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The Freedom Socialist

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

October-December 1990

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U.S. government vs. Arab revolution

Bush running on empty in Mideast face-off

Just think: George Bush, with Democrats cheering him all the way, is pushing us into war with Iraq, so that Big Oil and the Saudi monarchy can continue to suck up the profits derived from control of the oil supply; so that the U.S. can retain its political grip on the Mideast and thereby its ability to facilitate corporate plunder worldwide; so that U.S. war industries can thrive; so that U.S. capitalism can limp along awhile longer; so that Republicans and Democrats can divert attention from domestic woes such as the savings and loan scandal, the failing drug war, debt, recession, homelessness, joblessness, etc.

Bush thinks maybe war will save the capitalist system. From here it looks like shipwreck for sure.

Better think twice, George.

From the outset of the crisis, despite the fiercest pro-war propaganda blitz in U.S. history, no Americans, outside the usual gaggle of jingos and war profiteers, has wanted a Mideast shootout, the polls be damned. Read the letters to the editor in any U.S. newspaper and talk to coworkers and people in the

street; war-lovers these days are rarer than interest-free bank loans.

A few months from now, when gas and food prices have hit the moon, and the national debt reaches \$400 billion, and Neil Bush still hasn't been strung up for his role in the S&L rip-off, papa George is liable to wake up to find a crowd of disgruntled citizens outside the White House demanding his scalp.

Jihad. Woes on the home front are just the half of it. The minute the U.S. starts shooting, the entire Arab world is going to rise up against Guess Who. Washington may have at last gotten the Saudis to grant it some bases on Arab soil. It may have persuaded Egypt, Syria, and other bourgeois Arab states to go along with the imperialist game plan, for now. But Arab capitalists are not the Arab masses, who, to a person, despise the U.S. as the Thief of Oil and traducer of Arab dignity.

Already, there have been pro-Iraqi demonstrations in Amman, Damascus, and other Arab capitals—and among Palestinians in the West Bank, that special nightmare for U.S. war wizards.

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Anti-U.S. demo in Jordan: a taste of things to come.

United Front repels neo-Nazi threat

On a Saturday night in May, 300 women and men were dancing, laughing and visiting at a Lesbian/Gay nightclub, Neighbors, in Seattle.

Across town, two neo-Nazis from Richard Butler's Aryan Nation compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho were loading pipe bombs into a van. Their demented mission: blow up the bar and

slaughter as many people as possible. They also planned to blast a Jewish synagogue, Korean businesses, and a Black nightclub in Tacoma, Washington.

The FBI arrested the two less than an hour before the blast was scheduled to go off. The community was relieved that the bombing was thwarted, of course, but they were also furious—furious that Nazis continue to plague the

Pacific Northwest and that the FBI had remained silent about the plot, despite the fact that they'd had an infiltrator inside Butler's compound for four years and were certainly aware of the plot from its inception.

Why had the FBI kept mum? Because the last thing they want are Lesbians, Gays and other intended Nazi victims organizing on their own to stop the menace. Sure the FBI stopped the bombing: had Neighbors been blasted, another larger, political explosion among Lesbians and Gays would have swiftly rocked the Northwest.

The FBI role at this point is to keep things "cool" in the communities, and keep tabs on the Nazis—in part to prevent "excesses" like May's near-bombings that would radicalize the anti-fascist movement.

A radical movement, you see, would coalesce against the entire capitalist status quo which the FBI upholds and which fosters the bigotries that

have spawned the Nazis.

Little did the feds realize what they'd done by playing with people's lives. After the arrests, a virtual summer of civil rights commenced in the Northwest; militant anti-Nazi organizing took off like a shot throughout the region.

People simply are not going to take it anymore.

Luma Nichol of Seattle's United Front Against Fascism (UFAF) spoke to the prevailing mood in the communities after the attempt on Neighbors: "We can't rely on the FBI or police to protect us from violence, and turning your back on Nazis only encourages them. Fascists have to be stopped before they gain enough strength to put us in concentration camps again. And it is up to us to stop them."

A summer of civil rights. Up and down the West Coast anti-fascist activism is spreading like wildfire. Not

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Freedom Socialist Credo

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

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

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

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

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

Next Issue

• **"On the Nature of the Nicaraguan State":** An inspiring theoretical and historical analysis of the state that arose from the 1979 insurrection, written by Stephen Durham and Susan Williams, M.D., for the 1988 Freedom Socialist Party National Convention.

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Eyewitness Report: EMBATTLED NICARAGUA

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Greyhound strike

Here are some of my thoughts after six months on the Greyhound picket line:

In the beginning there was a strong wave of support from labor unions, political groups, and the community, who were anxious to prevent the strike from becoming Bush's PATCO. But as time wore on, our supporters have had to return to their own fights, which they'd put off to help us.

I'm especially proud of our members—drivers and mechanics. Very few have scabbed in Seattle and most were on the lines regularly until their savings ran out and they had to take other jobs. Spouses are playing a very important role, too, and many of the wives are even more militant and determined than their husbands.

Most striking drivers have taken part-time work or jobs with small charter companies to survive. But charter season is over now, and most of our members will be unemployed.

I don't know how long this strike will go on. Our International is busy fighting the RICO suit that Greyhound threw at us, and the National Labor Relations Board is dragging its feet in finding Greyhound guilty of an unfair labor practice that will get the strikers back pay.

Greyhound's strategy is for the lockout to drag on forever. Should the NLRB conclude that the company has committed an unfair labor practice, Greyhound has vowed to appeal all the way to the Supreme Court. This will take years. Meanwhile, there's the danger that back pay for strikers will probably be traded off somewhere along the line. But there's lots we can still do.

Right now, nationally, we desperately need passage of bills in Congress (HR 3936) and the Senate (S2112) banning the hiring of scabs.

Currently, there's a petition sent out by the New York City local to locals nationally,

which calls on the AFL-CIO to ask its affiliated locals to participate in a one-day general work stoppage in support of our strike. Wouldn't that send a message to Greyhound to stop playing games!

This is our seventh month out on the picket line, and we need our supporters to be out there with us more than ever. Their presence will help send a message to Greyhound that stalling tactics won't work, and that they can't run the company without us, the union of competent and caring professional employees.

My very sincere thanks to all of our supporters who have been at our side through this difficult struggle. And a very special thanks to our friends in the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women for their unwavering help and guidance.

**Bob Tuttle
Greyhound Strike Coordinator, Seattle, Washington**

Under Tuttle's leadership, the Seattle local of Amalgamated Transit Union, #1384, shut down two Greyhound depots with mass pickets on a number of occasions. Tuttle and others arrested in the August shutdown will be tried in Seattle Municipal Court on October 2.—ed.

Cost of Stalinism

I enclose one or two [Polish] documents I have put into English. I respond warmly to the positive and combative tone of your press, but regard developments in Eastern Europe and especially Poland as a good deal more threatening than you seem to. The cost of the long night of Stalinism is still being paid, in the form of a carnival of reaction, the end of which is not yet in sight.

**David Holland
London, England**

Freeway Hall Case

The Freeway Hall Case is certain to become a moment of victory for Left forces interna-

tionally and for domestic revolutionaries. It shows clearly how attention to people's history like the NAACP and Black Panther legal battles will again and again bring success for the people's struggle and multinational unity. The legal precedent that grows out of this case will be valuable for people everywhere in their fight against oppression and injustice.

As a Pan-Africanist and pro-feminist I thank the Freedom Socialist because without this newspaper the East Coast would not have heard about this important legal decision.
**Katibu Larry Miller
New York City, New York**

Rainbow Lobby

I'm writing about your article in the July-September 1990 issue "New Alliance Party's Sinister Song and Dance."

The Rainbow Lobby is doing more to open up the election process than any other U.S. group, and your article should have acknowledged this. The Rainbow Lobby has been instrumental in getting bills introduced in Congress which would, for the first time, outlaw restrictive ballot access laws which keep independent and third party candidates off the ballot. No other organization has done anything similar.

Also, the Rainbow Lobby succeeded in getting another bill introduced in Congress to require that Democratic and Republican presidential nominees debate any third party or independent presidential candidates on the ballot in at least 40 states and who have raised \$500,000 for their campaigns. If the Republican and Democrats refuse, they lose their federal campaign subsidy...

**Richard Winger
San Francisco, California**

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

Mohawk sovereignty the issue in Quebec

Debra O'Gara of Seattle Radical Women delivered the following statement at a rally in front of the Canadian consulate in Seattle on August 30. The rally, organized by local Native American activists and RW representatives, was called to support the Mohawk nation in its confrontation with the Canadian Army in Oka, Quebec. The face-off commenced after the Indians set up a barricade on their land to prevent developers from bulldozing their cemetery to put in a golf course. Negotiations were initiated shortly after the confrontation occurred, but have since been broken off by the government.

As we head to press, the Canadian Army, faced by 15-20 armed Mohawk warriors, continues to occupy Indian land. Warrants have been issued by the government for the arrests of the warriors and Indian spokespeople.

I am an Alaskan Native and I am mad as hell. Enough is enough!

Canada has declared war on all Native people by calling in the army at Oka in Quebec. Native people from Quebec to British Columbia and throughout the United States have responded with arms, protests, and demands

for the right to live as sovereign nations!

The arrogance of developers building a golf course over a Mohawk cemetery is appalling. And for the government to respond to the Mohawk protest by sending in the army is doubly outrageous!

The struggle doesn't begin at the cemetery; it has been waged for over 300 years in Canada. The governments of Canada and the U.S. have stolen our lands, our languages, our fundamental right to govern ourselves and control our resources. This oppression has been designed to destroy us as nations and as a people.

But the governments have not succeeded! And Indian Summer has arrived in North America. Native people throughout Canada have risen and are fighting back. And the women are on the front lines at the barricades.

The Cheyenne proverb, "A nation is not conquered until the hearts of its women are on the ground," serves us today.

Ellen Gabriel, a woman warrior at Oka, sent out a statement for us all to rally around today:

"Benefit and use of our lands is not enough. We de-

mand control and title to them. We demand sovereignty for all our Indian Nations!"

The Mohawks' fight is for the survival of the Mohawk nation and all native peoples against the devastation imposed by profit-seeking corporations and the capitalist governments who protect them.

Today the oppressors are: Pouring asphalt over burial grounds in British Columbia.

Poisoning Yakimas in Washington state with nuclear waste.

Jailing Indian fishers on the Columbia River.

Sending troops into Akwesasne.

Incarcerating our leaders such as Leonard Peltier.

Digging up our lands for oil, coal, and uranium in Alaska and at Big Mountain.

All in the name of profit and big business!

We in Radical Women say "No more police states on Native lands!"
 RW stands with the women of Gonenwagi in Oka in demanding sovereignty for the Mohawks. Victory to the Mohawks! Get the army out of Oka! Sovereignty rights for all Native peoples! □



Teri Bach, author of this article, is a trade unionist and member of the Employee Committee for Equal Rights at City Light (CERCL), which fights race and sex discrimination at the Seattle utility. She was the first woman to become a journey-level lineworker in the U.S.

Since she returned from South Africa, Inkatha and hired-thug violence has spread to Johannesburg, Soweto, and other townships, killing hundreds of Blacks in August and September.

Her report is all the more valuable in pinpointing the cause of the violence and in posing the solution that will end it.

Solidarity. Courage. Determination. Heroism. These are the qualities it takes to survive the daily struggle for revolutionary change in apartheid South Africa, as I saw firsthand in the five weeks I spent there in December 1989 and January 1990.

I went to South Africa as a trade unionist and feminist revolutionary, to learn more about the anti-apartheid struggle and meet the people who carry it forward. Meet them and learn I did as I traveled the country from Johannesburg to Natal. My trip was an exhilarating, enlightening, motivating and moralizing experience of a lifetime.

South Africa—its people, its coasts, its mountains, its flowers and wildlife—is a beautiful land. The Black trade unionists there, sisters and brothers, embody what is best and most beautiful about it, and they are preparing to take it back.

They call each other comrades. Many have faced detention, harassment, intimidation, and the murder of families and friends. Yet they are open, warm; they welcomed me as a U.S. comrade, the distance between us immediately wiped out by their unshakable international class consciousness.

I came away convinced: the Black South African comrades are unstoppable. Let Pretoria do its worst; the anti-apartheid movement will win.

Crucible in Natal. The highlight of my trip was my visit to Natal Province on the east coast. Natal is currently the center of a war being purveyed by Pretoria and Washington as "Black on Black violence" in hopes of arousing fear at the prospect of Black victory over apartheid.

A correct understanding of this strife is essential for the South African and international movements. It is not at all as the government portrays it, but is a Pretoria-instigated and financed assault by Zulu warlord Buthelezi's Inkatha Party against the African National Congress (ANC), the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the Coalition of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

Buthelezi is head of government in the Kwazulu bantustan. (Bantustans are the arid "homelands" for Blacks created by the government to ensure they remain a segregated, impoverished and captive workforce.) He has been jockeying for a position on the national political stage as a staunch defender of capitalism. Western propagandists tout him as the last hope for "peaceful change" in South Africa.

Can it surprise anyone that businesses and individuals linked with Inkatha receive money and political favors from Pretoria—for murdering anti-apartheid activists and supporters? Inkatha violence against COSATU and UDF organizers has skyrocketed since the unbanning of the ANC. And,

South Africa Eyewitness Account

STORM OVER NATAL

after Nelson Mandela was released from prison, Buthelezi barnstormed Europe for an end to economic sanctions against South Africa.

I believe that the entire anti-apartheid movement will move forward or fall back depending on whether it is able to stop Inkatha. There's hope in the fact that, though Mandela remarked against "Black on Black violence" when he was first released, he has since dropped that characterization of the struggle and repudiated the proposed inclusion of Buthelezi in his ongoing negotiations with Prime Minister DeKlerk.

Heroes. It was in Natal that I found the women's movement, bulwark and inspiration of the South African trade union struggle.

It is a fact that Inkatha's depredations have sparked a women's uprising in Natal.

In September 1989, women from Mpophomeni and other townships marched on police stations demanding that the cops leave the areas. When 500 women demonstrated at the Howick magistrates court, they won a permanent order restraining police from assaulting and threatening Mpophomeni residents. In December 1989, 100,000 women gathered in Umlazi township and marched on Kwazulu police headquarters demanding the police get out.

I spoke with a brave woman activist deeply involved in the struggle against apartheid in Natal. She and her friends organized the Umlazi march. She and her sisters were heartened after Mandela had come to Natal, heard from the comrades, and canceled a scheduled public appearance with Buthelezi. Her optimism was infectious. She laughed at the idea that it would



Scene from the play "You Have Struck a Rock," performed in Durban, South Africa.

take a decade of negotiations to end apartheid. The government, she stated flatly, can't hold out that long.

Black and white. A major source of strength for the movement is the unbreakable bond between the South African and U.S. Black movements.

The South Africans' fascination with Black Americans is evident every-

where. The paper *New Nation* covers any news of the problems faced by Blacks in the U.S. Anytime Black Americans protest or celebrate, South Africa knows about it. Jesse Jackson's visit after Mandela's release was an enormously joyous and important occasion.

Most whites, meanwhile—those not in the anti-apartheid movement—live in bunker paranoia, scared to the marrow of losing their property, their privileges, the "help" of their Black maids and gardeners.

Some Afrikaners are joining Nazi death squads and promoting race war. Most others cower behind their walls awaiting the inevitable Black victory.

Unstoppable. No part of South Africa has been left untouched in the recent revolutionary upsurge. Early this year, the freedom drive reached the bantustans: Ciskie's people have overthrown their puppet government; Bopuphatswana, Gazankulu, and other homelands are demanding reintegration into South Africa. The resistance in Natal, galvanized by the women trade unionists, is mushrooming.

Pretoria cannot hold.

Blacks, radicals and progressives in the U.S. have a tremendous role to play, especially in ensuring that economic sanctions are maintained. As one woman leader told me, "Without you, how could we show them? The sanctions have made a big difference."

The question of socialism or capitalism lurks as the core issue: the ANC and South African Communist Party have held to the Stalinist notion that "democratic" capitalism, under a so-called "mixed economy," is the immediate goal of the movement and that the fight for socialism comes later. But how, when capitalism is structured on apartheid in South Africa, can capitalism and democracy coexist there?

Fortunately, the East bloc upheavals are forcing a re-examination of Stalinist notions in South Africa—and spurring a new look at Trotskyism.

In the February issue of the South African publication *Labor Bulletin*, a four-column insert titled "Stalinism and Trotskyism" concludes that "a full, honest appraisal of Trotsky's strengths and weaknesses is needed before the ghost of Stalin can be buried." That, and coming to terms with Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which clarifies why no democratic movement, including the anti-apartheid struggle, can succeed without a socialist revolution.

The anti-apartheid movement holds aces these days: union women's leadership, international Black solidarity, and an unshakable workingclass perspective. These and a dose of Trotskyism are just what the doctor ordered for complete and final success. □

—TERI BACH

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*el-dish'en, noun: conduct or language inciting to rebellion against the authority of the state.

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...War in the Mideast

from page 1

Bush has been trying desperately to keep Israel hunkered down on the sidelines. But Iraq is dragging the Zionist state onto center stage, stressing its historic role as imperialism's Mideast pit bull and calling for holy war against both attack dog and master. Should war come it will be just so.

Divide and be conquered.

Washington banks heavily on continued "moderate" Arab support. Its foredoomed strategy is, as ever, to widen the gulf between the moderates and Arab radicals and stave off united Arab upheaval against the West. Not for nothing has the U.S. spent past decades bribing capitalist Arab governments—including the one in Baghdad—with weapons sales and development aid.

But in addition to being an oil thief, Washington is also the devil behind Israel and the rape of Palestine, and every bourgeois Arab government except Egypt holds its people by virtue of real or pretended opposition to the Zionist encroachment. And no way can Bush stop Saddam Hussein from hauling Israel into the conflict, or the Mideast from exploding immediately thereafter in a chorus of "Death to the West!"

Along with this there will commence the sizing of caskets for Arab capitalists.

In lining up Egypt, et al., against Saddam, Bush has exacerbated the class divisions wracking the Arab world. He is, inevitably, helping pave the way for the renewal of pan-Arab revolt.

On one side in the Mideast conflict now stand U.S.-led imperialist states and the tag-along Soviet Union, Zionist Israel, and the Arab bourgeoisie. Arrayed on the other side are the outraged Arab people from Iraq to Morocco.

The Arab revolution—anti-imperialist, hence implicitly anti-capitalist—is gathering steam, even if through the warring ambitions of the "renegade" bourgeois strongman Saddam.

Aggrieved ambition. Iraq emerged from its 1980-88 war with Iran armed to the teeth by the West and the Soviets, enough to whet Saddam's vision of a Greater Iraq. The U.S. had aided, abetted and armed Iraq to prevent the Islamic fundamentalist Khomeini from subverting the "moderate" Arab regimes.

