

Democrats stampede to rush CONTRA AID

The Iran/contra debacle gave the U.S. antiwar movement a chance last year to end "Reaganite" war-mongering for good. But because antiwar leaders refused to build radical opposition, Reaganism survived what should have buried it—and in good enough time for Reagan to send troops to Honduras in March, forcing Nicaragua into a potentially deadly truce with the contras.

It's a sickening story of betrayal—of Nicaragua, the antiwar movement, and the antiwar U.S. majority—by congressional Democrats and their peace movement cheerleaders.

The lesson for antiwar activists is obvious: *break with the Democrats now* while there's time to avert a bloodbath.

Busted. There stood the Gipper at the outset of '87, caught cold selling arms to "terrorist" Iran and sneaking the profits to contra butchers in defiance of the Constitution, his own avowed anti-terrorist policy, and the unbending will of a vocal U.S. majority. Reagan—godfather of covert counterrevolutions on three continents, patron of rightwing death squads from Honduras to Afghanistan, and angel of global, gangster Americanism—was exposed to all as a clandestine war criminal.

Public outrage mushroomed with each revelation and it would have exploded into radical political action had it been demonstrated that Reagan's "aberrant" conspiracies are standard operating procedure for U.S. imperialism.

They let him get away. The antiwar movement's first order of business was to expose the profiteering essence of Irangate and build an anti-capitalist opposition to the war drive. But true to form, Stalinist and reformist antiwar leaders, who look to congressional Democrats instead of mass antiwar militance to "stop Reaganism," sat back in silence as the Democrats kiboshed a substantive investigation into the mess, one that would have nailed the Dems to the same wall as Reagan.

Liberal Dems are good pro-capitalists who differ with Reagan tactically over how best to plunder the world's labor and resources, *but not over whether to do it.* They are hip-deep in the crimes that eventually led to Irangate.

By and large the Democrats kept the lid on last summer's Congressional Investigating Committee hearings, which were a sideshow notable mainly for the committee's acquiescence to Oliver North's bravura redbaiting. Enormous crimes were revealed in testimony, but the evidence was tailored to fit Congress' conclusion that the scandal was the work of Reagan administration mavericks run amok and not the inevitable outcome of imperial policy.

The committee somehow even failed to nail down whether Reagan knew of the contra arms shipments bamboozle!

Antiwar leaders, meanwhile, had gone on summer vacation, leaving the movement adrift, and allowing the Dems a self-serving score on the wounded president. The Dems painted Reagan as senile if not sinister, and ready for the political boneyard. And they used their newfound leverage to muscle up an "alternative" to Reagan's fading contra war, one that would bring "peace" to Central America

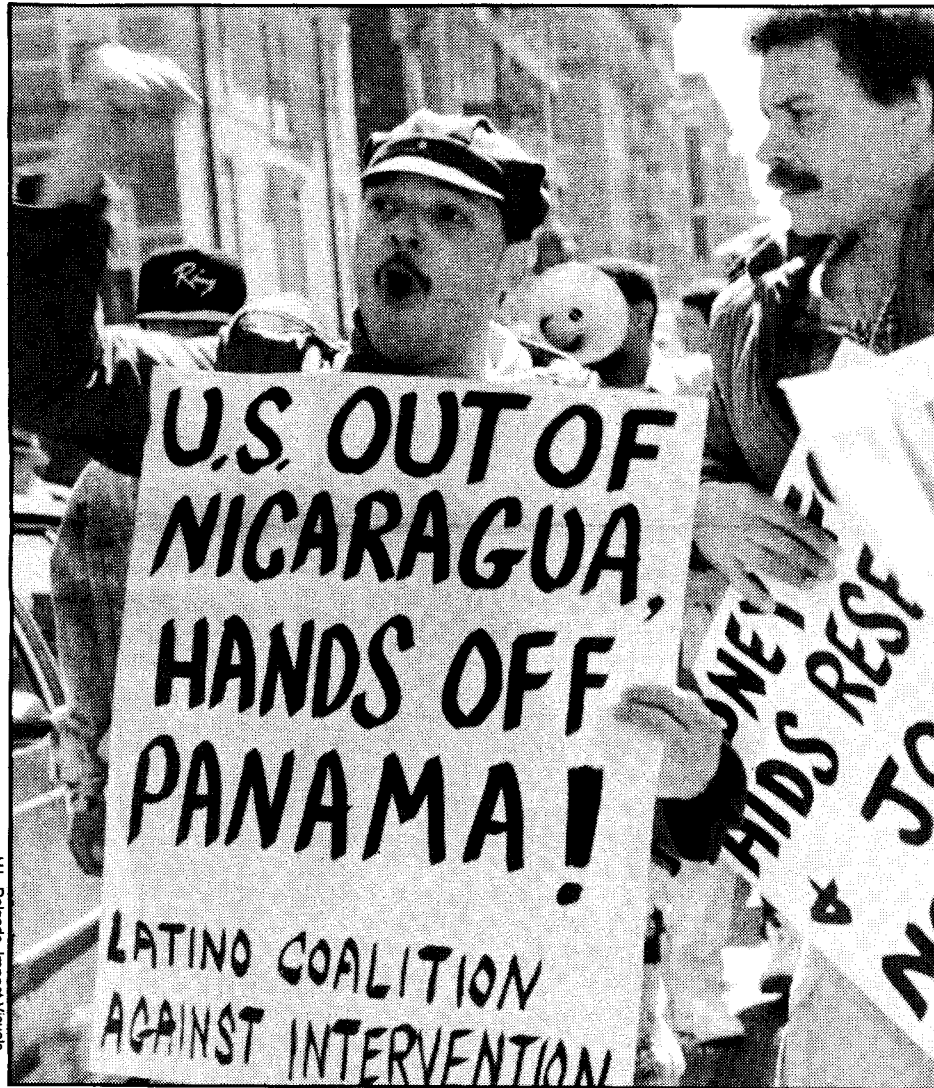
at little political cost to Wall Street and Washington.

Enter Arias. The Arias peace plan, brainchild of the Democrats and Washington's Central American client states, was marketed like snake oil last August, not long after the congressional hearings limped to a close. At last, it seemed, peace would replace Reagan's doom-struck wreck of a contra war.

The plan mandated "peaceful coexistence" between Nicaragua and her neigh-

Why risk messy proxy wars—except as a threat and a last resort—if diplomatic swindles and economic strangulation can do the trick?

Peace is war. The Arias plan also temporarily defused U.S. antiwar radicalism. The Stalinists fell in behind the Democrats, bleating for capitalist peace and giving Congress the green light to threaten resumption of contra aid if the Sandinistas didn't "democratize" in accord with capitalist dictate, and quickly.



Manhattan protesters march against U.S. war moves at an April demonstration organized by the Latino Coalition calling for an end to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

bors, and thereby the "democratization" of Central America. It stipulated an end to military aid to the contras (and leftist Salvadoran and Guatemalan rebels) and removal of all "foreign influence" from the region.

Few pointed out that coexistence among the existing regimes would mean the survival and consolidation of anti-communist and anti-democratic client-state capitalism in 80 percent of Central America; that client-state capitalism is by definition inseparable from U.S. influence; and that the U.S. cannot for a moment allow its clients to be jeopardized by the example of a stable Nicaraguan democracy.

Peaceful coexistence in Central America is a sham. Nonetheless, it's easy to see why Central America jumped on the Arias bandwagon; war is chewing their regimes to bits. Nicaragua is bleeding from every pore. Each regime is crying for a respite from the war. But for the Democrats, the plan is simply a gambit in their turf war with Reagan over how best to contain and crush the Central American revolution.

Encouraged by Congress, the contras—already well-armed by the CIA and past congressional largesse—escalated their attacks. Congress voted down new contra aid in January, purportedly to "give peace a chance." But in March, the peace movement's House liberals tried to ram through "humanitarian" aid on grounds that Reagan would otherwise win "lethal" aid the next time around.

With the liberals playing soft cop to Reagan's hard cop, the Pledge of Resistance and other peace groups endorsed "humanitarian" aid.

Reagan, back from the dead, must have felt like a world-beater. And, when the Sandinistas launched an anti-contra offensive two weeks later, the Gipper didn't hesitate a second to ship U.S. troops by the thousands to Honduras.

Would the U.S. invade? Not yet. As it turned out, this was just Washington's way of keeping the contras afloat.

Anticipating invasion, the Sandinistas negotiated and signed the Sapoa peace agreement with the contras on March 23, allowing the latter to occupy cease-fire zones inside Nicaragua during a "recon-

ciliation" process. And on March 31, Congress voted lopsidedly to send \$48 million in "humanitarian" aid. Dem House Speaker Wright also threatened resumption of military funding if the "peace process" breaks down. The \$48 million, which is to be supplied per the Sapoa agreement by a "private carrier" of the contras' choice—the CIA, no doubt—will sustain the contras for just such an eventuality.

The process could break down any time: the Sandinistas have offered the contras amnesty, full political rights, and the promise that all differences can be peacefully negotiated away. But the contras insist that the Sandinistas must relinquish state power and control of the army before they will lay down their arms; in short, the Sandinistas must give up control of the state. What an incredible "bargaining" gambit! Especially given that the contra cutthroats were teetering on the verge of extinction in the wake of Irangate.

The contras continue to raid within Nicaragua and to accuse the Sandinistas of violating the cease-fire agreement, and will continue by all means, with help from Reagan and Congress, to try to destroy Nicaragua's revolution.

What now? The U.S. antiwar movement doesn't have forever to get its act together.

It's time *now* to break with the Dems and those pro-Democrat antiwar leaders who shackled the movement to a "peace plan" that only paved the way for intensified capitalist war.

The day Reagan sent in the troops to Honduras, antiwar protests erupted in U.S. cities. Antiwar activists wanted to *fight* and end the war drive.

Yet the Stalinists yammered "give peace a chance," and tried to put the antiwar movement to sleep. Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan people are embattled, desperate, and nearing the end of their rope. It was they who *forced* the vacillating Sandinistas to launch that March offensive.

Only unconditional and total U.S. withdrawal from Central America will end the contra war. Yet withdrawal from that strategic region means sure U.S. loss of all Latin America, that is, a quick end to capitalism, and the Yankees will fight to the death to remain.

An end to the war requires an end to the profit system. Dump the Dems and the antiwar movement is halfway there. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN

CRSP!

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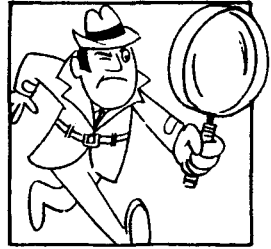
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the freedom socialist

Cover: Photo by Donna Binder/ Impact Visuals

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The Freedom Socialist (ISSN 0272-4367) is published quarterly by the Freedom Socialist Party, New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., 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 \$2.50 surface postage outside the United States; add \$7.00 for overseas airmail. Back copies \$.75 each. In Australia: 1 year \$6.00, surface mail; \$10.00 airmail. Checks or money orders to Freedom Socialist, P.O. Box 266, West Brunswick, Vic. 3055.

LETTERS

Inspired by Brodine

The death of Karen Brodine was a tragedy, but the richness of her words will continue to inspire.

Issue #1 of *Telegraphy* will be out in late spring. We were hoping that someone would...allow us to reprint a portion of the Feb.-April FS article.

We will certainly include her books in our "book brief" section...

Telegraphy is a non-profit educational organization dedicated to being a forum for ideas about culture and society. We encourage and publish new voices and support the artist/activist by sponsoring poetry readings, lectures and presentations. Our journal is a digest-sized, twice-yearly volume of poetry, reviews, interviews, essays and criticism.

For more information, write *Telegraphy*, 604 Mt. Vernon Ave., Portsmouth, VA, 23707.

Beth Hester, Portsmouth, Virginia

Cops frame radical

I would like to bring to the attention of your readers an important civil liberties case. A national defense effort is needed on behalf of Mark Curtis, a political activist in Des Moines, Iowa who has been beaten and framed by the police.

Curtis is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, a longtime anti-war activist, and a member of the Socialist Workers Party. Recent FBI revelations about spying on the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) revealed that the FBI targeted Curtis, who had lived in Birmingham, AL, "as acting in the leadership role in the Birmingham area."

Curtis has been employed at the Swift meat packing plant in Des Moines for over a year. On March 1, Immigration and Naturalization Service cops raided Swift and arrested 17 immigrant workers on felony charges of using false documents. Curtis is a leading participant in the fight to defend these workers.

After a March 4 support meeting for the 17 arrested workers, Curtis was framed and arrested on charges of attempted rape. When he asked to see an attorney, one of the cops chided, "You're one of those Mexican-lovers, aren't you? Just like you love those coloreds." When Curtis refused to answer questions, they beat him, breaking his cheekbone and cutting his face. He was then charged with assaulting the police. Curtis faces 25 years in jail if convicted.

Justice for Mark Curtis would be a blow to cop brutality and frame-ups and would encourage political activists to use their rights to fight war, ra-

cism, and exploitation. Please send protest messages to Des Moines Chief of Police William Moulder, 25 E. First St., Des Moines, Iowa, 50309, or phone (515)283-4800. Demand the false charges be dropped and a full investigation into the beating. Please send a copy to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311. Funds are also desperately needed and any contributions are welcome.

Angel Lariscy, Seattle Coordinator for Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Washington

Firestorm in UW Women Studies

The latest firestorm over academic freedom ignited appropriately enough at the Women Studies program at the University of Washington where one Peter Schaub was tossed out of class for baiting and intimidating instructors and other students. It seems Mr. Schaub didn't like the "politicization" of Women Studies, specifically its attention to lesbianism and socialism. Righteously sure of what constitutes proper education for young ladies, he has since gone to the Washington State Legislature and on national TV talk shows to try and limit Women Studies to what is congenial to capitalist heterosexism. Nothing political in any of this, of course.

Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party are fighting this jerk and the rightwing crusade he represents. RW's April testimony before the Washington State Legislature, which compared Schaub's mission to Joe McCarthy's witchhunt against the "communistic homosexual conspiracy," was right on the money. So was Clara Fraser's point at the April Power Conference at the UW that women's and ethnic study programs are *inherently* political, and radical, in this racist, misogynist capitalist society.

RW and FSP members and others have also debated and exposed Schaub on talk shows in the Bay Area and on the East Coast. This is what's needed.

We have to fight the bigots to beat 'em and keep them beat!

Constance Scott, National Radical Women Organizer, San Francisco, California

Prison injustice

Thank you for the update on the Freeway Hall case and copy of the *Freedom Socialist*. We are all watching the proceedings there...

Wednesday I was taken out to Scioto County Court of Common Pleas, where I was met by F.W. Paul Poulos from New York. We orally ar-

gued against the State Employment Relations Board motion to dismiss our appeal of SERB's refusal to issue unfair labor charges against the prison.

Also, yesterday the guards beat another prisoner to death. This is the second time in two months. We are calling for an investigation and criminal charges against the guards involved.

And Monday I will represent myself in a civil suit charging prison officials with negligence. For security reasons, the court has appointed a referee and trial will be held here at the prison. We will send you an update.

Our respect to all the comrades

there. Stay strong!

John Perotti, General Defense Committee Local #3, Lucasville, Ohio

Thoughts on Indian activists

I appreciated the article "Loud Hawk, et al: Gov't targets Indian Activists" (FS, Feb.-April '88). The U.S. targets vast quantities of coveted resources under the Indian land base. And singling out activists diverts the movement's attention from the government's plans for economic exploitation. "Indian activists" is an illusory concept. If activists keep integrity, the relevant issues prevail. If not, the attention given to these activists is detrimental.

From the Loud Hawk trial, the misleader, so-called activist Dennis Banks mistakenly pled guilty in the enemy capitalist court. The Indian activist gave in at the approach of battle. Indian warriors, however, defend and uphold the code of the resistance: stepping back from struggle is not an option during the escalating war of Indian liberation.

Now the question is, how to fill the vacuum of leadership Dennis Banks left behind. The government intends to capitalize on that vacuum of leadership by stealing our natural resources and destroying our tribal land base. The People want to keep the land integral, as a place of spiritual access, and as the embodiment of the principles of national sovereignty.

Indian activists must be evaluated in terms of the war against corporate profiteers. The exploitative colonial process will oppress the Indian people until the lying capitalist system is ripped to shreds.

Kevin Lee López, Northwest Native American Movement, Seattle, Washington

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

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- The economics of capitalism in decline
- Glasnost, perestroika and revolt in the workers states
- Crisis of leadership in the labor, social issue and radical movements

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Convention brochure and agenda available soon.

Al Intifadah!

The uprising in Palestine

There will be no peace for the Israeli Goliath in Gaza and the West Bank.

A million-and-a-half Palestinians have risen as one in the Occupied Territories to drive out the Israeli army and settlers. Daily, the banned Palestinian flag re-appears over barricades and at the head of unceasing demonstrations. Children with rocks battle armed troops and settlers; they are tear-gassed, beaten, tortured and shot—and return to fight with redoubled fury. Women fighting to protect their families are savaged by goon squads outside their homes, but rise from the blood and dust to harry the occupiers unmercifully.

Homes by the dozen are bulldozed with retaliatory ferocity as the Israeli "Iron Fist" attempts without success to quash the uprising. Food and medical supplies are cut off by the Israelis in an effort to starve out the insurgents, and still the insurgency grows.

Twenty-one years after Israel stormed into the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinian resistance, never subdued and at white heat today, has again riveted world attention and outrage. Neighboring bourgeois Arab rulers tremble as the uprising threatens to spark their own restive populations. Already, Amman and Cairo have had to put down riots in support of the Palestinian upheaval.

The U.S. godfather of Israeli expansionism now offers nervous proposals to negotiate an end to the conflict before it can spread. Ominously for imperialism, U.S. and world Jewry is crying out against the Zionist atrocities.

