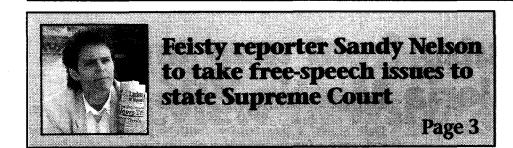
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The Freedom Socialist Voice of Revolutionary Feminism.

April-June 1996

Volume 17, Number 1

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PROFIT & PREJUDICE Why it will take a revolution to end racism

BY DEBRA O'GARA

ace. The U.S. is obsessed with it; cities burn because of it. Affirmative action, immigration, female-headed households mired in poverty, crime and punishment, Nazism on the rise — all of these flashpoint issues, and a multitude of others, have race at their core.

Despite powerful mass movements and decades of legislation, inequality and injustice remain entrenched. People of color suffer disproportionately from every social ill, from underfunded education and inaccessible healthcare to permanent unemployment.

As Black scholar W.E.B. Du Bois said, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."

Why is this so?

Racism: capitalism's bad seed. In a groundbreaking book on race relations, Black sociologist Oliver Cox debunks the myth that racism has always existed. In Caste, Class, and Race, he outlines how race discrimination came into existence as a result of the development of capitalist economy.

The advance of capitalism was spurred in the 15th and 16th centuries by European breakthroughs in exploration and plunder, including the blood-soaked "discovery of the New World." As trade expanded, Portuguese and Spanish profiteers raided the African coast to supply the invaders of the Americas with a valuable new commodity — laborers in chains.

Slavery existed before the private-profit system came into being, but not based on *race*. Conquered peoples were enslaved, but skin color was irrelevant, and the victors assimilated (or were assimilated by) the subjugated culture. Slaves could work up to equality.

Not so under capitalism.

It was a coincidence of history that the slaves imported to toil on U.S. plantations, like the native peoples forced from the land, were darkskinned. But once underway, slavery and genocide were justified by a brand-new ideology, the myth of racial inferiority.

The ruling class turned racism to its advantage in every part of economic life. Darkskinned and Jewish women immigrants sweated in garment shops on the Eastern seaboard, Chinese workers laid the railroad tracks across the country, and brown and yellow farmworkers made the West Coast bloom. Despite repeated resistance by workers of color, super-exploitation on the basis of race became entrenched as an to page 3

LUCRO Y PREJUICIO

Por qué será necesaria una revolución para acabar con el racismo

POR DEBRA O'GARA

as razas. Los Estados Unidos están obsesionados con ellas; hay ciudades que arden a causa de ellas. La Acción Afirmativa, la inmigración, los hogares dirigidos por mujeres hundidos en la pobreza, el crimen y los castigos, el Nazismo creciente: todos estas cuestiones explosivas, y muchas otras, contienen el racismo en su esencia.

A pesar de movimientos de masas poderosos y de décadas de legislación, la desigualdad y la injusticia siguen estando arraigados. La gente de color sufre desproporcionadamente a causa de cada una de las enfermedades sociales, desde la educación con presupuestos insuficientes y la inaccesibilidad al cuidado médico hasta el desempleo.

Como dijo W.E.B. Du Bois, un académico negro, "El problema del siglo veinte es el problema de la barrera del color."

¿Por qué son las cosas de esta manera?

El racismo: la mala semilla del capitalismo.

En un libro innovativo sobre las relaciones raciales, el sociólogo negro Oliver Cox pone por tierra el mito de que el racismo siempre ha existido. En **Casta, Clase y**

Raza, él describe cómo la discriminación racial empezó a existir como resultado del desarrollo de la economía capitalista.

Durante los siglos XV y XVI, el avance del capitalismo fue estimulado por el progreso en las exploraciones y saqueos, incluyendo el baño de sangre que fue el "descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo."

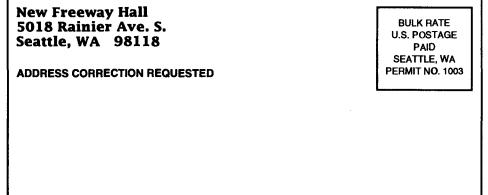
A medida que se expandía el comercio, los saqueadores portugueses y españoles hacían redadas en la Costa Africana para proveer a los invasores de

América de una nueva y valiosa mercancía: los trabajadores en cadenas.

La esclavitud existía antes de que naciera el sistema de lucro privado, pero no basado en *la raza*. Los pueblos conquistados eran esclavizados, pero el color de su piel era irrelevante, y los victoriosos asimilaban (o eran asimilados por) la cultura subyugada. Los esclavos se podían ganar la igualdad con su trabajo. No es así en el capitalismo.

Fue una coincidencia histórica que los esclavos importados para trabajar la tierra en plantíos de los Estados Unidos, al igual que los pueblos nativos que eran forzados a abandonar sus tierras, fueran de piel obscura. Pero una vez que comenzaron, la esclavitud y el genocidio eran justificados mediante una nueva ideología: el mito de la inferioridad racial.

La clase gobernante cambió el racismo para su sigue en la página 3



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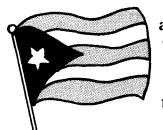
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Anti-Cuba campaign escalates



Bill Clinton is pointing a finger at Cuba and crying "shame!" Wrong. Our editorial points the finger where it really belongs: at the deadly U.S. embargo.

A fable of the coming revolution 7

In a fictional first-person narrative by a Black woman worker recounting her role in America's socialist revolution, Clara Fraser tells an absorbing tale about social transformation.

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Cover montage: Design by Su Docekal. Clockwise from bottom left: illustration by Mark Valen; photo by Corky Lee; photo by Kathleen Merrigan; FS archives.

Freedom Socialist Credo

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

We're Marxists, Leninists, Trotskylsts, 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 hall 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.

Tributes from near and far to Gloria Martin, 1916-1995

BY ANDREA BAUER

loria Martin would never have approved of all the attention paid to her at a recent series of uplifting commemorations. She was much too outward-directed for that!

But she certainly would have approved of the combination of stimulating people, hardhitting politics, rib-sticking food, and vital art, music, and poetry - just the mix that characterized the life of this Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women leader. (Please see last issue's centerfold for an obituary and tributes.)

Each memorial also featured two video presentations: the first, a hilarious discussion between Gloria's closest colleague, FSP founder Clara Fraser, and a mock Gloria played by Tamara Turner, in which "Gloria" obstructs Clara's every attempt to extol her virtues; the second, an interview in which the real Gloria expresses herself in typically sharp fashion on the question of reform vs. revolution. A sample of other highlights:

Seattle, December 17: More

than 200 people turned out for Gloria in her adopted home town, where she lived from 1950 until her death at 79 on November 22.

Elmer Dixon, a founder of the Seattle Black Panther Party, spoke eloquently, calling Gloria "the measure of a true revolutionary" and "one of the few white Panthers."

Portland, Ore., January 20: Said compatriot Adrienne Weller, "Gloria was invaluable in building Portland Radical Women. She didn't mystify theory or the action that comes from it. She probably devised the slogan 'Just do it,' and Nike owes her big-time royalties."

Among the other moving speakers was Gloria's son Mike Warner.