Along with a vision, Iraq came out of the war with an \$80 billion debt—to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the U.S., and France among others—and debt spelled trouble for the war-torn Iraqi economy.

Saddam's way to glory and out of trouble lay through the Kuwaiti oil fields, and there he embarked on August 2.

What to make of Iraq's contention, made to justify its subsequent annexation of Kuwait, that the Emirate is rightfully a part of Iraq, having been ripped away by British imperialism after World War I and set up as a puppet state to help ensure Western control over the oil?

Kuwait was definitely set up by the British for exactly that reason. So were all the Gulf states, including Saudi Arabia. In fact, the entire Mideast political configuration is an imperialist creation, imposed after the first world war when the British and French carved the region into separate states and installed rulers in each who were loyal to one or the other imperialist power.

Iraq itself was fashioned out of three ethnically divided, formerly Turkish provinces in 1922. Kuwait had been part of one of these provinces, Basra, under the Turks, but Britain stripped it away to deny Iraq access to the Persian Gulf and prevent it from threatening British dominance there.

Upsetting the applecart. It's incontestable that Kuwait and all the Gulf states are key to continued Western domination in the Mideast. Who in good conscience could mourn Kuwait's passing?

Yet Iraq is no less an imperialist creation (one that broke out of its assigned role, to be sure). And its claim as a state to Kuwait rests on the validity of an administrative arrangement imposed by long-dead Turkish imperialism.

So why does the Arab world cheer Saddam?

Not from support for Iraq's particular ambition, but because he has upset the imperialist applecart. He has called into question the legitimacy of all the Gulf states—and by implication the entire configuration of states

bequeathed by the West after World War I.

Result? A fundamental erosion of imperialist order and a huge step forward for pan-Arab revolt.

Saddam himself, who invokes Arab unity as an essential basis of policy, would betray it for Greater Iraq. It's been plain from the outset that his principal aim in invading Kuwait has been to supplant the Saudis as the Man the West Must Bargain With for oil.

Iraqi analysts speculate that if Saddam feels compelled to withdraw from Kuwait, he'll negotiate to hold two islands at the head of the Gulf and a strip along the border just inside Kuwait. His annexation decree separated this strip from the rest of Kuwait, making it part of Basra province—his fall-back position and the basis for the peace signals he's been sending to

The American people, no longer bewitched by the specter of U.S. power, might just say to hell with it and revolt.

So war looks attractive to Bush and the Democrats. But war means an estimated \$400 billion national debt. Three bucks or better for a gallon of gas. Skyward prices for housing and food. A gushing hemorrhage of funding from cities, welfare, schools, roads, you name it, because of the war.

All this and bales of body bags too. The American people will say to hell with all that.

For capitalism, it's a case of damned if you do, damned if you don't.

No war! One good thing, it didn't take the U.S. antiwar movement long to get revved up after Bush went into battle mode.

Demonstrations have already occurred in cities from coast to coast, and a big national march is scheduled for October 20 in Washington, D.C.

Demographically the movement reflects the widespread domestic opposition to the war: young, old, women, men, gays, straights, Arabs, Jews, people of color, whites, radicals, unionists, liberals—all are building to stop the insanity.

The movement so far is rightly focused on getting the U.S. out of the Mideast. A wing of the movement led by liberal Zionists,

however, would condemn the U.S. and Iraq equally—obscuring, for Israel's benefit, the imperialist roots of the conflict, and therefore what is needed to end it. This position bolsters the U.S. presence, and not by accident, because the Zionist state cannot last without it.

This issue will be a sticking point in achieving antiwar unity, the more so as the movement grows and liberal Democrats—to a person pro-Israel—pile onto the bandwagon to rein in the horses.

But the basic issue is whether the movement shall be anti-capitalist. Imperialism being the inevitable outgrowth of the profit system, this shouldn't seem a problem. But here too, Democrats will be up to their old tricks, obscuring essential connections, red-baiting, etc., in an effort to excise radicals.

They'll try to squelch democracy, i.e., stop open discussion of issues; free discussion leads to intelligent—and radical—conclusions and action.

The first prerequisite for an intelligent, effective antiwar movement: democracy. All opinions, including those of socialists, must be respected and encouraged.

A democratic, radical antiwar movement will shut the war down—by confronting the system that makes war inevitable. It will fight on the basis of the following demands:

U.S. out of the Middle East! Hands off Arab land!

End the war drive! No draft! Money for jobs, housing, and AIDS, not war!

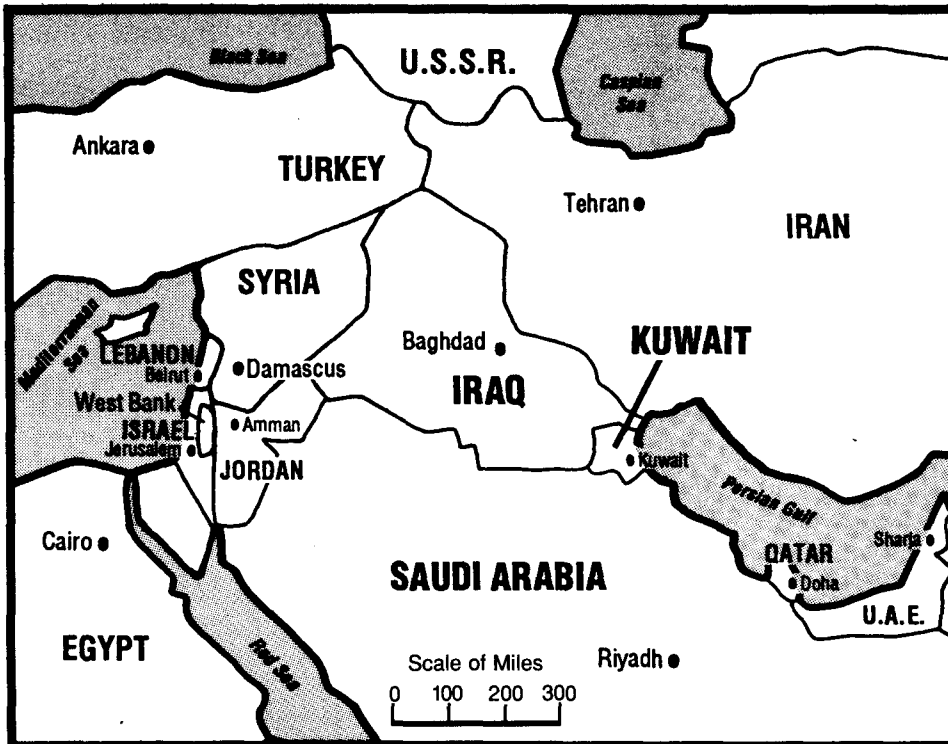
End all U.S. aid to Israel! Zionists out of the West Bank, Gaza and Lebanon! For a bilateral, secular, socialist state for Jews and Palestinians!

For a pan-Arab solution to Saddam's aggression! For a socialist Mideast!

Stop oil-price gouging! Nationalize the oil and energy industries under workers' control! Develop solar and other forms of energy as an alternative to oil!

Properly armed, the antiwar movement can win—and we must. Tens and hundreds of thousands of people are going to be slaughtered if we don't stop the U.S. war machine. The crisis is here, now. The opportunity is ours. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN



Bush.

Saddam is willing to accept the imperialist status quo—with "necessary" modifications in favor of bourgeois Iraq. But modifications, for Iraq or any Arab capitalist state, tend fundamentally to unravel the imperialist set-up, in favor of pan-Arabism. This, as we've seen, is unacceptable to the West.

Nor in the long run can it help Saddam. Pan-Arabism, anti-imperialist by definition, must of necessity rid the Mideast of all bourgeois influence; i.e., it must confront and uproot the Saddams of the region.

Capitalist Iraq has no legitimate claim to capitalist Kuwait. But it is up to the Arab revolution—which does have claim—and not the U.S., to deal with Saddam. This it can do by differentiating between his aims and those of pan-Arab revolt and by linking up with U.S. antiwar forces to oust the U.S.,

which enforces the conditions that breed the Saddams and all the evils that beset the Mideast.

Dark prospects. George Bush ought just to give up and get out of the Mideast. But he can't and he won't. That's capitalism. And that likely means war, regardless of risk, perhaps by the end of the year.

If the U.S. backs down now, it not only loses control of the oil; it loses face. This could be fatal; the country is racked by S&L scandals, spiraling debt, impending depression, a crumbling education and health care system, mounting joblessness, homelessness, poverty, bigotry...

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...United against Nazis

from page 1

only are open Nazis feeling the heat; the sheets are being ripped off "respectable" fascist front groups such as the Populist Party.

On June 11, one month after the attempted bombings in Seattle, the Pierce County Populists tried to meet at the James Sales Grange Hall in Tacoma. But a raucous picket line of 250 people forced them out of the hall, into their cars, and away, tails between their legs, a bare 30 minutes into the meeting.

The Tacoma meeting caused such a furor because the Populists are co-conspirators with the Aryan Nation and the Ku Klux Klan.

Pierce County Populist organizer Kim Badynski used to reside in Butler's Idaho compound. After moving to Tacoma in October 1989, he set up offices and a telephone hate line for the KKK.

The success of the Pierce County picket line shows exactly what must be done to squelch the Nazis. Picketers included Blacks, Koreans, Jews, Chicanos, Lesbians and Gays, Native Americans, unionists, feminists, civil libertarians, veterans and just plain folks—a united front if there ever were one. As Nichol pointed out at the rally, when fasc-

cism's targets unite in resolute, militant self-defense, "it convinces others to take a stand. It discourages would-be storm troopers and teaches their targets that we're not helpless; we can organize to defend ourselves and win."

After the Tacoma victory, it was on to eastern Washington. When the Aryan Nation gathered at Butler's hide-away on July 15, anti-fascists readily responded with a Rally For Racial Equality in Spokane, Washington, the city closest to Hayden Lake.

Organized by Spokane's Citizens for Non-violent Action, with help from UFAF, the rally brought together a

group as diverse as the one in Tacoma, one that, as rally organizer Spencer Hamm put it, "will not tolerate the violence and ideology that white supremacists and bigots try to impose on us."

Militant and out front. UFAF is the Northwest's most militant direct-action anti-Nazi coalition. Although alternately ignored and decried by the mainstream media and government officials, and criticized by liberal pacifists in the anti-fascist movement, UFAF's record of effectiveness in beating back Nazis speaks for itself.

UFAF doesn't hide from white su-

to the memorial site. The message, telecast from London to Osaka, Japan: Nazis aren't welcome in the Northwest or anywhere.

The Whidbey demo established UFAF as a force to be reckoned with and anti-fascist organizing picked up on the West Coast and nationally:

- In April 1989, 1,200 protesters converged in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, to march against Butler's skinhead convention in Hayden Lake.

- In Glendale, California that summer, a Christian Identity conference to honor Hitler's birthday was canceled after protest plans were announced.

- In July '89 UFAF called activists to a community center in West Seattle and stopped the Populists, who were holding a convention there, from getting enough signatures to get on the King County ballot.

- This March in Portland, protest-

pacifists for "inciting violence" against the Nazis. They are also accused of denying fascists their First Amendment right to free speech.

Would that German anti-Nazis had done the same to Hitler!

Responding to the charges, UFAF's Guerry Hodderson states that Nazis "have the right to meet. And we have the right—the obligation—to protest. Wouldn't you protest someone shouting 'Fire!' in a crowded theater? Nazi speech is equivalent to **setting** fires!

"And if you consider free speech a means of concretely enhancing life, and not some abstract principle, don't you think free-speech advocates should be out in force protesting these anti-human destroyers?"

A new day. The days of fear are obviously over. People have seen that Nazis aren't just going to "go away" if we stick our heads in the sand and pretend they're not there.

While some feel that neo-Nazis are a fringe mélange of cranks and fanatics, it only takes one to blow up a bar and kill 300 people. More important, if Nazis go unopposed they gain strength, feeding off the bigotries that are rife in U.S. society.

The U.S. economy is presently hurtling toward a depression. Joblessness and homelessness are rampant. People are growing desperate—and white males are being encouraged to find scapegoats among the traditionally despised

and discriminated-against. Nazis will recruit from the scapegoaters if they aren't stopped.

It is up to us, the scapegoats, the poor and working U.S. majority, to stop them. And we will.

As the successes of the anti-Nazi fight in the Northwest show, the way to freedom is unity against the enemy. □

—MATT NAGLE

Matt Nagle, a staff writer for *Seattle Gay News*, is involved in UFAF and in *Queer Nation*, a newly formed group of Gay liberation militants.



A neo-Nazi Populist Party member drives away after protesters break up a Populist meeting in Tacoma.

premacists; they confront them head-on and chase them back to their holes.

The coalition was formed in November 1988 by Gay and Black community leaders, feminists, and radicals after word leaked of a memorial planned by neo-Nazi skinheads to honor Robert Mathews, a fascist killed in a shoot-out with the FBI in 1984. The memorial was planned for Whidbey Island in Washington state. In five hectic days UFAF organized nearly 500 people to travel to Whidbey and face down the skinheads. They did: a half-dozen Nazis spent the day cowering in bushes while anti-fascists chanted and sang at the entrance

ers chased White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger off the Portland federal courthouse steps and into his car. Metzger was in town after being charged in a lawsuit with instigating the murder of an Ethiopian man by bat-wielding skinhead thugs there in 1989.

When Metzger comes back to Portland for trial he will be confronted and chased again. And other Nazis who stick their heads out of the woodwork can expect the same.

The violence question. UFAF and other direct-action advocates continue to be attacked by liberals and

...Legalize drugs now

from page 8

standpoint: the U.S. economy is a mess, and the mess is terminal. The due date is near on that multi-trillion-dollar debt that Reagan and Co. racked up in the '80s. And has anyone counted all the jobs that are gone from the U.S. for good, to Mexico, Taiwan, the Philippines, where labor is cheaper and profits for capitalists are higher? Meanwhile, two-thirds of Black teenagers are out of work, permanently, under the profit system. They're the first of the "surplus" slated for the camps, but only the first; there's hardly a U.S. worker who doesn't fear that she or he could be the next of the "unemployables."

These are desperate people—millions of them—and desperate people are dangerous. Who knows what the next social explosion will bring?

If you were George Bush, what would you do? Launch a preemptive strike against a potential threat, that's what. Hence the drug war.

Then too, since Gorbachev started waltzing around with Wall Street, anti-communism has waned somewhat as a pretext for sending guns and troops abroad. Mythical leftist "narco-guerrillas" are now the excuse for resurrecting the war against communism and

slaughtering insurgent South American Indians and peasants.

Sanity. Drug prohibition is a triple whammy: it has helped boost drug availability and consumption; it is paving the way for a legal U.S. police dictatorship; it is now the rallying point for the Vietnamization of Latin America.

There is no way out of this drug-war mess except through the legalization of drugs. An end to prohibition would remove the excuse for the legal destruction of the Bill of Rights. It would counteract the dehumanization of drug users and kibosh the mind-set that justifies repression rather than treatment for drug abuse.

It would deep-six the drug profits of mobsters and bankers, and with them the rightwing drug-smuggling death squads who help keep the entire "free world" unfree.

Legalization—with procurement of drugs and all regulations pertaining to their distribution worked out and controlled by the concerned communities—would at last provide the framework for eventually detoxing the U.S.

The drive to legalize will take some united and radical effort by the people of color communities, the labor movement, AIDS and anti-intervention activists, civil libertarians and feminists. Wall Street, George Bush, Congress, and pro-establishment Black and labor leaders don't want it. Legalization would entail divorcing those dictators

abroad and making social well-being an economic and political priority at home. It would mean wresting control of social policy away from the bureaucrats and cops who don't give a damn about us and our problems, and treating drug abuse as the medical and social welfare concern that it is.

Legalization would mean changing the entire country from top to bottom, from one ragged end to the other.

The question of money always comes up. Where will the needed billions and billions come from? The government should pay for the whole shebang and finally give us some tax-dollar value. It can start by shifting that nine billion dollars Bush has slated for "anti-drug" SWAT teams and storm troopers over to treatment facilities and research, schools, job training, health care, and so forth.

More money will surely be needed: so dismantle the CIA and the war machine and tax the rich 'til it hurts.

Bush, the banks, and big business will resist this cleansing approach to the problem, of course; illegal drug-running is capitalism's life-support system.

What does this mean? It means that our fight against the drug police leads in a fairly straight line to a face-off against the entire capitalist state and to a socialist revolution—our only means for finally laying to rest the American drug sickness. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN

...Women and crack

from page 8

linger, then-director of the federal Bureau of Narcotics.

While governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller, whose family had financed Hobson's anti-heroin campaign, used the same basic scare-images of Black and Brown dope fiends to ram through his draconian law-'n-order measures in that state in the late '60s. Richard Nixon did the same thing from the White House in the early '70s, unleashing his infamous "no-knock Gestapo," the Office of Law Abuse Drug Enforcement (ODALE).

Today, of course, the basic emotional fuel of Bennett's drug war is the specter of Latin drug lords and Black street gangs ripping away at the fabric of Western civilization.

It's the same old song and dance—the difference being that this time Bennett has a raft of Black leaders riding point in the drug crusade: Jesse Jackson, New York Democratic Representative Charles Rangel, New York City Mayor David Dinkens, Seattle Mayor Norm Rice...

Let these leaders not have to say at the end of the travail that they helped unlock the door to the "final solution" to the U.S. race and drug problems. □

Editorial

Capitalism's post-Cold War blues

COMMON WISDOM HAS IT that capitalism has won the Cold War. It's all over, even the shouting.

George Bush shouldn't break out the champagne just yet.

Three or four months from now, when dead Americans are being shipped home from Saudi Arabia by the planeload, and a gallon of gas is two or three bucks, and food costs are up 30 percent, and Bush's press aides are walking around with paper bags over their heads, Wall Street's not going to be feeling like much of a winner.

EVEN IF IRAQ hadn't slammed into Kuwait, the stocks-and-bonds crowd was staring at hard times. Why do you think Bush is trying to turn the Mideast face-off into a shooting war? Oil, sure—but also to keep Lockheed and General Dynamics out of the soup. If U.S. war industries sink, the entire U.S. economy has had it. Or maybe you think General Motors could lead the charge back to peacetime prosperity and happiness? Sure it could—if it knew how to build decent cars, and Japan sank into the sea, and markets weren't saturated, and auto emissions weren't driving us into an ecological graveyard...and GM wasn't already transferring operations to Mexico.

The thought strikes: when you consider all those millions of people in the U.S. who have been left jobless, homeless, high and dry, and mad as hell by the capitalists who have skipped the country in the last 15 years, the people who have just about had it with being fleeced by pro-capitalist twin-party con men at election time—well, how long do you think the money boys are going to be crowing about winning the Cold War?

THE U.S. IS BROKE, thanks to the Cold War. Broke? The country is trillions of dollars in *debt*. Speaking of debt, how much is it that U.S. taxpayers are estimated to owe the savings and loan depositors? A trillion? What'll it be next week? Double?

