



**Cuban leader asks
for help to end
Yankee blockade**

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**Sandy Nelson, reporter
and lesbian activist,
challenges the news biz**

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The Freedom Socialist

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

April-June 1993

Volume 14, Number 2

(\$1.00 outside U.S.) **75¢**

Clinton tax-and-cut tune won't play with U.S. workers

There's a new president in the U.S. White House. But is there a new agenda?

Hardly. On the contrary, justice seems to have been dropped from the program permanently.

When it comes to anti-abortion vigilantes, the FBI can't find a conspiracy under its nose: yahoos serve a "wanted" poster on a Florida doctor who is subsequently gunned down by one of their fellow fetus fanatics, and they get treated as completely unrelated to the murder.

But in the World Trade Center bombing, the feds manufacture an international conspiracy of Muslim fundamentalists in the wink of an eye. This xenophobic spectacle holds national headlines hostage while news of Clinton's recommitment of billions of taxpayer dollars to Israel is buried.

In Africa, U.S. troops on a "humanitarian" mission shoot Somalis. In the Caribbean, hundreds of Haitians drown, and the media calculatingly disassociates their tragic deaths from Clinton's decision to maintain the blockade against refugees.

In the former USSR, ruling factions flounder and the people protest the manifold miseries brought by "market reforms" while the U.S. and the rest of the capitalist team offer tons of moral support — but precious little material aid. They're even cutting off the supply of *advice*, forced to admit that they haven't got a clue about how to re-root the profit system in the land of the October Revolution.

Business as usual: business first. And why would we expect capitalist wheel-



Clinton provides entertainment while the problems of the country — and the world — go unsolved. Clintonomics will produce more unemployment lines just like the 1991 queue above.

ers and dealers to know what to tell the ex-Soviet Union? They're drowning in their own sea of economic disaster.

Clinton's emergency mission: tame the deficit while stimulating the sluggish economy and protecting the wealth of big business. His blueprint: raise taxes on everything; abolish welfare "as we know it" and cut other government spending drastically; lay off 100,000 federal employees and freeze the wages of the rest; solve the health care crisis by rationing services; and shield corporations from the pain of "revenue enhancement" by enlarging subsidies and establishing tax-break schemes.

Much ado is made about spending in-

creases, but Clinton's "stimulus package" is the least significant portion of the overall proposal, completely dwarfed by the planned *cuts*.

This is the neo-liberal version of Trickle Down. Workers are promised that their sacrifices to the tax god will harvest jobs by giving the U.S. a competitive edge.

Only problem is, U.S. technology is already top-flight, and highly skilled workers are desperately looking for jobs.

It doesn't take a Rhodes Scholar to figure out that our problems can't

be blamed on an undertrained labor force or lagging technology. What we're really witnessing is the intensification of the bipartisan war against working people at home and abroad, as the Fortune 500 crowd scrambles to save their endangered skins — and their high profits.

Democrats: populist poseurs.

Clinton and company won office by promising women, gays and lesbians, people of color, and organized labor to "put people first." However, in just a few short weeks, Clinton had back-pedaled and back-stabbed on almost every pledge he'd made. The knight in shining armor turned out to be a fire-breathing dragon instead.

But the angry voters who elected him are not going to let him off the hook. They showed their willingness a year ago to abandon both the Democrats and the Republicans in disgust.

Needed: labor party. The vehicle workers need in order to push their demands is a *labor party* independent of the Republicrat ties to big business.

A workers' party could tackle today's problems with real, practical solutions, such as a shorter work week, with no cut in pay, to produce more jobs. A feminist and multi-color labor party could give *all* workers a voice — and, ultimately, more than a voice: actual control over how this country is run. □



**Clara
Fraser**

The love that dare not speak its name in the Army

I HAVE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO FULLY GRASP the hatred and terror that certain whites display toward human beings of other skin colors.

Nor have I ever really fathomed the brutishness of so many males toward women.

And I am always appalled by the hysteria of de-ranked straights on the matter of homosexuality.

Sure, I understand — I hope — the economic and

social roots of these maladies. The cause lies in the history. Still and all, unreasoning bias continues to astound me, perhaps because nothing in my experience lends any credence to the garbage spewed by bigots.

Most of my best friends, for example, are gay. In 70 crowded years of meeting people, I've never encountered a group with such a high degree of creativity, talent, intelligence, wit, literacy, social sensitivity, compassion, good humor, and capacity for commitment. And all of this together spells leadership.

The differently sexualized are less wedded to the sick popular culture and more attuned to reality. They tend to be respecters of persons and easy collaborators. They warrant your trust, and I trust my life to my lesbian and gay cohorts — at home, at hostile meetings, in dangerous demonstrations and on picketline eruptions.

I would totally trust my life to them in the army.

AND I WOULD RUN LIKE HELL from the queer-bashers and forked-tongued demagogues that

this society spawns. That is why I think that nothing less than sweeping revolution is demanded — or how else can we carve out the new cultural environment and psycho-sexual services capable of rehabilitating the Rambo-ite, fundamentalist pathologicals?

But meanwhile there is much to be learned from the tempest over gays in the armed forces. The uproar reveals three aspects of the sexual minorities issue that have nothing to do with prejudice and everything to do with establishment politics, military depravity, and the pivotal place of the traditional monogamous

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Nazis on the run 4

Successful anti-fascist/anti-racist rallies in Washington state, California, and British Columbia make the West Coast distasteful to the bigots. The time-tested recipe for victory? A pungent united front!



Victoria erupts 6



To put it mildly, the class struggle in Australia's second most populous state has intensified. Recent months have seen an outpouring of worker anger against new slashes in job conditions and benefits.

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Consider it done

I have been visiting New York and dropped by one of your forums. While there, I received a copy of the *Freedom Socialist* and found an article on the city council campaign of FSP candidate Yolanda Alaniz particularly interesting [Vol. 13 #2].

We are starting a new theoretical magazine here, called *Communism*. We would like to know if you could contribute an article or two.

Gennady Kozak
Kharkov, Ukraine

More from Ukraine

Thank you for your beautiful magazine. I wrote an article about events in Serbia for *European*, a magazine distributed all over the former Soviet Union. I'm sending you the latest issue with my article about human rights in the Ukraine.

We would like to print an article about U.S. feminism. People here want to know more about your movement.

Alik Olisevich
Kiev, Ukraine

Thelma & Louise and Clara

Below is an excerpt from a letter by a former Socialist Workers Party colleague, one of the foremost women leaders of the SWP until she quit in the '60s. Her letter responds to a diatribe by the Spartacist League against the column "Thelma and Louise 'R' Us" (FS Vol. 13 #3) by Clara Fraser.

Unlike Clara I never broke off with any male comrade over his sexism. All men in my opinion are afflicted to one extent or another with this disease. After all we are all raised in a patriarchal society and the effects linger on despite our efforts to escape them. So I always had a friendly relationship with Dick [Fraser]. Still I considered him one of the most sexist males I ever knew.

Never in a million years could I ever join either you or the Spartacists in making fun of Clara's

identification of "us" with Thelma and Louise. All women who are politically alert know that is their story. It is the universal and horrifying experience of women in a repressive and sexist society. My very first job after leaving home found me battling with a would-be rapist. So warriors or not we have to learn to do battle to survive.

Myra Tanner Weiss
New York City

Marx & Lenin & Trotsky & Fraser

I'm a member of the Committees of Correspondence (and the @narchist Caucus).

I'm simply amazed that you FSPers view every move away from Leninism as a defection "rightward into the camp of social democracy"! Most CoCers I know from a Leninist background are re-thinking once sacred "Truths"; you appear to be clinging to them while the real world goes on around you. Some CoCers are drawing social democratic conclusions, others are moving left. Both trends reject Leninism in all of its forms. Most of us CoCers *want pluralism*; the fight is *for inclusiveness*.

I'll defend your right to raise your positions within the CoC, but I'll be damned if I'll let you impose Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism-Clara Fraser Thought on the rest of us!@!

C'mon comrades, do you really believe that the "fundamental question which *forged* the CoC" is that tired, old Trot hobbyhorse "The Russian QUESTION"? It's past time to give Lenin — and Leninism — a decent burial!@!

