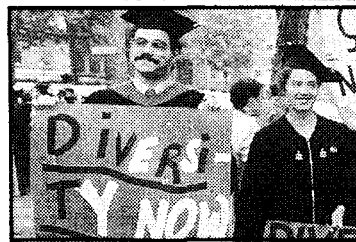




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The Freedom Socialist

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

January-March 1992

Volume 13, Number 2

(\$1.00 outside U.S.) **75¢**

Revolution and counterrevolution rock the Soviet Union

Workers will write the final chapter

BY ANDREA BAUER

For more than seven decades world capitalism has been digging a grave for the Russian Revolution. Is it time for the funeral? McDonald's in Red Square — is this the end of the line?

Born in a world war, the new Soviet state forged in 1917 was invaded by 14 nations. It grew up on a diet of capitalist military attacks and threats, embargoes, and sophisticated spying and sabotage. Bombed out by Nazi Germany in World War II, it was starved out afterward by its U.S. ally, which refused aid and launched the Cold War.

And now the U.S. ruling class gloats that the world's first workers state has collapsed because of the "inherent" unrealizability of socialism!

What has prevented the realization of socialism in the USSR is concerted capitalist hostility, along with the isolation created by the failure of revolution in large industrialized nations. The country's besieged condition and desperate impoverishment fostered the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which choked off workers' initiative and turned the soviets (workers' councils) into empty shells in order to keep itself pampered and in power.

What the world is watching now is not the death of socialism. It is the dynamiting of Stalinism by those who have been in thrall to it, the political revolution foreseen by Leon Trotsky 60 years ago. Painful and disturbing and chaotic though the process is, it is essential in order to clear the ground for workers' democracy and socialism. There is no other way.

Soviet workers are the main event. The real actors in the Soviet Union are the workers. For all their media play now, what Gorbachev and Yeltsin do and say will hardly matter in a year.

Among the people who do matter are the strikers of Minsk, who demanded the nationalization — not the privatization — of Communist Party property; the women waiting in food lines, echoing those whose cry for bread sparked the 1917 revolution; the Chechen and Ingush national minorities within the Russian republic, who played a key role in securing a Bolshevik victory in the post-1917 civil war and whose movement for self-

determination Yeltsin is now trying to smash; and factory workers in Moscow, Voronezh, Novosibirsk and elsewhere who are organizing workers' self-management committees.

It is Soviet workers whose simmering

take to the streets and their ability to win over the army to defend, not Gorbachev and Yeltsin, but democratic gains.

The coup's defeat gave the Soviet people a renewed *consciousness* of their power. How they wield that power during this winter of privation and escalating political disintegration and conflict will irreversibly stamp the world into a new shape.

Halfway measures offer no salvation. The earth-shaking emergence of Poland's Solidarity at the head of an independent workers' movement in the early '80s had sounded a clear warning to any Stalinist bureaucrat canny enough to listen. Gorbachev instituted glasnost and perestroika because economic stagnation and political repression were becoming unendurable to the people.

His new policies were designed entirely to save the bureaucracy by making just enough changes to head off revolt and get the economy moving.

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THE NEW PARTY LINE

anger provoked the government policies of glasnost and perestroika. It is Soviet workers who stopped the August 1991 coup through their readiness to

Anita Hill: Reluctant hero breaks taboo against Black women speaking out

BY LINDA AVERILL

The day Anita Hill's sexual harassment charges went public was the day U.S. working women exploded. The leaked report of Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas' abuse ignited a pow-

der keg of female rage aimed at the nation's capital.

Women stormed the Senate steps and jammed the phone lines, demanding an investigation. The Democrats and Republicans made a front-page, prime-time spectacle of themselves trying to explain their cover-up.

The pro-forma confirmation process of right-winger Thomas was stopped dead in its tracks in October, forcing a televised hearing on sexual harassment. It was a clear demonstration of women's new power arising from their enormous numbers in the workplace.

Yet for all the initial muscle-flexing, women emerged from the hearings bruised and punch-drunk. Anita Hill, involuntary champion of every woman who's ever been harassed, was herself put on trial, pilloried by Republicans, and abandoned by Democrats.

How did women lose so much ground so quickly?

Anita Hill's saga is the story of how the fight

against sexism goes nowhere when divorced from an understanding of the interrelationship of sex with race and class. Hill couldn't "explain herself" without admitting that racial protocol prohibits Black women from publicly criticizing the Brothers. So she wasn't believed by the WASP-male Senate.

Thomas seizes control of the debate. The hearings began with the entire country tuned in suspensefully. Who would win: the good ole boys or women?

But only minutes after Anita Hill testified, the hearing bogged down.

In interrogating Hill, the Senate Judiciary Committee steered clear of the national debate about sexual harassment as a form of discrimination and management power over women. Instead, the committee orchestrated a

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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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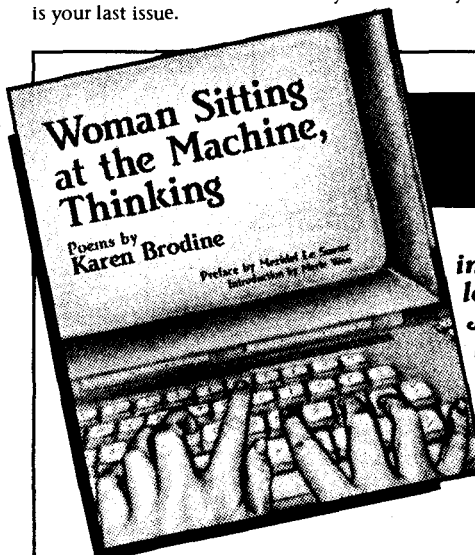
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Hasta luego y muchas gracias to **Gabriela Tello**, who returned home to Mexico this issue after three years of absolutely invaluable contributions to the FS in design, art work, production, translating, and camaraderie.

The *Freedom Socialist* (ISSN 0272-4367) is published quarterly by the Freedom Socialist Party, New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Avenue South, Seattle, WA 98118. Phone: (206) 722-2453. **Subscriptions:** 1-year \$5.00 (institutions \$10.00), 2-year Supporting Sub \$25.00, 3-year Sustaining Sub \$50.00, 5-year Sponsoring Sub \$100.00. Add \$5.00 for overseas airmail. Back copies \$.75 each. Checks or money orders to *Freedom Socialist* at the address above. **In Australia:** 1-year \$6.00, airmail. Mail payment to P.O. Box 266, West Brunswick, Vic. 3055. **Current subscribers:** Appearing on your mailing label is a number which indicates how many more issues you are due to receive. "0" means this is your last issue.



Oregonian columnist lauds radical poet Brodine

The penetrating review below, written by Jonathan Nicholas, was published in the daily *Portland Oregonian* on August 1, 1991.

In the roster of players who sound pretty darn dangerous, in the lineup of sluggers who make some men extremely nervous, this Karen Brodine character was batting three for three.

She was a feminist. She was a socialist. She was a lesbian.

No wonder some of the lads were inclined toward early showers. Still, there was one other thing about Brodine.

She was dead.

You might have thought this made her look a little less dangerous. Not to one Portland-area printing company.

Seattle's Red Letter Press says it had a signed contract

with a Tualatin company to print a book of Brodine's poetry — her fourth. But that was before someone at the print shop read the manuscript.

Perhaps it was the title poem that got someone's goat. "Woman Sitting at the Machine, Thinking" is pretty explicit.

Not naughty words. Not exhortations to "Burn, baby, burn."

It simply details the action of a woman who engages in extremely subversive behavior: She thinks while she works.

Atlantic magazine recently recorded the strange state of American poetry — there are more poets than ever, most of them laboring on college campuses.

And there are more and more journals publishing — and analyzing — the output of our poets.

But fewer and fewer people seem to be paying attention.

Perhaps it's because poetry isn't easy. That's because it deals with the truth. And the truth is hard to swallow.

Karen Brodine died of breast cancer in 1987. She was 40 years young.

Among the other recent reviewers of *Woman Sitting at the Machine, Thinking* are: *Ms.*; *Women's Review of Books*; *Poetry Flash*; *Bridges*, a Jewish feminist journal; *Rites*, a Toronto lesbian/gay newspaper; *Seattle Gay News*; *People's Weekly World*; *Kinesis*; *Processed World*; and *Santa Cruz*.

Order now!

Please send me _____ copies of *Woman Sitting at the Machine, Thinking* at \$8.95 each.

(Add \$1.50 shipping cost for first book, 50¢ each additional book.) Enclosed: \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

Phone (____) _____

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Zip _____

Country _____

Return with payment to Red Letter Press, 603 Maynard Ave. South #201, Seattle, WA 98104, 206-467-6100.

Letters

Kudos

Thank you very much for the interesting piece on the battle over abortion in Eastern Europe. In Poland, in particular, as I know, they need help from outside. Keep on with your good work.

Daniel Singer
Paris, France

Abortion rights

My opinion on the articles "One Last Time — Hands Off Our Bodies!" and "Abortion Wars in Eastern Europe" (Vol. 13 #1) is very simple. It is bad policy ever to try to legislate morality. So abortion is primarily a question of whether a woman should be allowed to control her own body.

Petras Vaitiekunas, M.P.
Supreme Council
Republic of Lithuania

Listen up, media

I am writing about the article "Reporter Sandy Nelson's free speech case: Target of newsroom gag rule attracts national interest" (May-June 1991).

Freedom of speech is a right that the U.S. Constitution guarantees each of us. Nelson exercised her rights as she saw fit. Unfortunately, the consciousness of society is determined through the hearts and minds of people influenced by "poor" media reporting.

I applaud the efforts of story author Matt Nagle and others in bringing this issue forward.

Phyllis Hutchinson
Seattle, Washington

Watsonville workers

We are laid-off workers from Watsonville, California. Most of us are middle-aged women from Mexico, averaging 14 years employment at the Pillsbury-Green Giant frozen food plant. The company has laid off almost 400 of us. It shifted most of our union jobs to Irapuato, Mexico.

Recently, our organization, *Trabajadores Desplazados* (Displaced Workers) announced a national boycott of Pillsbury-Green Giant, Burger King, and Haagen Dazs to protest our job losses and the behavior of Grand Metropolitan, the multi-national company that owns Pillsbury-Green Giant, Burger King, Haagen Dazs and dozens of other products.

We are angry at Grand Metropolitan's treatment of our non-union co-workers in

Irapuato, paying starvation wages of \$4 a day. We are also angered at the company's abuse of Mexico's environment and resources.

To endorse the boycott or make a donation, write to *Trabajadores Desplazados* at 434 Main St. #222, Watsonville, CA 95076.

Lauro and Yolanda Navarro
Evangelina Cervantes
Watsonville, California

Mount Currie

The tribute to David Sohapp (Sept.-Nov. 1991) was excellent. The article on Mary Pitawanakwat was also informative.

There was one error in this article, however: there have been no "armed confrontations" at the Mount Currie Reserve, beyond one attack on property — the bombing of the Green River Bridge.

Resistance at Mount Currie has been non-violent on the Lil'wat people's side. The RCMP has not always been exactly non-violent.

For information on the struggle at Mount Currie, contact: Terri John at Box 79, Mount Curry, B.C., Canada, V0N 2K0. The number to phone or fax is 604-894-6069.

Pete Murrey
Seattle Big Mountain Support Group

Mary Pitawanakwat

I visited Regina, Saskatchewan, in October at the opening of the Human Rights Tribunal, convened to hear Mary Pitawanakwat's race discrimination case against the Secretary of State Department.

Testimony at the Tribunal showed how Pitawanakwat's bosses subjected the Ojibway leader to vicious racial slurs, and when she fought back, they fired her.