Those atrocities, and the rebellion, will escalate. Israel was founded on the dispossession of the Palestinians. It was established to serve as imperialism's watchdog against Arab revolution and the "Soviet threat" to Middle Eastern oil. Its existence is predicated on continued suppression of the Palestinians and aggression against its Arab neighbors.

The unprecedented upheaval.

The spark of the current revolt was struck in Gaza on December 9 when a Palestinian died in an accident involving a truck driven by a Zionist settler. Rebellion in the Occupied Territories is not new: 3150 violent demonstrations occurred there between April 1986 and May 1987 alone. But the intensity, longevity, and scope of the latest upheaval is unprecedented.

The Arab drive for self-determination poses a mortal challenge to Israel.

The revolt grew swiftly from spontaneous outpourings of rage against soldier and settler brutality into a coordinated response with specific demands: freedom for all those imprisoned in the uprising, an end to the occupation and settlement, and self-determination for Palestine.

Leadership was and is provided by women's organizations, youth groups, and labor unions. The Palestinian Working Women's Committees in particular have provided health care, legal assistance, education, support for families whose breadwinners are imprisoned, and political and social survival skills.

Meanwhile, Palestinian workers living in the territories, who do most of the low-paid, menial work inside Israel, have called a series of successful general strikes that have strained the already tottering Israeli economy. The strikes are supported by Palestinians living in Israel, strengthening the revolt inside the oppressor state. Arabs and Jews have rallied together on the largest scale in Israel's history. Huge contingents have echoed the demand for Palestinian

self-determination.

The threat of alliance between Jewish and Palestinian workers terrifies the government; such cooperation would signal the downfall of the highly segregated and racist Zionist state.

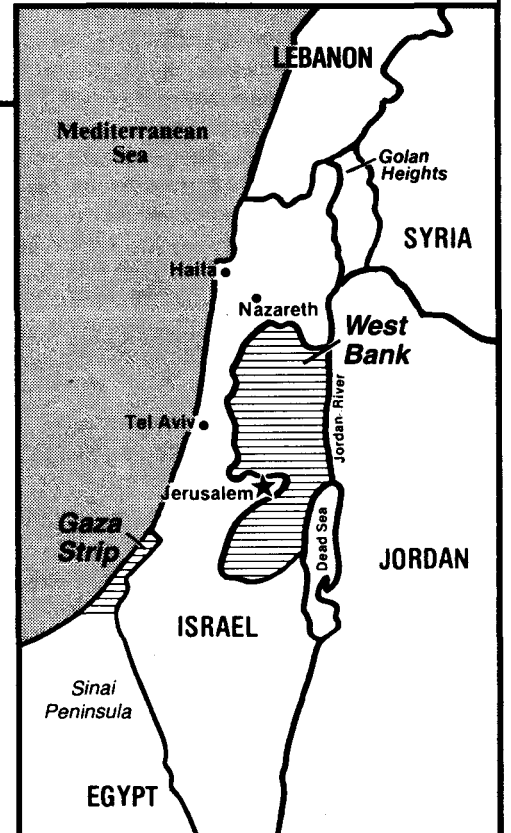
The occupation army has swelled to 35,000, but shows signs of unraveling under the pressure of the rebellion and growing domestic opposition. Soldiers face a no-win situation and many are disturbed by orders to systematically beat and maim the rebels. The Yesh Gvul (There is a Limit) movement, begun during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, is once again organizing reservists to refuse army service in Gaza and the West Bank.

Who leads? The revolt has thrown up a new Palestinian leadership in the territories. The upheaval caught the PLO—whose top leadership is dispersed outside the territories from Syria to Morocco—off guard. And only in January did PLO leaders in Gaza and the West Bank begin to work with local leadership to coordinate demonstrations and strikes.

That month, the Unified National Leadership for the Uprising in the Occupied Territories emerged. Composed of representatives from three PLO factions, along with the Communist Party and Islamic fundamentalist groups, the committee has shaped the original outbreaks into a sustained and systematic program of demonstrations, civil disobedience, and economic disruption.

The committee represents the first formal cooperation between the PLO and the fundamentalists. The latter, ironically, have previously been financed by Israel to siphon support away from Palestinian nationalism and communism.

Fundamentalism is an essentially rightwing reaction against "western" ideologies, and a show-



down between the fundamentalists and PLO leftists is inevitable. But for now, in the face of Israeli deprivations, the fundamentalists had to join the revolt or lose credibility with the Palestinian people.

The Unified Leadership works closely with the forces that initiated the uprising. "The most important thing," says one leader, "is that we have enlisted local civic organizations like the boy scouts, women's groups, and professional unions... This has given us an infrastructure in all the towns, villages, and camps, and at all levels of society."

PLO committee members cooperate with top PLO leaders outside the territories, at least to some extent, but they do not take orders from them. The dynamics of the revolt, moreover, are an implicit challenge to the traditional leaders, especially Yasir Arafat. Dissatisfaction is widely reported to exist inside the territories over the various PLO factions' ties to sellout capitalist Arab regimes, and over Arafat's futile attempts to resolve the Israeli/Palestinian conflict through backroom deals with Western imperialism.

Double-edged danger. It's not clear what the sentiment is in the territories toward Arafat's proposal to establish a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank in exchange for the PLO's recognition of Israel. Assuming that the U.S. would back the proposal and pressure Israel into accepting it, a mini-state with the PLO at its head would be an improvement over the current occupation of the territories and the dispersal of the Palestinians throughout the Middle East. A recognized government and territorial integrity would give the Palestinians new leverage to press for an end to their dependent status under Zionism.

But the proposal is double-edged and dangerous: it would also grant legitimacy to illegitimate Israel and create enormous new pressure on the fledgling government to accept a dependent status quo. A government under Arafat would likely acquiesce to the pressure. The new Palestinian state, economically in thrall to Israel and the capitalist West, and unarmed against Israeli aggression, would remain a cauldron of poverty and mis-

Zionist Israel's nightmare:
Palestinian women demanding an end to the occupation.
Women and youth are the frontline resisters in the Gaza and West Bank upheaval.

Can radicals obtain justice in U.S. courts today?

As the government cracks down on global troublemakers, can domestic rebels and critics hang on to their constitutional rights to organize for change?

The Freedom Socialist Party and nine individual Freeway Hall Case defendants, backed by thousands of supporters, are determined that the answer will be a resounding "Yes!"

The defendants boldly refuse to give up internal FSP minutes in an absurd lawsuit brought by ex-member Richard Snedigar for return of a donation to an FSP eviction fund. Last fall, King County Superior Court Judge Warren Chan awarded Snedigar the case plus a \$42,139 default judgment—with never a trial on the issues—solely because the defendants would not hand over their confidential minutes.

Exploiting the default decision, Snedigar's avaricious attorneys, Michelle Pailthorp and Thomas Wampold, sought to destroy the party's legal defense and its morale by launching a ferocious collection drive.

The party asked for help and the public came running to the rescue. An impressive display of solidarity and outrage resulted in keeping three key legal team members out of jail, repelled a blatant attempt to place the law practice of counsel Valerie Carlson in receivership, and riveted the attention of reluctant judges on the profound First Amendment issues at stake.

Obviously, the defendants' demand that the Bill of Rights apply to dissidents as well as conformists is one that most people care deeply about and will fight for.

The case is now in the Washington State Court of Appeals.

Stormy weather: default, contempt, jail. Chan's default ruling last year gave Snedigar's ambulance chasers an opening to go for the FSP's jugular. On January 13, they hauled three defendants into court—FSP founder Clara Fraser and attorneys Valerie Carlson and Frederick Hyde—to probe their personal finances, supposedly in order to begin collection.

Fraser, Carlson, and Hyde were carefully chosen targets. They head the defense team's legal and political strategizing efforts. Kill the head, reasoned the witchhunters, and the body will die.

These same defendants are the fearful threesome who enraged Seattle bureaucrats by winning Fraser's political ideology and sex discrimination case against Seattle City Light in 1983. Wampold and Pailthorp aim to curry favor by beating the team that beat City Hall.

Snedigar's lawyers knew that this trio of tough guys would never cooperate with any McCarthyite invasion of their privacy rights, even though the price might be contempt of court charges and jail sentences. Judge James Noe readily agreed to Snedigar's demand to hold the three in contempt, and he sentenced them to jail indefinitely until they would capitulate. He then stayed the sentences pending appeal.

Noe followed in the footsteps of Judge Warren Chan by meting out the

harshest possible punishment and then bouncing the case—and all responsibility—to another court. Nevertheless, Noe's decision to hold the sentences revealed that constitutional arguments, and public support for them, can impact the judiciary.

Heat wave: receivership and uproar. The contempt charge and jail sentences kicked off three weeks of intensive public organizing by the defense team. They conducted a picket and rally at the King County Courthouse on January 21, and 50 people showed up. Speakers from the Left, labor, and the antiwar, civil rights, civil liberties and feminist movements blasted Noe's ruling.

Four days later, irate at not seeing the defendants in jail, Snedigar's lawyers struck again. They notified Carlson via subpoena that they intended to place her practice in receivership, in order to siphon off her resources for the default judgment.

They weren't really looking for money. Carlson, a poor people's lawyer, doesn't earn much. But receivership would have dismantled her practice right in the midst of her preparation of the appeals court

brief. That was their aim.

Once again supporters rallied. Attorneys and legal workers were aghast at the viciousness of the receivership bid. Dozens of famous figures, including author Kate Millett and San Francisco's Lesbian Rights Project Director Roberta Achtenberg, called or wrote the court urging that the contempt charges be lifted and that the receivership motion be summarily quashed.

Veterans of the old witchhunts stepped forward to excoriate the legal lynching. Morton Sobell, imprisoned 18 years for refusing to fink on the Rosenbergs, wrote the court. Ben Margolis, a lawyer in the 1952 trial of the Hollywood Ten, released a public statement. Paul Jarrico, director of the long-banned film classic *Salt of the Earth*, endorsed the case.

Protesters picketed Wampold's and Pailthorp's downtown offices in the two days following the subpoena to Carlson, and the class struggle in the courtroom was properly acted out in the streets.

Collaborative efforts between the defense committee and American

Indian Movement (AIM) activists on federal trial in the Loud Hawk weapons possession case resulted in joint public forums in Seattle and Portland. On January 30, in Seattle, Carlson and AIM leader Russ Redner called for an Indian/radical alliance to stop government encroachments against native sovereignty and democratic rights. (Please see story on page eight.)

In the midst of the legal whirlwind, Carlson, Hyde, and defendant Guerry Hodderson, the FSP National Secretary, spoke on privacy rights at west coast forums and conferences.

A change in the weather: receivership squelched. Despite the surge of support, Judge Noe refused to reconsider his contempt sentence or quash the receivership move. So on February 2, Carlson found herself arguing to retain her law practice in front of the same judge who had ordered the FSP

Freeway Hall Case in Appeals Court



to disclose its minutes two years earlier—Robert Dixon.

Along with Carlson in the standing-room-only courtroom were nine well-known community activists prepared to testify that receivership would chill the ability of dissidents to find lawyers. They included Redner; John Caughlan, prominent Northwest civil liberties attorney; John Gilbert, antiwar activist and acclaimed actor; *Seattle Gay News* editor George Bakan; Wes Patton, who retained Carlson in a discrimination case; Dick Carbray, retired history professor; Roger Yockey,

Public outcry quells attack on legal team

Contempt charges and jail sentences against three Freeway Hall Case defendants spurred quick protest action by Seattle community activists. Over 50 participated in an evening demonstration outside the King County Courthouse in January.

Endorsers' corner

A sampling of recent case supporters and quotes from two endorsers who've paid their dues for the Bill of Rights.

U.S. Open Trotskyist Conference, 1988

Dennis Banks
American Indian Movement

Rev. Daniel Berrigan, S.J.
Veteran peace activist

Ward Churchill
Native American author

Eduardo Galeano
Uruguayan author

Jacob Green
National Football League Players Association, * Seattle Seahawks

Paul Jarrico
Producer, *Salt of the Earth* film

Héctor Marroquín
Mexican socialist fighting deportation

Kate Millett
Author and artist

Dian Million
Native American poet and activist

Karen Morley
Blacklisted Hollywood actress

Grace Paley
Writer and teacher

George E. Popyack
Director, AFSCME Council 57

Russ Redner
American Indian Movement

Yvonne Wanrow Swan
Indian victor in self-defense case

* For identification only



Case defendant Clara Fraser walks from the stand after refusing to "become a hatchetman against myself" in the financial probe in January which led to jail sentences.

Constitutional issues may finally be heard

noted labor journalist; case defense attorney Daniel Hoyt Smith of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG); and defendant Fraser.

Carlson, co-counsels Smith and Frederick Hyde, and attorney Janet Varon, presenting an amicus brief for the NLG, argued strongly against receivership.

Smith explained "why this case is different than an ordinary commercial case." Carlson never personally benefited from the contribution Snedigar sued over, but instead landed in court because of her association with the FSP. It would not be fair, Smith argued, to treat her in the same fashion as someone whose "law practice welshed on a client."

Varon asserted that receivership would "only compound the harshness of default" and "never really allow a meaningful appeal to occur." She emphasized the key point that receivership was completely at the judge's discretion.

Carlson stressed that receivership should be weighed "in the context of the courts' ongoing refusal to protect the FSP's constitutional rights" on the question of internal minutes. She noted that recent court decisions upheld the right of groups like the King County public safety workers' union to keep minutes confidential, and she charged that differential treatment of socialist feminist defendants amounted to rank political discrimination.

She roasted Pailthorp/Wampold's abuse of process, charging that receivership was only a ploy to wreck the legal defense. And when Judge Dixon asked Wampold what he hoped to gain from this action, Wampold stood momentarily speechless before answering, "I don't

know." Untrue: he knew.

Dixon denied the receivership, saying that "other people's rights are involved" and defense efforts would be shackled. He acknowledged that he had not foreseen the consequences of his minutes order, and in essence upheld defendants' right to have their First Amendment arguments heard without suffering wrack and ruin in the name of collection.

Partly sunny, partly cloudy: a bond arrangement. In the wake of the January and February protests, and the victory over receivership, the defendants returned to superior court to seek an alternative to the \$50,000 bond that Judge Chan had required to stay collection of the default award.

Judge Anthony Wartnik presided over a series of tortuous negotiations and hearings that in April produced an arrangement in which defendant Guerry Hoddersen and her sister would put up their home equity as bond in return for the dropping of the contempt charge and jail sentences.

Collection is now halted pending appeals court approval of the arrangement.

This alternative is far from fair. But it will protect all the defendants and all FSP members from Snedigar's unending persecution and dirty tricks. The bond arrangement also indicates that the courts are uneasy with the default imbroglio.

Let the sun shine in! The tentative bond agreement provided the defense committee with a few relatively peaceful weeks to prepare the main appeal brief, which was filed with the appeals court on April 5.

The brief is the culmination of four years of research and analysis, and is a comprehensive and compelling statement

of the issues. It pinpoints the case as:

...discrimination of the most fundamental kind—political discrimination by Plaintiff, his attorneys and the courts. It is a shocking example of what can happen when the courts

abdicate their responsibility to throw out frivolous harassment cases against political dissidents...

But, the authors of the brief conclude, the best efforts of the opposition to sideline the FSP are backfiring.

...four years of judicial overkill in this case are turning the defendants into heroes and martyrs for refusing to goose-step behind '80s-style witchhunters out to incinerate personal freedoms. With public outrage mounting over forced drug and AIDS testing, hidden cameras and lie detectors in the workplace, and censorship of school newspapers and utility pole ads, the FSP minutes have come to be seen as another litmus test of the courts' commitment to upholding the First Amendment for everybody...

By upholding the FSP's considered refusal to relinquish its internal records to strangers in a governmental agency, the Washington Court of Appeals can seize a great opportunity to polish the sorely tarnished image of the judiciary as an unbiased upholder of American freedom. This court has the profound and historic task of narrowing the gulf between the mushrooming apprehension over severely selective application of the Bill of Rights, and the noble idea of justice for all.

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As Val Carlson prepares for the April 5 deadline of the major appeal brief in the Freeway Hall Case, her Pioneer Square law office rumbles with activity. The 70-page brief is a massive challenge to the political bias and prejudice which has throttled the defendants with a default judgment for the crime of insisting on respect for their privacy rights.

An hour before it's due, she gathers her assistants, and they skim through the document and check citations. Carlson knows exactly where she's used each of the 80 references to cases, laws, and rules.

"What I like best about it," Carlson says, "is the tremendous team effort involved. The brief embodies the good advice and hours of labor from over a dozen helpers who planned, consulted, researched, critiqued, edited, rewrote, typed, and proofread. That way

Carlson poured in. "People saw it as reprehensible—threatening my livelihood to stop my political-interest cases."

"What a relief it was," Carlson says, "when Judge Dixon denied the receivership."

On May Day, nearly a month after the brief has been submitted to the appeals court, Carlson is entertaining visitors to her room in Seattle's Group Health Hospital as she recovers from gall bladder surgery. She's alert and good-humored. "I wouldn't let myself get sick," she laughs, "until the brief got done!"

A visitor jokingly lauds her self-discipline. "You need it in my line of work," Carlson grins, "to deal with the Snedigars of this world!"

The need to

Valerie Carlson

Attorney for the defense



it became the best we could do."

She started on the document last October. Work was interrupted, however, when she and two co-defendants were hauled into court for an inquisition into their personal finances, were found in contempt for refusing to answer questions that would imperil others, and were promptly sentenced to jail. "When we got that sentence stayed and tried again to work on the appeal," says Carlson, "Snedigar's lawyers immediately moved to put my law practice into receivership."