Dale Suess, a gay family friend, gave a funny and poignant salute that told of his first encounter with Gloria at her bookstore, Shakespeare and Martin. When Suess told Gloria he was a cemetery historian, she replied, "Well, honey, some of the dead are a lot more interesting than the living."

Los Angeles, January 28: Angie Pompa of the Clinica Eva Abortion Defense Committee affectingly described how much the efforts of principled feminists like Gloria mean to poor women and women of color.

Event chair Monica Hill, another veteran of the fierce struggle to keep Clinica Eva open, said about Gloria: "She

with "teaching white feminists the importance of defending our sisters of color if we are serious about winning women's liberation."

And a message of solidarity from the Organization of Iranian People's Fedaian Guerillas called Gloria "an ardent defender of the national freedom movement of the Iranian people and a valuable comrade."

Melbourne, Vic., Australia, February 25: A strong showing by left speakers made "Solidarity Salon" an apt name for this event's setting.

Ray Jackson, coordinator of the Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Watch Committee, sent an inspiring address to Gloria,



Above: The Bread and Roses

Chorus, which Martin originated, sings in her honor in Seattle. At left: Feminist attorney Flo Kennedy, center and seated, was a featured speaker in New York.

saying: "Though I never met vou - I know of you. For your revolutionary spirit is as alive in me as all the other Comrades before you were alive in you."

Vancouver, B.C., Canada, March 24: As we go to press, this farewell is still to take place. But we'll let Vancouver FSP Organizer Marcel Hatch have the last word, via excerpts from a statement read at the other commemorations:

"Gloria's hard work and dedication, her insistence on honesty and clarity, and her passion for the good life have inspired an entire generation of revolutionaries who have the confidence to follow through with a just fight. And have a



taught us all to change ourselves and to believe in other people's capacity to change."

New York City, February 3: Held at Casa de las Americas, a vibrant Cuban center, this remembrance especially captured Gloria's internationalism. Those paying homage included representatives of the Federation of Cuban Women and the Cuban Mission in New York, as well as FSP International Secretary Guerry Hoddersen. Hoddersen credited Gloria good time doing it!"

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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San Francisco, January 21: This event put a spotlight on Gloria's literary side.

Freedom Socialist Party & Radical Women

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles: Teamsters Bldg., 1616 W. 9th St., Basement Hall #7, Los Angeles, CA 90015. Ph. *213*-365-1792. FAX 213-365-6088. E-mail LAFSPRW@aol.com.

San Francisco: RW National Office and Bay Area Branch, Valencia Hall, 523-A Valencia St., San Francisco. CA 94110. Ph. 415-864-1278. FAX 415-864-0778. E-mail RPChemist@aol.com.

NEW JERSEY

Newark: 91 Court Street, #3B, Newark, NJ 07102. Phone/Fax 201-643-0499.

NEW YORK

Albany: 190 Western Ave. #3, Albany NY 12203. Ph. 518-433-1388.

New York City: 32 Union Square E. Rm. 907, New York City, NY 10003. Ph. *212*-677-7002. FAX *212*-491-4634.

OREGON

Portland: Northwest Service Center, 1819 NW Everett Rm. 201, Portland, OR 97209. Ph. 503-228-3090. FAX 503-223-2390. E-mail fsp@igc.apc.org.

(C)

WASHINGTON

Port Angeles: 1621 S. F St., Port Angeles, WA 98363. Ph. 360-4527534. E-mail 6d282@scn.org.

Seattle: FSP National Office, Bush Asia Center, 409 Maynard Ave. S. #201, Seattle, WA 98104. Ph. 206-682-0990. FAX 206-682-8120. E-mail fspnatl@igc.apc.org.

Seattle Branch, New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98118. Ph. 206-722-2453. FAX 206-723-7691.

Tacoma: P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98415. Ph. 206-756-9971. FAX 206-759-3988.

AUSTRALIA

Melbourne: P.O. Box 266, West Brunswick, VIC 3055. Phone/FAX 03-9386-5065.

CANADA

Vancouver: 2278 E. 24th Ave., Vancouver, BC V5N 2V2. Ph. 604-874-9048. FAX 604-874-9058. E-mail fsp@wimsey.com.

Call, write, or stop by and visit!

State Supreme Court agrees to review newsroom free-speech case

BY ANGELA BENNETT STARK

he Washington state Supreme Court, recognizing great public concern over the question of whether employers should be able to limit their workers' public activism, has agreed to take up a precedent-setting lawsuit by Tacoma journalist Sandy Nelson against her employer, The News Tribune (TNT).

An award-winning reporter and the organizer for Tacoma Radical Women, Nelson was punitively trans-

ferred to copy editing in 1990 because of her off-duty leadership on behalf of a city gayrights initiative.

Tribune managers claimed her activism threatened the daily paper's "appearance of objectivity," and said her byline would be restored only if she gave up politics.

Instead, backed by the state American Civil Liberties Union, she filed suit, demanding reinstatement as a reporter.

Her case has generated enormous support because of what's at stake: the fundamental right of all workers to speak freely and take part in civic causes — whether their bosses like it or not.

Anti-labor rulings. Nelson's lawyers appealed to the state Supreme Court last year after Pierce County Superior Court Judge Vicki Hogan ruled for the Tribune, which is part of the McClatchy chain, on all the basic issues.

Each side had asked Hogan to summarily decide the case in their favor, without trial.

Nelson cited protections for free speech and political activity in both the state constitution and a state law directed specifically at employers.

TNT claimed that neither applied, arguing that private-sector employees like Nelson are not covered by the state constitution and that freedom of the press under the First Amendment gives publishers immunity from the state statute.

When Hogan sided with TNT on both points, Nelson asked for direct review by the top state court. She got it with the help of a powerful public campaign

that included 1,300 postcards sent to the justices from Unamerican Activities Committee or be ... blacklisted. civil-liberties advocates expressing their concern.

Support for reining in corporate control. Bolstering Nelson's case at the Supreme Court are two friend-of-the-court briefs - a joint one by the Washington State Labor Council and the Newspaper Guild, and another by the National Lawyers Guild, which 67 organizations and individuals have co-signed.

The NLG brief answers TNT's legal arguments, noting that the Tribune doesn't even try to prove that



Nelson, left, seeks out support for her case among other workers at a February 19 labor rally in Olympia, Washington.

Nelson's activism ever negatively affected the paper, and concludes: "The pretext is clear: TNT's real objection is to the 'unpopular' content of Nelson's politics."

Each co-signer attached a letter explaining their interest in the suit. Environmentalist Hazel Wolf, a former Communist Party member targeted for harassment during the McCarthy era, said this:

"The McCarthyites acted with particular aggression toward people in the communications industry... Journalists suspected of being communists or communist sympathizers were forced to testify before the House

The result: media that served McCarthy aggressively and without ... pretense of journalistic objectivity.

3

... The newspaper's rationale for removing Sandy ance of objectivity' - is not persuasive when one considers the media's wealth, power and investment in the status quo."

Another co-signer, the Seattle chapter of Labor Party Advocates, called Nelson's case "a classic example of how large and influential corporations abuse

their power by trying to control the lives of employees even when they're not at work."

Other signers include the Washington Fed-

eration of State Employees Councils 28 and 2; Northwest Labor Press; The Progressive; Seattle Gay News; Center for Constitutional Rights; syndicated columnist Norman Solomon; and Black feminist attorney Flo Kennedy.

