

Biology-as-destiny credo revived in *Bell Curve* and *Moral Animal*

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Bosses in Australia now betting on "free trade" miracle

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The Freedom Socialist

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

April-June 1995

Volume 16, Number 1

(\$1.00 outside U.S.) 75¢

Bipartisan "Contract on America" takes aim at all labor and civil rights gains

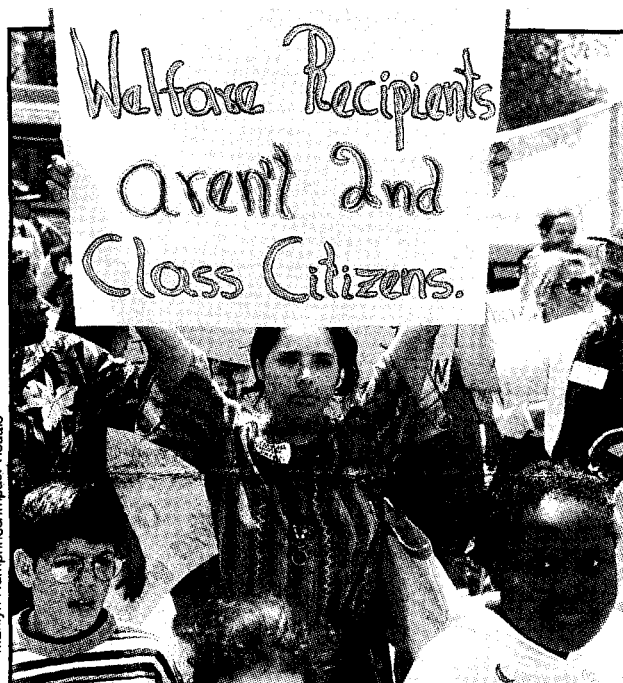
BY LINDA AVERILL

"Contract on America" has become the popular description for the Republican legislative agenda. And if you look "contract" up in the thesaurus, you'll find the word covenant there as a mate — as in our Democratic president's "New Covenant" with America.

This is fitting because, nuances aside, both parties are proposing the same thing: a broadside on poor and working folk.

To hear Bill Clinton or Newt Gingrich tell it, U.S. problems aren't economic in nature, but moral. The breakdown of "family values" is causing social decline, not runaway shops or downsizing corporations. Their scapegoating rhetoric against things like welfare, immigration, and affirmative action is supposed to justify an austerity plan, one like those the International Monetary Fund has force-fed the Third World and Eastern Europe; it is meant to revive capitalist profits by devastating people.

A tsunami of reaction. In 100 days, the 104th Congress has created a poisonous package of pull-yourself-up-by-the-bootstraps tonics. Among them: the dismantlement of "welfare as we know it" (with no raise in the minimum wage); slashing of social programs, like free breakfasts for schoolkids and possibly social security, in order to pay off the national debt to bankers; privatization of public services; gutting of consumer and environmental protection laws; and construction of more prisons, and maybe orphanages, to warehouse the poor.



Boston, May 1994. Targets of proposed welfare cuts in Massachusetts make their voices heard.

Meanwhile, California, where the viciously anti-immigrant Proposition 187 was just passed, is now the launching pad for a grotesquely misnamed "Civil Rights Initiative." If approved, it will outlaw affirmative action in employment and education. And in New York City, Mayor Giuliani plans to cut \$600 million

from the wages and benefits of public sector employees to help offset the city's budget deficit.

As U.S. corporate giants fight to keep their competitive edge in a world glutted by overproduction, their high profits depend on giving less and less compensation to workers for their labor. Both parties are facilitating this goal by eradicating the social programs and legislation that the unions and civil rights movements spent the last century struggling for.

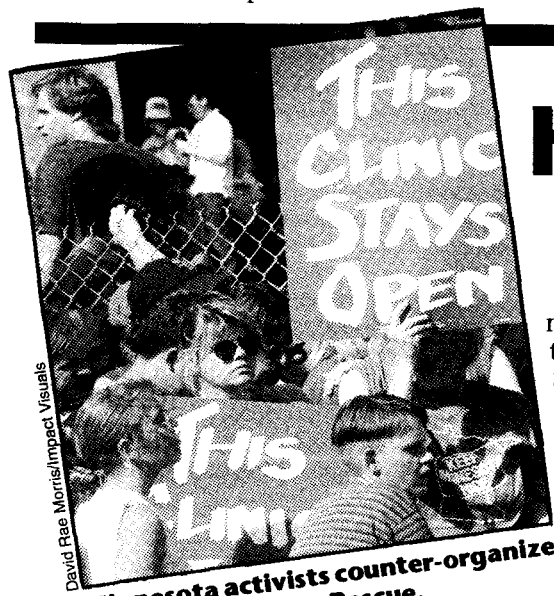
Divided we fall, united we win. The good news is that this bipartisan assault has generated protest.

In Massachusetts, poor mothers stormed the statehouse in February to oppose the dismantling of welfare. In Washington state, the capitol has become the site of daily rallies as different groups demonstrate against everything from the destruction of prevailing-wage laws in the construction industry to attacks on abortion rights and gay parenting.

But no one group can single-handedly save itself from the twin-party onslaught. The only way to stop them is to *join forces* in a labor/civil rights united front that can mobilize everyone at risk — the organized and unorganized, retired and unemployed.

Capitalism is well beyond its prime, and the older it gets the more reactionary it becomes. An independent labor party that offers workingclass political leadership and solutions is the best protection against it until a system can be fashioned in which those who produce the wealth control its distribution.

Building a comprehensive, cohesive movement to fight the immediate battles that labor faces will take us closer to that day. □



Minnesota activists counter-organize against Operation Rescue.

How to stop anti-abortion terror? Armed self-defense of clinics!

might still be on the rampage, except that when he shot up Preterm Health Services, a security guard fired back. As Salvi fled, he dropped a satchel whose contents — including another gun and 700 rounds of ammunition — allowed police to identify him.

State emboldens far right. To organize *armed self-defense*...or to return to the days of forced motherhood or coat hangers and back-alley abortions. That is the "choice" that anti-choicers offer women.

For years, liberal feminists have begged the police, Democrats and federal marshals to defend women's clinics, with little to show for their efforts. Just one of many examples: In 12 years, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms recorded 123 arsons, 37 bombings, and 1,500 cases of stalking, assault, sabotage, and burglary against clinics and abortion providers — yet BATF has prosecuted only 49 people.

The Democrats, who were supposed to get tough with fetus fetishists, encourage them by joining Republicans in politically bashing "immoral" women.

On the one hand, the politicians may see to it that poor mothers lose their children to orphanages. But if those same women seek an abortion, they could be shot! The unmistakable bipartisan message: It's open hunting season on women and women's rights.

Some saviors of the unborn say they abhor the violence. If they are sincere, they should get out of the fetus-rescue business and find a new cause — like helping to feed those who are already born and starving in U.S. ghettos.

They need to recognize that their movement is hopelessly infested with Klan types, Nazi skinheads, anti-Semites, and racists, and its goal of

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Spurred by NAFTA, the Liberal Party is slashing social services and is privatizing everything in sight. But a student strike signals more resistance to come.



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Those people who see the demise of the USSR as the end of socialism should look again, says columnist Clara Fraser. The world's first workers state was only a dress rehearsal for great transformations ahead.



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Fund Drive a Smash Success!

We thanked our generous readers last issue, before we had a total for our 1994 fund drive, but now we are doing it again. You contributed a whopping \$72,500 — \$7,500 over our goal!

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 facing page.