Kurt Hill
Brooklyn, New York

Justice for Wong

David Wong is a 29-year-old national from the Peoples Republic of China who was charged with and found guilty of stabbing to death another inmate in a New York prison in 1986.

David, however, was not in

the near proximity of the stabbing. He knew little English, and did not even know who the victim was; thus, had no reason to harm him. No weapon was found on David; and strangely, no weapon was ever found. David was apprehended with another Chinese inmate immediately after the stabbing, but there was no blood on his clothing or person.

The key testimony that found David guilty was from a tower guard who said he witnessed the murder through binoculars from a station 100-130 yards away. The prison yard was filled with 700 inmates, all dressed alike.

The David Wong Committee feels that David was scapegoated and framed because he could not speak English. Racism and a cover-up were also factors. We are appealing for funds. *Donations may be sent to the David Wong Support Committee, c/o Kochiyama, 545 W. 126th Street 3B, NYC, NY 10027.*

Yuri Kochiyama
New York City

My generation

Lately I can't help but notice all of the attention being paid to my supposed "post-boomer" generation, also referred to as neo-boomers, generation x, the lost generation, and many other names created by the generation that made a noble yet failed attempt at raising us. They so graciously gave us a huge national debt, ethnocentric attitudes, and a depleting environment, and now they're calling us lost.

My generation consists of the most intelligent, conscious, aware, *compassionate, and creative* people to hit this earth. Count on us taking this world in a more positive direction than it's ever gone before.

Jamie McMurry
Seattle, Washington

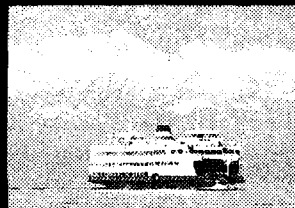
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If you are interested in attending, please consult the FSP National Office at Bush Asia Center, 409 Maynard Ave. South, Suite 201, Seattle, WA 98104. 206-682-0990. Convention brochure available upon request.

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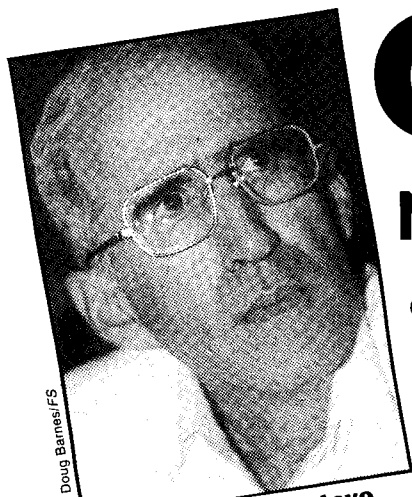
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The *Freedom Socialist* (ISSN 0272-4367) is published quarterly by the Freedom Socialist Party, New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. So., Seattle, WA 98118. Phone: 206-722-2453. Add \$5.00 for overseas airmail subscriptions. Back copies \$.75 each. Checks or money orders to *Freedom Socialist* at the address above. In Australia: 1-year subscription \$6.00 AUD, airmail. Mail payment to P.O. Box 266, West Brunswick, VIC.3055. Phone: 03-386-5065. In Canada: 1-year subscription \$6.00 CAD, airmail. Mail payment to 304-1575 Beach Ave., Vancouver, BC V6C 1Y5. Phone: 604-688-5195. 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.

Interviews

Cuba sends S.O.S.

Nicanor León Cotayo, anti-embargo spokesman and author, appeals for international aid



Doug Barnes/FS

Nicanor León Cotayo

BY DOUG BARNES

This interview with Nicanor León Cotayo was conducted in Havana in January 1993 by Freedom Socialist Party leader Doug Barnes, visiting from Seattle, Washington. Cotayo is Cuba's expert on the trade blockade and a journalist for the official *Granma* newspaper.

The U.S. embargo, which President Clinton backs avidly, is three decades long. Combined with the recent Soviet withdrawal of trade and economic assistance, the blockade has brought about devastating shortages, necessitating the severe rationing of all basic foods and consumer goods. Great numbers of industrial plants are closing due to lack of raw materials and equipment.

The Cuban Communist Party has embarked on a revitalization plan that includes building up food self-sufficiency, specialized export trade, tourism, and joint ventures with foreign investors. But Cubans today are surviving literally on rice, beans, and large doses of ingenuity and revolutionary spirit.

Cuba's survival as a workers state is integral to freedom struggles worldwide. These interview excerpts are meant to help broadcast the embattled island's appeal for support. Next issue, Barnes will follow up with

an analysis of the promise, problems, and unfinished tasks of this defiant revolution.

Barnes: What is the economic situation of Cuba?

Cotayo: We are facing the most difficult years in the last 34 years of our history. At the beginning of the '60s, we were able to face the economic blockade imposed by the U.S. because of the existence of the Soviet Union and the socialist field in Eastern Europe. The breakup of that relationship, which affected

to the Cuban people, we would be able to have civilized trade relations with any country in the world and to proceed much

Havana, 1993. Mass transit is so inadequate that passengers ride outside as well as inside.



Doug Barnes/FS

The U.S. blockade and slashes in imports such as oil from the ex-USSR have created crisis in health care, farming, and transportation.

81 percent of our exports and 85 percent of our imports, created a very big blow. For example, in 1989 we received 30 million tons of oil and last year only six million.

Barnes: What would happen if the U.S. blockade were lifted tomorrow?

Cotayo: If the government of the U.S. lifted the blockade, stopped the Torricelli law, and gave back the base at Guantánamo

more rapidly in the process of perfecting democracy in Cuba.

Barnes: Cuba's internationalism has inspired workers worldwide for decades. Half of internationalism is supporting workers' struggles globally. The other half is asking people from other countries to defend your own revolution. What role do you see for U.S. workers in ending the blockade?

Cotayo: The workers of the United States have a role of maximum importance. As Castro said last year, the solidarity of the North American people, and especially the workers of the United States,

is decisive, and I stress decisive, against the blockade.

I think the White House cannot ignore the position of their own public opinion, particularly that of the workers. This is why we paid so much attention to the show of solidarity in defense of Cuban independence that took place last year in different cities across the U.S. as well as to the donations that some organizations sent to Cuba.

U.S. workers can fight against the blockade first by supporting organizations that are already working on this issue. Certain dates of the blockade are very meaningful for organizing. For example, next May 14 will mark the passage of 29 years since the U.S. prohibited sales of food and medicine to Cuba. This would be a good opportunity to make a journey around that date, to show a great opposition to the blockade starting with food and medicine.

The other help we need is for the workers' movement to publish information about the significance of the blockade. As of this moment, this small country, made up of just a little bit more than ten million inhabitants on a small Caribbean island, has lost 38 billion dollars due to the U.S. blockade. □

The Torricelli bill, passed at the end of last year with Clinton's support, tightened the embargo through means such as placing sanctions on other nations trading with Cuba. To demand repeal of the legislation, call the White House at 202-456-1414. Fax number is 202-224-2237.

The journalist as activist

Sandy Nelson, target of *Morning News Tribune* reprisals, speaks out

BY ANDREA BAUER

The questions below were put to Sandy Nelson, formerly an award-winning education reporter for the Tacoma, Washington *Morning News Tribune*, by Andrea Bauer in Seattle. In 1990, management took away Nelson's beat and transferred her to an evening copy-desk shift because they disapproved of her off-duty political work on behalf of a pro-gay-rights city initiative, claiming it jeopardized her journalistic objectivity.

Nelson, who is also the organizer for Tacoma Radical Women, has been fighting ever since for reinstatement to her reporting position, with steadfast support from the Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild.

Bauer: What is "objectivity" in journalism?

Nelson: What objectivity should mean and how management uses it are two different things. All a journalist needs to do to be objective is to tell the truth and show all sides of an issue honestly. But management builds a big mystique around it and uses it as an excuse to discriminate against employees it wants to censor or punish. It's been used historically to throw red herrings out of work. It's a high-sounding pretext for being able to control what journalists do and say and who they associate with off the job. **Publishers** certainly cherish their own political associations.

The idea of objectivity is taken to absurd extremes, like in my case. My bosses never tried to say that I actually came across as biased — just that the *appear-*

ance of objectivity *might* be compromised by my political activities.

