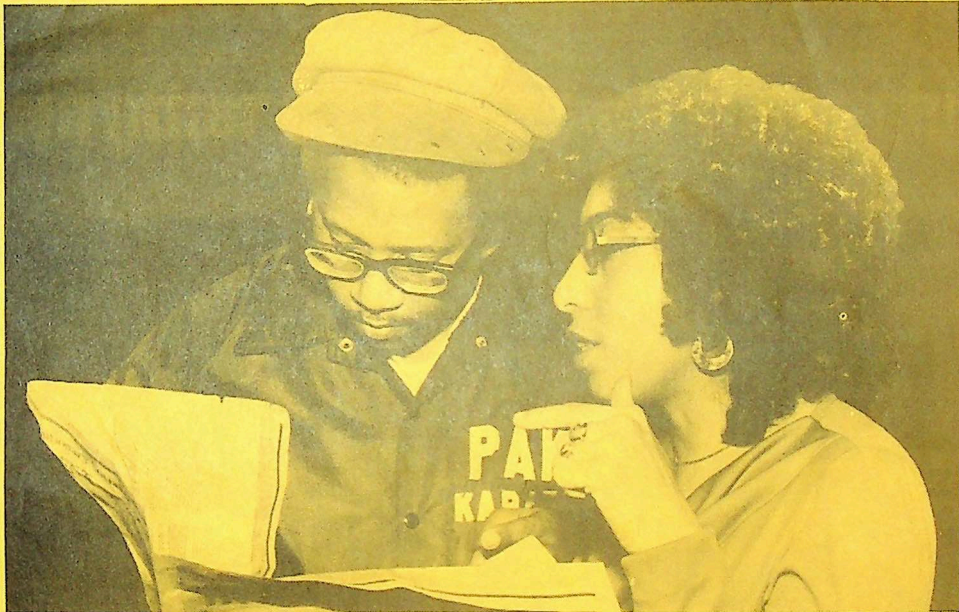


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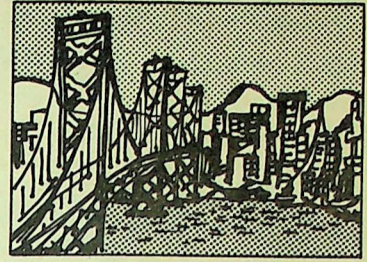
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# the freedom socialist

Volume 5, Number 2

Summer 1979



*San Francisco  
Is No Gay Mecca*  
pg. 9

# THE GREAT NUCLEAR REACTION

by Janet Sutherland  
and Cindy Walker

The near-disaster at Three Mile Island on March 28 riveted world attention onto the hornet's nest of nuclear energy production.

As a reactor in the plant spilled 250,000 gallons of radioactive effluent and vented unknown quantities of lethal steam over the surrounding countryside, the world press descended on nearby Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Reversing its 20-year disparagement of antinuclear protest, the media unearthed information that sounded a shrill alarm and oriented the populace to even greater dangers than this technological failure.

In-depth investigative news reporting produced an indictment of the entire nuclear industry as well as the corrupt system that supports it: monopoly-domination by Big Oil; profiteering at public expense; an underdeveloped and unrefined technology; sell-out by government "regulators"; coverup of research evidence that even low-level radiation from nuclear waste increases the cancer risk to workers; planned genocide of Native American uranium miners; the collusion of government and business in discouraging safer modes of energy production; and so on, ad infinitum.

Stirred by the reality, working people are becoming increasingly receptive to the program for change offered by Marxists. It remains only for the internally contradictory antinuclear movement, conceived in the middle class, to take the distinct turn to the left necessary for it to become a broad-based movement tied to the working class and the unions.

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On the cover: Chimneys of death, the new symbols of the nuclear age. Graphic by Marcel Hatch.

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Led by militant women and Blacks, Newport News shipyard workers fought the company, the NLRB, and their own union (USWA) — and returned to work on their own terms. Ann Manly and Henry Noble assess the struggle.



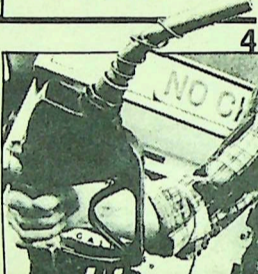
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A criminally contrived gas shortage rocks the economy, the government, and the American way of life. Stephen Durham tells how Carter and the energy barons are having a ball while life is disrupted for the rest of us.



## Jesse Jackson's Gospel 12

Madlyne Scott and Tom Boot say that the Black community can do without Rev. Jackson's current sermons on boot-strap-pulling, blaming the victim, and the sins of feminism.



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## the freedom socialist

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## Letters

### Never Too Late

I was out of the country when your appeal came for funds for the Freeway Hall Eviction Fund. I hope the enclosed \$50.00 is not too late—I know it is too little!

J. Weizenbaum  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

*Donations are never too little—  
or too large! Thank you so much  
for your generosity. It's people like  
you who keep us afloat.*

### Tell Us Again

Thank you for your Spring 1979 newspaper.

Your coverage of the China-Vietnam-Kampuchea conflict is very good.

With more and more information coming out, many friends of Vietnam are putting together an "Evening of Solidarity with Vietnam." Enclosed are copies of material.

I'm with the Peace and Freedom Party (Alameda County).

Shirley Lee  
Oakland, California

### Grazia!

I have sent you an international money order of \$15, as witness of our international solidarity with you. If you have need, I can also give you hospitality if you are visiting Italy.

Braccini Marcello,  
for the "International Current" of  
the Partito Socialista Italiano  
Torino, Italy

### Frame-Up

Zikisa Seba-Ra, 22, also known as Anita M. Jones, a black woman law student at Morgan State College, Maryland, was arrested by Baltimore police on December 4, and charged with the robbery of two people.

On November 10, a female and two males allegedly robbed James Harrison and Jeanette Holeman, a female guest in his home. The thieves allegedly raped Holeman.

Zikisa was arrested at gun point. Six policemen entered her apartment without a search warrant and ransacked it. No guns or loot from the robbery were found, yet the police forced Zikisa to submit to a "pat" search, running their hands over her body.

Harrison could not and did not identify Zikisa. But after the police showed him her photograph and strongly suggested her as the most likely suspect, he did identify her.

Ms. Holeman, who was blindfolded during the ordeal, also identified Zikisa.

Don't let an innocent person be framed and condemned to life in prison! Please offer assistance to Zikisa Seba-Ra, c/o Rosie M. Jones, Box 1924, Towson State University, Towson, Maryland 21204.

### Doctrinairism

Kadima, a group committed to fighting anti-Semitism and all forms of oppression, and to achieving a just peace in the Middle East, strongly disagrees with the Anti-Defamation League on the Weber case. . . The ADL opposes affirmative action programs because they

involve "quotas," and quotas have historically been used to discriminate against Jews.

As Jews, we understand these concerns. . . however, we cannot afford to be doctrinaire.

There are times when stated numbers serve not as a form of exclusion, but rather as insurance of inclusion. The affirmative action program in dispute in the Weber case was necessary to insure the inclusion of Black people as potential members of the notoriously discriminatory skilled trades.

We further believe that angry cries of "reverse discrimination" will not stop until there are sufficient jobs for all.

Nancy Geiger, Robbie Stern,  
Charna Klein  
Seattle, Washington

### Towards Theoretical Clarity

Some constructive criticism on the Spring issue. . .

In the article "Iran" . . . you omitted the struggle of the national minorities.

On the role of women, we have no question as to the potential of Iranian women to impel the revolution to the left. Our acquaintance with revolutionary Iranian women and our exposure to

cannot reform itself, even in response to left mass opposition. Instead, a political revolution will be necessary to achieve an end to the Stalinist bureaucracy in China.

Fred Brode,  
John Dickerson,  
Roy Simmons  
Houston, Texas

### Editor's Response

The armed struggle of the national minorities is discussed in this issue. We certainly agree on the importance of the question.

We contend that women's rights did propel the left forward in Iran. The first mass demonstrations challenging Khomeini from the left were organized by and for women, and these protests deepened, strengthened and extended the anticapitalist revolution. Every revolutionary tendency had to grapple with the valid demands raised by the women. By putting Khomeini on notice for the first time that reactionary moves would be met with massive opposition, the women showed the way to mass struggle against post-Shah, Islamic capitalism.

We agree that Kampuchea became a workers state—if grotesquely deformed—when private

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FEMINIST/SOCIALIST WAY.

B. GVENTHER

PULLMAN, WA.



FSP/RW theory convinces us of the leadership ability of Iranian women. However. . . the FSP was premature in stating that "the slogan of the liberation of women has become the focus and rallying point for the radical opposition." This statement of revolutionary potential as fact detracts from an otherwise fine article.

On Kampuchea, you say that the KNUFNS has promised to rebuild agriculture, industry and the cities, and this would be an enormous step forward on the road to a Kampuchean workers state, implying that the Khmer Rouge state was not. What was it? We believe Kampuchea became a workers state when the Lon Nol regime was overthrown by the Khmer Rouge, resulting in nationalization of all land. Certainly, the regime of Pol Pot was an extremely backward, deformed workers state, but because the destruction of both private property and private accumulation of surplus value occurred, it is a workers state nevertheless.

On Deng's visit, do you think it is possible that the left opposition from the Chinese masses really has the potential of forcing the Chinese leadership into a revolutionary direction? It is our position that the bureaucratic Chinese leadership

property and land were nationalized. At the time the article was written, we were facing an unprecedented and unique social formation which demanded careful analysis, and we had not yet arrived at this position.

We still tend to think that the heroic Chinese masses could force the CCP in a revolutionary, internationalist direction and could replace the present leadership short of a political revolution. The Chinese workers have never been defeated by the bureaucracy, and have not yet tested their enormous power.

Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphics, photographs, and pertinent information on world and national affairs for publication. All material will be carefully considered by the Editorial Board.

Se comunica a los señores lectores que nos pueden enviar para publicación cartas con sus opiniones, nuevos relatos, comentarios, caricaturas, gráficos, fotografías, y toda clase de información sobre sucesos nacionales o extranjeros. Todo el material que nos sea enviado será cuidadosamente considerado por el Consejo de nuestra Editorial.





# International Roundup

*Binding all countries together with its mode of production and its commerce, capitalism has converted the whole world into a single economic and political organism.* —Leon Trotsky

## Iran

**T**he Iranian revolution continues to gather strength. The Khomeini/Bazargan government, maneuvering to contain the masses who brought down the Shah in February, faces increasingly strong and widespread opposition to its Islamic capitalist regime.

Women were the first sector to organize massive resistance to the despotic rule of the mullahs. Enraged revolutionary women demanded full emancipation and equal rights, and bitterly denounced their subservient status under Islamic law.

Iran's hundreds of thousands of national minorities are waging military warfare against the government in order to win their right to self-determination and an end to oppression by the Persian majority. The Turkmeni, Kurds, and Arab minorities are all demonstrating militant opposition to the new regime; the Arab provinces of Khuzestan in southern Iran—the center of the oil industry—is the scene of particularly heavy fighting. *Hundreds of Arab oil workers have been killed or wounded by Khomeini's troops.*

May Day found hundreds of thousands in the streets of Tehran. One major demonstration was called by the Marxist guerrilla organization, the Fedayeen, and the other was called by the government. One-to-two hundred thousand people participated in each. The Fedayeen demanded nationalization of industry, while the government raised anticommunist slogans.

On the evening of May 1, a leading ayatollah, Morteza Motahari, was assassinated by the Forghan, an underground, fundamentalist Moslem group opposed to clerical rule. Despite the left's condemnation of the assassination, the government exploited it to justify an anticommunist campaign. Members of the Fedayeen and the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party have been jailed, and press censorship has been imposed throughout the country.

But the masses, conquerors of the bloody Shah, are not about to acquiesce to repression by the Moslem clergy. A Fedayeen-led demonstration of 50,000 called for the release of Fedayeen and the Socialist Workers Party militants. The demand for release of the

prisoners has been taken up by a wide spectrum of Iranians—workers, students, writers, and intellectuals. Protests of the arrests have also come from New Zealand, Denmark, France and the U.S.

Permanent revolution is raging in Iran—the transition from capitalist democracy to the overthrow of the bourgeois clerical regime and the institution of true workers democracy.

## Mideast

**S**igned in late March amid angry Arab protest, the Israeli-Egyptian peace pact is predictably intensifying the conflict in the Middle East.

Although the treaty binds Israel to establishing autonomy for Palestinians in the occupied territories, the Begin government has not stemmed its repression against them. New Israeli settlements are being authorized, and the government imposes strict 22-hour curfews at any hint of protest.

Palestinian students are being terrorized and schools closed down. Bir Zeit University, one of only two Palestinian colleges, was shut down May 2. The Israelis systematically cripple Palestinian leadership by blocking education and forcing emigration.

The treaty ensures the replacement of Palestinian workers by offering Israel access to a cheap labor pool of Egyptians, who are being driven into Israel by Egypt's intolerable working conditions and a faltering economy.

Egypt is already paying a heavy price for Sadat's dream of replacing the Shah of Iran as guardian of U.S. interests in the Mideast. The U.S. provides only enough weapons to equip Egypt to protect continued U.S. access to Mideast oil.

Egypt is suffering heavy economic sanctions from Arab countries as a result of the treaty. Saudi Arabia cancelled orders for Egyptian-manufactured weapons, Kuwait removed its deposits from Egyptian banks, and the Islamic Conference denied Egypt millions of dollars in development monies.

Further isolating itself from most of its neighbors, Egypt furnishes troops to fight the insurgents in North Yemen and Oman. And when resistance to this policy surfaced in

the Egyptian military, Sadat increased army officers' pay by 20 percent.

Business as usual prevails in the Mideast, exposing the treaty as an elaborate screen for a deal with U.S. imperialism, which further exploits Egyptian and Israeli workers and cynically sacrifices the Palestinians.

The peace treaty poured salt in the festering wounds of the tortured Mideast.

## A pair of old salts

Carter and Brezhnev embraced for the cameras after checkmating the worn chessboard pieces of SALT II. Their celebration was akin to a wedding of incompatibles who feign fidelity and cheat every chance they get. For behind the scene of the sugary smiles and handshakes, the mad arms race continues unabated.

## Zimbabwe

**A**pril was election time in Zimbabwe, and the white minority government stage-managed the elections in order to ensure continued white rule. This has sparked a debate in the U.S. ruling class over the issue of lifting economic sanctions against the racist regime. In May, the U.S. Senate voted 75 to 19 to request Pres. Carter to lift the sanctions. When he refused, the Senate amended a \$40 million defense authorization bill so as to overturn Carter's support of sanctions.

Carter is forced to respect the Case-Javits amendment, passed by Congress in 1978, which allows the lifting of sanctions only if "free" elections are held in Zimbabwe and if the white government negotiates with all parties, including the Patriotic Front (which wants Black majority rule and is waging guerrilla war against the white regime).

Carter's hands are also tied by universal condemnation from U.S. Black organizations of the new puppet regime of Bishop Muzorewa.

The sham elections were based on a March 1978 constitution which guaranteed a disproportionate number of parliamentary seats for whites. Whites could vote twice—for 20 white positions and for 72 Black seats. **Blacks could vote only for Black candidates!**

The Patriotic Front, denied any participation in the election, advocated a boycott of the polls and pledged to disrupt the elections. Whites voted one week before Blacks did, and 100,000 troops were mobilized to protect the polls and to force Blacks into voting.

As soon as the Black compromiser Muzorewa was voted in, he demonstrated his ties to the former Ian Smith regime. He launched a bombing raid against Mozambique, where the Patriotic Front is based.

After the raid, Patriotic Front co-leader Robert Mugabe clearly analyzed Muzorewa. "It is the same regime," he said, "using the same instruments, the same tactics and the same strategy. It is a clear sign that Smith still rules the country."

## Great Britain



**V**irulent antifeminist Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Tories—the voice of the British bourgeoisie—took the helm of

government in early May.

Her ascension marked a grave defeat for Great Britain's working class, due in large measure to the betrayal by the officialdom of the Labour Party, led by former Prime Minister James Callaghan.

Thatcher, a stodgy representative of British imperialism, opposes abortion rights, equal pay, and gay rights, knowing full well that sexism and racism are the handiest routes to proletarian disunity. Unfortunately, *her goal of smashing labor is objectively aided by the labor bureaucrats themselves.*

Upon taking power in 1974, Labour promised "a fundamental shift in the balance of wealth and power in favor of working people." Instead, unemployment doubled, the earnings gap between women and men increased, and real wages decreased.

The winter of 1978-79, popularly dubbed "the winter of discontent," was marked by catapulting inflation, violent clashes between the fascist National Front and radicals, and massive strikes brought on by Callaghan's imposition of a 5% ceiling on wage increases—at a time when inflation stood at 9%!

The Labour government, in power, frantically tried to keep peace with the bourgeoisie by containing workingclass militancy. Its congenital inability to advance the workers' movement was glaringly exposed, and the way opened for the Tory victory.

The program of Thatcher's Conservative Party is a textbook in reaction—"law and order" campaigns, implacable opposition to abortion rights, continued subjugation of Northern Ireland and Scotland under British rule, attacks on the closed shop and the right to strike, and so on.

But British workers, after a winter of rank-and-file protest against the ruling labor bureaucracy itself, are girded for struggle.

As Tory attacks on labor, women and racial and national minorities magnify, the strike wave of last winter may well appear as a minor skirmish compared to the class war that British labor and its allies could wage against the rightwing government. A powerful left wing must be built in the trade unions and political organizations to mobilize and lead these embattled masses.







Doug Barnes, Freedom Socialist

## The energy crisis

# Blackmail at the gas pumps

by Stephen Durham

**I**n California, the lines of customers waiting for gasoline stretch for miles. The price of petroleum products rises almost daily.

And the giant oil corporations, pretending helplessness over the phony "crude oil shortage," are using American workers as hostages and raking in record profits.

Meanwhile, Jimmy Carter, the willing captive of the energy barons, poses as protector of the public interest, intoning fake conservation sermons as he blithely announces the removal of price controls on domestic oil. He buys a decorative wood-burning stove for the presidential mansion, even as the besieged automobile-dependent public nears panic.

Furious Americans, already falling behind in the race with runaway inflation and blackmailed by the contrived shortage of crude oil and gasoline, are forced to subsidize the oil cartels.

### Sham Shortage

There is no immediate shortage of world reserves of crude oil, and everybody seems to know it.

Underground oil is many years away

from being seriously depleted. The Middle East still has large reserves, and the U.S., which presently produces 50% of its domestic needs, can tap billions of existing and potential barrels of oil, enough to provide energy for decades. The Department of Energy claims a shortage of 500,000 barrels a day, but stocks salt caverns in Louisiana and Texas with 220,000 barrels a day to build up its Strategic Petroleum Reserves!

Since any petroleum held in reserve or left in the ground today will bring higher prices tomorrow, Big Oil and its presidential ally perpetrate the hoax of a worldwide shortage of petroleum to force the consumer to pay more for less. The oil industry stands publicly condemned of outright fraud and arrogant price manipulation for the second time.

### Drilling Pocketbooks

The oil moguls are deliberately refusing to drill oil or refine crude oil imports.

Domestic crude oil production has hit an all-time low, dropping 16% since last November. And the refiners slowed production from 85% of capacity to 83% during the first week of May in spite of unprecedented consumer demand for gasoline and pressure from the government to

stockpile heating oil for next winter. 1979 oil profits have already reached record levels, surpassed only during the 1973 oil embargo. During the first quarter of 1979, Exxon profits increased 37% over first quarter 1978. Texaco registered an 81% gain, and Standard Oil of Ohio reaped a staggering 303% increase.

These bumper-to-bumper profits come from drilling the consumer's pocket dry. During first quarter 1979, American workers suffered an annual rate of inflation of 24.9% for energy costs. And the oil corporations literally have the consumer over the barrel, since one-half of all U.S. energy is produced by using petroleum products.

### Carter Tilts at Windfalls

Promising even higher oil profits, Carter declared April 5th that he would decontrol domestic crude oil prices—exactly what the oil profiteers have long demanded. At the same time, armed with a "windfall profits tax" proposal, Carter tried to shore up his crumbling public-defender image by undertaking a mock battle against excessive oil profits.

Carter claimed this tax would capture 50% of the \$17 billion that the oil companies stand to gain as the domestic price of \$6 a barrel rises to the world market price by 1981. Within days, however, this beneficent vision was replaced by a more moderate proposal: a levy of 21% which would be allocated to an Energy Security Fund. However, the government proposes to use 76% of this fund to finance a search for new energy sources and then give the research results free to private interests for their enormously profitable development. Thus, taxpayers' money would be plowed right back into the corrupt energy industry from which it has supposedly been taken.

Carter, at the behest of the oil companies, refused to link Congressional approval of the windfall profits tax to his plans to decontrol oil prices. This virtually assured the defeat of the concessionary tax.