At an October 7 rally support, statements supporting Pitawanakwat came from Aboriginal women leaders, unionists, lesbian rights activists, Irish liberationists, radicals and feminists.

You can help by writing letters calling on the Tribunal to support Pitawanakwat's charges. Send them to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney at the House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0A6. Copies of letters and donations to Pitawanakwat's defense fund can be sent to the Mary Pitawanakwat Defense Committee, 2054 Argyle St., Regina, Saskatchewan, S4T 3S7.

Adrienne Weller
Radical Women Organizer
Portland, Oregon

Leninism debated

"The Truth About Trotsky" (Vol. 13 #1) states that "the USSR never realized socialism."

The FS and Trotsky never realized socialism either. To reject Stalin's alleged "claim that socialism could be built within a single country" is to reject Lenin. The FS does this by pretending only to reject so-called "Stalinism."

During Lenin's administration, every bourgeoisie and enemy of the people said that conditions in the USSR were not ripe to build communism. They argued that therefore the Soviets should not try to build socialism, lest they violate Marxism by trying to advance from feudalism to socialism without passing go (capitalist phase). Lenin told these intellectuals to try to find where he ever said that the transition through the capitalist phase had to be under a capitalist party dictatorship.

E.O. Locks
Eureka, California

In the cover story this issue on the Soviet Union, we explain how Leninism and Stalinism are diametrically opposed and Lenin speaks for himself on some of the issues on page seven.

With pleasure

I am interested in considering *The Chicano Struggle* for possible use in teaching my Ethnic Studies classes. Can you send me the nine installments?

Professor E. San Juan, Jr.
Bowling Green, Ohio

To order *The Chicano Struggle: A Racial or a National Movement?*, please see our subscription ad on page 12.—Ed.

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

Corrections

In "Abortion wars in Eastern Europe" last issue, the final sentence on the cover reads, "But don't expect to see the women of Poland marching to the people's rhythm!" We intended to write, "to the pope's rhythm."

The photo of Gloria Martin and Robert LaVigne on page four was taken in Seattle, not San Francisco.

L.A. police atrocities reignite campaign for citizen review board

BY MONICA HILL

Sparked by the videotaped bludgeoning of Black motorist Rodney King in March 1991, angry community activists are mobilizing for a police review board in Los Angeles. The Committee for Justice and a Civilian Review Board is leading the same fight undertaken ten years ago. But this time around finds fighters more seasoned, support broader, and public outrage at a higher pitch.

The committee's determined organizing has already discredited the cozy brotherhood of Democrat and Republican politicians of all races and both genders. And it challenges Left cynics who have opposed the call for a review board to re-examine their abstinence from the struggle for this key reform.

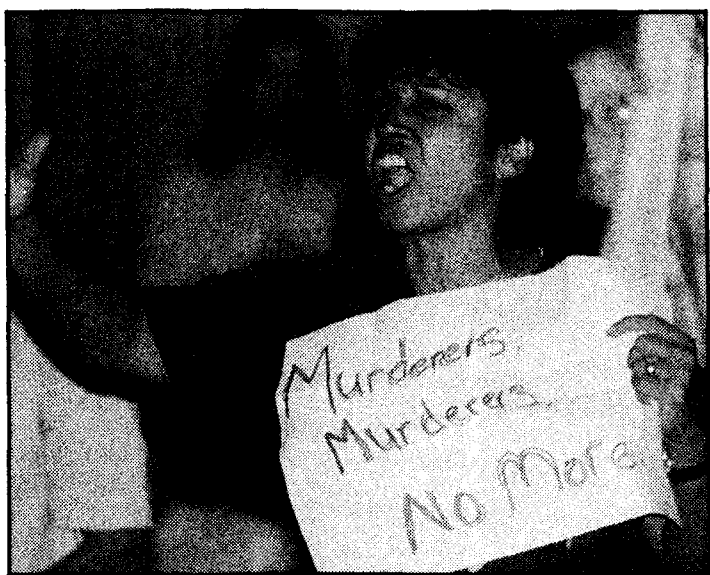
In Los Angeles, as across the country, police-besieged communities have had enough. Shootings, beatings, racist slurs, police rapes and sexual abuses, evidence tampering, police-dog attacks, spying on political dissidents, assaults on union demonstrators, stun guns and battering rams, vice squad crime, prone-position and strip searches, callous indifference toward wife-beating and gay-bashing, white supremacist organizing inside precincts — these are the norms for many of the "protect and serve" boys in blue. In L.A., most of them are white, straight men who live outside this City of Angels, a metropolis that speaks more than 100 languages and whose "minorities" are a majority of the population.

A review board with power to the people. To counteract the out-of-control Los Angeles Police Department, the committee vows to collect the 183,000 signatures needed to put its review board measure on the ballot for the June or November 1992 primary

elections. Led by Black community veterans of anti-police abuse organizing, the committee is multi-racial, broad-based and democratic. As victims of police abuse, committee members know what they want.

The committee's agenda is straight-forward — an *elected, community-controlled* police review board, *independent* of the police, city attorney, and downtown politicians, with the power to investigate and fire cops and to change department policies and procedures.

Angry Los Angeles protests police brutality. In September 1991, sheriff's deputies shot and killed four people; three were shot from behind.



The ballot measure provides for an elected special prosecutor with full subpoena powers and access to shooting sites. To insure ongoing popular control, board members' terms of office are limited and each member is required to hold monthly community meetings.

The board's range of concerns includes police physical and verbal abuse based on sex, race, sexuality, politics, citizenship status, religion, ethnicity, or union status. It even protects whistleblowers within the LAPD, mostly minorities, women, and gays, from life-threatening harassment by their bigoted colleagues.

"This review board proposal is the strongest in existence," comments Michael Zinzun, former Black Panther and co-chair of the committee, who was blinded in one eye from a police attack in 1987. "That's why grassroots people who haven't voted in years are register-

ing. They've finally found something worth voting for."

Opposition from the politicians.

Arrayed against the review board ballot proposal are the gun-happy LAPD, its openly rightwing commanders, downtown politicians, big business, and liberals who prefer the palliative reforms recommended by the much-touted Christopher Commission.

This commission was quickly appointed by Mayor Tom Bradley and Police Chief Daryl Gates in response to community combustion over the Rodney King beating. The purpose of the group was classically reformist: to convince people the system works. A few public hearings and lots of press headlines later, the commission publicized its report of appalling racism, sexism, homophobia and brute violence on the part of "some" cops.

None of this viciousness was news, of course, to the legions of police abuse victims in L.A.

After presenting its report, the commission sagely recommended face-saving reforms with which downtown business leaders and the City Council hoped to disarm or co-opt more fundamental changes. Meanwhile, police murder and abuse continues. Although Chief Gates announces on-again, off-again plans to retire in 1992, he refuses to resign. Even his resignation, while it would be a victory, would barely touch the problem.

Politicians hoped the Christopher Commission report and recommendations would derail the review board campaign and allow cosmetic concessions to take the place of any transfer of power from the police to the community.

But the review board campaign was not derailed, the politicians have been

discredited, and the liberals are being pressed to take a stand for meaningful reform from the bottom up, not top-down placebos.

Revolutionaries deal with the here-and-now. Also opposed to the review board are some leftists who consider review boards useless. They maintain that because police are the armed instrument of the state, workingclass attempts to monitor or control them are futile; the police must be smashed at the dawn of the revolution.

Of course the police must ultimately be dismantled. But what's to be done in the meantime, under capitalism?

Leftists who disdain the effort to win a review board are mistakenly rejecting the concept of a *transitional demand*, which Leon Trotsky describes as a "bridge between the present situation and the workingclass revolution." Revolutionaries fight and fight hard for transitional demands. Why? To further radicalize people's consciousness by exposing the system's unworkability, to train and solidarize committed fighters for the next battle, and to win as much as possible here and now, because police abuse is a life-and-death issue, here and now.

Nobody believes that a police review board will eliminate cop violence. It won't solve the underlying conditions of poverty, racism, sexism, crumbling health and education, drug addiction, and joblessness. But a community-controlled police review board would provide significant defense against cops who now murder and maim with impunity. It would give people who are now victims without recourse a sense of their own power.

People in bourgeois democracies have a legal right to be free of police abuse. Yes, that legal right is violated; that's what capitalists always do. But the working class and all oppressed people gain strength by protesting and organizing against those violations.

As the L.A. review board committee's Statement of Purpose asserts, "The fight to achieve this enhances the overall struggle for justice and human dignity."

Donations, offers of support, and inquiries can be sent to the Committee for Justice and a Civilian Review Board at 2824 S. Western, Los Angeles, CA 90018, U.S.A. □

New management refuses to restore beat and byline to rebel reporter

BY MATT NAGLE

When *Morning News Tribune* managing editor Norm Bell was replaced last August, and publisher William Honeysett promoted out of state, *MNT* journalist and lesbian socialist activist Sandy Nelson extended an offer to her bosses' replacements. She proposed that the new management team start fresh by reversing Bell's politically motivated decision to transfer her to the copy desk, and thus end a free-speech battle in its second year in Tacoma, Washington.

The Sandy Nelson Defense Committee sent new publisher Kelso Gillenwater a letter signed by prominent local union representatives, human rights activists, and education workers in which they encouraged him to reinstate Nelson to her education writing beat. Carla Nuxoll, president of the Washington State Education Association, and Ramona Bennett, former Puyallup Tribal chair-

woman, sent letters, too.

It quickly became clear, however, that the personnel switch was nothing more than a currently trendy managerial tactic: replace arrogant, domineering corporate hacks with smiling, "let's-be-a-family" corporate hacks.

Gillenwater and the new managing editor, Jan Brandt, cynically told newsroom staff they want to heal wounds inflicted by the former management. But in his response to defense committee chair Laurie Jenkins, Gillenwater defended Nelson's reassignment.

Wrote Gillenwater: "Reporters engaging in political activism compromise [the] editorial integrity... at the core of newspapering... As far as we are concerned, the matter is resolved."

Nelson and her supporters know better. Having outlasted Bell and Honeysett, they are not about to raise the white flag now. "Outspoken journalists all over are being silenced and harassed like I am," Nelson says. "This drive to tame reporters must be stopped

if we are to retain any vestige of a free press."

Jenkins agrees. "Community members and people in education want Sandy back as education reporter," she said. "Gillenwater's letter was a slap in the face to us and the 6,000 people who signed petitions and postcards on Sandy's behalf. The *MNT* is definitely out of touch with the community."

Hand in hand: racism and anti-gay censorship. One of Bell's last hurrahs before being plucked from his *MNT* throne was his appearance at a Seattle forum discussing the media's coverage of people of color, held in conjunction with the national conference of the Asian American Journalists Association. A panel of newspaper and television bureaucrats were on one side; on the other were representatives from local communities of color.

The defensive and condescending attitude of the all-white media panel was typified by Bell's reaction when this



Sandy Nelson of the Tacoma Morning News Tribune

reporter confronted him about his transfer of Nelson.

Bell responded with his familiar line: Nelson was shuffled because her work on a Tacoma gay-rights initiative threatened to tarnish the *MNT*'s "objectivity." In truth, management used "objectivity" as a pretext to retaliate against Nelson, the organizer for Tacoma Radical Women, because of her social-issue and labor militancy.

Then Bell made a serious mistake: he

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BY MATT NAGLE

A young girl stands to stretch her back and wipe her brow beneath the blazing sun of Eastern Washington. Acres of asparagus and grapes surround her, peppered with the wide-brimmed straw hats of other field workers — her family and friends.