It wasn't any lack of fairness on my part that bothered them. Besides the gay issue, it was the fact that I am an outspoken socialist and active unionist, and they were trying to take away our contract and bust our union — which they finally succeeded in doing in 1991. But we'll get them back.

Bauer: Why is it valuable to have reporters who are activists working in the media?

Nelson: Reporters deal with a commodity, information, that people need to make life-and-death decisions. A huge part of the world depends on the U.S. media for their news. The media is a very powerful institution.

And it's a *class* institution. It's an industry, run for profit. My bosses have one set of interests, and I have another. You can see what the owners' interests are in the way the USSR is covered. Most of the rah-rah-for-capitalism stories are just wishful thinking. They don't reflect real events there at all. The news is strained through a class colander and what comes out is highly selective — and often wrong.

Working people need journalists who are independent of that whole operation. The concept that reporters owe loyalty to the people who write our checks is like saying openly that we're being bought off. My loyalty is to readers and to the truth.

Plus, activists are just great journalists. They know what's going on in the world,

in specific communities, because they're involved. They care.

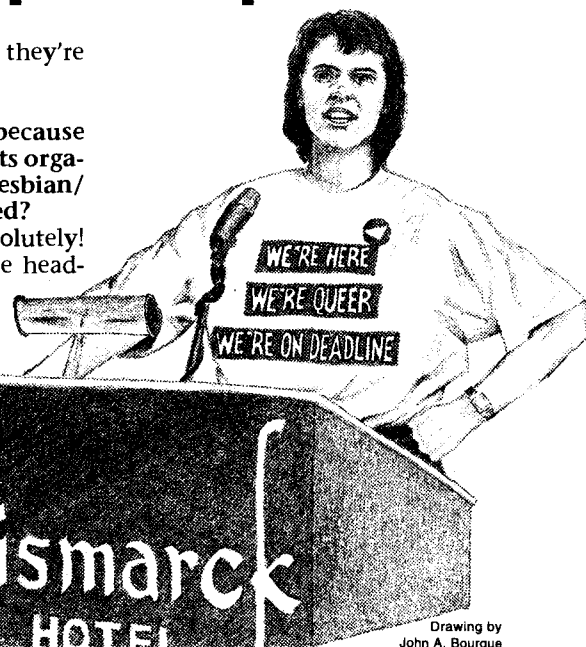
Bauer: You were transferred because of your involvement in gay rights organizing. Where do you think the lesbian/gay movement should be headed?

Nelson: To the barricades! Absolutely!

We've had our moment in the headlines and now it's obvious that the politicians, including Clinton and this whole new crop of Democrats, are trying to push us back onto the back pages and into our closets. Whether or not we choose to fight to keep going forward — well, the time to decide is right now. We're at a crossroads.

Bauer: What's happening in your case?

Nelson: I'm very happy to say that the state American Civil Liberties Union agreed last year to represent me because the case is so important to protecting constitutional rights. We're trying to negotiate with management to get my byline back, but it looks like we'll have to take them to court. They're being very arrogant about their supposed prerogative to control their employees' off-duty lives. If we end up in court, it will be a completely groundbreaking legal case for the First Amendment rights of workers in the media.



Drawing by John A. Bourque

Nelson addressing the 1992 conference of the National Lawyers Guild in Chicago.

Bauer: How can people help?

Nelson: Every letter that gets sent to the *Morning News Tribune* demanding that they reinstate me means a lot. Mail them to Managing Editor Jan Brandt at P.O. Box 11000, Tacoma, WA 98411. Donations to help cover the costs of pursuing this fight can be sent to my defense committee at P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98405.

The support I've gotten over the past three years has been incredible. I'm confident that we'll win my job back. □

Winning West Coast strategy:

Knock out the Nazis with a United Front

BY LINDA AVERILL

Up and down the West Coast of the U.S. and Canada, anti-fascist groups have Nazis on the run. Coalitions are linking up, sharing lessons and triumphs, and forging a diverse and effective movement. Three rallies in different settings — a rural island, cosmopolitan city, and Los Angeles suburb — are success stories of united fronts that have forced the brownshirts to retreat. At a time when economic crisis lends explosive power to the message of scapegoating Hitlerites, these victories illustrate how to defuse the fascist movement.

Whidbey Island: Nazi-free zone.

December 5, 1992: On a cold, blustery day, four hundred people, many of them from as far away as Oregon and British Columbia, travelled by ferry to a Washington state park to turn the tables on the Nazis.

Racist skinheads had occupied a Whidbey campsite most years since 1988 and been counter-picketed each time. But 1992 was a turning point: the targets of the ultraright — unionists, feminists, people of color, lesbians and gays, Romani (Gypsies), Jews, immigrants, homeless people, and radicals — reclaimed the park. The Nazis never appeared!

The take-back was sponsored by United Front Against Fascism (UFAF) and led by organized labor, people of color, and socialists. The rally achieved a new level of racial diversity. It is also significant that many white youth, a constituency fascists want to recruit, came to show their allegiance to civil rights. Young people, including musicians who took the stage,

provided rousing spirit.

The police presence was low-key due to the insistence of rally organizers — a reversal from the first year's showdown, when riot police almost outnumbered protesters.

Another breakthrough was the intense participation by labor, kicked off by an August endorsement by the Washington State Labor Council (WSLC).

The labor council's Black Caucus, headed by Jacqueline Jones-Walsh, president of Washington Federation of State Employees Local 843, was a prime mover of a resolution, adopted overwhelmingly, that called on WSLC to support the demo. It asserted: "Since working people, the poor, immigrants, and the homeless are among the first targets of the fascists, the labor movement is the first line of defense against fascism."

The story of UFAF's success begins in 1988, when news surfaced that fascists planned to hold a commemoration for white supremacist Robert Matthews on Whidbey, where he had been killed by federal agents. The Freedom Socialist Party, Radical Women, and leaders from the gay and people of color communities called for an open meeting to develop a response.

UFAF was launched out of this

meeting and held the Northwest's first direct confrontation of the supremacists. UFAF's protests and public education since then have shown the whole region the power of united front organizing.

Vancouver marches separately, strikes jointly. January 22,

1993: A rally of 3,000, the largest anti-racism/anti-fascism demonstration in Canada's history, utterly routed British Columbia's would-be führers, forcing them to change meeting plans four times in as many weeks and to flee "like terrified prey" (*Vancouver Sun*) when angry protesters discovered the ultimate location of their secret gathering.

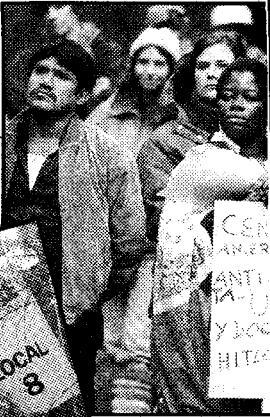
At first, White Aryan Resistance intended to hold a special public meeting. When W.A.R. began advertising, however, B.C. Organization to Fight Racism (BCOFR) quickly initiated a counter-rally. But BCOFR wanted a non-confrontational event confined to a strictly anti-racist focus.

Coalition United to Fight Oppression (CUFO), a multi-

racial militant grassroots group, broadened the rally's impact. It organized a Rainbow Contingent Against Fascism to educate people about the many-pronged nature of fascism's agenda and highlight the need for solidarity among its wide-ranging targets — everyone from refugees to the disabled and people with AIDS. Under a multi-issue banner, 800 people marched from the heart of Vancouver's gay community to join the rally, to enthusiastic applause.

In contrast, the Trotskyist League (Canada's section of the Spartacist League) took an anti-united front approach. They boycotted the Rainbow Contingent and then, after the rally, urged remaining protesters to

spontaneously storm the Nazis' meeting place — a hotel guarded by 150 riot police. Fortunately, this



Jim Coley



Jim Coley

Unionists and activists vs those who on Whidbey the annu

macho adventurism resulted in only a few arrests and minor injury. Determined and prepared Left leadership, not infantile ultra-leftism, is needed in the life-and-death struggle against fascism.

Simi Valley kicks out the KKK.

January 30, 1993: Last year Simi Valley, California gained international notoriety as the site where cops were acquitted of beating Rodney King. But residents and regional supporters are determined to make this city an international symbol of resistance to racism, and they scored a coup when they squashed Ku Klux Klan plans to rally early this year at the local courthouse.