When news of the unprecedented receivership demand got out, support for

combat the Snedigars is what made Carlson a movement attorney.

She was on her way to medical school in the late '60s when her anti-war and civil rights activism precluded spending five hours a night on chemistry and calculus. At the same time, her movement experiences brought home to her how necessary and valuable radical lawyers really are.

While preparing to enter law school, she attended Clara Fraser's course in Courtroom Self-defense for Women at the University of Washington. Then, after entering law school, she worked in the Feminist Coordinating Council and collaborated with Radical Women to make the concerns of minor-

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Morton Sobell
McCarthy-era victim imprisoned because of Rosenberg case



"During the '50s many lawyers defending 'radicals' were jailed for contempt. But now, the phrase 'human rights' has taken on so much greater significance."

Flo Kennedy
Black feminist attorney



"The FSP is the target of a vicious and calculated assault on their right to privacy, free speech and freedom of association."

Jesse Jackson seemed to have a decent shot at capturing the Democratic presidential nomination before the New York primary in April. His chances don't look so good now, and pundits are saying he's out of the race.

They may be speaking too soon, as is their wont when it comes to him.

In any event, it's still worthwhile to speculate what a Jackson presidency might be like. He alone has enabled the Democrats to forestall a move by volatile forces—Blacks, the Left, and a growing number of white workers—toward independent, third-party electoral politics. And he is almost certain to be a major political player from now on.

Who knows—the vacuous Dukakis may yet falter before the Democratic convention, and it may be Jesse himself who squares off against Bush in the race for the presidency.

So let's just imagine that Jackson turns things around between now and the convention, gets nominated and is elected in November.

Then let's imagine that it's November 1990. Let's assess the 41st president's victory and first two years in office.

The road to November. To win the presidency, Jackson first had to get nominated. Long odds there, they said. And what a brawl the Democratic Convention turned out to be, as racist insiders and those who fawn over them fought tooth and nail to come up with anyone other than Jesse.

But the Dems needed somebody living, and only Jackson met the criterion.

He had solid Black support—90%, they said. He rejuvenated party "progressives." And he captured enough union members to swing the laborskates into line, albeit reluctantly—and only after some big eastern moneymen told the union bureaucrats to line up behind Jesse to forestall a revolt in the ranks.

Heading off trouble is exactly what the Moneybags are good at. Later, Jackson would say privately that he owed his election to such advisors

as Wall Street investment wizard Felix Rohatyn, Jimmy Carter's discredited budget fixer Big Bert Lance, and other operators from the old Rockefeller crowd.

A lot of Dixiecrats and "right-center" Dems jumped ship after the convention, of course. Third party talk by these rightists never got past the grumbling stage, however, since they went straight over to George Bush.

The Dems, now headed by Jackson, lurched into the campaign.

Thoughtful observers said Jackson owed most of his success to U.S. leftists—Line of March, the *Guardian* editorial board, Workers World Party, the Communist Party, the New Alliance Party, et al.—the very folks who could have helped build an independent radical party to oppose twin-party swindles. Instead, they hailed Jackson as Savior and again sanctified the Democrats as the Last Best Hope of Mankind. They helped head the growing political protest movement of '88 and handed the heads to the Moneybags.

What was it that so attracted these radicals? It didn't matter. They always go for Democrats, and Jackson offered an alternative to unpleasant confrontations with the liberal establishment. Class collaboration is somehow supposed to make it all better for "peace," "justice," detente with the Soviet Union, and so on.

Promises, promises. Jackson the campaigner had offered glowing visions



Jesse Jackson

He is electable, now or next time, but his presidency would surprise his admirers. A glimpse into the future.

of a benignly restructured capitalist world.

He stumped for an "end to economic violence" against workers. He was for "revitalization of American industry." He promised to coax Big Business back from Taiwan, South Korea, the Philippines, etc., to reinvest in "our nation's future."

He vowed to implement a program of social justice. Affirmative action in education and employment were big-ticket items in his stump speeches to people of color and women, as was his support for comparable worth and comprehensive national child care. He vowed to enforce the Voting Rights Act and to pass the ERA and the Lesbian/Gay Rights Bill. He also promised to restore Medicaid funding for abortions and increase funding for AIDS research and education.

He promised a moratorium on family farm foreclosures and a fair price to farmers to meet production costs.

He offered "partnership" to Third World nations. He would "restructure" their debt and make "allies and customers" out of Reagan's Latin American adversaries. He vowed to end apartheid in South Africa through personal diplomacy. He was for peace in Central America—if Nicaragua would "democratize."

He also said he'd whack all of \$164 billion out of the trillion-dollar weapons budget within five years.

Questions, questions. Some wondered how Jackson would lure big business back to the U.S. given all the slave labor available abroad. Or how he would

end apartheid, when South African profits kept so many Western investors afloat.

Some asked how a 16.4% reduction of the trillion-dollar arms budget could revive a nation bled dry by the war drive. And after this "cut," what was the remaining \$836 billion for, anyway?

While his social justice proposals created enthusiasm, his increasing vagueness on how to fund and implement them caused unease, especially among women, who now constituted over two-thirds of this nation's poor. Feminists were mindful that his support for abortion rights came awfully late and that his infrequent references to the issue came across as a bow to distasteful political necessity. Also, his incessant paeans to "family values...the foundation of the strength of our nation" were disturbingly reminiscent of the theme Reagan used as the basis of his eight-year assault on women's rights and well-being. Working women were outraged when Jackson abruptly dropped his call for comparable worth after being attacked on the issue by the media.

How sincere was Jackson's commitment to lesbian/gay rights and to civil liberties? Many wondered when Jackson began to waffle on the questions of forced AIDS and drug testing.

His stance on foreign affairs seemed all too contradictory. How could he advocate "security" for the beleaguered Palestinians as well as for their rapacious Israeli conquerors? Also, if he wanted peace in Central America, why didn't he promise to remove the U.S. from the region and leave Nicaragua alone?

How would Jackson make partners of Third World debtors? Write off their debt and torpedo the banking system? In 1987, Felix Rohatyn had floated the idea of using U.S. bonds to finance part of Mexico's uncollectable debt and then creating Mexican "investment zones" for corporations. Is this what Jackson had in mind—shifting the burden of uncollectable debts from the banks to the taxpayer? And encouraging capital flight from the U.S. to Mexico?

How would such American "investment zones" differ from imperialist wage-slave and raw material-extraction enclaves in the Philippines? And what of the dimming prospects for U.S. employment?

Troubling questions and a lack of straight answers began to dog Jackson. Meanwhile, racists and redbaiters began in earnest to denounce his economic proposals and social justice rhetoric as "communism."

When Jackson sought to accommodate the rightists by softening his pronouncements, the commentators gleefully blasted his opportunism. And when Charles Krauthammer and other columnists dredged up memories of his soirees with Castro and Yasir Arafat, Jackson begged tolerance for past indiscretions and vowed not to meet with Yasir anymore.

Jackson's charm and charisma began visibly to wilt in the wake of his abject turnabouts and the genuine excitement his candidacy had created began to dissipate. Another McGovernite disaster for the Democrats loomed, the sheer mind-

numbing dullness and criminal awfulness of George Bush notwithstanding.

But in August, Panamanian ex-dictator Noriega told all he knew—which was considerable—about Bush's connection to the contras and cocaine, specifically the vice-president's close working relationship with CIA veteran Felix Rodriguez, the man who helped funnel \$10 million from the Medellin, Colombia cocaine cartel to the contras between 1982-1985. Quicker than you can say "crack kills," the ghost of Irangate came shrieking back to haunt the Republican campaign.

Anti-Bush protest mushroomed across the U.S. and his hush-men couldn't muffle it.

How long before demonstrations would spill over into strikes against the profit system? Big spenders didn't need the Weatherman to tell them a tornado was headed their way. They began to slither wholesale onto Jackson's "anti-war" bandwagon.

The sector of the Left that was pro-Jackson kept protest actions "focused" on Bush—long and hard enough to allow Jackson to squeak by in November.

In the White House. January 1989. The first item confronting the 41st president was the deficit.

Jackson blamed Reaganomics. All that arms spending, tax breaks for the rich, business deregulation and disinvestment had put the U.S. \$1.6 trillion in hock—and someone had to pay the price.

Jackson's answer was austerity—cuts and more cuts in social spending.

Jackson ballyhooed his weapons cut proposal and blamed its demise on congressional yahoos who whittled it down to nothing by June. But "necessary" cuts were rammed through: slashes in job training, Medicare, farm price supports, housing assistance, Native American education, legal services for the poor, college tuition grants and loans, and more. He said he'd look at another tax increase for social security recipients, and a freeze on their cost-of-living increases.

Austerity would be "temporary"—Jackson had promised economic recovery via corporate reinvestment in domestic production. But, alas, it would take awhile to wheedle the corporate run-aways back home to provide more jobs, create revenue, and turn the deficit around "for good." Companies still found the grass far greener abroad; they would need more incentives for coming home.

Something had to be done. By April 1989, the trade deficit ballooned to \$197 billion. The stock market plunged 102 points on April 23. The Japanese and Germans, protective of their exports, refused to "redress" the trade imbalance. A major depression loomed.

Jackson called an emergency meeting in May with businessmen and top labor bureaucrats to come up with a plan to stimulate the economy. They castigated the corporate runaways and uttered vague threats of sanctions against them. But to meet the immediate need, they announced a plan to impose across-the-board wage cuts; to save the nation, workers would now have to compete with the Taiwanese for jobs.

The summer exploded in strike after strike. Jackson offered to mediate the big GM strike in Flint. In Chicago, where cops lost a street fight in May with striking Teachers Union pickets—primarily Black women whose '70s walkouts Jackson had twice tried to break—he had sent in the National Guard.

The pot boils over. In July the ghettos went up in smoke. Austerity had devastated Black America. AIDS and crack continued to decimate Black youth. Jobs were nowhere. On July 7, Newark blew, followed by Chicago, Philadelphia, Miami, Los Angeles, and Seattle. Jackson pleaded to cool it, visited the ghettos—and then called out the troops.

Order restored for the moment, Jackson promised emergency funding to "rescue" the inner cities. What he did was fire up a quick Anti-Drug War.

Cops swept the ghettos, shooting up crack houses, killing off dealers and users and innocents—and Black militants and white radicals who got in their way by protesting random shootouts.

On July 27, police raided a house in Brooklyn, New York, killing two seven-year-old girls. Protest erupted in New York City. Jackson pre-empted the major networks to address the nation. He bemoaned the tragedy and stepped up the war on drugs, "the killer of Black youth, destroyer of the Black family, enemy of our national will and survival." He condemned the recent protests, singling out "white so-called radicals who seek to advance their own political agenda through our suffering and impede our efforts to save the Black community and the nation. These troublemakers are the political equivalent of the dope-dealing death merchants we seek to destroy!"

At Jackson's prodding, Congress passed an Omnibus Detention Bill in mid-August giving federal police sweeping powers to investigate and detain "suspected drug dealers" and anyone who "obstructs" police anti-drug efforts.

Police raided the major cities, joined "unofficially" in many instances

vador and Guatemala.

South America's Indio nations, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia, exploded at the end of September. Argentina and Pinochet's Chile swiftly followed suit. Then São Paulo's food riots ignited revolution in austerity-wracked Brazil.

Bringing it all back home. Southern Mexico's land-starved peasants rampaged on October 1, and two days later the slum-dwelling millions of Mexico City followed suit. Upheaval swept north like a brushfire—through Guadalajara, Monterrey, the countryside, the border towns—and leapt across to the barrios of L.A., San Antonio, Albuquerque, and Denver.

The revolution had come home, on U.S. soil. Arrayed on one side were the seething millions of angry people; on the other, the mightiest, and most repressive state apparatus in history.

Titanic strikes broke out in October, antiwar protests raged, the ghettos again erupted, poor people and seniors demonstrated, students struck, and women, lesbians and gays occupied federal buildings in San Francisco, New York, Atlanta, L.A., Chicago, Seattle, and Boston. Small farmers occupied banks throughout the Midwest.

Each insurrectionary

were formulating plans of their own.

Nevertheless, it was clear that speed and surgical precision were essential to the revolution's success. Missteps and hesitation could swiftly hand the initiative to the counterrevolution, and beget the slaughter of the rebellion.

As soon as the upheavals broke out, Jackson had unleashed the troops—but this time the troops found better use for their guns. It started in San Antonio where Chicana and Mexicana garment workers confronted soldiers, many of them Chicanos and Blacks, who had been sent to quell the general strike that had broken out in the city two days before. The women argued, implored, demanded, and finally persuaded the soldiers to join them and to disarm the police and Klansmen who had been harassing the strikers.

In city after city, women's committees won over the troops. A frightened Jackson readied U.S. NATO-bound troops for domestic assault, but those troops—and half of Europe—rioted against the order. The soldiers opened the armories to the people. Military staff workers refused to process countermanding orders from the high command.

Telephone workers meanwhile took over the lines of communication. Clerical, technical, and professional workers commandeered TV and radio stations, government and newspaper offices, banks, utilities, transport facilities. Industrial workers occupied plants.

The last nail. The revolution at this point was nine-tenths won. *Now came the hard part—the final assault on the innermost sanctums of the state.* The utmost in a conscious and purposeful effort was required. And it all came down to the question of leadership—whether the various insurrectionary coordinating bodies would coalesce nationally to map out and prepare the storming of the citadel.

Trotsky once compared the relationship of revolutionary leadership with the masses to that of a piston to steam. The steam is the motive force of an engine,

Jackson alone enabled the Democrats to forestall a move by volatile forces—Blacks, the Left, and growing numbers of white workers—toward independent, third-party electoral politics.

by Klansmen and Nazis. After six cops were killed during a massive drug raid in Cleveland, fascists marched openly in the streets, declaring war to the death against all Black and Latino "drug dealers." They demanded Jackson's impeachment for his failure to eliminate the dealers, which they ascribed to his "sympathy for Black criminals."

Jackson readied troops to "control" the fascists, but did not use them, even after the Klan provoked violent clashes with anti-fascists in Chicago and Detroit.

Campuses blew in September. Jackson again sent in troops and again railed against "outside radical agitators." He also stepped up his red baiting of striking workers and their "selfish sabotage" of economic recovery.

Then in late September, Palestinian workers rioted in Jerusalem. Fully alert now to the Communist Menace, Jackson readied U.S. NATO troops for action and sent warships speeding into the Persian Gulf. "As long as we are dependent on Middle Eastern oil," he grated, "we will defend it against Soviet encroachments."

Insurgency had been skyrocketing in Central America. The specter of Latin American revolution—death for imperialism—danced in the headlines.

Enraged, Jackson whirled on the Sandinistas for "violating" the terms of their reconciliation with the contras—they had defended Managua from contra attacks. He swiftly dispatched troops to Honduras. But the day they landed, Panamanian soldiers killed 43 U.S. Marines in a firefight outside Colón. Native rebels meanwhile battered the regimes in El Sal-



Breaking bread with Democratic Party honchos (from left): Jackson with campaign manager Willie Brown and Demo insiders Clark Clifford and Ann Lewis. Jackson has so far averted electoral rebellion against the two-party powers-that-be.

act brought people one giant step closer to revolutionary consciousness and confidence. Each victory, moreover, disclosed the enemy's weakness more clearly: for all its power, the government could not coordinate a sustained counteroffensive. Competing heads of fiefdoms within the law enforcement and military bureaucracies—each hungry for glory and control—refused to cooperate in counterstrike efforts. Although intermittently deadly, government counterstrikes were fumbling and hesitant; left and right hands worked at cross purposes. The rulers and generals depended on workers to implement their plans, but the workers

but without the piston it dissipates uselessly. The masses likewise are the power of the revolution, but without leadership to chart the terrain of conflict, to facilitate agreement on how best to fight, to point the way past difficulties, to steel hearts and nerves, to inspire the revolutionary combatants, the revolution dissipates like pistonless steam in the air.

This revolution cried out for leadership—and leadership answered the call. Radicals—Trotskyists, feminists, immigrants, workers of all colors, unionists, gays and lesbians, seniors, students, artists and intellectuals, everyday mili-

AMERICAN INDIAN RESISTANCE

The U.S. government ought not to crow over its "victory" in the *Loud Hawk, et al.* case. They may have wrung a guilty plea and conviction from defendant and American Indian Movement co-founder Dennis Banks, but the underlying issues of the case—Native American sovereignty and survival—remain. The battle is over. The war will continue.

Banks pled guilty on March 7 to one count of weapons possession in Portland's Federal District Court. His sentence: five years probation. In exchange, the government dropped all other charges against him and co-defendants Russ Redner, Kamook Banks, and Kenneth Loud Hawk.

So ended one of the longest judicial witchhunts in U.S. history—a marathon 13-year vendetta rooted in the government's 1973 seige at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota and its subsequent determination to wipe out the American Indian Movement (AIM).

The case itself started in 1975 with the arrests in Oregon of Redner, Loud Hawk, Kamook Banks, and Anna Mae Aquash on charges of harboring fugitive AIM leaders Dennis

Dennis Banks pleads guilty but conflicts still rage

Banks and Leonard Peltier. The latter were wanted on trumped-up federal charges stemming from their resistance to the military assault at Wounded Knee.

Lacking any evidence that the four were harboring Peltier and Banks,



Loud Hawk defendant and AIM activist Russ Redner speaks in Seattle in January on the government's courtroom persecution of Indians, radicals, and other movement activists.

the government dropped those charges and indicted them for weapons possession.

The case was summarily tossed out of court in 1976. That same year AIM organizer Aquash was brutally murdered on the Pine Ridge reservation, and the cause of her death covered up by the FBI. The three surviving defendants, plus Dennis Banks, were re-indicted in 1980. Charges were dismissed in 1983, only to be reinstated by the U.S. Supreme Court three years later.

