



Murder as an anti-abortion tactic spreads to Canada

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Clara Fraser on O.J. and Nicole: Whose case is it, anyway?

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The Freedom Socialist

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

January-March 1995

Volume 15, Number 4

(\$1.00 outside U.S.) 75¢

Angry voters send mixed message

Ready to bolt two-party system, workers are all fired up with no place to go

BY LINDA AVERILL

It's the morning after in America. Voters have registered their rage by tossing out the Democrat bumbler and replacing them with a new bunch of Robin-Hoods-in-reverse — this time Republicans. Do the elections signal a stampede to the right and a sweeping embrace of Scroogism and racism? Or is this reshuffling of the twin-party deck just business as usual?

The answer to *both* questions is no. The elections show a picture of a U.S. working class that is disgusted, puzzled, insecure, and demoralized — but still desperately looking for solutions, undecided about what those should be.

The Republicans proposed more cops, prisons, prayer, and privatization. The problem, they said, is that freeloaders — immigrants, criminals, welfare moms — are taking advantage of decent folk. The Democrats either echoed this same line or wallowed in denial, telling voters their problems are all in their minds.

Presented with these options,

61 percent of the electorate stayed home. People want a third party, a *real alternative* to the parties of big business. But nobody is offering them one.

Especially given this void, some people *are* moving right, desperate to pin the blame *somewhere*. But this dangerous trend does not have to become the established order. It's time not to mourn, but to organize!

Democrats punished for their treachery. Workers and small business owners have every reason to be sick of the system and its politicians.

Big business' answer to the economic and social mess created by its vampire-like thirst for profits is to adjust working people's expectations continually downward. Wall Street now says openly that unemployment of about six percent is

essential for the economy's normal functioning, and that it's positively dangerous for U.S. plants to operate at more than 80 percent of their productive capacity.

Pandering to these policies are our elected representatives. Their lousy politics aside, they make up a bipartisan rogues' gallery merrily up to their ears in financial scams, sexual harassment, ethics violations, and abuses of power of every sordid variety.

In 1992, the Democrats swept Congress and the White House by pretending to be the party of change. The only reason they could make any headway based on such a ridiculous assertion is because there was no national left alternative.

In 1994, the Republicans became the



Porterville, Cal.: One of many election-day student walk-outs against Prop. 187. Uno de los muchos paros estudiantiles en contra de la Proposición 187 durante el día de las elecciones.

Left: Seattle march helped keep two anti-gay initiatives off the ballot. Izquierdo: Marcha en Seattle ayudó a mantener dos iniciativas anti-homosexuales fuera de las urnas.

Right/Derecha: Newt Gingrich.



Katherine Lambert/Time

Votantes disgustados mandan mensajes contradictorios

Los trabajadores están listos para abandonar el sistema de dos partidos pero no tienen dónde ir

buscando soluciones desesperadamente, sin decidirse sobre un curso de acción.

Los republicanos propusieron policías, prisiones, plegarias y privatización. El problema, según ellos, es que los aprovechadores, aquellos inmigrantes, criminales y madres que dependen de la asistencia pública, están tomando ventaja de la gente decente.

Los demócratas o se hicieron eco de estos juicios o se empeñaron en negarla, diciéndole a los votantes que sus problemas existían solamente en su imaginación.

Frente a estas opciones, el sesenta y un por ciento del electorado se quedó en la casa. La gente desea un tercer partido, una *alternativa real* ante los partidos de los grandes negocios. La gente ha estado diciéndolo por muchos años.

Sin embargo, nadie ofrece una

alternativa.

Dado este vacío, hay quien se mueve hacia la derecha y busca desesperadamente a quien reprochar.

Esta tendencia no tiene necesariamente que convertirse en el orden establecido. ¡No es hora de lamentarse sino de organizarse!

Los demócratas son castigados por su traición. Los trabajadores y los dueños de negocios pequeños tiene toda la razón en estar hartos del sistema y de sus políticos.

La respuesta de los grandes negocios al caos creado por aquella sed vampiresca

sigue en la página 4

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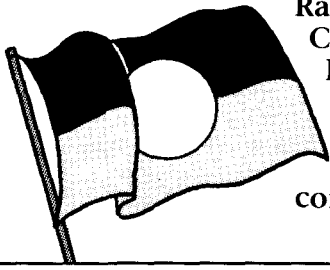
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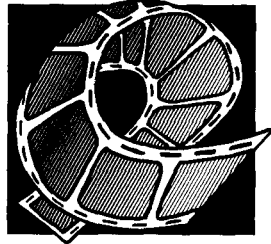
Australian Kooris reclaim land 5



Radical Women visits Lake Condah mission and hears the inspiring history of the Gunditjmarra clan's struggle to reclaim their land and communal life.

Marxism goes to the movies 6

Men procreate in the recent movies *Junior* and *Mary Shelley's Frankenstein*. Videophile Andrea Bauer casts a dialectically jaundiced eye on this latest Hollywood trend.



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New This Time

- **Letters to the editor** have moved to the editorial pages (this issue they're on page seven).
- **Cyberspace** — We're there: h noble@eskimo.com.
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Freedom Socialist Credo

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

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

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

WORLD BEAT

SOUTH AFRICA

Strike wave challenges pro-business ANC policies

Since the 1994 elections, the African National Congress has pursued a course that is betraying the poor urban and rural Blacks and other workers who brought it to power. Instead of taking the bold steps necessary to meet the demands of this constituency for jobs, improved living conditions, and land, the ANC is bending to pressure from South African capitalists and international investors to preserve *economic* apartheid.

Workers in retail, metals, and public service have waged an intense series of strikes despite ANC opposition to wage increases. As before, police have moved brutally against them. Destitute farmworkers, largely Black women, have occupied plots of land and insisted on an end to white-monopoly control of agriculture. Mass demonstrations have demanded drinkable water, materials and sites for housing, and decent

education and healthcare.

These valiant survival struggles will either force the ANC to break with the capitalists, or they will serve to develop an alternative leadership willing to continue with the South African revolution until it satisfies the needs of poor and working people. The movement for economic justice deserves the same sustained international support which helped bring down legal apartheid. □

MEXICO

Zapatistas still a force

A year after the Zapatista uprising, the failure of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) to meet basic demands for democracy and liberty has vindicated the rebels' refusal to disarm.

The PRI hoped elections held in 1994 would improve its corrupt image. Instead, as stories of the usual, widespread electoral fraud have surfaced, social unrest has grown. Ten thousand people protested the inauguration of President Zedillo on December 1 in Mexico City.

On December 8, the PRI was forced to install its candidate for governor of Chiapas in a ceremony surrounded by riot police, while across town 4,000



Zapatista soldiers in Chiapas.

people gathered for the alternate swearing-in of the opposition candidate, Amado Avendaño, supported by the Zapatistas. Avendaño, who lost in a rigged election, has promised to establish a rival government.

As the year ended, the Zapatistas renewed their pledge that peace will not come to Mexico until justice is obtained — or until the PRI steps down. □

CHINA

Market reforms creating misery

Two decades of "market reform" have moved China steadily toward capitalist restoration. Some initial gains the reforms made in living standards are long gone, and workers and farmers are vigorously protesting the effects of privatization.

Economic hardships are immense. Millions of people roam the country looking for jobs. At least one estimate puts total unemployment at more than 200 million, while inflation of 20 percent ravages incomes.

And once again famine threatens China, as huge numbers of people are forced to abandon farming because of rapid land development and skyrocketing rent. Agricultural productivity is also declining due to a deteriorating irrigation system and the impossibility of applying advanced techniques to a crazy-quilt of tiny private farms.