Neighbors Against Nazis hustled to secure a rally permit before the Klan and

...Malcolm X

from page 8

economic philosophy was Black nationalism, he asked me very frankly, where did that leave him? Because he was white... So he showed me where I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth."

Once freed from the NOI, Malcolm developed an anti-capitalist position: "All of the countries that are emerging today under the shackles of colonialism," he observed, "are turning toward socialism. I don't think it's an accident... You can't have capitalism without racism."

In his last year, Malcolm formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity, whose motto was "by any means necessary." He offered OAAU's support to civil rights militants who were wearying of the reformist-pacifist approach of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In so doing, Malcolm showed how the struggle for integration could acquire a revolutionary character.

Black liberation and class revolt are intertwined. Just before Malcolm X turned toward a revolutionary integrationist outlook, a multi-racial group within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) led by Richard and Clara Fraser was preparing a document that provides the theoretical and historical underpinnings for this position.

They asserted that if Blacks constituted a nation (like Native Americans), they would

share a common economy, territory, language, history, and culture distinct from those shared by other groups in the U.S. They concluded that African Americans are not victimized on the basis of national characteristics but as a *race* — a biologically unscientific category resting solely on skin color. But racial oppression is no less important than national oppression.

In "Revolutionary Integration: The Dialectics of Black Liberation," the SWP group wrote, "For an oppressed nation to become integrated is a reactionary concession to the status quo, a defeat; integration for Negroes is *revolutionary*, because American capitalism incorporates segregation in its fundamental structure and cannot survive without it."

The slogan of nationhood denies the vanguard role that Black women and men play as leaders of the entire U.S. working class.

Revolutionary integration further links the U.S. Black struggle with the global upsurge against imperialism, as did Malcolm. Noted Malcolm: "You can't separate the African revolution from the mood of the Black man in America. Since Africa has gotten its independence, you'll notice the stepped-up cry against discrimination in the Black community."

In 1966, Seattle members of the revolutionary integration tendency left the SWP and formed the Freedom Socialist Party. Their departure was largely due to the SWP's opportunistic support for cultural nationalism — a reactionary rejection by Marxists of class solidarity in favor of a race solidarity that would subordinate Black workers to a Black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

Hasta la victoria siempre. Malcolm

didn't live to see the explosive mass movements of students, women, all people of color, and lesbians and gays. He missed witnessing the tremendous entry of women, immigrants, and people of color into the work force that has produced a generation of preeminent labor militants, with Black women in the forefront.

But Malcolm's ideas have never been more alive. His advice to dump the Democrats is finding practical expression in the growing demand for an anti-capitalist rainbow labor party. His slogan "by any means necessary" echoes in rap songs and on ghetto streets. His criticisms of reformist and separatist misleaders who offer dead-end solutions are catching up with politicians such as Louis Farrakhan and Jesse Jackson.

Increasingly, cultural-nationalist politics are being replaced with the drive for equality within a fundamentally transformed society. On African American terms, without racism or forced assimilation, *integration* is a revolutionary demand, and that is why Blacks are destined to lead us *all* forward! □

...Youth

from page 8

Black Panther. But I think that we were pacified because of lack of education, a lot of our people getting killed or put in prison, being all caught up with drugs, and everybody was trying to organize but nobody wanted to do it all together.

Seeing that kind of stuff and then going to school was a trip. The teachers worked on our heads by putting us in special ed classes or telling us we talked too much or we asked too many questions.

This generation and the next one coming are tired of getting pushed around. I think a big revolution is coming. Like a soup boiling over, it's just getting too hot.

Linda: In his last year, Malcolm began to see capitalism rather than whites as the

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big business. In *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*, he wrote:

To try to find a way out [of economic crisis], the bourgeoisie must rid itself of the pressure exerted by the workers' organizations; these must be eliminated, destroyed, utterly crushed.

The fascist threat appears when economic troubles are greatest and the ruling class must resort to desperate measures to make workers absorb the costs of the crisis. This is why the battle against Nazism is above all the task of the labor movement: the workingclass women and men of all races, gay and straight, who *together* have the clout to stop fascism cold.

The vehicle that joins these groups into one unit is the united front — an alliance of disparate people who share a common class interest against a mutual foe. Democracy, honesty about programmatic disagreements, respect for diversity, and *militancy* — the willingness to do what it takes — are the keys to building the united front.

Reliance on the police and other agencies of capitalist states is worse than futile, because the rising far-right movement is actually a tool of the government against workers. The behavior of cops at Nazi/anti-Nazi face-offs shows what side they're on!

Fascism is capitalism's final solution. But history doesn't have to repeat itself. The power to bury fascism is in *our* hands. Working people have the capability to not only roll the bigots back, but to fight for the alternative to their Third Reich — a socialist future that will provide the material basis to rout fascism permanently. □

—with reporting by Marcel Hatch/Vancouver, B.C. and Monica Hill/Los Angeles, Cal.



Homeless people joined forces to close out Nazi-fest.

organized a "Solidarity Celebration Against Fascism, Racism, and Bigotry."

NAN's impressive endorsers ranged from Youth Against Racism and the Temple Street and Party Locos gangs to leaders from the African American, Asian American, Chicano, Black, Native American, and gay communities. Attended by gang members, mothers, punk-rock youth, unionists, and many others, the large multi-racial rally — NAN's third — kept the KKK away. This time around, riot police stayed away too.

When the Klan rescheduled its rally for February 20, NAN organized another counter-demonstration. The lone Nazi who appeared soon fled.

Composed of Simi/Conejo NOW, Los Angeles Radical Women and Freedom Socialist Party, People Against Racist Terror, and many independents — predominantly single moms and working women — NAN proves that people with different programs can combine to beat a common enemy.

United front: power against fascism. To combat fascism, one must understand it. During the 1930s, Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky uncovered the economic roots of fascism and showed how to fight it. Its fundamental aim, he taught, was to smash the working class on behalf of

German state encourages spread of fascist violence

BY MEEGHAN TRUELOVE

The crack-up of Germany's economy has provoked an intense surge of rightist violence. The gossamer vision of a reunified capitalist Germany that German officials bespoke so confidently is falling apart. But the picture is not all bleak: leftist counter-organizing is also on the rise.

Refugees and immigrants suddenly "alien." German authorities state that in 1990, rightwing extremists committed 130 acts of violence, and that by 1992, the number topped 2,000. And those are the *official* statistics.

Immigrants and asylum seekers, scapegoated as the reason that unemployment is up and government services are down, bear the brunt of Nazi rampages.

A family may have lived and worked in Germany for several generations and still remain "immigrants," because racist laws make it exceedingly difficult for anyone without a German ethnic background to become a citizen. Immigrants belonging to long-established and well-integrated foreign communities may earn as little as two dollars per hour at a job where Germans make \$20 per hour.

The asylum laws that were in force until recently were widely considered the most liberal in Europe. However, refugees were forbidden to work legally while their cases were being reviewed, and only about five percent of the total applicants could expect to be granted asylum.

The outbreak of racist, nationalist, and anti-Semitic hatred has encompassed everything from arson that destroyed a Rostock refugee hostel to the storming of a Greifswald dormitory for foreign students and the firebombing murder of a Turkish woman and her granddaughter and niece in Mölln.

Top-down edicts won't stop the Nazis. The German government — which more and more includes Nazis in its ranks as the ultraright picks up elec-

toral seats — has tolerated and even collaborated with this brutal chauvinism.

Over 500 bombings of the residences of non-natives were reported during 1992, and not a single conviction of criminal arson was handed down. And in November 1992, the defense ministry admitted that the far right had used military training bases to practice for their assaults on immigrant shelters.

As the crisis expanded and public pressure to do something mounted, the authorities did crack down — against the victims. A new law proposed by the Christian Democrats and agreed to by the Social Democrats drastically restricts the rights of asylum seekers.

The government has also officially banned some fascist groups and insignia — a move that is totally ineffectual in halting the spread of Nazism, and can easily be turned against the Left.

Left and labor organize in the streets. Radicals, unionists, and the immigrants and refugees under siege have been taking increasingly resolute steps toward solidarity and an offensive mobilization against the fascists.