U.S. workers are neither impressed with Carter's confusing theatrics nor receptive to his lame explanations of the national energy shortage. 54% of 1600 people polled by Associated Press in April believe the energy crisis is a hoax.

### Iran As Scapegoat

The administration's favorite whipping boy for the energy crisis is the revolutionary upsurge in Iran. But the Iranian revolution never created a critical shortage of oil.

Iran's oil shutdown last December only temporarily disrupted the crude oil market, and oil exporting nations, especially Saudi Arabia, were quick to replace the 5.5 million barrels of oil per day withdrawn from the world market during the anti-Shah strikes and demonstrations. U.S. imports of crude oil have actually risen by 1.5 million barrels between December and March of this year, as reported by the International Energy Agency.

Carter also blames OPEC nations for the crisis, and they obligingly meet periodically to raise the price of oil on the world market, as happened in June. But foreign capitalist interests coincide with those at home—profit for the investor.

The scare campaign was engineered to convince the people that the day of energy reckoning had arrived. The myth that revolution abroad causes hardship at home is strenuously peddled to avoid the danger of revolt abroad spurring revolt at home.

### Methodical Madness

Carter's deceitful energy policies have enabled the oil companies to extort huge sums in consumer dollars to finance the development of future energy resources, while ignoring present needs.

"Decontrolled" domestic oil means more expensive energy, the failure of transportation-connected business such as tourism, loss of jobs, and staggering inflation as consumers plunge more deeply into debt. The energy capitalists prosper, and the people at the bottom—the poor, the old who live on fixed incomes, minorities, women and young people—face the spectre of slow starvation. The people are expected to underwrite the flailing capitalists by drastically reducing their own standard of living.

The labor movement must not surrender to the lies and manipulations of the energy imperialists and the government. Oil and all natural resources must be nationalized and managed by workers' control and the union movement must start planning now to provide for human needs by organizing a Labor Party that can break the energy barons' iron grip on the government.

Labor, united against Carter and his big business cohorts, could turn the tables on all of them and guarantee low-cost gas for our cars and buses, low-cost energy for our furnaces and lights, and safe, clean energy alternatives to our current petroleum-based technology.

A simple reordering of priorities from military to civilian consumption would also work miracles in restoring the energy equilibrium. ■

## Bank workers strike back

**A** two-year contest over union recognition seethes unabated in Seattle as Financial Institution Employees of America, chartered by the Retail Clerks Union, squares off against the union-busting Seattle First National Bank by using a weapon bankers understand all too well—the withdrawal of funds.

SeaFirst's contract with FIEA (formerly First-bank Independent Employees Association) expired in November 1977. Negotiations for a new contract were abruptly ended when management implemented a small wage increase which they called their "final offer," and announced their refusal to recognize FIEA's recently concluded affiliation with the Retail Clerks.

SeaFirst has completely refused to bargain, hoping to smash the union. When the National Labor Relations Board ordered SeaFirst to recognize the affiliation and resume bargaining in good

faith, management flatly refused and appealed the NLRB ruling to federal court, a procedure that could take two years.

To retaliate, the union struck a sharp blow right where it hurts—in the bank's coffers, denouncing SeaFirst's illegal antilaborism as well as its vast investments in South Africa and Chile.

FIEA, in a well-publicized campaign, called upon unions, organizations and individuals to withdraw their funds from SeaFirst. To date, more than \$76 million has been withdrawn in union funds by approximately 90 unions. It is not known how many other accounts were moved; requests to withdraw were sent to 13,000 FIEA supporters.

The bank's refusal to bargain has prompted rising anger among the employees, and the union is growing significantly. Emboldened by widespread community support, the workers are intensifying their fight, and that is something that SeaFirst can definitely bank on. ■

## Gas Lines Getting You Down?

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# WARS between workers states



*The bitter fruits of "socialism" in one country*

by Stephan Kass

**I**ndochina is once again in flames. In December 1978, Vietnamese troops poured across the border into Kampuchea, ousted the despotic Khmer Rouge regime, and have since supplied military backup for the National United Front for National Salvation (KNUFNS) which rules the country.

In swift retaliation, to "teach Vietnam a lesson," Chinese troops attacked north Vietnamese border provinces.

The long shadow cast by the Soviet Union, meanwhile, fell on all three countries, and the bourgeois press gleefully announced that communism couldn't end war any more than capitalism.

Indeed, great damage has been wreaked by this war among workers states. The unhappy spectacle of the revolutionary masses of China, Vietnam, and Kampuchea turning their fire against each other could disorient world revolution and open up dangerous avenues for imperialist intervention.

Nevertheless, liberation struggles rage unabated, and they reflect, even if unconsciously, the *internationalist alternative to Stalinist degeneration—Trotskyism, the continuation of genuine Marxism.*

As perplexing as are the developments in Southeast Asia, the tragedy can be understood and combated through the use of Marxist theory and, in particular, the Trotskyist explanation of Stalinism, which rests on a scientific analysis of the bureaucratically deformed workers states that mark the political landscape.

## Socialism-in-No-Country

Stalinist and semi-Stalinist regimes rationalize war against other workers states on the basis of the long discredited notion of "socialism in one country"—the belief that a total system of socialism can be established in a single country, based on *internal* forces of production alone.

If such a nationalistic and utopian "socialism" is actually possible, then war is obviously justified to protect socialism at home against socialism abroad.

The question is, can socialism itself exist in geographical isolation?

The answer—according to Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and life—is no.

Proletarian revolutions can collectivize the means of production and can institute rudimentary planning, but they are still at the mercy of restricted productive forces that are inadequate to abolish want and hardship—and a plentitude of goods and services is the material basis for socialism.

Socialism is the organization of a planned and harmonious social production for the satisfaction of human wants. Collective ownership of the means of production is not yet socialism, but only its legal premise. The problem of a socialist society cannot be abstracted from the problem of the productive forces, which at the present stage of human development are world wide in their very essence. The separate state having become too

narrow for capitalism, is so much the less capable of becoming the arena for a finished socialist society.

—Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*

Workers states, by overthrowing capitalism and collectivizing the means of production, have advanced living and cultural standards well beyond those of neo-colonial, underdeveloped, capitalist states. This is why Marxists unconditionally defend workers states, which are historically progressive, against retrogressive imperialism. Yet, to this day, all workers states remain dependent on the international market, which is capitalist.

And this economic dependency fuels the flames of internecine conflicts among competing workers state bureaucracies, who wage war, often in concert with their imperialist allies, to protect their own narrow, ethnocentric, nationalist interests.

"Socialist" nationalism is anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, and counterrevolutionary. Socialism does *not* mean the *dependence* of a revolutionary society on the international division of labor under capitalism. Socialism *does* mean the destruction and transformation of the capitalist economy on a *global* basis, so that a truly new communal culture can arise out of an economy of plenty.

Socialism in one country is the negation and death-knell of true socialism.

## Origins of Stalinist Dogma

The appalling theory of socialism in one country originally evolved from the reformist outlook of the Second International.

The conception of the building of socialism in one country is a social-patriotic conception. The patriotism of the German social democrats began as a legitimate patriotism to their own party, the most powerful party of the Second International. On the basis of the highly developed German technology and the superior organizational qualities of the German people, the German social democracy prepared to build its "own" socialist society.

—Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin*

Under this jingoistic banner, the corrupted Second International acquiesced as hundreds of thousands of proletarians of many lands slaughtered each other in the First World War.

The fallen banner of proletarian internationalism was rescued by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

The Third International, a great achievement of the victorious Russian Revolution, proceeded to formulate strategy and coordinate tactics for extending proletarian revolution throughout the world. The new International was democratic centralist instead of nationalist in order to consolidate the revolutionary movement against the highly centralized bourgeois counterrevolution.

Lenin regarded as anathema the idea that the Russian Revolution was a local phenomenon that could result in a socialist society sufficient unto itself.

At the Third Congress of Soviets in January

1918, Lenin said, "*Of course the final victory of socialism in one country is impossible, but something else is possible: a living example, a getting to work—somewhere in one country—that is what will set fire to the toiling masses of all countries.*"

So foreign was one-nation socialism to the Bolsheviks that even Stalin wrote in 1924 that "for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially a peasant country like Russia, are not enough—for this we must have the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries."

From the destitution of Russia in the wake of World War I and the decimation of the most advanced sections of the proletariat in the Civil War that followed the October Revolution, a

to page 18

*The entire course of the revolution in Indochina has been marked by Soviet and Chinese attempts to bargain with U.S. imperialism over the fate of the Vietnamese revolution.*





# Blacks, women lead the way

## Southern labor hangs tough at Newport News

by Ann Manly and Henry Noble

**A**fter a four-month-long strike marked by unprecedented solidarity and militance on the part of steelworkers and their nationwide supporters—and by viciousness and violence on the part of the cops and the company—members of USWA Local 8888 went back to work at the world's largest private-sector shipyard at Newport News, Virginia on April 21.

The strike was called to force Tenneco, the multinational oil conglomerate that owns the yard, to recognize the union, which was legally certified in January 1978. And though the issue is still tied up in the courts, the Steelworkers went back to work "on our own terms," to organize inside the yards.

The shipyard employs 15,000 workers, of whom 60% are Black and 2,000 are women, many of them veterans of the civil rights and affirmative action wars. And the fighting power of the women and Blacks has been spectacular, given the backdrop of the open shop stronghold that is the South today.

### Sticking to the Union

Since 1940, the workers had been represented by Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA), a company union formed to head off a CIO organizing drive. Black workers were disgusted by PSA's racism, and women had to fight unceasingly for hire, promotion and equal wages.

In January 1978, the PSA was replaced by the Steelworkers in a representation election. By October, 13,000 workers had joined. Tenneco went to court, charging fraudulence, and the union was stalled until January 30, 1979, when the workers walked out in protest over the year-long legal delay.

Hundreds of picketers chanted, "We're fighting for our union; we cannot be moved," and "What time is it? Steelworkers time!" 70% struck, despite intimidation by city and state cops in full riot gear.

Twenty-four strikers were arrested under Virginia's "right-to-work" picketing constraints, but food, money, telegrams of support and picketers

continued to arrive.

Strikers' wives initiated an auxiliary that involved entire families. Said a woman crane operator, "Seeing women steelworkers picketing and chanting puts hesitant wives at ease."

Virginia's public employees, themselves under legislative attack, hailed the strike. The president of a teachers' local called it a "battle for every worker in Virginia... in the South and in the country."

### The Chips Are Down

On March 2, the court sent Tenneco's election challenge to the NLRB. Tenneco announced that scabs would remain at work, but strikers would be "considered" if they reapplied and signed "unconditional agreements to return."

Undaunted, 80% of the workforce respected the picket lines and morale remained high.

In April, the NLRB postponed decision for "probably" 7 months. More than 50% of the workers were still out, but the USWA International recommended suspending the strike. The International had wanted workers to return from the outset. Said USWA President McBride at that time, "Perhaps we made a blunder saying this strike went beyond Newport News... We don't want our strikers involved in a struggle beyond the contract covering them." This means that the International is **not** prepared to take on the open-shop South.

In a split vote in April, the local's negotiating committee agreed. Dissenters demanded a vote by the membership at the April 13 meeting, and when this was refused, they organized to force a vote.

### Democracy by Demand

Thousands debated at the membership meeting, the first since the strike began. A Black man proposed returning only "on our own terms"—to their regular jobs and without the "unconditional" statements. His motion was adopted overwhelmingly.

Picket lines grew large again, but two days later, police and troopers attacked picketers and supporters, clubbing and chasing them over a 15-block area. The cops stormed the lobby of strike

headquarters, tossing two people through plate-glass and severely beating twelve others, but were prevented from entering the union offices by furious workers.

Thirty persons were hospitalized and 63 arrested, but the picket line grew.

Five days later, Tenneco dropped its demands and all but 124 strikers returned to their jobs and previous pay rates, intent on regrouping and following through.

### Look Ahead, Dixieland

Newport News rank and filers, who risked their lives to save their new union, had won an inspiring strike victory in a right-to-work state. And they did it in spite of the compromisers—their own International leadership and the legalistic NLRB, which steadily counseled surrender.

The fight is not over.

The issue of affirmative action can be raised more pointedly to win the support of the Black community, which has been split by USWA's past racism. Alliances with other Tenneco workers nationwide can expose Tenneco's role in the energy ripoff and activate more support. Frequent membership meetings and defense work for the 124 fired strikers can rebuild union strength.

And the International can be pressured by an aroused labor movement to acknowledge the significance of the Newport News shipyard to labor organizing in the South.

The low-paid workers of Newport News have shown that proletarian solidarity between the races and sexes is essential in order to strike a blow against the discriminatory and antilabor Southern system.

The heroism of angry women and Black strikers is leading the way to a new dawn for downtrodden Southern labor. ■

Ann Manly is production coordinator for the *Freedom Socialist*. She grew up in the South and is a longtime feminist with a keen interest in economics and labor.

## Weber: el caso Bakke de los trabajadores

por Valerie Carlson

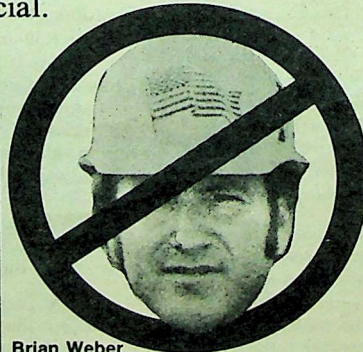
**E**l pleito de Brian Weber, "discriminación al revés", recién decidido ante la Corte Suprema estadounidense, fue una gigantesca ofensiva dirigida al corazón de la acción afirmativa. Si la decisión de la Corte no hubiera dismantelado esta arma formidable, fallando en contra de Weber, habría resultado la destrucción completa de las oportunidades de trabajo para los que están en desventaja social.

Desde el caso Bakke al de Weber, la devastación de la acción afirmativa amenazó trasladarse moverse del campo educacional al económico y del sector público al privado.

En la Corte Suprema la acción en favor de Bakke, el acceso a las profesiones por parte de las minorías fue limitado; pero fallando en contra de Weber, la corte al menos ofreció alguna esperanza de promoción en el trabajo.

En 1974, Weber era un asistente de laboratorio con un sueldo de \$21.000 al año, en la planta de Gramercy de la Kaiser, en Louisiana, cuando fue rechazado en un nuevo programa de entrenamiento técnico en el trabajo. Este programa era un requisito del contrato sindical. El propósito del programa era aumentar la movilidad de todos los trabajadores y compensar las desigualdades raciales del pasado.

Siete negros y seis blancos fueron aceptados, dos de los negros tenían menos antigüedad que Weber.



Brian Weber

Acusándolos de violación al acta de los derechos civiles, Weber entabló juicio a la Kaiser y U.S.W.A. (El Sindicato de Trabajadores de Acero) en nombre de todos los trabajadores elegibles blancos de la planta.

### Carrera sin ascenso

Hasta 1974, la Kaiser exigió experiencia previa a los trabajadores con preparación técnica y contrató a los

de afuera en vez de promover a sus propios trabajadores. Por consiguiente, Weber ni siquiera habría podido ser *candidato* a un puesto de mayor experiencia antes de la iniciación del mismo programa que ahora está poniendo en duda.

El plan de la Kaiser y el USWA fue aumentar la representación de las minorías y mujeres hasta que el gremio de los trabajadores contuviera un 5% de mujeres y un porcentaje de minorías igual al de la población del área alrededor de cada planta. La población minoritaria de Gramercy era de un 39%, pero sólo un 2% de trabajadores con experiencia técnica en la Kaiser era minorías. Para lograr esto, un 50% de las minorías y mujeres, más un 50% de blancos debieron ser admitidos al programa de entrenamiento.

### Kaiser la Grande

Las primeras dos decisiones de la corte local determinó que el objetivo de un 50% era "una preferencia ilegal", porque la Kaiser no admitía ninguna discriminación anterior. Ni tampoco la corte escuchó el testimonio documentado acerca de la historia de la Kaiser sobre los bajos salarios, limitación de empleo y segregación de facilidades para las minorías. Los negros estaban forzados a comer en medio de los gases de la fábrica, mientras los blancos gozaban de comedor con aire acondicionado.

La administración de la Kaiser sólo testificó acerca de su política de igualdad de oportunidades (por escrito), sus fracasadas tentativas de reclutar negros, y su adopción al "sistema de cuotas" para cumplir con los requisitos federales y evitar "los litigios vejatorios". Si la administración hubiera admitido las dispari-

dades que justificaron el selectivo programa de entrenamiento, habrían provisto una base para pleitos caros y seguros de las minorías contra ellos.

### La Justicia al Revés: Otro Giro

La habilidad de los sindicatos para defender las especiales necesidades históricas tanto de los trabajadores minoritarios como de las mujeres fue seriamente puesta en peligro por el caso Weber. Una resolución reciente de la junta local del USWA en Nueva Orleans, llamó al caso Weber "un ataque contra los sindicatos en la peor tradición del acta Taft-Hartley," "derecho al trabajo" sin pertenecer a un sindicato y la prohibición al derecho legal de huelga.

Los líderes de los derechos civiles proclaman legítimamente que el problema envuelto es simplemente una justa e imparcial reparación para las minorías, y no la vengativa discriminación contra los blancos proclamada por Bakke y Weber.

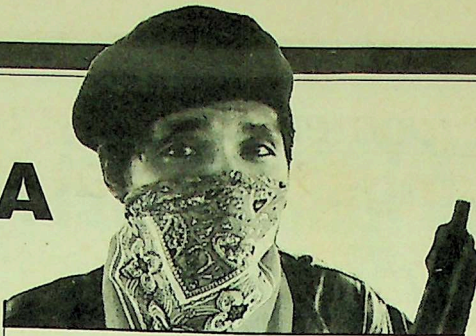
Los programas voluntarios de la acción afirmativa ya están tambaleándose ante la herida paralizadora infringida por Bakke, la cual construyó las oportunidades para ser empleados de "cuello blanco". Si Weber hubiera bloqueado el acceso de los operarios para la preparación técnica, las minorías habrían vuelto a los trabajos de barrenderos, las mujeres a las oficinas como secretarías y el movimiento laboral al período de afiliación voluntaria al sindicato.

Pero el rechazo de la corte a la demanda de Weber, puso al movimiento sindical en una posición fuerte para la batalla a enfrentar y obtener una verdadera acción afirmativa para las minorías y las mujeres.

Los sindicatos pueden y deben intensificar ahora su lucha para la acción afirmativa. ■



## Insurrection in NICARAGUA



**B**esieged by a brilliant offensive launched by the Sandinista guerrillas on May 29, and opposed by virtually every sector of the population, the Nicaraguan dictatorship of General Anastasio Somoza Debayle is swiftly collapsing. Even his longtime imperialist allies are deserting the doomed regime.

In a successful attempt to paralyze the government, the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) led a general strike on June 4 which shut down most businesses and transportation facilities.

The FSLN's drive for power is relentless. All key cities have either been taken by the guerrilla forces or are about to be.

And fighting is reportedly taking place within blocks of Somoza's fortified bunker in Managua, the capital.

### Somoza the Butcher

Educated at West Point, with close political and financial ties to Congress and U.S. capitalists, Somoza has responded to the Sandinista offensive with desperate barbarity. His dwindling National Guard has bombed, strafed, napalmed, and gassed the civilian population.

Somoza refuses to accept the Geneva code on prisoners. Said an officer of the National Guard, "We don't take prisoners, they have all died."

The opposition press has been smashed and martial law declared.

### The U.S. Wheels and Deals

Although the U.S. claims neutrality, the FSLN reports covert shipment of American arms, and the U.S.-backed dictatorships of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador are providing military aid to Somoza, aid that is evidently coordinated by the Panama-based U.S. Southern Command.

Fully aware that Somoza cannot retain power, the White House is maneuvering for an anti-Marxist government friendly to the U.S. But the FSLN refuses to compromise with the U.S. or the Organization of American States, suggested as a possible "mediator" by Washington.

### For a Socialist Nicaragua

In August 1978, the FSLN seized the National Palace in Managua. Holding 500 people captive, they demanded the release of 150 political prisoners, \$10 million in ransom, and safe passage to Panama, Venezuela or Mexico.

On September 9, 1978, a full-scale uprising was defeated by the National Guard, supplied with U.S. weapons.

Since May, however, the FSLN appears certain of military victory. Their forces are growing tremendously, with massive participation of armed women, and of children as young as 10 years old.

The FSLN has not called for a socialist government. All the different factions within the FSLN advocate revolution-in-stages—first a bourgeois democratic revolution, and later a socialist revolution. In the midst of a fiery civil war, such a Menshevik-Stalinist theoretical error invites reactionary forces to strangle the revolution.

State repression of national minorities, feminists, and revolutionary workers in Iran under Khomeini's pro-capitalist rule is proof enough of the bloody results of any compromise with capitalism, even if the terrible lessons of Chile hadn't already made this clear enough.