First ruling is mixed in Sandy Nelson lawsuit

Coworkers buoy political-rights case

BY NINA SEVERINI

Reporter/radical Sandy Nelson started out her new year in the courtroom of Judge Vicki Hogan, who delivered some good news and some bad news to Nelson, her lawyers, and the 70 fans of free speech who gathered to cheer her on at a January 3 hearing in Tacoma, Wash. Nelson is suing her boss, *The News Tribune*, for yanking her from reporting and exiling her to a copy-editing job. The daily paper claims that her activism on behalf of a gay-rights initiative threatened its "appearance of objectivity." Both sides had asked Hogan, a Pierce County Superior Court judge, to find on their behalf without having to send the case on to trial.

Instead, Hogan's ruling was mixed. She rejected some of each side's issues and set a trial date of September 1996 for thrashing out the rest. Nelson will appeal the issues she lost and is asking for reconsideration of the decision not to summarily order her return to reporting.

In seeking reconsideration, Nelson is offering fresh arguments, including statements by coworkers who were inspired by recent case developments to explain how management's clamp-down on her is curtailing their activities, too.

Bosses' ideal:

robot reporters. Nelson is represented by William Bender, Paul Chuey, and James Lobsenz, all of the American Civil Liberties Union. Their arguments for summary judgment in January were based on two kinds of claims.

In the first place, they said, Nelson's transfer violates a state law, passed by popular initiative, that forbids job discrimination based on a person's political activity.

TNT also asked Hogan to decide on this point, but in the other direction. They said that because the law wasn't passed until 1992, it shouldn't be applied to Nelson, whom they transferred two years earlier — despite the fact that the retribu-

tion is clearly ongoing!

Hogan said this question should be sent to trial, but Nelson hasn't given up trying to persuade the judge that the *Tribune* so clearly lacks any case here that she should find against them *now*. Otherwise, *TNT* will be able to trample all over the rights of Nelson, and any other employee whose political behavior they disapprove of, for another year and a half.

Four of Nelson's coworkers have offered sworn declarations about how the treatment of Nelson is causing them to restrict their own involvement in the community.

In one, Kathleen Merriman, a feature writer and health reporter, describes the reaction of former manager Norm Bell when she once told him she would like to donate to an organization that provides food and shelter to the mentally ill. He said it would compromise her ability to report on agencies that serve the mentally ill!



Nelson and her ACLU lawyers with a capacity crowd of supporters at January 3 court hearing. At table, from left: James Lobsenz, Nelson, William Bender, Paul Chuey.

Making rights on paper real. In addition to the 1992 state law, Nelson and her ACLU team cited the state constitution as support for a summary judgment. When the *TNT* took Nelson off her education beat, it violated protections in the Washington constitution for free speech and for participation in the initiative process and general electoral arena.

On this, Hogan dismissed Nelson's claims outright. She accepted the *Tribune* argument that previous court rulings have not extended these constitutional guarantees to private-sector employees.

Attorney Chuey asked, "What's the point of giving individuals the right to collect

signatures in a mall [for an initiative] if their employers can fire them for doing it?" He also pointed out exceptions that have been made to the pattern of exempting private owners from safeguards usually applied only to public employers.

But Hogan was unswayed. Nelson is preparing to ask an appeals court to reinstate her constitutional claims.

Bring back the muck-rakers! In Nelson's corner are an impressive range of supporters internationally, including many media colleagues, such as syndicated columnist Norman Solomon. Her defense committee has launched a campaign to broaden that support even further. They aim to win endorsements from celebrities, high-profile artists, renowned civil rights lawyers and still more noted journalists.

The campaign comes at a time when growing numbers of journalists are seeing through

the publishers' self-serving myth of objectivity, forcing the industry to grudgingly reexamine its pretense of aloof detachment from its readership — a stance that is only of recent origin, although they would like us to believe that it's a holy and eternal tradition.

New endorsers will join a group whose recent additions include author Jill Nelson (Volunteer Sla-

very: My Authentic Negro Experience); District 1199 Northwest SEIU; Utah NOW; Tom Hansen of Pastors for Peace; the National Campaign for Freedom of Expression; and left journalists Michael Albert (*Z* magazine) and David Barsamian (Alternative Radio, Colorado).

You can put your name on this illustrious list! Donations and offers of help can be directed to the Sandy Nelson Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98415, or call (206)756-9971. □

Nina Severini, 23, is a free-lance writer and college student currently working at a Seattle stock brokerage.

...Abortion

from the cover

denying reproductive rights is Hitlerian. In short, it's fascist.

Fight fire with fire. The gauntlet has been thrown down. It is time for feminists to organize armed patrols to defend every single abortion clinic.

Government must pay the community the cost of doing

the job it has abdicated. Working women and men can't afford to quit their jobs to patrol clinics 24 hours a day. Therefore, federal money should be forthcoming so that clinic defenders can:

- hire, train, and arm civilian guards;
- install metal detectors and post guards at clinic entrances;
- and convene an independent, grassroots commission to investigate the connections between the anti-abortion movement and the ultraright.

To realize these demands, feminists need to create strong new alliances with labor activists and other groups whose rights are drawing fire.

We're in the middle of a war over fundamental liberties, and it has escalated into a shooting war. The next time a revolver-waving maniac approaches a clinic, defenders must be ready to use equal force. If these thugs know that's the reception they can expect, they'll think twice.

Save a woman's life — demand a gun. □

Third national meeting of socialist feminist caucus Radicals of color tackle topics from Native rights to multi-racial unity

BY MOISÉS MONTOYA

Just two short weeks after the racist, anti-immigrant Proposition 187 was voted in at the California ballot box, a group of activists of color gathered in Oakland for our third national meeting.

The plenum of the National Comrades of Color Caucus (NCCC) of the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women, like the ongoing organizing against Proposition 187 in the court and in the streets happening at the same time, showed that people of color are tough, determined leaders who are not about to let their rights be stripped away and their achievements rolled back.

Team leadership in action. Black, Latino, Asian, and Native members of FSP and RW converged from across the U.S. for the plenum, held November 25-27. Guests in attendance included one of our Jewish comrades and a special participant from Australia, Bundjalung (Aboriginal) elder Charles Moran.

National Caucus Coordinator Yolanda Alaniz opened the meeting with a keynote address on effective team-building: how to mount a collective effort not to win money or trophies, as more familiar teams do, but in order to make a revolution on U.S. soil.

Other features included an evaluation of our activism in the people of color movements; international reports on the Australian Aboriginal struggle and on embattled Cuba; a discussion of the similarities and differences between the Chicano and Native American movements; an examination of the caucus' impact on the party and RW; and a motivational report on recruitment.

Putting on the plenum gave us all a chance to learn or improve skills, something I especially gained from as one of its organizers. This emphasis on training was continued in skills workshops held on finances, administration, setting priorities, and writing for the press.

A sumptuous Chinese banquet in nearby Berkeley rounded out our rewarding weekend.

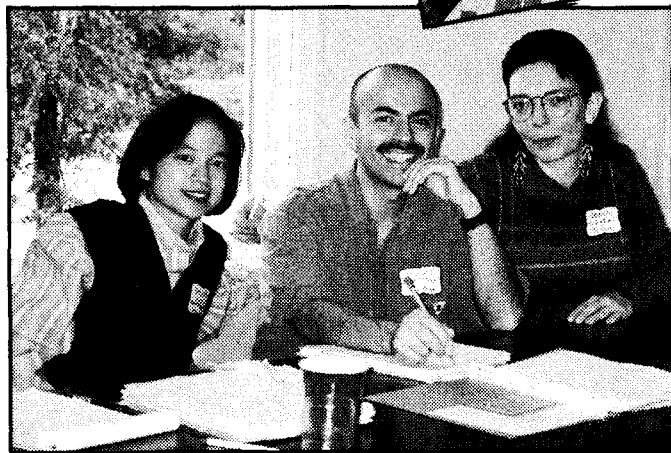
Getting the global overview. Charles Moran, the Bundjalung elder from Baryulgil, New South Wales, reported on Aboriginal workers there, who are fighting for redress of injuries brought on by over three decades of mining raw asbestos. Moran showed how Aboriginal struggles in Australia for things like land rights, cultural preservation, and self-determination are similar to Native American battles in the U.S.