In the months before the trial was to be held, Russ Redner and the Loud Hawk Et Al National Offense/Defense Committee had garnered enormous support in the Northwest by exposing and ridiculing the government's flimsy case. The desire to avoid a political confrontation with this groundswell of support, and the threat of further embarrassment to the prosecution, prompted the government to arrive at the plea bargain settlement with Banks.

Not over yet. Banks was unapologetic at his sentencing, asserting that he was "guilty of helping my people, of bringing

them the equipment they needed to fight back" against the reign of government terror which followed the AIM takeover at Wounded Knee. He had only pled guilty, he said, to keep his co-defendants out of jail.

The government can be thankful it didn't have to justify its twice-dismissed and discredited case at trial. Its very right to try Native Americans, members of sovereign nations, for defending themselves against foreign aggression would have been challenged. And the courtroom battle would have galvanized international attention once again on the endless persecution, imprisonment, and outright murder of hundreds of Wounded Knee warriors.

U.S. Prosecuting Attorney Charles Turner crowed after the sentencing that "perseverance pays off." The Loud Hawk Committee replied that "the issues (of government persecution and violation of treaty rights) remain, and the movement will continue until our rights are secure."

Building an alliance. The committee vowed to continue the struggle by deepening alliances forged in the course of the defense effort.

One of these was an Indian/radical alliance which took wing at two public forums co-sponsored by the Loud Hawk Committee, the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), and Radical Women (RW) this January and February in Seattle and Portland. *to page 21*

Commemorating "The Longest Walk"

The following statement was given by Freedom Socialist Party National Secretary Guerry Hoddersen on behalf of the FSP and its sister organization, Radical Women, at the 10th Anniversary Commemoration of The Longest Walk. The commemoration was held at the Daybreak Star Indian Cultural Center in Seattle on February 13.

The Longest Walk was a national march undertaken by Native Americans in the spring of 1978 to protest 11 congressional bills which, if passed, would have abolished all U.S. treaties with Indian nations, stripped away all Indian land and water titles, removed tribal jurisdiction over non-Indians on reservations, severely restricted commercial Indian fishing and hunting rights in Oregon and Washington State, and extinguished native water-use rights.

Marchers joined the 3000-mile Walk as it progressed from California to Washington, D.C. where, in July, traditional leaders and elders of all tribes presented an "Indian Manifesto" in defense of native sovereignty and survival to the U.S. government and the world community.

The Walk riveted international attention and outrage against the attempted congressional genocide, and the resulting pressure sent the bills down to defeat.

I believe it's important to remember our movements' victories, because they're so hard to win and the system is so bent on rubbing out their memory. The Longest Walk was a victory, of

endurance, spirit, and courage—and excellent political strategy! It was a victory for the Indian nations, the Indian people, and all non-Indians who lent a hand. It gave the right wing, the bigots, the land thieves, the fish stealers, the corporate raiders and spoilers a jolt they've never forgotten.

Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party were honored to be asked to work on The Longest Walk by the McClouds. [Janet, a member of the Tulalip tribe and international spokesperson for Indian rights, and her late husband Don, a Puyallup who fought for Indian fishing rights in the Pacific Northwest.—Ed.] When Janet said that she and Don needed money for a truck to get to the Walk, we held one of the biggest events ever at old Freeway Hall, the FSP's former headquarters down on Lake Union. Somehow we crammed 150 people into that creaky old building for dinner and talks and drumming, and by the end of the evening, we'd raised \$2000.

Because of that night, we've always felt we went on The Longest Walk too.

Radical Women and the FSP have worked with the McCloud family on many issues, from the fish-ins to welfare sit-ins in Olympia to the treatment of Indian prisoners at Walla Walla State Penitentiary. We've had our share of fights and disagreements over political issues. But there's one thing we've always agreed on: *the Indian nations will be free.* And our organizations are there, ready and willing to help in the battle, because we consider it our fight too.

Why? Because we are organizations

of working people. We're people of color. We're elderly and young. We're lesbian and gay. We're men and women that the system hurts and exploits in one way or another. And we don't believe that any of us can be free until all have won liberation. In this country, which was founded on racism and genocide and colonization and slavery, no one will be free until the Indian nations are free again.

We can't change history, but we can learn from it. And the lesson of American history is that you can't create a humane society based on theft, whether it's the theft of Indian land, the theft of workers' labor, or the theft of human rights. A society based on theft—this capitalist society—will always try to mug you and steal you blind.

But there's something about the human spirit—it won't tolerate oppression.

We rebel against it and fight to be free. And so the war in

this country goes on.

We've got an unfinished job here, an unfinished revolution to make. In the '60s, I thought we were going to make it right then and there. Twenty years later, we still ain't overcome.

But we're still here. And in Contraland U.S.A., that's a victory in itself. This room is filled with people, with leaders, with fighters who just won't give up. And that's something to celebrate. And honor. And appreciate.

We need each other. Russ Redner and the Banks and Loud Hawk need your help in Portland. And we in the FSP need your help because three of our members are under contempt charges in the Freeway Hall Case, with jail hanging over their heads for refusing to fink on other people.

We need each other to finish the revolution, to overcome for good and forever. Then we can build a society based on sharing, where the Big Thieves are put out of business or behind bars.

Together, we can build a society where the land belongs to those who are good for it. □

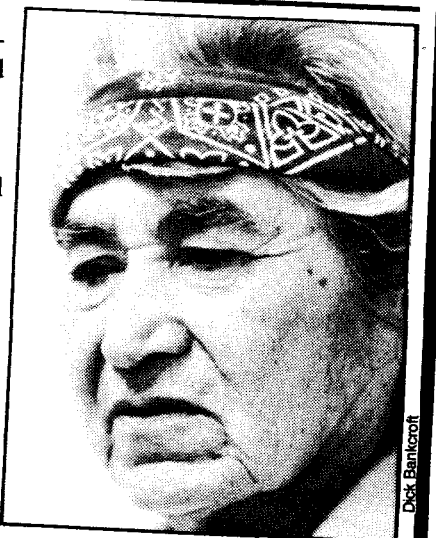


Sohappys freed!

David Sohappy and David Sohappy, Jr., were finally freed from federal prison in May.

They should never have been jailed for exercising their inalienable right to fish. The real criminal in Salmonsam is the U.S. government. (Salmonsam was the infamous 1982 sting operation in which the Sohappys and other Native Americans were arrested for selling salmon to undercover federal agents. Matthew McConville, also sentenced to prison, was freed last June.) We applaud their outspoken condemnation of the injustice and their present determination to sue the government for violating their rights.

We stand with them in their future struggles against the government's anti-Indian outrages.



David Sohappy

ruinous Stalinist ideology and tactics, could not but isolate it from the larger Chicano movement.

After an initial period of swift expansion, CASA-HGT rapidly degenerated. By mid-1978, it was undergoing internal discussion on the need for a drastic change of direction. The options posed were either to "broaden their base of support by increasing work... with such moderate groups as LULAC and G.I. Forum and with Chicano Democratic Party politicians... [or] to strengthen their organizational ties to the Communist Party USA."¹³⁰

Both roads led to dead-end submersion in the Democrat Party. A group can win acceptance from moderates, bureaucrats and politicians only by making peace with capitalist ideology. And the other course, allying with the CP, was just as quick a route to the Democrats, which the CP has slavishly endorsed since Roosevelt.

CASA needed a workingclass program corresponding to the real nature and needs of Chicanos. It needed to forsake its reliance on the liberals, drop its sexism and homophobia and nationalism, and build a united front *led by the workers*.

CASA did not consider these options. It has not been heard from since.

● Latin American support movements

Stalinist/people's front politics are also rife in today's Latin American support movements. This sad

state of affairs is caused in part by the politics of the leading groups in the countries they are supporting, and in part by the insistence of American Stalinists, liberals and the church on keeping the movement "respectable."

Most U.S. support groups for Central America have a single-issue, pacifist thrust, and this is a disservice to the Chicano struggle and the Latin American revolution.

CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), tied to the Stalinist-led Revolutionary Democratic Front in El Salvador, and to the Catholic Church, has not attracted large numbers of Chicanos because of its rigidity on membership (no organizational representatives allowed), its lack of democracy, and its refusal to deal directly with the domestic Chicano struggle and U.S. racism, because this might alienate liberal, pacifist, and church support.

Chicanos would respond enthusiastically to a non-peacenik antiwar movement, as they have in the past, but this potential is not being tapped. Mass Chicano protest against U.S. intervention in Latin America is more likely to be seen in independent actions like the 1986 L.A. Chicano Moratorium, which centered its demands on solidarity with undocumented workers as well as an end to U.S. intervention in Central America.

Stalinism has held back world revolution, the Latin American revolution, the Chicano struggle, feminism and gay liberation, and the antiwar movement for too long. Its stifling influence must be replaced with the

fresh air of revolutionary politics in order for any progressive social movement to go forward.

¡Viva la revolución en las Américas!

The whole world watches and cheers the brave combat of Latin American rebels against the U.S. behemoth. History and destiny are on their side, and on the side of U.S. workers who will eventually come to the aid of their Latin American brothers and sisters by throttling imperialism at its source.

A weighty role in this drama is borne by Chicano workers, who are revolutionized early in life by their experience of oppression in the world's most advanced capitalist country, and who are inspired by their living link with revolutions beyond the border.

Radical Chicanos convey internationalism into U.S. social struggles. They counteract the flag-waving bureaucrats in the labor movement. They expose racism and sexism in every sector. Their role in the crusade against U.S. capitalism spans two continents.

¡La lucha internacional continua!



The next installment of **The Chicano Struggle: A Racial or a National Movement?** addresses the flourishing of feminism and lesbian/gay activism in the Chicano movement and presents the Freedom Socialist Party platform for Chicano liberation.

Yolanda Alaniz's entire life experience led her to become a theoretician of La Raza.

Raised as a farmworker in the Yakima Valley of Eastern Washington—known as the Little Mississippi of the Northwest—Alaniz was aware from the beginning of the racism and poverty that blight the lives of Chicanos in the U.S.

She became a student activist while attending the University of Washington in Seattle during the early '70s. Her battles with sexists and cultural nationalists in the movement and her experience in helping to organize a union of low-paid service workers on campus led her to become a socialist feminist. She has been a member of the Freedom Socialist Party since 1976.

Alaniz firmly believes in the political integration of all movements for social and economic change. Her staunch defense of her ideas has won her respect at race and sex liberation conferences around the country.

This document is her testament and tribute to the revolutionary power of La Raza.

About the Authors



Yolanda Alaniz and Megan Cornish

Megan Cornish was eminently qualified for the task of co-authoring this document. A longtime radical, she was active in the anti-Vietnam war movement during the 1960s, and has been a member of the FSP since 1972.

Cornish has devoted years of assiduous study and research, in collaboration with Alaniz, to the questions of race and national liberation. Her paper, *The National Question in the United States*, which meticulously applied the Leninist criteria for nationhood to the Black and Native American liberation struggles in the U.S., was presented at the first national conference of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party in October 1978. It was subsequently adopted as a resolution at the 1982 national convention of the Freedom Socialist Party.

Cornish is currently a member of the Employee Committee for Equal Rights at City Light (CERCL) in Seattle, battling a management that has gained national notoriety for race and sex discrimination.

Credits: The authors deeply appreciate the invaluable research, writing and editing of Helen Gilbert and Clara Fraser for this document. Photos on pages 10 and 13 are courtesy of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, The General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin. Photographers unidentified.

Supplement Cover: Design by Kay Eriksen and Helen Gilbert. In the foreground is a detail of a mural in Santa Fe, New Mexico, "Liberty and Education," painted by Los Artes Guadalupeños de Aztlán. Superimposed is a section from Diego Rivera's epic mural, "The Mexican War of Independence—1910" at the National Palace in Mexico City.

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... a socialist society must be a democratic society, which allows full participation for everyone... For it is the repression of these freedoms which the people of the Western world and the people of the workers states themselves find most noxious and onerous about these states.
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95. An in-depth examination of sexism in the Black Power movement is presented in Michele Wallace's *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* (New York: Dial Press, 1979).
The FSP's analysis is discussed in Tom Boot's "Revolutionary Integration: Yesterday and Today" (*Freedom Socialist*, Vol. 8, no. 2 [Spring 1983]).
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100. Susan Lamont, "Texas Women Hear SWP, Raza Unida Candidates," *Militant*, Vol. 36, no. 16 (28 April 1972): 12.
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104. The issue of legalized or decriminalized prostitution is still hotly debated among feminists. The FSP holds that until prostitution is legalized, it is virtually impossible for prostitutes to organize for self-protection; hence, they will always be the victims of the law, the police, pimps, and abusive men. Capitalism promotes prostitution through the super-exploitation of women and the debased social relations which define females as inferior.
105. Judith Papachristou, *Women Together* (New York: Knopf, 1976), 243.
106. In August 1970, Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander of the Black Panther Party, took the epochal step of publishing a statement in support of gay rights in *The Black Panther*. It read in part:
... a person should have the freedom to use his body in whatever way he wants to... there's nothing to say that a homosexual cannot also be a revolutionary... on the contrary, maybe a homosexual could be the most revolutionary.
When we have revolutionary conferences, rallies and demonstrations, there should be full participation of the gay liberation movement and the women's liberation movement.
... We should try to form a working coalition.
(Donn Teal, *The Gay Militants* [New York: Stein and Day, 1971], 170-71.)
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112. Tomás Almaguer, *Class, Race, and Chicano Oppression* (Somerville, MA: New England Free Press, n.d.), originally published in *Socialist Revolution*, No. 25 (Vol. 5, no. 3).
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114. *Aztlán: An Anthology of Mexican American Literature*, xxxiv.
115. Carl Sagan, "The Common Enemy," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer/Seattle Times*, Parade Magazine (7 Feb. 1988): 5-6.
Sagan counts 13 U.S. invasions of Mexico, nine each of Nicaragua and Panama, seven of Honduras, six of Colombia, five of the Dominican Republic, four each of Argentina and Cuba, three of Uruguay, two of Guatemala, and single invasions of Grenada, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Chile, and Peru.
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119. Juan Gonzales, "Inter-American Activist," *Nuestro*, Vol. 1, no. 6 (Sept. 1977): 52.
120. Fred Kaplan, "Airman Asks Out on Basis of Conscience," *Boston Globe* (7 July 1987): 3.
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122. Tod Ensign, "First U.S. Military Resister to War in Central America," *On Guard*, Vol. 2, issue 1 (no. 5, 1987): 7.
123. Stalinist alliances with bourgeois "friends" led to the butchery of the Chinese revolution by Chiang Kai-Shek in 1925-27 and to the betrayal of the revolutionary general strikes in France during 1935-37. General Franco was able to ascend to power in Spain in 1939 only because the People's Front leaders of the republic derailed the revolution and denied self-determination to Spain's colony of Morocco even though the great Moor soldiers were fighting for the republic; the Moors switched to Franco's camp. In Greece in 1945, Communist partisans held power but treacherously turned it over to the British army and capitalism. The Kremlin promoted a similar disarming of revolutionary forces all over western Europe before and after WWII. The list of Stalinist betrayals is long and it includes the smashing of recent revolutions in Indonesia, Chile and Iran.
124. Paul S. Reichler, Letter to Congressman Mike Lowry, 28 March 1988; "Agreement Between the Constitutional Government of Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan Resistance," 23 March 1988, unofficial translation issued by Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, D.C.
125. García, "The Chicano Movement," 125.
126. *Ibid.*, 125-26.
127. See Installment VI, 16.
128. García, "The Chicano Movement," 127.
129. Almaguer, "Chicano Politics in the Present Period," 138.
130. *Ibid.*, 139.

MARXIST CLASSICS

Murry Weiss originally wrote *Permanent Revolution and Women's Emancipation for the October 1978 National Conference of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP)*. The document was printed in the *CRSP Discussion Bulletin* and adopted under the title *Draft Resolution on Permanent Revolution and Women's Emancipation* and was condensed for publication in the *Fall 1978 Freedom Socialist*. Below are excerpts from the second version.

One of the most penetrating examinations of the interrelationship between women's age-old fight for equality and the struggle for world socialism, this treatise is a fitting capstone to the legacy of Weiss, the Dean of American Trotskyism at the time of his death in December 1981.

Weiss was a founder of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1938. He co-authored with James P. Cannon the 1946 *Theses on the American Revolution*, which pinpointed the centrality of the U.S. to world revolution and was adopted at the SWP's 12th National Convention that year. Weiss was internationally recognized as a creative organizer and a profound interpreter of the twists and dynamics of global class struggle, and he was one of the first party leaders to grasp the significance of the woman question.

Weiss left the SWP, by then degenerate and conservatized, in the '60s. In the '70s, he helped found CRSP as a lever of Trotskyist regroupment. Shortly afterward he joined the Freedom Socialist Party where he remained, a beloved and respected leader, until his death at the age of 66.

The gist of the theory of Permanent Revolution is that the unfinished, bourgeois democratic tasks of humanity can only be carried through by the proletarian, socialist revolution. First advanced by Marx, this theory has been tested and verified since 1848.

Trotsky fought to extend world revolution under this banner. He undertook to advance the continuity of Marxism and Leninism, to apply theory in an ever new and changing way to each fresh turn in the mutations and vicissitudes of the struggle for democracy.

And is there a more profound or wider-ranging democratic struggle than that of women? An inextricable bond links Permanent Revolution and women's liberation.

Just as Permanent Revolution was repressed and slandered, bursting into clear view only at the highest point of revolution, so the women's movement is suddenly recognized today. It has always existed, but all too often slipped below the surface of even the highest Marxist consciousness.

