



**Colonialism goes
"humanitarian"
in Somalia and Haiti**

Editorial page 10



**Special supplement:
"New world order"
sets globe ablaze**

Page 5

The **Freedom Socialist**
Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

Dec. 1993 - Feb. 1994

Volume 14, Number 4

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UNEMPLOYMENT

Your pain is corporate gain

BY LINDA AVERILL

Productivity is up. More than ever, U.S. labor is generating increased bang for the buck. That's the good news.

The bad news is that living standards and wages are falling; good jobs are disappearing.

An American Management Association survey showed that 47 percent of major businesses axed staff from mid-1992 to mid-1993; cuts averaged 10.4 percent.

One-third of U.S. workers now have only part-time or temporary jobs. By the year 2000, that fraction is expected to grow to half.

Downsizing, rightsizing, re-engineering. These are the newly coined euphemisms that corporate spin doctors are using for today's sweeping layoffs. And while President Clinton is promising more jobs, his top advisers aren't so confident.

Laura Tyson, head of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, acknowledged that a rise in Gross Domestic Product in 1992 did not translate into a rise in jobs — although it did boost profits.

"Nobody is safe" is how Labor Secretary Robert Reich bluntly summarized the situation for workers.

The phenom-

- The low productivity of U.S. workers is a myth. Since 1947, factory output in the U.S. has soared 400% — with only a 17% increase in the workforce.
- From 1973 to 1992, real wages fell 19%.
- During the 1980s, annual incomes for the richest 20% of Americans rose 14.7%, while for the poorest 20% they dropped 3.6%.
- A survey of 35,242 companies in 1990 and 1991 showed that even when openings for whites increased, African Americans lost a net 59,479 jobs.
- 900,000 factory jobs have disappeared since January 1991.
- In the first six months of 1993, 60% of new jobs were part-time.

Sources — Federal Reserve Board; AFL-CIO News; House Ways and Means Committee; EEOC; Bureau of Labor Statistics; Economic Policy Institute.

enon is global. A 1993 survey found that more than half of Europe's biggest companies intend to send workers packing in the next two years, in even greater numbers than has occurred so far in the U.S.

Karl Marx — not a presidential adviser — explained this high-anxiety trend scientifically. He meticulously proved that the private enterprise system increasingly impoverishes workers with each technological advance — that, *under capitalism*, productivity

becomes the workers' enemy. Owners take for themselves the extra value created and use the greater efficiency to cut back on labor.

Marx's understanding of this fundamental feature of the profit system led him to fight for its replacement with socialism, where the means of production are owned and controlled by workers. Only then will all members of society enjoy the expanding wealth they produce.

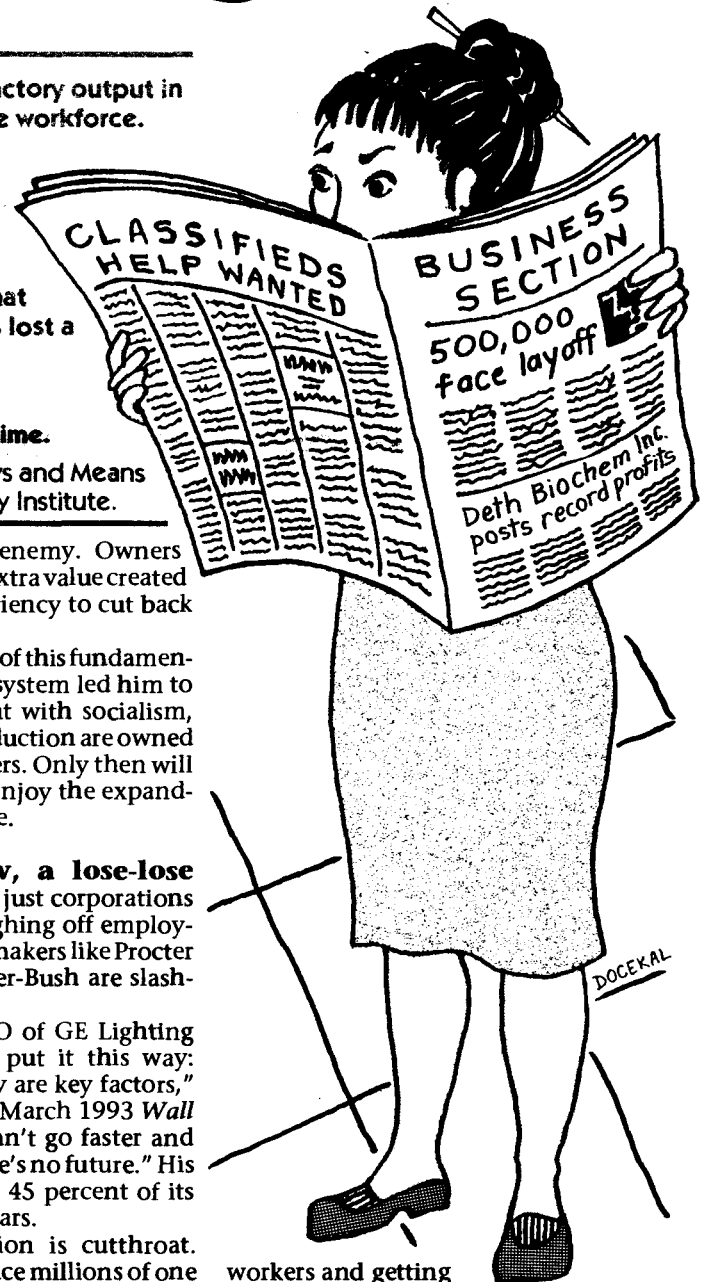
For all but a few, a lose-lose proposition. It's not just corporations in trouble that are sloughing off employees. Huge, stable profit-makers like Procter & Gamble and Anheuser-Bush are slashing jobs.

In Hungary, the CEO of GE Lighting Europe and Tungram put it this way: "Speed and productivity are key factors," said Charles Peiper in a March 1993 *Wall Street Journal*. "If you can't go faster and take the cost down, there's no future." His company plans to shed 45 percent of its workforce over three years.

Capitalist competition is cutthroat. Factories that can produce millions of one product in a millisecond have glutted world markets. Thus survival depends on producing goods ever more cheaply.

But this scenario has rock-bottom contradictions.

Businesses must expand or die, so their expenses for raw materials and capital improvements must also expand. Only labor costs can be reduced, either by hiring fewer



workers and getting more out of each, or by paying them less.

And a worker paid less today, or a worker in the unemployment line, is a penniless consumer tomorrow.

Marxists call this the crisis of overproduction.

This syndrome led to the Great Depression in the 1930s, and it took world war to

to page 3

Dateline Canada

Proof positive that NAFTA kills jobs

BY MARCEL HATCH AND DYLAN KENDRICK

October 5, 1987 was a fateful day for Canadians. That was the day that Canada's Tory Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney, handed the country over to U.S. multinational corporations. That was the day he signed the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the U.S. and Canada.

The FTA binds every Canadian citizen to it. It can strike down domestic laws that protect health, jobs, and the environment. It gives U.S. businesses access to the air above, minerals below, and water running through Native lands.

And the FTA experience leaves no doubt that the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) among the U.S., Canada, and Mexico would be a disaster for the workers of all three countries.

These pacts are weapons of class

warfare. Faced with global recession and shrinking or impoverished markets, today's multinationals are scrambling to save their profits. Degrading labour is their only solution, and the FTA and NAFTA are means to this end. An international workingclass united front is the only force capable of upsetting their plans.

FTA's violent impact. The FTA has created a mine field of calamities for poor and working people.

Mulroney pledged that the FTA would bring "jobs, jobs, jobs." But since FTA's implementation in 1988, more than 1.6 million jobs have gone, gone, gone. Permanent unemployment hovers above 14 percent. Canada's manufacturing sector has shrunk 28 percent, the result of companies moving operations to the southern U.S. or Mexico, where labour is cheaper, regulations more lax, and environmental standards lower.

to page 3

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In This Issue

Vol. 14, No. 4

Dec. 1993-Feb. 1994

La causa after Chávez 11

The Chicana/o movement: How can it regain its grass-roots grounding, fiery spirit, and inspirational impact? Activist, analyst, and author Yolanda Alaniz offers some penetrating answers.



Talking about a revolution 4



Freedom Socialist Party conventioners took an unsparing look at the world and the party. Despite war and hard times, they reached profoundly optimistic conclusions.

International	Special supplement
Dateline Canada:	"Careening toward the new world" 5
"Free trade" 1	
FSP Convention 4	
Dateline Australia:	Features
Women in prison 10	Poetry by
East Europe tour 12	Nellie Wong 9
	Editorials
National	Haiti & Somalia 10
Unemployment 1	Russia 10
Sandy Nelson vs. 3	Middle East 10
The News Tribune 3	Clara Fraser 11
Melba Windoffer 11	Voices of Color 11

Freedom Socialist Credo

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

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

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

We focus on women's non-stop fight for equality which, in the final analysis, challenges every single basis on which capitalism rests.

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

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Letters

Palestine

The "Voices of Color" column on Palestinian expellees [V14#3] was very good, and badly needed.

I'm curious, though, if the column ordinarily refers to *writers* of color, or simply articles *about* people of color. If the former, why is an Israeli-American Jew considered a person of color?

Phyllis Bennis
Brooklyn, New York

"Voices of Color" is a regular column coordinated and usually authored by the National Comrades of Color Caucus of the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women, whose members are all people of color. The caucus at times invites Jewish writers to address issues because of the close links between racism and anti-Semitism. —Ed.

No solutions

The article [on Palestine and Israel] tells half of the story... Whether of the extreme right or of the far left — extremism is a place of intellectual and spiritual uncenteredness... Each side knows the solutions to the world's problems. There are no solutions — just life as it continues.

MB

Black nationalism

I thought "Ebony and Ivory" [Clara Fraser, V14#3] was a particularly obnoxious example of racist paternalism(?) (maternalism?)...and a good reason for the continuing necessity of self-determination ("nationalism") being uppermost in the liberation strategy of both oppressed people and progressive whites.

I suggest you study "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism" by Lenin if you want to see how an authentic Marxist approaches the contradiction between oppressor and oppressed nations.

Michael Novick
Van Nuys, California

It is through studying Lenin — as well as Black and other theoreticians — that the FSP arrived at our conclusions about the revolutionary but non-national nature of the Black liberation struggle in the U.S. —Ed.

Critical support

I am always glad to see supportive articles about Cuba [V14#3]...

But I am amazed when the author calls for "expanding democracy"... Two hundred foreign

observers affirmed the legitimacy of elections in February... As a participant in this year's May Day celebrations in Havana, I could feel the people's love for Fidel...

Barnes' assertion that the Cuban government needed to challenge the embargo is mystifying... He should have mentioned the United Nations vote in Nov. 1992, wherein the world made clear its disapproval of that blockade.

Despite these criticisms, I was glad to read Barnes' article, especially his mention of the Pastors for Peace caravans. My subscription is enclosed. Venceremos!

Maura Baird
Santa Cruz, California

L.A. show trial backfires

In the LA Four+ trial, the prosecution tried to scapegoat two young Black men for the explosion of rage in L.A. in April 1992. Because of non-stop, broad-based community organizing led by the defendants' mothers, which Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party were a part of, they didn't get away with it.

The trial was never about whether Damian Williams and Keith Watson assaulted Reginald Denny. It was about whether people have a right to rebel against centuries of police terror, legal injustice, and unrelenting economic deprivation. In the last decade, state repression has been directed most heavily against youths of color, because they're the most openly rebellious. They're also the least organized and therefore the most vulnerable targets.

The trial was mounted to justify intensified police spying on L.A. activists and to re-enforce the ruling-class morality of repressive violence against our morality of self-respect and self-defense.

The trial was a sham. The judge was an ex-cop. The prosecutors' key "evidence" was a 30-minute collage of spliced film taken off 41 videotapes over seven hours. The press consistently refused to publicize the defense's arguments. And only five courtroom seats were open to the public. Even so, a jury, representative of L.A.'s multi-racial populace, voted not guilty on most counts.