Officials report 10,000 industrial actions and several hundred "riots" in 1993.

The conditions that turned the Tiananmen Square uprising in 1989 into a huge movement, as workers joined students to protest job insecurity, inflation, and lack of democracy, persist. Capitalism will not be able to entrench itself in China without causing even more wrenching social dislocations — and thus provoking another massive mobilization for change, whose demands only *democratic socialism* will be able to satisfy. □

IRELAND

Sinn Féin gambles on cease-fire

By adopting a unilateral cease-fire, the Irish Republican Army has tossed the ball squarely into the court of the British government. Sinn Féin chief Gerry Adams says that the time is right for a negotiated settlement to "the troubles."

Will the gamble pay off? A cease-fire *can* be a legitimate political/military tactic. But Sinn Féin's record — of betraying principles important to its workingclass constituency (like abortion rights), trying to be all things to all people, and being dazzled by the blandishments

of rulingclass politicians — does not inspire confidence.

The test is not in how many times Adams is invited to Clinton's White House, or how much foreign investment is gained, or even how many concessions Britain makes. The test is in whether the cease-fire weakens or strengthens the centuries-old movement for an end to British colonialism — the *only* force with the power to finally convince the British establishment that the cost of its subjugation of Northern Ireland is too high. □

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Call, write, or stop by and visit!

Media colleagues speak up for reporter stripped of byline over gay activism

Sandy Nelson meets *News Tribune* in court



Media critic Norman Solomon (at left) says Nelson (right) "is exercising First Amendment rights we all have to support."

BY LINDA AVERILL

Sandy Nelson, a reporter who refuses to surrender her right to free expression to keep her byline, is getting her day in court. Nelson's high-profile case against her employer, *The News Tribune* of Tacoma, Washington, challenges the management line that journalists must stay out of political affairs in order to responsibly report the news. In December 1994, as we go to press, Nelson's lawyers are

succeeded in decertifying her Guild local a year after her forced transfer.

The NLRB rejected Nelson's case twice. She then filed suit, backed by the state chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Since then, Nelson's saga has become a banner issue not only among labor and social movement activists, but also among her peers in the mass-circulation media. Many wholeheartedly applaud her effort to bust an alarming industry trend—the institution of "ethics codes"

that forbid any political engagement by news workers. One of these colleagues, nationally syndicated "Media Beat" columnist Norman Solomon, flew up in September from his home in Oakland, California to help publicize Nelson's case and to speak about why media owners should not be able to bar journalists from exercising their civil liberties.

In legal arguments prepared for the December hearing, the *Tribune* offers its rationale for why it *should* be allowed to keep employees on a short leash.

"Freedom of the press" no excuse for unfree reporters. *TNT* argues that its First Amendment right to determine the *content* of its paper somehow gives it the freedom to make unrestricted personnel decisions about whom it may employ and on what terms. And it continues to insist that Nelson's exile was justified because her off-hours activism was a potential threat to the paper's "appearance of objectivity."

On Nelson's behalf, attorneys William Bender, Paul Chuey, and James

Lobsenz argue that press freedom doesn't grant the media business a license to override employees rights or to flagrantly violate labor and anti-discrimination laws. Their brief cites the Washington state constitution, which safeguards the right of citizens to take part in the initiative process, and a 1992 campaign reform law, which bans discrimination against employees for supporting or opposing political campaigns.

Nelson's case will be the first test of the 1992 law — which was itself part of a state ballot initiative.

The *News Tribune* never substantiates its supposition that the paper's credibility or integrity could have been damaged as a result of Nelson's activism, her lawyers note. Nor is any evidence presented that readers perceived her articles to be biased.

Nelson's lawyers conclude that newspapers must fashion ethics codes *narrowly*, so that the First Amendment rights of staffers are not violated.

A newspaper could, for example, reasonably order its city hall reporter to refrain from moonlighting as the mayor's press secretary. In contrast, *TNT's* broad interpretation of its editorial prerogative could allow it to bar female reporters from covering the Supreme Court beat, because abortion is a frequent topic and a woman's view might be seen as slanted.

Objectivity: debunking the myth.

Sandy Nelson is pursuing her cause not just in court, but in public as well. The help provided by media critic Solomon made for an exciting Fall 1994, as he and Nelson spoke to overflow audiences in Tacoma, Seattle, and Portland (Ore.) about hypocrisy in the media.

Said Solomon, "When editors and publishers say 'objectivity,' what they often mean is going along to get along with the powers-that-be, not rocking any big corporate boats."

"If it's 'controversial' — if it may anger some people in the community — then the inference is that journalists must, in their private lives, on their own time, function implicitly or explicitly as

moral ciphers. They are to consume history as though it were Wonder Bread. They are to be role models for allowing injustice to continue."

Solomon commended Nelson as an activist "engaged in creating an essential gateway to the future," since "overturning the hostilities toward lesbians

"Standing up for what you genuinely feel is right is no mere poetic movie theme, but a pursuit worthy of all our attention."

— Al Owens, "Media Watch," *The Northwest Dispatch*, serving the Black community of Tacoma, Wash.

and gay men holds a key for lifting a great weight from everybody."

Nelson touched on a related theme, one she has emphasized since she was first yanked from reporting. "The journalists most likely to be punished for off-duty involvement are racial and sexual minorities, feminists, and radicals, whose very survival on and off the job depends on the success of community campaigns for fair housing and employment, equal pay, abortion rights, and unionism."

Several other journalists, including Portland *Oregonian* columnist Steve Duin and former Bellevue (Wash.) *Journal American* editor Frank Wetzel, have also recently praised Nelson for tackling the double standard whereby publishers retain their rights while requiring frontline reporters to surrender theirs.

As the political stage grows crowded with ever-more-rabid "solutions" to social problems, it's critical now to fight for the media to be a watchdog, not a

lap dog. Winning Nelson's bellwether case will be a great start. And you can help! Donations of money and offers to volunteer time can be sent to the Sandy Nelson Defense Committee at P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98415 — or call (206)756-9971. □



K. Merrigan/FS

"I hope Nelson wins. It takes

people like her to build communities worth living in. And it takes people like her to make newspapers reexamine their roles in those communities."

— Terry Tang, *Seattle Times* editorial column

"With hardly a whimper, reporters have become political eunuchs. They need someone to say that giving up off-duty First Amendment rights is too great a price to pay for being a reporter. Nelson is saying just that."

— Frank Wetzel, column for *Eastsideweek*, Kirkland, Wash.

In 1990, the paper pulled Nelson from her education beat and transferred her to a swing-shift copy-editing job because of her involvement in an initiative campaign to secure lesbian/gay civil rights. After the initiative failed, Nelson's bosses said they would restore her byline only if she promised to cease *all* political activity.

The reporter-radical, who is an organizer for the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women, refused, and the Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild helped her appeal to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). A McClatchy campaign to bust the union narrowly

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Black Workers and the Labor Movement

Los Angeles — 213-365-1792

The Chicano Struggle: Racial or National Movement?