The S&L scandal is another good reason Bush is pushing things to the limit in the Mideast. Can you imagine what's going to happen when it sinks home that U.S. children may *starve* because Bush's son Neil and other Republican crooks—plus Democrats, mobsters and CIA criminals—chewed through the S&Ls like locusts plow through corn fields, leaving a dust bowl the size of the Sahara behind them? You might even say that Saddam Hussein did Bush a favor; nothing like a

dust-up abroad to take people's minds off troubles at home.

Wars are coming in bunches these days, and the U.S. is about to land hip-deep in three more real soon. These will be wars to "stop drugs" in Colombia, Bolivia and Peru.

We're currently losing the drug wars, of course—because Washington underwrites every dope-dealing dictator and death squad in Latin America so they can keep on killing insurgent Indians and peasants. And now Bush is about to send the troops in, because those pesky insurgents just won't lay down and die.

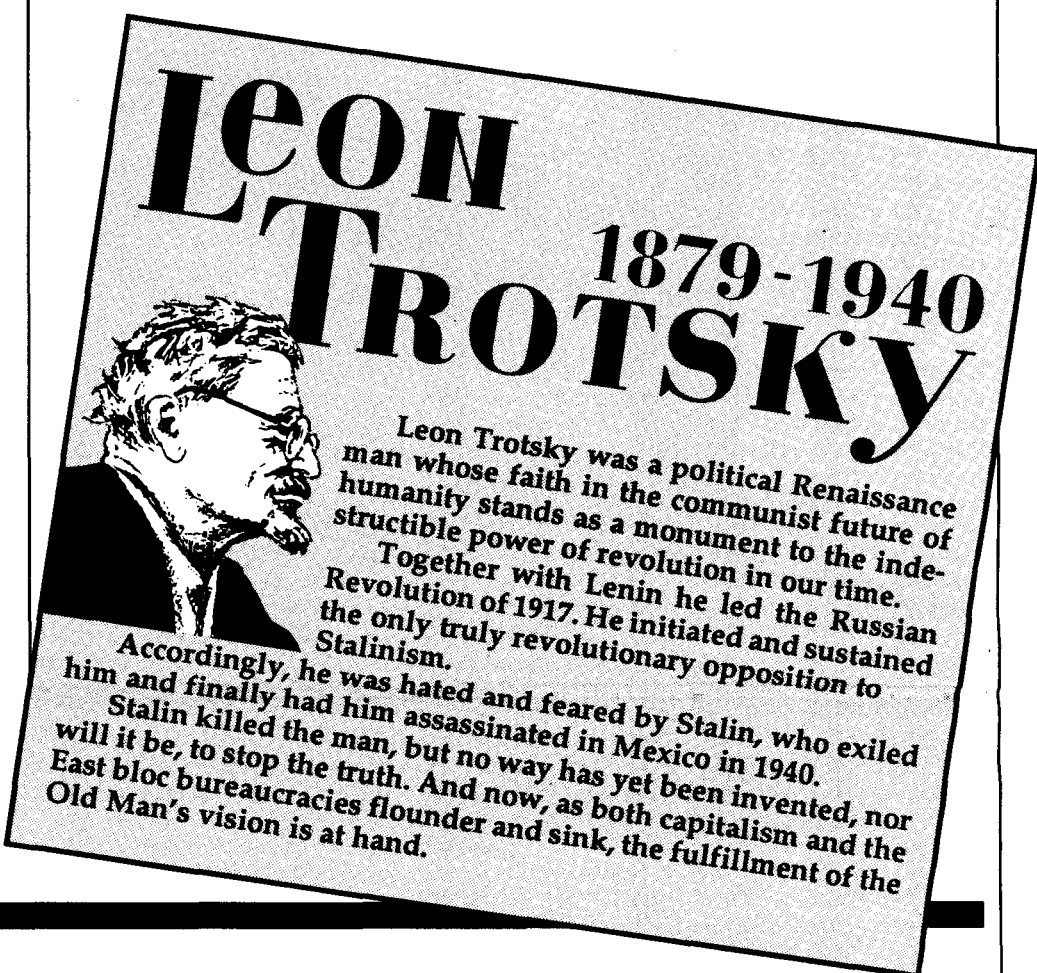
WOE AND DOUBLE WOE. World "order" is crumbling. They say it will take trillions to save the East bloc from collapse and rebuild it to capitalist specifications. Not even Japan has that kind of money.

Here's a scenario: the East bloc economies disintegrate. Workers there rise up against both bureaucrats and free marketeers. Eastern turmoil rumbles right through newly united Germany and into the West, and bang! Pretty soon capitalists everywhere are being tossed into the ocean.

Isn't that something we'd all like to see?

Maybe Bush should take a permanent vacation up on the Cape Arundel golf course. His future isn't looking too bright in D.C.

How much do you want to bet Wall Street still wishes we had the Russkies to kick around? □



Dateline Australia

The Russell Moore case: Transcontinental travesty of justice

On November 25, 1989, Russell Moore was arrested in Florida and charged with the first-degree murder of a white woman. On January 23, 1990, a jury decided to accept Moore's plea for mercy, but this was overturned by a judge, who chose to sentence the young man to death by electrocution. Russell Moore, an Australian Aborigine, is doomed to perish far from his land and culture as a result of the murderous policies of white Australian capitalism.

Moore is originally from Sea Lake, Victoria, where his people once fished in the oldest continually used water diversion system in the world: the Lake Condah fish traps. His mother, Beverly Whyman, was forced to "adopt out" Russell in 1963 soon after he was born. Victoria's welfare authorities say that they took Moore away from his mother because she was incapable of caring for him (her "incapacity" was her Aboriginality). She has now

sued the Victorian state government for damages for the suffering which resulted from what she aptly describes as "state kidnap."

Moore is one of the thousands of children stolen from their parents in a calculated policy of extermination against the indigenous peoples of Australia. "Adoption" in Moore's case was obviously a legal fiction; Beverly Whyman did not even learn where her son was until his arrest last year.

Genocide re-named.

Beginning with their invasion of Australia in 1788, the English imperialists conducted a murderous war against the Aborigines. The massacres, the poisoned flour and infected blankets failed to completely get rid of the "native problem," and so, by the 20th century, assimilation was substituted for open warfare, with the objective of establishing a white Australia. Aboriginal peoples were to be "bred out"

by destroying their culture and identity. Australia's adoption laws became the cornerstone for this new phase of genocide.

The targets were the "half castes" whom welfare authorities snatched and herded into "missions" to be christianized and trained for domestic servitude and slave labor. Adoption into white families became a primary government strategy in the 1950s and '60s. (The government was forced to abandon this policy when citizenship was granted to Aborigines in 1967, after decades of struggle.) At least 100,000 Aboriginal children were removed from their communities. Russell Moore, who didn't even know of his Aboriginality until he met his mother a few months ago, is typical of these stolen children.

Abandoned, unseen.

Moore was given to a white Salvation Army family and re-named James Savage. When he was very young, the family

moved to Florida, where his adopted father was a chaplain on death row.

His life has always reflected his complete estrangement. Socially he hasn't fit in anywhere, not with whites, Blacks, Hispanics, anyone. At 11 years old he ran away from his strict religious home and survived on the streets. He was first jailed at 15. After a time his adoptive parents abandoned him and moved back to Australia.

Bill Steel, who shared Moore's survival on the fringe, explains, "as long as you're in the mainstream, you're a high enough visibility where people can see if you're hurting. But once you get off the main road you're unseen." Steel describes Moore as a "gang of one...living just to make his life last one more day."

An outcast on the outside, Moore blends in well on Florida's death row; in the U.S., the death penalty is legal lynching, most often used to eliminate poor men of color.

Justice! Russell Moore's plight is an outrage, whatever the gravity of his crime. Beverly Whyman has said, rightly, that the Australian government should have stood trial in that Florida court. Moore never had hope of a fair trial.

It is urgent that people demand justice for Russell Moore. Protest this racist atrocity! Write to the Governor of Florida, Bob Martinez, The Capitol, Tallahassee, FL, 32399-0001 and the Australian Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Honourable Robert Tickner, Parliament House, Canberra 2600 Australia. Russell Moore must not be murdered—as so many of his people have been. □

—DEBBIE BRENNAN

Debbie Brennan, who grew up in the U.S., teaches legal studies and communication skills in Melbourne. She serves as treasurer of her branch of the Technical Teachers Union of Victoria.

Voices of Color

Black or African American—
What's in a name?

Overnight, the term African American has become the current touted nomenclature within large segments of the Black community and press. The transition occurred so swiftly that it seemed my usual Black self went to sleep one night and awoke the following morning greeted by a chorus of "Good morning, Mr. African American!" My response? I don't like it!

Go ahead, say it's an identity crisis. Worse yet, label me one of those Booker T. Washington-type Negroes. Regardless, I sense something politically askew here.

I realize that African American is used interchangeably with Black or Black American. But more and more it's being used to the exclusion of the latter. (The more nationalist, professionally affluent, or politically mainstream the sector of the community, the more the tendency to use African American.) But just because so many, from Jesse Jackson and Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall to the *New Amsterdam News*, are using the term doesn't make it right.

What's in a name? This isn't the first name change that Black people in America have gone through. There have been several through the centuries, each motivated by politics.

I grew up in an era when we called ourselves Negroes and were proud of it.

Then, as a result of that awesome combustion of the civil rights movement, we rightfully titled ourselves Afro-Americans. To call oneself Afro-American was to reject the "nigger" status that had come to be associated with the term "Negro" and to bathe in a multitude of new discoveries—those myriad rivers of cultural expression and identity flooding the times.

But other changes were in store. The term Black American was born at the apex of the Black Power movement. Intense political and physical confrontation with the Kennedy/Johnson regimes and racist reactionaries around the

country left us with no recourse but to stand defiant and demand our personhood as Blacks and Americans.

"Blackness" denoted a militant racial identity and affirmed the worth of those who had been exploited, persecuted, segregated, and discriminated against because of the color of our skin. "Black" made positive what had for so long been negative in racist America.

The term signaled a political transformation in us—our unwillingness to accept second-class status, our demand for radical change in a country that profited off the degradation of an "inferior" race. Not surprisingly, it took Black conservatives, the press, and mainstream America a long time to come to terms with the name change.

Sleight of hand. Now on our doorstep, suddenly, and after a decade of Reaganite reaction, comes another transformation of nomenclature. We're no longer Blacks, but African Americans. Why?

I think some, not all, of those putting forward the new term consciously or unconsciously want to turn away from the real problems Black Americans face today, problems that are, as ever, rooted in racism. Yes, racism still exists in the good old U.S. of A.

I am not so concerned with our Africanness as with our Blackness, which expresses the militant contour, purpose, direction and resolve of our struggle to overcome racism. And it is this struggle which I think Jesse Jackson and others who promote the term African American are trying to obscure. After all, it's very difficult to deal with what capitalism does every day to Black people here in the U.S.

It's as if, after a decade of hearing both Reaganites and liberals claim that racism no longer exists, that the laws make everybody "equal" now, hence that any problems Blacks still have are our own fault, the assertion of racial identity and worth is somehow an act of bad manners, or an

attitude problem.

It's as if, in calling ourselves African Americans, we can assume equality with whites—Irish Americans, Italian Americans, other ethnic groups. It's as if we can bring an end to the pain through a languid, indulgent identification with a long-ago past.

But what of the present, racist reality?

Genuine roots. To find pride in one's historic roots and cultural identity can be meritorious and rewarding, but not if it involves exclusion of our present reality. Let's not forget that most Black Americans are centuries removed from any direct link to Africa.

Unlike many ethnic groups in America who are only several generations removed from European, Asian or Latin American heritage, Black Americans represent a culture that, though some of its elements were born in Africa, has been shaped and created on American soil, under conditions of racial exclusion. We must be accorded the rights and recognition that we have earned through our blood, sweat and tears—as Black Americans.

Our strongest link to Africa today lies in our solidarity with the various African peoples who are fighting for their liberation. And while our ties are strengthened by physical/genetic commonalities, we need to get on with the job of liberating ourselves here in America, even as we demand freedom for our South African sisters and brothers.

Liberation means fighting against racism here and now, just as it did in the '60s, when we became Black.

Betting is hardly a scientific, let alone reputable, venture for a Marxist. But what the heck—I bet you that we will witness the term African American ride a short-lived bout of popularity and then disappear in direct relation to the impending upsurge in our Black liberation struggle. □

—Tom Boot



Clara Fraser

Time of the whirlwind

OUR HOUSE HOSTED a Soviet guest, a sculptor, during the Goodwill Games in August, and what a juicy tidbit that proved to be for dinner-table conversation and talkshow chatter.

Seattle was agog over the thousands of locals who opened their homes to the vast influx of Soviet athletes, artists and intellectuals, officials, experts, trade negotiators, and just plain workers whom Aeroflot deposited on our freshly scrubbed doorsteps.

We didn't need to go to the USSR—it came to us. Moscow-on-Puget Sound was a moveable cultural feast: the Bolshoi Ballet's *Ivan the Terrible*; Prokofiev's opera *War and Peace*; Chekhov's *The Three Sisters*; Eugenia Ginzburg's *Into the Whirlwind*, performed by Moscow's Sovremennik theatre and depicting the plight of women prisoners and their male jailers in the darkness-at-noon decades of Stalin's purges; exhibits of centuries of Russian art climaxed by the Constructivists and their "Art Into Life" creations.

ALL ART FLOURISHED in the welcoming climate encouraged by Lenin and Trotsky after the revolution, before Lenin died.

Before the invading armies of U.S. and European capitalists drained the land.

Before the civil war provoked by imperialism exhausted the people and drowned a huge sector of young leaders in blood.

Before the defeat of the German revolution, which the Bolsheviks utterly depended on for economic and political help.

Before the crystallizing of a caste of bureaucrats, grouped around Stalin, who exploited the ravaged country as they scrambled for power positions. (You always need functionaries to run the food banks, employment agencies, housing departments, and all the rest.)

Before Trotsky's Left Opposition to Stalin was dirty-tricked by officials intoxicated with their vodka-soaked privileges.

And before Trotsky's protest against Stalin's abandonment of revolution abroad, and democratic, common-sensical measures at home, was silenced, by exile and later by the assassin's ax.

NOT ONLY TROTSKY DIED. The counter-revolutionary hatchmen of Stalinism executed *the entire remaining leadership* of the October Revolution and killed or imprisoned millions who refused to surrender principles and humaneness.

The prime products of the bureaucracy were corpses, the death of art (suffocated in the one-size-fits-all shroud of "socialist realism"), and the cynical perversion of Marx and Lenin's ideas.

SO HOW DID my discussions go with the artists and actors?

With extreme difficulty. Language differences are an impenetrable, nationalistic barrier to an exchange of thinking, and what the Goodwill Games gurus neglected—or refused? or were forced into failing to provide?—were translators. Our lives centered on competitive hunts for Russian-English translators.

You may be sure that visitors who came to talk about trade and capital investment were accompanied by a decent contingent of translators, as were the pampered athletes. It was the artists and journalists and just-folks who suffered. Of course.

HAPPILY, WE DISCOVERED that pantomime, sound effects and pictures are incredible lubricants to communication.

The Soviets were delighted and amazed to find socialists and lower-case "c" communists in this bucolic corner of Yankeeville.

They hated Stalin and knew little about Trotsky; what they did know about Trotsky was wrong and untrue, hardly surprising when Gorbachev, the new Bonaparte, stalls over "rehabilitating" him.

They were puzzled and divided over feminism and lesbian/gay rights, though the 1917 Soviet Constitution was the first in history to legitimize these paramount social and human interests.

Comfortable with all races and my Jewish heritage, they were as yet unscathed by recent eruptions of Soviet anti-Semitism.

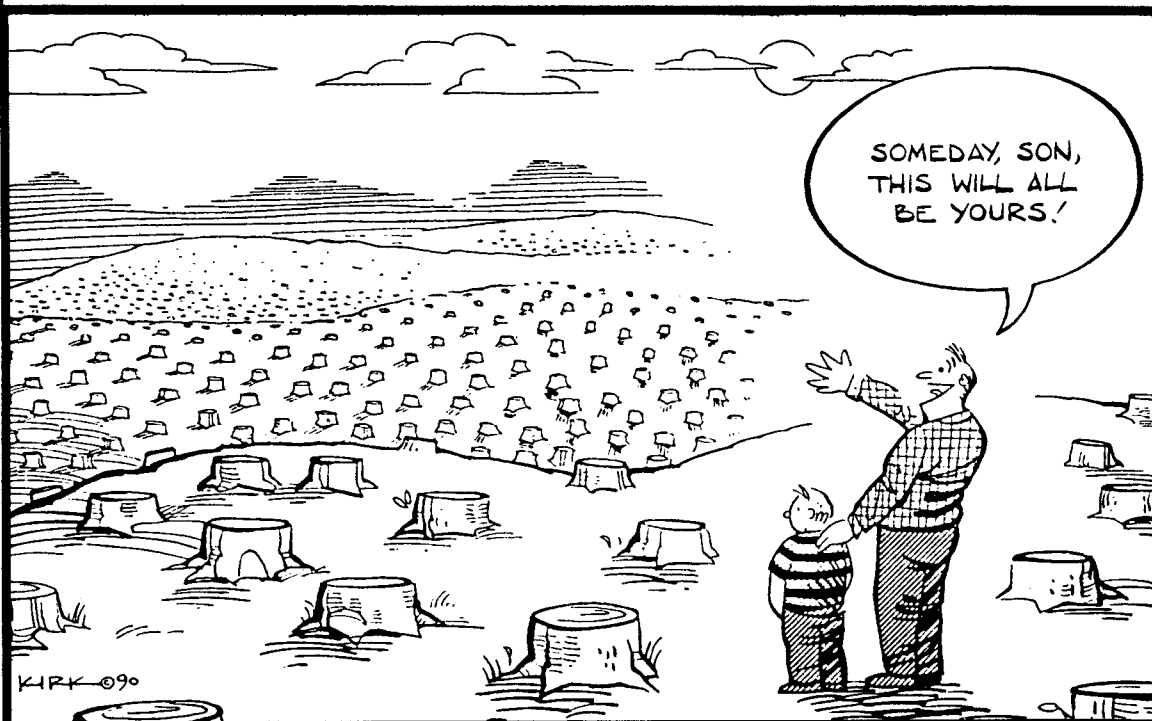
They love their country, feel free to criticize it, hope for the best, fear the future, were thrilled to be here and partake of our bounty. But they deplored the seamy slums of paradise that we showed them. These people are not going to trade off their own and their children's birthrights—insured jobs, housing, education, medical care, abortion—for the terrible risks inherent in an unbridled profit system.

THE SOVIET UNION CAN NEVER go whole-hog capitalist without a century of convulsions and turmoil.

