



World capital and Stalinism slew the Soviet economy

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Thelma and Louise "R" Us, writes Clara Fraser

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The Freedom Socialist

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

May-July 1992

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Let's tool up for a new system! The government doesn't work

BY MATT NAGLE

In the good ol' USA, the sun is shining, the birds are singing, the flowers are blooming — but the government is sputtering, hacking and wheezing in the throes of terminal do-nothingness.

We should all be delighted!

The fact that this inhuman, infernal, damned system is rapidly killing itself means our chance to bust out of these dark days is tantalizingly close.

The U.S. government has developed into a tiresome, petty passel of squabbling, spoiled rich kids and everybody knows it. ~~Forward movement has ground to a halt~~ because the capitalist system that the government administers is cracking up.

The Democrats and Republicans are feudin' like the Hatfields and McCoys. The Dems don't have the guts or a reason to stand up to the Republicans, whose entire job consists of desperately making sure the wealthy stay that way.

Last days of the dinosaurs. People from coast to coast are realizing that both sides in the Capitol Hill Grudge Match are hopelessly out of touch. The politicians' goofiness, corruption and naked ambition show to what level bourgeois "leadership" has sunk.

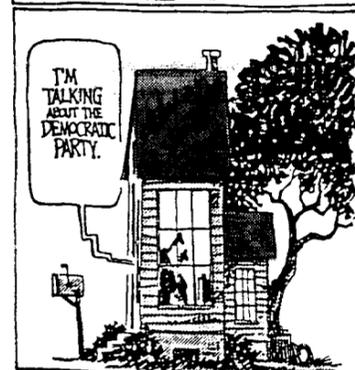
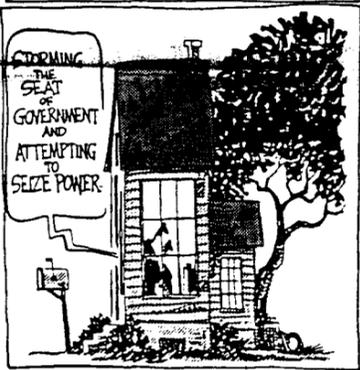
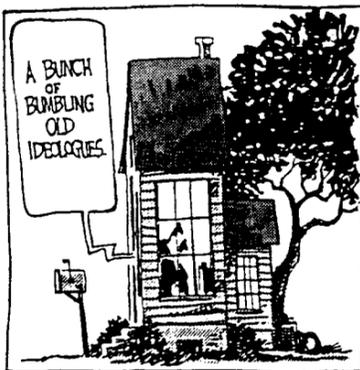
The country is in crisis. The recession lingers, jobs are disappearing, homelessness and AIDS are rampant. Women and women's rights aren't safe anywhere. People of color, Jews, lesbians and gays and all minorities except rul-

ing-class white men are under attack in the streets, courts, and legislatures. Unions are besieged, radicals are persecuted. The cities are poisoned war zones and the earth is being destroyed.

So the politicians talk about meeting our needs, but they can't and won't do anything. They can't solve the problems without changing the system — and they are the system. Leaders don't emerge from cesspools.

The race is on — so what? Now we have a new lineup of presidential pretenders who promise to save us from those other guys, the bums. "I'm not one of them," they say. They all claim to be protest candidates!

Jerry Brown, H. Ross Perot and Bill Clinton are hardly alternatives. We have before us a slate of cynics, demagogues, idiots and liars, being received with a nationwide yawn. In fact, more Americans voted for their choice of Elvis Presley



postage stamp than in the presidential primaries!

Not reform — revolution! We can't fix a structure that's beyond repair. The capitalist party is over; its Republican managers are anachronisms. Let's organize a new system, a beautiful socialist society where our day-to-day dread and worries about how we're going to get by

will vanish.

Let's demand some *real* leaders. Let's nurture powerful and dynamic leadership from among the most oppressed of the working class.

Let's make revolution! We want it. We need it. After all, we have nothing to lose but our misery — and this ridiculous gaggle of "leaders" that only an editorial cartoonist could love! □

Keep the "Newspaper for Optimistic Rebels" from drowning in red ink

Give to our \$50,000 Fund Drive!

To see the light at the end of the tunnel, you have to be facing in the right direction.

That's what the *Freedom Socialist* has been doing for 16 years. We've kept our eyes on the underpaid,

overworked and discriminated-against workers whose struggles and triumphs are the real news of our era from South Korea to South Africa.

To continue doing this, we need *your* openhanded financial support — now

— for our *Freedom Socialist* \$50,000 Fund Drive. We are deeply in debt and going deeper by the hour.

We know you understand why, because you probably are, too. The current U.S. recession, which officially began in July 1990, has already lasted months longer than any since World War II — and it follows a decade in which most people's living standards headed downward. People who have jobs know that they may be just one layoff away from joblessness; people with no jobs feel they may be just one bad break away from homelessness. And there is not much loose change rattling around in people's pockets.

This is the most crucial time to give generously, in order to keep the radical press from going under. The capitalist economy can't heal itself; only the orga-

nized power of working people can banish hard times.

And that's what we're all about. We tell the stories of the most important newsmakers, from Chicana and Mexicana strikers besting Watsonville Canning in California, USA, to Arrernte Aboriginal people battling government land grabs in Australia's Northern Territory.

As the newspaper for optimistic rebels, the *FS* has been a valuable organizing tool for nearly two decades. Now, our fate rests with you. We *must* raise \$50,000 by September 1.

Twenty-five years ago, at the 1966 founding of the Freedom Socialist Party, a six-page, 8 1/2 by 7-inch pamphlet called the *Freedom Socialist* found its way from a typewriter to a xerox

to page 3

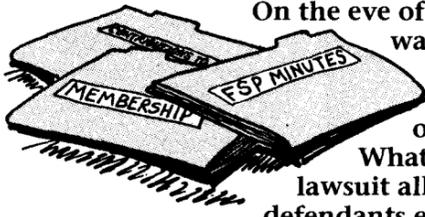
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On the eve of trial, the Freeway Hall Case radicals have won reaffirmation of privacy rights. What's this crucial lawsuit all about? The defendants explain.

Fighting racism on campus 9

The pioneering attempt to win an Ethnic Studies Requirement at the University of Washington flunked. How can the next try earn a passing grade? Irene Mora reports.



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Freedom Socialist Credo

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

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

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

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

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

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Letters

Yugoslav thanks

Thank you very much for the Freedom Socialist. I found it very interesting, especially the articles "Abortion wars in Eastern Europe" and "One last time: Hands OFF our bodies" (Vol. 13 #1).

Dear friends, as you know my country is at war. Unfortunately, I do not have enough money to buy a subscription. But if I can help you, please let me know.

Vedran Vucic
Subotica, Yugoslavia

Istanbul Marxists

We are a Marxist group in Turkey known by the name of one of our periodicals, GELENEK (Tradition) and are aiming at forming a political party.

We would like to follow your editions regularly. Please send us the latest copies of your newspaper and inform us about subscriptions for libraries.

Dünya Yayincilik
Istanbul, Turkey

Free Steve Farmer

There's good news on the Steve Farmer case!

First, he has a new attorney, Jim Lobsenz, the well-known ACLU lawyer who helped Black, gay sergeant Perry Watkins win his 10-year discrimination suit against the U.S. Army.

And recently a witness for the prosecution, Steven Katz, recanted his testimony, saying he lied on the stand at the coercion of Mike Hogan, a gay hatchet man in the King County Prosecutor's Office. Hogan seduced Katz into falsely testifying that Steve told him he was HIV positive.

Steve deserves a much shorter sentence. Five years ago he was convicted of patronizing a young male prostitute, was force-tested for AIDS and received an abominable seven-and-one-half-year sentence solely for being gay and HIV positive. Heterosexual men in similar circumstances often receive a three-month sentence.

Steve has been moved to a lower security penitentiary in Monroe, Washington. He needs

our continued support. Send letters to Steven Farmer, #936785-B5-13, Twin Rivers Correctional Facility, P.O. Box 888, Monroe, WA, 98272-0888.

Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights
Seattle, Washington

New Gay anthology

Gay Roots: Twenty Years of Gay Sunshine, by Winston Leyland, is painful in that much of the horror we Gay folk had to face in our everyday lives is spoken of in its pages. The simply splendid defiance that we exhibited from the commencement of the first Gay Liberation Fronts in 1969 comes through.

The section on Gay history is balanced among various cultures to indicate that We Are Everywhere.

Do yourself a favor and go out and buy one. Share your copy with a few friends; it will do them a world of good.

Morris Kight
Los Angeles, California

U.S. war crimes

Good god! Buried alive? I knew that hundreds of thousands of people died during the Persian Gulf War. But I never realized how agonizing those deaths had been until I learned that thousands of Iraqi soldiers died of suffocation when they were buried alive in their trenches.

The tragedy of the Gulf War is that those deaths might have been avoided. Because we failed to pursue diplomacy, the real tragedy is we'll never know.

Jeffrey Alan Bullock
Downington, Pennsylvania

Cops, Klan coverup

Who would have thought that Geraldo Rivera would be the one to vindicate a prophetic, controversial editorial published by the Freedom Socialist?

I remembered the editorial the other night as I watched Geraldo present documentation that the KKK was responsible for the 1979-1981 mass murder of young Black men and boys in Atlanta.

The 1981 FS editorial "Black politics in the year of Atlanta" tackled both white law enforcement, for covering up Klan involvement, and the Atlanta Black establishment, for questioning the "morals" of the murdered children and castigating Atlanta residents who armed themselves and patrolled schoolyards and playgrounds to protect their youth.

Wayne Williams, the gay, Black music promoter who was framed for the homicides, is now being represented by William Kunstler and may be awarded a new trial. Let's hope he is free soon and that the KKK and their apologists are brought to justice.

This reminder from the past brought home to me the importance of Left papers like the FS, without which we would never learn the truth.

Enclosed is a \$120 donation to the FS Fund Drive.

Su Docekal
Seattle, Washington

Remember Salem

This year marks the 300th anniversary of the infamous witch hunts in Massachusetts. I suggest that we set some time aside in 1992 to remember the Salem martyrs. If church-crazy goons try to close a family planning center, join the resistance. If Christian fundamentalists try to push anti-gay legislation, push back.

Women know that the mix of church and state is never funny. We're the ones who get the worst of the mix.

Wilma Bullard
Hartford, Connecticut

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

Correction

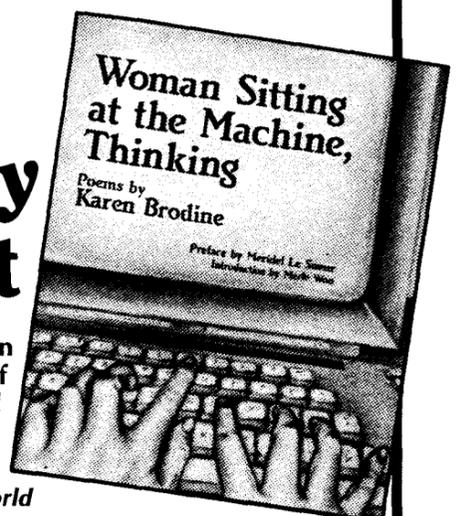
To our everlasting chagrin, we misidentified the book Lenin's Fight Against Stalinism as Lenin's Fight Against Socialism last issue on our centerfold.