This trial's impact isn't over. An incurably corrupt justice system and a crumbling economy are being roundly exposed, and

public cynicism is turning into burning outrage. And that's where rebellion and revolution — our constitutional right — come from.

Monica Hill, Organizer
Freedom Socialist Party
Los Angeles, California

ADL spying

It has recently come to light that the Anti-Defamation League, a longtime Jewish civil rights organization, has been spying on the labor unions, Left, and anti-Nazi activists, and selling/sharing the information with police and the FBI in 20 cities.

As if this weren't bad enough, ADL "factfinder" Roy Bullock sold intelligence about U.S. activists to the Israeli and South African governments.

Bullock spied on the *Freedom Socialist*, Radical Women, United Front Against Fascism and the FSP along with almost 900 other organizations. He subsequently peddled this information to a San Francisco policeman and former Central American CIA agent.

Bullock launched his spy career turning people — mostly radical Jews — over to HUAC during the McCarthy era. Ostensibly hired to spy on Nazis, Bullock straightforwardly says that the Left is the real enemy.

Several civil lawsuits are pending against ADL and the S.F. police, and local coalitions are being formed in Portland and other cities where the cops, working with ADL, illegally gathered intelligence on political activists.

It is essential that the ADL-police spy network be exposed and dismantled. Police agencies in every city with ADL "factfinders" should be forced to open their files to organizations listed among Bullock's targets.

Nothing less than the First Amendment right to associate and organize is at stake.

Fred Hyde
Seattle, Washington

If you would like copies of information compiled by United Front Against Fascism on the ADL network, send \$2.00 to the Freedom Socialist, 5018 Rainier Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118. —Ed.

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

Revolutionary EDUCATION

Hone your knowledge of Marxism! Join a Freedom Socialist Party study group by calling one of the branches listed below.

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The Chicano Struggle: A Racial or National Movement?

Weekly, Tuesdays, 7:15 p.m.-9:00 p.m.
Call 213-413-1350.

New York City

A Socialist Perspective on Electoral Politics

Weekly, Mondays, 7:00 p.m.-9:00 p.m.
Call 212-677-7002.

Portland, Ore.

Weekly, beginning in January, topic and times to be announced. Call 503-228-3090.

San Francisco, Calif.

Trotsky's "Their Morals and Ours"

Weekly, Sundays, 11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m.
Call 415-864-1278.

Seattle, Wash.

Struggle Against Fascism in Germany

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Call 03-387-1843.

Vancouver, Canada

Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

Weekly, Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.-9:00 p.m.
Call 604-688-5195.

Sandy Nelson vs. *The News Tribune* First Amendment covers journalists too, says ACLU suit

Journalist Sandy Nelson promises that the lawsuit she and the American Civil Liberties Union filed this past June will expose the lie of media "objectivity" for what it is — a pretext for discrimination and a ploy by publishers to rob the working press of their First Amendment rights.

"My case is a test between workers and bosses, who would control not just our labor but our thoughts, actions and passions if we let them. Its outcome is critical for all members of the press who are gagged 24 hours a day while their employers freely voice their political beliefs and biases and act politically to further their business interests," Nelson said at a press conference at ACLU headquarters in Seattle.

The suit charges that *The News Tribune*, the daily in Tacoma, Washington, violated employment laws and the state constitution when it yanked Nelson from her beat as education writer in September 1990.

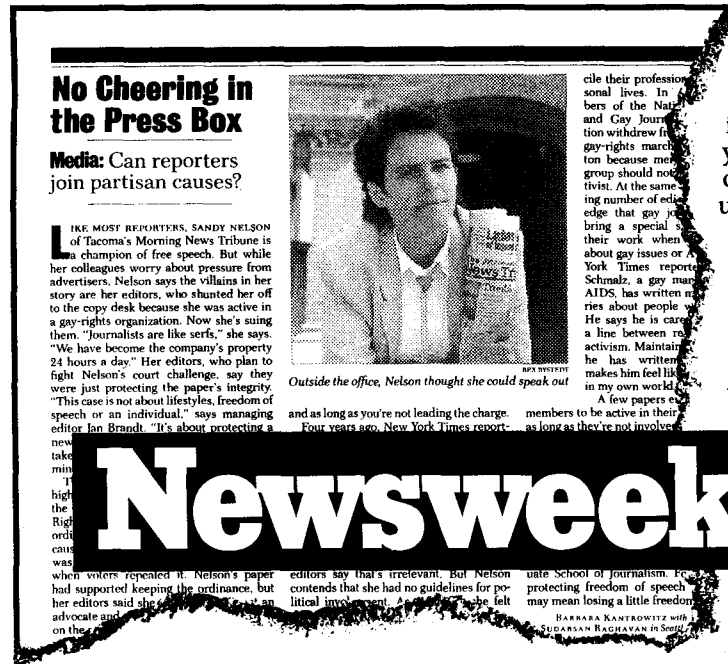
Tribune newsroom managers objected to Nelson's off-duty campaigning for housing and employment rights for gays and lesbians, claiming that her activism damaged TNT's appearance of neutrality. Singling out Nelson to impose a concocted pro-management "ethics" rule, they transferred her permanently to an evening copy-editing job. They then told her that she could only return to reporting if she dropped her political life entirely.

A year later, they busted the workplace union.

"This case is important for all workers in Washington who do not want their employers controlling their off-the-job activities," said ACLU Executive Director Kathleen Taylor.

Rights of writers and readers. Nelson is not only a gay-rights advocate but also a well-known socialist, all-around agitator for civil rights, and organizer for Tacoma Radical Women. The restriction on her constitutionally protected activi-

ties, whether selectively or with a broad brush, they violate the right of readers to know what is happening in the world. They deprive readers of the perspective of reporters who have firsthand experience with the issues of the day."



ties that keeps her at the copy desk is not enforced against other *Tribune* journalists engaged in civic and religious activities outside the office.

"My case is also about the rights of readers and the obligation of the media to inform the public," Nelson says.

"When publishers impose edicts against reporters being involved in community

Media splash. The lawsuit is just the latest avenue for pursuing Nelson's reinstatement. For three years, her defense committee and her union, Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild Local 82, have fought for her reporting job through internal channels, appeals to the National Labor Relations Board, and public pressure on the *Tribune*.

But the filing of the suit by the ACLU finally shattered a virtual blackout of the case by the corporate media. Articles appeared in *Newsweek*, *Washington Journalism Review*, the *Seattle Times*, and the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, as well as in the *Guild Reporter*, *Washington Free Press*, and gay papers in Washington, Oregon, and Pennsylvania. The controversy also became a hot topic on the radio talk show *circuit-nationwide*. *Seattle Times* editorial board member

Terry Tang, an Asian American woman, welcomed Nelson's challenge to the notion that the further reporters withdraw from civic life, the more newspaper credibility grows. She wrote: "Readers can see through empty gestures. What they want is honest reporting that tackles all sides of an issue, not adherence to rigid codes they've never heard of."

Editor and Publisher, a national magazine for newspaper managers, predicted that the case will have a major impact on the media and acknowledged that Nelson has a good shot at winning.

The overwhelming media response to Nelson's suit shows that publishers and broadcasters recognize the threat it poses to their double standard, under which journalists have been expected to be apolitical serfs while their employers lobby, editorialize, hobnob with the rich and powerful and otherwise utilize their tremendous influence.

Powering up for court. Nelson's ACLU attorneys, William Bender and James Lobsenz, are now in the middle of pretrial discovery, the phase of the case in which both sides take depositions from one another to obtain information and establish the areas of conflict that will be hashed out at trial.

The formal pre-trial questioning of Nelson by TNT lawyers, despite some attempted forays into irrelevant matters like the organizational affiliations of other activists, is sharply confirming the ground zero of the case: Do journalists have the same rights to political self-expression as other workers — and as their bosses?

Meanwhile, Nelson's defense committee, in cooperation with the Newspaper Guild, has won the Washington State Labor Council's endorsement. It is stepping up its efforts to gather support and financial contributions from the many unions and community groups that have a stake in winning this vital free-speech fight; an international petition drive is underway.

To be part of this victory-in-the-making, send an endorsement or donation to the Sandy Nelson Defense Fund at P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98415, or call the defense committee at (206)756-9971 to offer other help. □

...Job loss

from the cover

salvage capitalism then.

Now rivalry over markets is again at a peak. Military spending, which buoyed U.S. capitalism in the short run, has undermined it over the long haul. The astronomical deficit drags on the economy. Attempts to reduce it trigger unemployment and recession. Prices continue to rise and out-of-control inflation is a constant threat.

Crisis has become normal.

War on workers sustains the economy. In a bid to regain the profit margin it once enjoyed, U.S. capital launched a government-sponsored assault on workers in the 1980s. The most oppressed and discriminated-against — women, people of color, immigrants, lesbians and gays, the elderly and disabled — came under most severe attack. Now, even high-paid workers are feeling the heat.

The solution of Democrats, Republicans, and the bureaucrats at the head of the labor movement is to "make America more competitive."

But the problem can't be solved by more competition. Competition is the problem.

The real solution is cooperation. The socialist transformation of society to a planned economy run by workers is the only way to create a more just and humane tomorrow. And the first step on that road is an uncompromising fight to alleviate poverty and misery today through pursuing demands like these:

- Create full employment by shortening the work week with no cut in pay.
- Nationalize healthcare, utilities, and other major industries.
- Rebuild the inner cities by dismantling the war machine.

We need an anti-capitalist labor party allied with the social justice movements to begin to turn the tide for working people. There's no time to waste! □

...NAFTA

from the cover

• Industries where women workers are clustered — textiles, food processing, electronics, light manufacturing, clerical, teaching, healthcare — are hardest hit.

• Companies are using threats to shift plants south as leverage to try to win huge wage and benefit concessions.

• Intensified competition is causing small businesses, which employ the majority of Canada's workforce, to go bankrupt at a rate of 75,000 per year. Small farmers are losing their land to U.S. agribusiness at bankruptcy sales.

• The government advertised that the FTA would bring prices down. Instead, costs are soaring.

• U.S. business claims that programs like Canada's healthcare system, which ensures that everybody gets treatment, give Canadian companies unfair advantage. Free abortion, AIDS services, and pre- and post-natal care are all under the gun.

• The number of suicides is up sharply. So is violence against women, people of color, immigrants, and lesbians and gays. Rightwing parties and the fascist movement are growing, as desperate people seek quick answers to Canada's ills.

Pushing as low as they can go. If NAFTA passes, social programs and ecological standards among the three trading partners must be "harmonized" — that is, they will fall to the least common denominator, hurting women and children most. (The sidebar agreements on labour and the environment are vague, full of loopholes, and lacking means of enforcement.)

While harmonization of wages isn't mandated, corporations will use the trade agreement to pit workers in each country against each other nevertheless.

Some proponents claim that NAFTA will "even out" North American wages, stating or implying that NAFTA will actually benefit the lowest-paid workers.

This is a lie. In recent years, Mexico has

gone on a privatization binge in order to attract more international trade. The consequences for Mexican workers have been devastating. Under NAFTA, this downward spiral will worsen in Mexico, and it will envelop Canada and the U.S. also.

Tri-country united front can nix NAFTA. Canadian unions have organized against the FTA and NAFTA. But they are critically hampered by their refusal to clearly identify the fundamental goal of North American capital in cutting these deals: to gain a chokehold on the working class of the whole continent and raise the degree of exploitation to unprecedented levels.

FTA/NAFTA can only be beaten by a united front that is thoroughly working-class in its aims, unwavering in its international solidarity, and willing to confront

the inhumane profit system head-on. A coalition like this can bring together the whole spectrum of groups that "free trade" is out to ruin: unions, First Nations people, family and cooperative farmers, small businesses, and the environmental and civil rights movements.

U.S. workers have a key role to play in this united front because they live in the command center of imperialism. But to realize their incredible potential power, they need an anti-capitalist party of labour.