And we of the West, who fattened off the plunder and cheap labor of the world, will never find tranquility either until we merge our wealth and know-how with the socialist concern for all people. Then, together, we will replace the free market—which controls us—with a free people, who control the production and division of wealth. And in the process we'll shed the bureaucrats and tycoons and moguls and emirs and tyrants.

That will be peaceful coexistence, real sister cityhood, for we'll be children of a common mother. Episodic goodwill exchanges will graduate to daily good-doing and good living for all.

Every person on earth has been cast into the whirlwind of change, where danger and promise collide. None of us will emerge untouched; no storm cellar will escape the tornadoes of the '90s. But after the whirlwind comes peace. □



Legalize drugs now!

An antidote to government genocide

The following article is the last of a three-part series on "Drugs and Death Squads." Part I described the history and motives behind CIA involvement in the world drug trade, while Part II provided a political overview of the drug wars, with a special look at Colombia.

This article makes the case for community-controlled drug legalization in the U.S., arguing that such legalization, together with jobs and job training, decent education, nationalized health care, and real drug rehabilitation, would mark the beginning of drug sanity in America.

What we have in the U.S. government's War On Drugs is madness, rooted directly in the illegalization of drugs. First, it should be obvious by now that, so long as there is a demand for drugs, proscription is utterly futile. The State Department blathers about "eradicating drugs at the source" in drug-producing countries—as if the U.S. had the money and political muscle and will to stomp out the livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of coca- and opium-growing farmers from Pakistan to Peru. State also talks about interdiction, stopping drugs at the U.S./Mexico border, all 2,000-plus miles of it. Maybe they can do it with caulking cement.

Beyond futility, prohibition is counterproductive. Banning has made cocaine and heroin the world's most



profitable commodities, hence magnets for enterprising mafiosos and bankers. Also, drug war repression, arising from prohibition, has interlocked with joblessness, poverty and racism to intensify alienation, cynicism and despair, especially among young people. It has helped ensure a growing demand for chemical escape from brutal realities.

Method to the madness. It's insanity all right, but there's an iron-clad logic behind it.

Consider that dope-dealing dictators and death squads in Asia and Latin America have long been the watchdogs of U.S. economic and political hegemony there.

The heroin-trafficking Pakistani Army made possible the CIA's covert war against the Soviets in neighboring Afghanistan. The Medellin Cartel's MAS death squads, trained by Israeli surrogates of U.S. Intelligence, are bulwarks of anti-Left counterinsurgency in Colombia.

At home, drugs shipped courtesy of these and other friends in hot places have helped keep the ghettos and barrios in narcosis since the early 1970s—an obvious dividend for the political Law-'n-Order crowd.

Despite the anomalous presence of straight-arrow narcs in government, the U.S. doesn't really want to eliminate the drug trade. It just wants to keep them illegal. In addition to the megaprofits and the political benefit of strung-out ghettos deriving from illegalization, what better excuse is there at this time than the "drug crisis" for a legal U.S. police state?

This isn't to say that Washington wouldn't like to impose some sort of "civilized" modus operandi on traffickers; the present unbridled gangsterism and corruption attending the trade are now large threats to the hemisphere's stability. Be that as it may, the main things are to keep drugs illegal and step up the Drug War.

Look at the more dramatic initiatives of that war in the U.S. this past couple of years: police sweeps and Na-

tional Guard occupations of ghettos from coast to coast; anti-loitering laws supposedly enacted against suspected drug dealers and users, but whose real targets are people of color (though 80 percent of users and the big U.S. drug dealers are white); the proliferation of random forced drug testing throughout industry; the jailings of pregnant women who use drugs; the Immigration and Naturalization Service's "anti-drug" terrorism against Mexicano and Central American immigrants; the gutting of Fourth Amendment search-and-seizure protections by the U.S. Supreme Court; the Department of Housing and Urban Development's proposed evictions of families of suspected drug dealers from public housing; proposed congressional legislation, such as HR 4079, which would create concentration camps on military bases for "drug users."

Concentration camps! How long before ovens start smoking?

End game. It shouldn't take an Einstein to see that the drug war aims at completely eradicating human rights in the U.S., culminating in genocide against "surplus" and "undesirable" elements—drug users, AIDS sufferers, people of color, lesbians and gay men, feminists, radicals, social activists of all stripes, the disabled, the generally "unproductive" and intractable.

You ask how this is so? Look at things from the capitalists' bottom line

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The 'war on drugs'—a racist rampage

Know what happens when you propose legalization as the solution to the drug crisis? Everybody cracks up.

"We can't legalize crack!" scream the anti-drug warriors. "Three hundred and seventy-five thousand crack babies were born last year! Our future's going up in smoke!"

Yeah, and what about our imperiled present? The above statistic, even if doctored by scare-mongers as is likely, doesn't say much for drug prohibition, does it?

The gall of the prohibitionists, weeping crocodile tears for young women, especially women of color, and their babies—and all the while shilling for George Bush who, with Reagan in the '80s, sent these same women to crack hell by slashing to ribbons all means they might have had for escaping the conditions that breed drug abuse. Bush helped gut jobs and job training, access to housing, education, health care, welfare, prenatal and child care, you name it. He also helped try to usurp control over women's bodies by cutting abortion access and pushing forced sterilization on women of color.

The drug war now serves as the jump-start for the stalled assault on reproductive rights nationally. Legal authorities charged a woman in Illinois with involuntary manslaughter in May 1989 after her newborn daughter died from complications attributed to the woman's drug abuse while pregnant. Florida offi-

cialists likewise convicted a woman in 1989 for taking drugs while pregnant and gave her 15 to 24 years probation, during which she must report any pregnancy to law enforcement officials. Washington, D.C. cops arrested a woman for forgery in 1989 and jailed her for the last months of her pregnancy after she tested positive for cocaine.

How long before our police-state-in-the-making uses these and similar cases as precedents for claiming total control over women's bodies and lives?

Absolute control is what the dope police are after. Bush and Co. have as much concern for crack babies as they do for AIDS babies. In the latter case they have withheld information and funding needed to stop the spread of AIDS in the lesbian/gay and people of color communities. And listen to them shriek against free sterilized needle exchange! More genocide, in keeping with the thrust of the drug war.

Drug prohibitionists would force "responsibility" on beleaguered women—after stripping from them the material means to lead responsible lives—by caterwauling about crack-damaged babies, then throwing their mothers into the clink to rot.

For women, the drug war is nothing but more hell. And because babies' health is wholly tied to women's welfare, you can take bets that the drug war will serve up more damaged children. □

Crack hysteria fuels assault on women's rights

The crowning hypocrisy of the drug war is undoubtedly the pose adopted by Bush's Drug Czar, William Bennett, as a friend of the people of color communities, as a sort of Lone Ranger riding in to rid the inner cities of chemical oppression.

History could record with as much justice that Hitler was a friend of the Jews.

The entire record of U.S. drug prohibition reveals that racism has been the straw that stirred the drink in all illegalization campaigns—and that prohibition, in turn, has bolstered racial bigotry immeasurably.

The original anti-cocaine drive, which culminated in passage of the Harrison Narcotics Act in 1914, was ignited by Southern segregationists ranting against "coke-crazed Negroes" raping white women.

These early crusaders explicitly painted drug users as "beasts" and

"monsters" and stressed that people of color were carriers of addiction to whites. Prohibition then consigned drug users to an outlaw netherworld and cemented the criminalization of dark-skinned people in U.S. culture. Today's crusade is plowing the ground for racial genocide.

Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson from Alabama, the man most singly responsible for getting heroin outlawed in 1923, published a book in 1933 entitled **Drug Addiction—A Malignant Racial Cancer**, in which he postulated that whites were imperiled by heroin because Black and Asian men preyed on white children. According to Hobson, white girls were especially vulnerable to "Oriental" men roping them into prostitution via drug addiction.

Hobson's malignant cancer of a book became the bible of Harry Ans-

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TOWARDS the '90s: Approaching the Final Conflict

by Guerry Hoddersen and Clara Fraser



**PART
3**

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

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

RECAP

In the previous installment of "Towards the '90s," the authors examined the U.S. labor and people of color movements.

Hoddersen and Fraser assessed a labor movement beset by management attacks and a union officialdom intent on smothering rank-and-file militance. But the authors also pointed to mounting anger and sophistication in the ranks, expressed by increased willingness to buck the bureaucrats and to struggle for dignity, benefits, safety, comparable worth, a voice in decision-making, etc.

The authors concluded that bold leadership is needed in the '90s, one that will elaborate a transitional agenda for labor—including the expropriation of moribund and runaway industries—which will prepare the movement for a direct face-off with capital in this decade.

For people of color, the '80s have been an ordeal of rising poverty, unemployment, police brutality, and a "blame the victim" propaganda offensive which scapegoats them for the evils of a dysfunctional system. Hoddersen and Fraser examined the effects of reaction in the Black, Chicano, Asian American and Native American movements and noted the exertions of pro-establishment movement leaders aimed at forestalling any return to '60s-style militance. However, say the authors, an unquenchable anger keeps these movements bubbling, and workers, feminists, and lesbians and gays are rising to leadership within them.

These developments, the authors stated, foreshadow the imminent resurgence and triumph of radicalism among people of color.

In this third and last installment, Hoddersen and Fraser examine the revitalized feminist and lesbian/gay movements, and assess the tasks and prospects facing the FSP in this decade.

The Resolution concludes by affirming the need and feasibility of socialist revolution in the U.S.A. and across the globe.

Feminist Movement: Cancel the Funeral

At first glance, the '80s appeared to be one long funeral for feminism. For a while, it seemed, everyone wanted to be a pallbearer.

The far right was out to bury the movement that threatened the American way of life and super-profits. If feminists would not go quietly into the grave, the neo-fascists were quite willing to use bombs and terror to drive them there.

Most of the Left thought feminism was already dead or should be, because it was by nature secondary or subjective or disruptive. A few radicals favored a decent burial first, by which they meant a complete recitation of all the failures of the women's liberation movement, or a recital of laments to lost momentum and direction.

Democratic Socialists of America went in for this approach and announced that socialist feminism was a failure because it didn't have mass appeal.

The Trend—a Stalinist formation—launched a broadside against the DSA brand of socialist feminism in a boring, pseudo-academic tome, titillatingly titled **The Impossible Marriage: A Marxist Critique of Socialist Feminism**. Radical Women rated one sentence in this diatribe: RW was branded as an "ultra-left sectlet" and summarily dismissed.

Women's magazines also got into the act: feminism had caused more pain than progress by creating the myth of an impossible super-woman who successfully (and happily) juggled family and

career. Thoughtful women were reconsidering this notion, they wrote, and tossing feminism out with the baby's bath water.

Even women's biology was found to be inherently anti-feminist. With all those biological clocks ticking away the baby-making years, women (we were told) felt that feminists had betrayed them by promising all-fulfilling lives in the world of work.

Feminism was blamed for causing more heartache than World War II, as ideologues of the right and Left, and not a few former feminists, competed in the race to write the definitive obituary.

But a funny thing happened on the way to the funeral. Feminism refused to die. It lived in the guts and brains and shrinking pocketbooks of women whose expectations, consciousness, hopes, and aspirations had been tremendously raised by the movement. *Newsweek* confirmed this on March 31, 1986 when it published the results of a Gallup poll revealing that **56% of all women and 64% of women of color considered themselves feminists**. A mere 4% classified themselves as anti-feminists and 71% said the movement had improved their lives!

Rumors of the movement's death were greatly exaggerated, but the offensive against it was heavy and sustained. How the various political wings of the women's movement responded to the bombardment became a crucial test of their capacity to lead in combat against the right. And the debate deepened the sharp polarization in the movement.

Idea Wars

The war on feminism was fought on many fronts. One of the most important was in the realm of ideology.

The right counterposed its own program molded around the sanctity of the family and the danger of female independence to the lifestyle of the nation. Anti-feminism consisted of equal parts of patriotism, patriarchy, and neo-fascism.

Feminists had long demanded a livable income for women on welfare. The right countered with workfare at sub-minimum wages.

The demand for socialized domestic and childcare services, on the other hand, was countered by the argument that working mothers created vast problems which were destroying the fabric of society. Women should not be encouraged to work by the state (unless they were on welfare). Female-headed families were singled out for castigation. Drug abuse, runaway teenagers, and poor school performance were blamed on the "disintegration of the family"—code words for families without fathers.

Sexual molestation of minors and neglect in day care centers suddenly became front page news. The message was clear: the children of working mothers were vulnerable to victimization by strangers. Little coverage was given to the fact that the U.S. is the only major industrial nation without a national day care system; government and corporations advocated flex-time and part-time jobs for mothers instead of state-funded child care. And the joys of self-employed mothers were extolled; by working at home, they could keep an eye on the kiddies and stimulate creativity.

Affirmative action, the ERA, and anti-discrimination legislation were attacked as giving women an unfair advantage over men and undermining the natural order of things (wherein male breadwinners receive better-paying jobs). Never mind that 25% of all families were female-headed by 1984, or that only 10% of families were supported by a man whose wife stayed at home. The right

wing was determined to resurrect the "traditional" family just as it reached the point of extinction.

The cultural pressure on women to return to dependency on men was intense. A plethora of books and magazine articles appeared on husband-catching techniques, how to stay feminine while competing with men, and the glories of motherhood. Depictions of violence against women in the movies and TV escalated as pornographers set the pace for the entertainment industry. Rightwing terrorism at abortion clinics and fetus fetishism slashed at women's reproductive rights, and soon a debate exploded over when life begins. Courts, lawyers, doctors, preachers, and the Reagan administration raised the issue to new levels of absurdity and non-science.

The pressure on lesbians to conform

women are the poorest of the poor. And the poorest among them are women of color.

Nor was the status of working women a bed of roses. Inadequate medical and dental care, lack of paid childbirth leave, unequal training and promotions, and footdragging on comparable worth kept most women on the lowest economic rungs. Compelling forces—low wages, the dearth of decent childcare, hateful bosses, the barrage of family/love/femininity psychobabble—converged to drive women out of the workforce.

But an even more compelling force was keeping them in: money. Unmarried women had to work to survive. And married women went to work to sustain the living standard that one income provided 20 years ago. Moreover, the fact is that women *want* to work.

Newsweek (March 31, 1986) reported that 75% of working mothers said they would work regardless of the need for money, and 71% of women at home with children were eager to find employment.

The pro-family ideological offensive was fierce—but the right wing could not guilt-trip most women back into the home. The effects of this offensive, however, were felt deeply in the feminist movement, where backtracking and capitulation to conformity were altogether too commonplace.

Ugly Capitulations

Betty Friedan was among the first to try to cut feminism to fit the new climate.

In **The Second Stage** (1981), she joined the pro-family chorus with an aria accusing feminists of denying women their birthright—the "power and glory" of maternity.

According to Friedan, the strident feminist focus on "incendiary sexual issues" like abortion, lesbian/gay oppression, rape, and pornography *created* the backlash.

Feminists had also been too quick to condemn capitalism. Friedan said that corporations stood ready and eager to be mother's little helper by *voluntarily* providing childcare facilities for working women. (Six years after the publication of her book, three-tenths of 1% of the companies with 100 or more employees offer nearby or on-site day care facilities.)

Friedan's hatred of the Left was as boundless as her groveling opportunism before the right. While she sauteed Marxism and lied about the role of the Russian Bolsheviks in the arena of women's rights, she proposed a nifty new alliance between feminists and the right! After all, what is there to fight about if feminists learn to live with a proto-fascist program and drop "incendiary issues"? Friedan's trick was to give the reaction a feminist veneer.

Ms. magazine took a more sophisticated route down the same road. Year after year, it became more and more peripheral to the struggle. Non-issues and navel-gazing became cover stories while protests, organizing, demonstrations, and demands were too acrimonious for the post-feminist reader who was more concerned about the state of her relationships with aerobics and the New Man than with the state of the world. According to *Ms.*, recapturing a lost sense of romance or discovering female eroticism were far bigger issues than comparable worth or neo-fascist goons; the magazine emphasized L-O-V-E and how to cope with the system, not how to change it.

Occasionally the editors featured a cover story on a major debate within the movement, like Andrea Dworkin's anti-pornography crusade. But they managed to present the issue without taking a position—no sense offending anyone—

Dedication

To the shining memory of poet Karen Brodine, Freedom Socialist Party National Committeewoman and San Francisco Branch organizer, who died in 1987 at the age of 40.

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

Change is transformation

—Tamara Turner

to an acceptable, straight lifestyle, including marriage and pregnancy, was acute. The revival of femininity was a steamroller pressing lesbians back toward the closet. Job discrimination and violence by homophobes mounted.

Nasty divide-and-conquer tactics were employed to pit women against each other and against other oppressed groups. Comparable worth and female affirmative action were denounced as discriminatory against minority men. Female solidarity on the job was out, in favor of climbing over sisters to get to the top. Careers and promotions were traded for finking on coworkers and for loyalty to management.

And these were not women's only problems . . .

Down But Not Out In the USA

Being poor and female melded more and more in the '80s. "The feminization of poverty" entered common parlance as statistics revealed that women and children constituted an ever-rising majority of those living below poverty level. Among these women were not only the disabled and welfare mothers but also meagerly paid and part-time workers and the elderly.

For the aged and infirm, the situation is perilous. Almost a quarter of a million elders—among them many widows in their eighties—live on less than \$400 a month. Their life savings eaten up by exorbitant medical bills, without pensions, and qualifying for only the lowest social security payments, these



and then went right back to fluff on health and cosmetics, and misty-eyed reports on affairs of the heart.

By substituting lifestyles and relationships for social struggle as the pathway for women to find meaning in their lives, Ms. lined up with the status quo, the yuppies, and the right wing. Ms. and pro-family types may disagree about what constitutes a family or what the nature of relationships should be, but they **agree that sexual relationships are a primary prerequisite for female fulfillment.**

NOW also soft-pedaled and backed away from dropping abortion slogans in favor of "pro-choice" slogans. NOW hoped this would be a less inflammatory way to say the same thing and would throw the anti-abortionists off track. Hah. Whatever abortion rights were called, fetus worshipers meant to wipe them out. Then NOW offered to give up the fight for abortion if the right would drop its opposition to the ERA and that sellout didn't work either. The ERA was defeated and the war against abortion escalated.

In 1986, after wandering in the wilderness seeking for compromises with the right or salvation with Ferraro, NOW announced it would take to the streets again to defend abortion. Reaching a peace accord with an enemy which refuses to negotiate and demands total surrender is something that not even NOW can accomplish—yet.

The vacillations of NOW leaders over abortion have created increasing divisions within the organization. So has their much publicized opposition to a California law which requires employers to grant up to four months paid leave to women for pregnancy and childbirth. When national NOW went so far as to file an amicus brief on behalf of California Federal Savings and Loan (CalFed), which had been sued in 1982 by an unmarried, Black woman because it refused to give her job back to her after a pregnancy leave, several southern California chapters rebelled. They publicly opposed national NOW, which maintained that the California law was discriminatory because it gave women "special privileges."