Women everywhere are embroiled in uninterrupted, permanent struggle for equality. More than half the human race is striving to throw off the shackles of universal humiliation, super-exploitation, and exclusion from leadership.

Women continuously arise to attack the huge crime of male supremacy. And this battle of the sexes is the battle of the centuries.

Uneven and combined development. Woman led the earliest revolution: the leap in productivity caused by agriculture, domestication of animals, and dis-

covery of tools and arts, all encompassed in a social system of communism, freedom, and equality.

But woman's leadership was overthrown by the encroachment of wealth and private property, and woman's oppression has since been intertwined with class society—ancient slavery, Asian despotism, feudalism, and capitalism.

Since World War II, however, the composition of the world proletariat has changed. The staggering fact that women now compose 45-50 percent of the working class in all imperialist countries has still to be grasped as a major feature of the laws of uneven and combined development as spelled out in the theory of Permanent Revolution.

The explosive formula for the women's movement is lodged in all the democratic struggles against the vast, unresolved oppressions perpetuated through the ages like an historic bookkeeping of old unpaid bills.

And all the oppressed turn eventually towards proletarian leadership and socialist revolution. The problem

the workers having too few contacts with the soldiers—they decided not to call for strikes but to prepare for revolutionary action at some indefinite time in the future.

History's revolutionary party, the Bolsheviks, lagged behind events, providing no leadership. (Lenin and Trotsky were in exile.)

On the following morning, however, in spite of all directives, the women textile workers in several factories went on strike, and sent delegates to the metal workers with an appeal for support... "With reluctance," writes Kayurov, "the Bolsheviks agreed to this, and they were followed by the workers..."

The women textile workers were the *conscious factor of the highest order* needed to spark the revolt. Undeterred by any hesitancy, they won over the rest of the workers and women from all strata. They gauged the moment and acted; they exercised revolutionary statesmanship.

...A great role is played by women workers in the relation between workers and soldiers. They go up to the cordons more boldly than men, take hold of the rifles, beseech, almost command: "Put down your bayonets—join us!" The soldiers are excited, ashamed, exchange glances,

waver; someone makes up his mind first and the bayonets rise guiltily above the shoulders of the advancing crowd. The barrier is opened, a joyous and grateful "Hurrah!" shakes the air. The soldiers are surrounded. Everywhere arguments, reproaches, appeals—the revolution makes a forward step.

The role of the women workers of Petrograd is universal—but usually ignored. The refraction of fact through entrenched modes of male superiority is a pestilential scourge of all revolutionary parties and workers organizations.

Lenin returned to find the Bolsheviks supporting the bourgeois Provisional Government. He unleashed an astounding fusillade against party leaders, and urged the proletariat to seize power in its own name, through the Soviets.

Alexandra Kollantai writes:

When in April Lenin delivered his famous programmatic speech within the frame of the Soviets, I was the only one of his party comrades who took the floor to support his thesis. What hatred this particular act kindled against me.

The women textile workers and the worker-Bolsheviks also supported him against the party. Without them, the October revolution would not have happened.

Twilight of the gods. The women textile workers of 1917 live in the Vyborgs of today.

At the other pole stands the labor bureaucracy—the main bulwark of U.S. imperialism. According to Lenin, in his preface to *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*,

...it is quite possible to bribe the labour leaders and the upper stratum of the labour aristocracy... This stratum of bourgeoisified workers, of the "labour aristocracy," who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their outlook, serve as...the principal social...prop of the bourgeoisie...the real agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class, real channels of reformism and chauvinism...they inevitably...stand side by side with the bourgeoisie...against the "Communards."

These white, male workers and officials are parasites on the lower-paid workers. But the dynamic of women will shatter them, neutralizing some and winning over the many who are fast losing their privileges.

Women spur the proletariat. They exhibit unmatched audacity, more audacity, and still more audacity. They will unleash an incalculable revolutionary power, which, raised to the highest power of the working class, will pulverize the union bureaucrats and the imperialist butchers.

Revolutionaries of both sexes with the sense and sensibility to link up with the most bitterly oppressed will be forged into a mighty, Marxist, socialist feminist party. Such is the promise and burning reality of the pivotal role in permanent revolution of women who dare.

Murry Weiss

on Permanent Revolution & Women's Emancipation

of problems is the crisis of leadership of the leading class, the working class. Women, in the epoch of imperialist decline, not only seek democratic rights but are a radical catalyst within all other oppressed groups and form indissoluble links among them. Women are the unacknowledged leadership of the revolutionary proletariat.

Today, the solution to the leadership crisis is inseparable from women's liberation, and the great changes among revolutionary women are changing women's status in revolutionary parties—as always.

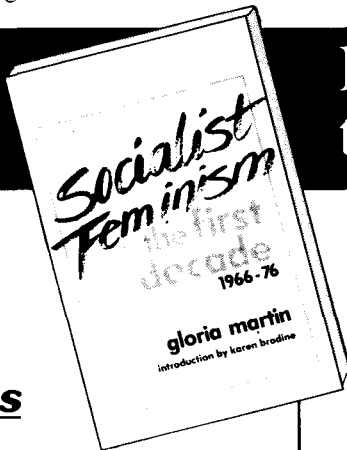
Russian revolutionaries. Mensheviks, Social Democrats and Stalinists oppose to Permanent Revolution the schema that unchanging, ineluctable stages must be passed through before socialism can emerge. First the bourgeois revolution, they said, in advanced capitalist countries; backward, agrarian Czarist Russia would come last.

But life defied this lifeless recipe. The permanent revolution emerged in February, 1917 in Petrograd. And who led this revolution?

Read the chapter "Five Days" in Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*:

The 23rd of February was International Woman's Day. Not a single organization called for strikes on that day. What is more, even a Bolshevik organization, and a most militant one—the Vyborg borough-committee, all workers—was opposing strikes. The temper of the masses...was very tense; any strike would threaten to turn into an open fight. But since the committee thought the time unripe for militant action—the party not strong enough and

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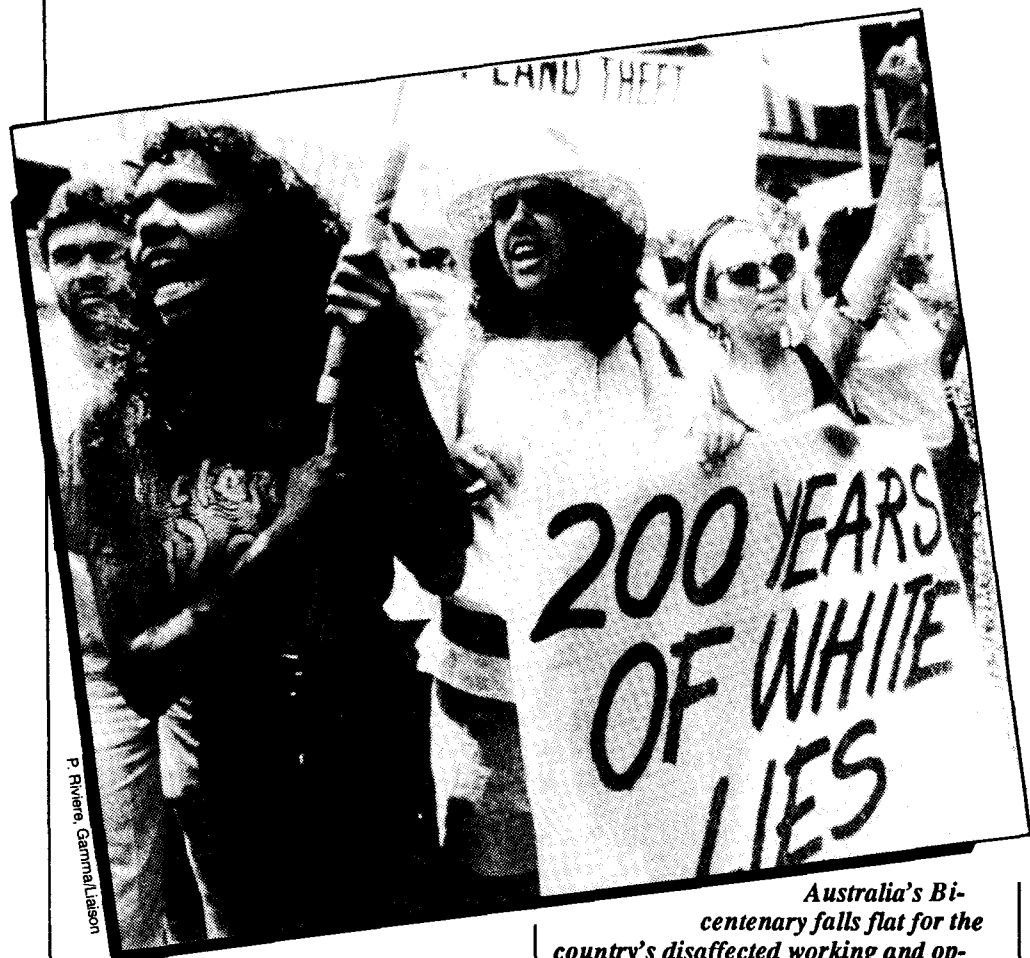
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P. Rivera, Gamma Liaison

Australia's Bicentenary falls flat for the country's disaffected working and oppressed majority. Aboriginal demands for land rights and sovereignty stand out as the centerpiece of resistance to bicentennial pretensions.

When a nation reaches its 200th year, it's expected to throw a birthday party. The U.S. did it in 1976. This year it's party time in Australia.

The government commenced with its bicentenary "Celebration of a Nation" in January: spectacular fireworks lit Sydney Harbor. Charles and Di dropped in to visit. Flag-waving orgies abounded. Even the U.S. Post Office got in on the act with an official joint-issue bicentennial stamp.

Happy birthday, Australia!

However, if you're one of Australia's working and oppressed majority, what's to celebrate? 200 years of capitalist genocide against the Aboriginal people (who have been living on the continent for 40,000 years)?

200 years of back-breaking toil to make a small elite wealthy? 200 years of immigrants being shoved into the dirtiest, worst-paid jobs?

200 years! "Celebration of a Nation," indeed.

Invasion Day. The government is spending millions to generate mass bicentennial enthusiasm. But what they've done is generate defiance, especially among Australian Aborigines.

On January 26, "Invasion Day," 15,000 Aborigines marched through Sydney in a March for Justice, Freedom, and Hope to draw attention to their

struggle for land rights and sovereignty. In addition, 20,000 supporters rallied, making this march the biggest Aboriginal rights demonstration in Australia's history.

It was truly historic, and not just because of its size. The presence of unionists, migrant groups, feminists, and lesbians and gay men—a healthy cross-section of Australia's disaffected majority—served notice of the immense potential power of united multi-racial struggle.

Censors among us. The demonstration could have been an even greater triumph had the Bicentennial Protest Group (BPG), a coalition of liberals who organized the supporters rally, not attempted to censor the radicals who attended.

The BPG wanted a "respectable" demonstration, limited to politely lobbying the government to "meet its responsibilities to the Aboriginal people."

Stupid tactics to use on a government founded on anti-Aboriginal genocide!

Nevertheless, despite the militance of the early morning Aboriginal march, which challenged and broke police lines along the route, the BPG could only allow demonstrators to walk in silence for

Australia's Bicentennial

Fireworks in the sky—protests in the streets

one block in the deserted west end of the city. (Meanwhile, a potential audience of *three million* people crowded the center of town for the official bicentennial events.)

Then, at the solidarity rally, the BPG said that only "approved" literature and banners could be displayed, so as not to "cloud the issues" and "confuse" the Aborigines.

All socialist papers and leaflets were banned.

The ban, racist and patronizing toward Aborigines, was a bureaucratic outrage. But bureaucratism, racism, and anti-socialist censorship are hallmarks of liberal accommodators to capitalist sensibilities.

Leftists were appalled and many organizations, including the Freedom Socialist Party, ignored the ban, selling hundreds of papers. Far from being "confused," Aborigines expressed delight with the literature and with the outpouring of support, a great contrast to the brutality against them in rural Australia which has led to the deaths of over 100 incarcerated Aborigines in the last eight years.

Breaking barriers. The BPG would keep the Aboriginal movement "respectable," isolated, helpless—just what you'd expect from pro-capitalist "supporters." But despite their best efforts, showings of concern are mushrooming among progressives in this bicentennial year.

In February, Victoria's peak union body, the Trades Hall Council, unambiguously endorsed a resolution recognizing Aboriginal sovereignty and calling on affiliated unions to aid their struggle. The Australian Teachers Federation had passed a resolution at its annual conference in January instructing members to boycott bicentennial activities which ex-

clude the Aboriginal perspective.

Sydney's annual gay Mardi Gras in February adopted an anti-bicentennial theme, and for the first time lesbian and gay Aborigines entered a float in the parade. The International Women's Day marches in Sydney and Melbourne and the May Day march in Sydney also adopted anti-bicentennial themes.

A basis to celebrate. Protest against the bicentenary has brought the Aboriginal fight center stage in all the progressive movements. And now is the time to deepen mutual ties.

The basis for unity is imbedded in Australia's history: the theft of Aboriginal land, subjugation of labor, super-exploitation of immigrants and women, and divisive stigmatization of lesbians and gays are rooted in the drive for profits. United action against the profiteers, then, is logically the key to liberation for all.

The campaigns Aboriginal women lead for land rights and for the health, education, and welfare of children are feminist and labor issues par excellence. Aboriginal joblessness and the capitalist rape of Aboriginal lands are top workingclass priorities and must be treated as such. This is key to building lasting multi-racial solidarity and overcoming the single-issuism that has dominated the Aboriginal movement. Also key is the fight by the Left against the BPG-style bureaucratism which would maintain that single-issue segregation of the movement.

Common priorities make for common struggle, which will make Australia's rulers sorry they ever threw their big birthday party. □

—ALISON THORNE, MELBOURNE

... Loud Hawk

from page 8

land. Russ Redner, who had moved to Portland to reorganize around the case, shared the stage with Freeway Hall Case attorney and defendant Val Carlson in Seattle, and with her co-counsel Fred Hyde in Portland.

The Freeway Hall Case, in which an ex-FSP member is demanding that the party turn over confidential minutes, has become the organizational privacy rights test case of the '80s. (Please see story on page four.)

At both forums, the speakers drove home the point that the assaults on AIM and the FSP are two key aspects of the government's drive to crush all political resistance against government and rightwing reaction.

Carlson quoted Dennis Banks on the significance of the Loud Hawk and similar cases: "The government is telling me,

those around me, and anyone who cares to listen, that the jeopardy and punishment you incur when you stand up for your rights, or your people's rights, never ends. Instead, if you are successful in any real way, you will be made a symbol and a target."

Redner asserted the need for alliances to fight "all the pain and suffering I've seen on the reservation," and the need to form a new society modeled on the traditions of indigenous nations whose history is one of sharing and equality. Redner, Carlson, and Hyde emphasized that those seeking social justice must look past the Democratic Party to independent, anti-capitalist political action.

In discussion following the presentations in Seattle, respected Northwest Indian leaders such as Janet McCloud, Ramona Bennett, and Dorothea Romero Norman described the deteriorating quality of life for reservation and urban Indians, castigated callous tribal and social service bureaucrats and their indifference to their people's plight, and urged support for the many sovereign rights, educa-

tional, and social welfare campaigns currently being waged.

McCloud, a founder of the Northwest Indian Women's Circle, urged Native Americans to "set aside our differences" and form a united front to tackle the problems confronting all of them.

Onward! The Loud Hawk battle is over. But the war is heating up on several fronts.

The Loud Hawk Committee has pledged to work for the release of Leonard Peltier, falsely imprisoned over a decade ago for killing two FBI agents at Wounded Knee. The Big Mountain land struggle is still an explosive, unresolved issue. And in North Carolina's Robeson County, the assassination of a Lumbee Indian candidate for a superior court judgeship could detonate a race war.

Julian Pierce's bid to become the county's first Indian judge had been seen by the beleaguered Lumbee and Black population, who together constitute two-thirds of the county's people, as their last hope to bring racial justice to the area.

Robeson County's history is littered with the unsolved murders of Indians and Blacks; an official state investigation found the county judicial system rife with "discrimination and institutional racism."

In February, two young Tuscarora Indians grabbed national headlines when they took 20 hostages at *The Robesonian* newspaper to demand investigation of evidence linking white officials with the burgeoning local drug traffic.

Bitterness soared in the wake of Pierce's murder. One Lumbee remarked that "the Indians are going to have to take the law into their own hands...to protect themselves, their family and friends."

In a system where "justice" amounts to genocide, land theft, and endless repression, Indians and their allies in all the Robeson Counties of America will come to realize that they face the same choice. □

—ADRIENNE WELLER

Adrienne Weller is the Radical Women organizer in Portland and a secretary for the State of Oregon.

... Jackson

from page 7

tants—came fully into their own. Decades of debate over program and strategy had come to a head among the multifarious groupings of Trotskyists and neo-Trotskyists, Stalinists and neo-Stalinists, Maoists, social democrats, anarchists, independent and unaffiliated Marxists, ethnic separatist socialists, Marxist nationalists, hodge-podge liberal/radicals, radicals on single issues or some issues, and establishment whistle-blowers.

These debates and the ongoing intervention of key leftists into mass struggles had led to a sifting and selection of revolutionary leadership. With amazing (but

historically predictable) swiftness, the new leadership came together—nationally, regionally, locally—on the basis of a shared program for the conjuncture.

They formed a revolutionary party, a leadership body of born-in-the-USA-and-elsewhere Bolsheviks foreseen by Leon Trotsky a half-century before.