Noting that events in one country

affect the other, Moran asserted that oppressed people the world over have a common enemy, the globally integrated capitalist system. He concluded that international socialism, a method of production meeting the needs of the many instead of filling the bank accounts of the few, is the only answer.

Chicano labor activist Gil Veyna sounded the same theme in a presentation on the situation in Cuba and our organizing in defense of the Cuban revolution.

U.S. businesses hope that the vicious U.S. embargo against the island will lead to the reintroduction of capitalism there. But Fidel Castro and the Cubans have said, "¡Gracias pero no!" ("Thanks, but no thanks!"),



and international opposition to the blockade is on the rise. (Please see back-page article.)

Veyna reviewed the highlights of FSP and RW's intensive involvement in anti-embargo work, which has included participation in several of the aid Friendships organized by Pastors for Peace. It has also included discussion of what political course the Cuban government needs to steer so that the revolution survives. We are the foremost champions of an internationalist outlook, full workers' democracy, and attention to the needs and ideas of those most affected by the crisis — women, lesbians and gays, and Afro-Cubans.

During the weekend we held our plenum, these perspectives, plus concrete proposals for international support actions, were being raised in Havana by an FSP representative to the first World Conference in Solidarity with Cuba.

Revolutionary integration vs. cultural nationalism. The similarities and differences between Native Americans and Chicanos were reported on in a joint presentation by Debra O'Gara, who is an Alaskan Native, and



Center: Yolanda Alaniz, chairperson of the National Comrades of Color Caucus. Below and to her left: Charles Moran, Australian Aboriginal leader and special guest speaker. From bottom left to top right, participants enter into their work with zest, whether conversing or cooking: Emily Woo Yamasaki, Moisés Montoya, Debra O'Gara, Diane Fujino, Nell Wong, Janice Pono, Merle Woo.

myself, a Chicano — a descendant of Mexicans of mixed indigenous and Spanish

heritage.

We identified strong areas of commonality based on our overlapping ethnicity, mutual abuse at the hands of the U.S. ruling class, and shared demands for justice. The main difference we discussed was that Chicanos are not a nation, while Native Americans are. We based this conclusion on Lenin's definition of a nation as an historically evolved, stable community of people, forged on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological makeup manifested in a common culture.

For groups who are not nations, identifying as such leads to cultural nationalism: racial/cultural exceptionalism and isolationism coupled with the downplaying of internal class divisions. Cultural nationalism leads to cultural chauvinism, the notion that one's culture is superior to all others.

Agreement with these points by participants was nearly unanimous. Discussion drew out the key point that the media, politicians, and big business are trying to mask *class divisions* in this country by provoking *race war*. It is the job of revolutionaries, especially revo-

lutionaries of color, to show the truths the capitalists are trying to hide and to spearhead multi-racial alliances.

Plenty of opportunities to make a difference. In all the movements, FSP and RW members of color have been busy combating the intensified war on workers and the poor and winning people to our socialist feminist politics and organizations. As well as being engaged in all the specific people of color movements, we have had a strong presence in campaigns against the Nazis, against U.S. bullying around the globe, and for the rights of immigrants, women, and sexual minorities.

We agreed to increase our efforts in promoting dialogue and solidarity between Blacks and Jews, groups who are pitted against each other both by the ruling establishment and by cultural nationalists. We also agreed to step up our organizing on the job, where all workers of color join together against a common enemy, the boss. Their militancy has ignited the labor movement time and again, and in their hands lies the power to turn this system around.

One of a kind and growing. It was exciting for us to realize that the Comrades of Color Caucus had grown about 30 percent since our last plenum. The secret to our success is our feminist, Trotskyist program, which speaks to the needs of the most disenfranchised and is the basis on which we have built this unique multi-racial and multi-issue caucus. We not only represent the diversity in FSP and RW, but make policy that politically orients our organizations in the people of color movements.

The caucus exists because we believe that the leadership of people of color is vitally needed today. The working class is looking for humane solutions to the overwhelming problems it faces, and the people who currently run our lives have proven that they don't have any. The answers are going to have to come from the bottom up.

International solidarity, support for indigenous struggles, and defense of civil rights, affirmative action, and immigrant rights are at the top of our caucus agenda. We're serious, we're proud, and we've done our homework. It's forward from here — look for us! □

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Dateline Canada

Liberal Party government dismantles social programs to serve NAFTA

BY MARCEL HATCH
AND DYLAN KENDRICK

In 1993, Canada's Liberal Party swept into office by promising to create jobs, save social programs, and renegotiate the unpopular North American Free Trade Agreement. It has delivered the exact opposite, and the country is reeling.

Only bankers and brokers celebrated on February 28, as Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's government announced a 1995-96 budget that will lay off workers, gut services, implement NAFTA, and privatize national resources.

The Liberal plan fulfills the agenda of the Tories, Canada's equivalent of the U.S. Republicans. The moral to draw from their treachery is that the Liberals are no more friends of the working class than their conservative "opponents" are. Workers worldwide have no home in any capitalist party — no matter how "liberal" the facade.

Budget axe benefits business. The Liberals intend to sell state industries, dismember social spending by \$20 billion, raise workers' taxes, and levy huge entry fees on immigrants — all in the name of "deficit reduction." In fact, their plan was crafted to comply with NAFTA rules; they are doing their part to ensure that Canada more and more becomes just a vast exploitable market for U.S. multinationals.

Central to the budget is a reduction in federal monies that go to provinces for social programs. The resulting squeeze will force local governments to implement user fees and privatize services. The U.S. medical-pharmaceutical-insurance complex is drooling over the prospect of provinces opening up major parts of the socialized Medicare system, one of Canada's most potentially lucrative service-delivery

areas, for private development.

The government's 70 percent share in PetroCanada is already for sale to global oil concerns. The national railway, too, is up for auction.

comes from an "end the deficit" and "no new taxes" movement led by ultra-conservatives connected to big business. This so-called revolt benefits corporations by harnessing the raw anger

enues to use paying for job-creating services like free 24-hour childcare, free transportation, and free education for all.

The other business-driven slogan, "no new taxes," should become "tax the rich!" According to Canada's Finance Department, the contribution made by corporations to government revenues dropped from 15 percent in 1980 to seven percent in 1992. During that same time, wage earners' share rose from 40 to 48 percent.

A hefty increase of taxes on big business, whose profits derive from their employees' labor, could both fund a tax reduction for those who need it and make sure that free, quality health-care is expanded, not eliminated.



Vancouver, B.C. On January 25, 100,000 students across the nation protested Liberal Party cuts in education, jobs, and social programs.

Stockholders and CEOs look forward to adding to their fortunes. But layoffs, new taxes and fees, and cuts in loans, grants, unemployment insurance, and welfare will make life harder for everybody else: students, immigrants, people of color, mothers, small-business owners, small farmers, sexual minorities, pensioners, wage earners, and military personnel.

The deceit behind deficits. Support for the slash-the-budget binge

of over-taxed workers to the myth that social programs are responsible for the national debt and that "there is no alternative" to curtailing them. But there are always alternatives.

Government red ink is highly profitable for banks and investors. It is a means to transfer income from workers, who pay most taxes, to banks and speculators, who hold most government securities. By nationalizing the banks, the federal government could refinance its debt, and put bank rev-

For a general strike. Students have set an example for building the kind of mass mobilization needed to squash government take-aways. On January 25th, 100,000 of them hit the streets for a one-day strike. Their fury was directed at education cuts, but their demands were broad. They denounced the planned gutting of unemployment compensation, welfare, and more.

The militancy and awareness these students showed should be emulated by the New Democratic Party. So far, the NDP has made itself more a part of the problem than the solution by accepting the need for deficit-reduction programs that entail mass layoffs and reductions in services to workers.