The heat on NOW leaders from the ranks was so fierce that when the Supreme Court found against CalFed in December 1986, prominent NOW spokeswomen who had sided with the bank before the decision said they weren't disappointed at all, and expressed relief that the question had been laid to rest!

Many NOW members want to be more aggressive on abortion and in defense of working women. Some work cooperatively with RW, and we often find ourselves in agreement with them on issues like the CalFed suit. NOW leaders ignore, fear or hate RW, but the viciousness of the rightwing onslaught pushes NOW members in RW's direction.

Dworkin's Anti-Porn Crusade

Radical feminism all but disappeared in the '80s as an organized wing of the women's movement, but it still wields heavy influence in academic, literary and lifestyle circles.

Some separatists drifted off into witchcraft and spirituality, Great Goddess worship, or superficial celebrations of "womyn's culture." Many others turned in their patched jeans and hatred of men for power suits and super-accommodation to male management. Annual all-female Take Back the Night demonstrations against swelling violence was about all the radical feminists

managed to organize until they made a brief and acrimonious comeback in Seattle during the organizing for the 1988 International Women's Day march and rally.

They insisted on a women-only event, and when they could not convince the committee majority, they staged a walkout, proclaimed themselves *the* organizing committee, and invited anyone from the majority—which included independent feminists of color like long-time RW friend Irene Mora, representatives of Casa Chile, and young white students—to join them. Missing from the list of invitees was RW, which led the fight (sometimes well and sometimes badly) against the separatists.

The rad-fems lost. The majority, and a number of left groups and independents who were unaware of the battle over male participation, turned out in force for the demonstration. (As the marchers huddled in a cold, drenching rain waiting for the procession to start, FSP men grumbled good-naturedly that they wished the separatists had won so the men could have stayed home.)

Control of the post-march rally at Langston Hughes Center did belong to the rad-fems. They had several hefty security types posted at the front of the auditorium, presumably to keep the majority from rushing the podium—the *only* way we could have managed to speak. Our demand for a speaker to represent the anti-separatist viewpoint, a demand which was raised before the program began and again from the floor, was turned down.

The security honchos also tried to enforce an apartheid seating arrangement; men were directed by "women only" signs to sit at the rear of the auditorium. FSP/RW defied this sexual segregation and convinced the security guards that we were ready to practice acts of civil disobedience if anyone tried to forcibly remove the men.

When the event was (thankfully) over, it was apparent that the radical feminist comeback in Seattle was anything but a smash hit. All they had succeeded in doing was hosting the most poorly attended, poisonous, uncelebratory, anti-internationalist, undemocratic, goon-infested IWD event in recent memory.

This exorcism of radical feminism in Seattle was exceptional. For most of the decade, the separatists were out of the limelight and the struggles until Andrea Dworkin burst back onto the national scene, allied with the reactionary moralists on the question of pornography.

In 1985 Dworkin teamed up with law professor Catherine MacKinnon to draft

anti-gay, pro-family platform. Dworkin and MacKinnon welcomed this support and attacked the Left for its concern over erosion of First Amendment rights.

Said Dworkin, "Pornography shows clearly how the Left has betrayed women—they are entirely corrupt." The right wing loved her.

Dworkin's attitude was consistent with radical feminism, which says men, not capitalism and private property, are the source of women's oppression. Crossing class lines to join the conservatives on a single aspect of women's oppression was easy and logical for her; she simply refused to acknowledge the rest of the rightwing program as significant to feminists, people of color, or workers. Pornography was the be-all and end-all of women's oppression, and Dworkin was

been adopted to protect the slaveholders and property owners who designed the Constitution, but the First Amendment was actually a concession won by workers, small farmers, and radicals who refused to ratify the Constitution without guarantees of free speech and assembly.

While still developing its position, RW put forward the idea of writing legislation that would censor only *strictly defined and limited forms of violent pornography*. This idea generated considerable interest at hearings, panels, and conferences.

RW's unique approach to the issue set the organization apart from the right, from the First Amendment absolutists, and from Dworkin. It attracted considerable interest in the press and prompted *People* magazine to interview Comrade



Abortion rights advocates vs. Operation Rescue, Clinica Eva, Los Angeles, 1988.

the messiah from the female heavens who would stamp it out.

The relatively conservative climate in the country and the marked ascendancy of pornographic depictions in all aspects of pop culture were the backdrop against which this crusade was mounted. Without this climate, Dworkin would have created relatively little stir. And the feminist movement split wide open over the Dworkin-MacKinnon legislation.

While most feminists opposed the violence in pornography, many worried that legalizing censorship and abridging First Amendment rights could be used to silence artists, radicals, and feminists; encourage book burners; and outlaw erotica, sex education materials, literature about lesbians/gays and other sexual minorities, reproductive rights information, and anything else offensive to the hyper-moralists. Dworkin displayed contempt and hostility toward the First Amendment, calling it an oppressive tool of rich, white men to protect their right to sexually exploit women.

The wholesale attack by Dworkin on all men as purveyors of pornography and as potential rapists also turned off many feminists. RW intervened energetically in the national debate over using legislation, in addition to mass protest, as a means to limit pornography.

RW unequivocally defended the First Amendment and attacked the right for its newfound, thoroughly hypocritical concern with women's sexual oppression. RW pointed out that Dworkin was wrong about the history of the amendment; she said it had

Monica Hill in Los Angeles after she testified before the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography on October 16, 1985.

In her statement to the Commission, Comrade Hill said:

Radical Women is here to express our outrage that ultra-conservative political and religious forces are trying to use genuine feminist concern about violence against women as an excuse to slash away at feminist gains and censor everyone's right to free speech... We are also here to remind the Commission that it is the feminist movement, not rightwing politicians and anti-sex moralists, that has had such a tremendous impact on concerns about women being depicted as sexual commodities and their overall discriminatory and abusive treatment in society... Any pornography legislation must guard against attacks on feminist gains, and simultaneously guard the free speech so necessary to protect and extend those gains.

While Dworkin was enthralled by gaining support from the right, RW exposed and challenged the right wing head on. This approach won the organization immense respect, even from groups like Feminists Against Censorship Taskforce, which maintained a rigid First Amendment position, and from NOW leaders in the Seattle chapter.

Surrogate Motherhood

Mary Beth Whitehead is a name that will not soon be forgotten. She touched off one of the hottest debates of the decade over surrogate mothers—women

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At first glance, the '80s appeared to be one long funeral for feminism. But a funny thing happened... Feminism refused to die. It lived in the guts and brains and shrinking pocketbooks of women whose hopes and consciousness had been raised by the movement.

an anti-pornography ordinance. Their legislation was introduced in several cities where it became an instant hit with puritans and anti-feminists who saw in it a vehicle for expounding their anti-sex,

who bear a child for someone else for a fee. (The term "surrogate" is a sexist misnomer: these women are the **biological mothers** of the children they bear.)

For \$10,000, Whitehead bore a child, conceived by artificial insemination, for William Stern and his pediatrician wife. After the birth of the baby girl, Whitehead reneged on her contract, refused to give up the child, and went in hiding.

A merciless custody battle ensued, dubbed the "Case of Baby M" by the media. After a lengthy trial, a New Jersey court awarded custody to the Sterns and terminated Whitehead's parental rights **altogether**—denying her even visitation rights.

It was a victory of property rights over mother right, of commercial contracts over the natural right of a mother to her children because of the special biological relationship between them.

Feminists split in several directions over this hot potato.

Predictably, *Ms.* magazine feared a backlash of discrimination against men. Writer Ann Snitow worried in the December 1986 issue that granting custody to Whitehead might encourage the view "that pregnancy makes women more naturally the privileged parent in a custody suit." Heaven forbid.

Other voices called for outlawing surrogate motherhood as exploitative to women and children. (Several months after her trial, Whitehead and other surrogate mothers called for federal legislation to effect just that.)

Radical Women adopted an eminently clearheaded, transitional position. Like prostitution, RW said, surrogate motherhood will not go away under capitalism. Outlawing it will only criminalize poor and working class women who become mothers for money, when what they need is protection of women's rights to control their own bodies and reproductive functions and to keep their children—rights which far supersede any legal contract.

RW pointed out the class and sex prejudice of the court, which viewed the *tres* middleclass Sterns through rose-colored glasses but looked condescendingly on Whitehead, a high school dropout and former part-time bar dancer married at the time to an unemployed garbage truck driver. Many columnists commented on the role played by wealth and privilege in the lower court's decision.

The New Jersey ruling was later overturned by a higher court and the newly re-married Whitehead-Gould was awarded joint custody with the Sterns. But the debate continues, because surrogate motherhood is here to stay—until, says RW, we can "create a socialist feminist society where children don't enter the world as pieces of private property and women don't live their lives as slaves to sex roles and economic exploitation."

High Consciousness and Combativeness

The right wing booms and thunders, grumbles and roars against feminism. But it cannot halt the incredible power and impact of the movement on all social movements, and on women's self-awareness, self-confidence, and consciousness with any and all comers who assail their rights and status.

Courthouse Capers

Lawsuits and charges over discriminatory employment practices proliferate with each passing year.

These legal battles are painful, costly, and lengthy; the agencies set up to assist in filing such complaints are notoriously less than helpful if not outright finks.

But thousands of women persist in dragging discriminators through courts and enforcement agencies, and frequently win.

Non-Trads

Despite footdragging on affirmative action, women still break into the skilled trades and help each other stay there.

Networking, conferences, job-referral agencies, union caucuses, and groups like CERCL at Seattle City Light maintain and expand the foothold women have secured in non-traditional jobs.

Unions Have Noticed

Women push their unions to negotiate and strike over issues like maternity and parental leave, childcare, pay equity, job stress, and discrimination.

They often persuade their unions to support abortion and comparable worth legislation, which are survival issues for the labor movement because of the expansion of unorganized, female-dominated jobs in the service and professional sectors.

Some unions are beginning to realize this change, and it explains why a number of unions in 1986 backed federal legislation on maternity leave, day care and comparable worth. Women workers demand it.

Conferences

Though not as numerous as they used to be, national feminist conferences attract thousands of women every year.

Annual gatherings like the National Women's Studies Association Conference and the Women and the Law Conference draw women from all over the country and many walks of life and activity. RW speakers at these conferences have generated tremendous excitement and interest; attendance has swelled at RW-sponsored workshops and panels, and curiosity is high regarding the theory and practice of socialist feminism.

Literature

Among women of color there is a rising self-awareness expressed in the essays, fiction, poetry, and plays of a growing circle of writers who often collaborate to get their work into print.

Anthologies similar to **This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color**; **Breaking Silences**, a collection of poetry by Asian Americans; and **Gathering Ground**, writings by Northwest women of color, are becoming more numerous. This is a remarkable phenomenon considering all the obstacles that women writers in general, and women of color in particular, face in getting work published.

Feminist publishers, particularly Barbara Smith of Kitchen Table Press, have been instrumental in making these

writings available.

Welfare Mothers

Women on welfare are once again being heard from.

A workfare plan initiated by the governor of Washington State has met with outraged objections and counter-organizing by welfare mothers, many of them minority women who would be forced to work at substandard wages or lose the pittance now allocated for mothers of dependent children.

Watch That Slur!

Any public figure who makes sexist remarks is quickly called to order these days.

Ex-presidential Chief of Staff Donald Regan got himself into hot water when he said, during the Reykjavik conference, that women didn't understand the mechanics of missiles and throw weight, and didn't care about war and peace.

Another Reagan administration official remarked that the U.S. could not launch an embargo against South Africa because women would never give up their diamonds! He was told off by women who were furious about being blamed for the treachery of the all-male administration.

When the president of the Corpus Christi, Texas chapter of the League of United Latin American Citizens declared that he preferred women barefoot, pregnant and in the kitchen rather than in his organization, the uproar was so loud that LULAC changed its national policy that allowed all-male chapters.

And any judge who makes sexist remarks from the bench is going to get publicly roasted.

Times have certainly changed.

Monitoring the Media

Women yell bloody murder about racist and sexist depictions of women in TV, advertising, and films.

Asian American women have been particularly vocal in protesting movie stereotypes of passive Suzy Wongs or conniving Dragon Ladies.

Indictments of advertisements and

battered women, and women who kill their physically abusive husbands and boyfriends is much higher than it used to be, as evidenced by the 1986 airing of the highly acclaimed TV docudrama, "The Burning Bed."

Women are much more likely to speak out on these subjects than in the past.

Rape clinics and battered women's shelters, unheard of two decades ago, exist in most major cities, and new legislation is being passed against the abusive husband/boyfriend or father.

Training and Testimonials

The plethora of discussion, literature and art, conferences, workshops, classes, and training for job and personal development is astounding.

Women are becoming more informed all the time about how to advance their interests despite the obstacles. It used to be only feminists who conducted "assertiveness" training for women; now it is a standard feature of any skills development session for women.

The right wing makes a lot of noise. But it cannot drown out women's voices, which are raised increasingly to speak loudly and clearly on the issues that affect them. Most women do not belong to feminist organizations, but they will gladly testify at hearings, join picket lines and defense committees, speak at union meetings, write letters to the editor, or lend their names and financial support to causes they endorse.

The depth of women's commitment to preserve their rights has been more than amply demonstrated in the struggle to retain abortion rights.

The Abortion Wars

Of all the assaults mounted by the right wing over the last few years, none has been more hotly contested than the attack on abortion.

In an unusually ecumenical effort, the religious right has poured a stupendous amount of money and resources into the drive to overturn, undermine, limit, or make it impossible to exercise woman's right to abortion. Everything from statewide initiatives to severe har-

The right wing grumbles and roars against feminism. But it cannot halt the movement's incredible power and impact on all social movements and on women's self-awareness.



Lesbian/Gay March on Washington, Oct. 1987. Ron and Nancy weren't at home.

fashion magazine layouts featuring sado-masochistic and kiddie porn themes are skyrocketing.

Female stars of stage and screen decry the lack of good acting roles for women.

And women newscasters who are downgraded because they aren't glamorous enough become instant heroines if they take to the courts and inform the public.

Rape and Violence

Popular support for rape victims,

assessment and intimidation, legal suits, demonstrations, daily picketing, and frequent bombings of abortion clinics are perpetrated.

But the combined forces of the Catholic hierarchy, Protestant fundamentalism, the Reagan administration, and neo-fascist ideologues and terrorists have not been enough to turn back the clock. The vast majority of Americans still support woman's right to have an abortion.

At the vortex of this ferocious clash of contending social forces is a four-year-long street battle to keep abortion clinics

open and accessible. At clinics all around the country, feminists have squared off against thugs and kooks and fanatics and hysterics week after week, in a grueling test of wills, stamina, and public attitudes.

Where feminists and clinic operators affirm their intransigence and organize defense committees—to gather support and expose do-nothing public officials and cops—they manage to keep the clinics open and the Bible-thumpers at bay. But where they depend upon marshals, police and city government, they invariably lose.

Yet debate rages within the feminist movement over the correct strategy and tactics for defending clinics.

In 1984, NOW issued a highly publicized call for vigorous FBI investigation into the wave of clinic torchings. National Radical Women responded, in an open letter to NOW, that reliance on Reagan's police agencies was suicidal. RW pointed out that the FBI has "thick files on every feminist organization, including NOW."

NOW never responded to RW but subsequently dropped the naive proposal.

The sorry old multi-issue/single-issue debate continues to plague the women's movement. National NOW, the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), and Planned Parenthood all insist on a one-issue approach to defending abortion. They construct coalitions which exclude the voice of radicals, women of color, or any other group which connects the right wing's anti-feminism to its racism, homophobia, red-baiting, and union-busting. Hand-in-glove with this opportunism goes tactical timidity in challenges to the fetus fetishists and head-to-head confrontations with them.

On the other hand, the ranks of NOW, and leaders of their local branches (especially in smaller cities where they are often the only people to stand up to the clinic harassers), are not so constrained. They learn quickly that being nice to a violent, well-organized opposition might get one into heaven but it won't keep the clinics open, and they welcome reinforcements. They quickly grasp the nature of the rightwing/cop/city official alliance.

Radical Women has worked closely and successfully with these intrepid NOW fighters in many cities. It was these NOW warriors, and the exemplary work done by RW, which finally forced national NOW to once more undertake mass organizing around abortion after virtually abandoning it between 1982-86 (in their losing scrimmage to win ERA and their passion for Democrat politics).

RW's role in NOW's belated return to the abortion fray should not be underestimated.

As the left wing of the feminist movement, RW's job is to expose the bankruptcy of reformism and, by example and education, to organize a counter-pole of attraction. When RW does this successfully, the reformists are forced to become more radical-sounding or lose their constituency. This is what happened in the abortion wars.

Caught between the NOW rank and file, and pressure from a highly visible and successful left wing, NOW's middle caste was forced into greater militancy. The objective of this shift is transparent: to prevent radicals from ascending to leadership and to continue to channel the movement into reformism.

As RW sustains principled and concerted action on the abortion front, it attracts independents, women of color, lesbians, and feminist and gay men to our politics. These fighters know that the right wing has far more on its mind than the simple rollback of abortion rights.

The battle to retain women's reproductive rights still rages. But in the process a whole new cadre of women and men is being trained to know the enemy and how to fight it. Unlike the super-cautious, suicidally single-issue, middle casters in the movement, new cadres have shown remarkable creativity, fortitude, combativeness, and high spirits in this elemental struggle to defend woman's most fundamental right to control her own body.

This bodes well for the coming Left/

right showdown in the women's movement.

Summation

As the intense social pressures on women mount, the polarization within the feminist movement will deepen.

And clear thinkers, searching for a program of resistance to the rollback of women's rights by employers and female-haters, will be drawn to socialist feminism in augmented numbers.

This process has already begun.

Our serious scholarship and longevity set us head and shoulders above other radical tendencies vying for leadership.

We are respected for our commitment and seriousness and for our willingness to tackle lady bureaucrats of all races on difficult issues. Our reputation for challenging racism within the feminist movement and supporting the demands of women of color, lesbians, working women, and the disabled is warranted and unmatched. We are the only feminist tendency firmly rooted in the working class and the only socialist tendency firmly rooted in the feminist movement.

This solid position places us at the epicenter of tremendous upheavals, the tremors of which can already be felt in strikes led by minority women and in street fights on abortion rights.

It is too late for capitalism to turn back the clock and return women to the home; the system is utterly and completely dependent on female labor, and female labor speaks with a new voice, dramatically self-assured and impatient. It is from the battalions of women workers that tomorrow's revolutionary leaders will arise.

Lesbians and Gays: All Fired Up

The lesbian/gay-male movement grows more militant by the day. The whip of political reality lies behind the ascending radicalization of this strata of the super-oppressed.

With the right wing riding the wave of AIDS-inspired hysteria and shrieking to drown out homosexuals, the latter must fight back or objectly surrender. The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling upholding Georgia's sodomy law in 1987 made it abundantly clear that homosexuals cannot rely on the goodwill of government. And as fickle politicians cave in to the storm, the movement learns who its true friends and allies are and are not.