Ioin the mobilization! The state Supreme Court will hear the case in June. Meanwhile, Nelson and her campaign team are not resting on their laurels. In February, for example, defense committee members distributed flyers and sought support at a massive labor rally in Olympia, Washington; in March, Nelson participated as a panelist in the Media and Democracy Congress in San Francisco.

You don't have to sit on the sidelines of this important battle. Donations are much needed; please send them to the Sandy Nelson Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98415. And additional organi-

zations may still sign on to the NLG brief; if interested, call Val Carlson at (206) 667-0065.

The Guild points out in its brief that the Washington constitution guarantees that political power is "inherent in the people." Let's let McClatchy know we intend to fight for what's ours!

Angela Bennett Stark coordinates outreach for Nelson's defense committee and is active in Washington Federation of State Employees Local 843.

... Profit and prejudice

from the cover

essential ingredient of capitalism.

Differences only skin deep. Bosses today would be lost without the cheap labor of people of color, especially of desperate immigrants who are often fleeing countries devastated by U.S. policies. The powers-that-be attack these necessary newcomers not to keep them out, but to keep them down --- scorned as lazy freeloaders and underpaid.

Stereotyping like this is used against every racial group to excuse the abuse they are dealt and to keep workers angry

tively, the only biological distinctions among the races are superficial, like skin color. And skin pigmentation certainly doesn't determine intelligence, psychology, or propensity to violence or criminal behavior! Race is a social category.

Unite to fight. Liberal efforts to overcome racism, such as the diversity training seminars springing up all over, don't begin to address the root cause of the problem: the dependence of big business on a divided working class and a special pool of inexpensive labor. That's why these programs are so popular with

Radical-sounding demagogues like Louis Farrakhan aren't doing us any favors either. Cultural nationalists, who focus on self-help and want to increase the separation between the races instead of eradicating it, are playing right along with the bosses' agenda - sexism, homophobia, anti-Semitism, and all.

This is why Farrakhan and other organizers of the recent Million Man March decided the event should emphasize personal atonement rather than put demands on the system.

But despite misleaders like these and terrible repression by the ruling class, racial minorities have a militant and principled history of fighting for equality. And when people of color move, everybody moves. The civil rights and

'60s, and '70s, for example, galvanized every other group of oppressed people in the U.S. — and reverberated around the globe.

People of color have shown that we have an indispensable leadership role to play in the struggle for a better life for all. What's needed is revolutionary integration — the coming together of all races and both sexes to challenge the basic, inhuman precepts of this moneydriven world order.

That's the politics humanity needs so that we can enter the 21st century finally ready to put the problem of the color line behind us.

Alaskan Native Debra O'Gara is a tribal lawyer who has taught on race relations and the Black and

Black Power movements of the 1950s, Chicano/a movements.

...Lucro y prejuicio

viene de la primera página

propio beneficio en todas las fases de la vida económica. Mujeres de piel obscura y judías sudaban en fábricas de ropas en la Costa Oriental, trabajadores chinos pusieron los rieles del tren que cruzaba el país, y trabajadores agrícolas morenos y amarillos produjeron el florecimiento de la Costa Occidental. A pesar de la resistencia reiterada por parte de los trabajadores de color, la superexplotación con bases raciales se convirtió en un ingrediente esencial del capitalismo.

La diferencia sólo se encuentran en la piel. Los patrones de hoy día estarían perdidos sin la mano de obra barata de la gente de color, especialmente la de los inmigrantes desesperados que con frecuencia vienen huyendo de

países devastados por políticas de los

Estados Unidos. El status quo ataca a

estos recién llegados vitales, no para expulsarlos sino para aplastarlos, despreciándolos por ser oportunistas perezosos y pagándoles menos.

Este tipo de estereotipos es usado en contra de todos los grupos raciales como excusa para los abusos en contra de ellos y para mantener la ira de unos contra otros y no contra los patrones. Sin embargo, objetivamente hablando, las únicas diferencias biológicas entre las razas son superficiales, como el color de la piel. ¡La pigmentación de la piel en verdad no determina el nivel de inteligencia, sicología, ni la propensidad a la violencia o al comportamiento criminal! La raza es una categoría social.

Unidos para pelear. Los intentos liberales para superar el racismo, tal como los seminarios de adiestramiento sobre la diversidad que se están realizando en

todas partes, no han comenzado a hablar acerca de la causa fundamental del problema: la dependencia de las grandes empresas de una clase trabajadora dividida y de una fuente de mano de obra barata. Por eso es que estos programas son tan populares entre las corporaciones y el gobierno.

Los demagogos que parecen radicales tales como Louis Farrakhan no nos están haciendo ningún favor tampoco. Los nacionalistas culturales, los cuales se concentran en la autoayuda y quieren incrementar la separación entre las razas en lugar de erradicarla, están siguiendo los pasos de los planes de los patrones: el sexismo, la homofobia, el antisemitismo y todo lo demás. Por eso es que Farrakhan y los organizadores de la reciente Marcha del Millón de Hombres decidieron que el evento debería enfatizar la explación personal en lugar de hacerle demandas al sistema.

Sin embargo, a pesar de malos líderes como éstos y la terrible represión por parte de las clases gobernantes, las minorías raciales tienen una historia de militancia en la lucha por la igualdad, y cuando la gente de color se mueve, todos se mueven. Los movimientos pro derechos civiles y del Poder Negro de los años 50, 60 y 70, por ejemplo, galvanizaron todos los demás grupos de gente oprimida en los Estados Unidos con reverberación en el mundo entero.

La gente de color ha demostrado que tenemos un papel de liderazgo indispensable que realizar en la lucha por una vida mejor para todos. Lo que se necesita es integración revolucionaria, o sea, la integración de todas las razas y de ambos sexos para desafiar los preceptos básicos inhumanos de este orden mundial motivado por el dinero.

Ese es el tipo de políticas que necesita la humanidad para que podamos comenzar el siglo XXI listos, al fin, para dejar atrás el problema de la barrera del color.

Debra O'Gara es una abogada tribal e indígena de Alaska que educa acerca de las relaciones raciales y los movimientos negro y chicano.

Dateline Australia

Huge turnout for first pride march shows off fiery spirit of Melbourne gays

BY ALISON THORNE

he queer community in Melbourne, Australia, made history on February 4. More than 11,000 lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transgenders and supporters streamed

through the bayside neighbourhood of St. Kilda in the city's *first* large-scale pride march.

Four thousand enthusiastic spectators cheered and applauded as contingents representing 85 organisations danced, waved, and chanted along the parade route.

Led by Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays and promoting the slogan "hate is not a family value," the marchers extended over a kilometre.

Pride 96 was formed at a public meeting just 12 weeks before the march. The event, which attracted even greater participation than the internationally renowned Lesbian and Gay Mardi Gras in Sydney, was held as a component of Melbourne's annual Midsumma gay and lesbian cultural festival.

Inspired by the resounding success of this inaugural event, Pride organizers announced that the march has earned a permanent place on the Melbourne calendar.

They said it couldn't happen. Pride 96 walked all over the assumptions of timid gay movement leaders who have argued for years that most Melbourne queers are not out enough to demonstrate openly. "This isn't flamboyant Sydney," they've persistently cautioned.