Who will rise to the challenge of forming such a party? It will be the most oppressed and least corruptible workers — women, lesbians and gays, people of color — the same workers who in each country possess the integrity, influence, and initiative to bust NAFTA and ensure that in winning this struggle all of North American labour rises together. □

Radical Women

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

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

Check us out!



Photos by K. Merrigan/FS

Freedom Socialist Party Convention

Optimistic rebels gear up for a contradictory but promising decade

BY LINDA AVERILL

It's right to be revolutionary — even though sometimes it's no bed of roses. That was the conclusion of those attending the 27-year-old Freedom Socialist Party's 1993 convention, held over the July 4th weekend on beautiful Hood Canal in the mountainous U.S. Pacific Northwest.

For four heady days, socialists and radicals from the U.S., Canada, Guatemala, and Australia examined the tumultuous past five years. Among the topics they discussed:

How did the Soviet shake-up change the climate for world revolution? Who is winning and who is losing in the global war between those who have and those who have not? How can workers create an international movement to terminate the imperialist Terminator?

Also up for discussion was how the intensified political polarization between left and right played itself out *inside* the FSP, when a small, demoralized minority split off and began spouting anti-communist tirades to justify abandoning their socialist ideals.

The convention itself demonstrated that while this FSP splinter flunked the test presented by a difficult era, the rest of the party grew from the same set of expe-

riences, and from the faction fight itself.

In a videotaped speech aired at the beginning of the convention, FSP founder and National Chairperson Clara Fraser credited the FSP's nontraditional program and methods of collective leadership for its survival.

"We're an unconventional party," she said, "the first to boldly proclaim itself socialist *and* feminist, and to publicly and actively seek the leadership of lesbians and gays and people of color. This convention is to sharpen our tools of unconventionality — our analyses and practices."

Global polarization creates both crisis and opportunity. Asian American teacher-poet Merle Woo from San Francisco launched the proceedings on Friday morning, July 2, with an inspiring welcome to the assembled activists from the labor, homeless, antiwar, people of color, feminist, and

Alison Thorne of Australia and Marcel Hatch of Canada. Their presentations helped to anchor the convention's global outlook.

lesbian and gay movements.

Woo told the "subversive" and liberating Native American legend of Raven, who daringly stole the sun from an old man who hoarded it for himself in a box. Raven brought the sun to the earth's people, creating light where before only darkness had existed.

She likened the task of Raven to that of present-day revolutionaries, who must "rise from inhuman

exploitation and second-class citizenship to demand it all."

Freedom Socialist Managing Editor

Andrea Bauer followed Woo with an overview of the Political Resolution, "Careening Toward the New World: Revolt and Revolution in the '90s," an analysis of global affairs which she coauthored with FSP National Secretary Guerry Hoddersen.

Bauer painted a picture of cataclysmic upheaval following the Soviet break-up. On one hand, the toppling of Stalinist bureaucracies across Eastern Europe was a historic victory for workers, one necessary to move world revolution forward.

But because a revolutionary working-class program and party have not yet developed in the former

USSR and its neighbors, rulers bent on capitalist restoration have taken charge.

These developments in Eastern Europe disturbed the worldwide balance of class forces, opening an era of ferocious imperialist aggression.

Paradoxically, "The horrible success of capitalism carries with it the seeds of failure," Bauer said.

"Repression and reaction are breeding revolt, resistance and radicalization, as we saw in the Los Angeles rebellion. All this brings the final conflict closer."

Sick of sell-outs in Australia and Canada. Organizers of FSP sympathizing sections in Australia and Canada endorsed Bauer's perspective in their presentations on the resolution.

Alison Thorne from Melbourne described the draconian austerity measures implemented by the Australia Labor Party (ALP) and by a new conservative regime in the state of Victoria.

Designed to revive the moribund economy, the cutbacks and anti-labor laws generated anger and a near-general strike instead.

The misery caused by the ALP's social-democratic program of "management-labor collaboration" has undermined people's faith in the Labor Party, and many are ready to look elsewhere for leadership, Thorne concluded.

Marcel Hatch from Vancouver, British Columbia motivated stepped-up international cooperation as an important party priority, especially to combat the "free trade" onslaught against U.S., Canadian, and Mexican workers.

He cited as an example FSP's recent success in mobilizing anti-Nazi forces on both sides of the border to confront white

to page 9



Andrea Bauer speaks on the Political Resolution: "Repression and reaction are breeding radicalization and revolt."



FSP National Convention

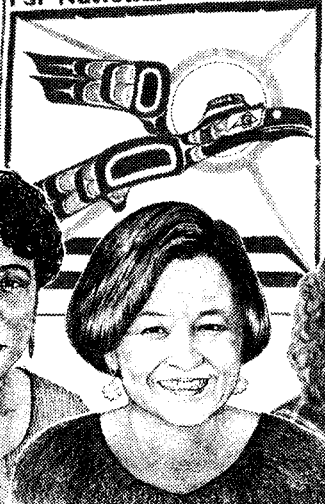


Illustration by John A. Bourque

(L. to r.) Yolanda Alaniz, Nellie Wong, Guerry Hoddersen.

A time for tenacity

Special session explores challenges of building multi-racial, feminist and Leninist party

and lots of conviction, it's still hard to go against the tide for long without being buoyed up by a mass movement.

"We survived because of our feminism and our Trotskyism. We are based on the most oppressed, least corruptible, best layer of fighters — women of color,

gays and lesbians, workingclass and poor white women. And we attract the best men of all colors to fight with us."

Her advice to FSP members? Build confidence by becoming more educated and conscious Marxists — and by raising standards. "How can we run society if we can't conquer our organizational problems?"

Nellie Wong, San Francisco Bay Area FSP Organizer, told the story of her branch's journey to political maturity.

When the conflict with the anti-Leninist faction began, it felt awkward because the branch had developed a superficially cheerful, non-confrontational subculture.

"As long as the former leaders in the branch pulled the strings, we were willing to dance," Wong said. To a large degree,

the members of color didn't assert opinions, and let the leadership remain unaccountable. "We suffered their arrogance to remain politically young and carefree."

The branch faced its weaknesses and blossomed when the defectors quit. "We had to grow up fast and become our own leaders," said Wong.

Yolanda Alaniz, Coordinator of the National Comrades of Color Caucus of FSP and Radical Women, said the faction experience was a wake-up call. "The Bay Area's fight against the faction has become the whole party's fight against our backward tendencies."

Alaniz described this collection of tendencies as a closet filled with out-of-date and ill-fitting clothes. Radicals of color have a particular closet stuffed with the racism, sexism, and homophobia of a society that tries to convince them they are second-class. But it can be countered with a new wardrobe based on confidence in an ideology that says, "It's your destiny to be the vanguard and we can't make a revolution without you."

In FSP's faction fight, the comrades of color rose and saved the day, Alaniz said. She concluded: "We need a vanguard of comrades of color and we need a Bolshevik vanguard party. It's a duo that cannot be broken and cannot be beat." □

Overview

Since September 1988, when the Freedom Socialist Party adopted its last Political Resolution, the world has changed dramatically—and at a furious tempo, as one spectacular event rushes after another. The most profound of all these developments is the fall of the bureaucratized Soviet Union.

When the reign of Stalinist dictators all across the Soviet bloc was ended, something else was buried along with them: Stalin's pseudo-theories of socialism in one country and peaceful coexistence with capitalism. At the same time, Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution was proven correct.

Humanity's struggle to win full liberation and genuine democracy, Trotsky said, can only be accomplished through a socialist transformation. Moreover, this upheaval can not stop with the political overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the building of a planned economy; the revolution must go on to thoroughly revise every sphere of society. In the global village where a sneeze on Wall Street causes a cold in Tokyo, socialism can only be completed on the international level.

The USSR could not evade these laws. Its revolution had to be *ongoing* and *worldwide* or it would eventually be overturned.

Tragically, it *has* been overturned—for now. The breathtaking political revolution that took off in the 1980s in the USSR and Eastern Europe lacked the leadership needed for workers to seize the reins of power directly. Therefore, the pro-capitalist bureaucracy was able to unleash a counterrevolution resulting in the dismantling of the world's first workers state, although Soviet workers remain hostile toward capitalist "market reforms."

The collapse of the Soviet state allowed the U.S. to go on a rampage, under cover of the U.N. flag, and to squeeze concessions out of all its opponents.

Revolutionary movements were crushed or stymied while Western bankers robbed Third World and former Soviet bloc countries blind.

Nicaragua's Sandinista government eventually fell victim to the protracted U.S. pressure against it. Iraq was devastated by mostly U.S. firepower. The Haitian revolution was aborted, Panama and Somalia invaded, uprisings in El Salvador and Guatemala derailed, and the generals in the Philippines returned to power.

But the very hegemony that the U.S. appeared to establish during this period is turning into its own nemesis. The magnitude of the imperialist economic crisis forces the bosses to take the kind of desperate measures at home and abroad that inevitably provoke an equal and opposite reaction on the part of workers and the oppressed.

Already, we can see sporadic flash points of revolt in the 1992 Los Angeles Rebellion against police brutality, poverty, and racism; in street protests and parliamentary opposition to Yeltsin; in the anti-austerity strikes in Australia; in the anti-West hatred expressed in Islamic fundamentalism; in the grassroots resistance to fascist resurgence in the U.S., Canada, and Europe; and in the tenacity of indomitable struggles like the Intifada and the anti-apartheid campaign.

The ruling class has no way out, not even a temporary one, without relying on violent repression; but this repression is the whip that impels the global working class—no longer restrained by the hold of Stalinism—to fight for a new world.

Capitalism and its institutions are decrepit and Stalinism and its organizations are in chaos. The disruption of class equilibrium brought about by the fracturing of the middle caste is producing traumatic aftershocks—but it is also bringing the final conflict closer.

It's time for Trotskyism to shine. With Trotsky's theories validated, it's now up to us as his political heirs to validate his hope and trust in future revolutionary generations.

Global Economy on a Slippery Slope to Hell

Lenin, Trotsky, and the early Bolsheviks all recognized that the only way to secure the Russian Revolu-

Careening toward the new world— Revolt and counterrevolution in the '90s

by Andrea Bauer and Guerry Hoddersen

This penetrating global overview shows how the toppling of Stalinism in Eastern Europe confirms Leon Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution. Written on behalf of the Freedom Socialist Party Secretariat, it was discussed and adopted by the 1993 FSP Convention.

tion was to extend it. They were right. Ultimately, the Soviet Union could not escape the global market or the high-priced arms race.

More than anything else, the demise of the USSR was caused by its inability over the long term to compete economically against world capitalism without help coming from the industrially advanced countries in the form of socialist revolutions.

In its battle for survival against capitalism, the Soviet system was sabotaged by a fat, "rich and communist" bureaucracy which robbed and mismanaged the economy. The duel ended in the dissolution of the USSR when the Soviet people rebelled against 70 years of unfulfilled promises and had their anger turned against them by a counter-revolutionary partnership of Stalinist apparatchiks and Harvard economic advisers.

The irony is that the forces of imperialism are in such bad shape that they have been unable to fully take advantage of this huge reversal of fortune. The richest and most productive country, the U.S., has been mired in a recession for almost a decade. Its federal debt, which stands at \$4.1 trillion, has *doubled* since the 1988 FSP convention. There will be no Marshall Plan to reinstitute capitalism in the East.

Across the board, the bourgeoisie turn their problems into our problems.

On the global scale, the imperialists try to improve their positions through intensified rivalry, especially trade wars, and through increased exploitation of the Third World.

On the domestic front, the results of capitalist frenzy are the same no matter the country: unemployment, homelessness, price hikes, wage cuts, inflation, union-busting. They add up to a horrific fall in the overall standard of living for workers and the poor everywhere and to absolute misery for those hurt the worst—women, children, the elderly, the sick, immigrants, and people of color.

The United States

The military spending that brought a much-needed vitality to U.S. capitalism before and after World War II has become a deadly poison. Past wars and Pentagon bloat, combined with Reagan's tax cuts and a sick economy, are the reasons for high annual deficits and the astronomical accumulated debt.