Yolanda Alaniz returns to work, strong hands and arms in constant motion. Her labor here will soon end. Her future lies amid the concrete and bustle of Seattle, where this young *campesina* will become a Chicana feminist to be reckoned with, respected for her dedication to the liberation of La Raza and all oppressed people.

Says Alaniz today, "It is as workers, fighting together with our sisters and brothers of all colors, that we Chicanos proudly take our place as leaders in the American revolution."

First step to revolution: education. Yolanda Alaniz was born in 1950 in Brownsville, Texas, the oldest of seven children, to a farmworker family. When she was six years old, the Alaniz clan settled in Washington's Yakima Valley in the town of Sunnyside. Starting in her early teens, Yolanda worked evenings and weekends in the fertile fields of this farm community, known by some as "Little Mississippi."

Despite the racism and sexism she faced from white teachers and schoolmates, she made excellent grades and became one of the few valley farmworkers to graduate from high school.

"As I walked down the aisle to get my diploma, I felt so proud of myself and *mi mamá*, who encouraged me to finish," Alaniz said. "Only three out of the seven children in my family graduated from high school."

Alaniz became the only one to complete college. As was true for other children of farmworkers, her white high school guidance counselors never prompted her to seek a higher education. She was told to try business school instead. But when Chicano recruiters from the University of Washington (UW) in Seattle came to Sunnyside looking for promising new students, they found Alaniz among others.

In 1969, she bid "*hasta luego*" to her loved ones in the valley and headed straight into the political ferment on campus.

¡Viva el movimiento Chicano! "Like so many others, I was quickly transformed from a 'Mexican-American' into a Chicana political activist,"

Alaniz says. "It was Chicanos against the world!"

At the UW, Alaniz worked with MEChA (El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán), which fought for Ethnic Studies, Chicano faculty representation, and equal opportunity programs for poor and minority students.

"There was a lot of sexism within MEChA," Alaniz remembers. "But when the men wanted the women to just cook and type, I said no; we're going to help make policy and lead demonstrations, too, or we won't come to MEChA meetings."

Alaniz notes, "The campus Chicano movement became a powerful source of change. We came together with other students of color and began forming Third World organizations."

as an office assistant, she started to understand what was missing — a class analysis, a perspective based on seeing whose labor is exploited and who profits. She helped lead the first UW labor strike in 1973, when staff went out against a new reclassification system that discriminated against the lowest-paid workers, mostly women and people of color.

Alaniz says, "During the strike, I worked with Radical Women members who were students and staff and I saw how struggles could be fought based on *workers'* solidarity, not just *race* solidarity. The class division became clear — on one side, the bosses, and on the other, the workers."

should not affiliate with a "white women's organization" and a husband (now ex-) who said he wanted a full-time wife, not a part-time "political wife."

A year later, she joined the Freedom Socialist Party, a Trotskyist feminist party and RW's sister organization.

"I joined RW and the FSP because I liked their dedication to the issues of working women and mothers. They cared about childcare, comparable worth, ERA, civil rights, safety on the job," says Alaniz, who is the mother of a daughter, Carla. "As an RW member, I knew I could fight against my oppression as a Chicana, a woman, a worker, and a mother all at the same time."

"Another important reason I signed up was because RW and FSP believe it is the most oppressed, like workingclass women of color, who are pivotal to making the revolutionary transformation from capitalism to socialism."

"Finding these organizations was a turning point for me. I learned to deal with racism differently. After thinking all my life that all whites were racists, I learned to trust white people on the basis of political agreement."

one based on economic democracy — socialism. This is the way to rid the world of racism, sexism and homophobia, poverty and homelessness."

Today Alaniz contributes to the FSP and RW in an array of important ways. Among them:

As national coordinator of the joint FSP/RW Comrades of Color Caucus, Alaniz works with other caucus members to educate the party and RW on racism, set policy and initiate theoretical writings on issues affecting people of color, and collectively strengthen each others' leadership abilities.

As a member of the FSP's Secretariat, Alaniz also helps direct the party's international activities.

With Marxist writer Megan Cornish, she co-authored *The Chicano Struggle: A Racial or a National Movement?*, a ground-breaking document analyzing the nature of Chicano exploitation in the U.S. and the direction of the Chicano movement.

And as one of the eight Freeway Hall Case defendants, Alaniz has played an important role in helping to secure freedoms of speech and association for all organizations by winning a state Supreme Court precedent providing for confidentiality of FSP records. (Please see story on page 11.)

A member of International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers Local 17, Alaniz speaks out on why labor should support abortion and lesbian/gay rights, solidarity with the farmworkers union, and other labor struggles. As a board member of the Hispanic Association of City Employees, she advocates for affirmative action and upward mobility for Hispanic municipal workers.

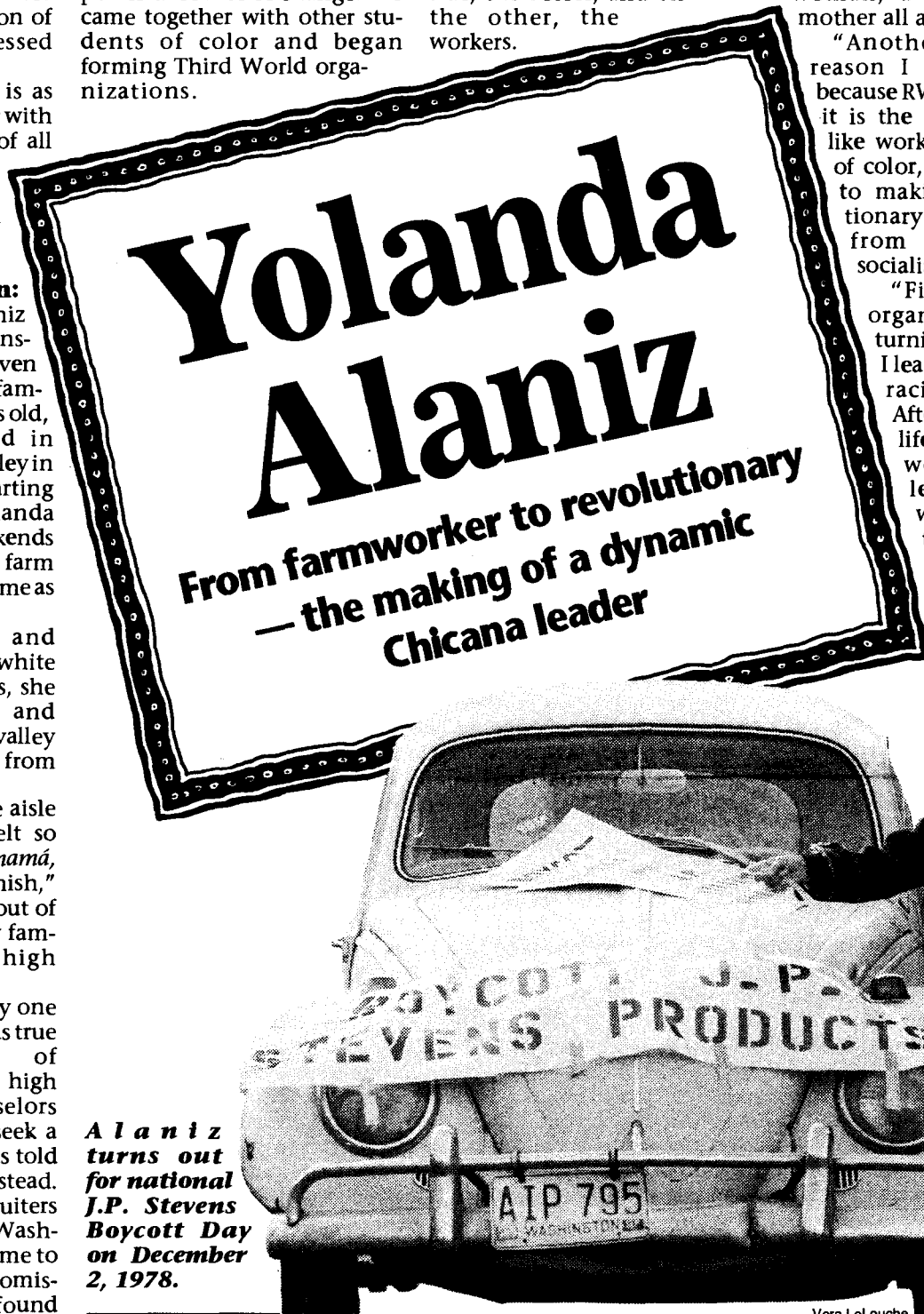
She knows that unions are only strong as long as they are democratic. She urges the leadership of her own union to listen to women and people of color and encourages the rank and file to get involved. "Local 17 is one of the best unions around," she says. "It has provided a lot of leadership to other city unions."

Changing the system from within and without. Most recently, Alaniz stirred up Seattle by running for City Council.

"What I learned is that people are ready for an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans and are open to socialist ideas," she says. "When the time comes, they'll be on our side for workers' economic democracy."

Alaniz retains the drive, energy and commitment she had when she was marching with other Chicano activists at UW in the '60s. "What keeps me going is my belief in what I'm doing. As a socialist, I know we need reforms to make life bearable but ultimately we need a revolution."

"I want to run for office again to continue educating people about socialism and to get *elected* in order to make a difference. I want to be remembered for not accepting the status quo, for always being a critic and a fighter for something better." □



Alaniz turns out for national J.P. Stevens Boycott Day on December 2, 1978.

Vera LeLouche

We held student strikes. And we made gains like Chicano studies and the hiring of more Chicano professors.

"But all this organizing was based on skin color. I was frustrated that our philosophy didn't go beyond being anti-gringo and anti-establishment."

When Alaniz joined UW staff

A woman of color in the lead. When the strike was over, Alaniz explored her interest in Radical Women, a socialist feminist organization. After a year of asking questions, reading and talking with members, she joined. In doing so, she defied some cultural-nationalist Chicanas who told her she

"Now I know that this economic system creates racism and sexism and uses them to divide workers. If we are busy fighting each other, the bosses don't have to worry. We need a *united working class* to confront the bosses on the job and to overthrow this bankrupt system and replace it with

Radical Women

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Portland: 7038 N. Fairport Pl., Portland, OR 97217. 503-289-7082.

NEW YORK

New York City: 32 Union Square East, Rm. 907, New York, NY 10003. 212-677-7002.

WASHINGTON

Port Angeles: 512 E. 7th, Port Angeles, WA 98362. 206-452-7534.

Seattle: New Freeway Hall, 5018 Ramier Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118. 206-722-6057.

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Warm winds blowing in the Pacific Northwest for socialist alternative

FSPer Alaniz wins 18% of vote in first-time City Council bid

In the middle of all the death knells for communism, how does an up-front socialist candidate win an historic number of votes? By being a *real* socialist, which today means being a Trotskyist; standing up for democracy and the most oppressed; being honest, practical and uncompromising over principles and — working your butt off!

This was how Yolanda Alaniz, Freedom Socialist Party candidate for Seattle City Council, racked up an astounding 27,938 votes — 17.5% — in the November 5 general election, running the most visible and dynamic race of any radical candidate in Washington state history.

A single mother, Alaniz works as a Customer Service Representative at the Seattle Water Department. She is on the board of the Hispanic Association of City Employees and belongs to the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers Local 17.

It is no accident that Alaniz garnered such massive support at the same time as the Canadian socialist New Democratic Party was voted into power in British Columbia and Saskatchewan.

"Socialism isn't dead; Stalinism is dead," Alaniz asserts. "Like people in the Soviet Union, people here want democracy, too, but you can't have democracy without socialism just as you can't have socialism without democracy."