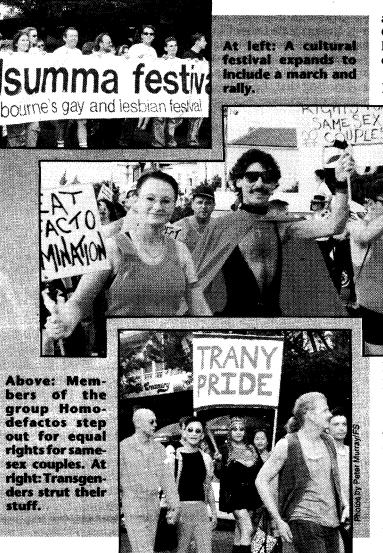
Well, February 4 said goodbye to all that.

A sort of predecessor to Pride 96 was the nowdefunct Gay Day, first staged to celebrate the 1981 repeal of the Victorian state's laws against male homosexuality.

Put on by the big-budget, super-moderate Alternative Life Style Organisation (ALSO), Gay Day was an inward-looking event. It attracted crowds from the gay and lesbian community, but little media publicity, and it featured no political speeches or demands. ALSO consistently refused to hold Gay Day at a public venue, preferring to stay closeted behind the walls of an enclosed football stadium.

The overwhelming turnout for Pride 96 should go a long way toward ending this insularity.

Addressing the exhilarated crowd at the end of the parade, Pride co-convener Peter Dewildt described how organisers mailed letters inviting groups all over the state. Having absorbed some of the pessimists' gloomy predictions, they had expected to receive at least a *few* regretful replies from organisations too



nervous to march.

But not a single such letter arrived. Instead, they were swamped by registrations.

Speaker Madeline Swain, who gave the key note address, summed up the strengths of Pride 96 in a speech based on the "seven deadly sins." Lust and pride, Swain argued, are not sins. The real sins are apathy and procrastination — sins, she said, we had all just banished!

The march and rally positively flaunted the fact that Victoria's gay and lesbian community is ready and willing to mobilise in the streets.

Pride means politics and protest. For many in attendance, battle lines were drawn with the election of conservative Premier Jeff Kennett in 1992.

Fittingly, Pride 96 assembled at the biggest anti-Kennett battle ground — the site of the Grand Prix motor race. Kennett destroyed a public park to build this race track and fill the pockets of private developers.

His government is now in the midst of closing Fairfield Hospital, a public facility which is a centre of excellence for treating people

with HIV/AIDS. The Radical Women contingent chant "Fund hospitals, not race tracks!" proved popular with march onlookers.

Another crucial issue is the state antidiscrimination law.

Amended in 1995 to include coverage of gay men and lesbians for the first time, the update offers little real safety — and in fact opens some dangerous doors.

It protects "lawful sexual activity" rather than sexual identity or orientation, and it contains an astonishing 55 exemptions! Those who work with children or for businesses employing less than five workers receive no protection at all.

Pride 96 was a collective shout — a demand by the gay community to be acknowledged as a force to be reckoned with and to push issues like these to the forefront.

Build on success. Next year, let's use that mighty shout to press for a clear set of demands. The opportunity to do this was missed with this year's event, held just the week after Prime Minister Keating (now ousted) announced the March 2 federal elections.

Marchers were asked to think for a moment about everyone who has died from AIDS. We were asked to reflect on the young gays, lesbians, bis and tranys (transgenders) who have taken their own lives. But speakers and organisers did not present us with *strategies for resistance*.

And visibility alone will not protect against homophobia.

So next time, let's use our voice to press the politicians for what we need, and let's ask our speakers to tackle the nitty-gritty questions: *How* can freedom be won for all queers? Can equality be won within the status quo, or will it require an all-encompassing restructuring of society?

To the Koori dyke with no job prospects, the queer youth with no home, the HIV-positive gay man facing the closure of Fairfield Hospital, and the lesbian teacher left out of anti-discrimination laws, the answer is obvious. The fight for our liberation is a class question.

This year we marched to say, "We're here and we're queer." Next year, let's add, "And we're taking on the system!"



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from page 8

and education in the streets, the courts, and other forums.

...First Nations

In September, for example, Mohawk nation demonstrators in Québec, mostly youth, marched and blocked highways to oppose police assaults against Natives taking back their lands.

Native women are also prominent in the new assertive wave. Shuswap clan mothers, most of whom had sons and daughters embroiled in the Gustafsen Lake face-off, were prepared to meet government force with force.

Youth, women, and many elders know that the survival of their people is tied to retaining sovereignty over their territory. They believe they are responsible for preserving the health of the earth for future generations, and they intend to stop the corporate exploitation that leaves in its wake a polluted wasteland that will last for centuries.

And they are ready to use any means necessary.

Ann Rogers is a socialist of Chippewa descent, leader in the United Front Against Fascism, and mainstay of Seattle Radical Women.

Financial donations to the Gustafsen Lake legal defense fund can be made payable to Ts'peten Trust Account and sent to Splitting the Sky, P.O. Box 6475, Hinton, AB T7V 1X7, Canada. Phone: (403) 865-1784.

Calling all activists! June convention will found U.S. labor party

BY STEVE HOFFMAN

inally, a breath of fresh air for U.S. voters sick of holding their noses in the polling booth! From June 6-9 in Cleveland, Ohio, working people from around the country will convene to found a labor party.

A labor party could do what unions cannot: give workers an organized political voice. Its formation could be as important as the rise of the CIO.

And has labor ever needed its own party more? With Clinton having betrayed every promise he ever made to working people, KKK-connected Pat Buchanan is posing as the standardbearer for the toiling and middle classes. This has got to stop!

The construction of a workingclass electoral alternative will face obstacles, of course. Some who are involved already plan to use the convention as a launching pad not for a third party, but for a pressure group to reform the Democrats.

But the people who have been sold out by both parties — rank-and-file unionists, low-paid workers, women, people of color, lesbians and gays, and radicals ---have the impetus to make the labor party what it needs to be to succeed: democratic, multi-issue, anti-capitalist, and serious about running candidates.

Testing the wind. The current initiative came about after the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers discovered in 1989 that 55 percent of their members thought it was time for a labor party. In response, OCAW backed the creation of Labor Party Advocates by former OCAW secretarytreasurer Tony Mazzocchi.

LPA promotes international labor solidarity, a progressive tax structure, increased social services, and guaranteed jobs, healthcare, and benefits. It's silent, however, about the specific concerns of the most-abused workers.

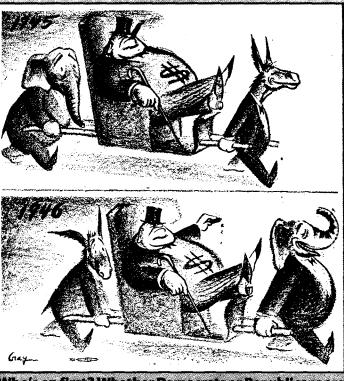
At a 1995 conference of the newspaper Labor Notes, OCAW President Robert Wages flatly stated that LPA would not take a stand on abortion or affirmative action. And last January, Mazzocchi said, "We aren't organizing around a progressive agenda. We're trying to or are opposed to the progressive agenda."