If the NDP decided to do right by its constituency and organized a national general strike, though, it could bring a swift halt to the anti-labor steamroller.

With strong leadership, the combined clout of all those under the budget axe can make a political course change using the one weapon the ruling class can't match: the power to shut this country down! □

...Solidaridad con Cuba

viene de la página 8

parte el internacionalismo completo, incluyendo el apoyo a las revoluciones incipientes y la reagrupación de izquierda en el mundo entero y, por otra, la democracia de los trabajadores.

La democracia del proletariado significa el establecimiento de consejos de trabajadores o soviets, que tienen el poder de establecer normas tanto para el lugar de trabajo como para el país. El paternalismo impuesto desde arriba, no importa que tan bien intencionado sea, no puede reemplazar a la intervención de los trabajadores cuyos conocimientos proviene de la experiencia directa y cuyo futuro está de por medio.

¿Qué podrá persuadir a los líderes cubanos de dar el control a los trabajadores y de reconocer que tan crucial es la revolución mundial para el futuro del país?

Los simpatizadores internacionales tendrán un papel que jugar. Por ejemplo, la delegación de EEUU que fue a la conferencia aportó una propuesta iniciada por el Partido de Libertad Socialista para una semana mundial de protestas y educación esta primavera y para la internacionalización del próximo Envío de la Amistad. Los organizadores cubanos de la conferencia respaldaron la idea de la participación internacional en el Envío de la Amistad y aprobaron

algunas otras expresiones de solidaridad que fueron propuestas.

Sin embargo, ellos ofrecieron muy poco tiempo para discutir los planes para acciones específicas futuras o para la formación de comités de trabajo, no aprovechando al máximo la conferencia como una oportunidad para utilizar el gran apoyo presente.

Otra iniciativa fue la propuesta a la Federación de Mujeres Cubanas por las Mujeres Radicales (Radical Women), las cuales esperan tomar parte en la organización de una delegación especial internacional de feministas para visitar la isla. La presidenta de la federación, Vilma Espín, se mostró muy contenta con la propuesta y exhortó a las mujeres de EEUU a continuar su apoyo a la revolución cubana y sus logros, especialmente en promover la igualdad de las mujeres.

Vamos a mantener la llama encendida. Las mujeres cubanas, las lesbianas y los homosexuales, Afro-cubanos y los jóvenes son los que más sufren las consecuencias de la crisis y los que tienen el mayor incentivo para resolverla, pero necesitan foros públicos para explorar ideas sobre cómo realizarlo.

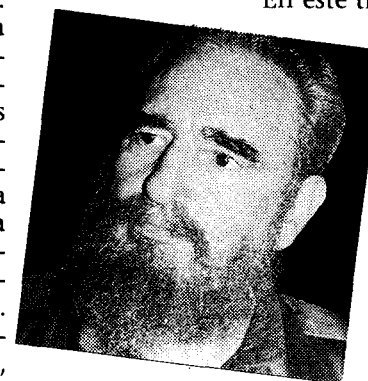
En nuestro artículo sobre Cuba en el ejemplar de Junio de 1994, nosotros recomendamos partidos múltiples de

trabajadores como medio para fomentar y organizar el debate acerca de programas y tácticas. Pero hemos reconsiderado esta postura, basados en parte en nuestros múltiples viajes a Cuba, donde vimos personalmente el peligro de enfrentarse a la sociedad, y por nuestras conversaciones con la gente de allí.

En este tiempo de tanto peligro, los partidos múltiples podrían abrir la puerta a una contrarrevolución financiada por los EEUU, aún si, por ley, el gobierno sólo permitiera la existencia de los partidos que simpatizan con la revolución. También las discusiones y cambios en políticas que se necesitan, se pueden dar si se permite operar a las distintas tendencias políticas dentro del Partido Comunista.

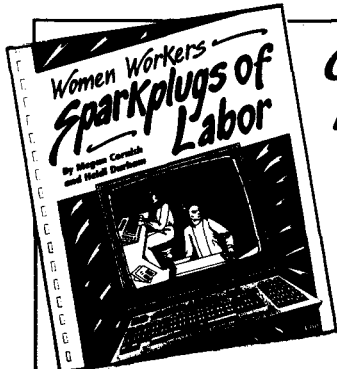
Grupos populares como los Cubanos en la Lucha contra el SIDA ya están influyendo en las políticas del gobierno, pero indirectamente; ellos necesitan una voz dentro del partido.

Para sobrevivir, la revolución debe volver a encender su llama internacional. Cuba no será libre hasta que el socialismo se consolide en los EEUU y en el resto de América. Económica y políticamente ningún país puede ser una isla. El Envío de la Amistad IV y la Conferencia de La Habana comprueban que el poder para acabar con el aislamiento forzado de Cuba es real — y está creciendo. □



Fidel Castro

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BY DEBBIE BRENNAN

Dateline Australia

"Free trade" gives free rein to exploitation

For years, Australians have been exhorted to work harder and "Buy Australian." This, we were told, would create jobs for everybody and "build the nation."

Now the dole queues have lengthened and the language has changed. Today the Australian Labor Party (ALP) government urges us to achieve "world's best practice" and "international competitiveness."

Workers here are being indoctrinated into life in a "free trade" zone, as part of APEC, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

If anything is going to close the book on the fairy tale that Australia can buffer itself against the convulsions of the worldwide profit system, APEC will.

The whip of free trade. Free trade pacts are nothing more than tools by which the strongest capitalists attempt to wring more out of the weaker ones, and all of them try to wring more out of the global labour force.

Undercover of "removing unfair trade barriers," negotiations are used to strip away anything — labour codes, indigenous treaty rights, environmental protections — that hinders business' ability to maximise profits.

Corporate threats of relocation blackmail fearful union leaders into giving up ever greater concessions. Ford Australia is a case in point. It has warned that it will close two major operations unless its workers "produce cars more cheaply."

The United States is spearheading the free trade charge. Workers there can no longer afford the goods they produce, and investors and manufacturers are desperate for new markets. Pacts like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the worldwide General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) are designed to enforce policies favourable to Wall Street.

But until recently, there has been a hole in the net: the Asia-Pacific region. The fix? A free trade arrangement bringing together eighteen economies on both sides of the Pacific, including giants like China and Japan — and, of course, the U.S.

APEC is poised to deliver here the same kind of rapid impoverishment that

launched the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico, against NAFTA.

Shotgun marriages. International relations in the area resemble the writhings of a nest of vipers, and APEC, formalised in 1992, has really lifted the lid off.

- The prime ministers of Australia and Malaysia, Paul Keating and Mahathir bin Mohamad, have quarreled over Malaysia's mistrust of U.S. motives in promoting the pact.

- A summit last November committed APEC's industrialised members to the implementation of free trade policies by 2010, and gave its less-developed members 10 additional years. But dispute rages over the key issue: whether APEC should be an integrated economic community with no tariff barriers at all, or a looser trade bloc reducing only intra-area restrictions. The next APEC summit — scheduled for this November in Osaka, Japan — isn't expected to resolve this deep schism.