The most visible resistance has been the massive demonstrations that have been occurring all over Germany and in neighboring countries like Poland and Austria. It's estimated that over two million people have participated in these rallies.

The Berlin chapter of DGB, the trade union federation, helped to organize a demonstration of 5,000 people. I.G. Metall, Germany's largest union, was involved in staging a march of 200,000 people. An effort to form a nationwide anti-fascist coalition is underway.

Direct self-defense is also being adopted. Immigrants, asylum seekers, and leftists are organizing themselves into groups to protect homes and dorms.

As the battle rages on, the stakes get higher. The Left must not stray from its course of challenging the racism and nationalism of *both* the Nazi terrorists and the government. □

People of color and asylum seekers bear the brunt of Nazi rampages.

...Australia

from page 6

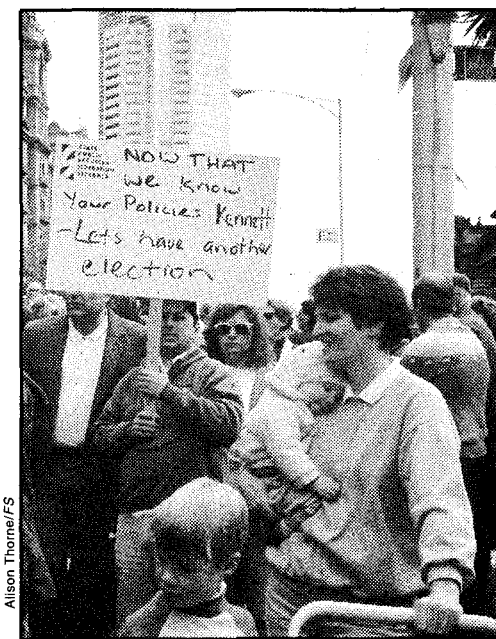
original organizations, women's groups, ACT UP, pensioner and church groups, and the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties, among many others. The crowd was determined to prevent the erosion of advances in working conditions won over the course of 100 years.

These shows of collective strength could revitalize the militant unionism which the Accord was designed to muzzle and Kennett's new laws to smash. However, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, accustomed to maintaining its position by mediating labor peace, has sabotaged these protests — including one it called itself in November 1992!

In Victoria, the new laws that allow strikers to be fined or jailed went into effect on March 1, 1993. Workers, especially from the public sector, responded defiantly — by once more going out on strike. Some unions went out for 24 hours, while others stopped work for just long enough to attend a march and rally of nearly 100,000 in Melbourne.

Not a single wheel should turn. The fears of union higher-ups that they would lose control of the struggle were reinforced by the size and anger of the work stoppages and demonstrations.

Their fears may be realized. Significant numbers of rank-and-file unionists are demanding an indefinite general strike, which is exactly what it will take to defeat Kennett. A successful general strike in Victoria would



November 10, 1992: Striking workers refuse to give up advances won over several generations.

strengthen the hand of workers throughout Australia and would pose sharply the question of who really should and can run the country — the capitalist politicians or working people.

November 10th was a watershed. The facade of consensus is being destroyed and class lines sharply redrawn. After a decade of relative passivity, the Australian working class is reasserting itself. Let Kennett actually try to send a unionist to jail for organizing, and Victorians will teach the capitalists a lesson they won't forget! □

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Editorials

Russia: stalemate only the workers can break

AS WE GO TO PRESS, BORIS YELTSIN and the Supreme Soviet are locked in seemingly mortal combat. But over what, exactly? And is their conflict where the real action is?

It's clear what Yeltsin wants. Capitalism, and *now*. Though it brings with it domination by the West, unemployment, homelessness, a home-grown mafia, street crime, con artists, prostitution, and even starvation (Russian sailors are dying of malnutrition), he's ready. Let the deals begin!

YELTSIN IS A FOREIGN STOGE. Everybody in his own country recognizes this. But where are his buddies when he needs them?

The U.S. and its co-imperialists have been dithering now for years about how to encourage the comeback of capitalism in the former USSR without themselves taking any risks or laying out much cold hard cash, since their own economies are in such turmoil. But some tangible support is required, or the U.S. and friends will have to go shopping for a new front man. Clinton is undoubtedly calculating just how little help he can give and still shore up Yeltsin's precarious position.

THE U.S. MEDIA PORTRAYS PARLIAMENT as the main obstacle to Yeltsin's dreams of starring as comprador-in-chief over a fully reopened capitalist shop of horrors. And there is no question that the legislature (which *is* part of an *elected* body, though you'd never know it from the bourgeois press) currently offers the main resistance to the tempo, at least, of Yeltsin's "market reforms," if not to the substance.

BUT THE REAL OPPOSITION, and the base upon which the power of parliament's challenge rests, is the Russian people. Street demonstrations and polls show time and again that the workers are hostile to full-scale privatization and suspicious of the course being plotted out by the ruling pro-capitalist cheerleaders. In the army, for instance, two-thirds or more of the officers disagree with the current reforms.

Due to the atomizing legacy of Stalinism, the workingclass opposition lacks leaders, organization, and program. But the crisis itself will create these things, just as events at the turn of the century created Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolshevik party.

Neither Yeltsin nor his main rivals in the ruling regime today can liberate the productivity and human potential of Russian workers. That job is reserved for the workers themselves. □

Don't privatize, nationalize!

AROUND THE WORLD, GOVERNMENTS are selling off public goods. Russia is auctioning off nationalized industries. Germany wants to sell the Autobahn. The strike wave in Australia developed in part to oppose the privatization of mass transit and communications.

In the U.S., the twin-party politicians who brought us the Savings and Loan bailout (\$45 billion this year) are jumping on the privatization bandwagon. A number of states are trying everything from peddling public hospitals to contracting out work now performed by state employees.

Proponents say this is harsh but necessary medicine to bring down the deficit fever and cure the lingering economic crisis. They claim privatization saves taxpayers' money and streamlines services.

NO WAY. PRIVATIZATION MEANS massive layoffs, reduced public services, falling wages, and unionbusting.

The civil service sets standards for the private sector in every area of employment, from affirmative action and seniority structures to wage and benefit levels. Privatization is designed to smash these "cumbersome" standards.

Privatization subordinates public service to money-grubbing. Higher fees for all and lower-quality service for those who can't pay are the result. Who could look at the profit-driven health care industry and argue *for* more privatization of industry?

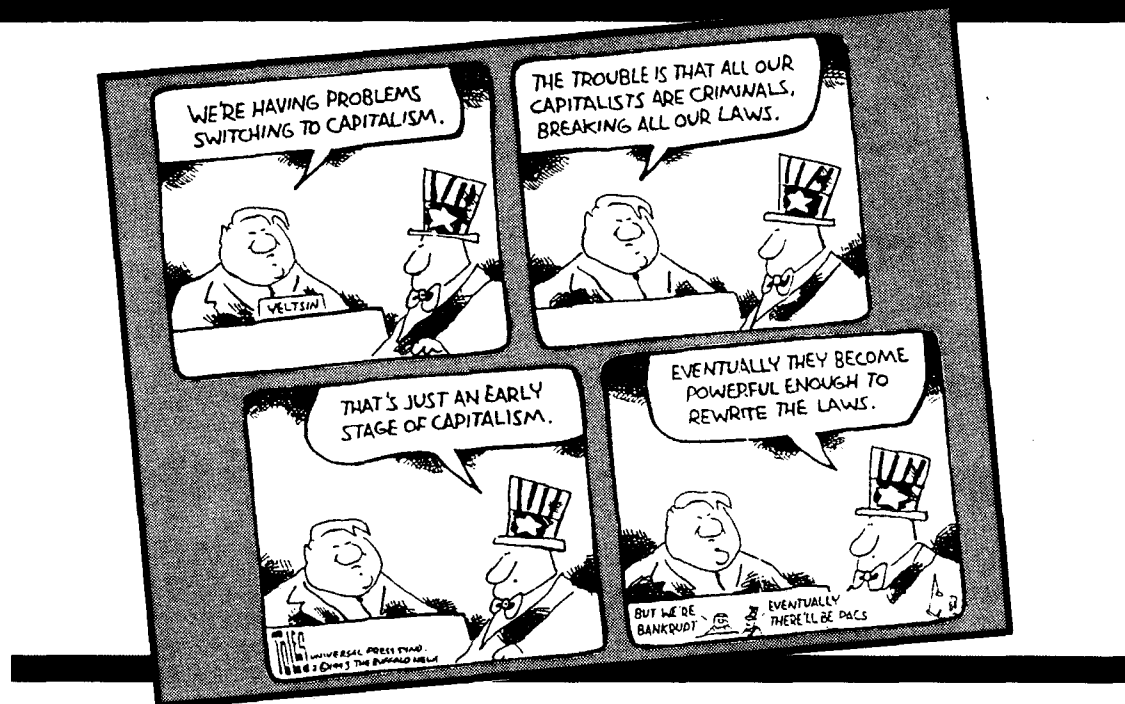
HISTORICALLY, THE WORKING CLASS has fought to enlarge public ownership of production and distribution so that the wealth our labor creates can be of maximum benefit to society. Public transit, hospitals, and utilities are some of the fruits of this struggle.