Not only does the Pentagon budget directly eat up the wealth created by workers; the interest payments on the debt that feeds the war machine are the third-largest item in the federal budget—after social security and the military itself.

The election of Bill Clinton as president was a cruel joke played on exploited and oppressed people. Brought to office by an explosive mass desire for change, Clinton is now pitching a ragtag package of familiar economic "cures" designed to simultaneously decrease the deficit, stimulate jobs and economic growth, increase U.S. competitiveness internationally, *and* keep profits high. He proposes to realize this fantasy by cutting wages, laying off workers, taxing them to death, axing their benefits, and slapping a ceiling on healthcare spending.

Liberal dreams of salvation through a "peace dividend," derived from Pentagon cuts, are burning off like a morning fog. Clinton the draft dodger is a Cold War hawk who wants no cuts in the CIA or major Pentagon programs.

The U.S. ruling class needed a Democrat in the White House to supervise the selling of this betrayal to the people. But it can't

work. The cost is simply too steep for people to absorb. Moreover, their hopes for better days have been raised, and their disappointment will inevitably produce further disenchantment with the status quo. The only lasting achievement of Clintonomics will be a radicalized populace.

Canada

In Canada, anger over skyrocketing unemployment and government austerity policies recently tumbled Tory Prime Minister Brian Mulroney from

to next page

Jubilant demonstrations like this one celebrated the tumbling of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The destruction of the wall symbolized workers' triumph over repressive Stalinist regimes all across Eastern Europe.



Eric Bouvet/Gamma Liaison

power, created splinter parties out of both the Tories and the Liberals, and installed the New Democratic Party (Canada's Labor Party) in three provinces.

But once elected, the NDP managed to quickly alienate much of its constituency by implementing anti-labor policies — especially in Ontario, where a new bill called the "Social Contract Act" gives the government the authority to deal with provincial financial crises by imposing a three-year freeze on wages and benefits, among other things. Workers there are already staggering under a four-billion-dollar cut in government programs and a two-billion-dollar tax increase introduced in the May 1993 budget.

The NDP will have to change course or be crushed in a voter stampede.

Canadian workers are particularly disgusted with the "free trade" agreement their government signed with the U.S. five years ago. The deal is a precursor to NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement among the U.S., Canada, and Mexico that will sweeten the pot for big business by lowering working, living, and environmental conditions in all three countries. More than 1.6 million Canadian jobs have been lost already as a result of "free trade." Ironically, many of these jobs went to the U.S., where labor is cheaper.

The stormy and unstable political weather in Canada is bound to translate into growing rumblings in the highly class-conscious union movement.

Australia

Like Canada, Australia is enmeshed in a prolonged recession. But presiding over its difficulties is a Labor Party that has ruled nationally since 1983 and has attempted to "manage" the crisis by using the standard capitalist menu of options: cutting back jobs, selling off the public sector, shredding benefits, attacking welfare services, eliminating hard-won rights and protections, and taming unions.

Because of these betrayals, the Labor Party was tossed out of office in the state of Victoria in 1992 and seriously threatened on the national level in 1993.

The new conservative regime in Victoria was elected because it promised to fix the economic mess without making anyone worse off. Instead, it brought the process of atomizing workers and privatizing industry and services to an agonizing pitch. It is even getting financial handouts from the Federal Labor Government to help cover the costs of sacking its employees! The rest of the country is just two steps behind Victoria in implementing the same rapacious policies.

The positive side of this horror show is that austerity will impel Australian workers to break with the class-collaborationist policy of "consensus" among labor, business, and government foisted on them during the 1980s by the treacherous Labor Party bureaucracy. (The Clinton administration is studying this policy in hopes of trying it in the U.S.)

During the thrilling near-general strike in Victoria in November 1992, workers saw the potential of their collective power. The labor movement misleadership will not be able to dam up workingclass determination for long. In time, that November strike will prove to have been the early splash of a drenching strike wave.

Bourgeois bankruptcy

The capitalists are out of alternatives — and they know it! As an example, when asked recently how Russia could

start getting itself back on its feet, Harvard economist and one-time workers-state-conversion guru Jeffrey Sachs admitted to having no idea whatsoever.

Their crisis of confidence is essentially good news for the working class — but at the same time, it raises the stakes, throwing open the possibility of a turn on their part to desperate measures such as inter-imperialist war or fascism.

Overtum of the Workers States: Highly Transitional State of Affairs

In earlier political resolutions, we could assert that capitalist relations had never been reinstated in a country where they had been abolished. This is no longer true.

Once launched, revolution will turn into counterrevolution if not carried through completely. In the USSR, elements of the ruling elite were able to transform the *political* revolution, which lacked the leadership required to go all the way, into a *social* revolution — i.e., the partial reprivatization of the economy.

Determining the nature of the state

A trio of factors must be examined together in order to come to a conclusion about the nature of the various states which have replaced the Soviet Union. These are: the kind of property relations that prevail; the character of the state apparatus — whose interest it serves; and the program and goals of the leadership.*

In the first area, that of property relations, a workers state requires three things: the nationalization of the means of production (although this may not take place immediately); centralized planning; and a monopoly of foreign trade.

In the former USSR, the monopoly of foreign trade and centralized planning are gone. The reprivatization of land, industry, banking, housing, and services is unfolding at different rates in the various republics, but the direction in which the countries are going is the reimposition of capitalism. Mixed economies prevail.

The state apparatus — government, army, legal system, etc. — has placed itself explicitly at the service of the capitalists. In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky pointed out that a bourgeois restoration "would probably have to clean out fewer people" than would a political revolution aimed at instituting workers' democracy. The state apparatus has already been heavily "bourgeoisified" for many decades; Trotsky predicted that the rebirth of capitalism "would find no small number of ready servants among the present...privileged upper circles," and so it has.

A return to capitalism is the definite goal of the various regimes.

A capitalist house built on sand

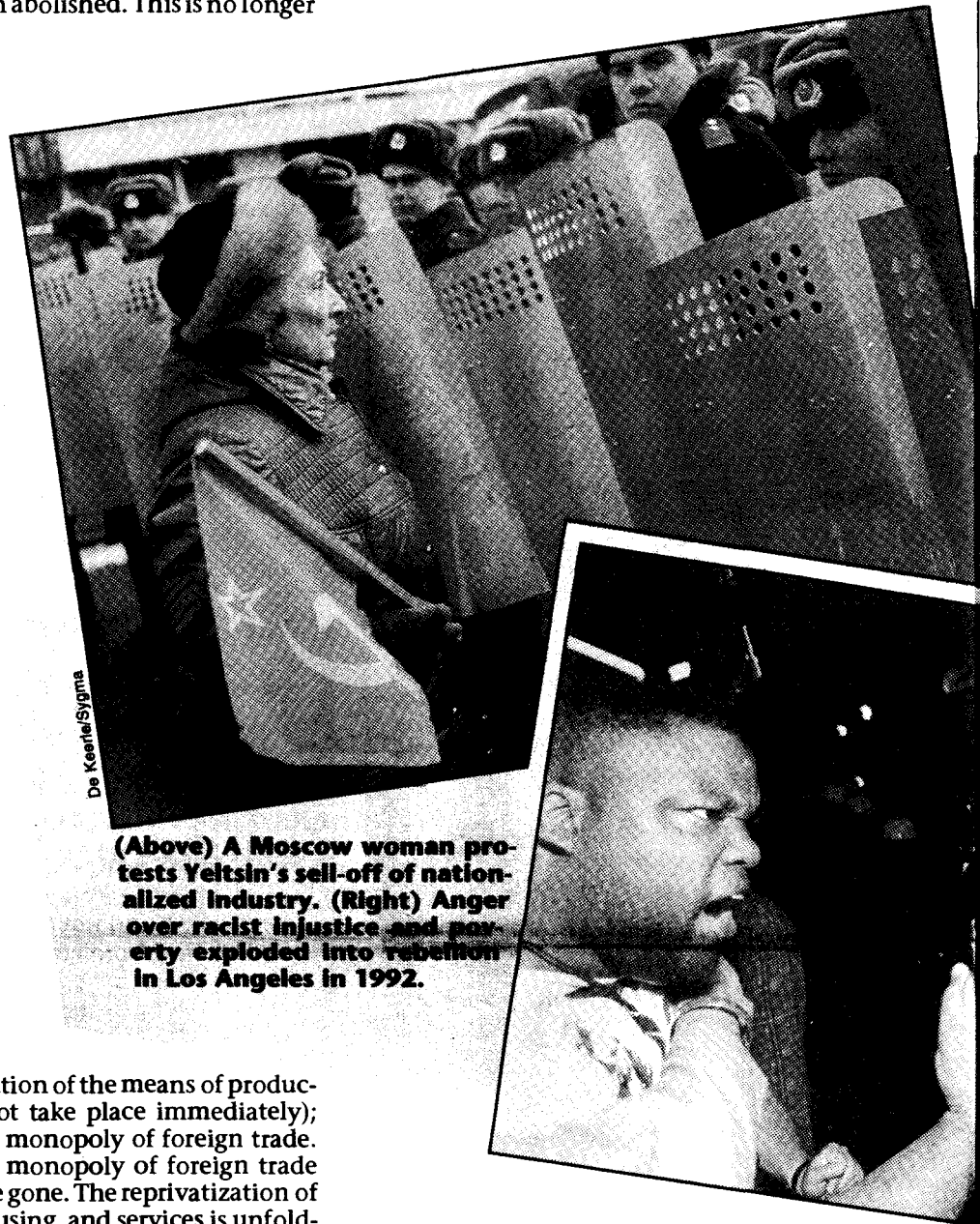
But the comeback of capitalism could hardly be on shakier ground.

Capitalists of other nations are unwilling to invest. The ex-Soviet ruling regimes are hopelessly divided within themselves by conflicting material interests and

* For greater elaboration of this point, read "The Nature of the Nicaraguan State," by Stephen Durham and Susan Williams, M.D., published in the *Freedom Socialist* Vol. 12 No. 3.

power bases and thus over basic questions of strategy and tempo; the governments are highly dysfunctional and unstable. And most importantly, the workers are angry over the course their officials are on, as strikes, demonstrations, and polls all show. [After this document was drafted, Polish workers spectacularly expressed their mounting disgust with Lech Walesa, the Catholic Church, and the whole new stratum of capitalist enablers by voting in a new parliamentary majority composed of former Communist Party members and social-democratic types. —Ed.]

The unsettled, pell-mell nature of the new situation certainly comes through clearly in the perilous grasp its heads of state — first Gorbachev, now Yeltsin — main-



(Above) A Moscow woman protests Yeltsin's sell-off of nationalized industry. (Right) Anger over racist injustice and poverty exploded into rebellion in Los Angeles in 1992.



(Above) Oct. '91: public workers in Toronto, Canada on strike against wage controls, cut-backs, and privatization. (Left) A near-general strike rocked Australia's state of Victoria in Nov. '92. Almost a million workers walked out to protest austerity and anti-labor legislation.

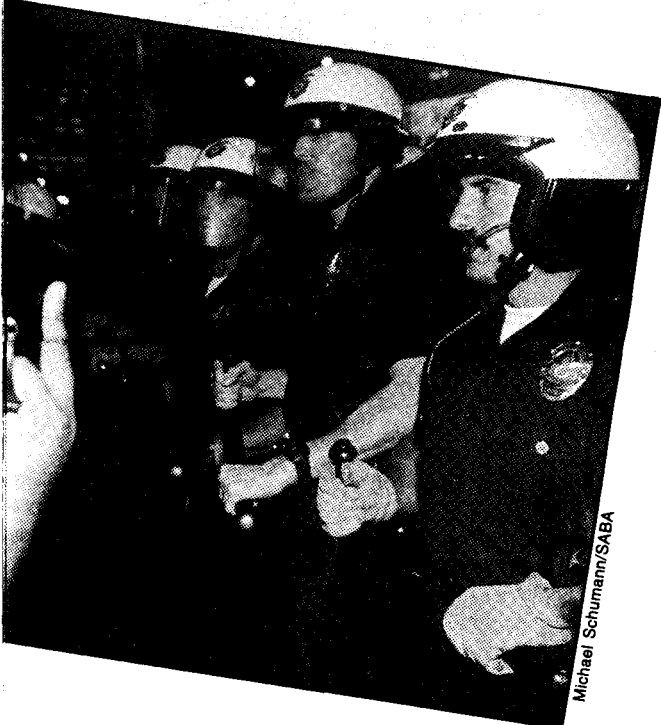
power. The decisive battles between labor and capital over the reimposition of the profit system are still ahead.