Well, some workers love Buchanan nomic and social liberation for all. too. But why should labor cater to its most backward elements? Its historic role has been to fight for a more equal world - not a more retrograde one.

Many labor heavyweights who support LPA are also reluctant to anger AFL-CIO bigwigs by running a candidate against the Democrats. Thus, in six years, LPA has made no concrete progress toward getting into the electoral ring.

But all that could be about to change.

Broad participation key to LPA's future. The most vital groups in labor today are the women, people of color, youth, and sexual minorities, many of them activists, who are the vast major-



Who's on first? Whether Democrats or Republicans are voted in, big business is always really in charge, as this Laura Gray cartoon from a 1946 Militant shows.

ity of the growing public and service sectors. They bring a tenacious spirit, born of their long struggles for equality, into the house of labor.

And they have learned that multiissue alliances succeed, because they nullify the bosses' primary weapon the debilitating divisions within the working class.

The labor party founding convention is a chance for these workers, who need an independent party the most, to get in on the ground floor to build it.

If society's most disenfranchised embers show up and push for what ganize the working class around their they need, they can create a united economic interests, and many of them party of workers that will battle discrimination while fighting for total eco-

Ideas whose time has come. To get workers the jobs, wages, and social programs they must have to survive, the labor party platform has to directly confront corporate profiteering. For starters, the party should call for:

• Total equality. Full reproductive rights for women; affirmative action with enforceable quotas; immigrant rights; sovereignty for Native American nations; rights for lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, and transgenders.

• Full employment by adopting new public works projects and reducing the work week with no cut in pay.

• Free, nationalized healthcare and childcare. More funds for education, social services, and the environment by taxing the rich and dismantling the Pentagon.

• Global labor solidarity instead of war. Repeal of NAFTA and GATT and a higher standard of living for workers worldwide.

Spread the word! LPA's future will rise or fall on its program; whether it moves from advocate to actual creator; and whether its leadership embraces democratic debate or squelches it, particularly via attacks on LPA's radical members.

One thing is certain: without the involvement of workers hit hardest under the current electoral charade, LPA will flounder. Only people who know which side of the class line they are on will have the chutzpah to stand up to big business and its representatives, the Democrats and Republicans.

Workers have shown they are ready to leave twin-party politics behind but they can't do this without a credible alternative. LPA is the best opportunity we've had in 60 years to make that alternative real. Let's seize the day!

Contributors to this report: Fred Hyde. Seattle; Nellie Wong, San Francisco; Monica Hill, Los Angeles: and Stephen Durham, New York City.

How to get involved

For info about joining LPA or

Word on the street: "It's high time!"

The following quotes were culled from impromptu interviews by reporters David Barlavi and Muffy Sunde, Los Angeles; George Morrison, Louisville, Kentucky; Kim Larson, Seattle; and Emily Woo Yamasaki, New York City.

"I don't expect utopia, but I understand why a person would be discontented with the Democrat and Republican parties, because there's not that much difference



5

between them. People shouldn't have to sleep under bridges." Helen Banks, retired variety performer, New York City



"A labor party sounds like a good idea. The government is always trying to make money from you. They always want to give the rich a tax breakbut the majority, the

people who do the work, they don't get breaks.

Chris Ramírez, truck operator, Panorama City, California

"Why should we have just two people running for president? There are millions of people out there. It's time for a third party, as long as it's not something like Perot. And the



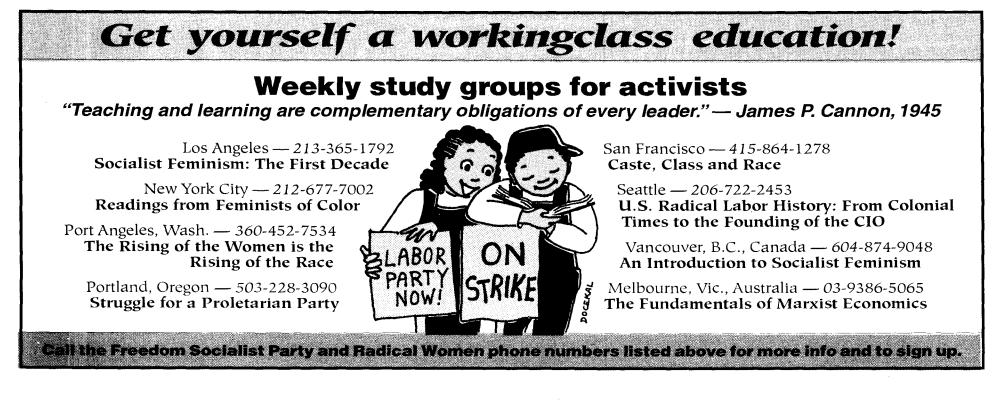
party should address women." Elaine Clifford, asbestos worker, Port Orchard, Washington



"I would definitely vote for a labor party. We need somebody that can get in there and speak up for us. Because jobs are so hard to come by, when you do get a

attending the convention, write LPA, P.O. Box 53177, Washington, D.C. 20009-3177, or call (202) 234-5194.

fairly. It's real rough." Jerry Washington, construction worker, Louisville, Kentucky



April-June 1996

Editorials

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U.S., not Cuba, deserves to be pariah

"BROTHERS TO THE RESCUE" has come to the rescue, all right — of the U.S. government's smash-Cuba policy. The U.S. is using Cuba's entirely legitimate downing of two hostile planes on February 24 to justify cracking down against stateside supporters of the island and strengthening the anti-Cuba embargo.

You don't have to be Oliver Stone to figure out that the convenient juxtaposition of all these events is no accident. The U.S. provoked the February confrontation through its support for the "Brothers" and its long record of encouraging anything, legal or illegal, that might bring the Cuban workers state to its knees.

And the U.S. bears the blame for the consequences.

IN ITS OBSESSIVE CRUSADE to put Cuba back into capitalist hands, the Yankee giant is just as willing to trample on the rights of people at home as on the selfdetermination rights of Cubans.

In January and February, U.S. border officials seized four hundred computers gathered by people in the U.S. and Canada for Cuban hospitals, and they refuse to return them. On February 7, the government launched a grand jury witchhunt against Pastors for Peace, the solidarity movement's leading force, and made sweeping demands for private records.

As Clinton and his crowd move to toughen the embargo and codify it into law through the Helms-Burton bill, they are seeking to cripple domestic opposition to their plans. And these people are brazen enough to accuse Castro of being undemocratic!

The U.S. took its Cuba-bashing campaign to the U.N., where it bullied the Security Council into "strongly deploring" Cuba's action against the invading planes. But in the global arena, the U.S. is playing to a tough crowd; probably no other country has consistently done as much for the world's oppressed peoples as has revolutionary Cuba.