So too are public-employee unions, which are the most integrated, diverse, strongest, and most progressive in all of organized labor.

Democrats and Republicans alike now want to steal these victories and cash them in to bail out their profit system.

THE HUMANE AND EFFECTIVE SOLUTION is not to privatize the public sector, but to nationalize the private sector. Let's begin with the Savings and Loans!

Privatization is labor's PATCO of the '90s. The outcome will determine the course of the next decade. The best defense is always a good offense, and the time to start is right now. □



Dateline Australia

Strikes shatter "consensus"

BY DEBBIE BRENNAN

A quarter of a million working people on the streets and nearly a million on strike for the day. Large walkouts on every following working day for over a month. A strike by manufacturing unions. Another demonstration of 100,000 in the state capital, Melbourne.

This was the stormy atmosphere in Victoria in late 1992 and early 1993 as what even the mainstream media has called "class war" broke out in Australia's second most populous state. The gloves are now off in the conflict between labor and capital.

New State Premier Jeff Kennett of the reactionary Liberal/National Party (LNP) coalition, who defeated the Australian Labor Party (ALP) government in October, is bent on "deregulating the labor market" — code for burying workers under the weight of anti-labor legislation. In the face of the international depression, Australia's economy has all but collapsed, and the profit-makers are desperate to revoke and reverse the gains of a century of workingclass struggle.

Although the Labor Party maintained itself in power at the federal level in elections in March, its response to the crisis is fundamentally the same as Kennett's: make workers pay the cost of holding together a system whose expiration date has come and gone.

Victoria, the heartland of Australian unionism, shows the shape of things to come.

Bringing back the "Masters and Servants Act."

Australia has had a relatively liberal industrial (job) environment, characterized by a near-universal system of compulsory arbitration centered on labor court rulings known as "awards," which prescribe pay rates and working conditions. Although compulsory arbitration is used to keep worker militancy in check, awards do tend to uphold predictable minimum standards by providing various forms of legal redress against violators.

In recent years, a delicate class balance has been shored up at workers' expense by the Accord, a social contract struck in 1983 between Labor Party government heads and the Australian Council of Trade Unions

(ACTU).

In Victoria, all this has been ripped away by the LNP government's Employee Relations Act, which replaced the network of state industrial awards with workplace-based employment contracts. But this is only the tenth part of the attack.

Grimly reminiscent of the laws of last century, the new act conscripts every worker. Unauthorized failure to show up at work is now a *criminal offence*. Strikes are also punishable by fines and jail. Union activity is all but outlawed; the closed shop is outlawed. Employers can fine

Other services simply shut down. State school closures can't be counted any more. Public hospitals face the axe. The unemployment rate is at least 18 percent (officials acknowledge more than 11 percent), yet 40,000 public and community sector workers are being fired; Kennett has declared all public employees to be a burden on the economy — because they "produce not one dollar of profit!"

Programs specifically providing for women and for Aboriginal, migrant, homeless, and disabled people have been deliberately targeted for extinction. The first services to be cut and

first agencies closed have been those that either hired mainly women or upon which working women depended — like the dozens of child care centers whose grants were canceled. Deprived of economic security and independence, women are being shoved into the direst poverty and back into reliance upon men.

The most disgusting

part of this nightmare is the role of top union bureaucrats who responded to the wildfires of industrial action by trying desperately to *douse* them in order to preserve labor's fragile "consensus" with the bosses. This, they believed, would ensure that the electoral defeat suffered in Victoria by the seriously discredited Labor Party was not repeated nationally.

But these misleaders are walking a tightrope: for people whose survival depends on a paycheck, the sedative of consensus has worn off, and they're ready to fight.

"Workers strike back."

Thus read the banner headline in the conservative *Australian* newspaper the day after militant unionists forced the Victorian Trades Hall Council (VTHC) to call a statewide mass strike on November 10, 1992. VTHC Secretary John Halfpenny tried to contain the walkout by calling out only workers covered by state laws. But, despite the threat of large-scale firings, federal employees also participated.

Eight hundred thousand people stayed off the job; 200,000 took over Melbourne's streets.

This almost-general strike matched the political electricity of the 1960s marches against the Vietnam war. Demonstrating unionists were joined by Ab-

to page 5

In the face of depression, Australia's profit-makers are desperate to revoke and reverse the gains of a century of struggle.

"disobedient" workers. There's no redress against unfair dismissal.

Meal and rest breaks and bonus rates for long or irregular hours are no longer guaranteed. Paid maternity leave and equal pay provisions have been overturned. Holiday leave bonuses (called annual leave loading) were stolen: in effect, an immediate three percent pay cut. Sick leave has been slashed.

Workers' compensation has virtually disappeared. For example, the loss of an eye, or a leg below the knee, or one lung, is not enough to prove incapacity and be compensated for loss of wages. Those who do qualify get meager benefits for only a restricted period.

Taxes soar and services vanish.

The Kennett regime has levied a "state deficit levy." Businesses and workingclass households alike are supposed to pay \$100 on property they own, but the corporations get taxbreaks which negate the levy. In other words, the workers are made to subsidize the theft and greed of the ruling class during the 1980s. Government charges for things such as utilities and public transport have increased by up to 33 percent.

Profitable services are being sold off daily. The privatisation of power, communications, and transport is in progress.

Voices of Color

We are the leaders we've been waiting for

BY MOISÉS MONTOYA

Coordinator, Bay Area Comrades of Color Caucus of the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women

Until recently, Tom Boot was a prominent Black comrade in the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) and its San Francisco Bay Area organizer. In October 1991, Boot quit the party with Roanne Hindin and Constance Scott, two white leaders in both FSP and its sister organization, Radical Women (RW).

The three were fleeing from the leadership of people of color, particularly women. More and more, they had been running a Stalinist-style branch where criticism came from the top down; Scott, the national RW organizer, and Hindin, her assistant, were exempt. Members were just expected to do the work, and our weaknesses rather than strengths were played up. Because people of color made up half the branch, this fostered a racist climate.

Scott had enlisted Hindin and Boot, her housemates, as supporters in a power play with the party's National Office (N.O.) in Seattle. The three found new ammunition when two Seattle members were racist toward comrades of color. They tried to use these incidences to pit the Bay Area branch against the N.O.

When the Bay Area comrades of color began to question the trio's motives and demand accountability and party loyalty from them, the three persuaded a few white female colleagues that they were being victimized by a Big Bad Marxist Machine, and then left in a hurry, taking their clique recruits with them.

Cynical manipulation of race issues. Boot, Scott, and Hindin defected because they couldn't win the Bay Area FSP to their view about how to deal with racism. Their wrong position was that the white members responsible should be witch-hunted, persecuted, and driven out of the party.

The Bay Area Comrades of Color Caucus disagreed with this method. The BACCC wanted to correct the racist mistakes through education and drawing the lessons needed to move on. To this end, current Bay Area FSP Organizer Nell Wong and national RW Organizer Nancy

Reiko Kato traveled to Seattle to present a resoundingly successful weekend-long race relations seminar for the party and RW.