It is only a matter of time before a Leninist wing emerges among the revolutionary forces. ■

## Justice stalled for Alaska cannery workers

by Tamara Turner

**T**hree grueling seasons in Alaska's salmon canneries have gone by without change, despite a momentous legal victory won by the Alaska Cannery Workers Association that should have ended the appalling discrimination against the predominantly Filipino and Native Alaskan workforce.

Even though a federal judge ruled for the plaintiffs in April, 1977, no back pay or punitive damages have been levied against the giant New England Fish Company, nor has an injunction been issued to halt white-skin privilege in jobs, training, and housing.

The original lawsuit, filed in 1973 by Nemesio Domingo, Jr., was broadened into a class action representing 700 Filipinos, other Asians, Native Americans and Native Alaskans. And because it is a Title VII case, each member of the class must *individually* prove claims against an employer found guilty. Individual hearings have finally begun—2 years after the discrimination ruling—because the judge wanted to watch the "national scene" (the Bakke and Weber cases) before scheduling individual hearings.

Domingo and his brother—who also has a cannery lawsuit pending—were ousted and then reinstated by their union, Local 37, ILWU, because it initially saw their suits as an attack on the union's integrity. The militants were also blacklisted by cannery owners, but this was halted by an appeal to the NLRB.

The community-activist ACWA, a Seattle-based group concerned with cannery conditions in Alaska, aided the plaintiffs throughout their long struggle.

### Sealed-in Racism

Every can of salmon processed in Alaska represents a century of stolen labor and ruthless racism.

Each successive group of Asian immigrants has labored in the canneries, earned lower wages than other workers, demanded equal pay, and been replaced by other desperate workers.

Only whites get supervisory, longshore, cooking, and machinist jobs, while the lowest-paid "wet" jobs—direct contact with the fish—fall to nonwhites. Though most machine work can be learned in 4 weeks, cannery management insists that these jobs require special training and skills that people of color do not have.

### Home Away from Home

Nepotism and segregated housing prevent news of better jobs from filtering down to nonwhites.

Whites live in heated bunkhouses in a private room or one shared with another person. The rooms contain beds, dressers, and storage. Nonwhites live 8 to a room in unheated bunkhouses furnished with bunkbeds and crates nailed to the walls for dressers. The only light is from a bare ceiling bulb, and the air reeks of fish-slimed gear hung on the walls for lack of outdoor storage.

This housing violates health and safety laws on the number of persons allowed per square foot, as well as the Alaska Fire Code, yet the court will not halt its use.

Cannery mess halls and menus are segregated. "White food" consists of meat, potatoes, vegetables, and fruit; everyone else gets fish and rice. When the ethnics demanded fruit and vegetables, they were told that "those don't grow in Alaska!"

ACWA members participated in food strikes in 1972, and the strikes, coupled with the law suits, have helped better the workers' diet.

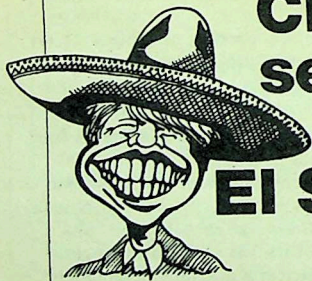
### Equality Now!

Decent jobs, training, living conditions, and wages still lie cruelly beyond the grasp of the cannery workers. Their struggle can be aided by bringing pressure on Judge Gus Solomon of the U.S. District Court in Portland, Ore. to carry through *his own* findings against the cannery corporations and obliterate the racist patterns of the past. ■

## Arthur Felberbaum dies

Arthur Felberbaum, 44, died of a heart attack on May 24. He was a founding member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a Socialist Workers Party member until the mid-sixties, and Education Director of the School for Marxist Education from 1975 until 1978.

## Carter anoints Chicano serenity in El Sereno



by Monica Hill

**Los Angeles** - Jimmy Carter's slickly publicized May visit to the Chicanos of El Sereno, California was a callous sham, a bungled attempt to mask the severe oppression of Chicanos and Latinos in the U.S.

The family he chose to visit, according to the *L.A. Times*, "opened a restaurant as a takeout taco stand a year ago. In true Horatio Alger fashion, the industrious couple expanded the operation." They now live in a neighborhood which talks proudly of its "neat homes with an affection born of hard work, scraped paint and mowed lawns."

Ah, bliss . . . all-American serenity in El Sereno. But the ploy fooled no one, even though Carter's drop-in was carefully staged to inspire lagging public confidence in the "melting pot" and in rugged individualism. Said one Chicana, "I don't know why he came. I think he's a fake. That's what all the people I talk to think."

### The Bitter Truth

Actual living conditions of most Chicano and Mexicano workers in Southern California are a far cry from the rags-to-riches myth. Hundreds of thousands of Mexican refugees and Chicano U.S. citizens are an economic mainstay of the U.S., but these Hispanics—a majority of the population in metropolitan Los Angeles—

receive the least education and labor at the lowest paying jobs. They are largely the gardeners of the rich, the bus boys, the food workers, the janitors, the car washers and the gas station attendants. Mexicanos are the primary producers in the massive Southwestern agricultural industry, and the women are bulwarks of L.A.'s vast garment industry (which outstrips New York's). *Mexicano/Chicano workers clothe and feed us all.*

But to the U.S. government, they are "illegal aliens" and second-class citizens slated to be imported and exported, hired and fired at will—a permanent and highly vulnerable reserve of cheap labor. They are more highly exploitable than most victims of racism and sexism because so many are not U.S. citizens. Even their right to poverty-level wages is flagrantly violated, and they pay social security taxes they will never see, plus sales, state and federal taxes.

An abysmal lack of health care takes a relentless toll, especially among garment workers toiling under sweatshop conditions worse than those suffered by New York's early immigrant laborers, and among agricultural workers felled by back injuries, tuberculosis and pesticide-induced respiratory diseases. Mothers, lacking childcare, fight desperately to raise children, who are not provided with bilingual education in the schools, and the women are unrelieved victims of forced sterilization and minimal access to birth control and abortion.

### For a United Self-Defense

Unrelenting oppression creates a potential volcano of defiance, and the power elite knows it. Police arrests, brutality and murder of Chicanos and Mexicanos, supplemented by KKK attacks, proliferate here.

*Down with discriminatory immigration laws! Down with Congressional slow-death policies toward Chicano/Mexicano workers! Down with police brutality and sweatshops! For a united resistance against oppression of Chicanos!*

The producers of life's necessities must be the first to benefit from their gruelling labor. ■



by Sam Deaderick and Tamara Turner

**T**he pioneering work of Renee Vivien and Colette opened long-bolted doors for lesbian novelists and lesbian literary heroines in the early 1900s. By 1928, other European writers were adding their works to a growing list of impressive books on the subject.

Radclyffe Hall publicly challenged the obscenity charge against her work, and Virginia Woolf published a sly satire on sex roles in a book capturing the personality of her friend, novelist Vita Sackville-West. Mary Renault created lesbian characters of wit and audacity, as well as a series of acclaimed historical novels about famous homosexuals of antiquity.

### The Well

**The Well of Loneliness** by Radclyffe Hall, a wealthy English novelist, caused a furor unparalleled since the infamous trial of Oscar Wilde.

Issued by a major publisher in 1928, the book was promptly banned by an English court as destructive to the morals of young people. Its crime? A sympathetic account of lesbian life and a plea for an end to the misery caused by homophobia and ignorance. The author became the center of an international storm.

In America, the book's publishers were subjected to sensational obscenity trials in Boston and New York, and won the right to publish the **Well** in 1929. But in England, the book was declared obscene and banned until 1959. Radclyffe Hall took a public stand in her book's defense and appeared in court every day, despite urging from her friends to avoid the notoriety. During summary remarks from the judge that were particularly offensive and inaccurate, the author leapt to her feet and shouted angrily at him, and the judge threatened to have her ejected.

Forty-five leading British authors, including Arnold Bennett and Virginia and Leonard Woolf, signed protests against the censorship of the book, but their testimony, like that of distinguished lawyers and physicians, was not permitted in the trial.

Despite the many valid literary and political criticisms of the **Well**, Hall's decision to publish, and her staunch defense of the rights of lesbians, sparked an international forum for discussion of the subject and encouraged many prominent women authors to deal with the theme.

### Woolf and Sackville-West

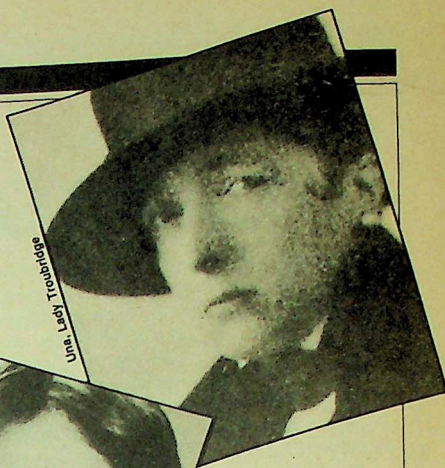
Most women writers did not center their novels around lesbianism, preferring to include a lesbian character or lesbian episode, or, as in the past, only hint obliquely at lesbianism. Virginia Woolf opted for this course in the musings of **Mrs. Dalloway**.

But **Orlando**, published in 1928, complete with photographs of the leading character as a man and as a woman, posed by Woolf's friend and sister writer Vita Sackville-West, was a *tour de force* on the subject of sex roles.

Sackville-West wrote a number of novels. **The Dark Island**, a melodrama, has a lesbian subtheme. **Challenge**, published in 1924 in the U.S. only, is a novelized version of Vita's elopement with her woman lover in 1919. Both women eventually were persuaded by their husbands to return home and keep up appearances. After Vita's death, her son, Nigel Nicolson, published portions of her personal

## Gay resistance: The hidden history

### part IV



Left to right:  
Vita Sackville-West,  
Virginia Woolf,  
Radclyffe Hall

record of this romance in his book **Portrait of a Marriage** (1974). This unique volume is a vivid and understanding account of his mother's lesbianism and his father's homosexuality.

### Symbol of Evil

Publishers still tend to surrender to possible public or legal hostility by insisting that authors use a formula plot wherein gay characters are left dead or dying, preferably by violent means.

English, Continental and American novels, moreover, tend to use homosexuals as standard symbols of evil, and lesbians as examples of decadence and insanity. The small number of early novels that escape this vicious formula are exceptionally good.

Anna Elisabet Weirauch's trilogy, **The Scorpion**, published in German in 1919-1921 and translated into English in the 1930s by Whittaker Chambers (before he turned coat and helped the witchhunters pillory Alger Hiss), accurately reflects the powerlessness of women to provide for their own economic needs. The author implicitly condemns a society that decrees passive roles for females and absolute power for fathers. Her novels contain a large portion of despair and suicide, yet the lesbian protagonist still develops into an independent woman who decides on her own terms how she will live.

### Mary Renault

The best-written novel of lesbianism until 1946 was **The Middle Mist**, written by Mary Renault in that year and originally published in England as **The Friendly Young Ladies**.

Famed for her brilliant historical novels of ancient society such as **The King Must Die** and **The Persian Boy**, her beautiful and accurate treatment of male homosexuality as an integral part of her characters' lives is remarkable. Yet **The Middle Mist** is conspicuous by its absence on any list of her literary output.

However, publishers are now beginning to release

many out-of-print or unpublished works because the women's movement has created a large—and lucrative—demand for information about women and by women. Thus, **The Middle Mist**, long out-of-print, was republished in paperback in 1972.

It is an outstanding portrayal of two English lesbians living on a houseboat on the Thames. The women are healthy, intelligent, self-supporting, creative, independent, and respectful of each other's need to grow. Both have a superb sense of humor.

Their solutions to the problems created by the different paths they are taking are direct and mature. And the macho male who attempts to seduce one of them in order to bolster his sexual ego is outflanked in one of the funniest scenes in English literature.

Renault also draws an unforgettable picture of the feminine mystique, as exemplified by the younger sister of one of the lesbians.

### Looking Forward

The rich storehouse of lesbian literature now available is having a monumental impact on other writers, young lesbians, and independent women everywhere. For the truth is out—it has been *women* writers who have had the courage to write about gay relationships and depict them as valid expressions of human love and sexuality. The great male writers, even when gay, have consistently *avoided* direct and central use of characters who happened to be gay.

The woman artist-as-revolutionary has furnished the courage, honesty, and disdain of compromise that are crucial to resistance. Hence, these great writers and great human beings set the stage for the next wave of gay upsurge—the post-World War II cry for equality.

The rise of fascism in the 1920s and '30s, the defeat of the Russian working class by Stalinism, and the social chaos that plagued Europe during and after World War II, all but served to wipe out the memory of the early gay rights movement. Not until the late forties and early 1950s did the movement reemerge—and this time on American soil. ■

To be continued next issue.



Six months after the eviction notice, with miles to go before we sleep, Seattle FSP, Radical Women, and CRSP still have not found a new home.

**Look** With the resilience (and audacity!) of the potentially homeless, we are hanging onto threatened Freeway Hall until we can find a suitable substitute.

**Homeward,** We have racked up hundreds of miles on our collective odometer in the exhaustive process of inspecting old

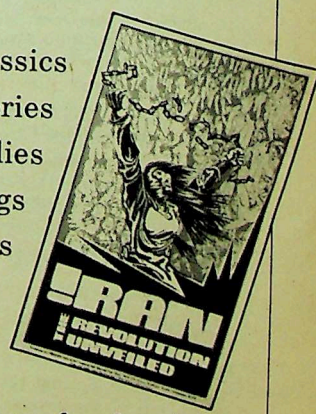
**Angels!** morgues, desolate warehouses, 19th-Century brothels, and rubble-strewn storefronts. But even these relics are too expensive given today's obscenely inflated real estate market!

Funds are desperately needed to secure a new headquarters *now*.

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by Helen Gilbert

**N**

ative Americans, indomitable survivors of generations of genocide, have conferred upon the International Year of the Child an especially profound meaning.

1000 Native people evinced their deep concern for their children—"the foundation of our future"—at a conference to examine the life-and-death issues confronting them and to plan for their very survival.

Representatives of 82 tribes and nations from the U.S. and Canada formed an encampment of tents and teepees in the woods surrounding the Daybreak Star Center in Seattle on June 7-11. The spectacularly beautiful Center was an auspicious setting, for the land was wrested from the U.S. Army as a result of a militant occupation by Northwest Indians in 1970.

### Unity Amidst Diversity

The conference took many important steps toward unifying and revitalizing the Indian movement. Four diverse elements from four different generations were brought together: traditional leaders, AIM militants, grassroots community organizers, and government employees, professionals, and other more privileged Indians.

And all worked together in a climate of openness, candor, mutual criticism and mutual respect, reflecting the traditional cultural patterns of group interaction.

Discussion centered on three major issues: sovereignty, the destruction of the environment, and the need to strengthen the traditional extended family. Speakers at the plenary session described antinuclear organizing in South Dakota, the



## Native American women host national conference

importance of political awareness, and the strong contributions of Native women.

### Women Organizers

Women originated, organized, and raised the funds for the conference. The Northwest Indian Women's Council was the primary mover, assisted by Women of All Red Nations (W.A.R.N.). Their leadership created a welcome atmosphere of cooperation, pride and celebration of Indian culture, in marked contrast to the conferences sponsored and financed by the government.

"The conference was a beginning," said Janet McCloud, a nationally known Indian spokeswoman and a key member of the Conference Planning

Committee. "The only way to bring about social change is to roll up our sleeves, sweat and struggle. The conference provided a foundation for carrying on the work we have to do to survive."

Representatives of the FSP and Radical Women assisted in conference planning, logistics, publicity, athletic events, meal preparation and childcare, and were grateful for the privilege of participating in the historic meeting. Their efforts were warmly acknowledged, and the close collaboration between Native people and non-Native supporters was a unique feature of the event. ■

## Fishing rights victory

**I**

n upholding the Boldt decision 6 to 3, the U.S. Supreme Court correctly honored the treaties made 120 years ago entitling Indian fishers to one-half the salmon caught in Washington State.

The decision is a great victory for Native Americans against what a federal appeals court called the most concerted efforts "to frustrate a decree of a federal court witnessed in this century."

The state of Washington, however, will resume management and control of fishing as a result of the decision, and the state is already looking for a way to defy the decision in life. Non-Native fishers are again seeking congressional legislation to break the treaties, and Washington's congressmen are kowtowing to the racism of these whites.

The Indians have been vindicated legally, but the court made some concessions to the anti-Indian forces and provided some serious loopholes. Continued vigilance by Native Americans and their friends is mandatory. ■

## Gay rights at the crossroads

by Robert Crisman

**G**

ay rights election victories in Seattle and California last fall were spearheaded by militant feminists and radicals who mobilized gays, women, minorities, and labor against the bigots. And these triumphs provided an impetus for gay progress reminiscent of the early civil rights movement. But almost immediately, homophobic legislators,

thugs, cops, nazis, the Klan, Coors, and the fundamentalists revved up their offensive.

### Hoodlums Ride Again

• Early this year, the New Jersey legislature introduced a bill to punish homosexual acts with ten years in prison.

• Public outrage reversed an Oklahoma bill to castrate gay men.

• A Baptist minister urged vigilantes to run gays out of Key West, Florida.

• Police in Queens, N.Y. watched as thugs attacked a gay rally.

• The January murder of two gay men by Los Angeles cops perpetuated a reign of terror against minorities that consumed more than 30 Black and Chicano lives in 18 months.

• In San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle, police and media provoked a "morality" uproar linking gays to drugs, street violence, child prostitution, and "pornography."

### Outrage in Gay Mecca

The concept of San Francisco as a liberal city with a politically influential gay population was shattered in May when gays rioted against terrorism.

Ex-cop Dan White gunned down the mayor and gay city supervisor Harvey Milk last November. Gays have since been knifed on the street, and gangs of

cops twice beat up lesbians in bars.

"Kill Queers" graffiti deface walls, and police sport "Free Dan White" T-shirts.

The press and politicians have long scapegoated gays for the scandals created by real estate speculators and the Housing Authority; "homosexual invasion" is blamed for raised rents and forced evictions in workingclass and minority neighborhoods. Moderate gay leaders do little to counter this propaganda; they cooperate with the press in extolling the attainment of the American Dream for gays with \$50,000 incomes.

But on May 12, the round-the-clock nightmare of intimidation provoked a battle between police and 1500 gays. One week later, murderer White was slapped on the wrist with a manslaughter conviction, and gays rampaged at City Hall, causing \$1,000,000 damage and national shock waves. That same night, while new mayor Diane Feinstein complained that gay trashing had ruined San Francisco's "image," 200 cops brutalized gays in Castro St. bars.

A peaceful march of 5000 occurred the next night. The riot, however, signalled gay refusal to be destroyed without a fight and revealed the bankruptcy of a passive, reformist strategy. The question of how to

organize for self-defense was sharply posed.

### What Next?

Tenuously legislative victories ring increasingly hollow in the face of extermination.

A liberal, white male elite tied to the Democratic party maintains a stranglehold of the gay movement in San Francisco and elsewhere. The National Gay Task Force primarily benefits privileged professionals, and much of the gay press, notably David Goodstein's *Advocate*, is moving rightward politically.

The reformists reject any open liaison with militant feminists, minorities, or workers, thereby bolstering rightwing divide-and-conquer tactics. And these isolationist politics force many gay activists to scramble for a mythical gay "unity" that ignores class differences and produces a class-collaborationist instead of class-struggle policy. The proposed October March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay

Rights, for example, will voice important demands such as gay parents' rights, but will focus exclusively on gay issues.

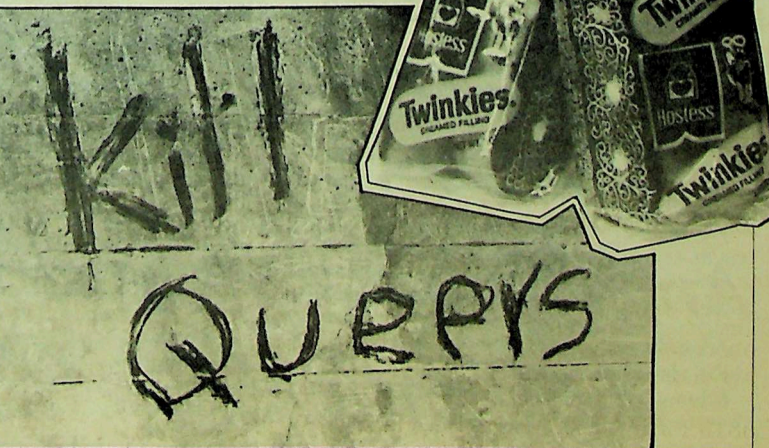
The left generally downplays gays.

*Stalinist and Maoist homophobia profanes Marxism and human decency. And the Socialist Workers Party urges gays to ignore their own movement and to make no waves in unions which ignore gay issues and the sexism that triggers gay oppression. Many gays turn to personal-lifestyle solutions because of the lack of a clear political alternative from radicals.*

Many other gays, however, are ready to fight, as San Francisco demonstrated. And they need not go it alone. As the attacks accelerate, the illusory promise of single-issue reforms will be increasingly exposed, and gays will seek out a common front with other oppressed groups.