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Israel floods occupied areas with settlers as "peace process" fizzles

BY ANDREA BAUER

It's like a magician's trick. With everyone's eyes on the "peace process," what's really going on in the Mideast is accelerated war, Israel against Palestine — settlement of occupied territory, draconian curfews, blanket bans on travel, discriminatory and excessive taxation, detention without charges, prisoner death by torture, killing of civilians, assassination, "open-fire" policy against stone-throwers, deportation, destruction of homes and property, university closures, and repeated bombings of refugee camps.

The biggest rabbit under the peace-process hat is the tripling of settlement activity in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem.

- Israel has confiscated 35,000 more acres of land since March 1991.
- On February 18 of this year, a West Bank settlement was inaugurated as an Israeli city for the first time.
- New housing for up to 50,000 colonists is under construction in the West Bank and Gaza. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has vowed to populate the territories with Jews "to the end of the horizon," in keeping with his Zionist view that Jews have the right and the destiny to turn Palestine into an exclusively Jewish enclave.

Israel: usurper of Palestine, poor cousin to the West. Israel's obsessive drive to forcibly absorb the last fragments of Palestine and to strip the Palestinians of every vestige of national rights is inherent in its nature as a state.

Because it was founded on the dispossession of the Palestinians, Israel will be continue to be surrounded by implacable enemies. Palestinians will never relinquish the fight for self-determination, and their just claim is supported by much of the world.

And the new settlements, like Israel itself, can only be created by physically displacing vast numbers of people. About 750,000 Palestinians live in the 140-square-mile Gaza Strip, one of the world's most crowded areas.

The Palestinians are challenging the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem with the magnificent and intractable Intifada, to which Zionism responds with ever greater repression.

Israel's permanent state of hostilities with the Arabs has in turn necessitated a domestic police state in which no one is free, least of all the distantly second-

class Arab Israelis. But no matter how rigidly it fortifies itself, this isolated fortress can never be strong enough to shake its economic, military, and political dependence on the capitalist West.

The U.S.: head conjurer of Mideast tricks. Israel was created by world capitalism as a garrison against Arab revolt and a junior partner in maintaining imperialist control of Mideast oil. Its economy would capsize without gargantuan subsidy from the globe-masters who gave it life — the U.S. has handed over \$50 billion just in upfront loans and grants over the past 40 years.

But today, the special U.S.-Israeli relationship appears to be in jeopardy. Much of this is shadow-play.

The Zionist regime must freeze new construction in the occupied territories, Washington says, if it wants the U.S. to guarantee \$10 billion in loans over the next five years.

But Israel is asking only that the U.S. cosign loans from private banks so that it can get low interest rates and so the banks are insured in case of Israeli default. U.S. refusal to guarantee the loans can be gotten around.

Much more to the point is that the approximately \$4 billion that the U.S. now gives Israel in outright aid each year will be delivered as usual.

In the U.S.-Israeli relationship, the tail is *not* wagging the dog. On the contrary, the danger is that some day the U.S. ruling class *may* decide that it can protect its interests in the Mideast without Israel's help. One of the many disturbing surprises of the Gulf war was the ease with which George Bush marshalled the Arab bourgeoisie into his corner so that he could send troops in with impunity.

The possibility of a sundering of U.S.-Israeli ties throws into sharp relief the fact that the real Israel is the opposite of

the refuge its founders dreamed of and its immigrants seek. In fact, it is a death trap for the Jews, and will be for as long as its existence depends on the denial of Palestinian national rights. As long as it is allied with the U.S., Israel is a lightning rod for the hostility of oppressed Arabs toward imperialism. Divorced from the U.S., it would be hardly less hated — and incredibly vulnerable.

But there is not

sary military operation at the same time that it attempts to gain funding for them by portraying them as the height of humanitarianism.

Israeli rulers have nothing to lose and everything to gain by going along with the peace talks. While the diplomats parry and palaver, the Israeli presence in the territories jells.

Solidarity among workers the only path to peace. Opposition to the Israeli takeover of Palestinian land is growing.

U.S. Jews are uneasy; Israeli Jews have taken to the streets in mass protests. And for Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, and Jerusalem, resistance in the form of the Intifada is now, as one Palestinian political analyst put it, "more than an event: it has become a way of life."

The increasing repugnance against Israeli expansion and terror will be effective when it is harnessed to a viable *alternative*. The solution that will enable Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews to live side by side in peace is the establishment of a bilateral, integrated, secular, and socialist state with full rights for all.

Farfetched? Something only a magic act could produce? No. The long bloody history of the Mideast shows that every *other* approach is doomed to fail.

In the short run, a resolution such as the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank could be an improvement. But this would not bring an end to the deadly antagonism between Jew and Arab, as Israel — so powerful but so sick economically — would inevitably prey upon a much weaker, bantustan-like Palestine.

Ultimately, an alliance between the commonly exploited Arab and Jewish working classes is the only thing that can end the infernal stage-managing of Mideast affairs by the capitalists once and for all. □



Children of Ommtoubia on the West Bank protesting confiscation of communal lands. Israel now considers Ommtoubia part of Jerusalem; its original residents say otherwise.

much chance of separation soon. The U.S. can *not* countenance Palestinian self-determination and it *must* stave off Arab rebellion, and Israel is still its best helpmate.

Zionism seeks strength, security through immigration. With a population of only four million and a low birth rate, the Israeli government considers that the state's immediate survival depends on immigration. The desire of great numbers of Soviet Jews to relocate Israel's prayers and plans.

Many of these ex-Soviets have already been plunked down in the occupied territories, where Israel is using them as a human battering ram against Palestine. The Israeli right wing openly characterizes the settlements as a neces-

Keep the "Newspaper for Optimistic Rebels" alive!

from page 1

machine and into the hands of a few dozen radicals in Seattle and around the country. Ten years later the *FS* made its debut as a regularly appearing tabloid.

Today, the voice of revolutionary feminism is a 12 to 24-page quarterly

Our basic message of faith in the working class remains the same.

distributed to thousands of readers all over the globe. Naturally, our expenses each issue have also expanded dramatically — from a few bucks in 1966 to \$10,500 today. And we're still growing.

But some things we haven't tampered with. Our basic message of faith in the working class, led by its most sorely tried and harassed members, re-

mains the same.

Every edition, we back up our confidence with hard facts and penetrating analysis.

As world events hurtle along at break-neck speed toward the 20th-century finish line, as Stalinism cracks up and capitalism cracks down, the *Freedom Socialist* staff is working overtime both to assess the dangers and to make the most of extraordinary new opportunities.

But the bills generated by our stepped-up production are looming over us ominously. To keep publishing, we need your help! We're relying on you to give generously *today* to our fund drive.

Please grab the enclosed prepaid envelope, make a donation, and contribute today to the cultivation of a whole new world. □



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Free speech in the library? Not for staff, says management



Phil Webber / Seattle Post-Intelligencer

BY JANET SUTHERLAND

When Seattle Public Library officials tried to bar worker Wendy McPherson from wearing a political button in support of Yolanda Alaniz, a Freedom Socialist Party candidate for City Council, the bureaucrats picked a fight that rebounded, blowing the lid off management's plan to charge fees for library services.

McPherson went right on wearing the button. And she rallied support from fellow workers, the two library unions (AFSCME 2083 and 2083-C), and the King County Labor Council. The uproar forced the library board to appoint a task force and hold a February hearing on the issue. At the public hearing, more came to the surface than just

management's outrageous claim that a mythical obligation of information-givers to be "neutral" justifies suppressing an employee's free speech rights.

Union members and library users spoke their minds about the library's duty, as a storehouse of *ideas* as well as *facts*, to protect the right to share those ideas, even if unpopular. They pointed out how selective the enforcement of the library's so-called "neutrality" policy had been, since staffers had long been allowed to wear all kinds of buttons backing mainstream candidates. Management's problem arose when someone wanted to wear the word "socialist" on a lapel!

Unions see any attack on free speech as an implied attack on their own right to organize and call this incident a case in point, since McPherson has been an

outspoken opponent of cuts in services proposed by the City Council.

And, in this instance, workers point out that the public's right to know may also be jeopardized by banning the speech of library employees.

In protesting the button ban before the library board, members of the public learned from workers that management has been quietly scheming to impose fees for library services — some already existing free ones, like faxing material to users, and many expanded ones catering to business.

Organizing against *this* outrage has now kicked off; the embattled library board has postponed its decision on the button issue indefinitely; and McPherson is currently circulating buttons reading "No fees for services." She and her coworkers wear them proudly. □

Dateline Australia

Labor Party Accord laid basis for new regressive taxes

BY PETER MURRAY

Australia is a mess. The worldwide depression has hit particularly hard here, and more than 20 percent of the workers are out of a job. (Unemployment is "officially" around 12 percent.) At least four out of 10 people under 25 are jobless — in some communities, nine out of 10. Real wages are down to the level of the 1960s, and roll-backs of working conditions are the most significant since unions in this country were organized.

Presiding over this catastrophe is the Australian Labor Party government of Prime Minister Paul Keating. Keating was one of the party bosses who struck a deal with the Australian Council of Trade Unions in 1983 that forced upon workers a "social contract" deliberately aimed at increasing profits through lowering wages. For the bosses, it succeeded stunningly: dividends and executive pay packages increased, despite the ruination of industry, until the recession

really took hold in mid-1991.

But in recent months, companies had to massively devalue their falsely inflated assets. The wiping-off of billions of dollars in assets — one mining com-

pany alone lost \$680 million — means that big capital is now scratching around for new ways to screw Australian work-

ing the working class via a set of proposed initiatives called the "Fightback Program." This policy has two central planks — the almost total outlawing of strikes and union activity and the intro-

The reactionary Liberal/National coalition

plans to make individual workers pay

for the cost of strikes,

set up fantastic barriers against union organisers

talking to members, and reduce unions

to the status of football clubs.

pany alone lost \$680 million — means that big capital is now scratching around for new ways to screw Australian workers.

Making workers pay for the corporate crisis. Enter the reactionary opposition coalition made up of the Liberal and National parties. It is attack-

duction of a Goods and Services Tax (GST).

This country already has some of the most regressive and intrusive taxation laws in the world, brought in under Keating's sponsorship. Workers suffer the burden of extremely high government charges for state-run utilities, telecommunications, public transport and health. These are coupled with high income tax — about 33 percent on average — and hidden sales taxes.