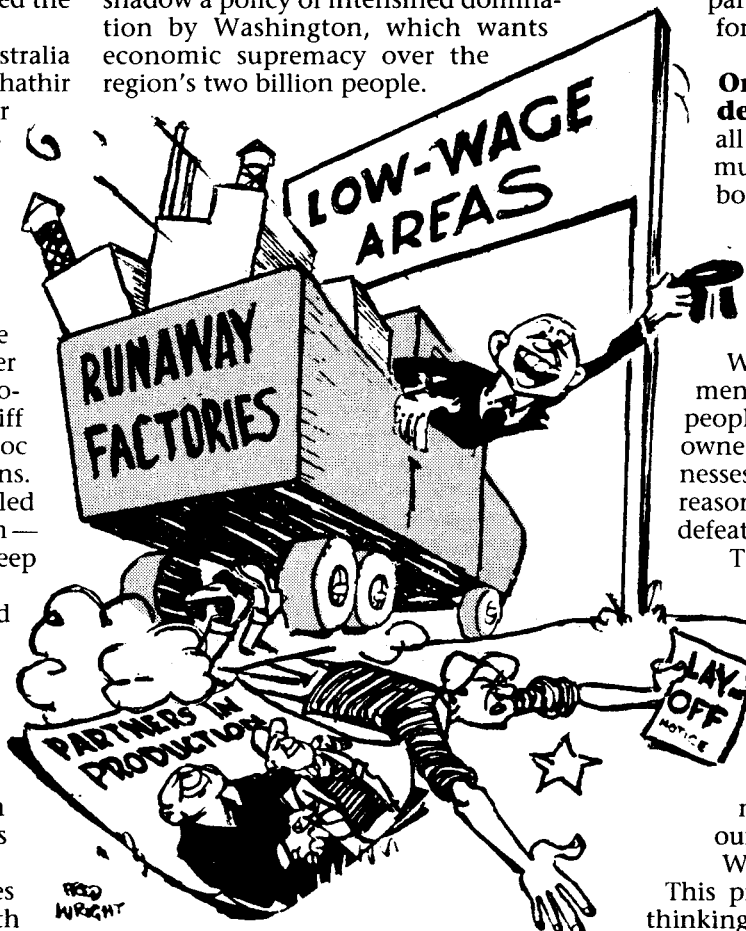
- The U.S. and China just backed off from a trade war over computer software, compact disks, and video movies.

- Australia and the U.S. are constantly at each other's throats about U.S. "dumping" of dairy products in lucrative Asian markets that Australia considers to be its own.

- A third of the APEC countries are heading for a showdown with

one another over oil-rich islands in the South China Sea.

But not all vipers are created equal. The U.S. dumping of farm products on Australia's turf and its fight with Beijing, which isn't over by a long shot, foreshadow a policy of intensified domination by Washington, which wants economic supremacy over the region's two billion people.



Raiding a treasury filled by workers. Behind corporate warfare is the class war. So hand in hand with free trade comes privatisation, the selling off of public assets to both international and domestic capital.

The juiciest pieces — big money-spinners like energy utilities, sea and air terminals, road and rail infrastructure — are first off the rank. But anything is up for bids: social welfare services, hospitals, schools, prisons, even national parks. In Victoria, for example, 20 percent of the workers in full-time positions in the public sector — nursing, teaching, welfare, and government administration — lost their jobs in just two years. Most of these employees were women.

The government sells its assets at less than their value, so it is essentially playing Santa Claus to private companies. Generations of common people worked, sweated, and died to fill the public purse that the state and federal governments, headed by both conservative and Labor parties, are now spilling open for big business.

Organise! Defy the borders! The working classes of all the Asia-Pacific countries must confront our bickering bosses together, as one fist.

Without international solidarity, we will be picked off one by one to feed the insatiable corporate hunger for profits. With it, we can build a movement of unionists, indigenous people, environmentalists, and owners of small farms and businesses — all those with good reason to hate "free trade" — to defeat APEC and its kin.

There's a lot of irony in that catchword. We ordinary people want a world where we can be free of sexism, racism, homophobia, and system-generated misery. Free trade, meanwhile, is just another word for nothing left to lose — but our chains.

Workers of the world, unite! This proud slogan isn't wishful thinking. It's a necessity. □

...Solidarity

from page 8

nize the decisiveness of world revolution to the country's future?

International sympathizers will play a role. For example, the U.S. delegation to the solidarity meeting brought a proposal initiated by the Freedom Socialist Party for a worldwide week of protest and education this spring and for the internationalization of the next Friendshipment.

Cuban conference organizers endorsed the idea of international participation in the Friendshipment, and

they approved some other proposed expressions of solidarity.

But they provided little time to discuss plans for specific future actions or the formation of working committees, and so did not fully capitalize on the conference as an opportunity to build on the incredible support present.

Another initiative was one raised to the Federation of Cuban Women by Radical Women, which hopes to be part of organizing a special international delegation of feminists to visit the island. The federation president, Vilma Espin, was delighted with the proposal, and urged women in the U.S. to continue their support for the Cuban revolution and its achievements, especially in promoting women's equality.

Keeping the beacon lit. Cuban women, along with lesbians and gays, Afro-Cubans, and youth, are hit hardest by the crisis and have the most incentive to resolve it. But they need public forums in which to explore ideas about how to do so.

In our article on Cuba in the June 1994 issue, we advocated multiple workers' parties as a means of spurring and organizing debate about program and tactics. But we've reconsidered this position, based partly on our talks with people during our several trips to Cuba, where we saw firsthand the dangers facing society.

At this time of special peril for Cuba, multiple parties could open the door to U.S.-funded counterrevolution, even if

only those sympathetic to the revolution were legally permitted. And the discussions and policy changes that are needed can occur if principled political tendencies are allowed to operate within the Communist Party.

Grassroots groups like Cubans in the Struggle Against AIDS are already affecting government policy, but indirectly; they need a voice inside the party.

To survive, the revolution must rekindle its internationalist flame. Until socialism takes root in the U.S. and across the Americas, Cuba will never be free. Economically and politically, no country can remain an island. Friendshipment IV and the Havana conference prove that the power to end Cuba's forced isolation is real — and growing. □

There's a world to learn — and to change!

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New York City: March 26 thru May 21
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Call the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women phone numbers listed here for more info and to sign up.



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The Rising of the Women is the Rising of the Race

Seattle, Washington — 206-722-2453
Caste, Class and Race

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James P. Cannon on Trotskyism in the U.S.

Portland, Oregon — 503-228-3090
Woman's Evolution

Vancouver, B.C., Canada — 604-688-5195
Women Workers: Sparkplugs of Labor

Melbourne, Vic., Australia — 03-386-5065
Trade Union Movement Yesterday & Today: A Feminist Study

Editorials

Zapatistas show that emperor has no clothes

HOW QUICKLY things change. Only yesterday, Carlos Salinas de Gortari was man of the hour, catapulting Mexico onto the global economic scene by denationalizing industry and embracing foreign investors. He was part of a troika of Midases, stitching together a seemingly unbeatable "free trade" empire of Mexico, the U.S., and Canada with the golden thread of NAFTA.

Everything appeared perfect for NAFTA's inauguration on January 1, 1994 — until the Zapatistas crashed the ball. The rebels proclaimed the trade agreement to be a death sentence for indigenous people and said they would fight it to the finish.

By year's end, the peso had tumbled and the robe of empire was clearly ragged and patched with lies. Salinas' prosperous economy turned out to be a sleight-of-hand created by selling short-term bonds to paper over long-term debt.

And President Clinton is showing once again that the business of government is bailing out big business. The \$20 billion traveling from U.S. public coffers (i.e., workers' pockets) to Mexico, and from there back to ChaseManhattan Bank, is "corporate welfare as we know it."

THE SALINAS "MIRACLE" is a political disaster as well as an economic one. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) is paralyzed, and intrigue substitutes for leadership as it tries to maneuver between a rock and a hard place.

On one side are the Mexican workers and peasants, who are increasingly angry about the misery that the PRI's "neo-liberal" capitalism is causing them. On the other are the Yankee multinationals, who want their junior partners in imperialism to impose more austerity and repression in order to revive investor confidence and their empire's facade of invincibility.

U.S. and Canadian workers can speed the unraveling of the fabric of empire by pulling on threads north of *la frontera*, the border. Demanding the repeal of NAFTA and withdrawal of Mexican troops from Chiapas is a good place to start. The more cooperatively we undo the handiwork of all the Midases, the faster they will fall, and the sooner we can design a beautiful, borderless, democratic, socialist North America that is made for humanity, not emperors. □

Yes, Virginia, millionaire ball players can be class-struggle heroes

ISN'T IT DIALECTICAL? Because of their visibility and militancy, millionaire ball players are the current key to advancing the class struggle in the United States.