Alaniz' experience provides an important counter-message to the alarming rise of Nazi David Duke at the polls. Duke wins votes because he seems to offer "the common man" a definite alternative — although a bigoted and hate-mongering one — to sell-out Democrats and Republicans. But Alaniz' first time out demonstrates that when people are given an authentic, clear-cut choice that *opposes* racism, fascism, and sexism, they will take it.

Revolutionary sanity to the fore. The FSP vied for two of five open council positions. Alaniz, the first Chicana city worker ever to run in a Seattle election, entered the race for Position #5 in May against incumbent Democrat Sue Donaldson. Alaniz' running mate was Heidi Durham, a Power Dispatcher at Seattle City Light who was knocked out in the September primaries in a six-way contest for Position #1.

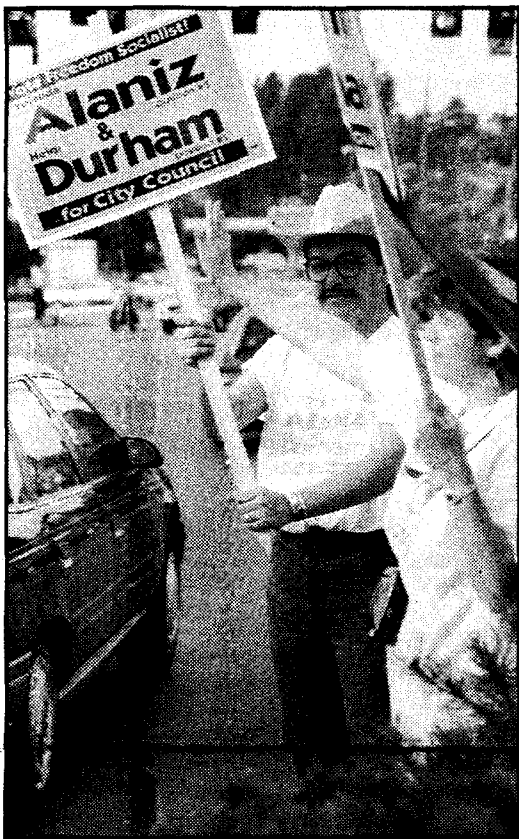
Alaniz and Durham reached tens of thousands of people in a whirlwind of candidate forums, political rallies, union and community meetings, mass telephoning, and doorbelling. Their message: tax big business, not poor and working people; fund the cities by dismantling the war machine; establish citizens' review boards to curb police abuse; stop crime by attacking poverty; reverse cutbacks in education and human services; create an extensive job and training corps; and nationalize healthcare, utilities, and major industries.

As a Trotskyist party, the FSP believes in fighting for reforms like these as part of a transitional program, a set of demands that people's survival depends on — but that the capitalist system cannot meet. Organizing around this program allows people who suffer under the capitalist system to gain some necessary improvements in their lives while at the same time proving the need to change the system itself.

Alaniz' and Durham's call for a citizen review board with real power to stop police harassment, which is concentrated on young Black males, illustrates

how they used a specific demand to expose the system's inflexibility and push the establishment candidates, who preferred to dodge the subject.

Breaking new ground for a new breed of candidates. The Alaniz and Durham campaign registered enough firsts to be dubbed "173 days that shook the city" by



Kathleen Merrigan/FSP

campaign manager Doug Barnes.

- They were the first socialists in the country to win both an exemption from the disclosure of donors' names (to guard against harassment) and public matching funds.

- They attracted an unprecedented breadth and depth of support, generating a combined total of \$40,000. This allowed them to carry on a traditionally high-profile campaign that posed a real challenge to their mostly Democrat opposition. Bright pink yard signs dotted the entire city and radio spots and newspaper ads ran in both the primary and general elections.

- They were the first Seattle socialists to win union endorsements: *AFSCME Local 435*; *Communication Workers of America Local 7800*; and *Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 8*. Also endorsing were numerous labor activists and leaders including *Tomás Villanueva* and *Manuel Cortez*, president and vice-president of United Farm Workers of Washington State.

- Other endorsers ranged from local grassroots organizations to internationally prominent spokespeople. Among them were *Asian Lesbians Outside Asia*; *Janice Bell* of Mothers Against Police Harassment; Chicano leaders *José Cervantes*, *Martha Cotera*, *Jorge Ibarra*, and *Judy Vega*; former Seattle Black Panther Party leader *Elmer Dixon*; Filipino spokeswomen *Dorothy Cordova* and *Maria Ambalada*, a contender in the primary election for City Council Position #2; *Rafael Gomez*, Colombian human rights activist; *Lillian Holcomb*, disabled advocate; *Mike Kearney* of Washington Vets for Peace; *Revolutionary Sisters of Color*; *Sea-Town Crier*, Seattle's newspaper of the homeless; *Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights*; *United Front Against Fascism*; and Black gay leader *Perry Watkins*.

- Alaniz and Durham ran the most multilingual campaign in Seattle his-



Rod Mar/Seattle Times

Left, supporters on voting day. Above, a large photo published in the Seattle Times features Alaniz (second from left) and Durham (second from right).

tory, including Spanish radio ads and material printed in English, Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese and Tagalog.

Right wing and establishment lash out. Alaniz says that one-way she judges the impact of the campaign is that "we made the powers-that-be and rightwingers nervous enough to come out into the open with attempts to slow us down."

At the Seattle Public Library, Wendy McPherson was forbidden to wear her Alaniz button while staffing a public desk. Her refusal to concede on this basic free-speech issue, supported by her union, AFSCME Local 2083-C, created a public debate over censorship and workers' rights.

A number of Alaniz yard signs were taken down or mutilated, some by neo-Nazis who used one to form a cross in a campaign backer's yard. Alaniz responded by educating about the neo-Nazi movement and calling for a mass anti-fascist counter-movement.

The FSP is embroiled in two ongoing struggles with the state, both centering on the party's right to keep contributors' names private.

- After the state Public Disclosure Commission granted the FSP donor confidentiality, it attempted to alter the terms by requiring a CPA audit of the campaign books. FSP protested and the commission backed off. However, the

FSP is still seeking to change the state's decision to give the party an exemption lasting only a year, thus forcing FSP to reapply each time a candidate runs.

- When FSP attorney Fred Hyde, who works as a state administrative law judge, first questioned the attempt by two assistant state attorney generals to change the disclosure exemption, the officials accused Hyde of unethical conduct in a memo to his boss.

The FSP and campaign supporters are now defending Hyde with a flurry of petitions to the state Attorney General's office. In a letter to the attorney general, the Washington Administrative Law Judge Association also supported Hyde's right not to be harassed on the job for outside political activities. They pointed out that it was the AG's office, not Hyde, that acted unethically.

Opportunity knocks for the Left. Says Heidi Durham, "Our campaign spoke to people who have never been represented by municipal government — city workers, people of color, working and poor women, lesbians and gays, the disabled, the homeless, youth and the elderly."

Adds Alaniz, "The Democrats and Republicans are yesterday's news. We proved that an awful lot of people are eager to hear about radical solutions, socialist solutions."

"Next time, we'll be aiming for a united Left ticket with candidates in every race!" □

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Revolution and counterrevolution rock the USSR

from page 1

But a cautious equilibrium proved impossible. Soviet workers and national minorities took glasnost and ran with it, jeopardizing Communist Party control at home and inspiring workers all over Eastern Europe to topple Stalinist regimes.

Perestroika also failed to work as planned. The dinosaur bureaucracy blocked many reforms, small-scale tinkering achieved nothing, and the economy worsened.

The Soviet Union was headed irrevocably for fundamental change. But what kind?

To succeed as a workers state, it needed the heightened productivity, rational management, and creative problem-solving that only workers' control can make possible, meaning the end of the bureaucracy.

The only road this left open for the elite caste's survival was capitalist restoration. Recent conflicts within the bureaucracy, including the failed August putsch and the sparring over the formation of a Commonwealth of Independent States, are not about whether to open the door to capitalism. They are disagreements about tactics and scrambles for best position as the Union is carved up and sold off.

This outcome too was predicted by Trotsky, who saw the instability behind the iron facade of Stalinism and said that the USSR must either go forward to workers democracy and socialism or backward to the dictatorship of capital.

Palace coup. The coup leaders — the State Committee for the State of Emergency — were seen by some as the last-gasp defenders of communism and foes of a capitalist comeback. In fact, one of their first and only acts was to issue an August 19 statement saying, "We shall support private enterprise."

The State of Emergency committee differed with Gorbachev in believing that it was time to impose military/KGB rule in order to achieve, as they said, "law and order."

But the genie can't be stuffed back into the bottle; the Soviet people are not going to accept a return to the police state, and for this reason Gorbachev himself never tried to impose it.

Turning back the economic clock. If the bureaucracy is willing to sell out, why aren't the capitalists buying?

First, the West itself is gripped by economic crisis. The corporations and nations who do have money to spend are not about to sink it into the Soviet Union without guaranteed profits flowing back immediately.

They made their intentions clear in the 1980s, when the World Bank and IMF squeezed out more interest and principal from the Third World than they supplied in new loans, resulting in what even the *Christian Science Monitor* called "a perverse drain of capital from poorer to richer countries."

The problems standing in the way of quick capitalist profits in the Soviet Union are staggering. They include questions of unresolved jurisdiction among the republics and the center (in whatever form); the still-unconvertible ruble; ownership uncertainty; lack of legislation regulating transactions like stock trading; the hard currency shortage; scarcity of services and materials that business depends on, like computers, telephone directories, and hotels; and, overall, a total extinguishing of capitalist experience and tradition.

It isn't easy to reverse the tide of history, and that backward thrust is what the attempt to bring back capitalism is.

Workers are hostile to capitalism. Potential investors are also wary because they know that resistance to capitalist takeover is inevitable. Polls show that an emphatic majority of Soviets oppose full-scale privatization. And this opposition is increasingly organized, as seen in a burgeoning independent trade-union movement, a new combativeness in many of the old official unions, and the forming of anti-Stalinist socialist and labor parties.

Workers know that reinstatement of the profit system in the Soviet Union will produce the same evils besetting Germany and Poland. In Poland, the fast-track transition to a market economy had by early 1991 created mass unemployment, a 35 percent lowering of real wages, and a steep decline in production.

In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the return of capitalism is far from a done deal. The people may still be waiting in line for bread, but they're through waiting in line for orders.

Following the miners' strikes in the summer of 1989, the Supreme Soviet declared strikes in vital industries illegal. This order and subsequent similar ones were universally defied.

It would take civil war, ending in fascism, to force Soviet workers to accept a return to capitalism.

Fascists ready to impose final solution. Lithuania's rehabilitation of Nazi wartime collaborators grabbed world headlines, but everywhere in the USSR the seeds of fascism are already sprouting. Anti-Semitism and anti-communist ultra-nationalism are on the rise.

Not widely reported but a matter of record are Yeltsin's dealings with the fascist Pamyat, a viciously anti-Jewish group of Great Russian chauvinists.

Yeltsin legitimized Pamyat when he became head of the Moscow Communist Party in the mid-1980s. In a September 1991 interview, he defended the organization as not "so extreme" as it had been.

The fascists are seeking to establish a base in the exploding nationalist movements.

Trotsky on the USSR —

Genesis of the Stalinist bureaucracy

On the historic basis of substitution, aggravated by imperialist and capitalist "struggle for existence" not of the proletariat but of the bourgeoisie... but assume that the bourgeoisie will disappear after the throw of the dice... but assume an unheard-of rule is the power of the bourgeoisie of consumption there is enough to keep the store, the purchasers are coming when they want. When goods, the purchasers are coming in line. When the lines are very long to appoint a policeman to keep order at the starting point of the power of the Soviet state. It "knows" who is to get something and who is to wait.