The conservative coalition wants to impose a 15 percent up-front tax on all goods and services whilst cutting \$20 billion from government spending. In return, these Tories plan to offer a paltry six percent cut in income tax.

This is an appalling threat to living standards. Housing, for example, is incredibly expensive in proportion to average take-home pay and many people can no longer afford to rent, let alone buy. Under the GST, a weekly rent of \$200 would jump to \$230. But the median take-home pay is less than \$400 — and that's for males! On top of this, every single item of food and clothing, every litre of fuel, every train ticket would also be increased by 15 percent. Even Left organisations would be dragged into collecting the tax from fundraising events and literature sales!

Right to unionise comes under fire. When levied in neighbouring New Zealand, the tax provoked mass protests. 250,000 demonstrators marched in Wellington, the capital, which has a

population of slightly less than 600,000! "Ah," you ask, "What keeps the government in power?" The treachery of union and Labor Party leaders is one answer — Australia and New Zealand both have our Lane Kirklands, our equivalents of the "AFL-CIA" in the U.S. The other answer is that the government in New Zealand has basically outlawed the right to organise.

But here's news: *the anti-worker program that the current Thatcherite government is implementing is the program of the New Zealand Labor Party.* When the U.S. air-traffic controllers' union, PATCO, was busted in 1981, it was in the cause of "Reaganomics." Here we refer to "Roger-nomics" — after the Labor Party Treasurer of New Zealand, Roger Douglas.

The conservatives in Australia will follow the NZ example, should they win federal office in the March 1993 election. They plan to make individual workers pay for the cost of strikes. They propose to set up fantastic barriers against union organisers talking to members, making them subject to heavy fines should they "interfere with production"; unions would be reduced to the status of football clubs. They intend to remove the minimum wage and to destroy the eight-hour day in the country where, in 1856, the first strikes to win this gain were held.

But more and more Australian workers are coming to believe that voting Labor is no answer to this reactionary assault. For, you see, the first major advocate of installing a consumption tax during this recession was Paul Keating, five years ago! And the odds are that he'll still go ahead with a disguised version of the tax — because under capitalism there is no solution to economic crisis, no matter who's in power, other than squeezing the workers.

Workers in Australia will resist new forms of being taxed to death regardless of who imposes them. Hopefully, the fight against the GST will help bring into existence a genuinely anti-capitalist party of all the oppressed, a party that is prepared to take the field in struggle against the capitalists rather than to managing their exploitative system for them. □

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UW professor defends embattled journalist Sandy Nelson



Richard Conrad / UW

BY
**ROGER
SIMPSON**

SPECIAL TO THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST

There are at least two opinions about where a newspaper reporter's ultimate loyalty lies. "My constitutional right to free speech is not negotiable," Sandy Nelson has said. Nelson, a respected education writer for the *McClatchy Morning News Tribune* in Tacoma, Washington, was moved to the copy desk there because she thinks that political liberty means one does what she can to promote the cause of labor, abortion rights, or laws protecting gays and lesbians.

Publishers have coined the other opinion about a reporter's loyalty: As a condition of employment, reporters must check any pretensions to rights of free speech or association at the newsroom door — a ban that extends past working hours to all hours.

It's an important story that the journalism establishment refuses to touch: The newspaper business strips its own writers of opportunities to use the very political process it claims to revere.

How reporters are shorn of their rights. The policy is backed by a tightening net of internal controls and a legal doctrine that serves the employers in court showdowns. The chief instrument of the industry's campaign has been codes of ethics and newsroom practice, adopted with an incredible sense of urgency in the past 20 years. Today, in an economic sector shrinking in an advertising recession, the codes function to command obedience from workers who know that their chances of finding new jobs are declining.

Codes cover all manner of journalist niceties — when you can accept a free ticket, for example — but invariably come around to after-hours activity.

(Most reporters I know, including Nelson, don't argue with the idea that they should keep their political views out of their stories. But this is far differ-

Roger Simpson is an Associate Professor of Communications at the University of Washington in Seattle. He is currently researching how newspapers began covering lesbian and gay issues during the 1960s and '70s.

ent from the idea that a reporter can't even be a citizen in the evening or on weekends!)

The hiring screening procedure fills newsrooms with people willing to forgo their rights, but ethics code language then makes it easier to transfer, reprimand, or even fire the few activists. The march, petition, yard sign or (you fill in the blank) creates "an appearance of a conflict" between journalistic duty to report fairly and the cause, the argument goes. The real harm caused by "appearances" is impossible to document, but the *notion* of harm makes a convenient excuse for requiring reporters to stay out of politics.

Logically lame, the argument ignores the industry's oft-repeated confidence that "professional training" and the "editing process" take care of any bias. It also runs counter to a complaint heard more often these days even within the newspaper business: Reporters are so detached from their communities that they don't know what is coming down until it's too late.

Sandy Nelson ran afoul of an ethics code that is opposed by the Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild and many of her coworkers and that hadn't even been adopted yet by her employer, the *Morning News Tribune*. The code would have forbidden things Nelson had done such as carrying a sign in an abortion rights march and working for a city gay-rights ordinance.

Some ethics regulations deprive reporters of all rights of association and assembly except membership in a church — which is for many the most political of all associations.

Equally invidious are loosely written codes that leave it to managers to decide, with scant guidelines, if a political offense violates the strictures. Thus, a reporter's work in the Republican or Democratic Party might never be noticed, while the activist who commits herself to the concerns of people of color or gays and lesbians will be called to account. It's clear that the codes are applied unfairly, in line with editors' invariably cautious sense of what the public and advertisers will tolerate.

At issue: What is a free press? The newspapers' passion for code-writing is linked to fears about declining readership, slipping profits, and consumer-dollar grabs by new information media. Gains from widespread automation of production in the 1970s have long since been spent; many businesses have their backs to the wall in defense of their product. They feel threatened by reporter activism.

But readers need writers who are involved in changes going on in society. Such journalists can serve as the sentinels at the tower, the whistleblowers and muckrakers the public needs.

Sandy Nelson is unusual among a growing number of chastised and pun-

ished journalists for her determination to make a public claim that she is entitled to exercise all the rights of any person. It is *her* opinion about reporter loyalty, about speech and political activity, that has to endure if journalism

can play any role at all in informing us. The alternative — reporters who must disavow their own thoughts and aspirations so they can serve only the corporate goals — is depriving the nation of a press it might learn to value. □

Reporter Sandy Nelson raps freelancing ban



Nelson Defense Committee members. Reclining: Mickey Pettyjohn. Back row, from left: Sally Boyle, Lee Linthicum, Laurie Jinkins, Wanda Davis. Front row, from left: Laura Williams, Sandy Nelson, Terri Stewart.

A ban on freelance writing without prior management permission is the newest reprisal by the Tacoma, Washington *Morning News Tribune* against journalist Sandy Nelson. Managing editor Jan Brandt issued the prohibition after learning in February that Nelson, who is city organizer for Radical Women, had written two columns (unpaid) for *Washington Woman News*, a feminist monthly.

In 1990, *MNT* bosses transferred Nelson, a prize-winning education reporter, to a non-reporting position because they didn't approve of the work she did on her own time promoting passage of a lesbian and gay rights initiative. They claimed that Nelson's political partisanship was not ethical because it breached a reporter's duty to be objective, creating the "appearance" of a conflict. (Please see article on left.)

Now, after having broken the union at the *MNT*, the company is planning to institutionalize the no-political-involvement rule for all employees through a formal ethics code. An ethics committee hand-picked by management is writing the new policy.

MNT officials are raising the issue of objectivity as a pretext to discipline writers who dare to challenge the profit-

driven, people-crunching nature of the media industry. To media moguls, free speech and freedom of the press are privileges that belong to the people who *own* the press, not common rights. They certainly don't like spirited lesbian socialists in the newsroom.

But Nelson and her thousands of supporters have *news* for the higher-ups: They want her byline back and Nelson is calling the *MNT* McCarthyites to account wherever she goes.

At this writing, Nelson was spreading the word via an East Coast tour. First stop: Boston, for OutWrite '92, this year's annual lesbian and gay writers' conference, where Nelson addressed the more than 1,000 participants.

Next came New York City, for two engagements. One was a public forum on her case, "Defending the constitutional rights of journalists," with Helen Zia, executive editor of *Ms.* magazine; Donna Minkowitz, reporter for the *Village Voice*; and Key Martin, chair of the New York Newspaper Guild at Time Inc. Magazine Co. Following that, Nelson spoke before the Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association's New York branch.

To support Nelson with a donation or endorse, write to the Sandy Nelson Defense Committee at 1112 North K St., Tacoma, WA, 98403. □

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

Radical Women

CALIFORNIA
Los Angeles: 1918 W. 7th St., #204, Los Angeles, CA 90057. 213-413-1350.
San Francisco Bay Area: National Office, 523-A Valencia St., San Francisco, CA 94110. 415-864-1278.
NEW YORK
New York City: 32 Union Square East, Rm. 907, New York, NY 10003. 212-677-7002.

OREGON
Portland: 7038 N. Fairport Pl., Portland, OR 97217. 503-289-7082.
WASHINGTON
Port Angeles: 512 E. 7th, Port Angeles, WA 98362. 206-452-7534.
Seattle: New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118. 206-722-6057. FAX 206-723-7691.

Spokane: W. 3005 Boone, Spokane, WA 99201. 509-327-9196.
Tacoma: P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98405. 206-752-3678.
...
AUSTRALIA
Melbourne: P.O. Box 266, West Brunswick, VIC 3055. 03-386-5065.

THE SOVIET ECONOMY: vic imperialist squeeze plays and Stali

BY ANDREA BAUER

Recipe for the Economic System from Hell: First, take one backward country that has just made the world's first socialist revolution. Make sure country is fresh from feudalism, poor, primarily agrarian, embroiled in a world war, and lacking developed productive forces. Beat vigorously with steady capitalist aggression. Add a Stalinist bureaucracy seasoned generously with stupidity and cupidity. Continue to beat vigorously with capitalist aggression for seventy years.

This recipe serves up an economy that by 1983 could provide only 36 percent of its households with something as simple as a vacuum cleaner.

Yet this is the same economy that fueled the meteoric rise of the Soviet Union to a superpower that provided homes, jobs, and free education and health care for all citizens; ran neck-and-neck with the almighty U.S. in an exorbitantly expensive arms marathon; initiated and won the space race; produced some of the world's best athletes; and repeatedly made scientific and medical history.

Now, for good and for bad, that economy is crumbling. Cheerleaders for capitalism say the death is a natural one, that socialism is doomed to fail.

But the record of the 20th century reveals otherwise. It shows how the enmity of the world bourgeoisie and the self-aggrandizement of the Soviet bureaucratic caste managed to derail a powerful economic system that is still destined to one day outstrip capitalism on every front.