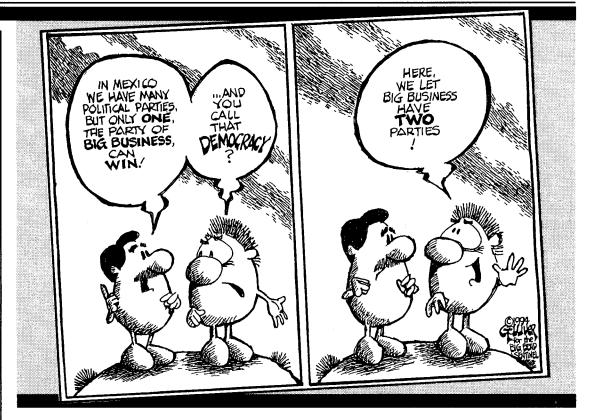
Now it is time to repay the debt, because only an international mobilization can back down the U.S. The Cuban government took an important step in this direction when it issued a call to all friends of Cuba to denounce the seizure of the computers.

MUCH MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE - and U.S. sympathizers will be crucial in making it all happen. Pastors for Peace will need public and legal support to resist the grand jury subpoena of documents. The pressure on Washington to release the technology stolen at the borders must be escalated. Outreach needs to be stepped up to win increased backing from organized labor, people of color, women, lesbians and gays, and other activists.

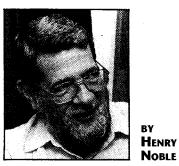
Readers can help. Call your elected representatives and demand the return of the computers and the lifting of the embargo. And get out into the streets! On March 22, the subpoena deadline, many major cities will hold rallies to protest the inquisition against Pastors and to show solidarity with five Cuba defenders who are on a "Fast for Life" in San Diego. Other demonstrations are sure to follow; call Pastors at (612) 870-7121 for updates.

¡Abajo el bloqueo! Down with the blockade!

Nationalize healthcare to solve Medicare crisis



Tongue in Cheek A retiree's work is never done



very new stage in life brings a new reality to be faced, and retire-ment is no exception. At the center where I exercise, veteran retirees warn those new to this status about the "Honey, do" jar. This is the receptacle that one's roommates have filled up over the years with an ominous collection of chores that must be dodged if we are to indulge in the cruises, golf matches, and fishing that are rightfully due

Or at least this is the timehonored notion of retirement we grew up with. The 18thcentury French writer Voltaire created for his characters Candide and Pangloss a simple retired life of cultivating gardens and munching pistachios.

I know one recent retiree with similar aspirations who set the answering machine to notify callers, "I'm retired now, and I may return your call if I get around to it.

But my friend Gene, a fellow Boeing graduate, only smiles wryly at the idea of lifestyle in which every day is Saturday. He's caring for a new grandson, repairing flood damage to his home, and battling to protect the pension that our ex-employer is eager to cut.

Gene is one of hundreds of ex-wage-slaves I'm meeting who experience anything but

to us after forty years of labor. repose. They're angry and involved. A favorite button at a recent labor rally read, "Our Golden Handshake Was a Golden Shower!"

So when retiree organizer Jackie proposed that we ex-Boeing workers march to the company's employment office and demand our jobs back, we almost took her up on it.

As it turns out, retirement is no escape from working. It's a grand opportunity for different work: sharing talents with other skilled and wily survivors to wrest back for our own use, and the use of those who follow, the wealth we created during our workforce years.

Young radicals were once supposed to distrust anyone over thirty. But in fact, they can find among the fifty-plus generation a multitude of militant allies - ones who have the time to fight back! \Box

Book Review Profile of courage against redbaiters and courts

They Refused to Name

This is a book that should refiled against the organization over an eight-year period of time are staggering, and should give all activists pause to wonder how courageous they would be in similar circumstances. But the FSP showed "Tenacity, tenacity, tenacity" - in the words of their National Chairperson, Clara Fraser, quoting Leon Trotsky—and eventually they won. I won't tell you how. You're going to have to go get the booklet vourself. It will be worth it!

PRESIDENT CLINTON HOPES that voters have a short memory. In 1991, when he won office by championing universal healthcare, 37 million people were uninsured. Today, they still are. But it gets worse: the government insurance programs that do cover elderly and poor people, Medicare and Medicaid, are under the bipartisan knife.

Forecasters predict that these institutions will soon begin to hemorrhage red ink, in large measure because of skyrocketing healthcare costs. So, to "save" Medicare and Medicaid, the politicians are pressing for radical surgery.

Clinton, who poses as a guardian of these programs, wants to slash \$54 billion from Medicaid. And he lines right up with Gingrich et al. in advocating deregulation of providers, privatization schemes, and increasing reliance on corporate HMOs — whose payments from the government he would like to *raise* by 10 percent!

The Republicans, not to be outdone in gift-giving to the rich, sought to take one hundred billion dollars of savings wrung from Medicare and put it into the general Treasury where it would help to fund their coveted \$245 billion in tax cuts, mostly for the affluent.

SO WHO WROTE THE RULE that says corporations must be allowed to make money from people's pain and suffering, anyway? There's a simple, logical, and humane solution to the Medicare/Medicaid problem. It's way past time to take the profits out of the medical industry: let's nationalize healthcare.

Names: The Freeway Hall Case Victory.

Seattle: Red Letter Press, 1995. 48 pages, 20 photos, \$4.00.

BY BILL JOHNSTON

o tell the truth, I can't remember where I purchased my copy of They Refused to Name Names, a quick 50-page read on what became known as the Freeway Hall Case.

Not only that, but I have to admit I picked it up at 3:00 a.m. one morning figuring it would almost certainly cure me of the insomnia I was suffering. It didn't. Two hours later I realized I had breezed through this interesting little legal soap opera and was still quite awake!

My reading of the history of the American legal system has never convinced me the American courts should be held in high regard — They Refused to Name Names just added to that perception.

scare the nell out of anyone who belongs to, works for or believes in progressive, labor or radical organizations. It shows how the law works one way for some and another for those individuals or groups who are not "economically correct" in the system's eyes.

For six years a disgruntled former member of the Freedom Socialist Party dragged the officers of the organization through the court system in an attempt to recover a contribution freely given years before. At every juncture the courts allowed this ridiculous lawsuit to move forward, when it never would have been allowed to do so had the agency receiving the contribution been United Way or a church.

But the Freedom Socialists are not on the courts' "approval list." Their opponent was given the benefit of every doubt. He no longer questioned the system as they do.

The motions filed and

As the Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild's Administrative Officer, Bill Johnston makes defense of civil liberties a union priority. The Guild is a pillar of support in reporter Sandy Nelson's case against The News Tribune.

To order copies of They Refused to Name Names, please use the form provided with the ad on the facing page.

Letters to the Editor

QUEBEC SOVEREIGNTY

Shared perspectives

There seems to be much common ground between your analysis and that of Fourth International supporters in Quebec ("Quebec Independence a Step Forward for All Workers," Vol. 16 No. 3). Our comrades are involved in the Popular Network for a Yes! Vote, which makes similar arguments.

International Viewpoint Paris

Message appreciated

Good to hear such a refreshing message! Thanks a lot! **D. Chartier**

Montreal, Quebec

Simplistic treatise

Simplistic and chock full of inaccuracies best sums up your article. If this is an example of the intellectual rigour of the left, our cause is doomed.

Lech Lesiak isspll@awpemc.awpemc.awp.com

Commonality as workers

While I support unequivocally the right of national selfdetermination, as a socialist I believe that in the long run the Quebecois will only really be free when they unite with the entire North American working class to defeat capitalism.