More and more, lesbian and gay male activists are linking the struggle to retain their civil rights with the corollary struggles of women, people of color, and labor, who are all buffeted by the ill-winds of conservatism.

The magnificent turnout for the October 1987 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights is dramatic proof of the radicalizing effect of the times. Nearly three-quarters of a million people converged on the capitol in the largest outpouring of protest and outrage against government policies since the heyday of the Black civil rights movement and the carnage in Vietnam.

Marchers from every state, many of them first time protesters, rallied around a program which spanned demands for an end to the war in Central America and U.S. support of apartheid as well as funding for AIDS research and patient care.

The People of Color Caucus of the national organizing committee was responsible for this far-reaching program. Thus, the decade ends on a definite upswing of gay militance, a striking turnaround from the beginning of the '80s.

Lesbian/gay militance dropped off in the early '80s, in tandem with a general lessening of resistance in other movements of the oppressed, the advent of Reaganism, and a rightward shift of the political climate. The AIDS catastrophe coincided with this drift, and at first it bewildered, frightened and isolated the movement. AIDS hit just as the movement had been demobilized into apolitical annual celebrations of gay pride in many large cities. Gay business entrepreneurs and reformist Democrat gay leaders spearheaded this move; protest was out, circus parades and "lifestyle celebration" were in. Business sought to turn a profit

on the yearly outpouring of the gay underground, and gay power brokers wanted a fun fest to show politicians the size of the gay constituency.

Gay Democrats had suffered badly at their party's hands. The party dropped support for gay rights in the '70s and treated gays like pariahs. Liberal organizations like the National Gay Task Force and the National Gay Lobby floundered and disintegrated.

The disarray of this leadership created openings for radicals.

In Seattle, FSP and Radical Women kept the marches going while the fun-and-games folks sabotaged and the demoralized liberals sat on the sidelines. Gay Democrats, desperate to get back in

recent past.

In New York City, gay radicals got together for the first time in years to organize a protest of the 1986 4th of July Liberty Weekend extravaganza.

Naturally, the gay respectabilia, comfortable in the system, still strain to harpoon the movement into forlorn Democratic Party precincts. Fearing the radicals, they view shopworn liberals as the only defenders against the reactionary tide (and, not incidentally, they anticipate reaping professional rewards for delivering votes to Democratic politicians). But a party that votes for contra aid yet refuses to endorse a gay rights plank cannot be considered a protector.

Even successful gay careerists are



Antiwar protester confronts supporter of Reagan visit to Seattle, 1983.

the good graces of the party, tried to reclaim their lost territory by attacking the radicals. It didn't work: the movement itself had changed.

National gay organizations, largely white, had fallen apart, but gays of color continued to arrange national and local conferences. Lesbian/gay writers and poets of color rose to national prominence as advocates, not only for gay rights but for feminism, racial equality, and the need to integrate struggles. Their voices gave expression to the strengths, suffering, and cries for unity of the disparate movements. And their resounding message—to end all forms of discrimination within the movement and unite to fight as one against the right—struck a new note of honesty and resistance that never failed to win appreciation and widespread endorsement.

The voices of these writers cannot be silenced, because they speak compellingly to both the immediate and long-range tasks of the movement.

Radical/Reformist Split

Political contingents in the 1986-1987 gay pride parades and marches were bigger and better received than in the

sometimes uneasy about the anti-labor stance demanded of them by their cronies in local government.

This radical/reformist polarization is bound to intensify as capitalism rots and steps up its spewing of police state and fascist demagoguery. The right wing has shown its determination to come back year after year with initiatives, laws, and by-laws to eradicate lesbian/gay rights, but the gay movement has shown equal resiliency and tenacity in combating these attacks.

As political realities continue to batter at the reformist illusion of steady progress and security under capitalism, mass action and a multi-issue stance will come increasingly to the fore as seen in Washington D.C. in October '87. Serious political struggle will become the pole of major attraction for the grassroots and the advanced intellectuals, the lesbian/gay survivors.

Antiwar/Antinuke Movement

With the world poised on the edge of nuclear abyss, few issues impassioned so

to next page

many people as the matter of war and peace.

A few years ago, the antinuke movement mobilized tens of thousands to protest the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Demonstrations still occur occasionally, but the turnout and the momentum have receded as the impact of U.S. war on Central America hits hard.

For many activists, stopping the next war and defending the victims of Central American dictators have taken the place of antinuke marches, especially after Reagan proved impervious to the intense sentiment for nuclear disarmament. This shift in emphasis is exemplified by the burgeoning sanctuary movement which obsesses the churches and peaceniks. It is comprised of a network of 275 churches, synagogues and universities that openly protect Central American refugees. The peace movement now finds itself the target of CIA, FBI, INS and National Security Council disruption and persecution.

People committed to "peace" and liberalish "brotherhood" are finding out that these sentiments eventually mean war with a system which brooks no opposition to its imperialist interests at home or abroad.

A Fight for Movement Democracy

Public outrage against U.S. intervention in Central America soared in the wake of Congress' pro-contra aid vote in the summer of 1987. Yet the antiwar leadership, primarily Stalinists, pacifists, and Trotskyists, continues to look to congressional Democrats as the saviors of peace.

It is hard to imagine a greater disparity than that between the objective need of the anti-war movement for a multi-issue, anti-capitalist political offensive against the warmakers, and the insistence of its leadership on holding the movement in thrall to pro-capitalist liberals.

But this very insistence foreshadows deep trouble for its misguided or cynical proponents. The dynamic of events pushes antiwar ranks leftward, but the unwillingness of the leadership to move an inch leftward places them on a collision course with the independents.

An identical fight has waxed and waned since the current movement's inception seven years ago. The antagonism centers around the need to connect the war abroad and repression/austerity at home, as inseparable consequences of capitalism. Central to this fight is the matter of linking the struggles of the most oppressed workers in this country with anti-imperialist fighters around the world.

Antiwar organizers have striven mightily to downplay these connections, to straitjacket the movement within a single-issue perspective. They labor to silence radical voices and a socialist program. Hence, the struggle for political direction is also a fight for movement democracy.

Role of the Left

The demand for a radical, multi-issue perspective in the antiwar movement was voiced much earlier and more insistently this time around than during the Vietnam era.

When President Carter reinstated draft registration, mass protest exploded overnight. And for almost two years a national movement grew, linking the draft to U.S. imperialism and to sexist, racist, and economic inequality at home.

But this organizing was stopped cold—first by the SWP and then by Workers World Party (WWP).

SWP split the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (NCARD) by refusing to allow NCARD's program to be "sullied" by other issues such as feminism. NCARD quickly became moribund.

WWP then ascended to leadership in the movement through the People's Antiwar Mobilization. PAM grasped the multi-issue demands of the ranks—at least enough to pay lip service—but WWP squelched democracy in a compulsive drive for hegemony. By spring 1983, WWP had strangled the movement, and itself, in a stale replay of SWP's despotic and euphoric drive for hegemony during Vietnam.

Antiwar organizing in the following year was channeled by the Stalinists and pacifists into support for the Democratic candidacies of Rev. Jesse Jackson and Walter Mondale. By November 1984, the movement was utterly silenced, just as Reagan, riding his landslide, prepared to

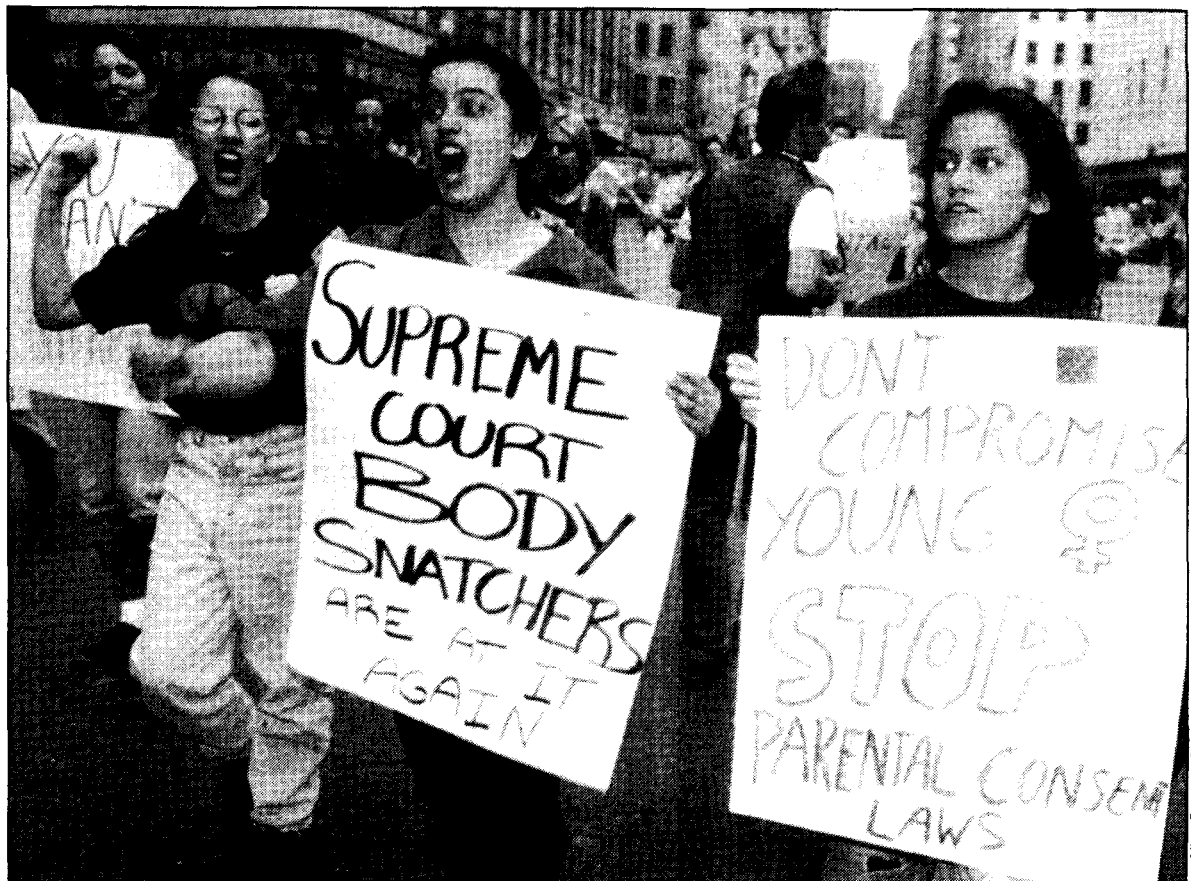
escalate the war.

In April 1985, the Emergency Action Coalition for Jobs, Peace and Justice mounted nationwide protests. These actions, initiated by leftists like the SWP-splitoffs, Socialist Action and the Fourth International Tendency, offered a golden opportunity to rebuild a movement. Yet once again the leaders opted for a liberal-oriented approach and set an ominous precedent by excluding members of socialist parties from the national steering committee! Political parties were barred from endorsing the marches in many cities.

young people have been right in the thick of every upsurge.

From Berkeley to Brooklyn, from anti-apartheid to abortion rights struggles, young men and women—painted by the media as a dead-end generation—have been out there fighting for their future.

Even before the 1980 presidential elections, young people jumped into the political fray against President Carter's plan to resurrect the Cold War. When Carter tried to reintroduce the draft—after the Soviets sent troops to Afghanistan in 1979—hundreds of thousands of



Young women protest the Supreme Court's parental consent decision, June 1990.

Nationally coordinated antiwar efforts dwindled to nothing. Local coalitions mounted ad hoc responses to crises, then dispersed without trying to formulate a long-range strategy to stop the war.

Reagan continued to escalate the war in Central America. Then came Congress' pro-contra aid vote in June, 1986. Four long months later, pressed by rising public anger, the Jobs, Peace and Justice Coalition called for nationwide protests, and tens of thousands marched against contra aid in major cities on October 25.

The mood of the marchers was militant. And in Seattle, at least, the multi-issue demands were exemplary. But the protesters' militance was in effect hosed down at post-march rallies which featured speakers exhorting votes for Democratic candidates. Some lip service was paid to multi-issue connections, but anti-capitalist speakers were not allowed within a mile of most rostrums.

What next for the antiwar movement?

The wars will escalate. The capitalists want the Sandinistas out of Managua, preferably before Reagan leaves office, though this hope dims with every new expose in the Iran-contra-arms deal scandal. One CIA operative was shot down over Nicaragua, and army helicopters fly Hondurans to fight the Sandinistas on the border. The current peace proposals have quieted things down—but how long before American soldiers are shipped home in body bags?

Radicals of integrity in the antiwar movement must expose the timidity and treachery of the movement reformists. They must demand again and again to voice their opinions. All-out war and invasion of Nicaragua—or Haiti, the Middle East, the Philippines, wherever—will undoubtedly provoke a political explosion in the U.S.

And if the energy unleashed is to eventually topple the capitalist warmakers, radicals must win anti-war movement democracy and a bold new program for radical solutions.

Youth Step Out

The '80s have been a decade of reaction, but they have also been a time of protest, dissent, and even rebellion—and

people poured into the streets to protest.

Groups such as Seattle's Registration Age People (RAP) organized demonstrations and public speak-outs, supported those who refused to register with the government for a future draft, and fought to keep the movement anti-racist, anti-sexist, and democratic. The Peoples Antiwar Mobilization, which carried out antiwar activity nationwide in the early '80s, also drew heavily from registration-age youth.

Young women stepped to the fore in RAP and wherever they could seize an opportunity to participate, linking the war issue to domestic social concerns. The Pentagon gobbled billions of dollars that should have gone to social welfare. And the war drive was fueled by nationalist, racist and macho chauvinism. Militarism jeopardized young women in a host of ways and they quickly jumped out front to fight it.

As U.S. involvement in Central America stepped up throughout the decade, only the U.S. antiwar movement kept Reagan from sending the troops to Nicaragua. Youth, supposedly so "conservative," were central in keeping the military home. Even Amy Carter got into the act, after her father lost the 1980 presidential election. She was arrested for opposing CIA intervention in Central America!

On the abortion front, young women showed they weren't taking hard-won reproductive rights for granted. At the University of Washington in Seattle, when rightwing Maranatha Christians defiled the campus with anti-abortion demonstrations in the mid-'80s, students mounted quick and effective counter-protests and forced the rightwingers to retreat.

During the long and fiercely fought battle to defend the Clinica Eva abortion clinic from fetus worshippers in El Monte, California, college-age women from southern California campuses were stalwarts.

Multi-issue politics made their debut in the general political consciousness during the '80s—and no one was more receptive or did more to promote them than students. Anyone who stepped onto a university campus in 1985 and '86, when the anti-apartheid movement was

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support a police state where management spies on employees in "locker rooms, parking lots, shipping and mail-room areas, and even the nearby taverns" (*Militant*, November 14, 1986). But most Americans won't accept a wholesale invasion of privacy to catch a few drug users or anybody else. There are advantages to living in a bourgeois democracy, and one of them is to be accorded certain rights.

The would-be dictators and the witchhunters will have a hard time convincing workers to give up their liberty along with their jobs and security.

Great Expectations

The vast power and wealth of the U.S., plus the many gains wrested by the people in 200 years, have raised high expectations for social equality and economic advancement.

The ruling class rolls back anti-discrimination laws, cuts welfare rolls and social services, and smashes strikes—but rolling back *expectations* of social justice, or convincing the majority of Americans that it is necessary to drastically cut their standard of living, or go to war, or give up their constitutional rights, is quite another thing. That's why the power elite needs the right wing: to create a political climate in which people will voluntarily accept rollbacks, repression, and wars. Should that method fail, the capitalist class will terrify the people into submission by means of outright, naked fascism.

But nowhere is this happening in the U.S. Marching in the streets, and stable, militant mass organizations of struggle may not be the pattern for today, but the masses still maintain high expectations for progress and an unquenchable pro-

ensity for speaking up and out on topics that move them. They also exhibit a remarkably sophisticated political understanding of what is *really* going on, and an insatiable interest in learning more.

This consciousness and curiosity permeate broad sectors of society; its scope is far beyond the student radicalism of the '60s which was largely confined to college communities.

One example: A violent Nazi sect, headquartered in Idaho and with a history of racially motivated assassinations, prompted people in Idaho to host a conference affirming racial equality and denouncing the fascists. Thousands turned out in a stunning display of interracial solidarity. These were ordinary people who, when stimulated to take action, did so with uncommon courage and conviction.

Workers and the poor, people of color, lesbians and gays, women, progressives, and all thinking people and the oppressed are on a collision course with the capitalist class and its agents and stooges. The tension between the people and the ruling class is mounting, and becomes reflected in left/right divisions within the social movements over the best strategy and tactics to defend the gains achieved after centuries of struggle.

But there is one thing that every progressive knows: there is no going back, quietly and peacefully, to the old ways, the old witchhunts, the old terrors. And we can count on this commitment: it is the source of our great expectations for a coming radicalization that will sweep the compromisers and caution-mongers off the stage of history.

All that's needed is intransigent leadership to point the way.

V. Our strategy and tasks

The job of a vanguard is to be out in front, leading the way to higher levels of struggle and consciousness.

Through working in the mass movements and conducting regularized education, propaganda, and agitation, the party helps prepare the working class and its allies for the titanic struggles to come.

The current relationship of class forces, and the mood of the times, point toward a stepped-up tempo of clashes with bosses, bureaucrats, super-patriots, warmongers, venal politicians, bigots, and neofascists. Our place is at the head and in the center of these battles. Our role is to explain again and once more again the source of problems—the system itself.

To the milquetoast programs of the middle caste, who worship capitalism, we counterpose a radical program of truth and reality, of meeting needs for self-defense and multi-issue organizing. And if we stand alone or in the minority or temporarily excluded, so be it. *Someone* will hear us just so long as we speak up!

James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, said it best:

The great Marxists—beginning with Marx and Engels...and ending with Comrade Trotsky, they all had a common characteristic: a complete indifference to public opinion. They did not care

what the rest of the world thought about them. They figured out their line of policy in every case according to their scientific ideas. Then they courageously applied it and took the consequences.¹

Words to live by. And when we do, we discover that we *can* weld progressive forces into a kaleidoscopic front against reaction.

The time is ripe and the opportunities great. The tottering old system is making our job easier! Capitalism digs its own grave, doing its own spade work and preparing the ground for revolutionary feminist ideas and for our dynamic intervention into the new, radicalized mainstream politics.

Strengthen the Party and RW

There is no substitute for vanguard organizations which inspire, teach, train, test, and develop the cadres for struggle. No modern revolution is made and sustained without such organizations. They are unique, irreplaceable, and precious because they are so few and far between, and because the cry for leadership is so deep.

The disparagers of vanguards are those who not only don't want to be up front leading anything; they don't want anybody else to be there either.

Building the party and RW are every

bit as important as our mass work.