Imperialism Loses its Main Prop, the Stalinist Middle Caste

For more than 60 years, the entrenched Stalinist middle caste helped delay the final conflict between the exploiters and the exploited by acting as a brake on both. While shielding the workers states somewhat from capitalism and providing limited material support to anti-imperialist revolts with one hand, it checked the growth of socialist revolution with the other. Now, with that caste dislodged, excruciating upheaval is the order of the day.

Germany is a case in point. Five years ago, its economies, East and West, were among the healthiest in their

The ruling class has no way out of the global crisis. In resorting to violent repression, it impels workers—no longer held in check by the Stalinist bureaucracy and its pervasive influence—to fight all the harder for a new world.



Michael Schumann/SABA

respective spheres. Today Germany is a shambles, economically and socially.

Elsewhere the four horsemen of the apocalypse — conquest, war, famine, and death — patrol the planet. Starvation stalks Africa and shadows Eastern Europe. Russian sailors join babies all over the world in succumbing to malnutrition. Bosnia and Herzegovina, until recently one of the most successfully multinational enclaves anywhere, shatters.

The rise of reactionary nationalism in the former workers states, for instance in what used to be Yugoslavia, is a direct result of capitalist restoration. Capitalism is cutthroat, and it is organized on a national basis. Its reinstatement produces instant fracturing, competition, and hostility along national lines.

Appearing to lord it over all this chaos is the U.S., but appearances can be deceiving. Playing world cop is expensive — and politically dangerous. The January 1993 bombing of Iraq provoked splits in the pro-U.S. coalition Bush stitched together during the 1991 Gulf War — cracks that appeared because the workers and common people of the Arab world are *outraged* by U.S. arrogance. And in the States, waging foreign wars always stirs opposition that runs the risk of developing into an anti-capitalist mass movement.

Attack engenders counter-attack.

Erosion of Opportunist Layer Brings Labor and Capital Closer to Showdown

The sidelining of the Stalinists has turned our era's signature vacuum of leadership into a chasm.

Ex-followers of Moscow, like members of the Communist Party of the United States, have by and large internalized the anti-Leninism so much in vogue at the moment and are either dropping out or moving right, with many heading for the camp of the official social democracy.

(Top right) Young Cubanos greeting a Pastors for Peace aid caravan show resolve to beat the blockade. (Below) Anti-U.S. demonstrators in Jordan during the 1991 Gulf War express Third World rage against the "new world order."

Stalinist bureaucrats in the mass movements who seemed to straddle class lines for years are more and more revealed as reactionaries. Desperate to sell people on the system, they are spearheading the attack on unrepentant revolutionaries.

Trotskyists too, like the renegade FSP faction, have buckled under to the heavy anti-communist barrage, renouncing the need for the vanguard party, and backing off from class struggle.

But the destination many of these defectors are making for, the social democracy, is itself in deep trouble. Facing the same economic crisis as the rest of the capitalist community, social-democratic regimes have proven themselves just as unable to patch up a nearly dead system, and governmental heads are rolling all across Europe and Australia. The ruling French Socialists are the latest group to take a beating.

On the other hand, the middle-caste social democrats and Stalinists are hardly out of the picture. They will continue to be the primary dampeners of workingclass militance until an authentically revolutionary alternative leadership establishes itself strongly enough to sweep them out of the way. And don't be surprised if what remains of the CP suddenly makes a hard left turn. Opportunism is its only consistent doctrine.

But the effect of the dispatching of the Stalinist regimes across Eastern Europe and the USSR, which stripped from Stalinism its political and material power base and the prestige it accrued as the guardian of the October Revolution, can not be underestimated.

The world proletariat today confronts a pre-revolutionary situation similar to that confronting it after World War II, with one crucial difference. In promising earlier periods, the Stalinist apparatus collaborated with the bourgeoisie to consolidate capitalism through such maneuvers as supporting the Democrats and thus blocking the emergence of a U.S. labor party. The suffocating grip of this counterrevolutionary caste has now been broken.

Soviet and U.S. Workers: In Their Hands Is Placed the Power

In the developing climactic face-off between capital and labor, the working classes of the former Soviet Union and the United States hold the keys to victory.

Soviet workers are the ones who made the first socialist revolution and *defended* it at enormous cost through decades of hardship and war. They are beginning to form organizations to protect the gains of that revolution from the new market economy. They are a class that sets the direction of history.

But as the past five years have graphically demon-



Pastors for Peace



Nabil Ismail/APP

strated, all the Soviet heroism imaginable can only triumph in the end if it is matched by revolutions in the West — above all, in the U.S.

Revolt in the nerve center and stronghold of imperialism is on the agenda. People are reaching a breaking point. The immense revolutionary response that is to come is foreshadowed in dramatic upheavals like the L.A. Rebellion and in the swelling of support for electoral alternatives to the twin representatives of big business. Race, sex, and sexuality issues are now constantly in the headlines. In the labor movement, there's a feeling of "it's our turn" and a marked increase in enthusiasm for forming an independent labor party.

Keeping Our Eyes on the Prize

This new mood of combativeness means huge opportunities for the FSP.

Our party program represents and champions the most exploited and most radical members of the working class — women, people of color, Jews, national and ethnic minorities, immigrants, lesbians and gays, elders, youth, and the disabled. Because of our program, we are able to attract the kind of leaders and members the struggle demands. Our understanding of our class — based on history, theory, personal experience, and belonging — is what makes us optimistic, despite the obstacles.

We passed an enormous test when we were required to put our Revolutionary Integration principles into practice in dealing first with racist incidents in the party and then with the attempts of the Bay Area faction to manipulate the race issues to foment an anti-Leninist insurrection. Our experience was similar in many ways to the split over the Woman Question in FSP's formative years.

At stake in both fights was our adherence to an

to next page

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ideology and organizational practice that seek to *advance class unity* by battling every form and manifestation of chauvinism and by promoting, not suppressing, the leadership of the oppressed. Our ability to lead the drive to overcome intra-class divisions is crucial at a time of high unemployment, dwindling resources, and heavily concentrated ruling class efforts to pit group against group.

Much is uncertain about the immediate future. The dangers facing humanity are immense: totalitarianism, genocide, mass starvation, nuclear destruction, environmental holocaust. More acutely than ever before, the question of our time is posed: backward to a post-modern barbarism, or forward to socialism?

But hopeful signs are everywhere too. The demolishing of the Stalinist monolith is a working class advance of epic proportions, one earth-shaking step in the uninterrupted and unintermittent process of the world's citizens seizing control of their own destiny. It is the latest demonstration that humanity has never yet failed to rise to the challenges facing it.

Our responsibilities as the cadre of the revolutionary party are immense. But, as our 1982 Political Resolution noted, "Great vanguards tend to be created by great events." The laws of history and economics are on our side, and the rewards for carrying out our duties faithfully will be incalculable.

Strategies and Tasks

In setting our priorities for the coming period, we stand firmly and proudly on our successes in implementing the strategies set forward in the 1988 Political Resolution.

Several of these remain at the top of our list.

Sparking electoral electricity

Building a U.S. labor party and running our own candidates are still key, because the prospects for what we can accomplish in these areas have broadened tremendously. Our accomplishments indicate that

Fighting Nazis will remain an FSP priority. Below, neighborhood children pose after a 1989 rally organized by United Front Against Fascism to protest the Populist Party.



Doug Barnes/FSP

there is much more we can do.

The idea of a labor party is receiving greater respect in the U.S. since the Democrats are so visibly selling out workers. Now is the time to switch from merely educating about the issue to pressing for its achievement. An anti-capitalist third party is the connecting vehicle which can bring together all the movements to fight side by side. The potential to recruit workers to socialist ideas in the process of creating such a party is very high.

On the electoral front, the California and Seattle FSP election campaigns showed that workers are ready for our ideas. Ross Perot, Bo Gritz, and other neo-fascist candidates have proven that if there is no left electoral alternative, voters will go right. They want change, one way or another. Let's make sure they have a radical option!

Forging united fronts

Also still part of our urgent business is continuing to form united fronts against reaction. Here FSP has

stepped to the forefront in creating a U.S./Canada West Coast movement against the Nazis and white supremacists that has attracted support from unions and has the capability to spread far and wide with proper attention. Through NAFTA and other such predatory schemes, the capitalists will give FSP many more opportunities to put internationalism into practice in the immediate future.

Now to add new tasks to our ongoing strategies.

Defending and explaining socialism

First, we must above all *defend socialism and educate about Leninism and Trotskyism*. This entails the following:

- Politically defeating the San Francisco Bay Area faction of anti-Leninist ex-members, a job which is both a necessity for ideological self-defense and a chance to teach Bolshevism. Critical to this is continued support from the party as a whole to the San Francisco Bay Area comrades, who shoulder the lion's share of this work.
- Conducting a literary and multi-media campaign consisting of letters to the editor, articles, op-ed pieces, and appearances on radio and TV talk shows defending Marxism and the Russian Revolution and patiently explaining why revolutionary leadership is necessary for the survival of our class.
- Coming to the aid of the remaining workers states, especially Cuba, where direct U.S. assault may be imminent, in every way we can.
- Intervening on the side of the working class in events in Eastern Europe and the former USSR — which, in order to be effective, means constant study of unfolding developments there.
- Giving our sister organization Radical Women all possible and necessary help in publicizing the findings of its supremely important 1993 tour of the former Soviet bloc.

Winning free speech for the working press

Secondly, winning the Sandy Nelson case is top priority. Comrade Sandy's battle with the *Morning News Tribune*, which transferred her out of her reporting position as punishment for her political activities, is a critical one for *all workers everywhere*. At issue is whether journalists in the United States will become complete slaves to the management line, unable to do anything but crank out the lies provided by the establishment, or whether they will be citizen-journalists who knowledgeably investigate and report the truth so that readers can act to change the status quo.

Recruiting new leaders

Finally, the party must take advantage of the historic openings for Trotskyism and expand our membership through *an international recruitment drive* complete with goals, charts, a bulletin, and a live-wire coordinator. Such a campaign will turn the party outward toward other activists who are being radicalized by the times. Their dynamism will propel the party forward to fulfill its role as the leadership of the coming revolution.

¡Adelante compañeros y compañeras! Tomorrow is ours! □


About the Authors

Andrea Bauer got her start with the alternative press as a writer for the *Post-Amerikan* in Bloomington-Normal, Illinois, where she was also involved with the feminist, lesbian/gay and prisoners' rights movements. Since coming to the Pacific Northwest and meeting up with the Freedom Socialist Party, Bauer has applied her intellect and talents to analyzing and writing on world affairs, studying and teaching Marx's *Capital*, and managing the *Freedom Socialist* newspaper. She has written extensively on issues surrounding the collapse of Stalinism in the former Soviet Union.

Amidst writing, studying, organizing and planning, Bauer always finds time to watch *Star Trek*, which she claims provides insights into her main goal of creating a better future for humanity and other inhabitants of the universe.

Guerry Hoddersen, National Secretary of the Freedom Socialist Party, says she was "born with an allergy to capitalism." Coming from a Southern family, she participated in the civil rights struggle at an early age. Her education as a revolutionary continued in the Berkeley student arena, the mass' protests against the war in Vietnam, the women's liberation upsurge, and the labor movement.