The Major League Baseball Players Association has the greatest opportunity to rally workers onto the offensive since Reagan crushed the air traffic controllers union.

How thrilling it will be on opening day, April 2, if Ken Griffey, Cal Ripken, José Canseco, et al., put their feet and seven-digit salaries on the line to force the likes of racist Marge Schott and obnoxious George Steinbrenner to take their scab players and salary cap and stuff them.

THE STRIKE BEGAN last August as a defense against classic union-busting. Owners demanded that players accept a limit on their salaries. The union refused, as they certainly should have, citing 1993 baseball revenues of \$1.8 billion. Owners then chose to lose immense World Series receipts and National Labor Relations Board decisions rather than bargain with their players.

Owners have conspired to keep players chattel for nearly all of baseball's history. Players could not voluntarily leave the teams, which could "reserve" them for exclusive service at non-negotiable wages or trade them at will. In 1969, Curt Flood, the superb Black outfielder for the St. Louis Cardinals, sparked the drive that won veteran players the right to be free agents who can join the highest-bidding team. *All* players should have this right.

Today, fans pay to see professional players compete in parks that are publicly funded. The owners are pretty much superfluous, yet they "earned" disclosed profits of \$50 million in 1993. And these are the guys whipping up moral outrage over players' salaries!

FANS, ORGANIZED LABOR, AND FS readers can help win this vital strike and promote the interests of all working people. Boycott and picket scab ball games. Urge the major-leaguers to hold exhibition games to benefit other strikers, like the intransigent Staley workers in Illinois; this would electrify the entire labor movement.

In the words of Yankee great Yogi Berra, "When you come to a crossroads, *take it!*" □



Book Reviews

Genetic pseudo-science in the service of racism and sexism

The Bell Curve, by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray. New York: Free Press, 1994. Hardcover, \$30.00.

The Moral Animal, by Robert Wright. New York: Pantheon Books, 1994. Hardcover, \$27.50.

BY ANDREA BAUER

Reviewing *The Moral Animal*, one reporter writes that each generation seems to get the Darwin it deserves.

The Moral Animal and *The Bell Curve* may not be what we deserve, but it's the Darwinism the ruling class needs us to accept.

These books "scientifically" justify the attempt to impose a new domestic order: orphanages instead of welfare, prisons instead of equal opportunity and affirmative action, "family values" instead of reproductive rights and equal pay.

This social devolution has nothing to do with survival of the fittest and everything to do with survival of the richest.

Gene crazy. Genetic determinism is back in vogue. Once called sociobiology, that "science" fell out of favor when it was exposed as thoroughly racist. Now genetic determinism travels by names like evolutionary psychology.

Genetics is an exploding, extremely profitable science, attracting massive investments by corporations hoping to own the next big breakthrough.

Every day a new gene is "discovered" for alcoholism, or homosexuality, or criminality. Lost in the hype is the fact that genes don't determine behavior. By themselves, they don't *determine* anything. Scientists speak of genes "mediating" or "contributing to" a person's characteristics; they recognize that nurture and nature affect us by working *together* in a marvelously complicated way.

For whom the bell curves. The "science" of *The Bell*

Curve is of the blunt-object variety; Herrnstein and Murray are grinding a conservative ax.

Their thesis is that intelligence is heavily influenced by heredity; some groups have more than others; and there's nothing to be done about it. Every link in their intellectual chain is corroded and corrupt.

They postulate that human intelligence can be quantified in a single number, which is dubious, and that IQ tests are a reasonable measure of this quantity, which is ridiculous. They purport to prove that Asians are smarter than whites (by a little) while whites are smarter than Blacks (by a lot).

Every link in the chain of reasoning in The Bell Curve is corroded and corrupt.

But genetics plays a major role in debunking the idea that race, as a valid biological category, even exists. Looking at chromosomes, scientists find more variation among individuals within a race than between that race and another.

The Bell Curve relies on research paid for primarily by the Pioneer Fund, an ultraright foundation begun in the 1930s to promote eugenics—the idea that selective breeding can improve the human race.

Murray has hit the talk-show trail to deny he's a racist (Herrnstein died just before their book was published), but his agenda is clear. A longtime polemicist against welfare, he has described "fatherless boys" in Black communities as living in a "Lord of the Flies culture writ large." Last summer, he testified in Congress in favor of placing the children of welfare mothers in orphanages.

No-win battle of the sexes. Robert Wright, author of *The Moral Animal*, also

sees moral breakdown wherever he looks. But his bleak preoccupation is with gender.

Wright believes all of human behavior is driven, basically, by the self-interested struggle of individuals to ensure the survival of their genes.

For men and women, this struggle takes different — and antagonistic — forms.

Men want to sow lots of seed. At heart, they're all Donald Trump; they'd take up with a new, younger, bosomy babe every few years if they could. Those babes, though, want to catch and *keep* the best provider for their children.

Given our selfish biological imperatives, akin to a genetically programmed state of original sin, Wright believes that we face a uphill battle to be virtuous (monogamous, hard-working, etc.) — but we should try.

The golden age is ahead.

What the authors of these books share is an intense longing to turn back the clock to an era when social roles were rigid; everybody knew who was inferior and who was superior. Wright speaks wistfully of Victorian morality; Murray and Herrnstein date our problems to the egalitarianism of the French Revolution.

But capitalism, while abusing women and people of color terribly, has also raised our consciousness and expectations. We won't go back. Fortunately, there's another choice.

Geneticist Theodosius Dobzhansky said this in *Man-kind Evolving* (1962):

"The most important point in Darwin's teachings was, strangely enough, overlooked. Man has not only evolved, he is evolving... By changing what he knows about the world man changes the world that he knows; and by changing the world in which he lives man changes himself... Evolution need no longer be a destiny imposed from without; it may conceivably be controlled by man, in accordance with his wisdom and his values."

That is the Darwinism we deserve. □

Letters to the Editor

NICOLE AND O.J.

Media frenzy feeds on distortion of real life

I applaud Clara Fraser's piece ("The Lady Vanishes: Where Is the Nicole Brown Simpson Story," Vol. 15 No. 4), but disagree with her on one point. Brown Simpson has not been entirely ignored by the media. She seems to be a frequent "cover girl" in the tabloid press. I'd put this coverage into the same general category as sensationalist TV talk shows.

This media plugs into the fundamentally liberationist desire of the audience to share stories of struggle from their lives. Then the tabloid media undercuts this liberating impulse by relegating all such stories, in the end, into the same old reactionary categories of "Madonna/whore."

Jamie
New York City

In favor of self-defense

While I consider myself a radical reactionary conservative, I agree with you on this: Ms. Brown and Mr. Goldman are the victims, not poor debilitated superstar O.J.

While you and I may differ, we agree that women should fight rather than take abuse.

Uncle Vito
Wasilla, Alaska

ian, it is presently popular wisdom that the accused are innocent until found within reasonable doubt to be guilty.

3) Feminism seems to have blinded the author. Each time I see a report on the O.J. case, I see a picture of Nicole, Ronald, and often even her children.

Moses Fridman
maf10@po.CWRU.Edu

WORLD AFFAIRS

Cuban democracy — in what does it consist?

The article "Cuba Sí, Bloqueo No," written by Yolanda Alaniz (Vol. 15 No. 2) after her visit to the island as part of the Pastors for Peace Caravan, expresses a deep solidarity, and is very truthful. However, there are some ideas that deserve a more in-depth reflection. Just one example: Is the one-party system, in itself, contrary to the democratic spirit? Does party pluralism in fact guarantee true democracy? What has the history been in Cuba?