Nothing in this world has the power of an idea whose time has finally arrived. American Bolshevism swiftly took root in the working women's committees, the feminist coalitions, the trade unions, the armed services, the people of color communities, social issue councils; in workplaces and on campuses; among artists and intellectuals; in the neighborhoods. Debaters and organizers from the new united party of the revolution wrested leadership from the ossified reformists, bureaucrats, and unrecon-

structed Stalinists who had fought ferociously to contain and defuse and retard the revolution.

The new audacious leadership managed to unite and shape the upheavals into one mammoth anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist juggernaut for socialist democracy. The masses advanced on the banks and Wall St., on CIA headquarters, the Pentagon, and the White House, and on the hallowed halls of Congress and the Supreme Court.

The people appropriated these centers of power. Whoever inside was with them stayed to help with the takeover. The opponents were thrown out and peoples' representatives placed temporarily in charge.

Thus was the state overthrown and transcended.

President Jesse Jackson, the 41st and

last U.S. president, was ushered from office on November 7, 1990, two years to the day after his election. He was sent to an institute for the re-education, retraining and re-socializing of capitalists, militarists, bourgeois politicians, financiers, entrepreneurs, and assorted bureaucrats and finks.

The head of the new socialist government, a Black woman attorney, later joked that had Bush been elected, they'd have gotten the job done by September.

When well-meaning progressives and just plain folks are seduced by great-looking, mesmerizing Democrats, it takes them awhile to return to reality.

Thankfully, life always provides that interval. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN

... Palestine

from page 3

ery—and revolt.

Ultimately, self-determination requires the dismantling of the Zionist state and its replacement by a bilateral secular state in Palestine. This means a struggle for so-

cialism, and escalating polarization between radicals and pro-capitalists in the Palestinian leadership.

Anti-Zionist Jews speak out.

Israel's Iron Fist policies have engendered an historic shift in world Jewish opinion of the Zionist state. Many Jews are realizing that much of their own proud history chronicles heroic resistance against the same atrocities the Israelis are meting out to the Palestinians. The up-

heaval is bringing many to realize what Jewish anti-Zionist radicals have always held—that Zionism is a death trap for Middle Eastern Jews and not the mythical haven from Czarist pogroms and fascism that drew many Western settlers. It is more possible for Jews, and non-Jews, to debate and criticize Israel free from the charges of anti-Semitism that obscure the fundamental issues.

Radical Jews are gaining a hearing and making the most of it. An example is a March 8 letter to the *Jewish Transcript* in Seattle by Marxist Henry Noble: "The height of Jewishkeit is not possession of a militarist state that suppresses another people, it is fighting against all oppression." This fight is "necessary for our own survival; this is our great contribution to world culture.

"Israel as constituted today is not a salvation for the Jews, but its opposite. The Zionists will lose their lives and their homeland unless they quickly recognize that the only viable state is one shared equally by Arabs and Jews, that is socialist and free from the dictates of U.S. interests. American Jews have a deep obligation to ourselves and to our Israeli and Palestinian brothers and sisters to bring this about."

Antiwar means anti-Zionism.

Stalinist and pacifist U.S. antiwar leaders meanwhile refuse to make the Palestinian struggle a central concern of the antiwar movement. To do so, they say, would alienate those opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America who happen to be pro-Zionist. Also, anti-interventionists supposedly wouldn't understand the joining of the two issues.

These leaders advocate "education"

on the Middle Eastern issue, off to the side somewhere, presumably in a way that won't offend Zionist sensibilities.

What all this nonsense boils down to is that, while the fight against U.S. warmongering in Central America is popular, public opinion is still divided on Zionism—and antiwar leaders don't want to risk losing popular influence by taking a principled stand against Israel. And they are most concerned with retaining the favor of pro-Zionist congressional liberals and labor bureaucrats, who are seen by the antiwar activists—incredibly—as leading the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America.

What contempt the Stalinists have for the ability of the antiwar rank and file to grasp the issues and end the war drive! Moreover, it is the Stalinists who do not get the point: in refusing to admit that the Middle Eastern and Central American conflicts are equally the products of capitalism's drive for profits and political control, they obstruct the antiwar movement from understanding and dealing effectively with either of them.

Top of the agenda. The Palestinian upheaval, now in its sixth month, is a number-one priority for the antiwar movement, which must begin to educate in its ranks on the relation of the revolt to the Central American insurgency. This change of course will lead to a break with the Stalinist and Democratic misleaders. The sooner the better; a break will clear the way for the anti-capitalist antiwar actions required to end both Zionist and U.S. atrocities.

The antiwar movement should begin now to demand an immediate end to U.S. aid to Israel and complete U.S. withdrawal from the Middle East.

Meanwhile, Israeli Jews face a choice: support for their government's genocidal policies or solidarity with the Palestinian revolt. The first course means death for the Israelis and many Palestinians; the second will help bring about safety and cooperative equality for Arabs and Jews alike in a secular, socialist Palestine. □

—MUFFY SUNDE

Washington, D.C.

In seven years, more than 100 of President Reagan's appointees have been accused of illegal or unethical conduct: six have been found guilty, scores have been forced from office, and more criminal indictments are expected.

Manila, Philippines

President Aquino wants to impose a limited state of emergency to allow the military to arrest suspected rebels and hold them indefinitely without trial.

Excerpt from

Karen Brodine's "Woman Sitting at the Machine, Thinking"

half-empty streets, the calm of the warehouse district
oversize buildings like airplane hangars, expect to see
halfbuilt skeletons of planes or ships gliding the wide
rivers of the streets, nothing bustling here.

like early morning walks at home in the woods,
deciduous plants flourish, the noises are big here,
not the tiny picky noises of downtown streets.

signs scrawl one wall, "US Out of El Salvador" next to a
shiny long car, must be the boss's Cadillac, next to that,
an old chev, the cadillac of onions, paint peeling, settling
into its flat tire, looks tired, looks permanent.

ha, remember that dream now, Rose and me in a great circle
of people straggling over scraped bare dirt, no green plants
and we're walking, and I realize this is a musicians' union
and we are singing the Internationale in jazz rhythm.

"let each stand in their place, we shall be all."

the buildings around us are plastered with hundreds of
red stickers that shout STRIKE STRIKE STRIKE
a woman begins to sing of all the people that work here
and the song is a list of their names and their deeds.

Karen Brodine—poet, feminist, and revolutionary—died at age 40 on October 18, 1987. Her fourth book, Woman Sitting at the Machine, Thinking, will be published this year by Freedom Socialist Publications.



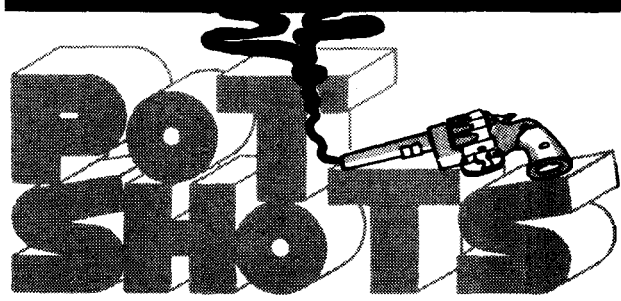
RADICAL WOMEN

Don't mutter when you use the card catalogue. FBI Director William Sessions explains his agency's efforts to turn librarians into informers: "We expect librarians to be aware of things that in their minds are in fact foreign, hostile intelligence-gathering efforts."

Before he had his polyps removed. "In every one of the far-flung trouble spots, dig deep enough and you'll find the Soviet Union stirring a witch's brew..." — Ronald Reagan, 1980.

Trying to keep airplanes up. Frank Lorenzo, chair of Texas Air, blamed safety investigations against his airlines on union leaders who are "trying to bring the company down."

What are friends for? According to Roy Cohn's recent biography, the former McCarthy aide's philosophy was "I don't want to know what the law is, I want to know who the judge is."



by Tamara Turner

He won't like the answer. Secretary of State George Shultz commented on the U.S. peace plan for a Middle East settlement: "We have a package that is promising—at least we think it is promising. Whether anyone else thinks it is promising is a question."

Don't worry, we won't. As Austria marked the 50th anniversary of its annexation by Nazi Germany, Austrian President Kurt Waldheim laid a wreath on a monument to victims of fascism and said in a televised speech, "We must not forget that many of the worst Nazi hangmen were Austrians."

They can breathe if they keep it quiet. After outlawing political activity by the 2-million-member United Democratic Front, 15 other groups, and the nation's largest trade union, South African Law and Order Minister Vlok explained, "It must be emphasized that the government does not wish to prohibit all activities of the organizations concerned—only those which endanger the safety of the public, the maintenance of law and order or the termination of the state of emergency."

Or call it a day. After being photographed with a prostitute and asked to resign as head of his \$140 million TV ministry, Jimmy Swaggart announced, "I do not plan in any way to whitewash my sin or call it a mistake."

Sounds like Reagan, must be Larry Speakes. At a February 24 press conference, President Reagan described the agreement he had with Secretary of State Shultz and former Defense Secretary Weinberger on the arms-for-hostages deal with Iran: "They did not object to the idea of, that we were trading arms for hostages. Their objection was that, if and when this became known, as it would be, it would appear that we were trading hostages for, or arms for hostages."

Sounds like Reagan, must be Larry Speakes. During a debate among Republican candidates for president, NBC's Edwin Newman reminded George Bush of his 1981 banquet toast to Ferdinand Marcos: "We love your adherence to democratic principles and processes."

George lies again. At the end of a subdued campaign speech, George Bush shared his inner self: "I may not articulate much, but I feel."

Let's see what he can do with a beach ball. During a debate among Democratic candidates in St. Paul, Michael Dukakis bragged, "I'm the only one on this platform who has balanced a budget."

The following column was printed, in slightly altered form, in the San Francisco Chronicle on April 11, 1987 in response to a previous column by Fredric Hayward, the misogynist director of Men's Rights, Inc., which is a national anti-feminist organization headquartered in Sacramento, California.

Lift the demagogic rhetoric of Men's Rights, Inc., about "fetal imperialism" and "feminist sexism" and you find the new face of the rightwing sexist who revels in contempt for women's lives.

Using surrogate motherhood as a launching pad, "Me Woman, Baby Mine?" by Fredric Hayward (Chronicle, March 21) attacks the entire concept of women's equality with men. Though the ideas are repackaged by distorting feminist terms, the tired, old reactionary propaganda of "reverse discrimination" and women's "natural" place as mothers on a pedestal above men pokes through.

Hayward's assessment that the Baby M case—and the whole feminist movement for that matter—is about a woman's prerogative to change her mind caricatures women as bubbleheads. The Baby M case is about a woman's right to keep the baby she bears. But Hayward, along with Judge Sorkow in the Baby M case, defends the bigoted position that a workingclass woman's right to her child is nullified by a well-to-do man's power to control paternity and to rent or buy women's bodies.

Hayward shares the view that women are incubators first, persons second. Poor women are economically coerced to rent their wombs, and whether women rent their bodies for nine months as surrogate mothers or for one evening as prostitutes makes no difference. In both cases the woman is the victim, not the guilty party.

It is an indictment of this society that women must exchange sexual and reproductive services for money under any circumstances.

Ms. Whitehead has every right to keep her baby, which she carried for nine months. If Mr. Stern wants to raise a child, he can adopt. But he insists on keeping Baby M to ensure that his property is passed on to his biological heir.

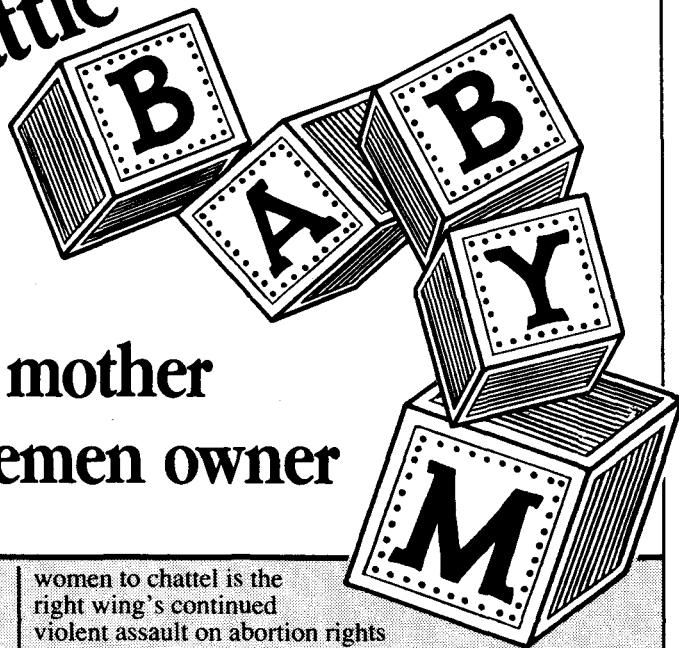
Women's right to control their bodies is fundamental to women's equality. Hayward's assertion that this right results in "colonizing" fetuses and a "chauvinistic attitude" toward children is ridiculous. The feminist movement, not misogynist men like Hayward, has linked demands for abortion, affirmative action, comparable worth and childcare—all necessary reforms to enable women to support themselves and care for the children they choose to bear.

Hayward has the whole rightwing agenda down pat. In addition to his opposition to women controlling their bodies, he blames working mothers for ignoring their "latchkey" children and claims comparable worth will allow women to make too much money for the menial jobs they hold. Hayward also makes it appear that white men suffer "reverse discrimination" because of women's gains, meager as they are. In fact, women and people of color still make far less money and are ghettoized in the most demanding, grueling jobs. How can a woman provide for her children and herself without equal access to decent jobs, quality childcare and comparable pay? She can't.

And herein lies the web Hayward and his ilk weave for women: paternity rights are sovereign; women should be at home attending to the children; and if women do have the gall to get a job, they should not be paid too much because that just makes them uppity and independent.

Yet another part of this calculated effort to reduce

The battle for



Surrogate mother vs. semen owner

women to chattel is the right wing's continued violent assault on abortion rights through clinic bombings, harassment and vandalism.

The anti-abortionists simultaneously demand higher birth rates for white babies, and force sterilization on vast numbers of women who are poor, Native American, Puerto Rican, Chicana, Latina, Asian American or Black to permanently wrest control of their bodies from them.

The "pro-life" rhetoric of the anti-abortion movement dovetails nicely with Hayward's rhetoric of "feminist sexism." Both are cynical covers for keeping women and children owned body and soul by the masculine Head of the Household.

Keeping women barefoot, pregnant, watching the kids, doing the housework, and out of the job market is, quite simply, good for business. Baby-making machines for hire, with an agency skimming two-thirds of the profits from a surrogate mother, is only the latest twist in women's exploitation. Women have historically been used as a reserve pool of workers, employed when needed and unemployed, working long hours with no pay in the home, when the economy takes a nose dive.

But the majority of women do not willingly give up jobs and self-sufficiency for isolation in the home, in spite of rightwing ideology, including that of Men's Rights, Inc., which saturates the media with the message that "real women" just want to be wives and mothers.

The truth is "real women" want freedom from sexist stereotypes and the right to make their own decisions. And "real men" do not organize against women's equality. They join with female feminists to help defend abortion clinics and patients against dangerous physical assaults and bombings. They fight for childcare, comparable worth, gay rights, funding for AIDS research, food and shelter for the homeless, medical care for all, an end to racist attacks and for union victories. And by doing so they prove that we can all live together as equal human beings.

The profit system depends on the subjugation of women, people of color and workers. Conversely, freedom for all can be realized when the iron rule over humanity by economic wealth is replaced by a democratic, socialist economic system, organized to serve people rather than be served by them. This is the only answer to the entrenched sexism and racism of today's society—a society which will even slap a price tag on a baby and give its mother the "choice" of selling her child to provide for her family.

Mr. Hayward: Feminism is as relevant today as it was twenty years ago. Rewrapped bigotry just won't sell.

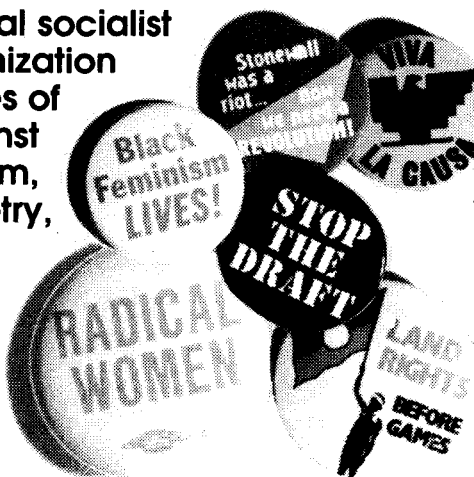
—CONSTANCE SCOTT

Constance Scott is the National Radical Women organizer. She lives in San Francisco, works as a clerical for the phone company, and is a member of Communication Workers of America, Local 9410.

Radical Women

An international socialist feminist organization in the front lines of the fight against racism, sexism, anti-gay bigotry, and labor exploitation.

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EDITORIAL

Big Brother is testing you!

An employee is dragged into the restroom at Pacific Refining Co. and ordered to urinate into a cup while being watched. A woman at IBM is canned for dating a former company manager who had gone to work for an IBM competitor. Papa Gino's restaurant orders an employee accused of taking drugs at a party to submit to a lie detector test; he refuses—and is fired.

What's going on here?

An "anti-drug" war at the workplace, that's what. A slew of other moralistic "lifestyle" controls are chilling the nation's offices and factories as well.

Management says it's concerned about job safety and workers' "fitness for duty." Hence the need for drug testing, corporate-sponsored "wellness programs," and so forth.

Bull.

Imagine the audacity of corporate criminals whose unsafe work environments kill, maim, and contaminate thousands of workers every year—who *drive* us to drink and drugs—yet blather about on-the-job safety!

Workers want genuine job safety, health benefits that include treatment, not punishment, for chemical dependency, and objective performance appraisals that fairly determine an individual's ability to do the job.