Portland, Oregon — 503-228-3090

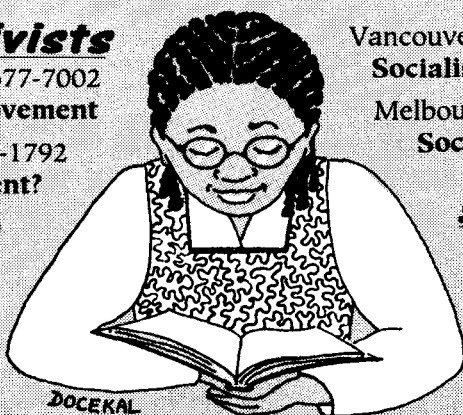
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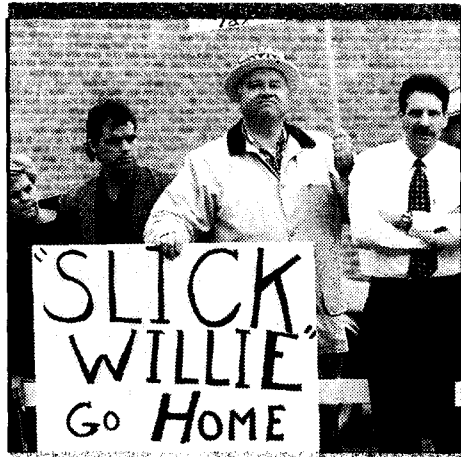
Voters send mixed message

from the cover

united, another anti-gay initiative went down to defeat (see editorial on page six); so did some (but not all) of a host of other rightwing and anti-labor measures. Wyoming said no to overturning abortion rights. In Virginia, women and Blacks were motivated to hit the polls in order to stomp Oliver North.

Polarization in California. But many of the election results were truly grim, as in California, where jobs are disappearing (unemployment is officially above eight percent), social services are underfunded, and the quality of education is in free fall.

Californians approved two hysterical anti-crime initiatives and the anti-immigrant Proposition 187, which denies education and medical and other services to undocumented workers and their children. This new law also requires teachers, health professionals, and social workers to turn in anyone who may be an "illegal" newcomer — and any children whose parents may lack papers. California's turnout was 80 percent white, although whites are only 57



Wally McNamee/Newsweek

percent of the population.

From the beginning of the 187 campaign, Democratic Party hacks discouraged Latino, Asian, and immigrant-rights groups from mobilizing a counter-offensive. Instead, they tried to siphon

grassroots energy into campaigns for Democrats like gubernatorial contender Kathleen Brown and Senator Dianne Feinstein, who both refused to come out against 187 until the eleventh hour. In fact, they ran by using immigrants as a punching bag for the collapsing state economy, just like the Republicans.

Eventually, enough opponents of 187 broke with the Democratic injunction to keep a low profile so that an exciting movement came to life. On October 16 in Los Angeles, 150,000 people marched for immigrant rights. In the next weeks, Latino students led an explosion of high school and college walkouts that turned into inspiring rallies joined by parents, teachers, and administrators.

But it all happened too late to turn the tide.

Overcoming division through a labor party. Let's be clear.

A program that appeals to a ruined, desperate middle class and a suffering, divided working class on the basis of law and order, ultra-nationalism, white supremacy, state control over women's reproduction, the criminalization of

homosexuality, anti-communism, and the smashing of organized labor is a fascist program.

Very few people in the U.S. actually accept this program as an answer to their problems — yet. But only the visibility of an honest alternative solution can keep their numbers from growing. That solution is socialism, because fascist movements are caused by an advanced case of capitalist dry rot, and the only answer is to jump ship.

A labor party can help make the transition by exposing the politics of scapegoating for the charade that they are. A true workers' party can bring together the exploited U.S. majority by showing them what they have in common and giving the most oppressed the opportunity and the tools and the forum to exercise leadership.

But this crucial work will not be undertaken by the upper crust of the labor movement. It's going to have to be started by rank-and-file unionists and activists in the feminist, gay, civil rights, environmental, and other movements.

President Clinton has one thing right: Each one of us who wants and needs change must take personal responsibility, because we have no other choice. The way for radicals and unionists to do this is by pushing **hard** for a labor party — and the time to begin is yesterday. □

Los votantes mandan mensajes contradictorios

viene de la primera página

de ganancias es simple: disminuir las expectativas de los trabajadores continuamente. Wall Street expresa ahora abiertamente que un 6% de desempleo es esencial para el funcionamiento normal de la economía, y que es absolutamente peligroso que las fábricas estadounidenses operen más allá del 80% de su capacidad productiva.

Nuestros representantes electos permiten y favorecen estos planes de acción; poniendo de lado su programa político, se constituyen en una serie bipartita de retratos de malhechores quienes alegremente se envuelven en enredos financieros, vejaciones sexuales, violaciones éticas, prácticas ilegales y abusos de poder de todo sordido tipo.

En 1992, los demócratas tomaron posesión del Congreso y de la Casa Blanca pretendiendo ser el partido que cambiaría la situación política. La única razón por la que pudieron avanzar de tal manera basándose en una afirmación tan ridícula fue la falta de una alternativa de la izquierda.

En 1994, los republicanos llegaron a ser el partido del "cambio". Votantes de ingreso medio, hombres blancos y habitantes de los suburbios, abandonaron el partido demócrata en manadas. Traicionados y abandonados, los miembros tradicionales del partido demócrata: mujeres, gente de color, homosexuales y trabajadores, eran los menos inclinados a votar.

Sin embargo, las noticias no fueron del todo malas.

En Idaho, los votantes rechazaron

una iniciativa anti-homosexual. En Oregon, donde los radicales, las minorías sexuales y los activistas de la clase trabajadora habían unido sus esfuerzos, otra de las medidas anti-homosexuales propuestas fue derrotada (favor de referirse al editorial en la página seis), lo mismo que algunas otras medidas derechistas (si bien no todas). Wyoming dijo que no a la abolición de del derecho al aborto. En Virginia, mujeres y negros fueron motivados a asistir a las urnas para detener a Oliver North.

Polarización en California.

Muchas de las elecciones resultaron ser verdaderamente sombrío, como sucedió en California, donde las oportunidades de empleo van desapareciendo (el desempleo está por encima del ocho por ciento, oficialmente), los servicios sociales no reciben suficientes fondos, y la calidad de la educación decae de modo alarmante.

Los californianos aprobaron dos históricas iniciativas anti-criminales y la Proposición 187, que le niega el derecho a la educación, a los servicios médicos y otros servicios, a los trabajadores sin documentación y a sus hijos. Esta ley también exige que maestros, médicos y trabajadores sociales delaten a cualquiera que pudiera ser un

recién llegado "ilegal" y a cualquier niño cuyos padres pudieran no tener su documentación en regla. La concurrencia a las urnas en California fue 80% blanca, aun cuando los blancos representan solamente un 57% de la población.

Desde el principio de la campaña de la Proposición 187, los demócratas des-

para cambiar la marea.

Vencer la división a través de un partido obrero. Seamos claros.

Cualquier programa que solicita el interés de la clase media desesperada y de la dividida y sufriente clase trabajadora, basándose para ello en ideas como las de ley y orden, ultra nacionalismo, supremacía de la raza blanca, control de los derechos reproductivos de la mujer, criminalización de la homosexualidad, anti-comunismo y destrucción de la organización obrera, no es otra cosa que un programa *fascista*.

Muy pocas personas en los Estados Unidos aceptan realmente un programa semejante como respuesta a sus problemas...hasta el momento. Sin embargo, será únicamente la visión de una alternativa honesta lo que prevenga que su número crezca. Esa solución es el socialismo ya que los movimientos fascistas son causados por un caso avanzado de corrupción capitalista y la sola respuesta posible es la de abandonar el barco.

Un partido de los trabajadores puede ayudar en la transición, mostrando abiertamente la política del chivo expiatorio como lo que verdaderamente es: una charada. Un verdadero partido obrero puede reunir a la gran mayoría explotada estadounidense, haciéndole ver lo que tienen en común y ofreciéndole, a los más oprimidos, la oportunidad, las herramientas y el foro con los cuales ejercer el liderazgo.