Hoddersen is proud to be a '60s radical who never gave up the fight. She was a defendant and legal strategist in the Freeway Hall Case — a groundbreaking 1980s defense of the right to be radical — and is a founder of United Front Against Fascism and a recognized leader in the anti-Nazi struggle. Hoddersen steers the national FSP with the wisdom of a seasoned organizer and a deep commitment to principles and people.



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Call, write, visit, join!

...Convention

from page 4

supremacists in Canada and Washington state.

In this way, the FSP can present an alternative to the defeatism of ultra-leftists and anarchists, on the one hand, and the class-collaboration politics of Stalinists, social democrats, and demoralized Trotskyists on the other, Hatch said.

Big picture shows that U.S. revolution is central. Saturday's session began with hard-hitting eyewitness reports from two of the world's hottest class-war zones: the former Soviet countries and Cuba.

The first was presented by Adrienne Weller and Su Docekal, who represented FSP's sister affiliate, Radical Women, on a recently concluded nine-week tour of Eastern Europe and Russia. The second was by *Freedom Socialist* photojournalist Doug Barnes, who visited Cuba in January 1993 for three weeks.

Both accounts illustrated how desperately the fate of humanity ultimately rides on revolution in the U.S.

Docekal and Weller met with women

"We're an unconventional party — the first to boldly proclaim itself socialist and feminist, and to publicly and actively seek the leadership of lesbians and gays and people of color. This convention is to sharpen our tools of unconventionality — our analyses and our practices."

—Clara Fraser
FSP founder

in the forefront of rescuing socialism from the rubble of Stalinism. (Please see article on page 12.) These women were overjoyed to know that U.S. socialist feminists *exist!*

Weller and Docekal found that in the former Soviet bloc, Marxists and feminists face a double challenge: organizing against the reimposition of capitalism, promoted by Harvard School of Business advisers, while simultaneously rebuilding a communist movement to fill a vacuum of leadership created by decades of repressive bureaucratic rule.

Cuba, too, is fighting for its survival.

Devastated by a U.S. embargo that has denied it access to world markets, the proud Cuban revolution is battered and increasingly desperate. Barnes described the international campaign to break the blockade and called for expanded workers' democracy within Cuba as a key antidote to imperialist coercion.

During discussion, comrades spoke passionately on the need to defend Cuba and support the anti-capitalist, feminist, lesbian and gay, and anti-fascist movements in the former Soviet bloc.

Anti-Leninism comes home. Saturday afternoon and Sunday were devoted to discussion about the impact of today's world on the party. (Please see companion article on page four for Sunday highlights.)

Saturday featured a panel presentation about the anti-Leninist faction fight waged by three former party leaders from the San Francisco Bay Area.

Respected Jewish labor leader Henry

Noble, a member of the FSP Secretariat, explained how this minority had tried to foist a subtly racist, female-chauvinist culture and a Stalinist-style top-down leadership mode on the Bay Area branch.

"Desperate to keep the local in a holding pattern so they could coast, this unprincipled clique refused to carry out one of the main responsibilities of leaders in a Bolshevik party — to train new leaders, in particular comrades of color," Noble said.

Instead they created a leadership mystique. Comrades of color, the majority of the branch, were pigeonholed as artistic and spontaneous and considered poor material for organizers. Male comrades were expected to be second-class workhorses.

As the clique distanced themselves from the membership, they began to pit themselves against other national leaders, hoping to escape correction and turn the party into a loose federation where they could "do their own thing." Their flight from Marxism accelerated when one of them came into two large inheritances.

Their growing hatred for long-established party practices and leadership norms came to a head in a dispute over how FSP should handle two instances of racial insensitivity by two white party leaders. The national leadership, the members of color affected, and the National Comrades of Color

Caucus all favored a problem-solving approach, which took the form of a highly successful weekend-long race relations seminar.

When the three Bay Area leaders continued to try to foster witchhunting hysteria over the incidents, and began to attempt to recruit other FSP and RW members to their aggrieved but ill-defined position, it was apparent that something more was wrong.

The rest of the Bay Area branch decided they'd had it with the faction's shenanigans. They told the trio to bring their underlying disagreements into the open and conduct a rational *political* debate. Instead, the faction quit.

Soon after, the ex-members began circulating papers attacking the FSP and Leninism. Leninism is the concept that for workers to defeat a well-organized and armed ruling class, they need a theoretically developed, disciplined, and democratic leadership organization of their own.

The question of whether such a party is necessary was at the heart of the faction fight.

The renegades wanted a comfy discussion salon where they were allowed to be irresponsible. But the overwhelming party majority insisted on an authentic vanguard organization, one that is feminist and revolutionary-integrationist and built upon the collaborative and *accountable* leadership of women and men of all colors, especially the most oppressed.

The rapes can only be ended by destroying the system which *depends* on war and the subjugation of women. How? Through a feminist, anti-nationalist movement that challenges *all* of the pro-capitalist regimes involved.

Germany. Skinheads firebombed a Kurdish restaurant three blocks from where we stayed, killing a woman and child. Forty-eight hours later, we were marching in a protest of thousands organized by our hosts, the Anti-Racist Initiative. Of all the countries we visited, Germany is where the coming choice between socialism and fascism is seen most clearly.

Joint leadership is the key to party survival. The convention strikingly illustrated how the faction fight pushed the whole party to new levels of consciousness, seriousness, and commitment.

• An appreciative comment on the indispensable role of feminist men in the party sparked a special meeting organized



Impressed by the convention, the attendees above were among those who pledged to work with FSP on all fronts.

by the male comrades to talk about the challenges they face as role models and leaders and to discuss how to recruit more men to the organization.

• The Bay Area FSP comrades, who took over the leadership posts that were abandoned by the faction, contributed speeches, poetry, humor, and heartfelt personal testimony to the four days of intellectual exploration.

• Skills were strengthened in practical

workshops, such as ones on finances, leaflet design, and PR, and strategizing was emphasized in mass movement workshops.

• The evenings featured branch cultural performances ranging from comedy skits to poetry.

• Plans for a \$50,000 *Freedom Socialist* Fund Drive were enthusiastically approved, and \$16,177 in pledges and on-the-spot contributions was raised for the FS at a Sunday night banquet paying tribute to the party's publications.

• The National Comrades of Color Caucus followed up its inspirational participation during the weekend with a post-convention NCCC meeting. There they discussed the ongoing faction fight, took stock of the caucus' strengthened identity, heard reports on the struggles of indigenous people in Canada and Australia, and evaluated the party's work in U.S. people of color movements.

Proud to be Red. Attendees put it all together in a session in which they decided on where to concentrate their main energies in the time ahead: education about socialism, defense of the party against anti-Leninists, and recruitment; internal immersion in Marxist theory; running socialist candidates and building a U.S. labor party; forging united fronts against reaction; and winning journalist Sandy Nelson's free-speech case (please see story on page three).

Convention-goers felt overall that FSP is passing the test that the '90s poses — the test of remaining true to its roots and reason for existence and of continuing to wear its revolutionary politics boldly on its sleeve. □

Beans & Rice & Roses Too

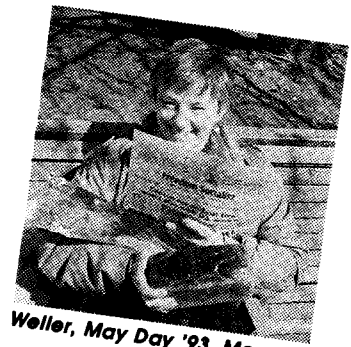
A poetic tribute to world travelers Doug Barnes, Su Docekal & Adrienne Weller

by Nellie Wong

Bananas for sale
on a street corner
An old woman holds up
a bottle of shampoo
for a few rubles
Cubanos get two rolls daily
Young boys & girls hang
outside a dusty bus
Gay Cubanos
cannot believe
there is a socialist feminist Chicana
Women in the Balkans
cannot believe
that there are U.S. women revolutionaries
who say they are both socialist & feminist
Cubano youth wear their Che Guevara scarves
of red, smile at our emissary Doug
Such a May Day in Moscow
with Su & Adrienne hawking
the *Freedom Socialist*
Saying who the FSP and Radical Women are
Internationalism is rice and beans,
potatoes and bread and roses too
A Romani man supports Revolutionary Integration
A Black minister says we need a revolution
in the U.S.

We are the colors of change
Viva, world travelers!
Viva, Socialism with computers and typewriters!

Written at FSP Convention, Alderbrook Inn, Union, Washington
July 3, 1993



Weller, May Day '93, Moscow

...East Europe

from page 12

exploit the issue of wartime rape to whip up support for U.S. bombing of Serbia. Rightwing Croatian women's groups who back her are attempting to censor antiwar *feminists* from Serbia and Croatia.

Radical Women joins with Women in Black in demanding:

• Lift the U.S. embargo! It helps Milosevic politically and injures the Serbian people.

• No U.S./U.N. military intervention!

Capitalism far from invincible.

The fall of the Stalinized regimes in Eastern Europe gave private profiteers an opening to attempt a comeback in Eastern Europe — but their days are numbered as well. The people who rebelled and brought down Stalinism out of desperation for a better life are now finding that the profit system is completely unable to deliver. The women and men of Eastern Europe we met agreed with us: *an international socialist feminist movement is the answer to the capitalist rip-off that is emptying the pockets of workers — and to the threat of fascism that takes on more*

substance every day.

Women's experience as workers, combined with their newly impoverished condition, together create a vast, region-wide carpet of dry twigs just waiting for the match of feminism. Once that fire starts, it will leap blazing from country to country, sweeping aside all opposition and rekindling hope for peace and freedom all over the globe.

We came home more determined than ever to do *our* part: to help spark the fires of resistance in the U.S., center of counter-revolution, in order to give socialist peace a chance. □

Editorials

Colonialism tries facelift in Somalia and Haiti

A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT sent the Marines to Somalia on a "humanitarian" mission. The soldiers, after accomplishing their good deeds, were supposed to be home for the holidays. The U.N., too, was cast in a new warm and fuzzy role as super-Boy Scout to the world.

More than a year has passed. The U.S. has a different, Democratic president. But the armies of the U.S. and the U.N. are still in Somalia — and they're acting like armies. Instead of staving off starvation, they're producing corpses.

The U.S./U.N. went in under cover of the racist-paternalist mission of "saving a failed state." The reality is even worse. The goal is to disarm Somalia so that it can not resist the return of colonialism, as capitalist predators seek to reclaim past hunting grounds. Until the ouster of its brutal pet dictator, Siad Barre, in 1991, the U.S. employed political influence and military bases in Somalia against Arab and African revolution. Now it wants its assets back.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S CLAIM to be the good guy is no more credible in Haiti. In Somalia, the U.S. promoted itself as replenishing the stock of food; in Haiti, one of the most viciously oppressed countries in the West, it claims to be supplying democracy.

How? Hypothetically, by taking sides with democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. In reality, the U.S. continues to make unsavory deals with a nest of cocaine-trafficking military vipers who are themselves responsible for ousting Aristide. Not surprisingly, these General Docs turn out to have long, snuggly, and profitable relationships with the CIA.

THE TIGER CAN'T CHANGE its stripes. Neither can imperialism. The best favor the world's workers can do for the people of Somalia and Haiti is to demand U.S. and U.N. out! □

No heroes at the top in Russian crisis

BORIS YELTSIN'S SHOWDOWN with parliament eliminated the lesser roadblock to his plan to put privatization on a fast track. The main obstacle — Russia's working class — remains.

The Western media cast the battle as one between "Yeltsin the democrat" and "communist hard-liners." In fact, it was a power struggle not over *whether* nationalized property should be privatized, but at what pace — and how the booty would be divided. Yeltsin wants to invite the big capitalists to an immediate fire sale; his antagonists want to transform state industries into their own personal cash cows.

Yeltsin's coup gave him an opening to steamroll his real enemy: his budding workingclass opposition. While bloody Boris pounded the Russian White House, he simultaneously jailed labor and Left leaders and shut down their presses — all with Bill Clinton's approval.