Recovery from war and backwardness. Any plans the Bolsheviks had for an orderly transition to a planned, nationalized economy were shattered by the counterrevolution that was capitalism's response to the October 1917 revolution.

Just weeks after the Bolsheviks came to power, the World War I Entente began planning a combined military attack, headed by the U.S., to bolster the internal white-guard opposition. Their assault was launched in March 1918 and joined in the first half of the year by Germany and Austria-Hungary, with whom they were still at war!

For a time during the three years of fierce inva-

After 65 years of Stalinist obliteration of workers' democracy, Soviet people today are reclaiming their tradition of organizing together to demand control of their lives and economy.

sion and civil war, foreign enemies occupied *three-quarters* of Soviet territory. Under an economic blockade, the country went hungry; fuel became just a memory. While little else moved, typhoid and other epidemics spread across the land.

These conditions forced Lenin, Trotsky, and the other Bolsheviks to adopt an emergency economic policy that became known as military or war communism, which subordinated every other consideration to defense of the new Soviet state. The military government rapidly grasped control over the distribution of goods; to keep the soldiers and cities alive, the government sometimes took grain and raw materials from the peasants at gunpoint and paid them with worthless paper money.

By the time the Red Army pushed most of the aggressors out in late 1920, industrial output had dropped to only **14 percent** of what it had been before the war. By 1921, the amount of foreign trade had plummeted from three *billion* rubles to only *30 million*.

Given the collapse of production and the dangerous antagonism between city and countryside, the Bolsheviks believed that their first priority after the defeat of the counterrevolution was restoration of the market. A sturdy alliance with the peasants, who made up 80 percent of the population, had to be rebuilt; market trade was the only economic relationship with which they were familiar.

Additionally, a centralized economy could not be organized in a void. The play of supply and demand was needed as a basis for planning.

The New Economic Policy (NEP) was devised to shore up the ruble, restore the credit system, encourage production of consumer goods for the countryside, and allow small-scale industry and the peasantry to sell their products freely.

The NEP boosted the economy immediately. Industrial production doubled in 1922 and 1923. By 1926, production bounced all the way back to its pre-war level. Harvests increased as well.

Stalin makes virtue of necessity. The NEP was needed in part to help compensate for the unexpectedly prolonged isolation of the USSR.

The old Bolsheviks knew that what existed in

the USSR was not socialism, but a transitional organization of society that could lead to socialism. And they subscribed to the Marxist view that socialism could only be achieved on the foundation of a *higher* productivity than that existing in capitalist countries. Raising productivity to this high pitch would require the combined efforts of many nations, using an international division of labor and the most modern techniques.

Proletarian revolutions seemed imminent in countries such as Britain, China, and Bulgaria, and the early Soviet communists especially looked to the highly advanced insurgent countries, like Ger-



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many, for technological aid. But all these insurrections were crushed.

One consequence of political and economic Soviet isolation was the breeding ground it furnished for the malignant Stalinist bureaucracy, which metastasized into all the organs of government to make a bloated life for itself as the administrator and adjudicator of others' scarcity. Though Lenin was preparing to launch a struggle against this caste at the time of his death in 1924, and a Left Opposition headed by Trotsky fought unrelentingly against it thereafter, the exhausted Soviet masses could not be rallied to yet another all-out fight, and the bureaucracy triumphed.

The bureaucracy's reaction to the USSR's solitariness and encirclement by capitalism was the "theory" of socialism in one country.

Stalin declared that complete socialism could be attained (and, in 1936, *was* attained) within the boundaries of a single country.

Putting this mutation of Marxism into practice internationally resulted in the blood-drenched sell-out of one revolutionary workers' movement after another as Stalin and his cohorts attempted to protect the USSR by establishing "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism. In the economic sphere, the theory contributed to or covered up for an astounding series of zigzags that sometimes appeared to be linked together only by sheer wrongheadedness.

First, the NEP continued far too long. Combined with a disastrously cautious tempo of industrialization, the NEP created a layer of rich peasants hostile to the Soviet system, a layer of middle peasants dissatisfied with industry's inability to get goods to the countryside, and a stratum of poor peasants left to their own devices because collectivization wasn't

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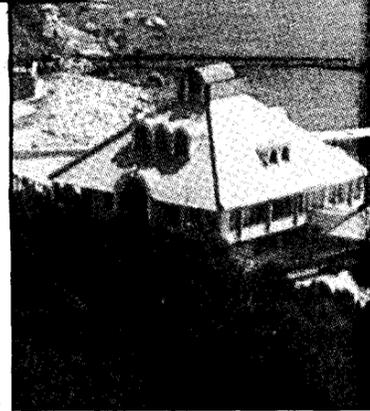
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The 1917 Russian Revolution opened the door to a transformed world, one where human beings and our planet would no longer be slaves to the wealth we create.

But the new society faced gargantuan obstacles: a czarist legacy of grinding poverty and cultural backwardness; military attack by 21 capitalist countries and civil war; and unrelieved political isolation and capitalist encirclement because expected revolutions in major industrialized nations did not succeed.

These harsh conditions proved to be fertile soil for one thing: the bureaucracy, a proliferation of policemen and administrators regulating the flow of scarce goods. And Stalin rose to the head of the caste.

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Victim of Stalinist sabotage

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ing mismanagement, speculation and graft, the Soviet economy took off like a jet once the government seriously prioritized industrialization

The standard of living for workers and peasants began to rise — but that of the bureaucracy rose faster and higher. In the '30s, while many farmers on collectives still lived as before "in the old huts with their calves and cockroaches," Soviet dignitaries complained that not all of their new houses came equipped with quarters for live-in domestic servants (Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*).

Even the catastrophic pounding delivered by World War II could not destroy the Soviet economy. Nor could the Cold War, instigated by the USSR's faithless erstwhile allies with the U.S. at the head of the pack. Stalin's post-war deal with the imperialists — whereby he agreed not to upset the capitalist status quo in most of the world in exchange for acceptance of the USSR's hegemony over Eastern Europe — was a pact with devils who never intended to keep their side of the bargain. Not only did the U.S. refuse aid and trade to the desperately needy USSR, but it required recipients of U.S. help under the Marshall Plan to restrict their trade with the USSR and other workers states!

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union rebounded one more time. The post-war decades saw healthy growth rates in production, consumption, and income — though notoriously cramped housing, consumer items deficient in both quantity and quality, and unequal pay for men and women hung on like an unshakable virus.

The USSR in this period also shouldered the burden of economic support for many other workers states, such as Cuba and Vietnam.

But in the '60s, things began a turn for the worse. Although the economy was still expanding, the pace of growth started to slow. One confidential report blamed three factors: the heavy drain on resources created by extraordinary defense spending; extreme centralization; and **lack of democracy** in managing the economy.

Stalinism's betrayal of workers' democracy had finally caught up with itself. Without workers' control over what should be produced, how it should be produced, and who should get it, the workers state could only hold out temporarily against capitalism

Workers will manage. In 1936, Trotsky wrote:

The ulcers of bureaucratism are...devouring...the co-operatives, the light and food-producing industries, the collective farms, the small local industries — those branches of economy which stand nearest to the people.

...Under a nationalized economy, quality demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative — conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery.

...To be sure, a revolutionary dictatorship means...strict limitations of freedom. But for that very reason epochs of revolution have never been directly favorable to cultural creation: they have only cleared the arena for it... The socialist culture will flourish only in proportion to the dying away

ocratic agenda. cultural strikes, a major (rich peasants) and mid-the Soviet Union with onflict to a head. ered the need to rein in he Left Opposition had er — and did so with his palling forced collectiv- k population and devas- ntryside. And because paration for collectiviza- r tools existed to give to Soviet agriculture never amage.

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Are you now or have you ever been
a member of CPUSA?
Let's talk!

The recent 25th convention of the Communist Party USA and the leadership purge and mass membership exodus that resulted have been watershed events. You may be one of the more than 900 Communists who, before the convention, signed a call for democratizing the CP, opening debate on party program and tactics, electing leadership democratically and making it accountable, and ending the top-down bureaucratic methods of Gus Hall's regime.

This battle for democracy was spearheaded by comrades of color within the leadership — notably by the women — who were especially dissatisfied with the CP's lackluster work in the movements of people of color.

In response, Hall's clique threw the opposition off the national governing bodies, locked delegates out of the gathering, and refused to let them speak.

Now, many of the regional groups disaffiliated from the national CP and have launched a new organization, the Committees of Correspondence.

So what went wrong in the CP, and how is it related to the disintegration of the USSR? Is a Leninist party **not** the answer to the horrors of capitalism, but a historical dead end doomed to degenerate into a Stalinist engine of repression? Is there **any** way forward for socialism in the immediate future? If so, what is it?

Now is no time for Trotskyists to be shy. We want to get together with you and discuss these questions. We're looking to get up close and political.

We believe that the implosion of the CPUSA and the death of the Soviet CP, while heart-rending, are **necessary** developments. They signal the shattering of the bureaucratic **deformation** of socialism, not socialism itself. They bring an unprecedented opportunity for Left forces to build real, democratic socialism.

How? By getting back to basics, to the ideas of Marx and Lenin, carried on by Trotsky: international proletarian solidarity; uncompromising allegiance to workingclass aims; and support for the leadership of the most oppressed.

The Stalinist bureaucracy betrays these fundamentals because it **must**. Its niche is that of broker between the capitalism and the workers state or revolutionary movement. Stripped of this function, it would lose its reason for existence.

So it turns everything on its head. Leninism equals Stalinism, Trotskyism is counterrevolution, democratic centralism becomes bureaucratic centralism.

The scientific idea of permanent revolution is supplanted by a superstitious belief in socialism in one country.

Lenin acknowledged over and over again that the Soviet workers state could not survive indefinitely without being joined by socialist revolutions in more advanced countries. Trotsky rebutted the notion of the attainability of socialism in one country in **The Revolution Betrayed, Permanent Revolution, and Third International After Lenin.**

The bitter fruit that came of acting as though there **could** be socialism in one country was seven decades of Stalinist class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

We welcome the call by Charlene Mitchell of the Committees of Correspondence for an "broad, wide-ranging, unrestricted examination and discussion of the theory and history of socialist development."

Communists today are in a position anticipated by Trotsky in 1928, when he considered the possibility that the USSR might not endure, and wrote:

"Even in this case the proletarian revolution would be able in the end to pioneer new roads to victory. But...the new generation of international revolutionists would have to tie up anew the confidence of the masses in the greatest banner in history, which may be compromised by an uninterrupted chain of mistakes, upheavals, and falsifications in the domain of ideas."

We need to get together and take up this task. Your place or ours?

Comradely,

Doug Barnes
Doug Barnes

of the state. In that...unshakable historical law is contained the death sentence of the present regime. Soviet democracy is not the demand of an abstract policy... It has become a life-and-death need of the country.