Sin embargo, esta labor crucial, no será emprendida por las capas superiores del movimiento obrero. Al contrario, tal acción deberá provenir de los 'soldados rasos', es decir, de los sindicalistas y activistas de los movimientos a favor de los derechos de la mujer, del homosexual, del ser humano, del bienestar ambiental y otros.

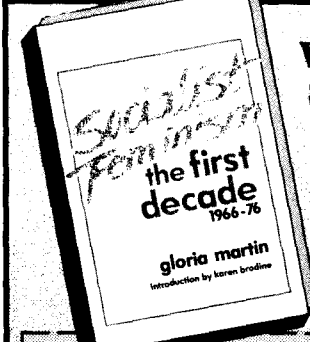
El presidente Clinton tiene razón en una cosa: quien quiere y necesita un cambio necesita asumir su propia responsabilidad, porque no tenemos ninguna otra opción. El modo en que deben actuar los sindicalistas y los radicales para lograr ese objetivo es presionar **fuertemente** por un partido obrero. ¡Y el tiempo para haber empezado fue ayer! □



October 16, 1994. Los Angeles. A contingent of carpenters is among the 150,000 demonstrators for immigrant rights. Los Angeles, 16 de octubre de 1994. Un contingente de carpinteros forma parte de las 150,000 manifestantes a favor de los derechos de los inmigrantes.

alentaron toda intención de movilización contraofensiva de grupos a favor de los derechos de los inmigrantes latinos y asiáticos, tratando en cambio de inyectar la energía de la gente común en las campañas democráticas, como la de la candidata a la gobernación, Kathleen Brown, o la de la candidata al senado, Dianne Feinstein. Dichas candidatas se rehusaron a oponerse a la 187 hasta el último momento y, de hecho, compitieron usando a los inmigrantes como pelota de boxeo o "punching bag", haciéndolos responsables del colapso económico del estado, tal y como lo hicieron los republicanos.

Eventualmente, suficientes oponentes de la 187 hicieron caso omiso del mandato de los demócratas que ordenaban una respuesta débil. Como resultado, nació un movimiento inspirador: el 16 de octubre, en Los Angeles, 150,000 personas manifestaron a favor de los derechos de los inmigrantes. Durante las semanas siguientes, los estudiantes latinos dirigieron una verdadera explosión de paros estudiantiles, los cuales se transformaron en inspiradoras manifestaciones a las que se unieron padres de familia, maestros y administradores. Pero todo sucedió demasiado tarde



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Dateline Australia

Radical Women visiting Gunditjmara clan witness both repression and resistance

BY BRENDA HUNTER

The region around Portland, Victoria is the traditional territory of the Gunditjmara clan. But the Gunditjmara are strangers in their own homeland, struggling against all odds to maintain their identity.

As part of that struggle, they set up a Tent Embassy, in the spirit of the famous Aboriginal occupation outside Parliament in 1972, to protest the government's failure to deliver services to their community.

In response, Portland authorities cut off electricity and the pay phone, and evicted activists from their offices. The mayor demanded that the encampment be dismantled; he feared that an Asian consortium considering investment in a multi-million-dollar hotel complex would perceive Portland as racist and be put off.

But the embassy stayed until concessions were granted.

In September 1994, three of us Radical Women members visited the area. I went with Guerry Hoddersen, who is a leader of the Freedom Socialist Party from the U.S., and Melbourne FSP Organizer Alison Thorne to spend a day learning about the history of abuse against the Gunditjmara and their indomitable resistance.

Greed leads to genocide. Sandra Onus, a strong and inspiring Gunditjmara leader, is a member of the Lake Condah Management and Planning Committee. She and other activists told us the people's story.

The persecution of the Gunditjmara began with a land grab. Wealthy pastoralists (ranchers) illegally occupied their territory and murdered thousands. The survivors were "protected," which meant they were herded onto Christian missions where their labor was exploited and their culture suppressed.

Sandra told us how her ancestors fished the lake by constructing stone races, canals, and grass nets to trap fish and eels. The invaders wrecked an industry thousands of years old by draining the lake to graze sheep.

We saw the mission's ruined old granite village, drenched in a sea of daffodils, jonquils and snow drops — imported plants that destroyed the native grasses used for weaving nets and baskets.

Sandra brought to life for us the people who hewed the stone for the structures, chopped the wood, prayed, and sang hymns to appease their "protectors" whilst secretly holding together the strong threads of their culture. We heard of young girls waking early to knead and bake the day's bread, silently, I guess, because they were punished if they spoke their native language. The church was built by chain gangs.



Mrs. Connie Hart

Lake Condah Mission

Children who were at the mission about 1900 were victims of forced assimilation.

The children were stolen from their families, dumped in white foster homes, and forced into slave labour.

Once the ranchers had acquired all the Gunditjmara land, the mission was destroyed, leaving only the cemetery intact. The church, which had become a community focal point, was demolished, and the people dispersed.

Reclaiming land and tradition. That was in the 1920s, but genocidal attitudes are truly alive and well. A few years back, Sandra said, she approached a member of the pastoral "squatocracy" about buying some land. She was told, "As long as I live, you or any

of your people will never even get a blade of grass from this property."

The government can't stand uppity Kooris (Aboriginals) either. Few Gunditjmara get jobs in Portland, so they performed community work in return for irregular, unreliable dole payments. Without warning, welfare bureaucrats cut the funding for the program that hired them.

Sandra told us she was inspired by her grandmother to do whatever she could to bring her people back together before it was too late. She and the community have recovered some of the territory stolen from them, including the mission site.

The clan has built a Guest Hostel for visitors who come to experience traditional Aboriginal culture. They plan to restore the mission and refill Lake Condah as well.

Solidarity from abroad. We had planned to visit an elder called Auntie Betty at the mission, but we saw her in the hospital instead. She suffers from kidney disease and diabetes, which she attributes to the white man's poor diet. Koori elders are increasingly forced to live in the towns, because in the bush the risk of death in an emergency is too great.

We RW and FSP representatives went to Portland armed with solidarity statements from indigenous women of North America whose battles mirror Sandra's, and Auntie Betty's, and all the other Koori women and men who are fighting for survival. These sympathizers across the ocean know that none of us can be liberated until we all are liberated — American and Australian, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal alike.

What the missionaries and pastoralists could not acknowledge, because of their greed, is how unshakably the Kooris are tied to their land, despite every effort to stamp their traditional culture out of existence. Guerry and Alison and I left with a deep appreciation for the Gunditjmaras' determination to reclaim their heritage, and a promise to publicise their undertaking. □

Brenda Hunter of Melbourne Radical Women is a single mother, environmentalist, and member of the Printing and Kindred Industries Union.

Dateline Canada

Vancouver doctor targeted in terrorist war against abortion

BY DYLAN KENDRICK

On November 8, Vancouver obstetrician and gynecologist Dr. Garson Romalis became the seventh shooting victim of anti-abortionists in North America.

Romalis, 57, was sitting in his kitchen at 7:20 a.m. when a sniper fired a semi-automatic assault rifle through a window. The second of two rounds shattered Romalis' thigh bone and ruptured an artery. One of three targets to survive an attack, Romalis, who performs abortions at Vancouver General Hospital, is the latest casualty in the war to eliminate women's reproductive freedom.

Frustrated by Canada's popular support for abortion, anti-abortionists are resorting to goon tactics. Through bullets, bombs, and bullying, they aim to make abortion only a paper right.

For many women, this is already the case. Local hospital boards decide whether or not abortions will be performed, so women in conservative rural areas must travel long distances to terminate pregnancies. Now, the right wing hopes to terrorize even the remaining abortion providers out of existence.

Emboldened by government inaction. Although Dr. Romalis' shooting shocked the city, many pro-choicers saw an event like it as inevitable.