The English ruling class is bringing out all its jingoistic propaganda and rallying the boys around the flag, setting back class struggle in Canada many years. For this reason it is necessary to not only defend Quebecois rights, but to always point out the commonality of workers' struggles everywhere. Harry Paine

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Will independence benefit First Nations?

I am not convinced the proposed independent government would support First Nations peoples' claims. With a desperation to compete in a North American economy, the needs of First Nations may be "put aside." I can only see that ending in stalemate, or possibly violence. However, I agree

SOCIALISM FOR SKEPTICS Revolution needed

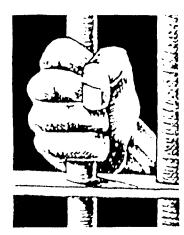
to abolish privilege

In a letter in Vol. 16 No. 2, MarcTooley asserts that socialism will never be more than a dream by asking: Under socialism, how can you ensure that a man (sic) gets out of the system exactly what he puts into it? He also states that with hard work and ingenuity, clever men (sic) can make it to the same top as the power elite.

In one sense, Tooley is right. Men, and other privileged groups, have used capitalism to maintain avenues that allow only them to be rewarded for their work and initiative.

Though I am not a Leninist, I am coming to see that an allencompassing revolution will be needed to achieve justice. **George Morrison**

Louisville, Kentucky



BULLETINS FROM PRISON

NBC slanders Ohio-7

On October 1, NBC aired "In the Line of Duty: The Hunt for Justice." The movie was billed as the "true story" of the government hunt for anti-imperialist political fugitives who were called the Ohio-7.

Besides casting the Ohio-7 in a negative light and the government in a heroic one, a totally fabricated element was included in the movie. Richard Williams, one of the Ohio-7, was shown as cooperating and providing information to the FBI. *This is absolutely false*. No defendant, including Williams, ever was a government witness or collaborator.

no release date.

This slanderous lie [against Williams] has the stink of the FBI COINTELPRO on it. It's designed to cause mental anguish and physical attack. Jaan Laaman, Ohio-7

Leavenworth federal prison, Kansas

"Better life" in West a lie

I'm recently incarcerated. My crime was related to the poor health care of this state and country. I thought that once in prison, I'd get better health care. Wrong! We don't even have true physicians.

I'mfrom the former Czechoslovakia. I was deceived by the multinational capitalist propaganda about a "better life" in the West for the working man. Now I know that socialism has its own values! Even the "hated" communism gave something back to the people (free education or Medicare).

After all I've experienced, I'm a strong propagator of socialist ideas. Today I know that Trotsky was right and Stalin terribly wrong! All I'm missing is a good socialist publication. Would you send me some copies of your awesome paper?

Jároslav Kukla #739412 McNeil Island Correction Center, P.O. Box 881000, Steilacoom, WA 98388-1000

Yes; we send gift subscriptions to prisoners upon request. —Ed.

SCHOOLS UNDER FIRE

Unions must play offense

Please write more on the capitalist crisis and corporate and bipartisan attacks on "public" education (Vol. 16 No. 4, "Public Schools Under Fire.")

Please explain why unions only play defense with no offense. Seems like these "tactics" always get workers pinned back to their own five yard line. With this method and pro-Democrats doorbell ringing calls for '96, school employees will keep getting a thrashing from the school boards and other political henchmen of the rich.

Karl Roman Los Angeles



Clara Fraser

Socialism for Skeptics VII: Looking Backward at the Year 2000

THAT NEW YEAR'S DAY I LOST MY JOB at Boeing was the day I decided that I, Cheryl Jordan, had had enough. Standing in the unemployment line and thinking about the poor woman in Mexico now getting a dollar a day for the work that paid me \$12 an hour was the last straw.

I found a job as a nurse's aide in a big new HMO. The week I started, the employees won union representation.

But contract negotiations stalled. The bosses wanted to make a mockery of patient care with low wages, long shifts or reduced hours, relentless speedup, and cuts in service.

We went on strike the same week that federal employees walked out nationally. For four years they had been yanked around at budget time, deprived for weeks of their paychecks, as people were ruthlessly cut off from vital programs.

The new Labor Party called for a general strike.

A year earlier, the idea might have given me pause, out of concern for my two children. But I couldn't support a family on HMO wages — and, by god, there had to be more to working than just managing to stay alive so you could keep on slaving away. A battle was underway for worker dignity, and I had to join it, to be true to my class, my color and my kind.

THE GENERAL STRIKE was a huge success in terms of participation, but the government wouldn't budge. Radicals were saying we needed to make arrangements ourselves to provide food, electricity, heat and medical care for the public.

My union wanted to occupy the neighborhood clinics. I was on the Planning Committee.

When we proposed this to the local Labor Council, a handful of bureaucrats who had survived the shakeup a few years back were afraid we would bring the military down on our heads; the National Guard had already murdered strikers in Illinois and Mississippi.

But I saw no reason why the soldiers shouldn't be on our side, and I said so. Weren't they as mistreated as we were by a system that used them and threw them away? (It was the first time I'd spoken in front of so many people!)

After intense debate, the Labor Council approved our plan.

THE ARMY WAS WAITING FOR US at the clinics. We appealed to them: "Brothers and Sisters, don't fire on us. We are your families, your neighbors, your friends. We're fighting for a better life for you, too." They didn't shoot. We embraced instead, and cheers resounded.

They were mostly kids, lots of them African American. I've never been prouder of my people than at that heart-stopping moment when the youngsters retreated from the doorway to let us pass.

And how much I learned in that first heady experience when we actually ran the clinics! How competent we became, and how thrilling it was to understand the great power that was ours to wield.

Strikers all around the country took over their job sites as well. The army was in disarray — whole groups of soldiers would break ranks and bring us their weapons.

Still the strike was deadlocked. And soon the socialists were gaining everyone's attention. They explained that the only way to end poverty and racism and sexism and war was to change the economic system so it functioned along collective lines, where nobody could exploit another for profit. They called for a massive March on Washington and advocated that we occupy key government buildings and seize state power!

that a step needs to be taken. **KSC**

kimchal7@aol.com

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Several readers pointed out that the population of Québec is onequarter of Canada's total, not one-third, as we wrote. —Ed. Williams was convicted for conspiracy, bombing, and shooting a state trooper. He received a double life sentence from New Jersey and 45 years in federal court. Like three other Ohio-7 prisoners, he has spent 11 years in prison with Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphics, photographs, and resource information. Letters may be edited for length. Please write to 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98118, or e-mail us at freedomsoc@igc.apc.org.

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We saw that the power was in us, and we strode ahead to *claim* that power. When the speeches were over, we streamed into the White House, announcing that the working class was now in charge. All the bosses' hired guns had deserted them, and I never even had to take out my medical kit.

That giant March on Washington, in retrospect, had grown up to become a revolution — America's Third, this one to complete the other two.

After that, everything happened at once. A new government was formed, based on councils like the soviets in the early USSR and administered by the most popular socialist leaders. The exciting work of revamping the entire political structure began. A brand new day was dawning, a new world was about to be born. And I was one of the midwives. But that's a tale for another time. \Box



April-June 1996

NATO occupies Bosnia under cover of keeping peace

BY LINDA AVERILL

n the name of bringing peace, the U.S. has dispatched 20,000 troops to Bosnia and Herzegovina — with orders to shoot and kill any Bosnians who resist.