Carlos Negret Simón
Subdirector, Sierra
Maestra newspaper
Santiago de Cuba

True workers' democracy would allow for more than one revolutionary party. But because Cuba is seriously threatened with U.S.-engineered counterrevolu-

ordinating national responses, ensuring Australia's adherence to international covenants promoting abortion rights, and networking between state-based and international groups. ARNA's address is PO Box E233, St. James, NSW 2000.

We look forward to further coverage of the abortion issue.

Robyn Mills
Children by Choice
Association Inc.
Windsor, Queensland

SEEKING AID

Prison Legal News needs more subscribers

Prison Legal News is a monthly newsletter published and edited by Washington state prisoners. PLN reports on court decisions affecting prisoners and contains information designed to help prisoners vindicate their rights in the judicial system.

Two postage rate increases will be hitting us back-to-back. Given the current political climate, it is all the more important that we present people with an alternative viewpoint.

We can offset the increased costs if we can substantially raise the number of subscribers. The suggested donation for a one-year subscription is \$12.00, or more if you can afford it (\$35.00 for institutions). Please make checks or money orders payable to Prison Legal News and send to P.O. Box 1684, Lake Worth, FL 33460.

Paul Wright
Co-Editor, PLN

CRITICISM AND KUDOS

Translation into Spanish should be all or nothing

I'm sorry to see you folks translating just one article into Spanish. I think that this is condescending, not to mention surprising in light of your contention (in your document on the Chicano struggle) that most Chicanos speak English, regardless of whether they also speak Spanish.

Martha Koester
Seattle

A Clara-fying article

Hurrah for Clara Fraser's Socialism for Skeptics IV (Vol. 15 No. 3). I live in a small city that is an Oregon Citizens Alliance stronghold. Your article makes me realize that an eruption can occur here. As for the *vanguard party*, which I regretfully used to sneer at in past years, it is desperately needed now.

Glenn Kirkindall
Albany, Oregon

Classy class analysis

This is just a note to say how much I appreciate your exceptionally well-written and articulate articles. Your analysis of international and national events is superb. Thank you.

Howard Thorn
Portland, Oregon

Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphics, photographs, and pertinent resource information on world and national affairs. Letters may be edited for length.



Clara Fraser

Hail to the once and future Soviet Union

"Even supposing for a moment that owing to unfavorable circumstances and hostile blows the soviet régime should be temporarily overthrown, the inexpugnable impress of the October revolution would nevertheless remain upon the whole future development of mankind."

—Leon Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*, 1930

LET US NOW PAY TRIBUTE to 75 years of the Soviet Union. While idiots in academia and the media crow about its collapse, I need to express my profound respect and gratitude for its enormous attainments and unquenchable legacy.

Granted, in Moscow and environs today, all is chaos and horror. And why not? Horrendous convulsions are bound to ensue when an advanced social organism, in which production is based on need and planning rather than profit and chance, is wrenchingly replaced with the outmoded, sadistic, dog-eat-dog system of capitalism. The convulsions are history's protest; history is telling us that what is happening is wrong, regressive, and out of sync with the endless upward arc of average people struggling to improve their lives.

Yes, I weep for the Soviet Union's demise. Even more, I detest the military encirclement and CIA/mafia dirty tricks and world market pressures that finally brought it down.

I also mourn the relative passivity of its citizens, who were so traumatized by the Stalinist bureaucracy that they could not summon the hope and the energy to carry out the desperately needed *political* revolution that would have restored democracy, while still retaining the progressive economic forms and social culture.

BUT SHEDDING TEARS FOR DEFEATS is only part of the dialectic of evaluating events. In the case of the USSR, the triumph and incredibly long tenure of the revolutionary state, despite overwhelming obstacles, is the other side of the coin.

How magnificent that this daring, imaginative, and dynamic tryout of new and better ways of living together should have lasted for more than seven decades! Its own founders and theoreticians never believed that an isolated Soviet Union could persist indefinitely. They acknowledged that socialism in one country is an absurdity, and that one workers state could survive only with mounting reinforcement from more and more like-minded states exploding into being.

Similarly, they scoffed at inane bourgeois critics who whined that after 10 or 20 or 70 years the Soviet Union still hadn't reached the productive and living standards of the most developed capitalist democracies. We never promised to, said Trotsky. We have to break the stranglehold of the dead hand of the past before we can even start to come abreast of, much less surpass, nations that never had to lie fallow under centuries of insane czars, a useless nobility, crushing serfdom, and a medieval culture.

So what the Soviets *did* produce — in art, culture, industrialization, agriculture, transportation, science, space exploration, medicine, and more — is stunning.

How did the USSR endure so long and achieve so much in the face of unremitting obsession to annihilate it? Simply because of the tremendous power inherent in socialism's reasonableness, naturalness, and capacity to inspire workers and rebels the world over with its profound appeal to the ideas of justice, ethics, equality, and communalism. The Soviet Union was a dress rehearsal, humanity's first real plunge into the uncharted seas of the pursuit of happiness.

INSTEAD OF SUCCUMBING to confusion and melancholia and despair over the fall of the world's first workers state, we must commemorate it and illuminate its lessons, so that we can proceed to stage Act Two with a greater wisdom born from experience.

History never follows a straight path. Socialism will overtake the planet when its time comes, just like *capitalism* did! Many people think the current profit system is as eternal and indestructible as matter/energy, but capitalism took more than a thousand years, and innumerable false starts, to entrench itself. And it too shall pass away, when the global majority is thoroughly sick and tired of being exploited and brutalized.

We must not allow ourselves to be infected with the moaning and groaning of doomsayers who were once ready to justify Stalinism's wildest violations of Marxism-Leninism and are now ready to inter Stalinism and socialism in the same grave. We will confidently nourish our radical optimism by revering the memory of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, which conceived and executed one helluva revolution in a stultified, backward country, and by continuing to adapt that party's electrifying principles to the here-and-now.

We come not to bury the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, but to praise its truly liberationist and humanitarian origins and aspirations. Despite the ravages of Stalinism, the good that this noble experiment accomplished lives long after it. □



Two people were slain

I feel that Ronald Goldman has been left out of the story even more than Nicole Simpson. We need to remember that two people are dead.

Jeffrey Clark
jwclark@coral.bucknell.edu

Why ethnicity noted?

Why does Ms. Fraser mention that Goldman was Jewish if she never makes any other reference to that?

Bill Michtom
psu00974@odin.cc.pdx.edu

Certain groups of people are special targets of violence, Jews among them. Goldman's ethnicity may have been incidental in his murder, but in the larger scheme of things, Jewishness is often decisive to a person's fate. Jews also tend to be consigned to obscurity; this may help explain why the media ignores Goldman. —Ed.

Fraser's views odoriferous

"The Lady Vanishes" was a crock of shit. Here's why:

1) Socialism is an economic system, *not* a philosophy, theology, or handbook of trial law.

2) Unless the author is a fascist, communist, monarchist, or other kind of totalitar-

tion, we reconsidered our opinion that forming multiple workers' parties would help solve the country's crisis. For more on this, please see back-page article.—Ed.

ANC deserves uncritical support during transition

Nelson Mandela and the ANC deserve our understanding for walking a fine line to avoid a white backlash and its horrible consequences. South Africans appear to have a far better understanding of the ANC's predicament than you do (World Beat, "Strike Wave Challenges Pro-Business ANC Policies," Vol. 15 No. 4).

Let's focus on ANC accomplishments and withhold criticism until a generous amount of time has passed and the ANC has failed to deliver.

Will Eickholt
Des Moines, Washington

Australian network defends abortion rights

There is a national network of groups working for repeal of abortion laws in all Australia's states: the Abortion Rights Network of Australia ("Activists Challenge Laws Against Abortion and Homosexuality," Vol. 15 No. 3). Its aims include co-

Solidarity swells for defiant Cuba

Participant reports on Friendshipment IV and Havana World Conference

BY DOUG BARNES

Last November, Havana was the site of two inspiring events that signaled rising opposition to the U.S. embargo against Cuba. The fourth Pastors for Peace Friendshipment caravan delivered a record 260 tons of aid. Caravanistas arrived on the eve of the first World Conference in Solidarity with Cuba, held from November 21-25 and attended by over 3,000 people from 109 countries.