In August 1994, soon after the Florida murders of a doctor and a patient escort, staff at Everywoman's Health Centre had called a press conference about mounting harassment at their Vancouver clinic. They asked police and the provincial government to treat the murders and harassment as part of an organized, continent-wide attack against abortion providers and activists. They demanded that police supply protection from a local violence-prone picketer, Gordon Watson, who had made threats on *Donahue*, *Nightline*, and CNN.

Despite a British Columbia Supreme Court ruling which bars anyone from "watching, disturbing, interrupting, or intimidating" abortion clinic staff, Vancouver police said their hands were tied.

Finally, on October 31, as violence at the Centre escalated, Watson was slapped on the wrist with a 21-day jail sentence and 18 months of probation.

Right wing applauds shooting. Following the sniper attack, Watson

announced, "I do condone violence." Another prominent anti-abortion crusader crowed that Romalis had gotten his "just desserts." A local bookstore sold pamphlets calling abortion the "real" Holocaust, a Jewish conspiracy to wipe out white Christians.

Romalis is a Jewish activist; local anti-abortion protests have included anti-Semitic sloganeering; and Nazis are supporting the shooting. Despite all this, police initially disclaimed the attack as political or abortion-related. To date, they have no suspect.

For its part, the New Democratic Party government tried to disavow any responsibility for clinic protection. Only after pro-choicers expressed outrage did the B.C. attorney-general agree to form a task force to explore the problem.

For a self-reliant movement. Liberal leaders in the abortion rights struggle have long looked toward government and cops for salvation. But as this case shows, this dependence is suicidal.

Only a mass, militant, self-reliant reproductive rights movement can win out over the pro-barefoot-and-pregnant crowd. Key to victory is exposing the



Vancouver feminist rally to denounce escalating anti-abortion violence.

Fatima Jaffer/Kinesis

opposition's multi-issue agenda and Nazi connections and making common cause with labor, immigrants, and Jews. Together we can organize community defense of the embattled clinics.

Meanwhile, we can't take the heat off the politicians, cops, and courts. They have the resources and the responsibility to stop the ultraright in its tracks. The government should:

- **fund a community investigation** to identify Romalis' attacker and probe the links between anti-choicers and fascists;
- **provide round-the-clock protection** for clinics and staff who request it;
- **enshrine the right to free abortion on demand** in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Anti-abortion terrorism won't disappear until safe, accessible abortion is guaranteed by the state to all women. That won't happen under capitalism, but every step in that direction is worth fighting for and taking. □

Editorials

The Newt Deal: Forward into the past

NOSTALGIC FOR THE good old days? Newt Gingrich, the new Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, is definitely your man.

How far back would you like to go? The fifties were a rockin' time. Remember McCarthyism? Well, Newt's working on a list, too — of alleged dopers working at the White House. Oh, yeah, he was a pot smoker himself — but that was in college, for heaven's sake. It was practically a requirement for graduation. Everybody was doing it.

Do you cherish your Cold War memories? Newt's favorite aspersion to cast against Bill and Hillary Clinton is "counterculture McGoverniks." Note the Russian flavor of that "ik."

MAYBE YOU MISS orphanages. Newt, of course, wants to bring them back. Debtors' prisons have unaccountably fallen from fashion; the racist doctrine of "separate but equal" has lost its luster over time; indentured servitude has practically gone the way of records made of vinyl; and you hardly ever hear anyone speaking up against female suffrage anymore. Hey, send Newt a letter; he's undoubtedly open to suggestions.

Does it surprise you that a family-values kind of guy is promoting orphanages? It shouldn't. Newt's own past as regards family takes a little bit of explaining. There was that incident when the wife he wanted to divorce was in the hospital with cancer, and he insisted on talking to her about the settlement... Well, that's a private matter, and no doubt there's a good Christian explanation.

YOU SAY YOU HEARD that Newt used to be a liberal. It's true — but it doesn't mean anything. Everybody was doing it.

Look up "opportunist" in the dictionary. They're spelling it N-E-W-T now. □

Bigot Buster strategy carries the day against Oregon anti-gay initiative

AMID THE GLOOM of Election '94, some sunshine broke through in gray, rainy Oregon. Activists there conducted a feisty, in-your-face campaign which resulted in the defeat of Measure 13 — an initiative that would have legalized discrimination against sexual minorities. Their success is worth studying and emulating.

They call their tactic bigot-busting. It's not a gimmick dreamed up by some overpaid political consultant; it's a no-tech organizing strategy promoted by independent activists and the Portland branches of Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party. It doesn't have anything to do with spending millions of dollars to identify focus groups and create slick TV sound bites. Instead, it has everything to do with grassroots outreach, one-on-one education, good old-fashioned solidarizing — and lots of elbow grease.

LIKE MOLD IN a dank Northwest basement, Stealth Christians and their ilk thrive when ignored. And the Oregon Citizens Alliance, the sponsors of Measure 13, are an especially virulent strain of rightwingus homophobus. So Bigot Busters rolled up their sleeves and aggressively went to work.

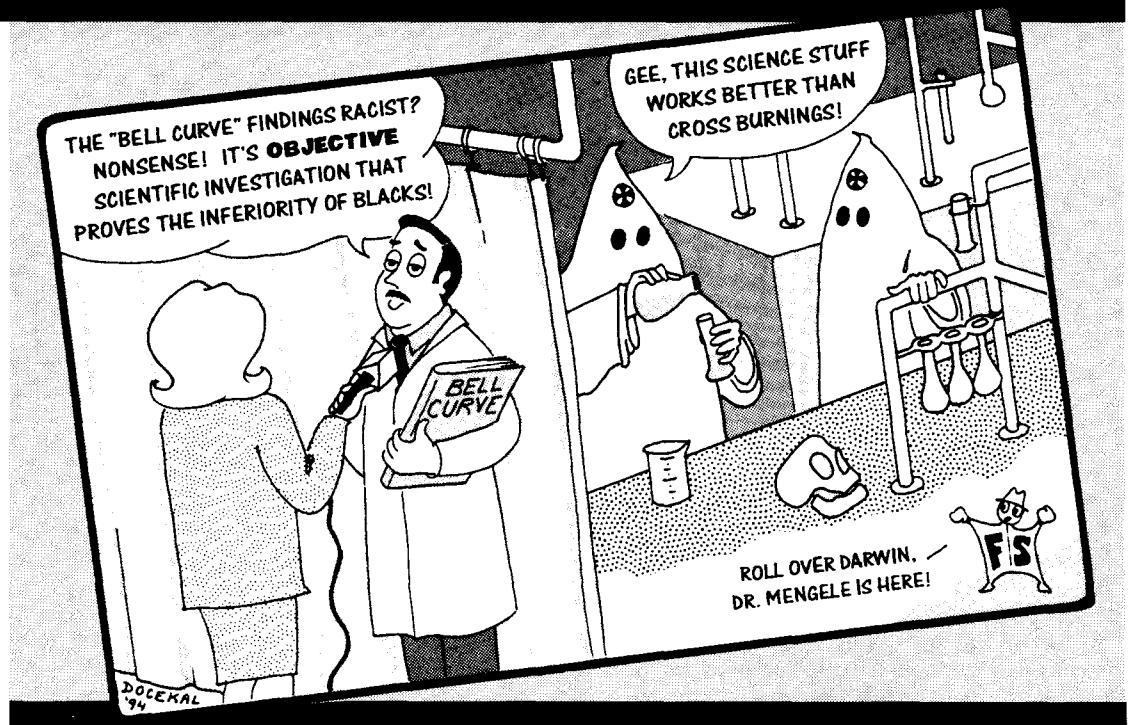
In malls, groceries, and wherever the kinder-kerche-küche crew campaigned, Bigot Busters followed, equipped with brochures that exposed OCA's draconian, multi-issue agenda.