Hard times loom for all workers, and gay survival and progress depend on uniting with all the afflicted in mutual defense against the capitalist-fostered, rightwing enemy. ■

When his defense claimed junk foods drove him to kill, double-murderer Dan White got off with a mild manslaughter conviction.





from front page

### Who Profits?

Unshaken by the Three Mile Island meltdown emergency, the nuclear industry callously proposed that the ratepayers assume the cleanup cost. With the price of building plants now in the billions, cost overruns are absorbed by raising electricity bills and increasing taxes which the government uses to subsidize and cushion industry errors (\$18 billion to date has been handed over to the nuclear capitalists by the government).

The 50 giant companies that dominate the building, equipment, fueling, and operation of nuclear reactors, for either energy or weapons use, are reaping astronomical profits. The 10 biggest companies hold more than half the nation's uranium resources and own 40% of the milling capacity.

Major oil companies—Kerr-McGee, Atlantic Richfield, Exxon, Mobil, and Gulf—are big investors in nukes, as are General Electric, Anaconda, and Rockwell International. Moguls sitting on each other's Boards of Directors arrange unlimited benefits for themselves, including price-fixing at every step of the production process. These financial maneuverings extend to private or public utilities, the rate-collectors who usually contract out the building and operating of plants.

And the government, the supposed watchdog, expedites this extortion of the public.

### Consumer Ripoff

The public pays dearly for nuclear energy because electric utilities are regulated monopolies.

State commissions set rates at a level designed to cover operating costs and provide a profit on the investment. But the profits are determined by the size of the investment, not by the ratio of costs and sales; hence, the more capital invested, the larger the profit! Utilities are encouraged by the cost-plus, rate-fixing system to adopt expensive, capital-intensive technologies like nuclear reactors.

Utilities are also allowed to raise rates for money to invest in new plants and equipment, generating more profit for private companies.

Since 1957, the federal Price-Anderson Act limits company liability to \$560 million, yet Three Mile Island lawsuits already exceed that figure, and the companies running the plant will pay little of the cost. One provision of the act diffuses the impact over the rest of the industry and their ratepayers, and government subsidy picks up the rest.

The ratepayer pays extra when reactors fail and when construction and production are delayed.

Companies cut corners on equipment or design, then can't meet safety regulations. But since profits, not safety, rule the industry, plants such as Three Mile Island are rushed prematurely into production to qualify for \$40 million in tax write-offs and a rate increase worth \$49 million.

### Technology Fiasco

The whole rush to produce nuclear energy is far ahead of the invention of a safe and workable technology.

According to the Union of Concerned Scientists, the industry has never adequately tested the emergency equipment that failed at Three Mile Island—a circulating water system that must continually cool the fissionable reactor core to prevent a meltdown and an explosion of huge quantities of radioactive steam into the atmosphere.

The industry has been plagued with the results of bad planning.

Five of the 72 U.S. nuclear plants are closed because their engineering did not compensate for earthquake stresses.

Other plants are shut down for repairs about 40% of the time.

A fire nearly destroyed the plant at Brown's Ferry, Alabama, and the partial

meltdown of the Enrico Fermi reactor almost wiped out Detroit.

The Three Mile Island failure revealed that the technical underpinnings of nuclear energy production are a matter of guesswork.

### Unsafe at Any Site

Additional hazards occur as large quantities of deadly radioactive material are transported without proper safety precautions.

Between 1971 and 1977, lethal radioactivity was released in 36 of 144 accidents.

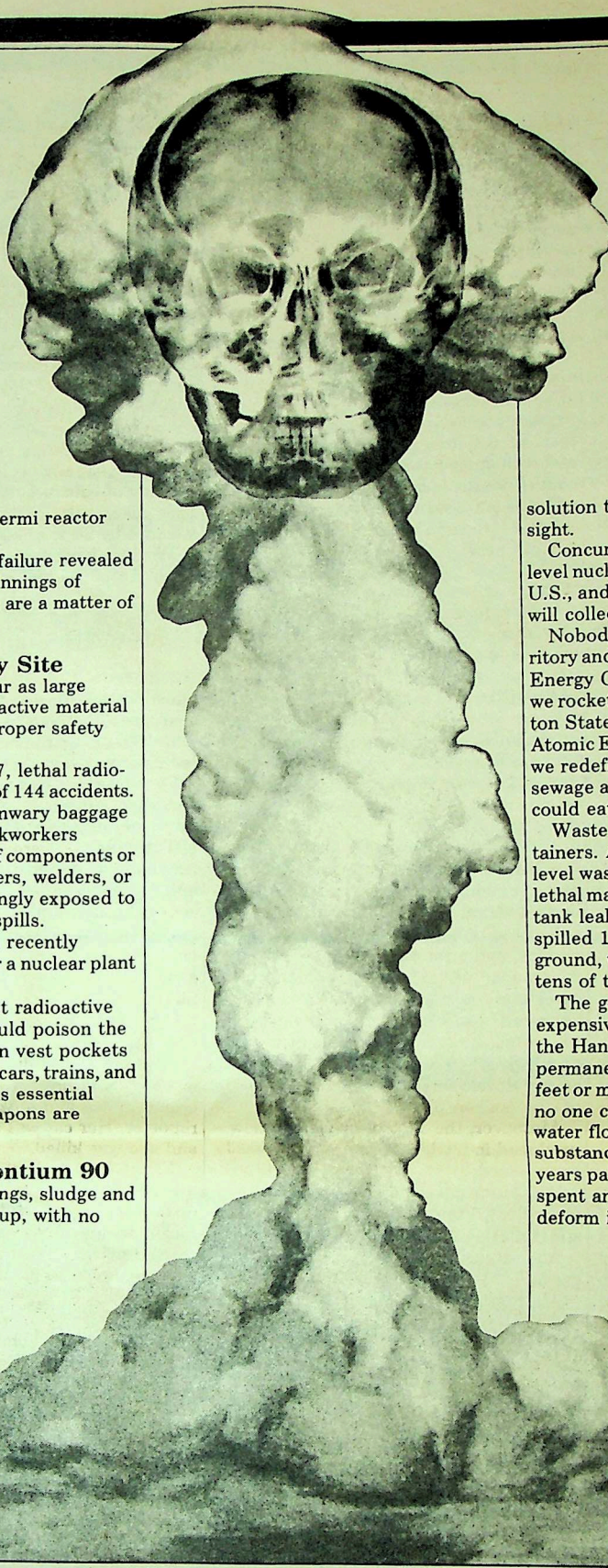
The victims are often unwary baggage handlers, truckers, or dockworkers involved in the shipment of components or waste. Construction workers, welders, or pipefitters may be unwittingly exposed to radiation from leaks and spills.

Longshoremen in Spain recently refused to handle cargo for a nuclear plant being built at Lemoniz.

Plutonium, the deadliest radioactive substance—one pound could poison the world—has been carried in vest pockets and suitcases onto planes, cars, trains, and buses. And 1½ tons of this essential ingredient for nuclear weapons are unaccounted for!!!

### Let 'Em Eat Strontium 90

Tons of radioactive tailings, sludge and spent fuel rods are piling up, with no



Doug Barnes/Freedom Socialist

*Is this the way  
the world will  
end—with a  
mammoth bang  
and a radioactive  
wasteland?*

All earthlings must now confront the horror of uncontrolled radioactive malignant force that eats away at workers, and leaves a lethal and deadly legacy for living things—while disproportionate profits are spawned at the expense of safety.

With mounting militance, the workers are shouting, "Shut them down!" What stands mercilessly condemned is not just the multinational corporations and their government henchmen, but the capitalist system itself which exists to manufacture profitable poisons irrespective of the danger to the workers or to the system's own progeny.

Life on earth can be saved, but only if the people's health and safety are not held hostage by the nuclear militarists and energy entrepreneurs. The industry must be nationalized, under workers' control, and decisions about the production of energy must be made by the people themselves.

solution to the waste storage problem in sight.

Concurrently, 75 million gallons of high-level nuclear waste has accumulated in the U.S., and 90,000 tons of used reactor fuel will collect by 2000.

Nobody wants the waste in their territory and nobody knows what to do with it. Energy Czar James Schlesinger proposes we rocket the waste into the sun. Washington State Governor Dixy Lee Ray, former Atomic Energy Commission czar, suggests we redefine it as a resource for sterilizing sewage and making fertilizer, and then we could eat it.

Waste is stored in temporary containers. At Hanford, Washington, low-level waste is kept in open trenches, more lethal materials in ceramic tanks. One such tank leaked unnoticed for 49 days and spilled 115,000 gallons of waste into the ground, where it will emit radioactivity for tens of thousands of years.

The government is now making expensive test drills in the natural basalt of the Hanford area, hoping to build permanent storage vaults five thousand feet or more below the earth's surface. But no one can say that earthquake or ground water flow will not dislodge the deadly substances before a quarter of a million years pass, and the waste's radioactivity is spent and its capacity to kill, maim, and deform is exhausted.

Industrialists and politicians, claiming to protect our energy-producing resources, are endangering our energy. But with nuclear technology, they endanger humanity for centuries to come.

Lethal wastes from the jerrybuilt reactors are a doom, and in the wake of the threatened Three Mile Island nuclear reactor, the living within the hazardous circumference of the chimneys of death have been mercifully spared a terrible danger.



## Nuclear Family Incest

The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) openly promoted nuclear energy development and altered, misrepresented, or concealed the facts. The AEC convinced the public that nuclear power was safe and clean, and expedited legislation limiting industry liability.

In 1974, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) replaced the old AEC (in response to charges of conflict-of-interest). But 85% of NRC employees had worked for AEC. According to a 1976 Common Cause study, 65% of 429 top-level NRC employees came from companies that held licenses from or contracted with NRC.

With only 250 inspectors for the entire industry, NRC regulators rarely check safety conditions. But last year, 3000 safety inspections were made and a 40% violation rate was discovered. Only 6

thyroid, fears about radiation were dubbed "Communist-inspired scare stories."

*In the heyday of atomic testing, in the early '50s, 200,000 soldiers were marched into test areas and exposed to lethal radiation. Today, they contract cancer at a rate of 2 to 4 times that of the general population.*

The AEC promoted nuclear energy with the same disregard for public safety it showed in weapons development, repeatedly suppressing studies of the effects of radiation.

As a result of the plot to silence public fears of radiation danger, exact data on radiation-linked cancer is unclear. But cancer deaths increase dramatically—as much as 400%—in direct relation to infinitesimal increases of radioactivity in the environment.

resistance to the Black Hills mining operation is growing. The struggle there this summer is crucial for Native American survival and for the defeat of the corporations.

## The Voice of Unionism

Last fall, nuclear corporations gave major support to "right-to-work," anti-union legislation and candidates. Unionists are increasingly speaking out about company abuses that endanger both the public and employees.

After a Willow Island, West Virginia cooling tower accident killed 51 workers at Research-Cottrell, a union steward on another company project protested the pouring of concrete onto steel reinforcing rods caked with mud. It took a wildcat walkout by 90 workers to save his job. Workers have charged that contractors

are beginning to join what promises to become a vast movement.

This upsurge gained spectacular credibility May 6 when a Washington, D.C. antinuclear demonstration attracted 110,000 people.

Although Ralph Nader's reformists and the Socialist Workers Party tried to narrow the focus of the demonstration to the one-note, one-issue of nuclear energy, a wide spectrum of ideologies was represented by the crowd. Thousands were ready for a more incisive critique of the system than was provided. The SWP, as usual, will try to dampen the revolutionary potential and education of the vast, loose network of antinuke fighters, but the movement will see the same inevitable radicalization that suffused the antiwar movement.

The Left has to learn the bitter lessons

# The Great Nuclear Reaction

minimal fines were assessed as penalties.

On January 8, 1979, an NRC safety inspector questioned the safety of Three Mile Island and seven similar plants. NRC higher-ups ignored him. Tapes of NRC proceedings revealed that when the accident happened, NRC knew nothing and relied on self-serving company officials for information.

The NRC has a gentleman's agreement on self-regulation with the energy profiteers.

None of this is strange, given the fact that most politicians are owned outright by the energy interests.

Public pressure has produced some action in the NRC. They shut down five plants near geological faults and repudiated the Rasmussen Report, which greatly underestimated the dangers from nuclear accidents.

But the complicity of government in the nuclear nightmare cannot be hidden.

## Coverup

The NRC's shabby attempt to make the world think everything was under control at Three Mile Island was a typical reflex by typical nuclear liars.

In the early 1950s, when the AEC knew full well (after Hiroshima and Nagasaki) that nuclear weapon test sites were unsafe, it deliberately stifled protest against testing. The AEC called the coverup "judicious handling of the public information system," or, in Eisenhower's words, "keepin' 'em confused about fusion and fission."

When sheep near test sites in Utah and Nevada started to die and people began contracting leukemia and cancer of the

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Nuclear waste escapes into the air, leaks into the water, lodges in the beef and milk of cattle drinking from streams, and enters humans to appear as cancer 10 to 40 years later, to cause birth defects in fetuses, and to engender genetic mutations.

## Low Energy Level?

Allied with the coverup of nuclear power's inherent dangers is the bald-faced lie that all other energy sources are exhausted or impractical. There are alternatives, and a rational, humane, workers government would instantly explore them. Investigations into solar power must be bolstered, and geothermal and wind energy research and production expedited. Currently, the money spent on solar energy development is less than the price of one nuclear plant.

Moreover, the 12% of electricity now produced in nuclear reactors could easily be replaced by reconstructing the coal-fueled power plants on the basis of a technology oriented toward worker-safety and pollution control.

And extensive reserves of oil and natural gas still exist.

Alternative energy would furnish cleaner air, reasonable safety, and reusable and renewable resources.

Basic changes in energy priorities are necessary and possible.

## Nuclear Genocide

Before Harrisburg, the industry's disregard for human life was best known to a few antinuclear activists and a growing group of direct victims, the workers who faced daily exposure to dangerous radiation levels.

It was not well known that Native American uranium miners are among the most abused.

Impoverished, they provide cheap labor for the 55% of U.S. uranium mining located on Indian lands, and their mortality rate is astounding.

Among 100 Navajos who haul uranium ore in Shiprock, New Mexico, 18 have died of cancer, and more are dying. Mine operators are supporting research to prove the high cancer rate is due to cigarettes!

Uranium mines are surrounded by heaps of refuse which emit low-level radiation. The dust blows into the lungs of Navajos living perilously close by, and children playing in the tailings develop burning sores.

Union Carbide and other companies plan large scale strip and solution mining on Lakota lands in the Black Hills. The company claims were filed while the Lakotas' attention was absorbed by the savage FBI attack at Wounded Knee and the aftermath of frameups and imprisonments.

Lorelei Means, Native American activist speaking at a Seattle antinuclear rally on June 3, said that nationwide

allow serious construction defects, inflate costs by rebuilding certain components, and then blame the resulting rate-base increase on worker incompetence.

(The NRC ignores such complaints, and shoddy construction projects and worker accidents proliferate.)

The death of Karen Silkwood was no accident. An activist in the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, she worked in a Kerr-McGee plutonium production plant in Cimarron, Oklahoma. When she started collecting evidence that company negligence was endangering workers and the public, plutonium was planted in her home refrigerator. She was contaminated with deadly radiation.

Frightened and ill, Silkwood took her evidence and drove to a meeting with a union official and a *New York Times* reporter. Her car was forced off the road and she was killed.

The papers scattered in her car documented Kerr-McGee's safety violations, its falsification of safety check records and illegal arrangement with the AEC to be alerted prior to inspections. The papers were removed from the car and destroyed—by agreement between state police and Kerr-McGee officials.

In a civil suit on behalf of her survivors, a federal jury found Kerr-McGee negligent in handling the plutonium that contaminated Silkwood, and awarded her estate \$10.5 million in damages.

Feminists, as well as the union, rallied to the Silkwood case, which dramatized the heroism and struggle of working women in energy production jobs. Management refuses to make the workplace safe and clean, and forces women of childbearing age to quit or move to traditional, lower-paid work once they've reached the "minimum acceptable" level of exposure. Men are "spared" this sex discrimination and are privileged to die sooner. Men are also subject to sterility from radiation, or to passing on genetic defects to their offspring.

But now the voice of those for whom human life is a preeminent value is rising to counter the commitments of money and ego that have poured into the nuclear rathole for 30 years. Women who have everything to gain and little to lose are risking their very lives, like Silkwood, to defy the pleading of nuclear apologists who cite the size of the public investment as cause for "not pulling out now."

Silkwood's martyrdom must be avenged.

## Sane Energy for a Sane Society

Although the face of the antinuclear movement has been predominantly white and middleclass, its complexion is changing.

Radicalized by the urgency and enormity of their task, activists have begun to find common ground with workers. And many labor unions which were pro-nuclear

of the past, and accept the historical mandate to address all the issues linked by the thread of the heinous crimes of the nuclear establishment. Without determined radical leadership, the anti-Nuke people, like the New Left, will fade into reformist unreality and deserved obscurity.

Serious environmentalists, nuclear opponents, afflicted workers, and concerned trade unionists, minorities, women, gays, and radicals must not only promote the immediate demand to halt the imminent nuclear holocaust but educate the movement and the working class by raising all the connected transitional and long-range demands. ■

## A Graduated Program for Today

- Shut down nuclear plants.
- Eliminate health and safety hazards that maim and kill energy workers, from coal miners to electrical lineworkers.
- Stop uranium mining on Native American lands.
- Halt the construction of nuclear weapons, which will be used to enforce imperialism.
- Health care for all nuclear victims, and close monitoring of the health of succeeding generations.
- Emergency research, at industry expense, into safe disposal of existing nuclear wastes.
- Safe energy AND full protection of the environment—no compromises.
- Conduct the necessary research to develop safe energy production; step up the study of solar energy feasibility.
- Empower the workers involved to determine, maintain and inspect all energy production and distribution systems.
- For nationwide, federally funded retraining and vocational training of all displaced workers in energy-related industries.
- Affirmative action training programs for minorities, women, the handicapped, and other specially afflicted workers to prepare them for jobs in the energy field.
- Open the books and records of the energy moguls and government energy agencies.
- Take the vast profits of the energy business. Nationalize the industry. Energy for people, not for super-profits.
- For the building of a Labor Party. Only a workers government can insure economic and human rights for all.
- Replace capitalism, and its imperialist adventures, with a socialist democracy that will end the exploitation of life and the rape of the earth. Install a new revolutionary society fit for human habitation.





Val Carlson/Freedom Socialist

*Deep in the heart of Texas lives an indomitable woman radical—*

## Laura Brode

**Barbara Brown:** What kind of a childhood did you have in New York City?

**Laura Brode:** A daily struggle to live. We were on welfare or on charity. I was sick a lot, and at the hospital I saw how the social workers talked down to us poor people. Then, when I was about 17, there was the bank failure, in 1929 or '30. I had a job assembling jigsaw puzzle pieces in a factory and we couldn't get our pay. All the workers were struggling—most of us were unemployed and all were immigrants.

**BB:** When did you first get interested in politics?

**LB:** People were organizing into Unemployed Councils. I was naive, didn't know much about Marxism, but I had studied European history. My friends or family didn't influence me, but some teachers did. I knew there had to be some changes, and I found the Young Communist League in 1931 and joined.

The group I first joined was mostly women. We were organizing unemployed women office workers. We would leaflet the employment offices where there were always long lines of women.

**BB:** Was the Woman Question ever discussed?

**LB:** Well, we believed women would be liberated after the revolution, and that the struggle would go on after the revolution. We read Marx and Engels about the family. But it was nothing like today—no women's groups. And the YCL leaders were all men.

**BB:** When did you leave the YCL?

**LB:** After 1934, and the treachery of the French and German Stalinists. They didn't oppose Hitler, that was the basic problem. And their line was

changing all the time, so you couldn't trust what they would do. I heard about the Trotskyists, and had to go all the way up past 14th St. from the Lower East Side to find them. I initiated that on my own.

They weren't the Socialist Workers Party yet, but they had a kind of headquarters, I think on 20th St., where they had meetings and dances. I'd go in, but I couldn't get my Stalinist friends to go in with me. It turned out they had just followed me there to report on me. And when the YCL heard I was talking Trotskyism, I was expelled, but I was never officially informed about it!

*In her teens, this stalwart socialist joined the Young Communist League and later left it to become a Trotskyist activist. In the 1930s, she lived in a New York City tenement and was a clerical worker for the federal WPA. Then she hitchhiked to Texas.*

*Interviewer Barbara Brown probes the origins of Brode's radicalism and the scope of her feminism—and elicits some poignant responses.*

Those were exciting times. The Socialist Party, Norman Thomas's group, was falling apart, and the Trotskyists were invited to join them in 1936. Then we were expelled in 1937 and we took a good many Socialist Party comrades with us. And in 1938 the Socialist Workers Party was started.