The restructuring undertaken by Gorbachev in the '80s — perestroika — began as an effort by the more wide-awake wing of the bureaucracy to reform the economy just enough to shake it out of

the doldrums before workers revolted, as they had in Poland at the beginning of the decade.

What the bureaucracy learned, and the world with it, is that tinkering won't work. The timer has run out on half-baked measures. Either the yeast of genuine workers' management will be added and the workers state will rise to socialism — in Lenin's phrase, every cook will learn to rule the state — or capitalism will take it over.

In this kitchen, the bets are on the workers. □

Russian Revolution lives!

Stalinism took socialism on a 65-year trip through a looking glass. In place of workers' democracy, there was top-down mismanagement and a police state; in place of women's emancipation and gay rights, the resurrection of the bourgeois definition of family; instead of self-determination for national minorities, great-nation chauvinism and forced union; instead of Marxist internationalism, the theory of socialism in one country and the practice of cooperation with the capitalists in snuffing out insurrections abroad.

The Left Opposition in the USSR, led by Trotsky, fought heroically against this betrayal of the Bolshevik program. State terrorism eventually quelled all

open resistance in the Soviet Union, but Trotskyist parties around the world carried on the struggle. Trotsky predicted that the working classes of the East would again claim center stage, overthrow the Stalinist regimes, and take control of the nationalized economies.

This political revolution is underway. Launched by Polish workers in the early '80s, it had by the end of the decade toppled tyrants from East Germany to Bulgaria.

Today, Western leaders falsely equate the death of Stalinism with the death of socialism and promote the lie that the inevitable next stage is the comeback of capitalism. But it is becoming inescapably clear to

the people of the USSR and the former Eastern bloc that a return to capitalism would mean only a return to exploitation and misery.

And although Third World countries such as Cuba and Nicaragua and Angola have been deprived of concrete aid from the USSR as a result of the shakeup, the ally they have lost is nonetheless a capricious and faithless one which always put Stalinist accommodations with the world bourgeoisie ahead of international revolution.

Socialism still remains the sole means to realize the liberating aspirations of the Russian Revolution, and the power to usher in socialism still lies in the hands of Soviet workers. □

Editorials

Cops commit hate crimes by rioting against protesters

ON JANUARY 25, more than 400 demonstrators — many of them radicals, lesbians, gays, anarchists, and youth — took to the Seattle streets in a lively nighttime march against neo-Nazi terrorism. By the end of the evening, riot-gearred cops had brutalized and arrested 14 protesters — after defending four skinheads, in full Nazi regalia, shouting threats.

The police actions, lauded by the media and city authorities, were choreographed to prove that confronting Nazis leads to violence. (Mayor Norm Rice blamed "communist front groups.") After years of watching anti-fascists mobilize without incident, the cops tired of waiting for a melee — so they started one. Their motive: to dissuade protesters from standing up against bloodthirsty hate crimes and government apathy.

TO KEEP THE COPS OFF OUR BACKS, we've got to be smarter than they are. Last January's protest was called by anonymous activists who left it leaderless. The bullies in blue took the opportunity to attack when the march dribbled to a disorganized end, scattering in small contingents. Initiators of anti-Nazi rallies shoulder a heavy responsibility to provide accountable leadership and keep things tight.

But the Seattle march conveners were *right* to call a mass gathering to stop hate crimes. The authorities have shown that *they* won't clean up the fascist mess. It's those of us who feel the sting of Nazi venom who must close ranks in a united front and, through militant, disciplined actions, crush the neo-Nazi movement. □

Time is now for a radical Lesbian/Gay/Bi March on Washington

HAS A MILITANT MARCH for the rights of sexual minorities ever been needed more than today?

Hitlerite toughs rampage in the streets; Hollywood unleashes a pervo fantasy in which every lesbian or bisexual woman is a man-killer; teenagers die of AIDS while officials wrangle over condom distribution; and Democrats and Republicans alike make ever-greater concessions to the right wing.

But the bold statement that's needed isn't the one being planned by organizers of the 1993 Lesbian/Gay/Bi March on Washington (MOW).

At the January MOW planning meeting in Los Angeles, the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women were excluded from the national steering committee. The "official" leadership, liberals tied to the Democratic Party, intimated that FSP and RW had a "hidden agenda."

Two other socialist groups, Workers World Party and Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, apparently agree that revolutionaries belong in the closet; they refused to defend the rights of FSP and Radical Women to be on the committee.

THE HIDDEN-AGENDA CHARGE is redbaiting nonsense. What really bothered the gay movement careerists is the *openness* of FSP and RW about our belief that MOW needs a sweeping, hardhitting program. It upset them so much that they refused to discuss the platform at all at the January planning conference.

The ideas of FSP and RW are anything but secret. We think that, in addition to adopting demands concerning AIDS, reproductive rights, and freedom for sexual minorities, the march should call for:

- an independent, anti-capitalist third party;
- unity against the neo-Nazis;
- dismantling the war machine to fund education, housing, and nationalized health care;
- ending racism and sexism in the gay movement;
- electing civilian review boards to monitor and stop cop brutality.

AND WE'RE NOT BASHFUL about proposing two dynamite socialist feminist speakers to address these issues: journalist Sandy Nelson of Tacoma, Washington and San Francisco educator Merle Woo.

This platform and these speakers would be a powerful answer to the threats arrayed against lesbians and gay men. □



Movie Review

JFK: When thieves fall out

BY TAMARA TURNER

After President John F. Kennedy was blown away on November 22, 1963, a cover-up began that reached from the White House to the sleazy gutters of military-industrial power, the CIA, FBI, Mafia, and other ancillary organs of the state. The official investigation by the Warren Commission provided a multi-volume report to support the official line that a commie did it.

But nobody ever believed it. Nearly 30 years later, audiences clap and cheer as the Oliver Stone film *JFK* reviews the facts, skewers the lies, and reveals the nature of capital to foul its own nest and eat its young.

For people who lived through Kennedy's shooting, the aftermath of government deceit was a wake-up call. The current younger generation, who weren't even born in 1963, identify immediately with *JFK* because their everyday lives provide the context for grasping the film's truth. The lucky ones among the youth are part of a use-and-toss work force; the others are unemployed and even homeless. They are wised-up, cynical, and angry. If they pick up Stone's demand to open the secret assassination files, the government will not be able to ignore them.

A conspiracy by any other name... Was there a conspiracy? Yes, of course. How else explain a "magic bullet" that gaily pirouetted back and forth between Kennedy's and Connally's bodies? **Or the disappearance of Kennedy's brain after the autopsy?**

The evidence and multitudinous "coincidences" are so brilliantly laid out by the film that the mainstream media leapt forward for damage control.

Many of the reviews of *JFK* have been written by political commentators rather than film critics. By and large, they accuse Stone of turning fact into fiction. Typical is the December 23, 1991 *Newsweek* cover, whose headline blares, "The Twisted Truth of 'JFK': Why Oliver Stone's New Movie Can't Be Trusted."

Stone's elusive target: intra-class struggle. The most important question about the assassination of John F. Kennedy is not "whodunit," but *why* it was done. Stone deserves credit for trying to focus attention in the right direction.

Unfortunately, the film's strongest and most convincing contribution consists of its meticulous reconstruction of *how* the president was murdered because, despite all his work, Stone is crippled by an unreasoning belief in Camelot. He and his film cannot move beyond the wistful vision of innocence, grace, and peace which was orchestrated by JFK himself, the acknowledged modern master of warping public opinion.

Kennedy was a rich, straight, white, male Democrat in every pejorative sense of those words. He put missiles in Turkey, forced the Soviet Union into building the Berlin Wall, started the Vietnam War, okayed the Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba, and brought the world to the edge of nuclear annihilation with his ultimatum against Soviet missiles in Cuba. His civil rights policy was "do nothing unless

Nobody believed the Warren Commission. For people who lived through Kennedy's shooting, the aftermath of government deceit was a wake-up call.

you absolutely have to" and he and his brother Bobby used any pretext to move against labor. His attitude toward women was highly imperious, and characteristic of the drive for quantity and accumulation so typical of his class.

And it is *class* that Stone missed. He and the film are caught in a loop because Stone cannot confront Kennedy for what he actually was: not only a member, but a *leader* of the ruling class. Stone builds a new myth. He thinks Kennedy was murdered because he was trying to *stop* the Vietnam War and disband the CIA.

Kennedy was killed in a power struggle between factions

within his class for control of the richest spoils in the world. Stone couldn't go far enough, look deeply enough, because he could not break with his illusions that somebody up there must give a damn. Stone lacks a grasp of how the ruling strata are fundamentally united by their common interests, though this alliance is masked by competition and transitory differences. Without this understanding to steer by, Stone's creations break apart on the rocks, heartbreakingly close to shore.

The Left left out. Also absent from *JFK* is any sense of how the Left reacted to the murder or to any of the other events of the time, such as Kennedy's prosecution of the Vietnam War or his attacks on Cuba — policies that met with widespread resistance.

In defense of Cuba, Fair Play for Cuba Committees were organized nationwide. They functioned as an educational forum, an ongoing protest against U.S. government aggression, and a travel agency that planned trips to the embargoed island for educators, journalists and writers. The trips provided the U.S. public with firsthand accounts of the Cuban revolution as it unfolded.

After the assassination, police and government agents seized on the pretext that Oswald supposedly belonged to Fair Play for Cuba in New Orleans — although there was no chapter there — to harass and vilify members of the group all over the country.

On the distaff side, Sissy Spacek's appearance as Jim Garrison's wife requires her to whine incessantly about his absence from home. Audiences in the '90s are apt to mutter, "Get a job!" or "Get a life!" But even given the chasm between expectations in the '60s and the '90s about women's roles, Spacek's character is unrealistic. Women in the '60s were restricted, but not one-dimensional!

Although it has shortcomings, *JFK* is a powerful, dynamic and *political* film — and its box-office success reveals an audience hungry for truth and leadership. □

Voices of Color

Anti-racist organizing 101

Lessons from an Ethnic Studies Requirement fight

BY IRENE MORA

In 1988, racism on campus and society-wide spurred students at the University of Washington (UW) in Seattle to begin organizing to establish an Ethnic Studies Requirement (ESR).

They lost that fight. But the problems that made them take it up remain. Discrimination and violence against people of color are out of control, while the U.S. presidential election features two candidates, Patrick Buchanan and David Duke, running on neo-Nazi programs.

To challenge the racial enmity that continues to grow more threatening every day, a new anti-racist coalition has taken shape at the UW. More power to it!

The ESR banner lies waiting to be lifted again. ESR would be a strong dose of good medicine for higher education, which is infected with terminal elitism, catering more and more exclusively to those who are white, male, and well-off financially. But critical study of why the first UW effort failed is a required course for anyone hoping to revitalize the ESR campaign, because mistakes were made that, if repeated, will doom a second attempt as well.