Bigot Busters' first goal was to prevent the OCA from getting the signatures to put their anti-gay initiative on the ballot. When that failed and *nine* rightwing propositions were certified, Bigot Busters went after the whole array.

Respectability-seeking business types in the gay community initially refused to oppose the two anti-labor measures, but that didn't deter Bigot Busters, who joined local strikers on their picket line and issued pamphlets connecting homophobia and union-busting and urging a no vote on all nine issues. Bigot Busters' opposition to a racist tough-on-crime measure won them coverage in the *Portland Observer*, a Black community paper, and new friends.

Interstate collaboration also provided a boost. Washingtonians, organized by Seattle's Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights, caravaned south on "Freedom Rides" to help canvass. Bigot Busters in Washington had kept two anti-gay initiatives off the ballot there.

BOTTOM LINE IS, it worked. Most of the scapegoating initiatives were defeated — including Measure 13. But the "anti-crime" propositions, and one attacking public-employee unions, passed. Next time, with even more coalescing among the Black, labor and gay communities, the Bigot Busters strategy can wipe the political surface *completely* clean of that nasty rightwing buildup. □



Movie Reviews

Shelley and Schwarzenegger: an unlikely creative duo

BY ANDREA BAUER

I suppose there are at least three schools of thought about men giving birth (whether by robbing graveyards to bring life from death, or by utilizing test tubes, or by splicing genes, or by whatever):

1. Let the men have the babies!
2. The very idea is an abomination unto the Lord.
3. This is the ultimate in nefarious sexist plots, by which means men would be able to design and execute a world entirely without women — like hanging a sign saying "No Girls" outside the treetop clubhouse, and leaving it there forever.

I have to admit that though No. 1 is indisputably the most light-minded reaction, it's exactly what my female co-moviegoers and I all felt after seeing *Junior*, wherein Arnold Schwarzenegger gets pregnant.

About No. 2, concerning abominable acts: Scientific breakthroughs are always seen as sacrilegious in certain quarters. I'm a Trekker; I believe that tampering with the "natural order of things" is the natural order of things, just part of the human job description.

After seeing both *Junior* and *Mary Shelley's Frankenstein* (really Kenneth Branagh's *Frankenstein*), I certainly have no more worries about the likelihood of No. 3. *Bearing* a child is one thing, and we may even be close to the day when men can do it; but *raising* one is something else again, and from these screen samples, I don't think we're in any danger of men wanting sole proprietorship in this area any time soon.

Paradise lost. Marx said that history comes around twice — the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce. *Frankenstein* is male procreation as melodrama; *Junior* is male procreation as comedy.

Victor Frankenstein comes from a wealthy and respected

family — the most prominent in his town. His parents are loving and indulgent; he is denied nothing. The world seems kind.

When he is a teenager, his mother dies. Although this is a blow, the future is still bright. Frankenstein goes off to school and (in the book) finds mentors and becomes an outstanding student.

But he is driven to create life — according to Mary Shelley, by an overmastering passion for scientific investigation; according to Kenneth Branagh, by an inability to accept the reality of death.

He brings into being a creature, who, upon being animated, horrifies him. He rejects his creature, setting into motion a train of events that turns his offspring into his Nemesis and gets everyone he loves killed.

a clanking melodrama that marries Old Gothic theatricality with Hollywood overkill."

So let's talk about raging egos. Not only did Branagh deviate *wildly* from Shelley, whose name he nevertheless ostentatiously appropriated, but he is also reputed to have revised the script in order to pump up his own role and shrink Robert De Niro's, who played the creature. Johnson quotes a screenwriter who calls the final script a "patchwork abomination" and says that "Maybe the Frankenstein myth overtook the movie."

Strange. If anybody were equipped to successfully tell a story about rampaging self-centeredness, you'd think it would be Hollywood.

A triumph for family values. *Junior*, on the other hand, wasn't half bad —

and the half who wasn't bad was Emma Thompson, who was great. And say what you will about Arnold's rightwing politics — flood me with letters to the editor or flame me with e-mail, even — I think he makes a charming mom-to-be, especially in pink.

But you have to wonder what these guys who want to make babies (or creatures, as the case may be) are *thinking*. Overcome with the need to conceive, do they stop to conceive a *plan*? Not on your life.

How will the newborn (or monster) be explained to the world? Who will stay at home with the baby while daddy/mommy goes to work? How will the child be educated?

In real life, of course, these questions cause untold anxiety and heartache for mothers, especially poor ones.

Junior is a comedy, though, so it doesn't matter how utterly Arnold has failed to prepare himself for motherhood; we know that everything will turn out just fine in the end. Specifically, the new mother will get himself a wife — and for Hollywood, what could be more natural than that? □

Say what you will about
Arnold's rightwing politics — I
think he makes a charming
mom-to-be, especially in pink.
But does he have a plan?
Not on your life.

Unbridled egotism: Art imitates art. Now: Do you know why he flees from his creation? Because the creature is *ugly*.

(In the book, the monster's disfigurement is a *size* issue: Frankenstein becomes impatient with the small scale of his work and resorts to using body parts for his creature that are twice as large as normal. This makes me wonder if perhaps Schwarzenegger didn't lumber into the wrong film.)

We are supposed to be sympathetic to Victor's esthetic repulsion — but I'd like to see how much understanding an excuse like that would win for Susan Smith, the woman who drove her children into the lake.

As for the movie itself, I agree with reviewer Brian Johnson, who called it "a bombastic, overwrought spectacle,

Letters to the Editor

Downward slide

In the May 26, 1994 *Vancouver Sun*, Richard Allen, chief economist for the B.C. Credit Union, states, "If we had no UI payments and no social welfare, people would be out there taking jobs (what jobs?) and creating jobs (what with?) that perhaps they wouldn't be doing when they have the comfort (what comfort?) of UI or social welfare."

Item: from the April 17 *Province*. Starving slum dwellers in a Brazilian city eating dead animals and human parts. Item: from the May 22 *Vancouver Sun*. Bogota, Colombia, vigilantes murdering street children, classified as a street cleaning of the "disposables."

I suggest to Mr. Allen that the odds are far greater that "disposables" living in our country will turn to crime or live in garbage dumps (I saw many men doing this during the depression of the '30s right here) than get a job when little work is available.

Until the people of this country (and the USA) realize the ultimate goal of corporate dictatorship is not to raise third world living standards but rather to reduce our standard of living to third world levels, working people will continue a downward slide.

Ensuring that corporations and wealthy individuals pay their fair share of taxes is a step in the right direction, although by itself it is not enough to solve our problems. Tax credits for off-shore investments should be eliminated. Corporate tax credits here in Canada should be geared to the number of jobs created. Tariffs on third world countries should be geared to labour costs, i.e. when workers' wages are increased and a higher standard of living attained tariffs would be reduced. As long as the corporate dictatorship can exploit cheap labour and operate under nonexistent environmental laws, the rich will get richer and poor poorer and the lower middle class will cease to be.

Gordon Judd
Vancouver, B.C.

Glad to oblige

I like this article! ["Socialism for Skeptics III — Clans or Klans: Choose One," Clara Fraser, Vol. 15 No. 2.] Would you e-mail me the previous two parts, please?

Are you folks hip to *The Chalice and the Blade*?

Can you send me more info on the *Freedom Socialist*? A statement of its orientation?