...[I]t of course draws off the cream of the population. It would be difficult to imagine a state more striking than that which exists between the workers' state according to Lenin, and the actual state now here.

The sellout of abortion and medical aid and sanitation, the right to decline "the joys of..."

National minorities need both autonomy and union. Where small nations and national minorities are concerned, the Stalinist chickens have come home to roost. Suppressed and abused since the beginning of Stalin's regime, many republics and autonomous regions now want nothing so much as to get the hell out of the union.

However, the reality is that they cannot survive independently. They must either forge a voluntary proletarian union or be picked off one by one by imperialism.

Western commentators constantly equate Stalin's national policy with Lenin's. In fact, the two are diametrically opposed. Lenin defended without reservation the rights of national minorities to self-determination, up to and including the right of secession.

But although secession is a national right, that does not

Socialist Party of Australia

"The position in what used to be the Soviet Union is tragic. It is a tragedy for that area, for the people of that area, and in particular, for the workers of that area. We agree with a point of view expressed in the 'Hail of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union' the action of the parliament... in banning the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was a manifestation of mass hysteria. However, the last word has not been said. The workers and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will re-establish a daily functioning Socialist society in the Soviet Union."

— Statement by Jack McCallum, National President of the SPA, prepared for the London Socialist Convention, 1991

Communist Party USA

"The struggle going on in the Soviet Union... the struggle between..."

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Editorials

Death of communism — a case of mistaken identity

WATCHING MONUMENTS to Lenin and Marx topple all across Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, a revolutionary can not but have mixed feelings.

One feels sad, like the Soviet student who told a reporter from the U.S., "If Lenin's ideas had been put into place properly, we'd live well, but they were all turned upside down."

Knocking over statues, it seems, is part of putting Lenin's ideas right side up again.

After all, a statue of Marx is not Marxism. And the ubiquitous figures of Lenin were mostly Stalin's work — an alibi, a shield behind which a sadistic butcher murdered dissent, free speech, and hope, so that the Rich and Communist could prosper.

All the great Marxist thinkers and doers — Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Cannon — hated leader cults, hypocrisy, bureaucracy, and bad art. They would probably be glad to see the monuments go. Revolutions must first destroy before they can build something new. Stalinism must be rooted out before democratic socialism can bloom.

But it is not the death of Stalinism but the "death of communism" which Western policy-makers hail. The choir at this world funeral is celebrating the victory of capitalism just as the tidal wave of a new depression is about to drown the whole congregation.

"**THE FUNERAL IS FOR THE WRONG CORPSE,**" writes Uruguayan journalist Eduardo Galeano. We agree.

Where do communists come from, anyway? We are created by capitalism! The repression, discrimination, inequality, stupidity, insanity and emptiness of life lived by the rules of a cash register always produce new generations of rebels, despite every effort to obliterate us, our history, and organizations.

"You got to watch those premature autopsies," recites Stanley Crouch in a beautiful tribute he wrote to the masters of the blues, recorded on jazz trumpeter Wynton Marsalis' *Majesty of the Blues* album. "A noble sound is a mighty thing. It can mess around and end up swinging low and swinging high and flapping its wings in a rhythm that might swoop up over the limitations imposed by the dreams of dragons. I said: You better check those autopsies."

Good advice to those — on the Left and the right — who are so ready to bury communism.

A noble idea is a mighty thing. □

Only the united front will stop fledgling Nazis

IN RESPONSE TO VICIOUS amendments to the state constitution and city charters proposed by the Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA), lesbians and gays are coming out fighting.

The measures would make gays outcasts. All legal protections for them, including constitutional rights to free speech and assembly, would be prohibited.

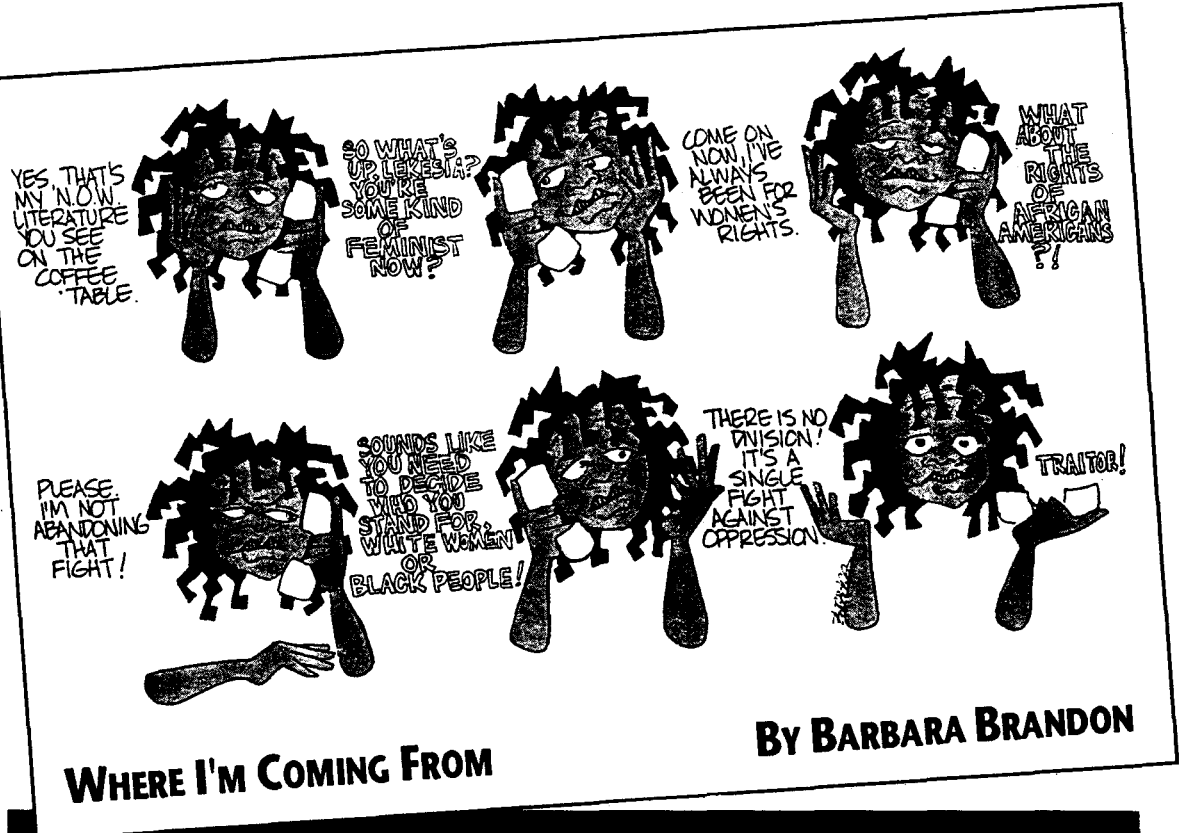
Lesbians and gay men are not the only targets. Lift the OCA's mask of self-proclaimed concern for "traditional values" and their sexism and racism are exposed. They attack birth control, abortion rights, affirmative action, and AIDS education and funding; they promote gay-hating articles whose publication is funded by a rightwing think tank with ties to convicted Nazi collaborator Laszlo Pasztor; and they use racist code words like "welfarism," à la "ex"-KKKer David Duke.

This is the groundwork for a **mass fascist movement**. OCA organizers encourage people pushed to the limit by high taxes, unemployment, and exorbitant healthcare costs to aim their frustration at gays, people of color, uppity women, and the poor, instead of at the actual cause of the problems — **the crumbling capitalist system**.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE OCA is being held back by a section of gay leadership which has capitulated to the homophobic notion that some gays are "not OK." These leaders are trying to keep their more flamboyant, radical, or otherwise controversial brothers and sisters stashed in the closet.

Sorry, but "respectability" never yet slowed down a fascist — or any other political antagonist.

What **will** stop the OCA is a bold united front of all the pariahs on its hit list. Within the united front, differences must be respected — and the only reasonable requirement for membership is the desire to beat the OCA. □



WHERE I'M COMING FROM

BY BARBARA BRANDON

Dateline Australia

Labor Party cracks down on unemployed

BY DEBBIE BRENNAN

During 1991, my twin brother and I were unemployed. He spent most of the year jobless and destitute in the U.S. I was out of work for a few months in Australia.

Although the context of worldwide economic crisis is the same for the two of us, we experienced different degrees of desperation. I got \$134 per week through the dole (unemployment benefits); my brother got nothing. When he asked the unemployment office how he was expected to live, the reply was, "We can't help you there."

An ex-American, I'm familiar with how the U.S. ruling class tries to convince workers that benefits like unemployment insurance are not rights, but handouts. I know the hurdles that people must overcome in order to qualify for and retain unemployment funds.

In Australia, on the other hand, I was assured some compensation, however paltry the benefit and intimidating the process.

But in July 1991, Australia abolished the dole. Its replacement, the Active Employment Strategy (AES), shifts the responsibility for unemployment from the state to the individual. It enshrines the U.S.-style

workfare ideology and leaves Australia's social security system, once among the world's best, in tatters.

How could this happen?

Labor Party to the rescue of capital. The reversal in social policy is a government attempt to escape from an economic disaster international in scope. This effort is manifested in Australia by an obsession with cutting inflation (without cutting profits) by abolishing jobs, slashing

wages, increasing workloads, and bankrupting the social security system. Meanwhile, the national debt soars.

In the midst of an incomprehensible glut of goods globally, millions go hungry.

The crisis is contradictory, ironic, and increasingly cataclysmic. For the ruling class, advances in productive technique mean that workers on a global scale can create more wealth than can be consumed — that is, sold at a high enough price to realize what the capitalist considers a respectable rate of profit on investment and to keep him one step ahead of any cutthroat competitors.

Spurred by this intensifying dilemma, the Australian Labor Party (ALP), on coming to power in 1983, authored a social contract with the Australian Congress of Trade Unions (ACTU). The pact tied wages and job conditions to the stabilisation of profit. This blueprint for "recovery" required Australian workers to show "wage restraint" and engage in "competitive" production.

The Active Employment Strategy shifts responsibility for unemployment from the state to the individual. It leaves Australia's social security system, once among the world's best, in tatters.

Known as the Accord, the agreement formalised the three-way partnership of government, labor's top bureaucrats, and the bosses, with the ALP serving as capital's parliamentary wing and the ACTU its industrial thug.

The collusion of the ALP leadership demonstrates their real class allegiance. Their commitment to preserving the capitalist status quo through attacks on the working class becomes ever more clear as the economic disaster worsens.

AES: obstacle course for the needy. Like governments of capitalist states all over, the ALP is provoking unemployment to try to halt inflation. Joblessness cuts consumer spending and therefore the volume of money in circulation, which helps hold down prices.

At the same time, the government is slashing welfare spending; it is not about to take care of the unemployed.

Enter the Active Employment Strategy.

The ALP constructed it, the combined capitalist parties legislated it, and the ACTU held back rank-and-file opposition. That's well-oiled Accord for you.

Using images of ladders and swings (the AES is **active**, exhilarating and fun), government propaganda asserts that "no one gets paid to be out of work...they get paid to look for work."

Here's how. No longer eligible for a **benefit**, the unemployed get an **allowance** to find work — if they pass through several hoops. Workers must sign a "voluntary" contract with the Department of Social Security (DSS), which sets the terms. They must accept any job or "training" that the DSS dictates.