**BB:** Why did you move to Texas?

**LB:** Fred and I lived in tenement buildings, and even there the rents were sky-high. My job was low-paid filing for WPA. And at the 1938

Socialist Workers Party convention, comrades from Texas said we could find better jobs there. So we gave away our warm clothes, and hitchhiked. It took 8 days. And in our first winter in Texas, there was a blizzard!

**BB:** Were there jobs?

**LB:** Oh, it was terrible! I could never get a job because I was too dark; I had very black hair. They said I looked like a Cajun. It was my first experience with discrimination.

**BB:** Where did you live?

**LB:** Outside Houston in a Hooverville shanty—just some boards and no foundation and like a fisherman's tent on the sides. I was on low land that would flood. The water got thigh-deep. We lived there over two years, and then we chopped down some dead trees, took them to the sawmill, and built the little house where my son was born in 1942.

**BB:** What was that like, living in an isolated area with a new baby?

**LB:** It was so hot all those months before I had him. We had the first Norther when I came home, and we had no windows. Someone helped us board up the hole where a window should have been. I had to carry water from the pump and get the formula ready on a kerosene plate with two burners. We washed on a board with a pot of boiling water. I never thought I'd live like that.

**BB:** What jobs did you have?

**LB:** I worked for WPA again in '41 as a proofreader on a writer's project. I was

worked for the railroad and was gone for long periods. I was mostly alone.

Then, with the civil rights upsurge, we had lots of activity. When Malcolm X was still in jail, his book came out, and I went house to house in the Black neighborhoods talking to the grandmothers who were babysitting the children. They understood Malcolm—that we must all fight to free ourselves. Some people say we won't have to struggle—can you imagine? Life's a struggle!

Then came the sit-ins at Woolworth's. The lunch counter in the basement was for Blacks—whites sat upstairs. The Blacks picketed outside and would sit in upstairs. Some whites would go and sit in with them, and I would go every day. Finally, the other whites ignored us.

**BB:** What was it like during the antiwar years?

**LB:** A lot of violence. Someone who didn't like our antiwar beliefs would drive by after dark and shoot at the house. One night I was standing at the sink washing dishes, and was almost hit. It went on for years. One time I was sick, just out of the hospital and a shot went through. Fred, of course, was away. This is the life of a revolutionary—you're sick, the husband is off, and you take care of yourself!

**BB:** Did you ever consider moving?

**LB:** Of course not! This is our home. Why should we leave?

**BB:** How did you like the CRSP Conference, where feminism was a main topic of debate?

**LB:** Oh! It was the first time for me! It was so exciting. I was like Rip Van Winkle—waking up and seeing all those women radicals! All those women speakers and organizers. I don't think all the men think it's that important—but for me it was thrilling. I just loved it. Naturally. I'm a woman!

**BB:** How do you feel about the way women on the Left are demanding their rights today?

**LB:** This should have happened in Left political parties a long time ago! We would have been much further ahead. I would have loved for it to happen before. But of course, as revolutionaries, we women did what we could. Even then! ■

**Barbara Brown formerly lived in Houston and is now a Seattleite. She works as a school counselor and is a member of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP).**

## The gospel according to Rev. Jackson

by Tom Boot and Madlyne Scott

**T**he Black community faces a double dilemma of enormous dimensions as unemployment, poverty, and affirmative action cutbacks coincide with a severe leadership vacuum.

And the man on horseback who has charged forward, like a chivalrous knight, to fill the leadership void, is the charismatic Reverend Jesse Jackson, media star and national spokesperson for Black "self-help" and self-blame.

Jackson's reputation as an orator and militant grew out of his role as a disciple and later heir-apparent of Martin Luther King. But his emergence as a singular leader is a product of the temporary demise of the civil rights movement.

The dynamic Black upheaval of the 1960s subsided after Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, and King were killed and jailed, and the reformist leadership was bought off, scared off, or hoaxed. And Jackson, instead of rising to meet the new challenges of the '70s, moved swiftly backward.

Jackson voiced disapproval of the Vietnam war, but resisted taking the genuine anticapitalist position which flowed obviously from a strategic combining of the civil rights and peace issues. He refused then and now to advocate societal change that would begin at

the base and eliminate the economic system of capitalism. He chose to call for everyone to get a piece of the diminishing pie. And when that proved impossible, he became a biting critic of ghetto culture as the cause rather than the product of poverty.

In Seattle, recently, he attracted one of the biggest assemblages in a decade. He got "right-ons" for denouncing "excess" profits and arms sales to dictatorships, and then he unfurled his formula for "Black success," which stresses individual boot-strap-pulling far more than cohesive struggle.

He encouraged entry into the Republican party.

He exhorted Blacks to assume individual responsibility for their plight. He preached the absolute merits of personal excellence and the "efficacy of religious morality," as if achievement were a moral instead of a social question.

He was especially concerned about a return to the "solid old virtues of family discipline," and his capitalist stance was exemplified by his venom on the woman question.

Women like Rosa Parks, initiator of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and Fannie Lou Hamer were inspirations to the civil rights era. But the male leaders, including Jackson, denigrated them. Stokely Carmichael announced that the most appropriate position for Black women was prone, so they could "make revolutionary babies." And Jackson flays

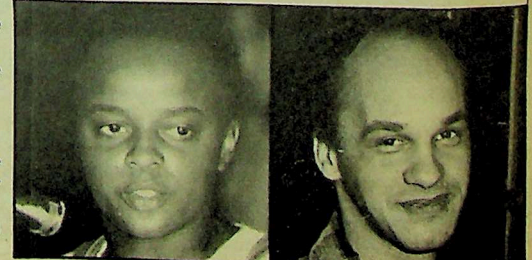
Black feminists as "sell-outs." "Such women only divide and disunify the movement," he says.

Under the usual guise of a call for unity and a putdown of "extraneous," "divisive," and "strategically wrong" concern about women's rights, he seriously disunifies the struggle and stifles the creative leadership of Black women.

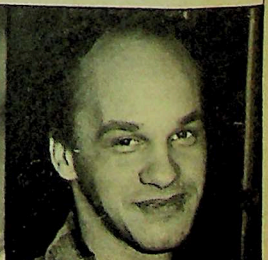
The Black community does not need these tired and reactionary propositions.

The Black community must go forward. And to do so, it needs a fighting and liberated movement to combat this racist and sexist capitalist system.

Black women are acutely conscious of their dual oppression as women and as Blacks, and Jackson's macho slanders against women's equality will prove to be his undoing. Black women together with non-sexist Black men will solve the crisis of leadership, despite the demoralizing Jesse Jacksons. ■



Madlyne Scott



Tom Boot



by Monica Hill and Yolanda Alaniz

**R**adical Women, the voice of revolutionary socialist feminism in the United States, resoundingly extended the content, force and reach of its program at its Second National Executive Committee Plenum held in New York City in May at Columbia University.

Exciting additions to the organization's basic document, the **Radical Women Manifesto**, expanded on the international character of women's struggle, on the significance and vitality of feminism among women of color, and on the identity of RW as a decisive sector of the Left.

The plenum adopted a strong resolution on ecology and energy, written by Marcia Cutler, Portland, Oregon, and Sharman Haley, Juneau, Alaska. The NEC demanded closure of nuclear plants and called for a socialist development of technology in harmony with human and environmental needs. A resolution on the mounting threat of the right wing and feminist responses to it, written by Constance Scott, Seattle, was also endorsed.

A public debate on the question of the "natural superiority of women" was kicked off by the adoption of an introductory discussion article by Dr. Susan Williams, New York, which will be published and disseminated.

"Marxist feminists have an enormous contribution to make on women's biologic, social, and political role in primitive as well as modern society," states the article. "This is the theory which shapes our aspirations and strategies."

#### Women in Iran

Most significant to the participants was the approval of a resolution on the Iranian revolution, written by Monica Hill, Los Angeles, which documented the centrality of women's leadership in the world revolutionary struggle.

The plenum evaluated the Iranian revolution as a stunning vindication of revolutionary feminism—and of permanent revolution—and enthusiastically endorsed the demand of Iranian women for full economic, social and political freedom now.

The delegates condemned the majority of the Left for ignoring, downplaying, distorting or slandering the vanguard stance of women in Iran, and attributed this grave underestimation to a sexist blindness so entrenched that it may well retard the revolutionary momentum in Iran and elsewhere.

#### Women of Color

The NEC applauded reports of the augmented recruitment of women of color to RW, and gave a stamp of approval to the right of representatives of specially-oppressed groups to form caucuses within RW. In response to a written proposal by Regina Jean-Joseph of N.Y., the **Manifesto** is being enlarged to include a section on the long-hidden history of women of color in the civil rights, labor, feminist and radical movements, where they have been a vital if unrecognized force.

Approving the written proposal of Karen Brodine



Radical Women National Executive Committee delegates (l to r): Yolanda Alaniz, Seattle; Karen Brodine, San Francisco; Melba Windoffer, Seattle; Monica Hill, Los Angeles; Mary Reeves, Seattle; Sukey Durham, San Francisco; Sharman Haley, Juneau; Deanna Cecotti, Portland; Constance Scott, Seattle; Dr. Susan Williams, New York; Marcia Cutler, Portland.

## Radical Women plenum— a giant step forward for revolutionary feminism

from San Francisco, the new **Manifesto** will also describe the varieties of contemporary feminism so as to clearly distinguish RW from the conservatives of NOW, the antipolitical cultural-lifestylists, the social democratic feminists who support the capitalist Democratic party, the Matriarchists, the separatists, etc. And RW's political opposition to the Stalinists and Maoists will also be spelled out.

The delegates felt that such a precise differentiation of key tendencies in feminism and radical politics would aid in the recruitment of women of color, and of all women.

Said one Black delegate, "The question has never been 'When are minority women going to become feminists?' It's when are white feminists going to confront their racism?"

At a public forum presented by New York RW during the plenum, Constance Scott, National RW Organizer, hailed the contributions of women of color to the struggle. As an integral part of their own communities and civil rights organizations, she said, "they do not sever their femaleness from their subjugation as people of color and workers." Instead, they lead the way in showing the "real life connections between all the strands of oppression used to divide us from each other."

The **Manifesto** will reemphasize RW's support of cultural pluralism, but will simultaneously explain how negative aspects of a culture, such as the church and the institutionalized nuclear family, sorely oppress women of color.

The Stalinist line on the "revolutionary fighting family," a shabby variation of women's subordination, will also be addressed.

#### FSP Affiliation

The influence of Trotskyism and the theory of

permanent revolution, which have shaped the program and style of RW, will be more explicitly spelled out in the revised **Manifesto**.

And the historical development of the relationship between RW and the Freedom Socialist Party, which culminated in RW's affiliation with the FSP in 1974, will be described in detail in the new edition of the **Manifesto**, for the record and for the benefit of new readers.

#### Past and Future Linked

The plenum was treated to an inspiring speech by RW co-founder Melba Windoffer, who recounted, with humor and profundity, RW's rich history of programmatic self-delineation, accomplishments in action, and the problems, the pain and the glory of building the organization. The strong sense she imparted of RW's role in the movement for human rights was influential in shaping some key decisions of the meeting.

New York RW, which hosted the plenum, generously furnished housing, superb meals, and even some sightseeing and theatre-going for the out-of-towners.

After 3 days and evenings of intensive and wide-ranging political analysis—and a welcome interlude featuring feminist poets and musicians—the NEC members from New York; Juneau, Alaska; Los Angeles; San Francisco; Portland; and Seattle left for home after a tremendous political experience. Their horizons were expanded, future tasks were well-outlined, and a new RW Organizer's Handbook was in their grasp.

Their message to serious feminists was clear: "Create a militant and radical leadership, or the right wing will take over and ravage the future that is really ours to build." ■

## Rebuttal

### A fairy tale for Marxist realists



nce upon a time, Marxists actually debated the question of whether a workers revolution would mean the swift liberation of women, people of color, and gays.

The international left was actually deeply divided on this issue, which was generally considered to be a "divisive," "secondary" and "petty bourgeois" issue.

Milt and Edith Zaslow argued that no socialist revolution had ever led to complete equality for women, so it was condescending to motivate specially oppressed groups with "fairy tales about miracles of instant, total liberation."

Instead, they thundered that backward attitudes, morals, psychology and institutions would at best "wither away" in time—lots of time.

But to prove their mild interest in the question, they assured people that an enlightened socialist government would try to hasten the elimination of prejudice. It would grant immediate civil rights to the super-oppressed and guarantee them the right to organize independently of the state in order to

try to stamp out sexism-racism on their own.

A very, very difficult task, according to these experts on human nature, the Zaslows.

However, children, a few salient facts had been overlooked.

Since women, people of color, and gays comprised a solid majority of the working class, who was going to be running this socialist state if not them?

And how was this diverse majority to unite and overthrow the capitalist class *in the first place* unless the old prejudices and discriminatory behavior were overcome BEFORE the revolution???

It was patently obvious that the privileged, white male minority who had union cards did not have the power, much less the inclination, to seize the state for the purpose of guaranteeing to the rest of us the right to organize against hatefulness after the revolution!

It was obvious because society was *already* undergoing a revolution in social relations which preceded socialism!

Women and gays were abandoning the old forms of personal and family relations by the drove.

Blacks, Asians, Chicanos, and Native Americans were mounting an all-out assault on racist ideology and culture.

And even the holy fathers of the church were forced to reexamine their eternal truths in the wake of angry denunciations of their doctrine from feminists and gay militants.

So while the Zaslows kvetched over the agonies of changing discriminatory attitudes and habits, the specially-oppressed people were already confronting and confounding every stereotypical image and changing the way people thought all over the world.

What the poor Zaslows had failed to see was that the revolution had started without them.

But that didn't matter to the revolution, as you know. Many one-time revolutionists flipped and joined the leagues of irrelevant radicals—and all because they worshipped at the shrine of white-skin privilege, penis politics, and heterosexism.

We called them the "refracted" voice of the capitalist oppressor. But we were wrong. Their voice wasn't a distorted image, it was the real thing.

Anyway, the super-subjugated masses got together, and most of the white male workers had to join them, and the liberated revolution lived happily ever after.

It really did.

—Guerry Hodderson



## Uproar over Black Macho

Hurrah to Michele Wallace for writing *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*. She yanked the closet door open on a topic black women know well and have talked about privately for years—the sexism of black men.

Her description of the ramifications of sexism during the Civil Rights Movement of the '60s has put the issue of black sexual politics on the table and forced another chink in the armor of male supremacy. The book is a catalyst for exploring the politics of black male/female relationships and for learning to respect the leadership role black women must take in any struggle for liberation.

Highly principled in her refusal to excuse the sexist behavior of black men, Wallace's writing constitutes a demand that they take responsible action towards women and the movement for social change.

But the response to her is generally obnoxious.

Robert Staples, in the March/April *Black Scholar* rambles, whines and pleads for an "understanding" of sexism. He then rants at black women for daring to raise the issue!

Staples missed the boat. He might have

written about the problems of black feminists, and how the problems differ from those of black men and white feminists. He might have offered something intelligent on what black men must do to "get right," to support black sisters' struggles. Instead, in Moynihan-like fashion, he explains that the problem with black men is black women.

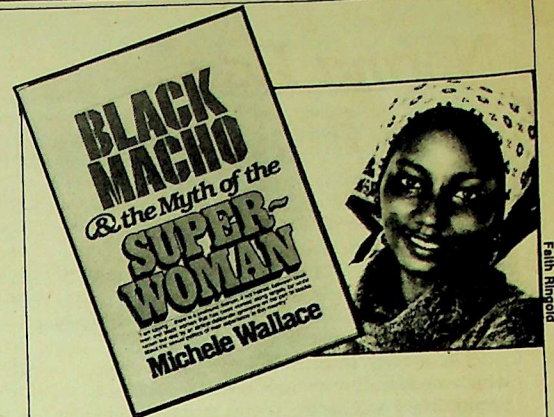
If we black women just weren't so assertive and decisive, black men wouldn't be driven to desert us as a form of "masculine protest."

Of course, Staples denies that he supports Moynihan's black patriarchy theory. And he agrees with Wallace's contention that for many black men, identity is located in their penis. He then calls on black women for our sympathy and support. How absurd—unless black women believe that the males afflicted with this dread social disease cannot relocate their identity.

Come on, fellas... we are tired of sympathizing and understanding *at our own expense*, which doesn't help *you* and certainly isn't in *our* best interest.

Staples writes that black men experience "feelings of nobodiness, fear of vulnerability." What he fails to say is: **SO DO BLACK WOMEN**. Add to those problems the fear of rape, the consequences of illegal abortion and inadequate birth control, poverty, abandonment, etc., and the brothers could begin to get the *female* picture.

Broaden it to include our vulnerability to woman-beating, then add the fears of some of



us who are lesbians. Got the picture, fellas, or is your sexism in the way?

Staples at least admits that women got a raw deal in the Sixties. But the *Guardian* (May 30) dares to ask if sexism ever existed at all in the Black Movement! Please. No more. Of course it did! The calls for our "prone" position and the making of "more babies for the revolution" still echo through the now-abandoned meeting halls of the Black Liberation Movement. We need no more racist, sexist garbage from the *Guardian*.

Ms. Wallace is right on target when she writes that black women are isolated because we aren't talking to one another, and that we should. Her book is an excellent starting point for a necessary discussion that has been waiting for years to happen. Thank you, Michele.

—Kathy Saadat

## Statement by Murry Weiss and Stephan Kass on joining the FSP

Our decision to join the Freedom Socialist Party constitutes a high point of our lives as revolutionaries.

Our decision arose out of two years of close association with the FSP in the building of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP). Our decision is a meaningful continuation of our lifetime struggle for a truly Leninist party.

As socialist feminist men, we welcome the opportunity to work in a party with a leadership predominantly composed of women. The FSP has placed socialist feminism as a pivotal issue in building a vanguard party, and has merged Leninism with the fullest revolutionary power of women, while other radical organizations are still crippled by sexism and racism.

### Alternative to the New Left

The FSP was originally the Seattle Branch of the SWP, conducting a deep struggle against the sexism, opportunism, bureaucracy, and centrist tendencies of the Socialist Workers Party.

After the formation of the FSP in 1966, a new split developed between women and men, when the women insisted that feminist deeds, not merely words, be carried out in life.

During this same period, the New Left experienced a severe split between men and women, centered in New York, over sexism. This split extended to a male-female division in the gay movement and erupted in the Black and other ethnic and racial minority movements.

These splits were never resolved or even faced up to in the radical movement, and this staggering fact underlies the fragmentation and stagnation of the revolutionary left.

The New Left also failed to ground itself in a coherent, theoretical Marxism, and fell into the hands of the right wing of its leadership, which led the movement into social democracy and the labor bureaucracy. It is an irony of history that the impetus and radicalism of the New Left was soon harnessed to the male supremacist party of American imperialism, the Democratic party.

The FSP is the revolutionary alternative to the dangerous Democratic party trap. The

leadership of Trotskyist women is the strongest possible variant to the betrayal of the New Left and feminist movement by their conservative leaderships. The FSP alone combines the unremitting, permanent struggle of revolutionary feminism with the continuity of Bolshevik Leninism. This powerful combination, embodying the struggle against bureaucracy, sexism, racism and bigotry, opens the door to a vital link with all the oppressed.

### Leninist Spirit and Practice

The essence of FSP and Radical Women is personified in the fresh, inspired and devoted cadre of primarily young revolutionary women, gays, blacks and chicanas assembled in the course of twelve years of rich struggle.

In its documents and self-understanding, the FSP has laid a foundation pointing to the future. The party developed in fierce struggle with the bourgeois and petty bourgeois environment that dominates U.S. society and has created a "moral medium" climate of its own that withstands the pressures of the imperialist culture we live in.

The cadre conducts its struggles in all the main arenas of political life. The party is overwhelmingly proletarian and trade unionist, an assertive force that has gained notable enemies, sturdy allies and sympathetic admirers in all sectors of the population.

The FSP had the unbelievable audacity to launch the *Freedom Socialist*, which expresses a unique viewpoint in the milieu of world Trotskyism, and faithfully reports the immediate and transitional struggles of the world's masses. The paper has extended its influence worldwide.

The party headquarters, Freeway Hall in Seattle, Washington, is a traditional center for radical activity. Today, threatened with eviction, old and new supporters have joined the campaign to secure a new headquarters.

A crucial characteristic of the FSP is its professional revolutionary conception. Members center their lives around the needs of the revolution, continuing the great tradition of the historical panoply of fulltime revolutionaries—from the fighters of the First International on the

barricades of the Paris Commune to the Bolsheviks of October, 1917 and the women and men of the Fedayeen and Socialist Workers Party of the Iranian Revolution.