Mark S. Bilk
msb@netcom.com

Looking backward and forward

I am a freshman at Bucknell University and I thoroughly enjoyed your article that dealt with Socialism ["Socialism for Skeptics"].

I am currently reading Howard Zinn's *People's History of the United States*. It is a great book that deals with history from a cynical point of view, but I believe there is a lot of truth in it. I feel that our "imperialistic" government has withheld a great amount of history.

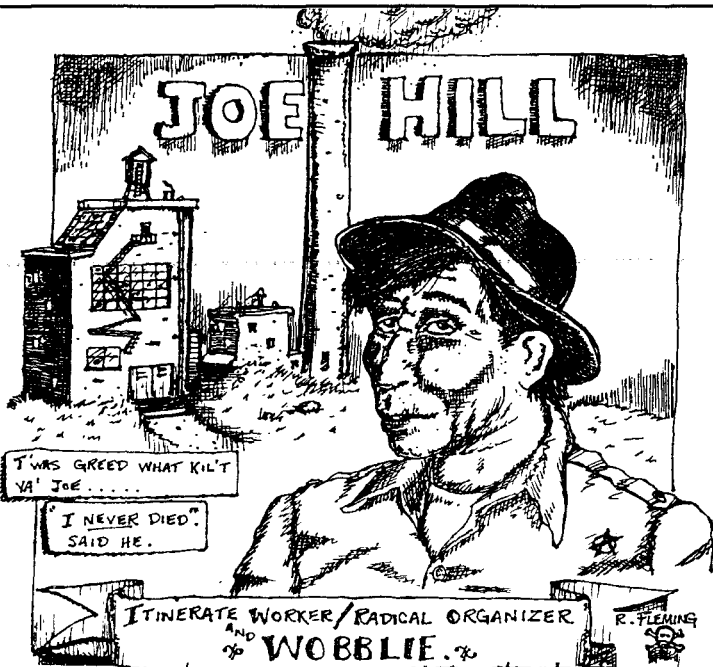
Anyway, I found your article to be interesting and a hopeful look at what the future could hold.

Jeffrey Clark
jwclark@coral.bucknell.edu

We've mended our ways

So how come *Workers World* has an e-mail address and the *Freedom Socialist* doesn't?

Martha Koester
Seattle, Washington



Cartoon sent in by Randy Fleming, Seattle.

Prisoner says thanks for help

"The ultimate expression of law is not order — it's prison." — George Jackson

To all righteous people! I have been illegally imprisoned on Indiana's death row for over eleven years, framed on trumped-up charges of killing a police officer. You have come to my assistance by either writing to me, writing letters of inquiry and protest to my captors, giving advice, recognizing my political prisoner status, investigating, publicizing, typing, photocopying, Mail-forwarding, networking, or

contributing financially.

I want to say the same thing to all of my beloved friends and supporters in this open letter. The necessity of your support was (and is) paramount. You helped us to organize for human rights, dignity, and basic material and spiritual needs. I am very grateful.

So much emphasis is put on the family of the person murdered on the streets. But what about the family of the victim murdered at a designated place and time by the State under the guise of legality?

Colonialist (racist) political candidates are bent on capitalist punishment laws, a symbolic "get tough" issue aimed at the disadvantaged.

Some sectors of the population use colonialist (racist) slogans to explain unemployment, high crime, rising taxes, inflation, depression and lowering living standards. The cause of the economic crisis is falsely blamed on poor and oppressed nationalities.

Our unity is power. We can do together what we could not

do alone. That's why we bring our case to you. Thus "power to the people who don't fear freedom."

Your love and friendship is warmly felt. Thank you!
Zolo Agona Azania #4969
P.O. Box 41
Michigan City, IN 46360

Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphics, photographs, and pertinent resource information. Letters may be edited for length. Please write to 5018 Rainier Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118, or e-mail us at hnooble@eskimo.com.



Clara Fraser

The lady vanishes: Where is the Nicole Brown Simpson story?

I ASKED YOU IN MY last column to send me queries about socialism. Among the responses (thank you, and please keep them coming!) was this topical interrogatory: What does a socialist make of the O.J. Simpson story?

I thought you'd never ask, and the answer depends on the defining fact that I am a socialist *feminist*. That means, in addition to seeing the world as an historic panorama of many different, evolving social systems, I see life in terms of my own vivid and traumatic experiences as a female.

Hence, the "O.J. Simpson case," in my view, is atrociously misnamed. Goddamit, it was Nicole Brown Simpson and her Jewish friend Ronald Goldman who were slaughtered — twice obliterated, in fact, first by murder and then by the media obsession with O.J. The corpses are the disposables of a culture that adulates and indulges celebrities while ignoring and defaming the women these pampered superstars torture and destroy.

We hear so little about Brown Simpson and Goldman. We are deluged with video footage of the misogynist terrorist who almost certainly dispatched them.

I HAVE PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE of this male type.

I have not felt the panic and helplessness of Brown Simpson as she pleaded for protection from O.J. But I have been battered, by ex-husband Richard Fraser, who assaulted me twice while I was asleep and once during a minor argument. He also socked my son, for no reason whatever.

Those attacks were devastating. I'd never been slugged before (except by hardcore Stalinists), and I was paralyzed by confusion and disbelief.

But I had internal resources, born of feminism. Once over the shock, I discovered to my vast delight that I could hit too. And that was the end of that. Bullies are cowards.

The affront to a woman's sense of self when she is beaten by an intimate is incalculable. It can utterly shatter a personality — or it can engender a fightback reflex.

My counter-violent response was a private revolutionary act, yet one common to millions of women. That is why our "second sex" identifies so passionately not just with the feminist pioneers who launched a thunderous movement, but also with down-to-earth heroes like Thelma and Louise who stood up for their rights and retaliated in kind when they were degraded.

CONVENTIONAL SEXIST WISDOM blames the female *victim* for the revolting behavior of ego-deficient males.

Deplorably, this bigotry is quite rampant on the Left, especially in ultra-"radical" groups like the Spartacist League. So-called socialist men, and women, too, buy the canard that "she asked for it," "she drove him to it," blah blah. Poor pugilistic man. He's the martyr after all.

This attitude is a sick denial of the essence of liberating, humanistic, anti-chauvinist Marxist thought, and a triumph of sexual fascism over socialist ethics.

And this contempt for women has carved a great gulf between leftists and feminists. Sexist revolutionaries have much to answer for: the spawning of a vast dichotomy between two movements whose logic demands integration.

Life has taught me not to expect too much from most men in parties other than my own Freedom Socialist Party. But I am particularly appalled at the *women* in feminism-impaired organizations who ape the patriarchal venom of the men.

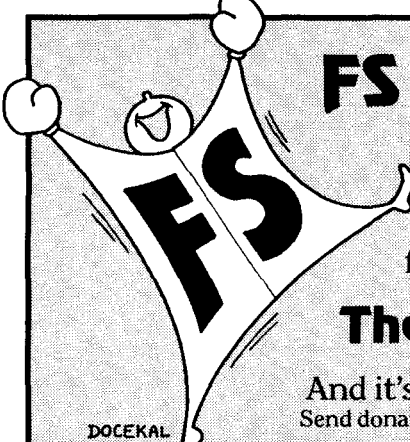
I appeal to women radicals who sneer at feminism to let go of your psychological dependence on males as the first principle and your self-identification as "the other." Forge a rapport first of all with yourselves and your sex. If you can do *that*, you will become the best and most sensitive exponents of class militancy and inter-race solidarity.

And I appeal to honest radical men to learn to elevate the question of women's status to the top ranks of fundamental social and human issues, where it belongs.