And guiding, training and assisting RW is the most important mass work we do!

Our precious sister organization is vital to the party—the best schoolhouse we have for women leaders, a source of many party recruits, of both sexes, and an excellent, appealing vehicle for bringing socialist feminism to the public.

Doors are open to RW which are often closed to FSP. TV and radio talk shows, press coverage, college classrooms, the conference circuit—all offer RW many opportunities. And RW can usually obtain that all-important status as an official campus organization, putting us in touch with students and providing great resources.

RW's growth and development are not secondary for the party, but primary.

Sometimes it is difficult to maintain a balance between external and internal activities, but our leadership must constantly strive toward balance by regular evaluation of our priorities and regular shifting of personnel as indicated.

An equilibrium will strengthen everything we do. If we spend all our time in mass work and little on theoretical education, skills training, fundraising, financial reports and records, administration, headquarters upkeep, public events, and quality time with good contacts, our membership will make too many mistakes, because they will have a weak grasp of program, history, and organizing techniques. If our own organizations and branches are hamstrung by administra-

tive backlogs and financial bottlenecks, we can hardly presume to teach others how to create and run effective organizations.

And we won't attract new people if we're too busy racing around to other events to hold forums, educationals, classes, and fundraisers of our own.

We will always be pulled in many directions simultaneously and there will always be more to do than we can handle, especially now when the Left is moving right and more and more is demanded of us as interest quickens in socialist feminism.

The key to achieving a balance of activities is to strengthen our ranks with intensive theoretical education.

We're only as good as our grasp of the accumulated wisdom, experience, theory, and spirit of Marxism, feminism, Revolutionary Integration, Trotskyism. Knowledge is our ballast in the storm, our guide to action and effectiveness. And what we fundamentally have to offer the struggle for human liberation is the body of our ideas.

As **Crisis and Opportunity** reminded us, "Permanent Revolution teaches that revolt and great ideas are *contagious* and cannot be long suppressed. Their time always comes." Strengthening our own understanding of these ideas assures us that when we meet the future, we will be ready for it.

One of the most consequential ways of preparing for the future is to recruit today. The times they are a'changin', and more people are attracted to us. Socialist feminism strikes a responsive chord in this period among working women, people of color, students and intellectuals, independent feminists, and youth.

To make the most of these new opportunities, each branch must have a Membership/Recruitment Coordinator whose attention is focused on getting to know potential recruits, assessing their interests and skills and needs, setting up dinners and social occasions for discussion purposes, and attending to their educational development.

Also, being a new recruit doesn't instantly transform a person into a revolutionary. Bolsheviks are made, not born; new comrades warrant quality time and attention from organizers and education specialists, not just before but after they join. That's the secret to augmenting our basic cadres with new recruits. And to grow means emphasizing recruiting by painstakingly organizing it.

Win the Freeway Hall Case

When ex-FSPer Richard Snedigar dragged the party into court in 1984, demanding return of a gift he had given us, he and his grasping attorneys thought it would be easy to destroy us.

All they had to do was subpoena our

About the Authors

Guerry Hodderson, FSP National Secretary, and **Clara Fraser**, FSP National Chair, represent two generations of socialist feminist thinkers and builders.

Guerry Hodderson's radical instincts first found expression in the Black civil rights struggle and the Berkeley Free Speech and anti-Vietnam War movements. In the early '70s, she became one of the first women in Seattle to enter non-traditional trades as a truck driver. Her spirited leadership and intransigent, principled politics have earned her great respect in all the social movements. She is an initiator of the emerging U.S. mobilization against neo-Nazis and was an FSP delegate to the March 1989 European Open Conference of Trotskyists in Rimini, Italy.

Clara Fraser spent 20 active years in the Socialist Workers Party. In 1966, after the SWP's orientation to the labor aristocracy had congealed into terminal op-



Clara Fraser and Guerry Hodderson

portunism and bureaucratism, she led in founding the Freedom Socialist Party—the world's first feminist Trotskyist party. Fraser was the victor in a celebrated, eight-year-long, groundbreaking suit against Seattle City Light on the grounds of political and sex discrimination. She has authored numerous theoretical works, teaches Marxist economics, and is a featured columnist for the *Freedom Socialist*.

Both Hodderson and Fraser are defendants and key legal strategists in the Freeway Hall Case.

The two produced this document during an intensive, five-month retreat, where every waking hour was spent examining and recording the faltering vital signs of world capitalism and the vibrant health of revolutionary and democratic struggles around the globe. Their scholarship and firm optimism in the socialist future shine through on every page of this work.

membership lists, minutes, and financial records, and smear us as cultish crazies who ripped off the public.

Instant cash, publicity, and political pay-offs from grateful city politicians would be theirs. Or so they thought.

But their greed, arrogance, male chauvinism, and vulgar anti-communism boomeranged. In their rush to fame and fortune, they forgot whom they were trying to burn at the judicial stake. Our record for dousing these bonfires is unsurpassed.

In the four-and-a-half years since they filed their ugly case, they've received a chastening lesson in dialectics. The case

tant, we need at least one full-timer, if not more.

The N.O. and the Secretariat and the Seattle branch spend an enormous amount of time on the case, and this impacts negatively on other work. Increased funds would enable us to hire skilled people for the case, which would release our staff and membership to focus on other issues as well. We cannot become unilaterally absorbed by and obsessed by the case—that would be capitulation to the very intent of Snedigar and Co., and it is a tribute to us that not one branch has allowed this to happen. Our basic work goes on, and our *balance* is

went to the polls in '86, the lowest turnout since 1942!

Voters today cast their ballot on the basis of issues and candidate personality rather than party affiliation. And since Republicans and Democrats agree on almost everything, most workers simply tune out the candidates and drop out of the electoral charade. Socialists running a highly visible campaign can turn them on again; in today's electoral circus, a campaign that focuses on issues would be a welcome novelty.

Two strategies for intervention are open: we can slate our own candidates or build left coalitions around a united so-

petes in the electoral arena.

Build a Dynamic Antiwar Movement

As war draws nearer with every U.S. helicopter that ferries Honduran soldiers to the Nicaraguan border, the party must aspire to build a *radical* antiwar movement.

Nothing sends terror trickling faster through the corridors of Wall Street and Washington, D.C., than the specter of an anti-capitalist, multi-issue, internationalist antiwar movement in the U.S.

The system can absorb a large single-issue movement that folds up shop when the shooting ends for a while. But a movement that grasps the connection between imperialist terror abroad and a home front beset with a permanent war economy, soaring unemployment, inflation, homelessness, hunger, racism, sexism, homophobia, political repression, and union-smashing—now *there* is a grasp that's dangerous.

Mass radicalization is the greatest fear of the ruling class and the best weapon for stopping the next war wherever it erupts.

The ranks of the antiwar movement are, as ever, ahead of their leaders; the reflex of the ranks is multi-issueism. What we need to do is fight for our right to speak about multi-issueism in an *anti-capitalist* context. No one else is going to do that.

Enough already with rostrums filled with bourgeois feminists, Democrat careerists, treacherous liberals, unctuous preachers, and undercover or single-issue radicals enamored with popularity but secretive about program. FSP and RW represent the only upfront anti-capitalist wing of the movement; we demand equal time!

If we maintain a steady propaganda campaign around the war/capitalism/austerity connection, we will reach those of like mind, who have been silenced by the bureaucrats. Our job is to spot the real people and work with them patiently and confidently to push the movement leftward and to swell our own ranks.

We were acknowledged leaders and spokespersons of the movement during Vietnam. We did it before and we can do it again.

Prepare for an Independent Labor Party in the U.S.

The call for a workers' party—or, as it is popularly called in the U.S., a Labor Party—could not be more timely.

In their thirst for majority appeal, the Democrats are racing to the right, chasing after the Republican constituency and rapidly shedding their undeserved image as representatives of "special interests," i.e., labor and the specially oppressed. This rush to the rear, plus their pro-war stance, are shattering the illusion that workers and the poor can find shelter or welcome in the folds of that moribund party.

to next page



Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, April 22, 1989. Over 1,200 people from all over the Pacific Northwest gathered here to protest Aryan Nation fuhrer Richard Butler's Nazi skinhead convention celebrating Hitler's 100th birthday.

to smash the FSP has turned into its opposite—it has become a national and even international rallying point against red-baiting, government snooping, and the intimidation tactics of the right.

Far from sully our reputation or injuring our fundraising, the case has won us widespread if sometimes grudging admiration and endorsement, and we earned every bit of it by strenuously defending our right to a gift freely given and put to use as promised. By exposing the McCarthyite motives and tactics of the Snedigar cabal and by our patent determination to go to jail rather than surrender First Amendment rights, we garnered overwhelming support for our principle and defiance, and we isolated Snedigar. He has no positive support, even from bureaucrats and opponents who hate us and grumble about our case.

Our tenacity and passionate belief in the justice of our cause, and the unbelievably dedicated and relentless labors of the legal and outreach teams, brought us this far.

Victory is assured so long as we keep expanding our circle of support and demonstrating our intransigence. We will be eventually vindicated by the very legal system that Snedigar *et al.* intended to use to smash us.

The year 1988 will be a pivotal one in this historic courtroom battle. The judicial system absolutely refuses to give us a hearing on our First Amendment issues, despite repeated confrontations over our refusal to turn over privileged information. So be it. We've been blocked and stymied before, but our membership is wholly committed to seeing this fight through, and it shows! We shall muster the resources to triumph...we shall remain invincible!

Still, it takes even more than correct policy and magnificent fighters to win a war like this one. It takes money, broad-scale people-power, and getting the word out endlessly and creatively. Over \$65,000 has already been expended in legal fees, and thousands more on PR and informing our supporters and the media.

Fundraising, therefore, must be at the top of our to-do list.

We have hired an energetic and effective *case coordinator*, but she is as yet only part-time. To obtain more money, publicity, speaking engagements, and endorsements, and to build a strong defense committee, which is highly impor-

relatively unimpaired.

Send a Party Delegation to Nicaragua

The unfolding, tortuous Nicaraguan revolution is the most decisive political event in North America.

Like the 1959 Cuban Revolution, the Sandinista phenomenon is a pole of attraction for every progressive who thinks there might be a better way to organize society than cutthroat capitalism. This fact explains the fascination the revolution holds for people around the globe and why so many Americans visit there yearly.

A revolt against U.S. imperialism captures the hearts and minds and affinities of millions.

Sending a party delegation to Nicaragua is long overdue. It is a vital aspect of our own education and our task of building a radical antiwar movement. We simply cannot speak with the same authority as those who have seen the revolution firsthand and can back up their opinions on what it means and where it is correct or misguided.

We need to go there ourselves in order to learn and observe—and also to demonstrate support and to help.

The party has a unique position in the American Left regarding the Sandinistas' disastrous Indian policy and their reliance on liberal Democrats to forestall U.S. intervention, which has a crippling impact on the antiwar movement. The Sandinistas need to hear from us on these and other questions, and we could learn much in direct discussion with Nicaraguan feminists, Indians, unionists, officials, artists, and radicals of all breeds.

A priceless opportunity for intervention and learning beckons. If we don't travel now, we will pay for it later.

Run Candidates for Office

The '80s offer the party a golden opportunity to throw its hat in the electoral ring.

Disgust with both capitalist parties is snowballing, as evidenced by the low voter turnout in November 1986 and ever since. Only 37% of the electorate

cialist ticket. Each alternative has advantages and disadvantages.

Electoral coalitions can present a strong and attractive *leftwing alternative* to the capitalist parties.

They provide an arena for *collaboration* with other Left parties and independent radicals.

They offer opportunities for *clarifying ideas* through discussion and debate among radicals on program and strategy.

They *strengthen* the Left.

They give a campaign a *broad base* from which to build support.

They engender media interest.

But they are also enormously time-consuming and nerve-wracking, tricky to get off the ground, and difficult to hold together.

Mounting a campaign for an FSP candidate, on the other hand, gives the party a *free hand* in developing the program, scheduling the candidates, utilizing fully the priceless PR opportunities, and focusing on *recruitment*. We have the advantage of knowing that once we undertake such an effort, we will finish it.

But we would have to organize the campaign by ourselves, even with help from supporters, and this effort is expensive and draining.

In either case, we must start working NOW to establish the FSP as an electoral party. Workers and the media take a political party seriously only if it com-

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The rightward drift of the Democrats is bound to become more pronounced as the presidential election nears. The Rainbow Coalition was barely tolerated the first time around; it will be given even shorter shrift by the party machine the second time. Said an unnamed senior Democratic strategist in the April 20, 1986 *Chicago Tribune*: "The only candidate who can win not only the nomination but the election is the one who can tell Jesse to buzz off."

A similar buzz-off message will no doubt be delivered to labor as well.

This is good news for U.S. radicals. The accelerated erosion of the Democratic Party—the traditional mechanism of equilibrium between the rulers and the middle caste—opens up new opportunities for education and agitation around the need to form a party of, by, and for working people.

Now, when we speak of an independent workers' party, what exactly are we talking about? A Labor Party of the type found in Europe, Canada, Australia, and elsewhere?

Hopefully not. While these parties originally sprang out of the demand for a union-based electoral alternative to the big bourgeois parties, they were quickly saddled with social democratic leaderships and roped into serving as the loyal opposition and pillars of the status quo. They exist today to maintain a reformist equilibrium in the class struggle while their leaders assist in managing the bourgeois state. They are far to the right of the workers they claim to represent and in whose eyes they are largely discredited.

These established labor parties are analogous to Democrats in the U.S., with one important difference: Democrats are backed by big business just as heartily as Republicans. They may take union money to help pay campaign expenses, but no formal obligation to labor goes with it, and precious little union power over elected officials derives from it.

Unlike the labor parties abroad, the Democratic Party is avowedly *bourgeois*, openly created and controlled to serve capitalist interests. U.S. "democracy" has historically had the resources to forestall and coopt efforts to build workers' parties; the government promotes, via the Democrats, the myth that everyone can be equal under the system.

That myth needs to be punctured for good by providing an *alternative* to it, one that appeals to the growing desire among workers for independence from ruinous bourgeois party policies.

Existing labor parties around the world are wholly identified with pro-capitalist reformism—or, more precisely,

In the U.S., the concept of a workers' party is, as yet, to the left of most workers. In fact, much of the importance of organizing for such a party lies in how it would spur development of the proletarian *class-consciousness* that U.S. workers lack. Formation of a U.S. workers' party presupposes a *break* with reformism and its custodians, the Democrats.

U.S. voters would love an alternative to the twin-party shell game, as the less-than-30% election turnout proves. Proof also is Jesse Jackson's popularity in the current presidential campaign. His themes—corporate greed and the need for social justice—have struck a nerve in the electorate; he has drawn the biggest and most enthusiastic crowds of all the candidates. His candidacy shows the colossal impact that an independent workers' party could have on U.S. politics.

When the Democrats shunt Jackson aside a second time, perhaps more U.S. radicals will realize that the only road to impact and influence on the electorate is precisely an independent party.

Inevitably, in the surge toward a U.S. Labor Party, left-leaning sectors of the middle caste will scramble to climb aboard and take control. It's up to radicals to wage a fight inside the party to ensure that the most oppressed workers' interests are truly represented.

Given that forming a workers' party in the U.S. almost certainly depends on a radical shift in the political climate, the chances are excellent that radicals could successfully fight for leadership.

In any case, just as in Europe, etc., there is no going around labor's middle caste in building an independent, revolutionary workers' movement. The task for radicals, whether inside or outside a workers' party, remains to wean workers away from class-collaboration illusions and win them toward revolutionary politics. This may mean building alternatives to existing labor parties, or working within them to topple the social democratic leadership, or working within and without as a radical alternative to reformism. However it's done, it means a direct struggle with the middle caste for the hearts and minds of the working class.

An independent third party would provide, for the reasons above, the most favorable arena for a radical struggle

that carries U.S. workers straight past all constrictions of a labor party into a revolutionary socialist party, a far more decisive answer to the Democrats and Republicans.

FSP should introduce resolutions in our unions calling for a Labor Party and also launch a public educational campaign around the workers' party, drawing in unionists, socialists, movement activists, and promising youth. This is much easier to do between presidential elections, before the labor generals get their forces lined up to ram through an early endorsement of the Democratic hopeful, and before liberals start their quadrennial shrieking about the coming Armageddon should a Republican win.

Nevertheless, as scandals in the White House unfold by the hour, and Democratic presidential hopefuls hit the

ists all over the world. As conceived by Trotsky and Lenin, the united front strategy serves several purposes.

Unity

The united front is the organizational means for attaining united action.

All workers, regardless of political affiliation or views, know that solidarity is the best way to advance their aims and fight a powerful enemy.

Mass Struggle

The united front is the road to mass action.

By combining the forces of workers' parties, unions, and mass movement groups, the united front opens up the possibility of massive struggle against bosses, government, and reactionaries.

This popular struggle in and of itself is radicalizing. Wrote Trotsky:

... The greater is the mass drawn into the movement, the higher its self-confidence rises, all the more self-confident will that mass movement be

and all the more resolutely will it be capable of marching forward, however modest may be the initial slogans of struggle. This means that growth of the mass aspects of the movement tends to radicalize it, and creates much more favorable conditions for the slogans, methods of struggle, and in general, the leading role of the Communist Party.²

Leadership Selection

The united front offers revolutionaries a chance to reach reformist and pseudo-radical organizations, to work with them, and to let them see for themselves which leadership is most resolute, most capable of defending their interest, and most sensible! Wrote Trotsky:

We are, apart from all other considerations, interested in dragging the reformists from their asylums and placing them alongside ourselves before the eyes of the struggling masses. With a correct tactic we stand only to gain from this.³

Trotsky also pointed out the difficulties in united front work.

The middle caste leadership has a gut-level antagonism to united, concerted action because they "dread the revolutionary potential of the mass movement." Reaching agreement on how the front will function, and around what issues, is difficult. Bureaucrats instinctively detest mass action.

"In many cases," wrote Trotsky, "perhaps even the majority of cases, organizational agreements will be only half-attained or perhaps not at all." Even when agreement is achieved, the united front may be sabotaged or held back. In such a case, the party is not bound to an absolute discipline in action with the front, and may have to break with it in order to lead the struggle independently.

Despite these difficulties, Trotsky urged the Third International to "assume the initiative in securing unity in these current struggles."

We must raise the united front strategy in the unions, with other Left parties, and in the mass movement. As coalitions, committees, and ad hoc groups proliferate, the capacity to combine forces expands. We must go to the middle caste and propose it at the same time as we organize the ranks to push for it.

Even if we are unsuccessful in this or that instance, the party will prove its commitment to defending the working class. And that will be remembered.

Existing labor parties are identified with pro-capitalist reformism—and today with taking away reforms because of austerity programs. But in the U.S., forming a workers' party presupposes a break with class-collaboration illusions.