### Builder of CRSP

The FSP, from the beginning, has played a leading role in the building of CRSP. CRSP's founding **Statement of Purpose** declared: "Revolutionary Socialist Feminism . . . the movement for the total emancipation of women in every sphere of life . . . must be vigorously embraced, promoted and demonstrated in practice by any movement that calls itself Marxist."

In the course of intensive discussion within CRSP, we discovered increasingly close agreement with the FSP and its core thesis: that the struggle for women's emancipation is a central generating force of the revolutionary process and an expression of the law of permanent revolution, a key theory of Trotskyism.

Indeed, the theoretical focus on socialist feminism in the program and action of CRSP was in fact drawn from the history, thought and experiences of the FSP, whose formation signified the most fundamental breakthrough of the revolutionary movement: the fusion in concept and action of American Trotskyism with the new and unique dynamism of women, gays and people of color which shapes the working class today.

The links between our political trajectory and that of the FSP, therefore, were forged at the moment CRSP was formed.

And when N.Y. CRSP found itself plunged into a fundamental struggle inside the Marxist Education Collective, a struggle that epitomized the 13-year travail of the FSP to launch itself, the links tightened for both of us.

### Microcosm of FSP History

Within the MEC, the Trotskyist/socialist feminist program of CRSP met with implacable hostility. Stephan, who was coordinator of the MEC, was attacked for a "conflict of interest" in joining CRSP.

The MEC majority formed an unprincipled combination with Stalinists, the ultra-left Spartacists, and the state-capitalist contingent of International Socialists to combat "vanguardism" and "premature and divisive" Trotskyism.

In the course of this bitter strife, CRSP members led in the formation of a women's

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# Norma Rae

## The flick that failed

Because *Norma Rae* is a film inspired by a real-life, courageous Southern woman, Crystal Lee Jordan, and her organizing work in the hellish J.P. Stevens textile mill, it has seduced some people into hailing it as a pro-labor and feminist classic. But it is neither. It is untrue to both the woman and the struggle.

The setting is authentic: an enormous, windowless mill with high brick walls like a penitentiary and air thick with lethal cotton dust and the ear-shattering shrieking of the looms which batter the senses of the workers. Isolated from each other by management's divisive strategies and ground down by starvation wages and lethal speedup, the workers are obviously long overdue for organizing.

The problem is that the screenplay and director Martin Ritt falsify, trivialize, and vulgarize the title character, and the true chemistry of solidarity between the heroine and the other workers never comes across.

The dedicated effort of Norma Rae to build a union is portrayed as stemming less from conviction than from her fascination with Reuben, the New York intellectual who is the organizer for the Textile Workers Union. Minimizing her unwavering involvement in the long months of trial, error, argument, and danger that surround the formation of a union, the movie focuses voyeuristically on Norma Rae's relationships with her father, her husband, Reuben, and assorted other men. The decisive rapport with women workers is strikingly absent.

Dynamic actress Sally Field brilliantly captures the flavor of Norma's sardonic, twangy humor, her untutored intelligence, her quick sensitivity, and her earthy and honest approach to life. But the whole person, growing and learning, never appears, so her acts of courage and her developing emancipation remain erratic, incomprehensible, unmotivated. Norma's refusal to be bought off with the bribe of a better job, her defiance of the bosses, her lack of race prejudice, etc., seem to come out of nowhere.

Just as Norma Rae comes packaged as a stereotypical romantic female, so Reuben is an instant organizer. He simply arrives in town, shrugs off a few snarls from the townsfolk, jauntily passes out leaflets to the workers, and sets up shop in his motel room (very realistically furnished!). He is not confronted by any of the real menace of a small, North Carolina milltown. Reuben never tangles with anything more alarming than cow manure.

As Norma Rae's mentor, Reuben lectures her on how to talk to Southern men: don't bruise the male ego, he warns. What should she read? He offers nothing on unionism or the history of ideas, but does introduce her to poet Dylan Thomas, whose disrespect for women is monumental. He has her typing and phoning and

information-gathering, but we never hear Norma Rae making a speech or see her writing a leaflet or planning strategy. She is a passive *object* in relation to him, responding to and serving him rather than her own economic and human needs.

And since a comradely partnership between Norma and Reuben is apparently impossible for Hollywood to conceive, he can only maintain this necessarily platonic relationship by dashing out the door to seek prostitutes for relief. The basic theme of the picture, then, is the tension and suspense of their thwarted, sublimated sex-love. Boy never gets girl or vice-versa, and the motives for all this nobility are never revealed, but the juxtaposition of unionism and sexual frustration is a peculiarly puritanical approach to class struggle.

The nitty-gritty of daily organizing is subordinated to the non-love motif. Reuben demands the right to display union notices inside the mill, and wins handily. He speaks eloquently of union solidarity, but we never learn *how* these Blacks and whites came together in the Black church, where his first meeting is held. Norma and others are apparently *charmed* into joining the union, and the members have incredibly little to say at any time!

When Norma gets Reuben proof that the company is inciting racial conflict, she is fired, arrested and jailed. She is so humiliated by this disgrace that she apologizes to her kids for her unorthodox life! Very shortly thereafter, the union is inexplicably certified.

Now, in life, this is when a very hard part of any union struggle really begins, but Reuben drives breezily away, back to New York, mission accomplished! Norma Rae is left standing forlornly near the mill walls. Sigh . . . her Pygmalion is gone and all she has left is her union.

Since the producers took no risk of teaching the audience how to build a union, the film makes the organizing of J.P. Stevens look like a pushover. In reality, Crystal Lee Jordan was blacklisted and never regained a mill job. Her union never managed to negotiate a contract. And despite a national boycott, J.P. Stevens' profits are increasing.

Fortunately, Barbara Kopple, Academy Award-winning producer of *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, has arranged with Crystal Lee Jordan to film the real story. And Jordan may sue director Ritt, a former victim of the Hollywood blacklist who refused Jordan's demand that the union campaign be emphasized over her personal problems.

Too bad Ritt learned nothing from his fellow victims of the witchhunt who left us that superb legacy, *Salt of the Earth*, the truly classic saga of the class, race and sex wars of our epoch.

—Janet Sutherland



Clara Fraser

## Shadows and substances

An icepick slammed into the brain slew Leon Trotsky. Everybody knows that.

What everybody doesn't know is that an identical weapon was viciously used in the same way to slaughter a talented and beautiful woman radical of the Thirties—Frances Farmer, once-acclaimed star of Broadway and Hollywood.

The perpetrator of the first crime was a depraved Stalinist henchman whose heinous act was a front-page sensation. But the coldblooded murderers of the outspoken and rebellious actress were never brought to justice because they were the political establishment.

The usual cabal of FBI and CIA agents, rightwing vigilantes, police, film studio moguls, Tory judges, and the power structure of the city of Seattle (Farmer's hometown) joined forces in this case with the psychiatric witch doctors, and conspired to harness the unconventional politics of a brave and brilliant feminist-before-her-time.

For the crime of dissidence, Farmer was arrested, confined to the loony bin (Western State Hospital in Steilacoom, Washington) and subjected to a snakepit regimen of torture and degradation previously reserved for recalcitrant Wobblies and Asian immigrants. She was administered incredible doses of untested drugs, electroshock and hydrotherapy, and was mass-raped by orderlies.

Yet they couldn't break her mind, her will or her indomitable revolutionary spirit. So in 1948—national witchhunt time—they plunged the "therapeutic" pick into her magnificent brain. Farmer disintegrated into passivity and died at 56, a burned-out, disoriented recluse.

This terrible tale of psychiatric abuse, of totalitarian mind control to enforce conformity, is cautiously but indignantly told by William Arnold in his stunning book *Shadowland*, a biography of Farmer—and of America.

• • •

Anticommunist hysteria is endemic to the Pacific Northwest.

Its lurid history is replete with the corpses of IWW labor martyrs; the radical Congressman Marion Zioncheck, hounded to death by J. Edgar Hoover and his cronies; Anna Louise Strong, revolutionary journalist without honor in her Seattle hometown; and innumerable other rebels who dared challenge the status quo and proclaim their partisanship of a better way to live and to arrange social interactions.

Of course, lots of us hellraisers and muckrakers and social critics do manage, most of the time, to fly over the cuckoo's nest, evade the cops, outflank the neo-nazi terrorists, and escape the prefrontal lobotomies.

Where we *do* get it is squarely in the pocketbook. The ruling class simply exerts economic and legal sanctions against us so that we are excluded from gainful employment. *Job discrimination is the shadowy shape of organized brainwashing and political reprisal in our era.*

• • •

I ought to know. From the World War II loyalty oaths through the dismal days of the McCarthy purges and up until this very moment, I have been afflicted by economic harassment.

For five long, insolvent years, I have struggled to regain my job with City Light, whose management fired me because of their political and sex bias. And now, after incredible legal adventures involving the top levels of city government, my Hearing is slated for September.

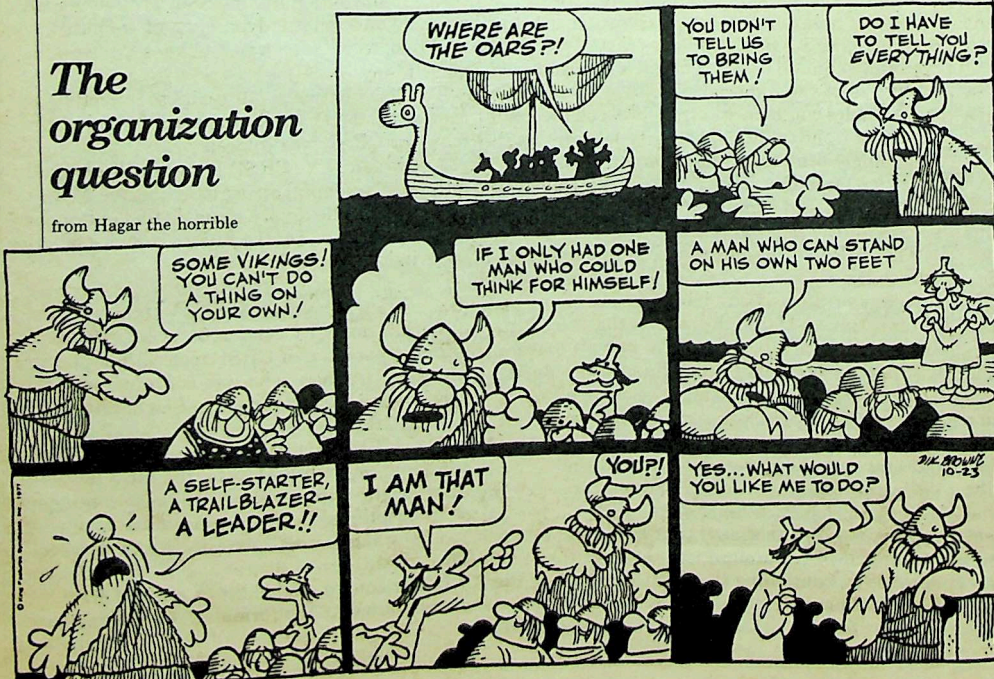
And it wouldn't surprise me at all if a pompous practitioner from the psychiatric establishment materializes on the witness stand to speak to *my* sanity and competence.

As author Arnold says, "It can happen to anyone." And it mostly happens to women. But experience has prepared us for these mental health medievalists, and we know how to prove that traditional psychiatry is as obsolete as the power structure that wields it against us, as absurd as the FBI informants lurking in the shadows of political cases.

We will not forget or forsake Frances Farmer. Amidst our troubles we will pay tribute to her fierce strength of character. And we will avenge her sacrifice in all our victories to come, in this new age of Aquarius.

## The organization question

from Hagar the horrible





● **A Victory for Socialist Feminism** describes the birth-pangs of a political party. When, in 1967, the Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party separated from the parent body and became the Freedom Socialist Party, one of the unresolvable differences that had precipitated the split was the Woman Question. And in the new party's first two years of life, its feminist principles were tested even further in the crucible of experience and all but the most determined champions of women's equality ended up out of the party. Those comrades who stuck to their feminist battle stations emerged tempered enough to go on to build a unique kind of revolutionary party.

The issue that triggered the split in the young FSP was a divorce between two leading members, Clara and Richard Fraser (Clara Kaye and Richard Kirk). Washington State divorce law at that time put the wife at a terrible disadvantage, and when Richard Fraser forced the issue and contested Clara's divorce and custody suit, the party had to face the then-disputed question of whether a political principle or a private matter was at stake. Fortunately for its survival, the party made the correct decision—an historic decision.

Clara Fraser, considerably ahead of her time, refused to be intimidated by male chauvinist "radicals" who scornfully accused her of confusing the personal and the political. Nor would she be shamed into secrecy and submission by any individualistic fear of public "disgrace" over the exposure of her domestic battles for equal rights. She saw clearly that the physical abuse, the husband's alcoholism, her economic burdens, and the reactionary political and moral slander against her character, wielded as blackmail in the child custody dispute, were not just the center of *her* case, but the heart of women's oppression everywhere. And these outrages were no more to be tolerated in a radical party than anywhere else; on the contrary, in a Marxist organization energetically espousing the great principles of women's emancipation, Richard Fraser's conduct was particularly reprehensible.

The ensuing intra-party conflict categorically separated the socialist feminists from the hypocrites, and the **Victory** transpired when the conflict deepened into rift and the rift into outright split. Because the women and their few male defenders won out, this chapter of feminist history warrants close attention today, when the women's movement is scrutinizing the Left in search of a basis for a principled alliance.

And the book speaks just as tellingly to male-dominated radical groups who are still wondering just what it *is* that women revolutionaries want!

### III. The Woman Question Emerges

**W**hat does a party do when its most prominent spokesman and ideologist falls apart politically and personally, and is transformed into a detriment to the party and a danger to its integrity?

This difficult question was thrust upon the FSP less than a year after its formation, and the struggle for an answer occupied a great portion of the party's time and energies during 1967.

In the course of this turmoil, all the internal differences were greatly sharpened and relations grew increasingly embittered. Furthermore, a new issue was added to the list of disputed questions that symptomized the deepening internal crisis. It was *this* issue, and the differences that emerged over how to deal with it, that gave decisive impetus to the clarification of the internecine conflict.

The leader in question was Comrade Dick Kirk. The new and fundamental issue raised, in a highly peculiar fashion, was the Woman Question.

#### The Crisis of a Leader

As the principal architect of our tendency's position on the Black question, Comrade Kirk was for years our most prominent political representative and spokesman within the milieu of radical politics and the ghetto. Nevertheless, long before the January, 1967 conference, he was experiencing a singular political and personal degeneration, which accelerated with time.

His theoretical work was reduced to zero, and

# A victory for socialist feminism

## Organizer's report to the 1969 FSP conference

he showed an increasing propensity toward opportunistic maneuvering in the mass movement and the national political arena. His behavior inside the party was increasingly factious, arrogant and disruptive. His characteristic response to criticism was sullen withdrawal, punctuated by outbursts of violent rage.

His irrational and outrageous behavior was rendered virtually uncontrollable by his growing alcoholism, an advanced condition which he alternately denied or used as an excuse for his actions.

By the January conference, Comrade Kirk's irresponsibility was so flagrant that he had been relieved of most of his duties. Only national correspondence, which he worked at sporadically, remained. The decision to place him on the Literary and Correspondence Committee was largely motivated by the desire of the entire party, including the coalescing opposition, to be free of his disruptive scenes. It was hoped that by confinement to literary work he could still be induced to make a positive contribution to the party. But he couldn't.

The new executive was hardly installed in office

***One faction in the party viewed women, and the party, in mystical, stereotyped and subjective terms . . . the other faction made clear that it aimed to fight for translating abstract ideological norms into practical standards of comradely, non-chauvinist conduct to be used as firm guidelines in real life.***

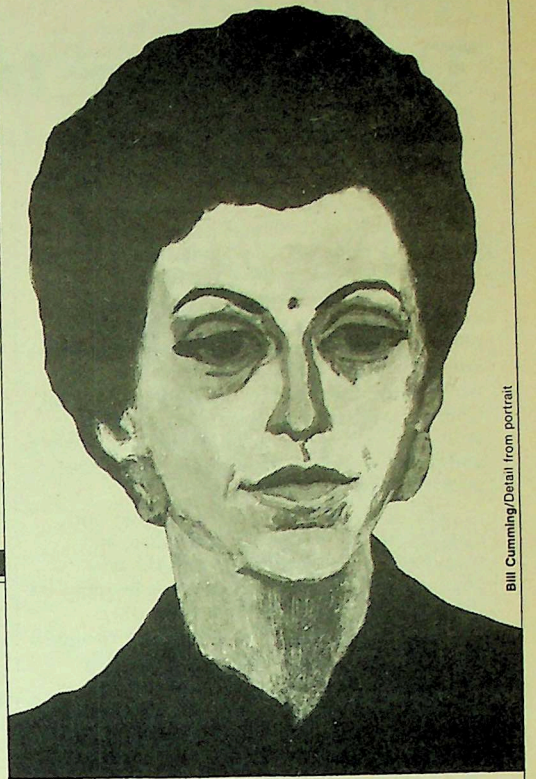
before Kirk unleashed a virulent campaign of innuendo and slander against it, which paralleled the attacks of the minority. In the following months, his antics became more and more intolerable. Explosive, undisciplined behavior in party meetings, veiled organizational charges and vitriolic personal attacks against comrades, drunken and violent scenes at internal meetings and public functions—all became part of his regular modus operandi.

#### Rampant Male Supremacy

Finally, his political degeneration and rapid personal disintegration became linked to an increasingly overt and vicious male chauvinism.

Our tendency has always been characterized by its advanced position on the Woman Question. Kirk had never voiced any political disagreement on this position; in fact, he fancied himself one of its foremost proponents. In practice, however, his actions belied his political pretensions.

His male supremacist attitude expressed itself most openly and clearly in his intense personal vendetta against Comrade Clara, to whom he was legally married, although they had been separated for more than a year. He made repeated demands on her for money. She was the target of his con-



Bill Cumming/Detail from portrait

tinual, personal harassment to the point of public physical violence. In effect, he denied her right to a life of her own. He unilaterally assumed custody of their son and possession of their jointly-owned house, and refused to discuss either child custody or a financial-property agreement with her.

Thus he condemned the child to an upbringing by a raging drunk, *despite the danger to the child*. And he blackmailed Clara into continuing to give him money by threatening to provoke a legal-political scandal if she refused.

In her struggle to free herself and her child from this unrelieved oppression, Comrade Clara was completely alone. The party maintained an Olympian detachment from such a "personal" matter, and Clara never raised it, not wishing to burden the party with the problem.

Given the party's indulgence of his organizational disturbances and rampant chauvinism, Kirk made no effort to curb his behavior. Instead, he repeatedly raised the charge that he was being slandered and maligned, and demanded an investigation of "corridor gossip" against him—a demand which he conveniently refused to put in the form of a motion requiring action.

#### Kirk Is Finally Challenged

In May, 1967 the executive decided that something had to be done about Kirk's repeated charges. They named a sub-committee to investigate these vague charges, but Kirk refused to meet with it, claiming he hadn't requested it! A second sub-committee was named, and Kirk's shabby performance was repeated. The matter dragged into July, with Kirk still demanding "vindication" of something or other.

The second sub-committee submitted a report to the executive detailing its lack of success, and charging Kirk with a serious violation of party discipline for his refusal to meet with an authoritative body mandated to investigate the charges *he* was flinging. The sub-committee recommended that since he was incapable of functioning in a rational manner, he be either suspended or expelled from the party.

The executive substantially agreed with the report and formed a **Control Commission** with powers to investigate, bring charges, conduct a trial and decide on the necessity and nature of any disciplinary action.

Also, at the request of Clara, the executive directed the Control Commission to assign an **arbiter** to mediate an out-of-court divorce and custody settlement between herself and Kirk, adjudicating the disputed issues in the light of the *party's* principles rather than those of the bourgeois court. Kirk was constantly threatening legal action and Clara had come to believe that the party had to take steps now to avoid an unprecedented and scandalous confrontation between two leading party members in a public divorce court.

Kirk's provocations were of the sort that no



serious organization can afford to tolerate. His disruptiveness and chronic, uncontrollable violations of the basic rules of comradely behavior, along with his chauvinistic persecution of Comrade Clara, posed a threat to the political and organizational integrity of the party. His growing tendency to create public uproars threatened the party with imminent scandal.

Virtually every comrade felt that Kirk represented *at least* a serious problem that should be dealt with in *some* fashion. At this time (before the election campaign had generated any serious frictions), there still appeared to be grounds for believing that the Kirk problem could be separated from other internal problems, and that the party could unite to bring him into line.

With this view in mind, the Control Commission was set up. To make sure it would not be an instrument of any faction or grouping, the Commission was made large enough (five members) to accommodate representatives of every current of opinion in the party. It included Comrade Lee, even though she (and Comrade Frank) had bitterly opposed the formation of a Control Commission. It was hoped that this broadly-based body, backed by the overwhelming majority of the party, could resolve the "Kirk problem" without resorting to expulsion.