Fired-up students initiated the push and, at first, firmly led it. But they were lulled into relying on the liberal faculty to champion their cause. Instead, the faculty sold it out, voting it down resoundingly on October 24, 1991.

The students also failed to seriously involve supporters and potential supporters from outside the classroom, whose participation is a prerequisite for the success of ESR.

The lesson? To dislodge campus racism, students must set farseeing goals that will include and galvanize both the academic and the broader community and they must maintain leadership of the battle.

Compromises derail original ESR aims. Three years ago, the UW student association formed a Task Force on Racism, which worked to achieve the hiring of more faculty of color, a more inclusive racial balance among students, and ESR. The task force recommended a ten-credit requirement "to educate students on the effects of racism and to deal with the systematic exclusion of people of color in the American educational system," in the words of later ESR proponent Danny Howe, now the editor of the *International Examiner*, a journal reporting on Seattle's Asian American communities. The well-researched proposal from the task force provided data about the need for ESR and about its implementation at other universities.

The group submitted its proposal to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in December 1988. Half a year later, the administration responded by instituting *its own*

ESR task force, made up of 12 teachers and six students, to undermine the student association task force and its recommendations.

The students fell for this divide-and-conquer technique. They came under great pressure from liberal faculty to make compromises and ended up handing over control of the fight to the liberals.

The liberals played the role that the "middlecaste," in Leon Trotsky's words, always plays. They postured as the friends of the downtrodden — in this case, students of color — but insulated the top dogs, the UW administration, from the full force of student demands by taking over the fight and stripping it of militancy.

By the time the projected innovation reached the full faculty for a vote in 1991, it had been watered down into a five-credit American Pluralism Requirement. APR broadened the list of classes that could fulfill

pool needs of monster businesses like Boeing and Weyerhaeuser. Worst hurt by this are women of color, who are already discouraged the most at all ages from aspiring academically.

Unfortunately, ESR advocates expended their efforts in negotiations with this untrustworthy administration rather than in building support among staff, who can contribute union experience; sympathetic faculty who know that times have changed — bigotry is out and diversity is in; and outside community activists with impressive track records in organizing against the bad guys. The only way to win ESR is to build this united alliance.

Graduating to a united front. Two decades ago, students gained the first Ethnic Studies programs not by asking for approval from the faculty or the college authorities, but by holding Third World student



the diminished requirement to include courses dealing with almost any kind of pluralism — ethnic, sexual, religious, economic, generational, or physical. Result: APR was used to dilute the issue of racism!

Opponents of *any* kind of multicultural requirement campaigned heavily against APR, and it was voted down by a large majority.

Administration is no friend of the students. In the faculty takeover of the ESR campaign, the enemy — the UW administration — became obscured.

University administrations today are trying to take away all the gains made by students in the '60s and '70s: Ethnic Studies, Women Studies, affirmative action, equal opportunity programs, and childcare. They're designing an ivory tower that excludes those they see as riffraff and troublemakers — people of color, feminists, assertive lesbians and gay men, and poor and working-class pupils.

The UW is no exception. Its functionaries are going along with the state's decisions to hike tuition, cut financial aid, reclassify and lay off staff, and hold down faculty pay. They are more and more nakedly gearing the college to serve the high-tech research and labor-

strikes, sit-ins at administration buildings, and mass rallies to demand Ethnic Studies — and much more. They triumphed. Women Studies was won the same way.

Student militance can again be the electricity that powers a multi-issue mobilization. To produce maximum light and heat, this coalition needs to concentrate on meeting the needs of the most marginalized and downtrodden of its constituents — like women of color, who have the most to gain from change and have shown their tenacity in shaking up the system time and time again.

Student activists must become *leaders*, fighters who can see through the administration's maneuvers, resist both its threats and its blandishments, and advance the struggle for equal rights and human dignity to a new level, on college grounds and beyond.

In the days of the '60s, the failure of ESR or APR would have *rocked* a campus like the UW. Let's bring back some of that '60s outrage and those '60s tactics back to our campuses! □

Irene Mora, a Chicana feminist and member of Classified Staff Association District 925, has been a clerical worker at the University of Washington for six years.



Clara Fraser

Thelma and Louise "R" Us

EVER SINCE FEMINISTS ORGANIZED the modern movement in the '60s, we have been harangued from all sides for being insane, unfulfilled, petty-bourgeois, narcissistic, frivolous, home-wreckers, strident bitches, dykes, man-haters, and enemies of civility and civilization.

And we purportedly derail organizations by elevating secondary questions.

The rightwing said we should be jailed; the leftwing said we'd gone overboard on this women's lib trip. Black leaders said we were destroying race solidarity. Union bureaucrats said discrimination wasn't a bread and butter issue. The man in the street said all we needed was a good fuck.

Not that it's funny, but who's got the last laugh now?

Just read the papers, folks, and note what the headlines are screaming about.

Rape. Job discrimination and sexual harassment. Differential education and training. Violence against women. The "proper" or "improper" role of political wives. Birth control and abortion. Healthcare. Childcare and child abuse. Granny dumping. Wife/girlfriend murder. Outrageously unequal legal treatment à la Anita Hill, Patricia Bowman, Desiree Washington, Leona Helmsley, Zsa Zsa Gabor, ad nauseam.

Even the marital relations of politicians are under the microscope, and while much of this is puerile, prudish, puritanical and irrelevant, it's a sign of the new times.

IF WE MUST USE a yardstick and measure afflictions to discern who are the most affronted people in the U.S. or internationally — and I know that people hate these comparative-agony calculations — the mathematical answer is overwhelming. Women of color, women of age, women of youth, women of marriage, women of divorce, women on welfare, women who are prostitutes, women of accomplishment, women of minority sexual persuasion, women who organize at the workplace, women who organize revolution — *females* win the endangered species contest.

Women are slaughtered because their dowries aren't adequate, because they were born without penises, or because they dare to rebel against slavery. But we rarely realize that while the price for assertiveness in the USA may not be *physical* execution, it is execution in every other sense.

American women, whether they exemplify success or struggle desperately to survive, are *all* subjected to merciless hatred, resentment, fear, denunciation, excoriation, retaliation, intimidation, deprivation and inquisition.

Women are the permanent unrecognized undercaste of U.S. society. And the *proof* of that transparent fact is that almost nobody recognizes it! The condition of women dominates the news, but no political conclusions are drawn.

We are just as ignored when our issues are in the limelight as when we're invisible!

IN 1967 MY CLOSEST COMRADES and I stunned the radical movement by launching a faction fight against my then-husband. He had violated every socialist standard of conduct by denying me the right to an uncontested divorce and child custody. He had provoked a courtroom scandal, accusing me of bad motherhood, over-attention to politics, bad wifery, adultery, and the usual crimes of my gender.

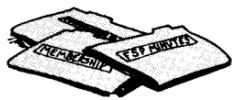
Because I labeled his behavior as political treachery, my ex became a martyred hero to most of the Left. But phallogocentric public opinion couldn't change the facts, and that well-known leader was not a leader much longer.

That should tell you where I stand on the question of whether Senator Brock Adams, so-called liberal Democrat, should continue in office even though practically everybody seems to know he's an utterly unscrupulous, conniving sex oppressor. It should tell you where I stand on the matter of whether Mike Tyson, because he is a Black man, should be excused for behaving like a demented monster.

I am sick and tired of Rights, Lefts, and Centerites apologizing for men who brutalize women on the grounds that these men are otherwise politically effective and inspirational. Inspired by a male who is a vile abuser of women, I ain't.

BUT FEMINISTS, TAKE HEART. There is going to be a new global upsurge of women like you have never seen, one that will engulf every economic relationship, every institution, every government. The second sex can no longer tolerate, whether they know it or not, the shackles and brainwashing and outrages visited upon them by the male establishment and its yuppie or scaredy-cat female enablers.

It is time for gender mau-mauism. Time for women guerrillas, 20th-century Amazons, mad shrieks of protest, and careful mobilization of political battalions. Goddammit, sisters: Let's *get* revolutionary. Let's understand that the private profit system is at the bottom of all this horror, and let's catapult ourselves onto the mainstage of history. The world is waiting for the sunrise. □



Freeway Hall Case

VICTORY! Judge protects FSP confidentiality in first test of historic privacy ruling

BY MATT NAGLE

It was predictable. Richard Snedigar and his lawyers, Michelle Pailthorp and Thomas Wampold, had to make one more last-ditch foray after private Freedom Socialist Party records to try to delay trial in the Freeway Hall Case — a trial in which, if justice prevails, they will be laughed out of court.

But this time, their witchhunting scam was scuttled.

On March 18, King County Superior Court Judge Dale Ramerman ruled that Snedigar's latest demand for meeting minutes and membership information did *not* meet the Washington State Supreme Court's new 1990 requirements protecting organizational privacy rights, won by the radical Freeway Hall Case defendants themselves.

In applying the precedent-setting state high court decision for the first time, Ramerman resoundingly vindicated the eight-year-long campaign by the defendants and supporters to safeguard the First Amendment rights of organizations.

Ramerman also cleared away the last barrier to a trial Snedigar's lawyers must have started to dread the moment their client admitted in a 1985 deposition that his fraud and unfair-persuasion charges against the FSP are false.

Ramerman's decision came one day after the King County Labor Council, representing 151 Seattle-area unions, donated \$1,000 to assist the defense.

With these successes under their belts,

the FSP and eight individual socialist feminist defendants were headed for trial on April 13 confident and determined. "Now that the legal system has stopped Snedigar's fishing expedition, we can get into court and disprove his original smear charges," said Freeway Hall Case Coordinator Karrie Peterson. "Vindication at trial will be our final answer to this harassment suit."

Now that the legal system has stopped Snedigar's fishing expedition, the party can get into court and disprove his original smear charges.

High court privacy ruling upheld. During a March 11 hearing before Ramerman, the filled-to-overflowing courtroom watched Wampold and Pailthorp miserably fail to show that the confidential information they sought is essential to their case and unavailable by other means.

When Ramerman asked him what he hoped to find in the minutes, Wampold admitted, "It would be hard for me to speculate." He later said he was looking

to see how the party responded to an eviction threat arising in 1979 in order to show that an emergency never existed and thus prove that Snedigar was duped into making a \$22,500 donation he now wants back.

"Abstract speculations about what the plaintiff hopes to find do not rise to meet the state Supreme Court guidelines," responded defense attorney Valerie Carlson. Attorney Rick Best, speaking for the National Lawyers Guild, joined the defense team in urging the judge to turn Snedigar down.

Ramerman found that Snedigar had shown specifically neither why he needs the minutes nor that he had "exhausted every reasonable alternative source of information."

The question of whether an emergency existed is secondary, according to Ramerman. In analyzing Snedigar's charges, the judge stated that the primary legal concern is whether Snedigar put *conditions* on his gift — which Snedigar did not.