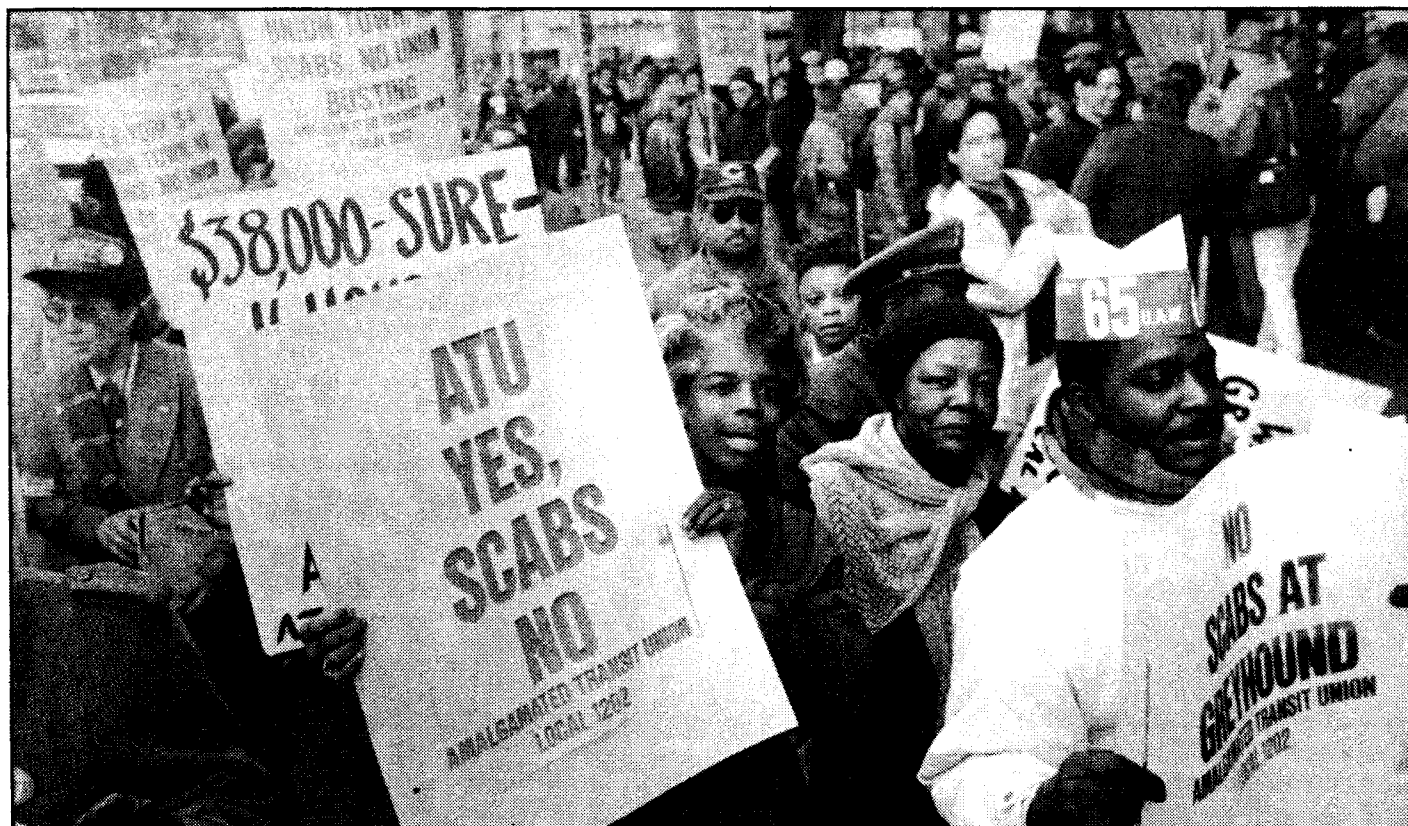
dust daily, this is a great time to highlight the corruption of the two-party system and to pose the workers' party alternative and its glowing prospects.

Form a United Front Against Reaction

Unions, the Left, and all the oppressed and afflicted are not united in a common effort to repulse the assaults on them. Each defense is built from ground zero by those under the gun. The mushrooming multiplicity of fronts stretches the resistance forces unmercifully.

To the demoralizing strategy of fighting each new outrage seriatim, the party counterposes the call for a multi-issue united front standing ready to move quickly on a broad range of concerns.

A united front is composed of a variety of workers' organizations "marching separately and striking jointly" against capitalist reaction. The front is closed to no one—professionals, students, politicians, business people—but its *program*



A picture that speaks for itself: strikers battle Greyhound Company's union-busting efforts in New York City.

they are identified today with *taking away* reforms because of capitalist austerity programs. This isn't the type of workers' party we advocate. We want one that will truly represent the interests of working people, the poor, women, people of color, lesbians and gays—all the left-outs and have-nots of U.S. society.

against the U.S. labor bureaucracy.

We may soon find out: the Democratic Party is a sinking ship, and calls are being raised across the land for some sort of independent electoral action.

It should be noted that social and economic crisis and the disaffection with the twin parties may take on a momen-

and leadership must serve working class interests. Otherwise, it will be sabotaged by the liberal bourgeoisie and funneled into capitalist politics.

Trotsky and Lenin developed the united front strategy in the years following the Russian Revolution, when the Third International guided revolution-



VI: The Socialist Feminist Future

The year 1988 marks the 71st anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Seventy years is a raindrop in the ocean of human history. And yet how much has been achieved in so short a time! Fully one-half the people of the world have overthrown capitalism and are striving for a socialist democracy. The other half are chafing under the outworn profit system, expecting liberties that it cannot and will not grant. All the while, capitalism is running out of steam.

The human races closer than it has ever been to driving the usurpers and exploiters off the face of the earth. Humanity is also closer to annihilation—but that in itself is a powerfully compelling reason to vanquish the ruling class!

In the race against time, we have every historical and logical reason to put our confidence in humanity. The people have always struggled against odds for survival. And won! And, in the process, a limitless diversity of culture, art, beauty and knowledge has been created. To save all this from destruction, and to preserve the potential for far greater achievements, is worth fighting for. And people do. Everywhere. All the time.

The FSP can take great pride in being a part of this colossal struggle for survival and freedom. We have kept the faith, as the Black Panthers used to say; we have not caved in to the pessimists, doomsayers, defeatists and cynics, ever ready to give up on humankind because *they* have no will to fight. We have helped create in theory and practice the foundations for a truly egalitarian socialist society where both sexes and people of all colors, cultures, nations, sexual orientations, ages and physical capabilities can learn from each other and share a life that is richer and more meaningful due to the interaction. We have courageously taught others to fight and have stood fast with them. We have evinced the sheer audacity to think that revolution in the heartland of imperialism is not only necessary but possible and indicated!

Socialist feminism is for now. But it's also ahead of its time. And that's the way

it should be, because the party is the advance guard of the future. And with every passing day, the future rushes forward to meet us.

All around the world, a multi-hued assembly of the planet's forgotten, put-down, and excluded is moving to the fore. And what the party has always maintained—that the most oppressed will lead the way to a world fit for human habitation—is actually unfolding:

From the jungles and mountains of Central America to the high plateaus of the arid southwestern United States, where indigenous peoples are fighting the giant multi-nationals which poison our life and the environment.

From the shantytowns of South Africa to the college towns of the U.S., where Blacks are grinding apartheid into the dust.

From the sun-drenched Philippine islands to the dark sweatshops of tenements in Chinatown, where Asian/Pacific workers combat tyranny and exploitation.

From the U.S./Mexico border towns

to the kangaroo courts of the Immigration Naturalization Service, where Chicanos and Mexicanos fight for their right to earn a living without regard to borders.

From the battle fronts of the disabled and elderly who demand that all humans be judged by what they *can* do, not by what they can't, to the front lines of the struggle against the worldwide AIDS plague, where lesbians and gay men tackle fear-engendered prejudice and hatred.

In these and many, many more struggles, the most afflicted are out in front. And interwoven with each and every one of these struggles is the dynamic role played by the women of the world, the second sex which is taking first place in the Survival of Humanity Sweepstakes.

To paraphrase Pogo, we have met the future and the future is us. As Crisis and Opportunity so beautifully and powerfully declared: "The world belongs to the class that draws from it the means of survival for the race. And the future belongs to those who envision, prepare and fight for it."



Designed by Helen Gilbert & Barb Mulligan, photograph of Palestinians by Bill Biggart, Impact Visuals

Footnotes

1. James Cannon, *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II* (New York: Pathfinder Press), 91.
2. From a report "On The United Front," written by Trotsky for the February 1922 plenum of the Executive Committee of the Third International.
3. Ibid.

Correction

In Part Two of "Towards the '90s" (*FS* Volume 11 #4), we incorrectly designated the American Indian Movement's 1973 stand at Wounded Knee, South Dakota as an "occupation." In fact, AIM had been invited to Wounded Knee by the family of a murdered Native American and by other area Indians seeking help dealing with corrupt tribal officials. The 71-day siege was created by FBI agents who surrounded an AIM meeting and lied that AIM was holding hostages—the first move in a full-scale government military invasion of the Pine Ridge Reservation.

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

Radical Women

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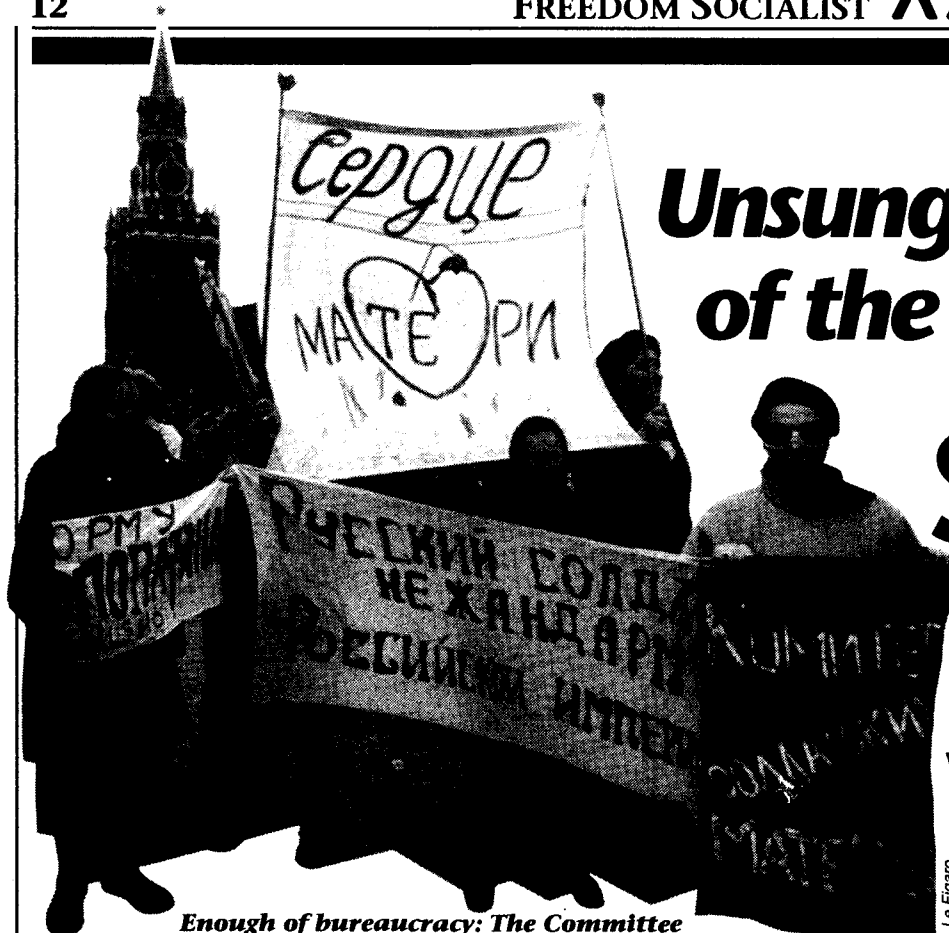
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Enough of bureaucracy: The Committee of Mothers of Victims of Army Brutality demonstrate in Moscow.

Unsung heroines of the shakeup

Soviet working women

datation: maternity houses, creches, kindergartens, schools, social dining rooms, social laundries... The complete absorption of the housekeeping functions of the family by institutions of the socialist society... were to bring to women... a real liberation from the thousand-year-old fetters...

It proved impossible to take the old family by storm... Unfortunately society proved too poor and little cultured. The actual liberation of women is unrealizable on the basis of "generalized want."

Want, worsened by prolonged Soviet isolation, did provide for the "liberation" of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the early 1920s, however, enabling it to take hold of the state as a gen-

darme bringing "order" to the general chaotic scramble for existence.

As policeman, the bureaucrat stood first in line for life's good things. And so, despite the crying need for change, above all a timely revolution or two in the West to break the chains of capitalist encirclement, the Stalinist watchwords became "don't upset the applecart." In 1924, Stalin proclaimed "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism and "socialism in one country," the USSR, as bottom-line Marxist-Leninist policy.

We deserve a break today, said the bureaucrats. Unfortunately, their self-indulgence failed to conjure away the imperialist threat—though it did allow the West to hold onto the world's wealth while the Soviet Union stumbled along in tatters for decades.

Soviet workers hadn't made a revolution just to be handed the old beggar's bowl, so Stalin had to create a full-fledged police dictatorship to keep them in line. This he did, suppressing, jailing and murdering millions. Down came the truncheons on Trotskyists, peasants, writers, artists, critics... The USSR became a vast prison-house.

Women were thrown into maximum security.

Stalin outlawed abortion and curtailed divorce in the mid-'30s. Homosexuality was criminalized. Women's mission became once again—in addition to the galley labor of "socialist construction"—the care and feeding of husbands and children at home.

Stalin kicked women halfway back to the old czarist regimen. Gorbachev and the pro-marketeters would now like to finish the job.

Women rising. The hallmarks of anti-bureaucratic resistance today are workers' demands for democracy, consumers' demands for an end to long lines, and an increasingly feminist critique of myriad social evils. These points of resistance, embodied in the stirring of women, will power the emerging socialist opposition to Moscow.

Women will lead the politically revolutionary reclaiming of the workers state by the workers.

Women, poorest of the poor, will realize more quickly than men that poverty is all that can come from "coexistence" with the West and that, for the East to live, capitalism must perish.

Soviet workers are headed for a face-off with the bureaucrats and global profiteers. In the process, they'll reach out to U.S. and European workers. Charged up by the Soviets' struggle for control of their own state, the workers of the West will respond with upsurges of their own.

Who will move first? The most ill-used and militant workers, women, just as in the East. Feminist resolve will unite the workers against the bosses and bureaucrats.

This is the blueprint for the liberation of women and working humanity, East and West. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN

they willingly submit to being domestic shut-ins and slaves.

Consider this news item: "Bonn fears German reunification will snag on the abortion issue." East German women, who have had untrammelled access to free abortion on demand, face losing that access as restrictive West German statutes become the law of the land. The women are up in arms—a fact Bonn admits is more worrisome than all the economic and military questions attending reunification.

Bonn had better worry. So should Washington and Tokyo. The abortion was brewing in Germany are but a foretaste of conflicts to come in the workers states as the West tries to herd working women there to the market.

Let's see how this is so with Soviet women, whose situation exemplifies that of all East bloc women in so many essential ways.

Blaming the victim. Soviet society today can best be characterized as a wanton daily insult to workers and consumers. And it is women who bear the brunt: who sweat in the long lines outside the empty stores, and in dead-end grunt jobs; who receive two-thirds men's wages for equal work in mid-echelon jobs; who are excluded from the top spots in professions and government; who come home after work to keep house while their husbands read the paper and get drunk.

Guess who supplied the pressure that finally blew the lid off the bureaucrats' misrule.

Gorbachev's solution to Stalinist dry rot has been to try to usher in capitalist-style "correctives" to the economy. This has involved attempts to withdraw state support for "unprofitable" enterprises and, lately, for price controls on food.

Recent worst-case scenarios predict 40 million Soviet unemployed should the correctives take hold.

Most of these would be women, the low-tech, "outmoded" workers—which is why the bureaucracy has been trying to shove women back to their "mission" inside the home full-time.

Let's forget

for a moment that this is impossible, that the economy would pancake if women weren't there doing their work. This hasn't stopped the Soviet press from blaming "over-emancipated, masculinized women" for everything from juvenile delinquency to divorce to demasculinized men.

Perestroika has been stalled for some time, of course; every time Gorbachev stumps the country for support, the workers tell him they won't stand for being dumped out of their jobs or having to pay triple prices for bread.

The loudest curses and most comprehensive critiques come from the women. They have most to say, natch, about impending unemployment and pay inequities, the long lines and scarce and shoddy merchandise. At one stroke they unite the concerns and outrage of producers and consumers—a potent fusion of interests. They round out the indictments by laying bare the real, systemic cause of growing social malaise.

Listen to Olga Lipovskaya, Leningrad feminist, editor of the journal *Women's Reading*, and an activist in the oppositional Democratic Union:

Women are now being blamed for all the problems of the family... They are still seen as responsible for domestic life, for child care. They share the burden on the job, then when they come home they take all the burden of domestic chores upon themselves.

Women are blamed for the plight of abandoned children. There are so many children... who are abandoned by their mothers... Nobody considers the conditions that force women to do this. Sometimes they just don't have a place to live... often they're not married and the father refuses to take responsibility.

It's the system's fault but women are blamed...

Poverty. Lipovskaya hits the nail on the head when she says that "The root of the problem... is the poverty of the country."

Yes indeed. It's too widely forgotten now that immediately after the October Revolution the Bolsheviks tried mightily to eradicate women's second-class status. As Trotsky outlined in *The Revolution Betrayed* in 1936:

...The young government not only gave [women] all political and legal rights in equality with men, [it] did all that it could... actually to secure [their] access to all forms of economic and cultural work... The revolution [planned] a finished system of social care and accommo-

As Stalinism disintegrates in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, women there are key to the future.

Think about what it means as the vultures come winging in from the West to tear down and then to "rebuild" the East to capitalist specifications: state industries, price controls, and social welfare programs face being gutted; the East stands to become a glorified sweat-shop zone for runaway Western industries. As industry in East Germany folds, an estimated 1.4 million workers will be tossed onto the street, some to starve, others to be plucked to work for peanuts for capitalists. Meanwhile, housing and food costs are expected to triple and childcare is already drying up as plant doors swing shut. Who's suffering most? Women, the mothers, the lowest-paid "expendables" of the workforce.

Then there's the resurrection of patriarchal mores to justify shunting women out of social production. Solidarity's right wing has allied with the Catholic Church to try to get abortion outlawed in Poland. Lech Walesa is promising to "eliminate" homosexuality there. Gorbachev, hesitant pro-market champion, is still seeking ways to ease women back into the home—to "fulfill their womanly mission"—so the state won't have to absorb the cost of unemployment in the wake of Soviet restructuring.

Stalinism has been anything but a paradise for East bloc women, but capitalism would kick them straight back to hell and they know it. And no way will

FSP

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