### Debacle of the Control Commission

The Control Commission, unfortunately, did not live up to expectations, partly because its proceedings were interrupted for several weeks in the late summer by the election campaign, but more fundamentally because of its own internal-paralysis.

From its inception, the Control Commission was bogged down with legalistic pettifoggery over its "proper jurisdiction," and endless disputes over procedural questions—usually raised and pushed to the limit by Comrade Lee. These were countered by the "hards" on the commission (Comrades Melba Windoffer and John Severn) who were able to convince the wavering "center" (Al and Skip) of the need for decisive action, pulling them along step by step.

Finding her efforts at procedural obstruction and obfuscation frustrated, Lee adopted another strategy. She raised a barrage of counter-charges against Comrade Clara, to the effect that:

(1) Clara was *responsible* for Kirk's misbehavior, since she had failed in her *proper domestic role of keeping him happy, productive and under control*.

(2) By insisting that the Control Commission use its authority to force Kirk into an equitable divorce settlement, Clara was lending unwarranted political weight to what was essentially a *"personal"* dispute, outside the jurisdiction of party disciplinary bodies.

(3) Clara was using the divorce and custody dispute issue as a cover-up maneuver to conceal her attempt, along with the "Stalinist" organizer, Comrade Bob, to wrest control of the party from the "established leadership." The Control Commission was part of a devious conspiracy, Lee warned, to "get Kirk," and Clara had even gone so far as to *"maneuver Kirk into acting badly"* so he could be dealt with as a disciplinary problem, rather than in political debate.

This reactionary, soap opera attribution of Kirk's weaknesses to Clara's lack of wifely devotion had long been Kirk's main line of defense, and now it was being accorded *political sanction*.

Lee's new strategy was effective. After months of wavering and reluctant assent to the arguments of the "hards," the male center (Al and Skip) collapsed and stumbled gracelessly into the opposition camp. A new theory was proclaimed: Comrade Clara was now and had always been a *WITCH*.

By October, *the original case against Kirk had been completely submerged and replaced by an inquisition against Clara and every other comrade who had demanded enforcement of women's rights and equal standards of party discipline*. The oppositional nucleus (Frank and Lee) had gained effective control of the Control Commission by dint of discovering the *one* issue around which they could regroup all the vague and disparate oppositional currents into a single faction.

This faction, which never openly admitted its own factional character, had one "principle" and one rallying cry: "Stop Clara and her clique!"

So there now existed a *faction* in the party that viewed women, and the nature of the party, in mystical, stereotyped and subjective terms. And there could be no resolution of the inner-party conflict until the basic issues could be brought before the membership in a programmatic and materialist manner.

### Counter-Faction

At Comrade Clara's initiative, a counter-faction was formed, openly organized to defend our official position and historical tradition of *women's emancipation and the Leninist nature of the party*. Comrade Clara simply announced at a party meeting that she was calling for the formation of a counter-faction and invited the membership to join it. Characterizing her faction as bolshevik, and the opposition as menshevik, she candidly declared a political contest for leadership of the party.

This faction made clear from the beginning that it aimed to fight for translating abstract ideological norms into practical standards of comradely, non-chauvinist conduct to be used as firm guidelines in real-life situations. The pro-woman, pro-party faction aimed to win a majority and gain the authority to enforce these standards, and end the previous pattern of arbitrary, capricious, eclectic and male chauvinist practices.

Now, at last, ideological lines were drawn and issues defined. The field was clear for a decisive contest. The party was geared to fight out and settle the political issues, including the question of leadership.

The contest was to take place at the forthcoming party convention, scheduled for December, 1967. For a short time, it appeared that the FSP would settle its internal crisis by a principled confrontation of opposing views, in accordance with the Leninist tradition.

*She simply announced at a meeting that she was calling for the formation of a women's emancipation faction and invited the membership to join it.*

But Clara's flat and unambiguous declaration of program and purpose completely unnerved the opposition. Their pandemonium telegraphed split, and split did occur, determined, however, not by the results of a convention, but by the desperation of Kirk and his faction.

### IV. Split

**S**ince the Control Commission, now exalted by fear and morbid hysteria, proved powerless to render justice and enforce sanity, Clara had appealed to the party membership directly. The non-controlling Control Commission was finished.

Virtually the last official act of the Control Commission chairman, Comrade Al, was to confess once again the commission's complete inability to control or modify Kirk's actions.

Kirk had refused to meet with a party-assigned mediator to discuss terms of divorce and child custody, declaring his intention to carry the contest into court. And even though he was employed, he informed Clara that he was filing bankruptcy, a malicious action which, under Washington State's community property laws, would result in garnishment of Clara's pay check to pay his personal debts—and in loss of her job.

Under these circumstances, Comrade Al announced, Clara should "just go to court" to protect herself, because "there is nothing the Control Commission can do with Kirk."

Given this ultimatum from the Control Commission chairman, representing the Control Commission *majority*, Clara had no option but to proceed with filing for divorce in order to protect herself from garnishment.

Kirk responded immediately with a counter-suit! Now the party was confronted with the actuality of an impending court fight between two of its leading members. It had two choices: it could abstain from the situation, letting the principals slug it out in court, or it could intervene directly, using its authority to bring about a settlement out of court and an uncontested divorce, precisely what Clara had asked it to do.

In order to implement the latter course, the FSP would have to do something it had never done before—enforce party tradition and discipline in a case it had always preferred to treat as a purely *personal* matter. But this abstentionist course

created grave dangers for the party.

In the first place, the very fact of a bitter legal contest between two leading comrades over a woman's right to a divorce, and over child custody, threatened a very damaging political scandal. Even more important was the *nature of the contest*.

In any divorce case, the issues upheld by a bolshevik party, particularly one noted for its strong stance on women, are different and often opposite to the capitalist marriage norms of the bourgeois courts.

In this particular case, these *ideological* issues would appear in an especially explosive form. Kirk was obviously out for blood, and was using any and all bourgeois weapons at hand to gain victory.

### Scarlet Letter Stuff

He clearly revealed his political treachery in the content of his counter-divorce suit. He accused Clara, among other crimes, of being an "unfit mother" because of "frequent absences from the home," "staying out all night," failure "to make a real home" for him, "insistence on working outside the home," and conversely "refusing" to work during certain periods because she "preferred doing other things," i.e., a very few full-time party assignments.

The incredibly medieval essence of these charges should be apparent to any socialist or feminist. Kirk was standing four-square on the ground of the injured male done wrong by his little woman, who, rejecting all the proper duties of wifery, had frustrated his efforts to build a conventional home. And implicit in his charges was the accusation of adultery. The FSP oppositionists pretended not to see this implication, but it was clearly understood by the lawyers on both sides, and Kirk's lawyer soon made it explicit in the courtroom by *naming the party organizer as the other man!*

This scandalmongering, from the standpoint of FSP policy on women's rights, not to mention simple decency, constituted an absolutely impermissible act of Babbity and *open scabbery*—an outright denial of the fundamental right of sexual freedom of choice, which socialist and humanist tradition have always regarded as a fundamental liberty.

Even more important, the whole thrust of Kirk's legal case was designed to deny Comrade Clara her right to live as a professional revolutionary devoting her life to the *movement* rather than to his care and feeding. By flinging Clara's intensely political lifestyle (how else could she explain her "frequent absences from the home") into court for public scrutiny and evaluation by a bourgeois judge, Kirk was endangering the party, feminism, and socialist humanism.

*Kirk was publicly finking on the Woman Question and on the party*. That was the reality of the matter. The question before the party was very simple: did it in fact take its own politics—its own position on women's equality—seriously enough to intervene and stop overt scabbery? Yes or no?

It was this "yes or no" that determined the final polarization within the party and provoked a split.

The executive finally said yes. Kirk's legal line was politically and ethically impermissible. Recognizing the grave danger for the party's integrity and morale posed by Kirk's counter-suit, the executive resolved to take the matter directly to the party ranks.

### Control or Expel

There were two executive proposals:

(1) That the Control Commission be dissolved as an utterly ineffective body.

(2) That Kirk either withdraw his lawsuit against Clara immediately and submit the issues to arbitration within the party, or be expelled as an *open fink*.

The first proposal was agreed to by all.

The second precipitated a division along majority-minority lines, though there was still some hesitancy about taking decisive action within the majority (bolshevik) faction. The point of the second proposal, however, was not to press for an immediate vote for expulsion, but to present the alternatives posed by Kirk's actions squarely before the party ranks: he must be either *controlled* or *expelled*.

Two long meetings were devoted to a discussion of the proposal, long enough for the full implications of Kirk's legal strategy to become clear to the party majority. Finally, the alternatives were embodied in the following motion:

(1) That Kirk be enjoined from pursuing a contested divorce in a public courtroom;

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(2) That a mediator, mandated to determine the actual terms of a divorce settlement on the basis of socialist ethical norms, be appointed;

(3) That if Kirk failed to comply with these conditions, he be summarily expelled.

The measure passed by one vote, over the strenuous objections of the opposition to the effect that the party was *exceeding its authority* by intervening in such a "personal" matter, that it was a maneuver to get rid of Kirk, etc. "You can't DO that!" was the outcry from the ranks of the minority.

Nevertheless, the decision held. Two days after the measure was passed, Kirk walked into a meeting with Clara and the mediator, and two minutes later he walked out, bellowing, "I'll see you in court." He was expelled at the next party meeting.

### Desertion

At the following membership meeting, the opposition raised a barrage of procedural objections to the expulsion, declaring that the decision was based on an "artificial majority" that didn't reflect the real relationship of forces in the party.

The entire meeting (which included all party members in Seattle) was devoted to a discussion of the expulsion, and the expulsion decision was ratified—again by one vote.

And now the opposition took an unprecedented step. Rather than stay and fight for a political decision at the party convention scheduled for a few weeks away, *they walked out*—over a procedural question on which, if their claims to represent a majority were to be taken seriously, they could have won an easy victory.

"I resign! I've had enough!" Frank roared dramatically, and with this rallying cry, he stalked from the hall, his troops stumbling after him, out of the headquarters and out of the party.

This desertion took place toward the end of November, 1967. The behavior of these former members in the succeeding months showed the split to be permanent and indelible.

### Goodby, Already

At first, the deserters tried to open phony "unity" negotiations, proposing a "parity" conference in which they would represent not only themselves but the proxies of some of the party's national supporters they had won over to their side after they left the party.

Moreover, Kirk, as one of their leaders, was to be involved in the proposed negotiations. In reply, the FSP invited them to reapply individually for membership. Kirk was informed that as an expelled member, he had the right to appeal his expulsion at a party convention, but no right to "parity."

The party also demanded the return of its Publication Fund, hundreds of dollars with which the deserters had absconded.

This ended negotiations.

But the former oppositionists suddenly discovered that instead of being a group that had quit the party, they *were* the party.

Again claiming the "majority," they demanded that we recognize their right to the name of Freedom Socialist Party, the headquarters, Freeway Hall, and the assets of the organization.

We said no, don't be absurd. And the split was complete.

The third installment of A Victory for Socialist Feminism will appear in the Fall, 1979 issue of the *Freedom Socialist*.

# Malice Aforethought

by Ms. Tami



**News Item:** The Shah of Iran wades in the sea.

**Comment:** Jaws! Where are you now that we need you???

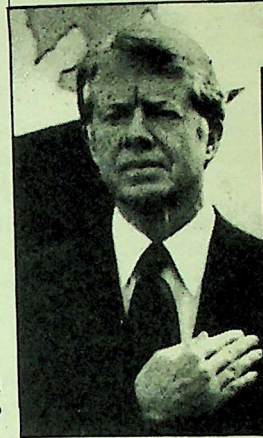
### "My Man" Department

Swinger Margaret Trudeau says her estranged husband, Canada's ex-prime minister Pierre Trudeau, punched her in the face when she left him.

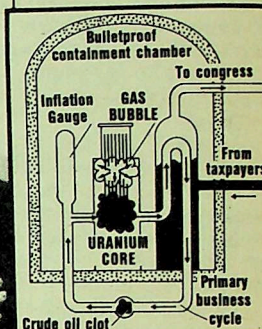
"Actually, I was quite pleased," she bubbled to a *Ladies Home Journal* reporter. "It was the first time in a very long while that I'd been able to really get a response from Pierre. It showed that he really loved me. In a strange way, it made us closer."

In a strange way, this is the end between us, Peggy.

### All Heart



Carter's hand covers painful troublespot.



Enlargement of interior of afflicted area.

### Cup-Cakes in Court

Throughout history, sugar has been the morbid cause of distorted reason and emotion in all who partook of it.

Marie Antoinette was only one of many who was forced into a profligate life of wealth and misuse of absolute power because of the enormously high sugar-content of her diet.

The people of France, however, were less sophisticated than the modern-day jury in Dan White's double murder trial in San Francisco.

France sentenced Marie to death, despite her junk-food hang ups. A last-hour advocate of better nutrition, Marie faced her insensitive detractors with the ringing cry, "Let THEM eat cake!"

But Dan White's "Twinkie" defense — "emotional unbalance caused by junk food" — got him off. Too bad; it certainly lacked the directness of his first plea. He claimed he was attacked by the Sugar Plum Fairy.

## ... workers states

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parasitic, bureaucratic stratum arose. It wormed its way into the Communist Party in order to exploit the party's power and prestige toward the end of acquiring privileges. Stalin was to become the reflection and expression of this bureaucratic caste.

Deathly afraid of the discontent of the peasantry, and demoralized by the defeats of the revolutions in Western Europe in the early 1920s and the continued threat of imperialist intervention, this privileged caste was intent on consolidating *itself*.

As long as Soviet power rested on the revolutionary workers of the world, imperialism was its mortal enemy. So the regime began to bargain for peace at the cost of betrayal of the international proletariat.

By 1928 the doctrine of a self-sufficient Russian socialism was proclaimed by the Stalinist regime and imposed on the Communist International, for socialist isolationism was a theoretical formula that aptly expressed the cynicism and hostility of Stalin and his cohorts toward the prospects for world revolution.

And for thirty long years, the workers of the world were criminally disarmed by the confusion of the great achievements of the Russian Revolution with the parasitic interests and scandalous policies

of the ruling caste in the USSR.

Not until the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 did the mass of communists realize that they could both defend the revolutionary conquests and resist dictatorship. The specious umbilical cord had finally been cut.

### The Chickens Come Home to Roost

With masterful foresight, Trotsky predicted in *The Third International After Lenin* precisely where the policy of socialism in one country would lead.

The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state if only there is not intervention. From this there can and must follow... a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism, that is to say, will solve the main historical question. The task of the parties in the Communist International assumes, therefore, an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power. It is, of course, not a question of the subjective intentions but of the objective logic of political thought.

Trotsky captures here the total dynamics of Stalinism.

In the British general strike of 1926, Stalin sold out to the capitalists.

In 1933, he paved the way for Hitler.

In the Spanish Revolution of 1936, Stalin sought an alliance with the bourgeoisie instead of the workers.

He helped restore Western European capitalism and its colonial empires out of the ashes of World War II, with the avid cooperation of the Communist parties of France, Italy and Greece.

Finally, dropping all pretenses, the Stalinists formally dissolved the Comintern.

Since 1925, the Chinese Revolution was betrayed by Soviet deference to the Chinese bourgeoisie and to world imperialism. Is it any wonder, then, that soon after the Chinese neo-Stalinists attained power, they quickly made their own accommodation with U.S. imperialism at the expense of the treacherous Russian bureaucracy?

From the Yalta Conference in 1945, to the

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Geneva Conference in 1954 and the Paris peace accords in 1973, the entire course of the revolution in Indochina was marked by Soviet and Chinese attempts to bargain with U.S. imperialism over the fate of the Vietnamese revolution. At the same time, the Vietnamese Communists bargained over the Kampuchean revolution in order to maintain supply bases there.

Yet no primary economic impulse thrusts workers states into military conflict with each other in Southeast Asia. The current war is merely the product of the pathetic and doomed attempts of the contending bureaucracies to widen the sphere of their own political control and acquire more bargaining chips in their quixotic quest for 'peaceful coexistence' with U.S. imperialism.

Hence, *the quest for territorial control is the primary motivation behind the current conflict in S.E. Asia.*

Vietnam is allied with the USSR against China because Vietnam cannot risk having its entire border encircled by nations sympathetic to Beijing. And China cannot accept defeat of its political ally in Kampuchea, the Khmer Rouge, which opposes the Soviet Union and its ally, the Vietnamese.

### Proletarian Internationalism

The Communist League and the First International were founded by Marx and Engels on the principle of proletarian internationalism.

This was not a moral precept but a profoundly *materialist* prerequisite for the construction of socialist society, given the social dynamic of the capitalist mode of production.

Marx showed how capitalism, in the course of establishing itself as a worldwide mode of production, smashes through all tribal, national and religious obstacles to the expropriation of the mass of independent producers, and creates uniform conditions for their exploitation as a proletariat. *But in so doing, capital also creates the conditions for the worldwide unification of the proletariat, hence creating the agency for its own destruction.*

Lenin, in his thesis on the national and colonial questions at the Second Congress of the Comintern, defined the general task of socialism, rising above the national stage of struggle, as "the creation of a united world economy, regulated according to a general plan by the proletariat of all nations, the tendency toward which is already revealed with complete clarity under capitalism and undoubtedly will receive further development and full achievement under socialism."

From such ideas was the law of the permanent revolution laid out by Marx in 1850 and applied by Trotsky to the epoch of imperialism.

This law explains the necessity for every democratic struggle and every anticolonial and national struggle to go over to the struggle for socialist revolution under the independent banner of the proletariat, and for every victorious socialist revolution to either extend itself internationally or perish.

Armed with this understanding of the critical task of unifying the international struggle against the world bourgeoisie, Trotskyists have always battled against the reactionary nationalism of socialism in one country, whether promoted by Stalinists, Maoists, or hybrid bureaucracies.

Trotsky had brilliantly predicted that the social-

ism in one country theory was "the beginning of the disintegration of the International along the lines of social patriotism," wherein various ruling Communist parties would chauvinistically betray each other.

The alternative to workers state cannibalism is the *permanent revolution*, which permits workers to see a clear road toward unity and victory for the international proletariat. Among Trotskyists, however, there are political differences over the Indochinese events which call into question some of the fundamental precepts of Trotskyism. An ideological debate of great magnitude is underway.

### Debate in the 4th International

Two major viewpoints are currently contending within the 4th International, whose function is the programmatic rearmament of world Trotskyism.

The civil war in Kampuchea has raised critical questions concerning the nature of the respective states involved and the nature of a correct approach to conflicts among ruling bureaucracies of deformed workers states.

The U.S. Socialist Workers Party, leading a minority faction in the 4th International, supports Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. Ernest Mandel, leader of the majority faction, opposes Vietnamese troops crossing the border. Both factions roundly condemn the Chinese invasion of Vietnam.

The SWP calls the Kampuchean state under Pol Pot a *capitalist* aggressor, which justifies Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea. But the SWP offers no explanation, aside from Pol Pot's brutality, of how capitalism could have existed in Kampuchea given the collectivized means of production and the abolition of trade and the means of exchange.

Although there was no class of domestic capitalists in Kampuchea, the SWP says that Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime, the apparatus of the state, controlled a capitalist economy. Kampuchea, then was a *state capitalist* society.

Mandel contested this view in the April 9 *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* (English-language voice of the 4th International):

**Once one accepts the utterly revisionist idea that one can have a capitalist state without capitalists, without a ruling capitalist class, without capitalist property and production relations, and without the economy obeying the laws of motion of capitalism, then 99% of the traditional Marxist case against the various theories of state capitalism... collapses.**

(Comrade Mandel might have noted that the SWP, which expelled Mandel's now defunct International Majority Tendency, recently recruited the Revolutionary Marxist Committee—which holds a state capitalist position on China and the USSR.)

Mandel is correct as against the SWP on this question. He goes on to say that the war among workers states in S.E. Asia can in no way be justified because it is a product of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Chinese, Russian, Vietnamese, and Kampuchean revolutions.

The principles of proletarian internationalism, he says, have been overthrown by all the competing Stalinist parties, all attempting to secure areas of influence to bolster their own national interests.

Mandel says that the presence of Vietnamese

troops on Kampuchean soil, supporting the pro-Vietnam wing of the Kampuchean Stalinists, will retard and not advance the Kampuchean revolution.

It does appear certain that the primary motivation behind the Vietnamese entrance into Kampuchea was not international proletarian solidarity, but the need to defend the long border between Kampuchea and Vietnam. Massive military assistance was given to the KNUFNS in order to oust the Khmer Rouge, which is allied with China, and to install a pro-Vietnam regime.