Refusal to answer intrusive questions or to sign the contract means no allowance and possibly a fine or jail. To reject training or a job brings severe penalties. Recipients are therefore forced into inappropriate and under-resourced courses or even military training. They are also shoved into work not covered by union protection.

The AES is an obstacle course so hazardous that one false move means losing the allowance and possibly incurring harsh punishment. The AES is not only unjust, it's scary.

Voices of Color

Campus wars over Ethnic Studies

BY MERLE WOO

Twenty-two years ago, Third World student strikes swept U.S. campuses. Students, staff, faculty, and community activists shut down colleges and won Ethnic Studies, affirmative action, and educational opportunity programs.

Today, students who want to maintain those gains are pushing for the establishment of Ethnic Studies requirements (ESR) that would oblige students to fulfill a certain number of credits by studying racism and people of color. With the growing number of racist attacks on campuses, it is students of color who realize what's at stake. If the bigoted thugs are not stopped, no student of color will be safe; thus students of color will effectively be barred from higher education. So the need for education about race as a tool to curtail racist violence becomes an urgent task.

But college administrators and white conservative faculty are trying to block ESR. They accuse ESR proponents of trying to mandate "political correctness" (PC). And they charge that ESR will lower academic standards and censor free speech!

One strategy used against ESR is the substitution of a much broader requirement sometimes called American Pluralism (APR), which can be satisfied by taking courses about gender, racism, lesbians and gays, European immigration, or even Celtic literature. While APR covers some crucial areas of study, it dilutes ESR's much-needed emphasis on race.

Reactionaries: If it ain't white, it ain't right. The argument that ESR violates free speech goes like this: For universities to require the study of people of color and their political viewpoints is the same as *espousing* those viewpoints. And when students of color demand courses on contributions made by their people to U.S. economic and social life, they are stifling the free speech of white students and imposing a burdensome chore on the faculty.

The companion claim that ESR will erode academic standards is in itself racist. It's saying that learning about people of color and how they view themselves and the world is "lightweight"! The message is that when education is not white enough, not male enough, and not straight enough, it is worthless.

Besides that, says the white

elite, what is taught in Ethnic Studies is wrong, rhetorical, and more than likely fabricated.

A Black faculty member and published scholar who teaches that Greek civilization flourished because of African influence is, according to the conservatives, pushing a "political line"; therefore, his work is discounted. On the other hand, a white European male who teaches that only whites made Greece great is considered erudite, highly academic, and absolutely truthful.

And who gets to set the standards? That's right, the white male academics.

One is Dinesh D'Souza, author of *Illiberal Education* and

not just a "supplemental" viewpoint, but one diametrically opposed to the status-quo political line of the ruling class — the one that taught us Columbus discovered America.

Opponents of Ethnic Studies requirements, or even the existence of Ethnic Studies, don't want students to think critically or question the foundations of capitalism — racism, sexism, homophobia, national chauvinism, and class exploitation. The political awakening of students, especially students of color, is their worst nightmare.

The best defense is a united offense. As Malcolm X said, "Of all our studies, history is best qualified to



Harvard students demand the hiring of more people of color and women in faculty and staff positions.

the reactionaries' well-funded boy joust against the PC dragon. He attacks affirmative action and warns that Mickey Mouse courses on Black, Chicano, American Indian, and Asian American literature threaten to replace "real" literature — that written by DWEM (dead white European men).

Truth will set you free.

Why are these spokespersons for the dead so threatened by ESR and even APR? Some reasons come to mind:

What would happen in education if Native Americans taught that Columbus did not discover America but instead launched 500 years of racism, oppression, and land theft?

What would happen if African Americans taught the history of Black Reconstruction, when former slaves passed pioneering social legislation including public funding for schools and orphanages?

What would happen if Jews taught classes about the Holocaust and explained the role of big business in fascism's rise?

What if Chicanos and Asian Americans educated about their long history of militant labor organizing?

The truth is dangerous — at least to the oppressor. These kinds of classes would express

reward our research." To win strong Ethnic Studies programs, students of color need only look at their own history and build on it. In the '60s, Ethnic Studies was achieved through Third World student strikes and united fronts. Oppressed students formed these united fronts by forging connections to the communities from which they came and by linking up with staff and faculty.

History also teaches what doesn't work — like relying on liberal faculty who will sell out for academic privileges. Students at the University of Washington in Seattle recently learned this the hard way. The students "compromised" with liberal academics who urged them to accept APR instead of ESR and to keep quiet. In the meantime, the conservatives counter-organized — and when the vote came up, liberals joined with the conservatives to vote APR down. The students ended up with neither ESR nor APR.

Nice, quiet ways have never won civil rights or student demands; they didn't stop the Vietnam war. They won't win ESR or even APR. Let's all take a wake-up pill and realize that radical united action has once again got to be at the top of our agenda. □



Clara Fraser

Stranger in a strange land

THE SKY IS FALLING DOWN. The world as we've known it is ending, and not with whimpers but with very loud bangs indeed.

Everybody seems to be shootin' down everybody else. People who once were amicable family, mates, neighbors, fellow workers, colleagues, comrades, and nations are turning on each other like snarling wolves.

If friends, relatives and compatriots aren't threatening and divorcing each other, they're likely to be suing or slaughtering each other.

Division, destruction and doom are the masters of the day.

WHERE IN THE WORLD does a revolutionary, socialist, humanist — me — go to register? Did hopelessly random and unbenign cosmic forces deposit me on the wrong planet?

Is it true that there are no answers, only questions? Is ideology really dead? Are humans conceived in sin and condemned to folly? Are religious maniacs and nationalist hysterics and crass opportunists and fascist demagogues and demented damn fools the wave of a minutely Balkanized new order based on a nuclear, concentration-camp culture?

Will tomorrow never come?

I DON'T BELIEVE ANY OF THIS CLAPTRAP — this bourgeois, allegedly pragmatic, end-of-history, old hat crap.

I *do* believe in the scientific validity of cockeyed optimism.

I believe that the human race deserves and *will achieve* a nobler destiny than the casual brutality and chaos of a market economy and a Deutschland Über Alles pop psychology.

I believe that revolution and socialism and democracy and rich personal fulfillment, within the context of a dazzling and liberating worldwide and world-class art and culture, is not only possible but *imminent*.

And I believe, above all, in true believers. Only a visionary, attempting the untried and untested, can be a practical leader. Only a politically correct radical can sow the seeds that transform scorched earth into bountiful harvests. The basic thing needed to attain devoutly wished for results is philosophy.

AND FINALLY I BELIEVE IN KARL MARX. Totally. Gratefully. Admiringly. The death of his influence, like the demise of communism, has not only been greatly exaggerated, it's been contrived by venal economic warlords and their media lackeys and lickspittles, who think nothing of disinterring the remains of dead geniuses in order to misinterpret and slander them one more time.

They're going berserk over poor old Karl Marx these days. They froth and fulminate, excoriating as they exhume. They hate him, hate him! (Where are the anti-Hate Crimes/malicious harassment liberals when we need them?) They cannot tolerate this titan among thinkers because his analysis of society is so true and trenchant — and his solutions (that dreaded S-word) are so logical and inevitable and beautiful.

Yes, Marxism and real communism and the promise of mortal happiness are beautiful goals that even today inspire and animate millions of afflicted, thoughtful workers on all continents — even, quiet as it's kept, in the U.S.A.

SO MY APPARENT STRANGERHOOD in America is only that — relative isolation in this benighted heartland of world counter-revolution. Someday soon Americans themselves will grab the helm of revolution (it's happened twice before, you know) and they will create "a land that's free for you and me and a Russian lullaby," and we'll all be strangers no more.

Keep the faith. And we'll see which class system, in the long homestretch of history, will bury the other one. □

...Anita Hill

from page 1

titillating grade-B sex movie.

When Thomas took the stand, he went on a furious offensive, using race as his heavy artillery.

First, the man who ran the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission through the 1980s had declined to listen to Hill's testimony, showing his opinion of sexual harassment charges brought by a Black woman.

Then he charged the committee with conducting a "high-tech lynching for uppity Blacks." Never mind that the hearing was held only because women demanded an end to the Senate cover-up.

Thomas roared and railed and defied and grandstanded and luxuriated in self-pity. He was the outraged party; she was the criminal.

Reams of newsprint have since been devoted to analyzing why the obfuscating, disgusting political morass dubbed "the process" served such a beating to Anita Hill and to women.

Everyone agrees the Democrats ran like rats and proved that they are champions of no one. Republicans proved that they are machine politicians to the core. Thomas proved that he will do anything to advance his career.

But what of Anita Hill? What role did she play? Why *did* she wait 10 years before going public? Why was she unable to help turn the tide against Thomas and the U.S. Senate?

Anita Hill: reluctant accuser. An articulate law teacher and Yale graduate, Anita Hill worked for the EEOC under Clarence Thomas in the early 1980s.

Hill never delivered the argument she was capable of giving based on her credentials. According to regulations written by Thomas' EEOC in 1988, Hill had a perfect case. Her succinct and dignified testimony was enough to incriminate Thomas, and she had discussed the harassment with colleagues who presented excellent supporting statements in the Senate hearing.

Yet Hill never filed a grievance against Thomas. If her statement had not been leaked, her story never would have been told. Mystifyingly, she showed *no familiarity* with EEOC laws and procedures during the hearing.

Anita Hill did not want to challenge Thomas.

Her reluctance went beyond that felt by every sexual harassment victim. It can only be understood by taking into account the battle of the sexes that rages in the Black community.

Up against the myth of the Black matriarchy. Doubly oppressed because of color and gender, Black women have consistently provided much of the most militant leadership in the struggles for race and sex liberation.

The civil rights movement is filled with the names of Black women leaders like Fannie Lou Hamer and Rosa Parks.

And although the history is hidden, Black women and other women of color have been prime movers in achieving

Women Workers: Sparkplugs of Labor

Excerpts from an eye-opening Radical Women paper

What follows are excerpts from the preface of a newly published document written by two pioneer Seattle tradeswomen and unionists for Radical Women's 23rd anniversary conference in 1990. The paper supports its unique conclusions with extensive statistics, the results of months of exhaustive research.

BY MEGAN CORNISH AND HEIDI DURHAM

Much has changed since the mid-19th century. The demographics of the workforce have shifted dramatically and the dynamics of capitalist production have been wildly altered as advanced technology moved from "the point of production" from the factories to the offices and service enterprises and computerized control centers of the world.

When Marx wrote *Capital*, most advanced industrial workers were white men; this condition held true through the 1930s. But today at least 45 percent and as many as half of U.S. civilian employees are women, and that percentage is expected to rise five percent by the year 2000.

Women, minorities, and lesbians/gays together already constitute the majority of U.S. workers. And their numbers alone have decisively altered American politics.

Even more important than their numbers are what these employees do in the workaday world. Women and minorities are the computer operators, secretaries, clericals and support staffers in the telecommunications, banking, transport, insurance, etc. industries, and in the

government, public service, and private service sectors. Since World War II, industries staffed by women have become the fulcrum of world economy.

And that's not all. Revolutionary leadership is a matter not only of position but of politics.

Wage disparities, job segregation, racial and sex harassment, sexual abuse, and pervasive dehumanization define the life of most women under capitalism. *Discrimination and suffering are radicalizing women and minority workers, shaping them into the sharpest, most clear-eyed critics of things-as-they-are.*

They boldly demand that abortion rights, childcare, and equal access to health, education and personal leave benefits be treated as class struggle issues.

The demands of women workers reflect the needs and aspirations of the entire class, and can unite the class in its quest for surcease from sorrow. Not only in America, but globally.