They *don't* want workplace Big Brotherhood. What's next—loyalty oaths a la '50s McCarthyism?

The real issue here isn't safety or health; it's *management's attempts to gain total control*

over workers' lives, both on the job and off it.

Round up the usual suspects. Take drug testing. Privacy aside, urine tests are notorious for inaccuracy. False positives number as high as 66 percent according to the Center for Disease Control, which means tests aren't much help in trying to detect and control potential hazards, even if that were the intent.

What drug tests *do* provide is a powerful tool for bosses to bully and harass workers, especially those whose politics and lifestyles aren't stamped with management's seal of approval. It's easy to see how radicals, union activists, free speech advocates, filers of sex and race discrimination complaints, lesbians, gays, and other traditionally "unfit" employees would be singled out for tests (because of "suspect" or "irrational" behavior) and fired if they refused to surrender their bodily fluids.

Partners in crime. Labor bureaucrats are accommodating to the anti-drug hysteria; they too want greater control over rank-and-file militance. They rant and rave against random forced testing in order to look good, while advocating tests for "just cause," as determined by management.

The bureaucrats say that Congress and state legislatures will "strengthen" protections against abuses. But Congress did nothing when Reagan imposed mandatory tests on federal employees. Meanwhile, state legislatures are giving police greater license to wiretap sus-

pected "drug dealers" and encouraging citizens to narc on their neighbors.

Constitutional turf wars. The question is, will management be able to push its rapacious prerogatives on the private lives of U.S. workers, or will employees be able to uphold the Bill of Rights on management's hallowed turf?

More and more workers are taking the battle to court: a man fired by Georgia Pacific after being anonymously accused of public drunkenness sued the company for defamation and won a \$350,000 award. The woman fired from IBM for dating the wrong man won \$300,000 in back pay and punitive damages. Other workers have sued on grounds that the Fourth Amendment protects them from unreasonable search and seizure exemplified by drug tests.

The fight's not just in the courts: the rank and file in some locals of Communications Workers of America are pushing their unions to fight drug testing and have drawn up petitions urging lawsuits, picketlines, and organizing with other unions to stop it. Seattle city employees organized public pressure to squelch a City Light "wellness" questionnaire that probed into workers' personal histories.

More of this kind of organizing is needed to finally get the management monkey off workers' backs.

Remember the Tennessee Ernie Ford song about the worker who owed his soul to the company store, who lived in the company town, who belonged to the company lock, stock, and barrel? Management is out to make this entire country a company town via the assault on workplace privacy.

Without the right to privacy—on and off the job—the bosses own the workers body and soul. Without privacy, workers cannot think or speak freely, nor organize to change their oppressive conditions of life.

That's a sobering fact. Let's get Big Brother out of the workplace.

VOICES OF COLOR

Harry Edwards' band-aid solutions Sports and racism

Until recently, U.S. professional and college athletics have been run, practically unchallenged, as blatantly racist plantation systems. White professional team owners and college administrators are the plantation masters.

They make big dollars off the athletes, the majority of whom are Black.

Last year, baseball executive Al Campanis of the Los Angeles Dodgers stated that Blacks "may not have some of the necessities" to become big league managers. Outrage exploded nationwide against racism in U.S. sports. The Dodgers summarily fired Campanis, not out of concern for racial equality, but from fear of public scrutiny and condemnation of the plantation.

The Al Campanises and Jimmy the Greeks have made these kinds of comments for years without provoking much ado. But now, after Howard Beach and Forsyth County, resurgent Black anger and activism have turned the heat up under the racists.

Good business. In an attempt to defuse protest over the absence of Blacks in top coaching and executive positions, major league baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth hired Black sports activist Harry Edwards to develop an affirmative action plan for baseball. Edwards, a sociology professor at the University of California at Berkeley, was the first to characterize sports as a plantation system, and his perceptions of the factors that perpetuate sports racism are acute. But his solutions to the problem are band-aid measures at best.

Edwards wants to *reform* the system, i.e., keep it in-

tact, but "correct" the injustices. He proposes to convince professional owners that it's in their self-interest to promote Black equality, if only to ensure greater player loyalty to the leagues.

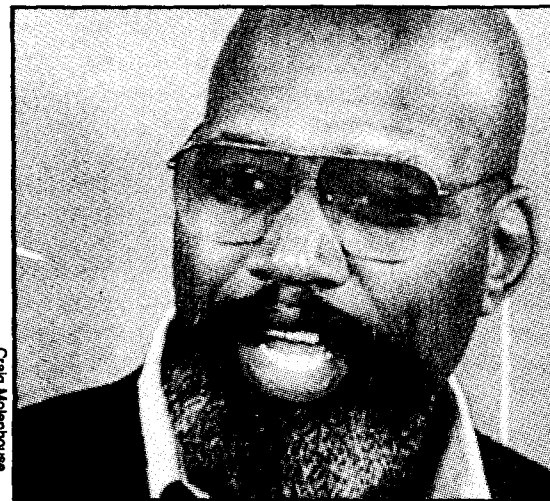
Pro owners will likely make some cosmetic changes. But equality? The bosses' self-interest starts and stops with profits, and profits are the flip side of discrimination.

Racism has been especially good to the sports moguls. Lack of equal opportunity elsewhere for Blacks has provided the owners with a captive pool of aspiring Black athletes.

Race hatred also helped bust the Black-led National Football League players' strike last fall: Union head Gene Upshaw got plenty of racist hate mail during and after the strike, as did at least one player rep, Seattle's Kenny Easley.

Does Edwards really think that the owners are going to break up the skin game that serves them so well?

Boycott. The boycott remains Edwards's weapon of "last resort" against collegiate injustice. Meanwhile, he advises Black high school athletes to reject those univer-



Harry Edwards articulates the problems incisively, but his solutions won't work.

sities that deny equal access to top coaching and administrative positions for Blacks.

How would such an approach, by itself, win lasting and fundamental change?

Even if schools were to open up their coaching and administrative ranks, what good would it do if the social and economic conditions that perpetuate inequality remain? Businesses hire people of color and women these days as turncoat overseers to better control discriminatory workplaces.

How would it be any different in collegiate sports, where the money comes largely from ex-

ploiting and discarding poor Black youngsters?

Eyes on the prize. Athletic reforms *are* necessary, to alleviate exploitation and as a bridge to winning control of the game by athletes and fans.

Boycotts, targeting high-profile universities and linking up with other campus struggles—free speech and anti-apartheid struggles, for example—could send shock waves throughout the university system. And they would stand a greater chance of success if they were to

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AT THE MOVIES

The Milagro Beanfield War

Robert Redford's latest directorial effort, which depicts a Chicano community's struggle against encroaching land developers, opens with the ghost of an old man dancing through the rural New Mexico landscape. A symbol of the old communal land-owning (ejido) culture that once prevailed among Chicanos in that state, he haunts the film and guides the living.

Juan, his son, has been refused a job by the racist developers. He has a family to support and is desperate. In a rage at life in general, he floods his late father's fields with water "stolen" from the irrigation ditch of a millionaire's land development project. Then he plants beans, beginning a chain of events that culminates in the community's resistance to the developers' attempted theft of their land.

The millionaire wants Juan stopped "quietly," and a satanic enforcer "from the state capital" appears. He forces an escalation of the conflict that nearly leads to Juan's death.

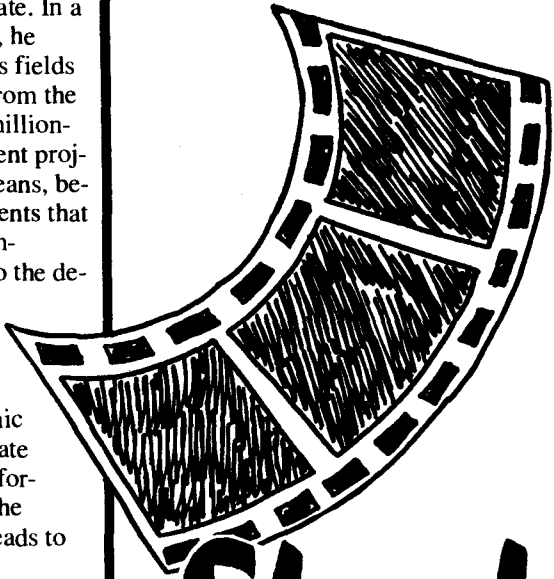
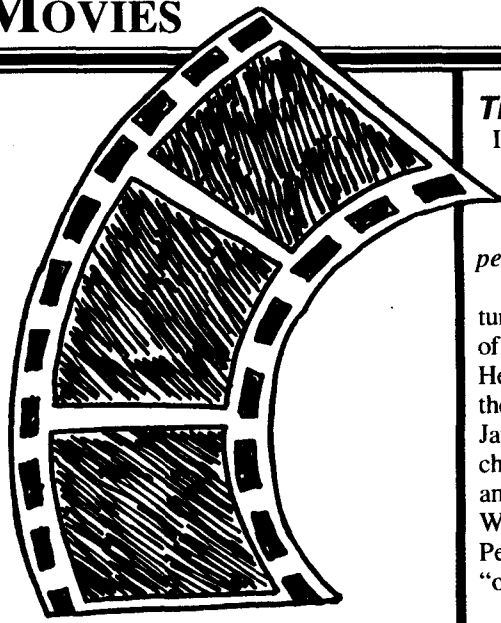
The sheriff mediates the conflict with both sides. Though apparently neutral, his intent is to protect the community from the developers' goon. Nobody dies.

In fact, all turns out well. One of the millionaire's meanest cohorts changes his allegiance, and the millionaire just gives up because of all the opposition. At the end, the enforcer leaves, threatening, however, that "I'll be back."

Among the characters are Ruby, a gutsy fighter who tries to organize the town against the land development, and a drop-out, ex-movement lawyer who won't help unless he's tricked into it. Throughout the film, women keep the action moving and stop the men from giving up.

The movie is funny, with beautiful cinematography, and uses a mixture of fantasy and realism to convey a genuine, if limited, sense of Chicano culture in New Mexico. It also provides a rare opportunity to enjoy the extraordinary range of talent possessed by today's Chicano and Hispanic actors.

It's been pointed out that *Milagro* lacks the class consciousness that made the long-banned McCarthy-era film classic *Salt of the Earth* such a riveting portrayal of Chicano miners' struggle to organize in the Southwest. True enough. Still, its sympathies are clearly with the Chicanos against the developers in their struggle to keep their land and preserve the remnants of their communal culture.



Short Takes

The Last Emperor

I have a friend who saw *Cleopatra* eight times—because of the costumes. She'll love *The Last Emperor*.

Near the turn of the century, Pu-Yi became Emperor of China while still a baby. He was raised in isolation in the Forbidden City, ruled Japan's puppet state in Manchuria in the 1930s and '40s, and finally, after years in the War Criminals Prison of the People's Republic, became an "ordinary" citizen.

Unfortunately, the majority of the film takes place during the years that Pu-Yi was confined within the Forbidden City. Outside its walls monumental events unfold, but Pu-Yi can't see them, so neither can the audience.

The Last Emperor echoes a similar disaster, *Reds*, where the film audience is trapped in a bedroom with Warren Beatty and Diane Keaton—while out in the streets, the Russian Revolution is exploding.

Stand and Deliver

How is it possible that a film about a math teacher could be even remotely dramatic? Because the teacher in *Stand and Deliver* teaches at East Los Angeles' Garfield High and works miracles with Chicano students abandoned by the crumbling educational system.

It is also a true story. Bolivian immigrant Jaime Escalante quit his computer industry job to teach math at

Garfield, where poor conditions threatened the school's accreditation. Knowing that students rise to the level of teachers' expectations, he challenged and cajoled his students into a marathon of extra classes: nights, weekends, and all summer.

The result: 18 students passed the Advanced Placement Test in calculus, gaining college credits. The Educational Testing Service rejected the results because of racist suspicion that there must have been cheating. The students were retested and all passed again. That was in 1982. In 1987, 87 students from Garfield passed the test.

Escalante is portrayed by Edward James Olmos as a sort of middle-class nerd with a dream. He makes no common cause with other teachers and pushes himself into a heart attack. Still, though plagued by the notion that barrio youth should buy into a system that cannot accommodate them, *Stand and Deliver* delivers a lot: the filmmakers are proud of Chicanos and their heritage, and it shows.

—TAMARA TURNER



Clara Fraser

The man who could be GOD

A REAL RADICAL IS CAUGHT in a familiar quandary over the tumultuous Jesse Jackson Question.

It's outrageous and obnoxious that the politicians and the establishment media incessantly trumpet his ineffectability. One is sorely tempted to run out into the streets and recruit voters for Jackson to prove it just isn't true, because it isn't.

The right-on Reverend is the best, the only non-computerized candidate in the Bushkakis (Dukabush?) electoral slumber party.

Jesse alone addresses economic, social, cultural, and foreign policy issues of vital concern to the electorate. His program and his persona increasingly lure to his side the progressives, workers, ethnic minorities, women, gays, youth and elders, and intellectuals who yearn for a different kind of America.

HOWEVER, Jesse is running as a—you'll pardon the expression—*Democrat*. He dreams of leading that disgusting party. And that shows us trenchantly where he's wrong and misguided.

By playing the game of bourgeois politics, he sacrifices from the get-go the good things he says he stands for. The system cannot and will not reform itself by elevating good people to power and letting them stay good. No way. And JJ perpetuates lethal illusions when he proclaims his intention to bring about heaven on earth via clone party politics.

So what do we gain by proving we can elect a brilliant and talented Black spokesman if we and he lose our revolutionary soul and bearings in the process?

I believe there is something more important than beating the racists in an election, and that is to expose and eradicate the capitalist configuration that created and perpetuates racism—not to mention sex chauvinism, class advantage, war, famine, environmental plunder, drug epidemics, fascism and universal, enveloping ghastliness. Jackson might have chosen this better course.

IF HE WERE TRUE TO HIMSELF and his origins amidst the Southern civil rights turbulence, he would be a revolutionary figure today, committed to transforming the system. He could be a great and independent radical leader like Malcolm X or Frederick Douglass, and he could inspire the anxious masses in this country to detonate a real electoral turnaround.

But he has traded his heritage, and a universal historic role, for a place at the Democrats' tawdry table. Because he wants so badly to be a member of that shotgun wedding called the Democratic Party, because he is so concerned about winning respect and acceptance from financial titans and corrupt politicians, he legitimizes the establishment, despite his pious criticism.

He says nothing about socialism, or domestic revolution, or the raging need for basic structural change. So how can he draw us forward, or do anything but succumb to the tremendous undertow of capitalist realpolitik?

We'd love to go for you, Jesse. But the harsh lessons of the past, and matters of principle, and the truth about life today for the majority of humanity, make this impossible for Marxists and other clear-eyed social critics. You're admirable and superior in many respects and we wish you were one of us. But you have retreated into becoming one of *them*, and that's your tragedy. Because they're not good enough for you.

The vital question is: what role can you play in leading America's submerged and abused millions into a thunderous challenge against your current political brethren?

I MET JESSE JACKSON ONCE—had lunch with him at an anti-poverty/job training agency where I was the community relations coordinator. That was 18 years ago but I cannot forget the dazzling impact of his unique personality and poetic conversation. He was a spellbinder surrounded with an aura of magic. His aides regarded him with awe, and a hushed, reverent ambience affected any group he was a part of.

He spoke of the pain he felt because of the anguish of his people, and the anger and contempt he felt for the ruling class. "You talk like a Bolshevik," I said. "Isn't socialism the only answer?" He drifted off into a kind of trance for a long moment, his eyes raised to the ceiling. "Of course," he said softly. "You and I know that. But we have to use a different vocabulary." I guess I said something related to not caring about the words if the music was right, and he said, "I will lead and the people will be free," and then we had to visit classrooms or something.

JJ COULD BE ELECTED GOD IF HE CHOSE. He'd rather be president. I'd rather he were a rebel because I could never ever vote for a Democrat.

Mikeluckich
Times-Picayune

N.Y. CITY
SMOKING BAN

I miss the good
of days when
New Yorkers didn't
wanna get involved..



U.C. Berkeley stalls arbitration for Woo

Merle Woo's grievance against the University of California at Berkeley was originally scheduled to go to outside arbitration, the final step of the grievance procedure, this spring. But the university is stalling: UC Labor Relations has twice attempted to have arbitration postponed until summer when students, Woo's core support, will be off campus.

The Merle Woo Defense Committee and Woo's union, the University Council-American Federation of Teachers (UC-AFT), are pushing for a date this

fall, when school is back in session and the case can generate maximum publicity and support from the campus community.

Woo, a socialist feminist lesbian and lecturer in the Graduate School of Education, was turned down for reappointment to a teacher's position in 1986. UC refused to review Woo's teaching on its merits. Woo and UC-AFT immediately filed a grievance charging that UC had violated the 1984 agreement that settled her earlier, multiple-discrimination case against the university, and that it had retaliated against her for winning that case.

The present grievance was heard in 1987 by Daniel Melia, associate dean of the Graduate School of Education. Melia, predictably, ruled against Woo who, unsurprisingly, commented that "UC can't afford to equitably treat staff who file charges against them and win. If the administration did, employees would be filing grievances all over in response to unfair working conditions."

The defense committee is charging full steam ahead in preparation for arbitration. They are gathering national endorsements and petition signatures, whip-

ping up press coverage, raising money, and refining the case for the hearing. UC-AFT has allotted funds for a legal consultant who will be working closely with the committee.

A lot is riding on this case: Woo struck a tremendous blow for anti-discrimination and free speech fighters when she beat UC in 1984. This second go-round, being waged during a resurgence of campus activism, could help pull the plug on UC reactionaries for good. □

—HELEN GILBERT

... Freeway Hall Case

from page 5

Finally, the issues are before the Court of Appeals, the only court where review of the case is mandatory. Oral arguments may be heard in the fall.