The BACCC also began calling the trio on their anti-N.O. sniping. The quitters then labeled us as N.O. dupes and tokens and branded the N.O. as kowtowing white liberals (ignoring the comrades of color in leadership). Now that we were criticizing them, they suddenly accused FSP and RW of being undemocratic.

The discrimination and high-handedness that Boot, Scott, and Hindin charged the N.O. with was really coming from them. They were the ones sabotaging

he bought into underestimating the capabilities of the other Bay Area comrades of color, who were Asian American and Chicano. In other words, Boot, once a staunch fighter for race liberation, turned into his opposite.

When we demanded that he reckon with us on his political differences, he took this as a personal affront — and quit.

This schism is not about personalities. It is about **fundamental political disagreements**.

The FSP believes that this profit system has to go. To get rid of it, we need a highly trained organization — a Leninist vanguard party — led by the most oppres-



Alaskan Native Debra O'Gara (right) and Bay Area Comrades of Color Caucus members Nancy Reiko Kato (center) and Nell Wong (left) at close of race relations seminar.

sed workers, because those who face the most searing abuse are the best fighters. The deserters no longer believe this.

Boot came to depend on Scott and Hindin socially, politically, and financially. Demoralized, he lost the courage to continue as a leader. Despite his accomplishments, Boot's own sexism, racism, and cultural nationalism — reflected in his posture that as a Black man, he was above criticism from other members of color — overcame him.

Running from the front lines. According to the party-bashers, Boot's membership in their clique as an African American gay man is supposed to prove that FSP and RW are racist.

Boot dedicated many years to fighting for the leadership of women, people of color, and sexual minorities in the movements. With Chicana FSP leader Yolanda Alaniz, he founded the Seattle Comrades of Color Caucus, which became national.

But the Left, including FSP and RW, is not immune from the pressure of increasing racism in society, as recent splits and strife show. Over time, Boot internalized the stereotypes of minorities as second-class citizens. Like his co-factionalizers,

sed workers, because those who face the most searing abuse are the best fighters. The deserters no longer believe this.

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Our time has come. Not coincidentally, most of us who stayed with Bay Area FSP and RW are people of color. We were drawn to Trotskyist feminist politics because the solution it poses speaks to our experience.

What happened in this internal fire storm validates our program. In this branch, the comrades of color have taken the reins. We're more critical and up-front. What the movements need now is bold and radical leadership from those at the bottom. That's what we intend to continue building. We **are** the leaders we've been waiting for. □

...Clara Fraser

from the cover

family in the machinery of capitalism.

1. Will open gays endanger "national security"? Let's hope so.

The generals argue that their bailiwicks were never designed to be conductors of social change. Indeed not.

The military juggernaut exists to protect the "American way of life" — which depends on **bitter feuding among workers**. What's good for General Motors is very, very bad for non-males, non-whites, non-Christians, non-citizens and other non-conventionals (like my readers). The business of big business is isms — classism, sexism, racism, ageism, heterosexism. And the business of the armed services is defending big business.

Proletarian solidarity is *verboten*. It is dangerous to officers and orders. And now that Blacks and women are entrenched in the ranks, **somebody** has to remain excluded or inferior or segregated.

What's more, expanded rights tend to make the execrated more uppity. Will lesbians and gays rest content with the magnanimous cessation of witchhunts? Will they protest against unjust and unneeded wars? Or maybe demand the right to elect their officers, à la Trotsky's Red Army after the 1917 Russian Revolution? And what will happen when these newly empowered vets come marching home?

The lavender menace that terrifies skittish politicians is a beautifully clear and present danger to the fraying fabric of Amerikkka.

2. It's the military that's sick and perverted.

Gay people aren't the ones with a deviant, illegitimate, immoral lifestyle. The military establishment is the body with the disease, and its name is sexual fascism.

Army culture cements a male bonding based on shared misogyny and race-hate. Basic training relies on humiliating the raw recruit by calling him a pussy or girlie. Platoon spirit is buoyed by chanting jingoistic jingles about the racial/physical traits of the enemy.

Servicemen are indoctrinated to scorn open gays who won't endorse their view of women as hunks of meat, rape objects, and practice toys for sadism. Straight male G.I.s are terrified that gay men will treat them the way they themselves treat women. Out lesbians are despised because they refuse to be part of the victim reservoir.

Yes, sexual marauding is intrinsic to the military, part and parcel of its climate of imperialist violence.

But if the institution is so evil, why should gays strive to be in it? Because it is their simple right not to be discriminated against. And because some of those gals and guys are equalitarians who want to be in the trenches beside their workingclass sisters and brothers in order to better challenge the Pentagon, not promote it.

Moral pollution exists — in the stance of the warmongers. And gays are the uncontaminated troops destined to clean out the stables.

3. Lesbians and gays are oppressed because they threaten the forced maintenance of the fissioning nuclear family.

It goes like this: The system extracts super-profits from the unpaid or vastly underpaid labor of women. And the patriarchal, male-headed family is the conduit for this rip-off.

A vast superstructure keeps fracturing families mortared together, despite widespread misery and repression in the home. Alternative ways of living are a Bad Influence, especially as practiced by lesbians — so bachelordom is chic, but old maidhood is always pathetic, and lesbians are kicked out of the services **six to ten times as often as gay**

The military has a lifestyle disease. Its name is sexual fascism.

men. Yet the number of lesbians is growing, partly because hetero relations today are so unappetizing. The arrogance and boorishness of typical male egos eventually repels self-respecting women.

Both genders have every right to claim a sexual mode that is less dangerous and irritating and more sensually fulfilling, more democratic and supportive of integrity and activism, more respectful of motherhood and childhood, and more feminist.

Face it, globo-cops: the values of the Victorian hearth are falling into the ashbin of history. Alternate mores are filling the vacuum. Cultural pluralism on the family front is truly, delightfully subversive!

A NEW DAY IS DAWNING. Homosexual rights are big-media cover stories. Gays are scaling unaccustomed heights of power. The polymorphously perverse are packing up in droves for the giant April 25 March on Washington. The gay community, with a renewed life-energy propelled by AIDS and the spectre of death, is politicized and afire. The battle against the troglodytes is joined.

But this expanded confidence needs all the **radical** vision and audacity it can muster, because our new Prez is as treacherous on civil rights as he is on the economy, stupid, and austerity and dashed hopes will be the sole rewards for his misguided supporters.

The message for labor and all civil rights and civil liberties movements: Insist on gay rights **now**. Forge a united front against the tyranny of the homophobes. Protest compromises and stalls and the "practical-politics" betrayals of the so-called liberals. And ask not for whom the presidential sellout is being prepared, for the answer is **you**.

Don't you see? Sexual liberation will never be tolerated by a market, dog eat dog, cannibalistic economy. Free love can flourish only in a caste-free and thereby a hate-free community of equal and autonomous humans, who will bypass the nature/nurture niggling and serenely proclaim their affectional **choices** free of any pressure to vindicate their delicate, personal decisions to anybody.

The only antidote to sexual fascism is socialist democracy. The only road to gay freedom is a universal, across-the-board, non-exploitative family of earthlings. Gay Pride shall ring out when the human race as a whole becomes proud of itself. □

Angry women become...

...RADICAL WOMEN! Join Us!