Crucial to international solidarity are those embattled women standing in the eye of the hurricane — working women of color. They resist every bastion of imperialist and bureaucratic totalitarianism, and when they win, they win it all. And everyone wins.

Working women, especially working women of color, are the sparkplugs — the combative, combative heroines of labor, the energizers who will get the wheels rolling toward freedom, equality, and the good things in life that only socialism can insure. □

To order *Sparkplugs*, send \$4 plus \$1 for shipping per copy to National Radical Women Publications, 5018 Rainier Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118.

uncountable labor and social victories, including abortion rights.

It was therefore inevitable that bourgeois ideologists would create a myth calculated to undermine Black women in order to deprive Blacks of the leaders best placed to *unite* the struggles for race, class and gender freedom — a revolutionary proposition!

The myth of the Black matriarchy, formulated by white liberal sociologist Patrick Moynihan, places the blame for Black men's problems on Black women instead of on the racism intrinsic to capitalism. According to Moynihan, Black men can't get jobs or keep families together because they are emasculated by strong Black women.

He took his cue from Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims, who relegated their womenfolk to the balcony, head veils, and a life of subservience (like the Orthodox Jews and Iranians did).

Helping to promote this divisive falsehood are Black cultural nationalists, the wing of the Black movement that looks for a solution separate from the struggles of the rest of the working class and short of dismantling the profit system.

By perpetuating the myth that the subjugation of women will help bring Black liberation, Black misleaders justify their own sexism. They accuse Black women who criticize Black men of breaking race solidarity. The most titanic

storms are unleashed on Black women who take on the myth itself, as Michele Wallace found out when she wrote *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*.

Anita Hill, like every Black female, knows the dynamics of this myth. She knew what would happen once she was publicly cast in the role of the castrating, too-independent, unsupportive Black woman.

She was right. Thomas exploited the myth to full advantage. When he accused the Senate of lynching, he was accusing Hill of being the race traitor who supplied the rope.

And in the background was his adoring, voiceless, conservative white wife, Virginia Lamp, a flesh-and-blood rebuke to Black women who "drive Black men away" with their unsubmissiveness.

Sex, race, class: pulling it all together. As the assassination of Hill by the Senate proceeded, the great national investigation into sexual harassment sputtered out.

Some feminists organized rallies in support of Hill's charges, and the subject continued to be addressed in newspaper columns and TV commentaries.

But much of women's initial fury receded in confusion under the anti-Hill barrage. What was left went largely unorganized as the liberal leadership of the feminist movement held back from

uncovering and combating the taboo against Black women holding Black men accountable.

These moderate, NOW-led feminists also found themselves handicapped, as always, by their lack of class analysis.

The male-supremacist Senators took refuge in pompously pontificating about sexual harassment as a morality issue. Sexism, they would have us believe, is an accident, a failure of individual righteousness.

Mainstream feminists can't fully answer that.

Sexual harassment is just one form, and a *minor form*, actually, of *discrimination* against women. It is specially suited for keeping women afraid, confused, disoriented, repressed, isolated, screwed-up, and turned inward. To what purpose? To maintain *class relations* — to keep women on the job in their place and prevented from wielding their power as *workers*.

Those who engage in or defend this behavior toward women are not simply stinkers: they are reinforcing the status quo and asserting class or caste privilege. They are desperately hanging on to their ancient perquisites in a world that challenges those abominations.

The potential for the confirmation hearing to end in a surge forward for the feminist movement was derailed. But it takes a lot of battles to win a war. The drama of race, class and sex was played out in front of millions, and the lessons of how these bases for oppression interact, benefiting either one class or another, are there to be learned.

Anita Hill is, however unwittingly, a heroine. Clarence Thomas is an obnoxious pawn of the establishment. Male and female feminists need to perpetuate an indignant uproar over the disgusting fact that a blatantly under-qualified opportunist ended up as the supposed representative of U.S. Blacks. This is ridiculous, demeaning to the thousands of Blacks who would make great Supreme Court justices. But it happened because liberal feminists can never stand up *for long* to their Congressional masters. Their Democrat party politics render them helpless.

What are these sob sisters doing *since* the Thomas ascension to the Supreme Court to protest this horror? Why do they let the goddam Senate get away with this crap?

They're too weak? They should ask themselves why. If you won't confront the *system*, you'll never reform its constituent parts. The only defense for Anita Hill is to lash out at Clarence Thomas on the questions of sex, race, and class. Do the lady feminists have any more guts than the Senate to do this?

Radicals do this. Let's do it. □

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From political dropout to witchhunter: renegade Snedigar's brief journey



By **KARRIE PETERSON**,
Freeway Hall Case National Coordinator

When I'm speaking on the Freeway Hall Case, whether at a union meeting or a Seattle street-corner literature table, I talk about the right to be radical.

I explain how Richard Snedigar, an ex-member of the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), has tried to force disclosure of the party's meeting minutes and other private documents over the course of a lawsuit he launched in 1984.

I tell how Snedigar's suit, a bid to get back a \$22,500 donation made in 1979, charges that the FSP broke a nonexistent contract with him by failing to buy a new headquarters in what Snedigar now arbitrarily designates as a reasonable amount of time.

I talk about the FSP's right not to have their democratically set political priorities attacked by a dropout and rearranged by the courts a decade later.

I rarely get questions about privacy rights or freedom of association — people understand that part of the case. What people ask is, "Why is he suing?"

Is it the money he's after? Lawsuits and lawyers cost money, lots of it. The question I usually get first is: Hasn't Snedigar already racked up more in attorneys' bills than he could hope to win?

Probably. According

to what his lawyers, Tom Wampold and Michelle Pailthorp, say they charge per hour, their bill would amount to \$72,000 as of January 1992, assuming they each have spent an average of one week per year on this case (a minimal estimate). With interest, Snedigar's award if he won would be about \$56,000. Although Wampold and Pailthorp claim to be working for a percentage of the "take," it seems likely that Snedigar would net a lot less than the original donation.

Snedigar: They didn't appreciate me. Since a financial killing seems remote, what makes Dick tick? To answer this requires melding sociology and psychology — the political and personal.

Snedigar quit the party when the going got tough. He left in September 1980, just as the FSP was heading into a full-scale court battle against Seattle city fathers over their politically motivated firing of party founder Clara Fraser.

When he exited,

Snedigar claimed to have no disagreements with party politics. But the complaints he raised after filing suit show that Snedigar was paranoid about feminism and unwilling to abide by majority decision-making. He rankled because his advice on real estate wasn't taken; he felt he was not listened to by women in authority; he was wounded when FSP leaders called his demand for return of the donation and related stipulations "silly" and he charged that this was a mark of FSP disrespect for the working class!

From petty grievances and discontent to political antagonism. Snedigar is hardly a new type. James Cannon, the father of U.S. Trotskyism, supplies a profound profile of turncoats in a 1940 article, "The Pathology of Renegacy."

Each one of them considers his disillusionment with the proletarian revolution an important public event... On the eve

of the beginning of capitalism's second world war, which will crush out the lives of millions and tens of millions of human beings, they write about themselves, their disappointments and reactions, as though these were the most interesting subjects in the world. Well aware of their own shabbiness, they feel the need of self-justification and public approval. They are uneasy of conscience and seek to stifle it by shouting imprecations at those who have remained faithful to the banner they have deserted. They give every explanation of their motivation but the real one — the fact that they have no confidence in the socialist future of humanity and no stomach for the struggle to achieve it.

Snedigar sued to show off to the world his change of heart.

As Michael Albert of Z magazine remarks, not every defector has the stomach for making new friends among the enemy. But those who do, he writes, need only use their "inside knowledge of the left (fabricated or not) to attack, isolate, undermine, demean, distort and destroy" their former allies.

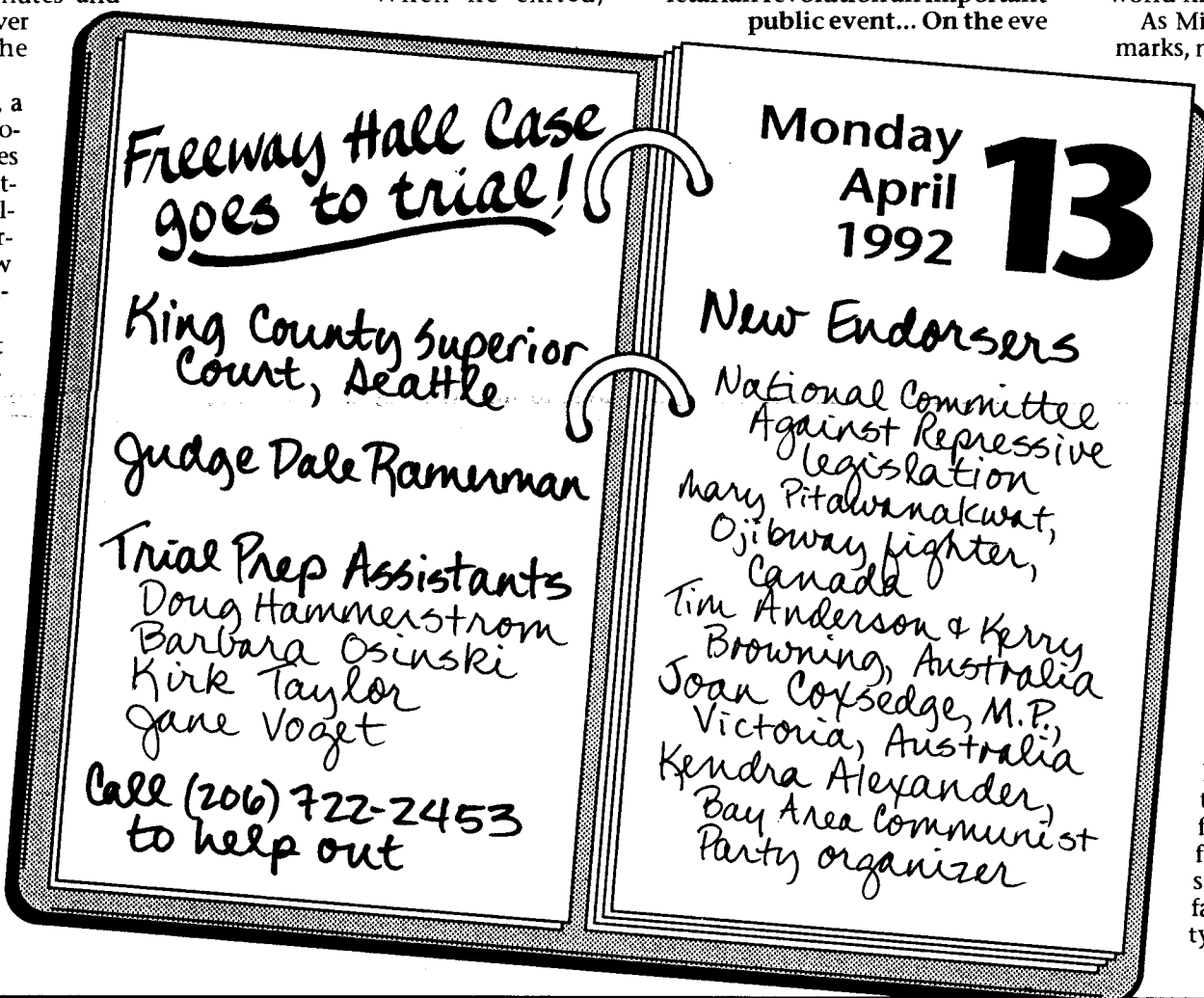
So it is with Snedigar.

