numerous other unions and community organizations and leaders. □

RW Intl. Tour
Melbourne, Australia

Hear Su Docekal speak on:
"Women in East Europe
Say NO to Sexism
and Capitalism"

Sat. 7 May, 4:00pm
Brunswick Mechanics Institute
Corner of Glenlyon & Sydney Roads, Brunswick
Slide show • East Europe buffet
For information: 03-386-3065

Freedom Socialist Party & Radical Women

AUSTRALIA

Melbourne: P.O. Box 266, West Brunswick, VIC 3055. Phone/FAX 03-386-5065.

CANADA

Vancouver: 304-1575 Beach Ave., Vancouver, BC V6G 1Y5. Phone/FAX 604-688-5195.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles: 1918 W. 7th St., #204, Los Angeles, CA 90057. 213-413-1350. FAX 213-368-1367.

San Francisco: RW National Office, Valencia Hall, 523-A Valencia St., San Francisco, CA 94110. 415-864-1278. FAX 415-864-0778.

MINNESOTA

Mankato: 102 Momingside, Mankato, MN 56001. 507-386-1647.

NEW YORK

New York City: 32 Union Square E., Rm. 907, New York City, NY 10003. 212-677-7002. FAX 212-491-4634.

OREGON

Portland: Northwest Service Center, 1819 NW Everett, Rm. 201, Portland, OR 97209. 503-228-3090. FAX 503-223-2390.

WASHINGTON

Port Angeles: 512 E. 7th, Port Angeles, WA 98362. 206-452-7534.

Seattle: FSP National Office, Bush Asia Center, 409 Maynard Ave. S., #201, Seattle, WA 98104. 206-682-0990. FAX 206-682-8120.

Seattle Branch, New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98118. 206-722-2453. FAX 206-723-7691.

Tacoma: P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98415. 206-756-9971. FAX 206-759-3988.