THE ONE FORCE THAT CAN LIFT RUSSIA out of its quagmire is the working class, which is already disgusted with capitalism. But it needs time to develop the ideological and organizational tools to do the job. Boris Yeltsin and his imperialist buddies in plunder hope to cheat workers of that opportunity, but they won't succeed. The world-altering strivings of Russia's masses for a better life through socialism could not be strangled by either tsarism or Stalinism. Yeltsin will meet the same fate as those two historical anachronisms, and at the same hands. □

Intifada forces Mideast breakthrough

IS THE AGREEMENT SIGNED IN SEPTEMBER between Israel and the PLO an enormous advance for the cause of Palestinian self-determination and peace in the Middle East? Or is it a capitulation by Arafat to Israeli self-interest, an accommodation brokered behind the scenes by the U.S., one that evades or negates all the real issues of national rights?

It's both.

First and foremost, the accords are a victory for the heroic Intifada. An unquenchable movement made up largely of women and teenagers with stones in their hands has forced serious concessions from one of the most heavily armed juggernauts in the world.

Credit also goes to the peace movement within Israel, which is battling that same juggernaut on the home front.

CONCRETELY, THE DEAL LEAVES as much unresolved as it resolves. But it broaches the possibility of meaningful improvements in the situations of Palestinians at least on the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank: respite from war, bettering of material and economic conditions, increased self-government, and the opportunity to develop politically.

The lasting solution for the people of Israel and Palestine will be a bilateral, secular, socialist state. But on the road to revolution, hard-won reform is worth recognizing, celebrating, and building on. □



Dateline Australia

Inmates and activists mobilize to save Fairlea women's prison

BY ALISON THORNE

Since July 25, feminists and prisoners' rights activists have held a round-the-clock vigil outside Fairlea Women's Prison, defying even Melbourne's hostile mid-year winter weather. They demand that the facility, which is the only women's prison in the city, be kept open.

In order to cut costs, the Victorian State Government plans to shut Fairlea and transfer the women to male prisons, thrusting Fairlea's sixty prisoners into unbearable conditions. The inmates are seeking an injunction against the closure through Victoria's Equal Opportunity Board. But because EO law lacks a class-based analysis of discrimination, this route doesn't promise a favorable outcome.

The vigil, which is supported by the women inside, is a means of taking their campaign for humane treatment beyond the prison walls. More than that, it is a call to workingclass women and men to defend ourselves against the increasing savagery of capitalism Australian-style.

The system is the crime. Fighters to save Fairlea are highly critical of the penal system. Many, including Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party, have participated in actions like the Wring Out Fairlea protests that have highlighted the structural reasons behind women's imprisonment: economic inequality, selective state harassment, and domestic violence.

On the economic front, Australian capitalism is desperate to check its downhill slide. It is dismantling public and community sector services and slicing social security payouts. Families existing on the Sole Parents Benefit are trapped below the poverty line; 86 percent of these households are female-headed. Survival necessitates welfare "fraud." Those who don't declare a little extra income can be — and are — jailed.

Women are also disproportionately incarcerated for drug addiction, prostitution-related

offenses, and defaulting on court fines. In Victoria, a woman is 40 times more likely than a man to serve time for failure to pay a fine! Women are often denied a Community Based Order as an alternative to jail because childcare responsibilities and lack of job skills make it impossible for them to comply with CBO rules.

Few women are in prison for crimes of violence. When they are, these "crimes" are usually acts of self-defence against repeated attacks by partners.

Fairlea: lesser of two evils. Most Fairlea inmates have backgrounds of poverty, sexual and physical abuse, and drug addiction. Victorian prisons provide inadequate or zero services in the areas of health, rehabilitation, counselling, education and job training. And institutional policies and practices add to the

coming a multinational business. Australia's first money-making dungeon, Borallon, opened in Queensland in 1992. Borallon is run by the U.S.-based Corrections Corporation of America, which is developing private prisons around the world and is currently competing for the franchise for about 20 of them in Britain.

Free-enterprise prisons are wildly unaccountable. Enormous quantities of data about Borallon, for example, including information about policies and procedures, are considered commercially sensitive and thus covered by secrecy provisions! Private jailhouses also have a financial incentive to lobby for law-and-order crackdowns to boost the imprisonment rate.

Victoria is a hot sales potential. Its prisons are about to burst. Laws rushed through the State

Parliament earlier this year expanded police powers to detain and fingerprint people and collect forensic specimens. A recent sentencing law will lengthen jail time. More cuts to Legal Aid funding, which slash poor people's access to legal advice and repre-

sentation and therefore increase their chances of imprisonment, are a certainty.

Cutting edge of workers' struggle. The threat to Fairlea and the prospect of private prisons are symptoms of a system in decay. Needing a supply of compliant and cheap labor, capitalism can only make profits by turning workers into slaves, demolishing social services, and locking people up. It will be an important win if the alliance of workers on both sides of the barbed wire forces the Government to keep Fairlea open. But the major battle is to permanently eliminate the causes of imprisonment.

Hands off Fairlea! No private prisons! End strip searches! Job training, drug rehabilitation, and quality education and healthcare while in prison! Legalise drugs for personal use! Legalise prostitution! Wages for prisoners! An independent living wage for all! □



brutality the women have already experienced. Strip searches — sexual assaults by the state — are legal in Victoria, used as a routine method of punishing and controlling prisoners.

Fairlea's closure would impose even worse conditions. The women currently live in bungalows and are self-sufficient to a degree. Three out of four inmates are mothers, and play areas are available for visits with children.

Fairlea's prisoners would most likely be reassigned to K Division, the former maximum security section of the major male metropolitan prison, Pentridge. Here, in contrast, the living quarters are actual concrete cages!

Punishment for profit. The Victorian government wants to use Fairlea's shutdown to clear the way for private prisons. Its September budget includes a provision for building a for-profit replacement for Fairlea. Incarceration for profit is be-

Voices of Color

BY YOLANDA ALANIZ

In an editorial called "César Chávez: The Reality" (*Houston Chronicle*, May 4, 1993), Daniel Suldran wrote: "There are lessons to be learned from the lives of great people. But they are instructive only if we look honestly at how they lived."

Workers and oppressed people owe Chávez a great deal for his unwavering commitment to farmworker organizing. He was a central catalyst in the many trailblazing victories of the United Farm Workers — winning contracts, initiating effective boycotts, raising wages and improving field conditions. But Chávez also made tragic mistakes. The best tribute we can pay him is an objective assessment of his political legacy that will help advance the movement to which he devoted his life.

Winning ingredients. César Chávez and Dolores Huerta, founders of the association which in 1973 became the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, led the young union to a string of dynamic accomplishments. As Megan Cornish and I wrote in *The Chicano Struggle: a Racial or National Movement?*:

"Early UFW successes emerged from an unbeatable combination of factors. The leadership was brilliant, audacious and dedicated. It was sensitive to and pushed forward by the masses of insurgent farmworkers. The union gained immeasurably from support provided by the civil rights, Chicana/o and radical student movements and national labor. "Courageous and winning tactics grew out of this labor/civil rights synthesis. Strikes and boycotts reinforced each other as anti-labor injunctions were defied. UFW built a multi-racial union, encouraged the involvement of women, and did not exclude energetic support from the Left."

Chávez retreats from militant action. For the most part, the union's early gains have been lost. Today farmworkers live in worse conditions and earn less than they did 15 years ago. UFW once claimed 100,000 members; today it reportedly has fewer than 10,000 members under contracts. Meanwhile, UFW continues to concentrate on boycotts, now a substitute for strikes rather than an adjunct to them, and neglects union organizing.

What stalled the movement?

- Reliance on Democrat Party politicians, as in 1968 when Chávez pulled seasoned organiz-

ers from the fields and assigned them to campaign for Robert Kennedy for president.

- Compromises with labor bureaucrats, for instance the 1974 shutdown of the secondary boycott of Safeway to appease the AFL-CIO brass.

- Obsession with religion, which transformed militant pickets and demonstrations into meek prayer vigils and masses.

- Unswerving pacifism, which during strikes led to forswearing physical defense in favor of fast-

representatives in the Democrat and Republican parties will inevitably be compromised to the point of becoming an intrinsic part of the system of oppression...

These are the stark options facing the UFW — to be a tool of the bosses or a revolutionary leadership. *There is no middle ground...* Change [in the UFW] will require convulsive reversals:

1. The union must *become democratic*, with vastly increased local control, rank-and-file decision-making, the free flow of ideas, and a repudiation of red-baiting.

2. The union must *break with the Democrat Party* and call for a Labor Party.

3. UFW must *separate itself from the Catholic Church*, the ideologue of working-class martyrdom.

4. It must *drop the self-defeating principle of pacifism* and adopt a policy of organized self-defense against grower violence.

5. The UFW must *find its support among militant labor*, the movements of the most oppressed [like the newest farmworkers, Mixtec Indians from Mexico], and radicals, who will not try to shroud the movement in accommodationist deals.

6. The union must *irrevocably stand for the rights of undocumented workers*, drop all U.S. chauvinism and prioritize the organization of 'illegals.'

If the union adopts these options, it will have the opportunity to once again become a dynamic social/labor movement. It will become a radical movement for workers' power because that is the only solution to the oppression suffered by farmworkers.

The impetus for these changes will arise from the farmworkers themselves. They will force the union to meet their needs or get out of the way. As the farmworkers have proven time and time again, when they are ready to move they will explode into action."

And when they do, they will ignite the whole of both the Chicana/o and labor movements. *¡Si se puede!* □

To order *The Chicano Struggle*, please send \$4.00 for each set of nine installments plus \$2.50 for postage to the Freedom Socialist, 5018 Rainier Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118.

After Chávez: Where next for the UFW?



César Chávez in 1965 march

ing for non-violence.

- Campaigns against "illegal" immigrants, like the 1968 one in which the union reported undocumented workers to the U.S. Border Patrol.

- The development of bureaucratic practices and paranoid anti-communism, which drove out many of the people most dedicated to the union's original aims.

No middle ground. The excruciating '90s demand that UFW re-arm itself to represent its constituents. If the union is willing to *learn* from Chavez' life — to emulate his absorption in championing the most exploited workers but abandon the treacherous policies which hold la *causa* back — it can still fulfill its mandate.

What we wrote in *The Chicano Struggle* is even more clearly true today:

"Any effective union must recognize the fundamental and irreconcilable division between the owning class and the laboring class. A union that tries to make peace with the capitalists or their



Clara Fraser

Socialism for skeptics

THE '90S MAY NOT BE the worst of times, but they're no picnic for radicals in the mega-capitalist countries.

We are playing to pretty tough crowds, where the hardest armor to pierce is a thick shield of cynicism. Disbelief in progress and resigned acceptance of the status quo are the intellectual high fashions that are smothering minds once open to bold visions and grand prospects.

And what with the tatters of Stalinism on one hand and newly resplendent swastikas on the other, it's not easy to persuade people that the promises of socialism can and must be for real.

A typical dialog between a Representative Skeptic (RS) and revolutionary me can last for hours, but here's a condensed version.

RS: WORLD SOCIALISM? Get outta here. Face facts. Every place that used to be communist is going capitalist.

CF: THEY'RE GOING TO CAPITALIST HELL is where they're going. The long-entrenched imperial countries are writhing with delirium tremens. The bigshots "won" the Cold War by starving out, drive-by bombing, and CIA-ing everybody else, but the price of victory is defeat on the home front.

Our cities are huge dumping grounds for all our radioactive problems — poverty, homelessness, joblessness, crime, illiteracy, ill-health, ecological rape, racism, sexism, homophobia, domestic and random violence, addictions, ad nauseam. There is less of everything for everybody except stress and taxes and fury. Cueball-headed Hitler wannabes menace the innocent, and bourgeois liberals give us spastic colons.

If this is the best that the U.S. Superpower can do, with its Information Highways and smart bombs and self-congratulation, somebody better call Dr. Kevorkian.

RS: BUT AT LEAST WE HAVE democracy, freedom of choice — like that sensitive sheriff from *Picket Fences* says in the bank ad. We say what we please, go where we want, and shop 'til we drop. Nobody tells *me* how to think! Under communism, the state makes the rules and dictates opinion — and one size fits all.