Ramerman's decision cited the deposition in which Snedigar acknowledged that he gave the gift because a real, ongoing emergency existed.

Beating the backlash. With the gains of the labor and progressive movements currently under the gun, partisans of these movements are proving themselves ready to join in a fight to protect the liberties of society's most vulnerable members.

King County Labor Council executive secretary Rick Bender was one of

those who wrote to Judge Ramerman urging him to uphold the FSP's constitutional rights. Wrote Bender, "[A] court order that compels the party to turn over its minutes would have a chilling effect on discussions...of all organizations. The KCLC cannot function effectively unless we can assure our delegates that we will not disclose their discussions to any outsider."

In recent weeks, labor organizations have donated more than \$3,000 to the case. The Hotel and Motel Trades Council in New York City contributed \$1,000 and Amalgamated Transit Union Local 587 gave \$500. The Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild donated \$200 and it passed a resolution of support, as did the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and several AFSCME locals. The organization of retired longshore workers endorsed the case and passed the hat to collect \$181.

A warm reception greeted coordinator Peterson and three of the six female defendants as they traveled up and down the West Coast speaking at International Women's Day events sponsored by Radical Women. Their topic: how Snedigar's legal assault fits in with the general backlash against women.

This surge of support before trial reflects the solidarity that unionists and mass movement activists have extended to the Freeway Hall radicals throughout this eight-year imbroglio. Snedigar and his ilk are learning exactly what stuff political survivors are made of — and if they have any lingering doubts, trial will finish their education. □

Will Canadian rights tribunal result in justice for Mary Pitawanakwat?

BY LINDA AVERILL

Mary Pitawanakwat is a fighter who has kept her eyes on the prize. In July, the Ojibway single mother of two marks the eighth anniversary of her race-and-sex-discrimination case against Canada's Secretary of State Department.

Pitawanakwat worked as a social development officer at the Regina, Saskatchewan office for six-and-a-half years. She was fired in 1986, one year after she filed a formal discrimination complaint.

Her charges have focused international attention on bigotry within the very agency that is charged with administering Canada's affirmative action and multicultural programs for women, indigenous people, and racial and ethnic minorities. The case has also exposed the pro-management bias of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, which is charged with investigating discrimination in the civil service and the federal justice department.

Pitawanakwat's battle began in 1984 when she first complained of harassment from supervisors, including sexual fondling, to the CHRC. Seven years of official stonewalling and legal obstructionism followed. In April 1991, a federal court ruled against the government and upheld a recommendation that a Human Rights Tribunal review the case. But the court also threw out Pitawanakwat's sexual harassment

charges on a technicality, forcing her to refile them separately.

The three-member human rights tribunal convened in October 1991 to rule on Pitawanakwat's demands for back pay, damages, and reinstatement, but has not said when it will decide.

During the hearings at the end of 1991, many of Pitawanakwat's coworkers testified on her behalf, describing how supervisors called Aboriginal clients "savages," "lazy," "too demanding," and a "nuisance." Pitawanakwat herself was referred to openly as a "goddamned Indian."

Racism at the top. In January, Regional Director Andre Nogue, a key witness for the government and one of Pitawanakwat's supervisors, testified that he never explored her complaints. When pressed to define the word savage, he said it meant "Indian." Nogue is responsible for allocating human rights funds for Aboriginal programs within the Department of Secretary of State.

More recently, Acting Regional Director Denis Gauthier admitted making jokes at work about being scalped by Aboriginals — and covering his groin with a briefcase to indicate even worse fates. Gauthier is responsible for developing work plans, supervising staff, and, like Nogue, distributing funds for anti-racism programs in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia.

"The reason they are fighting me so brutally," said Pitawanakwat, "is that their careers are based on unfounded

merit. Their positions require a knowledge of human rights concerns which is completely lacking."

Turnover among indigenous people in the civil service is high, yet the Human Rights Commission investigates few complaints. For this reason Pitawanakwat's legal action has become an important rallying point for feminists, Aboriginals, and civil service workers across Canada.

Racism and sexism in the defense committee. But Pitawanakwat's case also shows the pervasiveness of racism and sexism — even among those who have banded together to fight those isms.

Pitawanakwat administered \$2.5 million as a social development officer, yet she was not trusted or consulted on financial matters by some core organizers on her own defense committee. When Pitawanakwat demanded an equal voice, they told her she was uncooperative and hostile.

On the eve of her tribunal, members of St. Peter's Parish Social Justice Committee, who were defense mainstays, dropped the fight when confronted with their arrogance towards Pitawanakwat.

Rather than acknowledge their mistakes, they blamed Pitawanakwat for the problem she was trying to correct. And they rebaited those who supported Pitawanakwat, like Radical Women Organizer Adrienne Weller from Portland, Oregon, accusing them of disruption! For weeks following their defection, the

ex-committee members continued to open mail addressed to the defense committee. They mailed away thousands of dollars in donations. Acts of treachery like these place them in the same camp as Secretary of State.

The rapid degeneration of these former "supporters" is a lucid illustration of what happens to white liberals who refuse to accept the leadership of women of color. To mouth the slogan, and even to mean it, is one thing. But, because we are far from immune from the society we live in, putting this grand idea into practice always involves uncovering debilitating personal attitudes, changing, and moving forward.

Pitawanakwat undaunted and determined. Pitawanakwat herself has continued to forge ahead, reorganizing the defense effort on a higher level based on true solidarity and broadening support. In January she spoke at a forum hosted by the New York City branches of Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party and at a National Organization for Women conference, also in the U.S. The defense committee plans to take Pitawanakwat's cause to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights.

How you can help: Donations can be sent to the Mary Pitawanakwat Defense Committee, P.O. Box 33042, Regina, Sask., Canada S4T 7X2. Letters urging Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to support Pitawanakwat's struggle for redress can be sent to House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1A 0A6. □

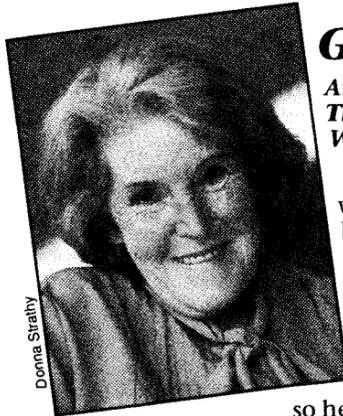


Clara Fraser

FSP National Chairperson and trailblazer in courtroom self-defense

"The Freeway Hall Case is a fight

to re-claim the revolutionary essence of the Bill of Rights, which the majority demanded in the years after independence to protect itself from an arbitrary, minority government. The people would not budge on those first ten amendments, so the politicians had to concede them to get the Constitution passed. The Bill of Rights was a victory for the masses against the establishment. That tradition is ours. And today, this case is the ultimate test of the First Amendment, the key civil liberties case in the country. It's about the right of our party to make its own decisions."



Gloria Martin

Author, Socialist Feminism: The First Decade; Radical Women co-founder

"Dick Snedigar and I worked together in the FSP, but he never liked being told what to do by a woman. His resentment took a lot of forms — passive resistance was a favorite. Dick wanted to be a leader, but he didn't want to work for it, so he tried to buy power by giving a big donation to our public eviction fund. When he found that authority in the FSP couldn't be bought, it had to be earned, he left and filed a lawsuit to get even. We're fighting back and winning court decisions that will help defend all the movements."



Guerry Hoddersen

FSP National Secretary schooled in SNCC desegregation work

"It took us eight years in court and two trips to the Washington State Supreme Court to finally get a judge to stop Dick Snedigar from legally riffling through a decade's worth of FSP minutes. It gives new meaning to the word harassment, doesn't it? But it's been worth it. Because we've had the opportunity to take the First Amendment protections already in the law — put there by socialists resisting McCarthyism, the NAACP challenging segregation, and the Black Panther Party tackling the FBI — and expand those rights. We've kept the faith and nothing feels better than that!"



Freeway Hall Case

Defendants demand freedom to organize

Lawsuit brought against Freedom Socialist Party by ex-member Richard Snedigar threatens rights of all activists



Eldon Durham

Retired minister, conscientious objector to World War II, and Vietnam War opponent

"During the McCarthy era, I belonged to an interdenominational study and action group. One of the members was subpoenaed by the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and I watched the whole group quickly disband. Those not directly under fire were paralyzed with fear. That's why the Freeway Hall Case is more than a suit against a radical political party and its program. It's a threat to the First Amendment rights of a wide variety of organizations and associations, from the Rotary Club to the Presbyterian Church. I have no doubt that an aggressive offense is the best defense against these lawsuits."



Yolanda Alaniz

FSP candidate for Seattle City Council in 1991 and Chicana organizer and theoretician

"When Heidi Durham and I filed with the city last year to get matching funds during our campaign, the state tried to force us to turn over the names of our contributors. We pushed for and won a ruling from the public disclosure commission reaffirming our right to privacy. We weren't going to be forced to name names in order to keep our right to run and to be a voice for all the unrepresented — from low-paid workers and the homeless and unemployed to teenagers with no place to go but the streets. This principle is ingrained in me from fighting the Freeway Hall Case."

Valerie Carlson

Lead case attorney with a private practice specializing in discrimination law

"The Freeway Hall Case is fundamentally a political dispute. Snedigar's technical legal claims are merely tactics to enlist the court to intervene in the FSP's affairs, overturn the party's democratically made decisions, and reallocate its money — other people's money — to him. Snedigar has spent the past eight years slandering the defendants with all the insidious old prejudices and stereotypes against women and radicals because he doesn't have any evidence to support his absurd claims of fraud and coercion. He's admitted under oath that an emergency need for a new headquarters existed and that his contribution was freely given. He doesn't have a case."



Skip Kerr

Doug Barnes

New Freeway Hall Manager and Snedigar's former housemate

"The FSP must be able to make its own decisions about what it's going to prioritize and how it's going to fight this barbaric system without interference from a politically hostile ex-member. Dick is asking the capitalist courts to judge actions the party took ten years ago and more. If we turned the money over to Dick, it would be saying that we no longer want to maintain control of our own organization. The feminist leaders in the FSP had the chutzpah to say no to Snedigar and defy jail terms for what they believe in. That's how we're going to win this case."

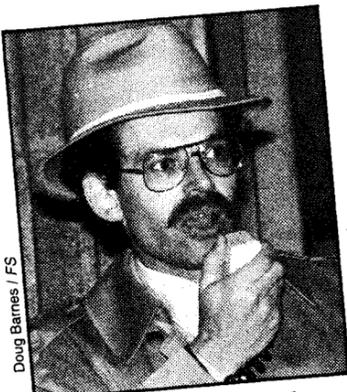


Kathleen Merrigan / FS

Fred Hyde

Case attorney and AFSCME delegate to the King County Labor Council

"Snedigar has been stalling to avoid trial because he just wants to misuse the courts to get revenge. It is an indictment of the judicial



Doug Barnes / FS

system that it has allowed Snedigar to abuse the legal process and the defendants all these years instead of throwing out his frivolous case. We are asking the trial judge to make Snedigar pay our litigation costs and attorneys' fees to send a message to anti-union employers and opponents of social-issue organizations that these harassment suits will not be tolerated. Labor and other movement leaders have been hit with lawsuits like this themselves, and that's why we've gotten such strong support."