Currently, the defense committee is waging an ambitious petition campaign to let the courts know that thousands of people expect judicial protection for everyone's privacy rights. New endorsements, contributions, and publicity are at the top of its agenda.

Forecast: continued turbulence. Freedom to organize politically and associate freely is on trial. Because these rights are indispensable tools for social change, radicals fight to defend and extend them while proponents of the status quo try to wipe them out.

Early in the century, the Industrial Workers of the World filled the jails until the right of free speech was recognized. Today the parallel campaign is for the right to privacy, the first condition of political organizing, without which all other First Amendment rights are empty words. □

—ANDREA BAUER

Andrea Bauer is the Freeway Hall Case Defense Committee Press Coordinator and has been a *Freedom Socialist* production staffer since 1981.

from page 5

ity, lesbian, poor and working women top priorities for the feminist movement. This experience introduced her to socialist feminism and to the ABCs of effective community organizing.

Asked about personal pressures and the high cost of maintaining the good fight, Carlson says, with a gleam in her eye, "I've fought to keep my job before. The Bellevue School District hired me as their legal services and affirmative action officer. I was to be an advocate for staff,

... Carlson


minority communities, and multi-cultural and sex-equity programs. I took the job seriously—so management tried to cut back the position. But the teachers and parents rose up in a body and talked the school board out of the cutback.

"Now it's receivership; contempt charges; jail—the cost of being a radical is job insecurity, what else?"

Carlson scans the cheery hospital room, ablaze with plants and flowers, balloons, a host of get-well cards, books, and coffee and cake for visitors. A friend has just brought her a unique get-well card—a gorgeous multi-colored poster of New Freeway Hall signed by more than 50 people. Carlson smiles broadly and then grows thoughtful. "You know, the fight is not only essential, it's very satisfying. I really have a wonderful life." □

—JANET SUTHERLAND

New Releases!



Freeway Hall Case Poster

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designed by **Chris Brown**

A beautiful graphic presentation of what's at stake in the Freeway Hall Case. Blue, rose, green, yellow, brown and black on white stock. Silkscreen, 20" x 26". **\$7.00**

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HURRAY!

As we go to press: Contempt charges and jail sentences against defendants Valerie Carlson, Clara Fraser, and Fred Hyde have just been dropped by superior court and the state Court of Appeals. Nationwide protests helped gain this victory. Story in the next issue of the FS.

Enclosed is a check money order for the amount of \$_____ for _____ posters and _____ copies of the appeal brief. (Include \$1.50 for shipping; \$.50 each additional brief.)

Enclosed is an additional donation of \$_____ to aid defense efforts.

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Please return form with payment to Freeway Hall Case Defense Committee, New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98118. Phone: (206) 722-2453.

... Sports & racism

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demand equal access for other people of color and women along with Blacks.

Other demands would include a plan guaranteeing that colleges provide athletes with a sound education and training for life outside sports. Profits from games

the pros, because in team sports all positions are equally important.

The college draft system, an instrument for owner control which sells athletes off like livestock, should be abolished. Players, like all workers, should be able to choose whom they want to work for. Players' right to unionize must be recognized as absolute. And players and coaches should share in revenue gained from television, tickets, and advertisements.

The push for reforms can begin to at-

should be put into educational resources and student services such as tutoring, counseling, health care, and ethnic, labor, and women's studies that teach students their real history.

In both college and pro ranks, segregation by position, especially blatant in football, must be eliminated. No more reserving the "glamor" positions for whites. Let's have more Black and Latino quarterbacks. And why not Asian American linebackers, Indian running backs? There should be equal pay for all positions in

tack the racism and inequality in sports. But if we are to eliminate inequality, the push must connect to the larger struggles against race, sex, and class oppression in this country. Athletics mirror the prevailing institutions and attitudes that victimize people of color, women and the poor, and will change for good when these conditions are uprooted.

When that happens, society will truly be able to fulfill its athletic potential. □

—NANCY REIKO KATO

...Glasnost

from page 28

Pity the poor Soviet consumer, afflicted with housing and food shortages, shoddy merchandise, and long lines at the stores.

The social price of omnipresent bureaucracy is enormous: alcoholism, absenteeism, and cynicism are rampant among the politically disenfranchised workers.

It remains to be said that the USSR's economic woes are not entirely home-grown, that internal problems are tied to and compounded by imperialist pressure.

The arms race, initiated by the West, continues to bleed the domestic economy. Tremors on Wall Street and the international debt crisis have slashed the price of Soviet exports and pumped up the East Bloc debt. Further, the cost of supporting a demoralized army in Afghanistan and of containing the Polish revolt has been ruinous, financially and politically.

Lighting a candle or a fuse?

Despite the magnitude of the crisis, inducing the vast Soviet bureaucracy to get in step with the changes was like asking a hippo to fly. To address the problems, Gorbachev realized that he would have to mount an attack on all those who have prospered from the old status quo. And that's where glasnost comes in.

The new openness has unleashed a torrent of criticism and activism. Gorbachev encouraged a liberalization of artistic expression and he got it. Long-silenced authors are being published, daring plays and films are being produced, and historians are unearthing the abuses of the Stalin and Brezhnev eras.

National minorities throughout the USSR—nearly 60 percent of the population—are organizing, demonstrating, and otherwise raising long-suppressed grievances. Tartars, Kazakhs, Azerbaijanis, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians are among those pressing for autonomy and economic reform. In February, a million Armenians demonstrated for greater autonomy and control over the disputed Nagorno-Karabek region which, though situated in Azerbaijan, is 75 percent Armenian. Shaken Soviet officials immediately promised to put national minority issues at the top of the upcoming Central Committee meeting agenda.

Gorbachev is losing sleep over this question. Though the Soviet Constitution expressly recognizes the right of nations to self-determination—and Lenin insisted this right includes the option to form a separate state—an essential feature of bureaucratic centralist rule has been the suppression of national aspirations, always assumed to be "separatist" in intent.

Now the chickens are coming home to roost and this spells trouble, especially in the Central Asian Muslim republics, where anti-communist Islamic fundamentalism could provide a wedge for imperialist encroachments inside the USSR.

An honest Soviet government would grant the autonomy demands and recognize the right to self-determination—in fact as well as on paper. Democratic respect for national minorities by the government would strengthen the bonds among all Soviet nationalities. Gorbachev's dilemma is that it would also undermine bureaucratic hegemony.

Half-opened graves. The glasnost-inspired reinvestigation of early Soviet history is limited by the essentially bureaucratic nature of Gorbachev's "new thinking," especially in the treatment of Stalin and the Bolshevik leaders he murdered, above all Bukharin and Trotsky.

Gorbachev has issued a withering condemnation of Stalin's destruction of Soviet democracy in the 1930s. Yet, despite this, he maintains that the dictator was a champion of socialism.

What of the rivals that Stalin erased from the history books? Bukharin, who with Stalin advocated building socialism

in one country and, like Gorbachev, promoted capitalist-style incentives for economic growth, has been fully rehabilitated. Trotsky, however, is characterized as a "devious politician" whose fight against Stalinism on behalf of Soviet democracy and international revolution would have caused the destruction of the Soviet state.

Historic truth stops, it seems, at the point where it challenges the basic ideological assumptions of Stalinist bureaucratism.

Perilous perestroika. Gorbachev's moment of truth will come when an explosion occurs at the point where glasnost

and perestroika meet and conflict irrepressibly—in the lives of Soviet workers.

Glasnost offers the workers the hope of political freedom, but per-



Soviet workers want the promise of the Russian Revolution fulfilled. It's no accident that the ideas of Trotsky, who championed workers' control over production and the reinstatement of Soviet democracy, are being raised.

estroika threatens increasing capitalist-style exploitation. The pursuit of profits is now a life-and-death matter for over 48,000 state enterprises where all the cost-cutting, production-bolstering mechanisms of market economics are making themselves felt more and more. Piecemeal, speedup, and wage cuts, for example, are being pushed by the state as solutions to industrial sluggishness and anemic revenues.

Job security, heretofore a given in the Soviet Union, is on its way out. Under perestroika, enterprises that cannot turn a profit will be allowed to go under, putting an estimated 20 million people out of work. Gorbachev says these workers will be retrained for jobs in the service sector. However, in a country where unemployment is virtually unknown, there exists no structure to deal with mass joblessness or the monumental task of retraining millions.

Hardest hit will be women workers, already the lowest-paid, and overwhelmingly stuck in unskilled blue-collar positions.

Bottom-line conflict. Not surprisingly, the workers are hostile to perestroika because its cost is being borne primarily by them, even though the economic woes are the result of bureaucratic bungling and malfeasance. They are taking advantage of glasnost to express their hostility.

There have been mass protests and disturbances over wage cuts and factory discipline campaigns. Strikes, once rare, are increasing.

Feminist outrage is sharpening against working women's double burdens at work and at home. For the last decade, Soviet feminists have protested women's confinement to the lowest-rung jobs, the lack of childcare and health safeguards, rising infant mortality, and the fact that, 70 years after the revolution, they are still expected to keep house for nothing.

Unemployment and wage cuts would devastate Soviet women and children. Increasingly, feminist criticism is playing a leading role in the fight against perestroika.

Another indication of workers' dissatisfaction with the restructuring are the thousands of letters received daily by *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, and *Trud*. Letter writers are vigorously sounding off against the pervasive bureaucratic corruption and the police crackdown on dissent.

Disaffection will harden as perestroika takes deeper root, and resistance could swiftly grow over into an open struggle in defense of the nationalized economy.

Under perestroika, enterprises are expected to seek their profits within the

broad framework of state planning. But economic planning is antithetical to market anarchy. The nationalized economy will be destroyed if perestroika is pushed too far—and profits would provide a powerful political stimulus to free the market from planning imperatives.

The pressure will increase as Western capitalists take advantage of the government's offer to invest in, and own up to 49 percent of, Soviet enterprises. And it will increase further as the state's monopoly of foreign trade—a cornerstone of nationalization and planning—is eroded by the provision that allows selected state enterprises to contract independently with Western firms.

The dismantling of planning would mean the accession of capitalism and all its attendant anti-worker evils. A far likelier prospect is a political insurrection against the bureaucracy before such a restoration could take place.

A question of incentives. Western pundits are gloating over the capitalist-

tente is merely an extension of the foreign policy pursued by the bureaucracy since it took power.

Since Stalin, Soviet economic policy has oscillated between bureaucratic over-centralization and the use of the market to overcome the resulting stagnation. It's a vicious circle, which stems fundamentally from the Soviet Union's poverty vis-a-vis imperialism—and from the bureaucratic wisdom which confines the construction of socialism within national limits.

The failure of Khrushchev's glasnost stemmed, of course, from the bureaucracy's inability to live with Soviet democracy.

History testifies to the impossibility of lasting top-down reforms in the Soviet Union, and of the vulnerability of "socialism in one country" to world capitalist pressures. Gorbachev's detente initiatives strikingly illustrate this last point: his withdrawal of economic and military assistance to Nicaragua facilitates U.S. intervention there. His rapprochement with the U.S. proxy Israel sells out the Palestinians and gives the U.S. added leverage throughout the Middle East. His withholding of arms from the African National Congress buttresses racist Pretoria throughout southern Africa.

While Gorbachev compromises world revolution for crumbs, imperialism blithely pursues its traditional war-making policies with the final aim, as always, of the rollback and destruction of communism.

Go, go, glasnost! Soviet workers didn't take power in 1917 just to have it handed back on a platter to the capitalists. They see far more clearly than many Western leftists that Gorbachev is no friend of the working class.

Gorbachev's "peace" efforts and defense of bureaucratic rule imperil the Soviet Union. Fortunately, however, he may prove incapable of stopping the exciting surge of activism that glasnost has triggered.

Soviet workers, women, youth, artists, and intellectuals want the promise of the Russian Revolution fulfilled, and they are searching out the ways to ensure that it will be. It's no accident that the name and ideas of Trotsky, the greatest foe of the bureaucracy, are resurfacing. Nor that the ideas of workers' re-assumption of control over production and the reinstatement of Soviet democracy—the indispensable prerequisites to successful management of a socialist economy—are being raised, not only in the Soviet Union, but in Eastern Europe and in China.

Soviet workers will use their new-found voice to demand that the economic and social gains of the Russian Revolution be preserved and extended and that the political power stolen from them by the bureaucracy be returned. They will win their demands through political revolution, as Trotsky predicted.

That revolution will shake the world as profoundly as did the one in 1917. □

—SUSAN DOCEKAL

Susan Docekal is a student of Eastern European affairs and a longtime lesbian activist.

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Eve Anthony

Gorbachev's great gamble

He set in motion openness and change, but can he control them?

What's a socialist to think about Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev?

On the one hand, he sounds like a real Bolshevik, exposing corruption and invoking Lenin's name in the call for socialist democracy. *Glasnost* (openness) has become the rallying cry for challenging censorship and for restoring debate and artistic freedom in the Soviet Union.

Glasnost is an indispensable component of *perestroika*, the reform package which seeks to stimulate economic growth through competition for markets and profits among individual enterprises. With *glasnost* as the battering ram, *perestroika* takes aim at the bureaucratic stranglehold on the nationalized economy.

Gorbachev's reforms have won high praise from Western leftists and liberals. And he is hailed for his efforts to curb U.S. aggression through diplomatic "peace" initiatives.

Is Gorbachev a workingclass hero like Lenin, Trotsky, and the early Bolsheviks?

No.

The present Soviet premier is, like his predecessors since Stalin, a believer in top-down rule. He aims to preserve and extend the system of bureaucratic single-state "socialism" that has prevailed in the Soviet Union since Stalin usurped and consolidated power in the 1920s and '30s. He also hopes, as Stalin did, to coexist securely with Western imperialism.

Gorbachev is no revolutionary. He embarked on the reforms only because the system—and the bureaucracy—was headed for collapse.

Contradictions. Lenin and Trotsky, as distinct from Stalin and Gorbachev, insisted that socialism will be secure only when world capitalism is destroyed internationally by workers' revolution. They

pointed out that "socialism" in one country—especially one so historically impoverished as the Soviet Union—could not compete economically with the West. Encircled and isolated and left to build socialism on the basis of what Trotsky called a "pre-capitalist inventory," the Soviet Union would inevitably fall prey to bureaucratism, that is, to a "policeman" standing over society to regulate the scramble of too many people for too few goods. Bureaucracy would become the economic, political, and social road block to socialism. Meanwhile the imperialists, for whom control over the world's markets and resources is an economic necessity, would single-mindedly pursue the rollback of "communism" in the USSR.

Lenin and Trotsky concluded that the first workers state would remain doubly vulnerable to capitalist restoration.

And so it is. Imperialism is still militarily far more powerful than the USSR. The West controls the bulk of the world's labor, financial and material resources, and state-of-the-art technology. It still single-mindedly seeks the rollback and eradication of communism.

Meanwhile, *perestroika*'s market imperatives and Gorbachev's pursuit of an illusory peace with imperialism could help pave the way for capitalism's return to the USSR.

Is pro-socialist change in the Soviet Union out of the question? Hardly. *Glasnost*—openness—has loosened the gag that has choked Soviet society for the last 60 years. The currents of dissent already unleashed could enkindle a "restructuring" beyond anything that Gorbachev has envisioned, that is, a political revolution by the workers against the bureaucracy.

That's just the start: Soviet Stalinism has betrayed and besmirched the world socialist movement for over a half-century. The overthrow of the bureaucracy in the first workers state could not help but spark a global revolutionary resurgence.

Big problems. Something drastic had to be done to prevent the USSR from sliding into irreversible decay.

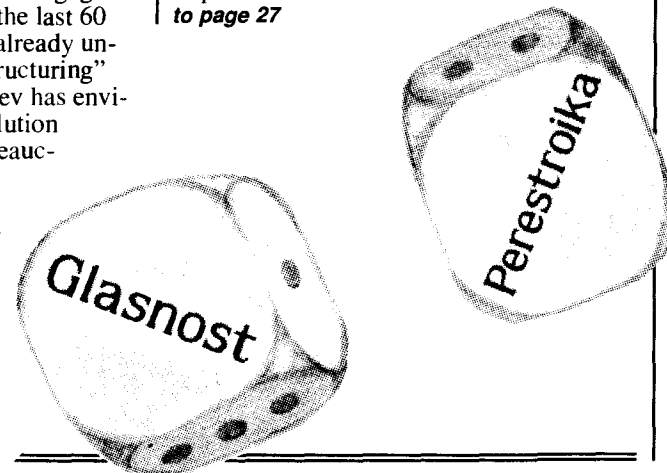
The Soviet Union's problems are staggering. It is universally agreed that the economy is a bureaucratic nightmare characterized by rotten planning, endemic mismanagement, and corruption at every level.

Amid this disorganization and corruption, realistic planning is virtually impossible. Reporting of fictitious production needs and achievements, and the covering up of problems, are the norm. Top officials employ repression, bribery, and theft to line their own pockets. Plant managers, charged with fulfilling unrealistic production goals, hoard raw materials and spare parts and lie about productive capacity to get the goals reduced.

Industry is saddled with backward technology; the waste of labor and resources is a disgrace; industrial and consumer goods are of notoriously low quality. Poor investment choices are also eroding the productive infrastructure: for years, immense capital was invested in new construction projects while existing factories deteriorated and limped along with outdated machinery. Meanwhile, goals for improving computer technology lag far behind schedule, despite the necessity for a modern, competitive economy.

Agricultural failures also reflect poorly planned investments, and the country continues to be dependent on Western grain imports.

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Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

Volume 10, Number 4 June-August 1988



The man who would save the Democrats from themselves

Jesse Jackson

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