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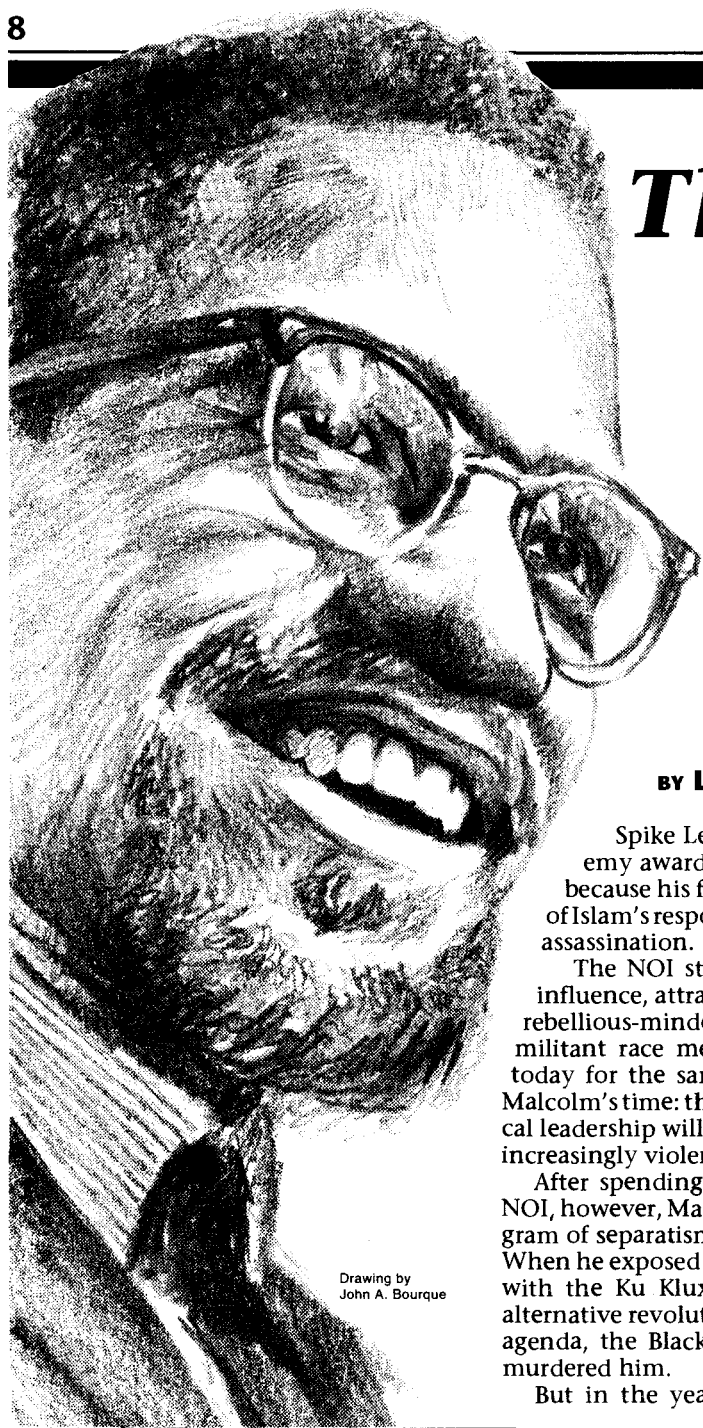
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The incendiary legacy of Malcolm X —revolutionary internationalism

BY LINDA AVERILL

Spike Lee should win an academy award for *Malcolm X*, if only because his film exposes the Nation of Islam's responsibility for Malcolm's assassination.

The NOI still enjoys considerable influence, attracting some of the most rebellious-minded Black youth with its militant race message. And it does so today for the same reason it did so in Malcolm's time: the vacuum of other radical leadership willing to do battle against increasingly violent racism.

After spending 12 years building the NOI, however, Malcolm X rejected its program of separatism and Black capitalism. When he exposed its reactionary dealings with the Ku Klux Klan and offered an alternative revolutionary internationalist agenda, the Black Muslims and the FBI murdered him.

But in the year before his death on

February 21, 1965, this talented and courageous spokesman for the oppressed embarked on a series of amazing journeys. Physically, he traveled to Africa and the Middle East; politically, he arrived at an anti-capitalist perspective that predicted the integration of U.S. Black revolt with worldwide class warfare.

Nation of Islam: hypocritical talk shop. It's no accident that Lee's film is released now.

In his day, Malcolm exposed the liberal hypocrisy of the Democrats, who, he noted, could wage a merciless war for "democracy" in Vietnam, but couldn't find their pens to sign a civil rights bill.

Little has changed. Today Uncle Sam bombs Iraq while addressing urban misery at home by hiring more cops.

Lee's movie has faults, like the short shrift and overly spiritual interpretation given to Malcolm's last years. But Lee's popularization of Malcolm's life is inspir-

ing many to explore Malcolm's positions.

As "X" shows, several things forced Malcolm's split from the NOI: his discovery that top "prophet" Elijah Muhammad was sexually exploiting young NOI women; his being silenced after stating that John F. Kennedy's assassination was "a case of the chickens coming home to roost"; and his chafing at the boundaries imposed by NOI's all-talk, little-action militancy. The movie doesn't show it, but Malcolm's exit was also provoked by the NOI's negotiations with the Ku Klux Klan for land in the South, which Malcolm revealed at a February 15, 1965 meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

NOI ministers liked to rail against "white devils," but they didn't want to actually challenge the power elite; Malcolm's independent thinking was threatening NOI's comfortable niche.

Crashing separatist limits. NOI's refusal to organize for concrete changes

flowed from its program, which preached moral reform, rebuilding the family, and establishment of a capitalist Black homeland. Furthermore, NOI's backward cultural nationalist policy ("pork-chop nationalism," the Black Panthers called it) recycled the class oppression and sexism of profit-based ideology. Thus NOI treated women like domestic slaves, and its projected future included a Black bourgeoisie that would still exploit Black workers.

Cultural nationalism is an understandable reaction to a thoroughly racist society, especially when the mass movement is at an ebb or Black leadership with a more class-conscious program is missing. But by identifying the enemy as whites rather than as the profit system that manufactures white prejudice for its own survival, cultural nationalism deflects rage away from that very system.

Malcolm rejected NOI's separatism after sojourning abroad. The film portrays this as a spiritual conversion. In fact, Malcolm met revolutionaries in Africa who won him to a broader, internationalist political prospectus.

Malcolm explained, "When I was in Ghana, I was speaking with the Algerian ambassador, who is a revolutionary in the true sense of the word... When I told him that my political, social, and

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What Malcolm X means to young people today

Young people today are seeing the movie *Malcolm X* in droves, picking up Malcolm's slogans, and wearing "X" fashions. What makes Malcolm so popular?

The *Freedom Socialist* interviewed three young Black students for their views: Kenya Moncur, 19, a sophomore at Kean College in Union, New Jersey; Diletha Battles, 18, a senior at Central High School in Newark, New Jersey; and Desirée Redmond, 21, a working single mother who will attend Highline Community College in Seattle, Washington this fall. The interviewers were Betty Maloney, a Newark school counselor, and Linda Averill in Seattle.

Betty: Who is Malcolm X to you?

Kenya: The sad thing is that after he came back from Mecca he was killed so quickly that he never really got a chance to express himself about the white race. But Malcolm X was about good change for a group of people. He wasn't scared of anything. He was well-respected. My grandmother lived in Harlem when Malcolm X was doing his speeches. She would tell me that he would get hundreds and hundreds of people out in the streets in a second. He could capture their attention just through

his voice and his message.

Betty: What do you think of Jesse Jackson?

Kenya: He gets off too much on small slogans like "Keep hope alive." You can't tell this to a person who is starving or selling drugs, because there is no hope.

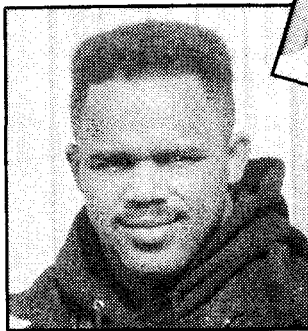
Malcolm X's message "by any means necessary" fits the African American race because you can get something out of it whether you're starving or hungry.

Betty: Who benefits from racism?

Kenya: Only the small part of the population that are well off. Because when you're hurting me and I'm hurting you, we're both hurting. But we've got someone sitting way up here in this office, and he's not feeling any pressure. "Just let them kill each other," that's their game.

Betty: Can Blacks and whites and people of other colors work together?

Kenya: I know for a fact they can. I would never support separating white and Black because it's good to interact with different cultures.



Desirée Redmond (above), Kenya Moncur (left). Not shown: Diletha Battles.

Linda: What is Malcolm

X to you?

Desirée: Inspiration, because he was so fearless. He inspires me as a parent of a son and he inspires me as a student.

He made me realize I have to rise above hating my people in order to help them. If I waste my time arguing or fighting or doing drugs with them, that's just bringing me down, and them with me. He's changed my attitude about how I am with other Blacks and how I feel about my Blackness.

Linda: Why is Malcolm so popular?

Desirée: It's oppression. Eventually oppression is going to cause outrage. Our parents fought at first, like my mom was a

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Black liberation: theory as the guide to action...

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