To view reality through the bifocals of socialism and feminism is hardly schizoid. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, August Bebel, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, Vladimir Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Alexandra Kollontai, George Sand, Frederick Douglass, Susan B. Anthony, Daniel De Leon, Olive Schreiner and uncountable other feminist radicals felt deeply that to understand the nature of a given society and gauge its degree of civilization, you must study the status of women and racial minorities.

WOMEN OF ALL ETHNIC GROUPS must demand justice for and information about Nicole Brown Simpson because that is how we fight for justice for ourselves. And men must support this principled female gender-bonding. As Rabbi Hillel said, "If I am not for myself, who is for me? And when I am for myself, what am I? And if not now, when?" You can *never* be for others until you are for yourself.

Don't beg the cops for help, ladies. Stand and deliver. Be the master-mistress of your own fate — for self-defense is revolutionary empowerment. □



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Your contributions propelled the fighting Reds through the final round!

Thanks for being in our corner!

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DOCEKAL

Voices of Color

Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam

Can they deliver African Americans from the evils of racism?

BY EMILY WOO YAMASAKI

Minister Louis Farrakhan is planning to mobilize one million Black men to march on Washington D.C. That may sound great, but what about Black women? What about Black lesbians and gays? And what will Farrakhan's message be? Farrakhan is providing desperately needed leadership to African Americans — but what kind?

As a lesbian of color fighting the system and looking for allies, these questions hit home for me.

Hard-pressed community seeks direction. Like today's other movements, the Black movement is experiencing a crisis of leadership. It never bounced back from the government destruction of radical groups and individuals like the Black Panther Party and Malcolm X in the 1960s.

Into this vacuum steps Farrakhan. Touring Black universities and high schools, youth centers, and inner-city meeting places, he portrays the Nation of Islam (NOI) as the solution to the harshly decaying conditions for Blacks and spreads his gospel of cultural nationalism — the politics of race superiority and separatism.

His audiences, like most African Americans, know the system isn't working. They know Democrats and Republicans have sold Blacks down the same river and they are searching for alternatives. Farrakhan appeals to them by promoting Black unity and a militant sense of racial and cultural pride.

But because he misidentifies Blacks' real enemy and slanders those who should be allies, Farrakhan's politics go beyond bankrupt — they're suicidal for the movement he says he wants to build.

Capitalism off the hook. Farrakhan refuses to say that it is *capitalism* that is responsible for racist injustice, going all the way back to the days of slavery and continuing right up to the poverty, unemployment, homelessness,

immigrants, gays, and even the Black working class, for whom the Nation shows disdain. NOI opposes abortion, denounces homosexuality as an abomination against God, and excludes women from leadership positions.

This helps explain why Farrakhan excludes important, dynamic figures like the Panthers and Malcolm X from his teachings. These Black militants posed *real* challenges to the ruling class. That is why they were killed off, while the Nation — which at the very least abetted Malcolm's murder by fanning the flames against him — remained untouched by the government's bloody hands.

Despite their visibility today, cultural nationalists are still a minority. And they will not hold on to their influence in the Black community forever. As alternatives arise, NOI influence will wane.

Sprouts of that alternative leadership are already visible, especially in the labor movement. African American transit and hotel workers providing the heart and muscle of recent union struggles in New York City are the wave of the future.

Also in the forefront are Black women, the backbone of the African American community for centuries. I have been especially inspired by the Black feminists who have boldly spoken out against the sexism and treachery of cultural nationalism.

Like they have been in the past, Black women and Black lesbians and gays will continue to be the crucial links among the civil rights, feminist, sexual identity, and labor movements. The very constituencies whom Farrakhan ostracizes are the ones who can truly address the needs of the vast majority of Blacks.

The time for sermonizing is over, Minister Farrakhan. Cultural nationalism will have to step down from the pulpit and be replaced by a revolutionary, bridge-building, feminist Black leadership — the only kind capable of helping Blacks and all the rest of us out of the dead end called capitalism. □



Los Angeles. Farrakhan's fiery oratory taps into Black anger over economic conditions.

violence and crime that disproportionately affect Blacks today. While NOI security forces pose as crime-busters by patrolling inner-city housing projects, Farrakhan fails to provide an honest analysis of why the mayhem exists.

Instead, Farrakhan agitates about Blacks pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps and building Black businesses. The problem with this is that racism is *central* to the profit system: capitalism *created* racism to justify lower wages and inferior living standards for people of color and excuse their use as a super-exploited pool of reserve labor.

Farrakhan doesn't just naively miss the point. Instead of demonstrating revolutionary integrationist leadership that joins Blacks with other oppressed groups, he encourages the isolation of Blacks from other people of color and potential co-activists. His NOI creates false devils, pointing the finger not only at the race of whites, but at uppity women and "loose" women on welfare,

But the Nation's primary scapegoat is Jews. Farrakhan never condemned the infamous, viciously anti-Semitic tirade of his former aide, Khalid Abdul Muhammad. In fact, the Minister upheld the essence of Muhammad's comments as "truths."

Where have we heard all this before? Though it opportunistically bases itself on the desperation of society's most downtrodden members, the NOI platform is tailor-made to advance the chilling agenda of the contemporary Nazis. The divisive dogma of cultural nationalism plays right into the hands of white supremacists, as it advocates the same ideal — capitalism with segregation — from the opposite direction.

Guess who's rising to leadership. Historically, Black cultural nationalism is the program of despair. It flourishes when crisis is profound, other radical leadership is absent, and the movement is at an ebb.

World Bank tightens its grip on occupied Haiti with the help of U.S. "peacekeeping" force

BY ANDREA BAUER

There's a real renaissance going on in Haiti — for U.S. and multinational businesses, at least.

Trade is brisk, with big oil tankers and other commercial ships arriving every day from ports to the north.

The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) is on the scene, setting up projects throughout the country.

Global financial institutions are considering lending the country more than \$645 million dollars — which it desperately needs, as the military junta left it only \$11.5 million in the treasury.

The World Bank has bestowed its blessing on President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's new regime. Its economists are putting forward a "reconstruction" plan that will continue to use extremely low-paid Haitian labor to create extremely high profits for international investors, but with a liberal, free-market gloss.

In other words, the more

things change in Haiti, the more they stay the same. A country of few natural resources and a long history of brutal exploitation by foreign powers, Haiti was already the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere before the coup by the generals. Afterward, it grew even poorer, with gross domestic product and individual incomes both falling precipitately.

Aristide's return has raised the expectations of the people who voted for him so overwhelmingly in 1990. But they are bound to be disappointed. The World Bank/International Monetary Fund formula for Haiti's "recovery" includes privatization of many state-owned enterprises (such as electricity, mining, telephones) and mass layoffs (more than 20,000 civil servants).

Eighty percent of Haiti's work force is already unemployed or underemployed, according to one peasant leader.

Making sure that the transition from terrorist, illegal dictatorship to exploitive, legal democracy is an orderly one, de-

spite the cost to workers and peasants, are 9,000 U.S. soldiers from an initial force of 21,000. Of these, 1,200 are Green Berets stationed in more than 500 villages in the countryside, where they are often in total control.

In these rural areas especially, people are still the targets of

repression by Haitian military and paramilitary groups, who have not been disarmed by the U.S. "peacekeepers."

Aristide appears to have made a bargain with the devil: he gains a return to power and the dignified exit of a few of the butchers who usurped him; in exchange, he delivers a more

peaceful and stable atmosphere for foreign investment.

In this deal with the devil, of course, it is the Haitian people who lose. But they have fought their way up from the hell of Yankee domination before, and they will again. We should help them by demanding *U.S. out of Haiti now!* □

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— Ida B. Wells, Black journalist and publisher (1862-1931)

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