Not far away, workers are increasingly rebelling against the chaotic and disastrous attempt to reimpose capitalism in Russia and in Eastern Europe, where 75 million people have become destitute since 1989. The imperialists will do everything they can to prevent this kind of protest in Yugoslavia and their armies in Bosnia will come in handy should they have to help one of the new "free-market" regimes in the former Soviet bloc put down an insurgency of its own

people. With Novem-

8

ber's accord in Dayton, Ohio, the U.S. seized the initiative from its European allies as top "peace" cop for the region. Bill

Clinton's shameful deal gives the official stamp of approval to the goal that the super-nationalist leaders of Croatia and Serbia, Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic, have pursued with such devastating fervor: the establishment of ethnic-based enclaves upon the war-torn foundations of multi-ethnic Yugoslavia.

Obviously, the Western powers are not sending in 60,000 NATO troops in order to save Bosnia. The occupation is designed instead to strengthen each of

in the area and to keep control of the country's future out of the hands of the Bosnian working class.

The West establishes control. The imperialists are none too subtle

about their self-interest. For example: The Dayton agreement, ratified in Paris in December, stipulates that an International Monetary Fund governor will run Bosnia's Central Bank.

 A speedy timetable was set for the establishment of a new constitutional system and for "internationally supervised" elections. The latter are scheduled to be held before elections in the U.S., so that Clinton can claim another victory for the march of peace and

democracy under his watch as president.

 European governments are exploiting the accord to justify expelling Bosnian refugees, who total about three

million. Germany plans to begin deporting its 320,000 refugees in July.

The extent of Germany's influence in Bosnia can be seen in the fact that the deutsche mark is now the only currency used in common by all the country's peoples.

The big lie: "ethnic rivalry" to blame. Germany, in fact, played a big role in starting the war in the former Yugoslavia when it encouraged the 1991 secessions of Croatia and Slove-

their economic and political positions nia, two relatively prosperous republics in which Germany has massive investments.

> The breakup of the Yugoslav workers state provoked an inevitable scramble for territory, political power and economic domination among the republics themselves and among the nations of Europe.

Western politicians and media paint the conflict as a senseless one that exploded out of long-ingrained interregional hatreds. This is the standard lie use to rationalize aggression against any region of the world left in turmoil by imperialist maneuvering or colonialism, like Somalia.

So, for example, a March New York Times picked up at random not only jingoistically characterizes Africa on its front page as "a continent long bedeviled by ethnic rivalries," but also automatically describes the contending Bosnian forces on page three as "long-warring." As if the U.S. weren't more inflamed over issues of race and nationality than almost any other place on earth!

In fact, the post-World-War-II Serbs, Croats, and Muslims, who were united for the first time in the fight against fascism and for socialism, provided a shining model of ethnic harmony and cooperation.

Now the racist U.S. propaganda mills are broadcasting the news that Iranians are supposedly operating secret "terrorism" training centers for Bosnian Muslims. This opens the door for the U.S. and NATO to set yet more conditions on what Bosnians can do and whom they can do it with.



A U.S. soldier training in Italy for duty in Bosnia.

Profits vs. peace. Europe has always treated the Balkans as a playground for carnage and profit, and it is not about to change its stripes now. The U.S. is not in the peace business either; it is war and rumors of war that make the economy run.

These global overlords are not Bosnia's saviors, and never will be. Peace, self-determination, prosperity: these will have to be the achievements of the Bosnian people themselves, uniting once more against domestic exploiters as well as foreign invaders. The most helpful thing that people in capitalist countries around the world can do is to build strong anti-intervention movements and fight to topple the money-driven system at home. U.S. and NATO out!

Voices of Color

Looting by multinationals forces Canadian Natives onto warpath over land and resources

BY ANN ROGERS

hile Canada supplies troops for what it falsely calls peacekeeping and humanitarian missions around the globe, it hopes that nobody is watching what its military is doing at the same time at home: namely, com-

ment by Unocal Oil Co. is causing severe health problems and fatalities among the Lubicon Cree, especially the children.

The global overlords

will never be

Bosnia's saviors.

But the new level of thievery has provoked a new level of defense. Last year, Natives all across the country put their lives on the line to defend their territory. Three examples from a summer and autumn of militancy:



bands successfully reclaimed the Ipperwash military base in Ontario, which was created on land expropriated from the Chippewas in 1942 under the War Measures Act. They then occupied nearby Ipperwash Provincial Park, an anIn September, after International Forest Products began to blast roads through the forest, the Nuxalk and Heiltsuk blockaded access to King Island.

After an inspiring three-week standoff, the RCMP again attacked, arresting 22 people. The defendants were scheduled for trial and released, some of them after spending three weeks in jail. Refusing to recognize Canada's jurisdiction over them, they are now in hiding.

mitting genocide against Native peoples.

The traditional hunting and fishing grounds of First Nations contain most of Canada's remaining natural resources water, timber, oil, uranium, and other minerals. More aggressively than ever, the government is cooperating with transnational corporations to steal these resources.

The looting is spurred on by the North American Free Trade Agreement, which can supersede any Native, federal, or provincial law deemed to put up barriers against foreign investment. Basically, NAFTA dictates that what the multinationals want, Canada must provide.

While the corporations reap the profits that result from unchecked exploitation, the First Nations reap pollution of their environment, loss of means of livelihood, illness, and death. In northern Alberta, for instance, drilling and develop-

• Shuswap nation: This band's fight is over traditional ceremonial grounds at Gustafsen Lake in British Columbia. Though they never signed away this land to Canada, the government granted title to a U.S. cattle rancher.

When Shuswaps tried to reestablish themselves in the area, the government backed up the rancher's claim with the largest mobilization of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in the country's history — four hundred troops with heavy artillery and tanks.

After several confrontations, in which one Native was gravely wounded and police claim that two cops were shot but not seriously injured, the RCMP in September surrounded the Natives and arrested them.

Two Gustafsen Lake defenders remain in jail facing attempted murder charges. They are seeking a jury trial in which they can present their case for sovereignty to the public.

• Kettle and Stony Point nation (Chippewa): These cestral burial site.

On September 6, the **Ontario** Provincial Police moved in and fired on the unarmed Natives, killing Anthony (Dudley) George. In just two days, two thousand Aboriginal people assembled for George's funeral.

Officials have now acknowledged the Native claim to the Ipperwash territory, al-though it is not yet certain that they will

actually honor it.

• Nuxalk and Heiltsuk nations: The B.C. Ministry of Forests gave permission this summer to several logging companies to start clear-cutting the old-growth Great Coastal Forest. But this forest is the traditional home of the Nuxalk and Heiltsuk nations, who have never ceded the land to Canada.

Youth and women show leadership. Many of the Natives involved in these occupations are young people. They are impatient with the government's endless stalling over land claims and angry about the often desperate quality of life for Aboriginal people, who experience Canada's highest rates of poverty, infant mortality, unemployment, crime, alcoholism, and suicide. It is clear to them that bold action must be taken to halt the steady extermination of their culture and ways of subsisting.

The occupations and blockades are pressuring tribal leaders to be more aggressive, prompting the formation of support groups across Canada, and generally helping to spark a resurgence of Native protest to page 4