CF: YOUR VAUNTED FREE WILL and open mind are illusions. You too are conditioned and molded, only more subtly.

Your choices run out when your money does. The goodies in the shops may be piled as high as Michael Jordan's slam dunks or as wide as Magic Johnson's field goals, but no cash, no carry.

To the homeless, choice means sleeping under a bridge or over a grate. For poor women, the right to abortion (tenuous for any female) might as well be the right to travel on the Starship Enterprise. And just try to go to Havana or Hanoi or Camp David.

Or just try to be openly gay in the military. Just try to be a Marxist and still keep your job, unharassed.

Even for those whose plastic is still good, choice is a farce. *Time* or *Newsweek*. Democans or Republicans. Letterman or Lenora. Stallone or Schwarzenegger. Gimme a break, stop the insanity.

You are relentlessly bombarded with pro-establishment propaganda, images and emotional appeals all your life on every front. The narrow limits of your freedoms make you as broadly conformist as any drill team.

RS: BUT SOCIALISM HAS PROVED it can't compete.

CF: NOT SO. IT'S NEVER BEEN TESTED on a level playing field. The contestants were never evenly matched.

The 1917 Russian revolution had more stacked against it than a feminist on MTV. The country was impoverished, industrially and culturally backward, and exhausted by World War I. Every single major capitalist nation swooped in for the kill, aiding and abetting the homegrown white-guard opposition.

The Soviet people repelled the invaders. But asking socialism to show its stuff in such a situation is like expecting a bullied slum kid to excel in school without breakfast, lunch, warm clothes, notebooks, or defenders. The strange thing is not that a totalitarian, bureaucratic gang took over, but that the fledgling Soviet Union survived at all — and then managed to provide basic security for its inhabitants and to give the economic vampires quite a run for their money over 70 years.

But when we overthrow the super-suits in the super-economies — the U.S., Japan, and Germany — there will be no need for requisitioning, hence no need for warlords to control the dispensing of scarce consumer goods and natural resources. No foreign countries will invade anybody. Our revolution will set everybody free.

RS: VERY PRETTY UTOPIAN DREAMS. Socialism, like the Messiah, will furnish instant peace on earth, good will toward all, a patched-up ozone layer and reforestation, safe sex, a two-day work week, a cure for AIDS and breast cancer, and Caribbean cruises featuring caviar and sashimi for the masses!

CF: CEASE YOUR SNORTING and scoffing. If that's what we want, that's what we'll have. And your sights are too low — one work-day a week max.

Leon Trotsky defined socialism as "shared abundance," like the economic democracy in an affluent family. We've got the abundance — we just have to transform the way we distribute it.

This was fun. I like debating. If my skeptical (and other) readers want to pitch more balls to my bat, we'll do it again. □

Melba Windoffer 1910-1993

For most of her 82 years, Melba Windoffer, who died in Seattle on July 18, inspired other radicals with her Marxist and feminist fighting spirit. Windoffer joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1936 and helped found both the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women. She was a leader in the two organizations until the onset of Alzheimer's disease and her resignations in 1981.

Clara Fraser, Melba's colleague over many decades, describes Windoffer as someone who "unflinchingly and unflinchingly lived her life as a totally dedicated and extremely principled exponent and practitioner of revolutionary socialism."

"Melba was a pillar, an innovator, a fount of energy...a rock of reason and integrity greatly respected for her talents as organizer, lecturer, writer, consultant, labor historian, and keeper of the ethical flames... She was a visionary with great practical skills and a leader who never left the ranks... The spirit of her bravery and staunchness lives on in the new radicals of today."

At a memorial on August 8 at New Freeway Hall, Seattle FSP headquarters, Windoffer's friends and comrades said a final goodbye by sharing their stories of how Melba helped them discover a rich heritage of socialist, feminist, labor, and civil rights militancy. □

Eyewitness account

Radical Women delegates to East Europe & Russia find anger & hope among the ruins of Stalinism

BY SU DOCEKAL AND ADRIENNE WELLER

Docekal and Weller were the representatives of Radical Women (RW) on a nine-week, seven-country tour of Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and Russia in early 1993. Their goals were to study the post-Stalinist political climate firsthand; meet radicals and feminists and share ideas; and establish ongoing collaboration.

Adrienne Weller is a Jewish leader in the Oregon anti-fascist movement, past Portland RW Organizer, and member of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 328. Her grandparents hail from Russia, Poland, Hungary and Germany.

Susan Docekal is a Soviet affairs expert, veteran writer and designer for the Freedom Socialist, militant mainstay of Seattle's lesbian/gay movement, and member of Political Staff Workers Union Local 1. While on tour, she visited family in the Czech Republic.

May Day in Moscow! Balloons, picket signs! Tens of thousands of union women and men defiantly converging on

Red Square under a banner that proclaimed "No Privatization" — and we were part of those marching thousands.

Over and over again on our tour, we were among people like these, on the march against capitalism because it is ravaging their lives.

Women, who are hurt the worst by capitalism's return, were the most exuberant in embracing us as allies. One woman at the May Day rally was so thrilled with the Radical Women leaflet we were distributing that she gave us 20 rubles. A marvelous welcome!

We went to Eastern Europe because we believe that the overthrow of Stalinism has opened the door to the building of genuine socialism. We came back convinced that the soaring aspirations of the 1917 Soviet Revolution are alive and well, especially in East European women. The onslaught of capitalism makes the current environment hostile to these aspirations, but future prospects are bright. Freed from the undemocratic mess that masqueraded as communism, workers can now begin to create a society that passes the Marxist litmus test: Are women equal?

Crisis for all — women first. As the profit system makes its shaky re-entry in the former Soviet bloc, the gains made under a system of nationalized wealth and centralized planning — the guaranteed rights to a job, an education, childcare, healthcare, and abortion — are being smashed. Everywhere we saw chaos, pov-

erty, reactionary nationalism, and war.

In the U.S., we have long lived under the official Big Lie that homelessness, joblessness, and deprivation are unavoidable. But to East Europeans, these horrors are fresh and stunning.

In Russia, women are 80 percent of the newly unemployed. A new ideological war against women accompanies their push out of the job market. "Experts" tell working women that they are too masculine and that childcare centers make children either passive or murderous. The fledgling feminist movement, a first in Russia, is ridiculed in the media.

But women have been in the workforce for decades and are strong, skilled and confident. They are looking for ways to defend themselves and they are learning fast. Their leadership is key to winning a future for all free of exploitation and coercion.

Red carpet rolled out for Radical Women. Every place we went, women and feminist men were

where the battle over privatization rages.

Russia. People here despise Yeltsin. Yet everyone we met voted for him in the April 1993 referendum as a rejection of Stalinism.

Yeltsin's opponents within the government (or recently expelled from it) gener-

struction trade whom we met.

We were also inspired by Natalya, a leader of a ten-year-old study group on the formerly underground ideas of Trotsky.

Lesbians and gays, too, are advancing. They have just won back the legalization of homosexuality, a gain of the 1917 revolution that was sold out by Stalinism. They are bravely confronting a rising right wing that is new to Russia.

Estonia. Jewish community leaders are mobilizing to stop the glorification of Nazis by members of the reactionary capitalist government. Here, as elsewhere, the restoration of private profit has strengthened the right wing of the nationalist movement, led to vicious scapegoating of Jews, Romani (Gypsies), and immigrants, and spawned a fascist movement.

Poland. In Warsaw, we participated in rallies called by education and hospital workers striking against Lech Walesa's budget cutbacks.

People were also outraged about the pope's meddling in government and its results — prayer replacing sex education in the schools and the illegalization of abortion. In elections in September after we returned home, indignation over these issues swept members of the former Communist Party back into Parliament, where they gained a majority.

Czech Republic. The new heads of the Czech Communist Party Women's Club are feminist to the core. They introduced us to everyone, from a Trotskyist Member of Parliament to numerous women's groups. They are the living proof that the fall of Stalinism opens the door to new radical leaders.

Serbia and Croatia. Capitalism has transformed Stalinist rulers Milosevic in Serbia and Tudjman in Croatia into private profiteers locked head-to-head in a catastrophic grab for power and wealth. They are opposed by groups like the Zagreb Women's Lobby in Croatia and Women in Black, a feminist, anti-nationalist organization of Serbs, Croats and Muslims. Staying with Women in Black in Belgrade, we had front-row seats

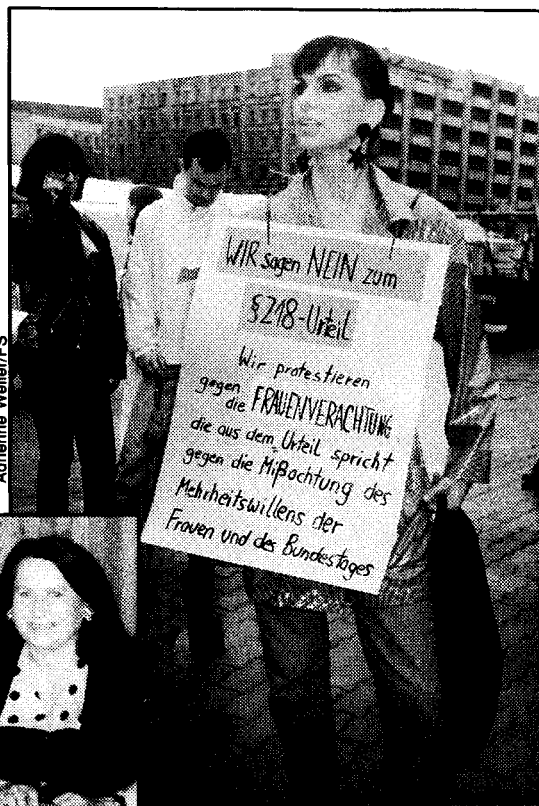
as they risked arrest and torture by holding their weekly anti-war vigil in defiance of a government ban on street actions.

Shockingly, U.S. anti-pornography crusader Catharine MacKinnon is trying to

to page 9



(Upper right) East Berlin: thousands of women poured into the streets to protest Germany's new anti-abortion law. (Above) Poland's main TV station interviewed RW's delegates about women in the U.S. Left to right: Su Docekal; producer Anna Pawłowska; Adrienne Weller; Polish feminist and TV personality Maria Moneta-Malewska. (Right) Unshaded countries on map are those Docekal and Weller visited.



surprised and delighted to meet revolutionaries from the land of Wall Street. They were excited about forging an international movement for socialism and eager to learn how RW combines Marxism and feminism.

In Poland a feminist doctor put us on national TV. Our show galvanized the producer into creating a series on Polish feminists. In the Czech Republic, women from miles away travelled overnight to hear us speak on U.S. women, the failure of Western capitalism, and the theories of Leon Trotsky, who spearheaded the international fight against Stalin's betrayal of the Russian Revolution.

Following are some highlights and conclusions from our visit to the war zones

ate little enthusiasm because they offer no solutions. They also favor adopting "free enterprise," only more slowly. The hope for an uncorrupted anti-Yeltsin movement lies with independent unionists, like the dynamic women organizers in the con-

struction trade whom we met.

Shockingly, U.S. anti-pornography crusader Catharine MacKinnon is trying to

to page 9

Hear Su Docekal and Adrienne Weller on:

"Women in East Europe Say NO to Sexism and Capitalism"

Slide show • Eastern European buffet • Poster display

Vancouver, Canada—Nov. 20, 8:00pm

Dinner 6:30pm. Croatian Cultural Centre, 3250 Commercial Dr. Call 604-688-5195 or 874-0535.

New York City—Dec. 5, 1:00pm

Buffet 4:00pm. Center of the Rainbow, 147 W. 25th St., 12th Fl. Call 212-677-7002 or 491-5163.

Melbourne—Date & site to be announced

For more information call 03-386-5065.

Docekal and Weller have already spoken in five U.S. West Coast cities. If you would like to have them appear in your area, please contact the RW National Office, 523-A Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA 94110. Phone: 415-864-1278.