Who can be happy about this suit, Dick? The Nazis, the anti-abortion right wing, the FBI, and Democratic Party establishment hacks.

This is whose dirty work Snedigar is doing.

There are incredible pressures and enticements brought against leftists to coerce them into changing allegiances. Inevitably, these will sometimes succeed. I've learned something from Dick Snedigar: The colossal amount of time and money spent on the Freeway Hall Case is not a wasteful distraction from radicals' "real" fight, as it can seem. It is the real fight. It is an integral and necessary part of the struggle against fascists, bureaucrats, tyrants, and tycoons.

We plan to win on all fronts. □



...Sandy Nelson

from page 3

kept talking. The audience groaned when he said that since Nelson covered an education beat, she didn't write about issues of interest to people of color!

"I can't let that go by," responded Dr. Maxine Mimms, a Black panelist and founder of the Tacoma branch of Evergreen State College. People of color indeed have a stake in the education system, she said, and Nelson's political work within Tacoma's communities of color gave her the sensitivity and savvy reflected in her writing.

Nelson's transfer was a deliberate strike against people of color, Mimms said, so Mimms' *Tribune* boycott will continue. The audience cheered.

In the following Sunday's *MNT*, Bell used his column — his last, as it turned out — as a bully pulpit to further slam Nelson, Mimms and this reporter.

He also sneered at the forum as a "set-up deal" with the media execs facing

"minority community members armed with barbed questions."

The hostility and willful lack of understanding Bell and the other policymakers at the forum displayed toward media consumers shows that their real interest lies with profits, not people. They can't afford to have a critical journalist like Nelson reporting the news; the rest of us can't afford to let them stop her.

Publicity carries on the fight. For the media, as for all big business, profits and employee control are the bottom lines. That's why the national McClatchy chain, the *MNT*'s owner, alternately threatened and wooed workers there in order to induce them to decertify their union, which they did in September. McClatchy had stonewalled contract talks since buying the paper in 1986.

Nelson is confident that the union will return, wiser and stronger than before. Meanwhile, Emmett Murray, president of Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild Local 82, pledges his ongoing support for Nelson's reinstatement fight.

Public pressure continues to build. Articles have appeared recently in *Ms.*

magazine, *Education Reporter*, *Labor Notes*, and *Editor & Publisher*, one of the media industry's premier publications. New endorsers include Ms. editor Robin Morgan, Washington State Council of County and City Employees, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and Dr. Mimms.

To join in the demand that Nelson

return to the newsroom, write to Managing Editor Jan Brandt at the *Morning News Tribune*, P.O. Box 11000, Tacoma, WA 98411. Send a copy to Art Joyner, Newspaper Guild, 3049 South 36th Street, Tacoma, WA 98409. To endorse Nelson's case or collect signatures on petitions supporting her, please call her defense committee at 206-572-6643. □

...jobless in Australia

from page 8

The difficulties are toughest for women, non-English-speaking migrants, young workers, older workers, Aboriginal people and those with disabilities. Capitalism has a way of compounding oppression.

This Catch-22 trap seems too sadistic to be real unless one understands the trap capitalism itself is in. The AES reveals not only capitalism's capacity for violence, but also its state of infirmity.

Despite the Accord's heavy toll on workers' ability to organize, a fierce fightback by both waged and jobless workers is inevitable. Even now, trade union militants and unemployed organizations are demanding the abolition of the AES, massive funding increases to human services, full employment, and a guaranteed living income for all. Talk of uniting industrial and social battles grows stronger. This resistance, as of yet fragmented and small, can only blossom.

Through this struggle, the idea of a forthrightly anti-capitalist party — one that is authentically what the ALP only claims to be, the workers' representative — will crystallize and become reality. □

BY STEPHEN DURHAM
AND EMILY WOO YAMASAKI

Racism and anti-Semitism, police brutality, and the rage of the oppressed: these fueled the three-way battle among Blacks, cops and Hasidic Jews in Crown Heights this past August.

Anger against decades of institutional racism in New York City caused this conflagration. But how did the legitimate anger of the Black majority in one of the largest U.S. Black ghettos get channelled into anti-Semitic violence?

How do we defeat the divide-and-conquer tactics that pit Jews against Blacks and Blacks against Jews? What do we need to do to go forward together toward a world based on solidarity and mutual respect?

How can

Three nights of violent, pogrom-like confrontations ensued. Black rioters broke windows in Jewish homes and firebombed the Utica Gold Exchange. New York's first Black mayor, David Dinkins, was pelted with bottles.

Black demagogue Al Sharpton led a march past Lubavitcher headquarters under the anti-Semitic slogan "Arrest the Jew." Picket signs proclaimed, "Hitler didn't finish the job."

The melee provided an excuse for heightened police-state repression. Right before Sharpton's march, cops swept more than 150 Black youths off street corners, holding them without charges over the weekend.

Racism fuels Black anger. The destruction of

of their Black neighbors.

On top of this, Lubavitchers attract resentment because of their support for Israel's right wing, with its policy of constant racist repression of Arabs.

Anti-Semitism mis-identifies the enemy. But with all this said, the Lubavitchers are still merely *players* in the capitalist game — albeit ones holding much better hands than their ghetto neighbors. Anti-Semitism falsely identifies the Lubavitchers — and all Jews — as the *dealers* of the cards.

Scapegoating Jews covers up the role of those who really wield power. This subterfuge operates with historic force. In the

death. Reverend Sharpton, espousing reactionary Black cultural-nationalist politics, preached that Black militancy should be directed against Jews; African American professor Leonard Jeffries charged Jews with being part of a "conspiracy to annihilate Blacks."

The reason the explosion in Crown Heights is so horrifying is that it shows how the anti-Semitism being espoused by political messiahs can strike an answering chord among exploited and hyper-oppressed groups.

The door is then open for fascist organizers to move in and take the lead

Together in the ghetto

Future of New York City Blacks and Jews depends on alliance against racist city structure

the Left turn misdirected wrath around and galvanize all the oppressed to fight ignorance, poverty, and genocide?

To know how to advance requires identifying the fundamental problem. This is capitalism, a political and economic system in irreversible decline, careening on the edge of chaos and cynically using ideologies like racism and anti-Semitism to maintain itself by dividing its victims — with explosive results.

The world's first great 20th-century city is a time bomb on a short fuse.

Death of Gavin Cato. On a summer afternoon, a driver in the motorcade of the world leader of the Lubavitcher community, headquartered in Brooklyn's Crown Heights, lost control of his car.

The car lurched onto the sidewalk and pinned two Black seven-year-olds, Gavin Cato and his cousin Angela, beneath the vehicle. Neighbors and family, including Gavin's Guyanese-American father, gathered instantly, trying to help; police roughly pushed them away and beat them back.

Almost immediately, a volunteer Hasidic ambulance arrived. Because outrage was building in the growing crowd, police ordered the ambulance driver to leave without the children.

Rumors raced through the Black community that the Jewish ambulance service had abandoned Gavin and Angela. Gavin died that afternoon.

An enraged crowd marched from the accident scene to the police precinct station, demanding the arrest of the driver who hit the children.

Within hours, young Black men retaliated by stabbing a Jewish student from Australia, who died at an underfunded city hospital from inadequate medical attention.

Black communities like Crown Heights nationwide has a definite cause, and it isn't a Jewish conspiracy, as some Black purveyors of anti-Semitism allege.

The proportions of the devastation amount to genocide. Blacks are beset with high unemployment, homelessness, government drug-pushing, organized crime, police abuse, educational cutbacks, and gutting of social, human, and medical services.

The 80,000 Blacks in Crown Heights are largely from the Caribbean and West Indies. As first and second-generation immigrants squeezed by a contracting economy in an increasingly racist and chauvinist society, they live in unsurpassed conditions of poverty and political disenfranchisement.

No wonder they are angry.

Crown Heights Jews: clout, but not control. Crown Heights is also home to 20,000 Lubavitcher Hasidic Jews. In the 1930s, this conservative, anti-assimilationist, religious community left rural Poland because of growing anti-Semitism and immigrated to New York City.

In the '50s, many whites left Crown Heights. The Lubavitchers stayed. In the '60s and '70s, the Black immigrant community arrived.

The insular Lubavitchers became the most organized force in Crown Heights. They participated in corrupt, status-quo urban politics by doing what most special interest groups do in Gotham City: they lobbied the Democratic Party boss machine in an attempt to gain power and influence, with some success.

The fact that they have won some special considerations from the white-dominated city government opens them up to charges of racism, as does their religious philosophy of disdain for the rest of the world — which shows up in everyday life as disdain for the problems



transition from feudalism, gentile merchants were the principal force of emerging capitalism. They campaigned against the Jews, who were early traders, using violence, incarceration, and theft of property.

Once entrenched, capitalism nurtured anti-Semitism to deflect the anger of small shopkeepers and small businesses frustrated in their uneven competition with the big bourgeoisie.

Stereotypes like the "international Jewish banking conspiracy," "Jewish control of the media and Hollywood": they are all nonsense, although nonsense with a purpose. Far from Jews controlling the system, capitalism in crisis hits the Jews with a deadly force — as the Holocaust testifies.

Black cultural nationalism fosters anti-Jewish bigotry. In the Black movement, the mouthpieces of anti-Semitism are Black nationalists — advocates of an impossible cultural, separatist, and capitalist solution to Black misery. The cultural-nationalist program is a volatile mix of anti-Semitism, sexism, heterosexism, anti-Leftism, and anti-workingclass ideology.

The anti-Semitic strain in Black nationalism was clear after Gavin Cato's

in violence and murder against Jews. And after that, who's next?

Alternative: Fight the power together. Radicals must make sure this scenario does not come to pass.

First, leftists can explain how Black Jewish infighting benefits only the ruling class, allowing it to carry on its dirty work against Blacks, Jews, political radicals, Latinos, Asian and Native Americans, women, lesbians and gays, and all the downtrodden.

To lead, the Left itself must be able to identify and combat anti-Semitism as vigorously as it does racism. Many leftists failed to do this after Crown Heights, out of either unconsciousness of anti-Semitism's importance or unwillingness to criticize Black leaders.

The Left must *act now*. Black and Jewish radicals can rebuild solidarity by spearheading mutual fights against concrete common problems.

The precedent for Jews and Blacks to work as *allies*, not antagonists, is strong. The two groups have a long history of militant and successful collaboration, going back to the founding of the NAACP in the early 1900s. During the civil rights movement, Jewish attorneys risked lives and careers to defend Black clients against the southern police state. At the same time, Black organizers resisted pressure exerted by liberal donors to sever ties with these lawyers because of real or alleged communist affiliations.

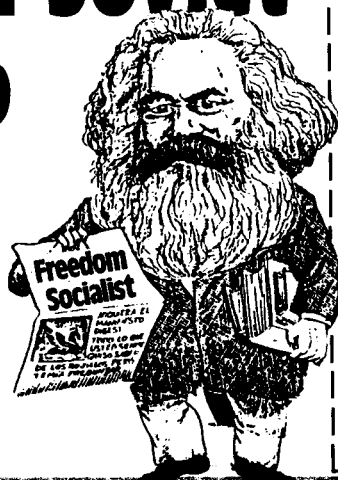
This kind of powerful united front is needed again today. The common enemies haven't changed: the neo-Nazis and Ku Klux Klan; a ruling class intent on exploiting and scapegoating both Blacks and Jews.

Shared oppression is the basis today for solidarity between Jews and Blacks. Cementing this solidarity will bring about a new political integration in opposition to the divisions and forced segregation created by capitalism and will, finally, help bring us all closer to a system where no social oppression exists — socialism. □

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