Busting the blockade. U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment IV was the first to include a trip across Canada. From Seattle, I joined the 13-day trek eastward from Vancouver Island to Montreal. We received enthusiastic welcomes in more than a dozen cities where we stopped to collect aid, educate, demonstrate, raise funds, and talk to the media.

On November 17, as our U.S. contingent attempted to cross into Canada at Buffalo, New York, U.S. Customs agents impounded some of the Cuba-bound computers. Undaunted by threats, caravanistas carried boxes of aid by hand across the border. Later, when Customs seized a van, quick-thinking caravanistas blocked the tow truck with their bodies until Customs agreed to return both the van and the computers.

In Montreal, dockworkers helped us

load more than 28 cargo containers of aid, which made their way to Cuba by freighter. Weary but elated, we then boarded jets headed for the Caribbean.

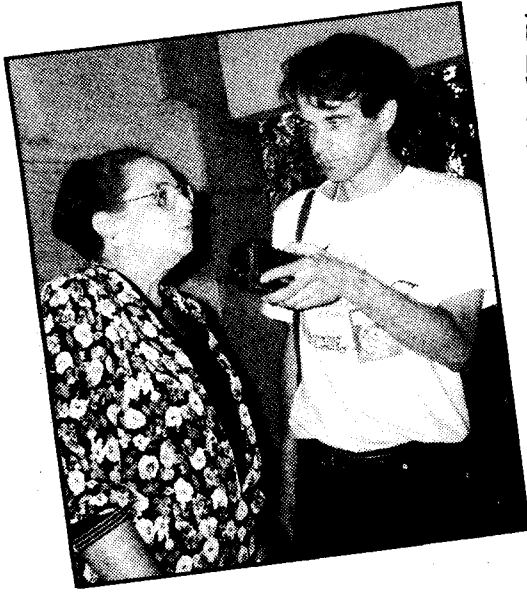
What road for the economy? We streamed into Havana's Karl Marx Theatre for the first session of the solidarity conference, which opened thrillingly. Thousands of participants chanted demands to end the blockade as dozens of speakers lined up to denounce Yankee aggression and praise Cuba's defense of the downtrodden.

At the closing session, thunderous applause greeted Fidel Castro's pledge never to return to capitalism.

The embargo and the demise of trade with the former Soviet bloc have created economic crisis on the island. The Cuban leadership has had to respond by taking some drastic measures that they recognize as steps backward. These include entering into more than 180 joint-venture agreements with foreign businesses and legalizing the dollar.

Some concessions to world capitalism are unquestionably necessary. But the danger is that Cuba, like Russia and Eastern Europe, will end up back in capitalism's pocket. Of immediate concern is the government's partial dismantling of centralized planning, a cornerstone of a workers state that becomes all the more crucial

Doug Barnes talks with Vilma Espín, president of the Federation of Cuban Women. Doug Barnes conversa con Vilma Espín, presidenta de la Federación de Mujeres Cubanas.



POR DOUG BARNES

En noviembre pasado, La Habana fue la sede de dos eventos que señalaron el incremento en la oposición al embargo de Estados Unidos contra Cuba. La cuarta caravana del Envío de la Amistad de los Pastores por la Paz entregó un récord de 260 toneladas de ayuda. Los caravanistas llegaron la víspera del día de la primera Conferencia Mundial en Solidaridad con Cuba, que se realizó del 21 al 25 de noviembre y a la cual asistieron más de 3,000 personas de 109 países.

Un golpe al bloqueo. El Envío de la Amistad IV entre Estados y Cuba fue el primero en incluir un viaje a través de Canadá. Desde Seattle, yo me integré a la travesía de 13 días desde la Isla de Vancouver hasta Montreal. Nos ofrecieron calurosas bienvenidas en más de una

docena de ciudades donde nos detuvimos para reunir ayuda, instruir, hacer manifestaciones, reunir fondos y hablar con los medios de comunicación.

El 17 de noviembre, al tratar nuestro contingente de Estados Unidos de cruzar a Canadá desde Buffalo, Nueva York, agentes de aduanas de EEUU decomisaron algunas de las computadoras destinadas a Cuba. Los caravanistas, no conmovidos por las amenazas, transportaron a mano las cajas hasta el otro lado de la frontera. Más tarde, cuando la aduana detuvo una camioneta, a unos caravanistas se les ocurrió rápidamente bloquear la grúa con su propio cuerpo hasta que la aduana estuvo de acuerdo en devolvernos tanto la camioneta como las computadoras.

En Montreal, los trabajadores de los muelles nos ayudaron a subir más de 28 contenedores de carga de ayuda, las cuales llegaron a Cuba en barco. Después, cansados pero emocionados, abordamos el avión con dirección al Caribe.



Canadian caravanistas at U.S. border. Los caravanistas de Canadá a la frontera de los Estados Unidos.

when limited capitalist practices must be reintroduced.

Best defense: internationalism and workers' democracy. Castro's message that Cuba will go it alone if it is to be courageous, but not realistic. With the Soviet Union's much vaster resources to rely on, Stalin announced his intention of building socialism in one country. It proved impossible, just as Lenin, Trotsky, and the early Bolsheviks predicted. The only hedge against capitalist restoration are thoroughgoing internationalism, including support for budding revolutions

and left regroupment around the globe, and workers' democracy.

Proletarian democracy means the establishment of workers' councils, or soviets, that have the power to set policy for both the job site and the country. Top-down paternalism, however well-intentioned, cannot substitute for the intervention of the laborers, whose knowledge about problems and solutions comes from direct experience and whose future is at stake.

What will persuade the Cuban leadership to give control to workers and recog-

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La solidaridad aumenta enormemente en pro de una Cuba desafiante

Un participante presenta un informe sobre el Envío de la Amistad IV y la Conferencia Mundial de La Habana

¿Qué camino debe tomar la economía? Entramos en grandes multitudes al Teatro Karl Marx de La Habana para la primera sesión de la conferencia fue muy emocionante. Miles de participantes cantaban sus exigencias de acabar con el bloqueo a la vez que docenas de ponentes se alistaban para denunciar la agresión yanqui y para elogiar la defensa por parte de Cuba de los oprimidos.

En la sesión de clausura, aplausos ensordecedores celebraron la promesa de Fidel Castro de nunca regresar al capitalismo.

El embargo y el fin del comercio con el antiguo Bloque Soviético han creado una crisis económica en la isla. Los líderes cubanos han tenido que responder con medidas drásticas que ellos reconocen que son pasos hacia atrás. Estos incluyen el inicio de más de 180 acuerdos de co-inversiones con negocios extranjeros y la legalización del dólar.

Algunas concesiones al mundo capita-

lista son indudablemente necesarias. Pero el peligro es que Cuba, como Rusia y Europa Oriental, acabe de nuevo en el bolsillo del capitalismo. De urgencia inmediata es el desmembramiento parcial por parte del gobierno de la planeación central, que es una de las bases de un estado de los trabajadores que se vuelve aún más necesaria cuando se tiene que reintroducir prácticas capitalistas limitadas.

La democracia de los trabajadores y el internacionalismo. El mensaje de Castro de que Cuba lo realizará sola si así lo tiene que hacer, es de mucho valor, pero no es realista. Stalin anunció sus intenciones de construir el socialismo en sólo un país, contando con los recursos de la Unión Soviética que son mucho más vastos. Fue imposible, exactamente como Lenin, Trotsky y los Bolcheviques lo predijeron. Las únicas barreras en contra de la restauración del capitalismo son, por una

sigue en la página 4

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