Our dedicated attorneys work for low, movement rates. But the legal costs of defending the First Amendment — videotaping depositions, flying witnesses to Seattle, paying for court reporters — are enormous. Please give generously!

- Enclosed is \$ _____ to help protect constitutional rights. (Make checks out to Freeway Hall Case Defense Fund.)
- Add my (our) name to the list of case endorsers.
- Add my name to the mailing list and keep me posted.
- Contact me to help with defense committee work.

\$6,000 still needed to pay for TRIAL!

Name _____ (please print)
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____
 Country _____ Phone _____

Send to: Karrie Peterson, Case Coordinator
 New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98118 • (206) 722-2453

Teamsters reform puts labor on the comeback trail

BY MATT NAGLE

For the first time in its 88-year history, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) in December 1991 held a direct election by the membership for its top office-holders. When the ballots were cast, the rank and file kicked out the formidable, thieving old guard by electing the entire slate of 16 reform candidates, headed by Ron Carey for president.

This extraordinary event marks the beginning of a new era for the Teamsters and a revitalized potential for labor. Through the reform victories, the membership took the first brave step in reclaiming the biggest, most powerful and most corrupt union in the country from the sleazy, reactionary, Mafioso good-ole-boy bureaucrats who for decades held it in a vise. What an example of leadership for workers everywhere!

Now the task before the rank and file is to ensure that the union is *thoroughly* house-cleaned and democratized and to use their renewed power where it counts — in struggles with the bosses, where serious ground was lost in the '80s.

It ain't gonna be easy. A layer of sellouts and gangsters remains in local and national offices, in a phalanx between the reform leadership and the ranks. These guys control millions of dollars and masses of workers and they don't take kindly to change. What are the winning union rebels to do next?

Workers turn the tables on feds, bureaucrats. The historic Teamsters take-back was the result of a tenacious, international, grassroots movement led by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), formed in 1975. In 1988, the U.S. Justice Department served a racketeering lawsuit on the Teamster brass, who then struck a deal to get the suit dropped in exchange for acceptance of a "consent decree" stipulating changes in the union's constitution and practices. TDU pressed for and won the inclusion of a one-member, one-vote election clause.

The government provided the union reformers a lever to use against the bureaucrats only by accident. In horning in to keep a finger on the tails of the union fatcats, the Justice Department underestimated the ability of the workers to take advantage of the situation and assert themselves in their own right.

Now the union must get the government *out* of its affairs. The feds are no buddies of labor. National Labor Relations Board decisions that impede organizing, injunctions against strikers like the Greyhound drivers, "free trade" agreements that will spiral working conditions downward worldwide, and court orders to disclose TDU membership and supporter lists are just a few examples of how the government helps business clip labor's wings.

In place of relying on illusory aid from Washington, the Teamster rank and file must lead in building a broad-based labor movement free to fight on its own terms.

Social issues are labor's issues. IBT represents 1.56 million employees from a variety of service-oriented occu-

violence, and opposing U.S. war moves.

It's up to the ranks to make sure the leadership takes the right course. Some major campaigns that must be undertaken:

- encourage movements for democracy in other unions.
- fight to reverse past concessions.
- oppose the role of the government and bosses in sabotaging labor, safety

support and play an identical *political* role in each movement — pacification of the class struggle. An example is a union head who convinces the angry membership to take half of the pay raise they're striking for. These finks get prestige and management's table scraps by compromising the demands of aroused workers, often using violence to keep the ranks "under control."

Former Teamster officials were notorious for strong-arming their own workers and using brutality to bust up other unions' picket lines. During the United Farm Workers strikes of the '60s, Teamster snakes signed sweetheart contracts with growers and hired goons to attack Chicano and Mexicano strikers. Teamsters farmworkers couldn't even vote on their own contracts.

Because of the enormous power IBT wields by virtue of its huge size and the strategic importance of its members' occupations, its corrupt middle caste held back the whole labor movement. This is why dislodging that caste opens up such wide opportunities for reviving moribund unionism.

Radical leadership to the fore!

Formerly a UPS driver and president of his local in Queens, New York, Carey has led strikes that doubled wages and improved benefits and has supported strikes by other Teamster locals. He is known for genuinely listening to his coworkers. In a dramatic gesture, he cut \$50,000 from his salary as president.

The election brought a wedge of diversity to the executive board, bringing to it one of the few Blacks to attain high office, the first Hispanic, and the first woman, Diana Kilmury. Kilmury is a truck driver, a feminist, and an outspoken TDU co-chair.

Reform candidates are sweeping into office at the local level as well. In Seattle, for instance, Asian American Bob Hasegawa, a 15-year TDU activist, was elected to head Local 174.

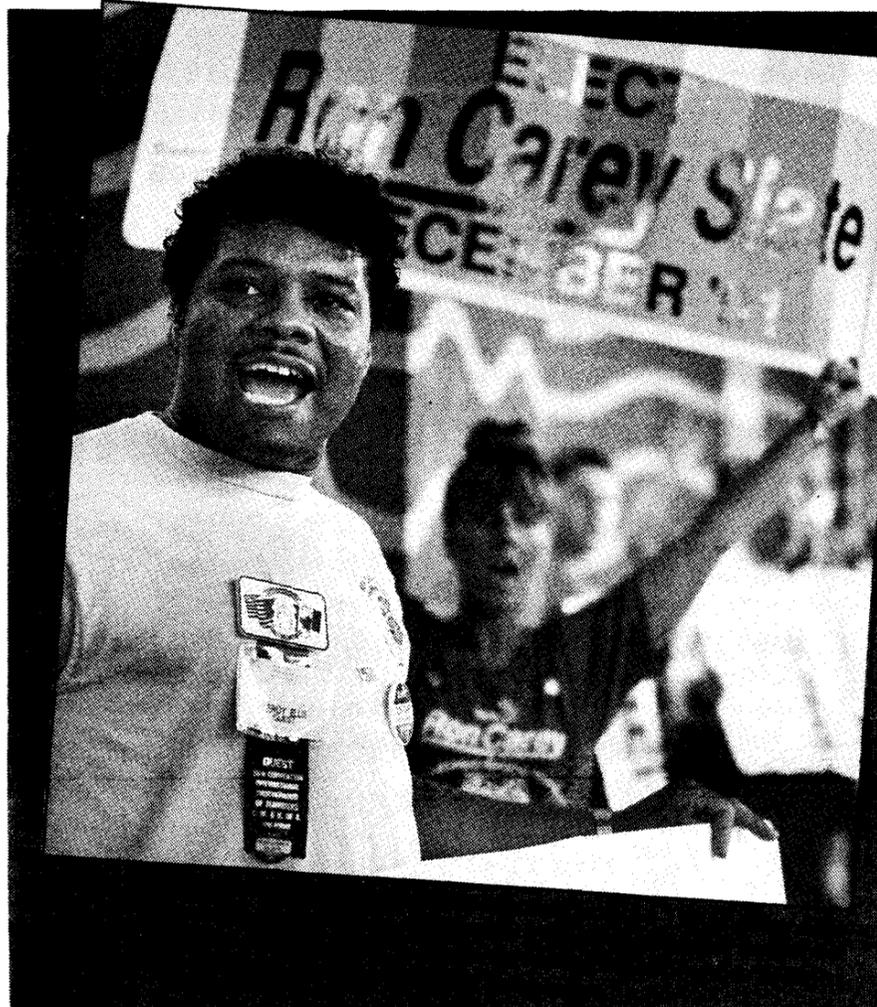
Victory for all these reformers was possible only because TDU and other rank-and-filers spent many years risking their jobs and sometimes their lives organizing against the IBT hierarchy.

Many of those who have been in the front lines are socialists. Carey, Kilmury and their associates have the responsibility to acknowledge, respect and encourage radical leadership if the IBT is to be thoroughly democratic — and if it is to survive the fire it will attract as it tries to improve the lot of working people. Only disaster can result from knuckling under to reactionary redbaiters.

Rock 'em and sock 'em with a Labor Party. Unions, even the most strong and uppity, can only do so much. Workers need a political arm — a party — that will truly represent them and provide an answer to their woes. Carey's lean toward the Democrats as a replacement for Teamster support for Republicans Reagan and Bush is a prescription for calamity. Lesser-evil politics won't challenge the cause of workingclass misery: capitalism. What's the alternative? *A Labor Party!*

Reforming the Teamsters is just the beginning of the battle facing workers who want to control their economic and social lives. A Labor Party will secure the IBT's gains and begin to give the entire working class the muscle to put authority where it belongs — into the hands of the majority.

The Teamster rank and file has the opportunity before it to make *real* change. With political representation at the top and a tight, determined, militant rainbow of workers at the foundation, the Teamsters reform movement can live up to its awesome promise. □



pations, like healthcare workers, pilots, flight attendants, nurses and truck drivers. The union reflects the overall shift in the makeup of the working class by race, gender, and type of job. Changing its outmoded and stifling rugged-individualist, hulking-white-guy reputation must be a top priority if the reformers are to survive the inevitable backlash from the bureaucratic residue.

Carey and his colleagues can and must bring all the members on board the reform boat by taking strong, progressive positions on every issue affecting working people: affirmative action, equal opportunity, abortion rights, childcare, lesbian and gay rights, access for the disabled, protection of constitutional and civil rights, eliminating unemployment, raising the minimum wage, nationalizing healthcare, ending sexual and racial harassment and Nazi

and environmental standards abroad.

- organize the 84 percent of workers who have no union.
- help build militant organizations for the unemployed.
- join with community and radical groups to win social reforms.

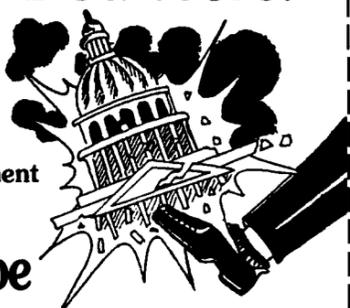
If Carey and the new General Executive Board collaborate with and build new leadership from among the most oppressed workers, they will get the rank-and-file support to whip the still-entrenched reactionaries into line. Otherwise, they risk being thwarted by the old-guard opposition — or being tamed and bureaucratized themselves and melding into labor's middle caste.

Middle-caste betrayers shoved aside. The middle caste is a social layer whose members, though they may span class lines, rest on a workingclass base of

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