But Vietnamese motives notwithstanding, no support whatever can be given to the truly monstrous Khmer Rouge regime, which perpetrated a forced collectivization at an inconceivable cost in human lives. The regime caused a disastrous setback in the self-organization and advance toward socialism of the Kampuchean masses. And a Khmer Rouge victory in the present armed conflict would further retard the revolution in Indochina.

An abstentionist stance by world Trotskyism, in the face of a bitter civil war, could well be a serious political error. In fact, the majority faction of the 4th International has begun to move away from such a course, and now calls for the Vietnamese to facilitate the self-organization and arming of the Kampuchean masses.

### Let the Kampucheans Decide!

The Kampuchean civil war is distorted by the struggle between contending Stalinist and neo-Stalinist factions.

Currently, the KNUFNS holds political power, resting on the military strength of the occupying Vietnamese troops. The Khmer Rouge is either underground, in the mountains and forests, or in Thailand, militarily allied with supporters of the U.S. puppet regime which ruled Kampuchea until 1975. The Khmer Rouge also receives aid from the Thai military dictatorship.

Certain elements of the KNUFNS program merit support: rebuilding the educational and health care systems, freedom of travel, repopulation of the cities, shortened hours of work, and reinstatement of a system of wages for hours worked.

But the Stalinist leadership of the KNUFNS has never demonstrated any willingness to link itself with the working masses and to mobilize and arm them. Hence, it cannot be regarded as a *revolutionary leadership*.

The Vietnamese troops at present appear to be acting as an army of occupation to insure that the Beijing-backed Khmer Rouge does not regain power. World revolutionists should call on Vietnam to demonstrate real internationalism by supplying and training an army of indigenous Kampuchean workers capable of resisting U.S. imperialism, the Khmer Rouge Stalinists, and Chinese pressures.

Then the Kampucheans could raise their own demands and seize control of their own country.

Such a development would be a first gigantic step toward democratic socialism in Kampuchea, a step whose reverberations would be felt throughout Indochina, Asia, and the whole world.

For as the permanent, continuous revolution arrives at ever-higher stages, the death-knell is sounded for the disintegrating Stalinist monolith, and the end to the century of moribund capitalism is in sight.

Humanity never sets itself a task it cannot fulfill.

## ... joining FSP

from page 14

caucus which was challenged and then defeated by one vote.

Throughout this experience, the two of us drew ever closer to the FSP and to Radical Women, for we had telescoped, in this concentrated struggle, the history of the FSP effort to make feminism a living reality instead of a token hypocrisy in the radical milieu. Together we had fought under the same banner of Leninism expressed so boldly by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*:

**It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the spectre of Communism with a manifesto of the party itself... The Communists... are... practically the most advanced and resolute sector of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others;... they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly**

understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement... The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims.

### Revolutionary Integrity

We firmly believe in the need to build a principled vanguard party to salvage Trotskyism from the depredations of the SWP, which has sacrificed revolutionary audacity on the flimsy altar of popularity-at-any-price.

In the FSP we have discovered a surging and inspiring revolutionary force that challenges the politically moribund SWP.

We are proud to take our place in the ranks of the Freedom Socialist Party.

June, 1979  
New York City

Comrade Weiss, a veteran Trotskyist and former SWP leader, is National CRSP Coordinator. Comrade Kass, a teacher of Marxism, is chairman of New York CRSP. The above article is excerpted from a longer statement obtainable from New York or Seattle FSP.

## CRSP mailbox

Dedicated to the regroupment of U.S. Trotskyists, the workingclass women, gays, people of color, and white male radicals who compose the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party engage in free-wheeling discussion and social actions on a widespread front.

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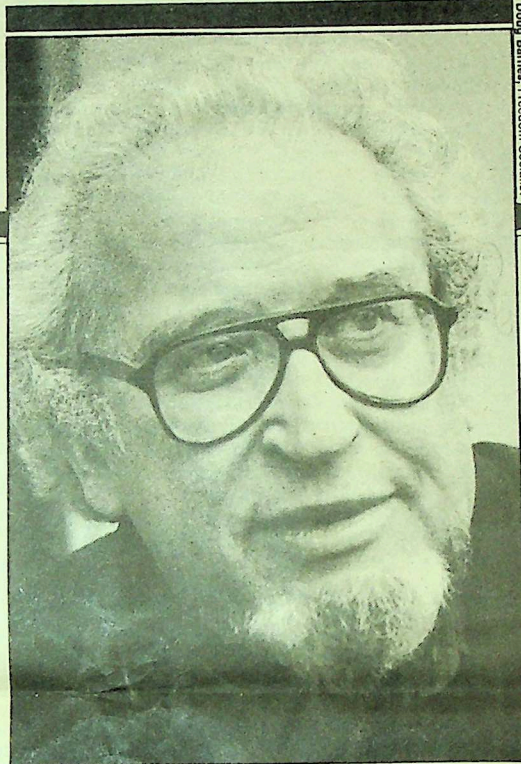
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## Murry Weiss reports

# My incomparable national tour on Iran



Doug Barnes, Freedom Socialist

**T**he first national tour organized by the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP) provided me with an incomparably thrilling experience.

Back in 1954, I toured for the Socialist Workers Party to encourage the struggle against McCarthyism. In my second tour in 1957, I campaigned for united socialist electoral slates and helped to form the Young Socialist Alliance.

But the April-May, 1979 tour was unique.

First, the backdrop was the tumultuous Iranian revolution—the staggering blow it was delivering to U.S. imperialism, and the central role being played by Iranian women.

Second, every audience I addressed was somewhat different politically, and that was challenging.

Third, I had the welcome chance to develop close relations with comrades in very different locales.

### A Taste of Revolution

Iranian students flocked to my meetings, and this was like a personal contact with the great revolution itself.

The entire spectrum of Iranian politics was represented—Khomeinists, Fedayeen, Mojahdeen, Iranian Trotskyists.

The Iranians were articulate and intense, reflecting the continuous, feverish debates at Tehran University and throughout Iran.

My audiences also included radicals from virtually every U.S. tendency, exhibiting sharp differences on the Iranian revolution.

Socialist Workers Party members attended, and generally said absolutely nothing.

The Spartacists appeared, pedantic ultra-lefts who denied the existence of any revolution in Iran.

A third category was composed of feminists and others new to socialism, who joined in the debates. Surprised by the intensity of discussion in radical politics, they displayed astonishment, or recoil, or fascination—and great interest!

### Whirlwind Tour

The month-long tour was kicked off in New York on April 6. Myra Tanner Weiss, editor of the *CRSP Discussion Bulletin*, and I were the speakers.

In the remarkable Houston meeting, half of the 30 Iranians present were women whose eloquence bore witness to the forceful emergence of their sex in the Middle East. We talked for hours.

And the comrades who organized the meeting, publishers of the periodical bulletin *What Is to Be Done*, decided to join CRSP—most heartening!

The Los Angeles meeting was also well-attended, and was followed by a reception where I met old and new friends and contacts, and held some wonderful discussions.

San Francisco organized another fine public meeting as well as a special meeting with Radical Women that culminated in new applications for membership in Radical Women. (I love to report news of recruitment to CRSP and any of its component parts and allies.)

### Pace Setting, Northwest Style

My Pacific Northwest experience can only be described as a kaleidoscopic blur or small tornado. I felt like someone in an escape-and-pursuit movie, shifting non-stop from one auto and driver to

another, meeting deadlines with only seconds to spare.

I was greeted at the airport by a welcoming delegation bearing the astonishing banner, "Welcome Murry!" And I was handed a huge basket of goodies which featured a Northwest Indian-style smoked salmon, which I eyed nervously.

I was interviewed by the *Seattle Times*, the *University of Washington Daily*, KUOW Radio, Radio KZAM, and on KING Radio, complete with phone calls from listeners.

I spoke at a thronged May Day meeting at Freeway

Hall, and at campus meetings at Seattle Central Community College and the University, the latter attended by 60 people.

I traveled south for an excellent meeting organized by Portland CRSP, and then journeyed to the University of Oregon in Eugene for an exciting campus appearance.

En route back to Seattle, we had a vigorous meeting at The Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington.

And I was royally wined, dined, lunched, and brunchd by everybody.

### Regroupment Prospects

I lodged with comrades instead of hotel-keepers, and this lent a warm and wonderful dimension to the trip. Living together enabled me to get to know people and enjoy their fun-filled hospitality.

Every section of CRSP—Socialist Union, Trotskyist Organizing Committee, Radical Women and Freedom Socialist Party—worked to build the tour. And internal meetings featured full-scale discussion and expressions of political and organizational differences, perpetuating the internal democracy of CRSP that provides a model for regroupment on the left.

To fight for revolution with comrades, to share, disagree, resolve, and unite for new ventures and fresh explorations, to create a Leninist party within the heartland of imperialism—*this* is my idea of the good life, the fulfilled life, the life of challenge and meaning. The tour gave me a rich taste of this and staunchly reinforced all my hopes and plans for the great revolutionary struggle ahead of us. ■

## What I said about Iran

In my speeches, I characterized the Iranian revolution as the manifestation in life of the Marxist theory of permanent revolution, a theory whose relevancy is immensely heightened by the pivotal role of revolutionary women in Iran.

In Tehran last March, women surged into the streets for five days to challenge the male supremacism of Khomeini's Revolutionary Council. These women, escorted by armed Fedayeen and Mojahdeen, initiated the demand for freedom now for *all* the oppressed—women, workers, national minorities, peasants.

The struggles of any one of these sectors propel all the others, and all collide with the Revolutionary Council and the bourgeois Provisional Government. That is why the masses will keep their arms until the aims of all are realized.

I described the central feature of the present stage of the Revolution as one of *dual power*.

On one hand is the power of the masses, expressed in the form of an armed people replacing the imperialist military establishment and the police dictatorship.

Workers control factories, and capitalism and imperialism are in flight.

And the ruling body of this process is Khomeini's Revolutionary Council.

At the other pole is Bazargan's Provisional Government, organizer of a comeback for capitalist rule, its thinly-disguised purpose recognized by the masses.

The Revolutionary Council and the Provisional Government are in a relationship of dual sovereignty—"two-mindedness, two-heartedness, and every possible kind of duplicity," as Trotsky described it.

**But the Revolutionary Council, while it temporarily heads the revolution, severely contradicts the profound aspirations of the working class and the oppressed masses.**

The theoretical explanation for this conservative Islamic regime lies in Trotsky's concept of the "middle caste," which is a universal phenomenon of our epoch: a bureaucratic formation superimposed on trade unions and soviets and epitomized by the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries in Russia in 1917, by the rightwing socialist leaders of the German soviets in 1918, and by the labor bureaucracy in the Western world.

**The burning task is to forge a Leninist Party in Iran, because only a socialist revolution can complete the struggle there.**

The Fedayeen are playing a tremendous role; their leadership during the armed insurrection of Feb. 9-11 was decisive. And the revolution, to unfold and expand, must achieve a common experience and a common program with the revolutionary leadership of the Fedayeen and Mojahdeen. The Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party of Iran correctly advocates such a course. ■



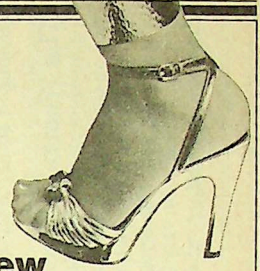
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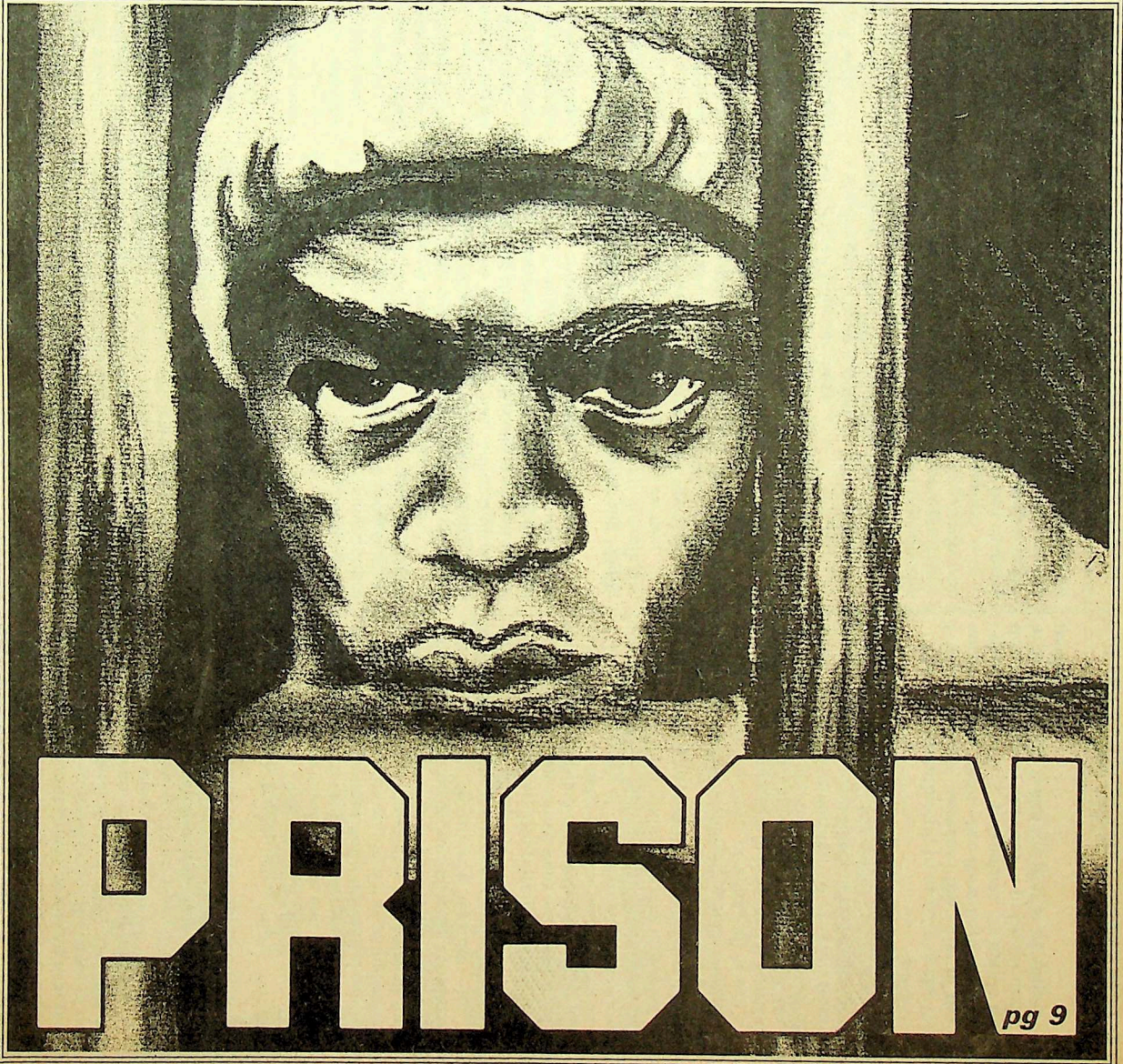
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## The boat people

# The refugee horror show

by Sukey Durham

**P**utting out to sea in boats stolen from the government, 700,000 Vietnamese have fled their country. Nearly one-quarter have died at sea and 200,000 are in refugee camps. And the boss press, in an orgy of hyperbole, recklessly exploits this flight to proclaim it as proof that the Vietnamese government is worse than the Hitler regime.

In a bizarre, through-the-looking-glass propaganda blitz, the U.S. denounces the government of Vietnam for alleged violations of human rights and finds support from some former antiwar activists.

But the critical questions are seldom addressed: Who are the boat people, and why are they fleeing?

### Vietnam revisited

Vietnam is in deep crisis.

Much of the countryside is devastated after 30 years of destruction by defoliant chemicals, napalm, and just plain conventional explosives.

The population is concentrated in cities which suffer a severe food shortage because of the wartime destruction of agricultural land.

Vietnam's economy has been shattered further by a trade embargo imposed by the U.S., by costly military maneuvers on two of its borders, and by the refusal of the U.S. to pay



promised war reparations.

As a result, extremely harsh living conditions prevail and the government is trying to relocate the urban population in New Economic Zones to help increase agricultural production. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the people privileged under the old regime are now departing.

From 50% to 70% of the boat people are ethnic Chinese, who formed the bulk of the old middle class.

Many Chinese lost their businesses during the 1978 nationalizations of trade and industry, and hate the regime.

Another sizable portion of the boat people is composed of 400,000 army officers, national police, and intelligence agents under the Thieu regime who were neither evacuated as promised by the U.S., nor granted U.S. sanctuary now.

### Debate among the doves

In an "Open Letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam" published in five major newspapers on May 30, 1979, pacifist singer Joan Baez and other well-known liberals, intellectuals and artists charged that "the cruelty, violence and oppression practiced by foreign powers in your country for more than a century continue today under the present regime."

Without making the slightest distinction between the revolutionary government of Vietnam and the superpowers of world imperialism, the signers claim that "for many, life is hell

and death is prayed for" and call on Vietnam to uphold the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Baez also complained she was "used" by the Left during the Vietnam War.

The letter provoked instant condemnation from former antiwar

hands of historic guilt, discredit the Vietnamese revolution, disorient the revolution in Indo-China, justify State Department rejection of diplomatic relations with Vietnam, and win public support for its next war.

The callous refusal to help rebuild Vietnam and alleviate harsh conditions there is *directly responsible* for the

**The cause of the refugee problem is the White House itself. Callous refusal to help rebuild Vietnam and alleviate harsh conditions is directly responsible for the suffering of millions.**

leaders Jane Fonda, Dave Dellinger, Abbie Hoffman, and Tom Hayden.

In the June 29 issue of *Seven Days*, Dellinger writes, "By lining up uncritically behind wildly inflated charges from discredited sources, [Baez has] made it easier for the U.S. to continue its present policies of denying aid to Vietnam."

He says further that the world bourgeois press used by Baez as sources received their information from Doan Van Toai, a Vietnamese who is reputed to have close ties to the CIA.

### No more Vietnams!

The U.S. ruling class, aided by Baez and Co., is attempting to use the plight of the boat people to wash its own

suffering of millions and exacerbates the refugee problem.

Faced with the downward spiral of its own economy, plagued by inflation and recession, U.S. capitalism needs a new war to save itself from collapse. The economic and political war against Vietnam is designed to justify the Vietnamese shooting war in retrospect, and to lay the moral groundwork for another.

The cause of the refugee problem is the White House itself. Workers must demand that the government immediately fulfill the task of rebuilding Vietnam and opening the doors of the USA to all immigrants regardless of their origin.

The Vietnamese war is far from finished. ■

## Sexism and the Black woman

by Tom Boot

**I**n writing *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, Michele Wallace sparked a long overdue reality-check into Black sexual politics. Though fragile male egos may be fractured, the book has exposed sexism in the Black community and shown how male chauvinism undermines the unity of men and women against racism and sexism.

By creating a much-needed public dialogue among Black women, and between Black women and men, Wallace is helping to regenerate Black solidarity and the rebuilding of a radicalized Black Power movement.

The struggle for Black liberation is only beginning to re-emerge from the demise of the civil rights era and the Black rebellion of the '60s. And a prime reason for the ebbtide of the movement was the leadership of the reformist reverends who tended to ignore, discount, and discourage the leadership of Black women.

The raised fist of Black Power was an assertion of individualistic and collective Black *manhood*. Adopting the supremacist model of manhood



Madlyne Scott (l) and Kathy Saadat, Black socialist feminists, address a Seattle public forum on *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*.

provided by the dominant white culture, Black men demanded general rather than human rights. The white establishment pushed the Moynihan myth that the source of ghetto poverty was the domineering, "matriarchal" role of Black women, which "destroyed" the Black family.

Black men bought this capitalist sociology. And Black women, hurt and alienated by this terrible injustice and by the disloyalty and limited vision of struggle that it implied, generally retreated.

The denigration and subjugation of

Black women is not new.

Amy Garvey, a Black feminist and liberation movement leader, and wife of Marcus Garvey, wrote in 1923, "Be not discouraged, Black women of the world, but push forward, regardless of the lack of appreciation shown you. A race must be saved, a country redeemed, and unless you strengthen the leadership of vacillating Black men, we will remain marking time until we will be forced to subservency or extermination."

Her historic insights can no longer be ignored. The oppressive

experiences of sexism at the hands of both whites and Blacks are etched indelibly in the mind and spirit of Black women and sensitive Black men.

It is no wonder that Rosa Parks became the revolutionary catalyst and symbol of the civil rights struggle. Rosa Parks' double burden pushed her beyond the single-issue reformism of the Black leadership, and all alone, she defied the entrenched racist southern system. Bravery and audacity like hers will resurrect the shattered glory of Black defiance and impel it to leadership of the combined liberation movements.

Those who relegate the struggle of Black women and Black lesbians and gays to second place, who pass off the feminist movement as "divisive" and irrelevant to the struggle against racism—take another look!

The struggle for Black liberation is tied to the defeat of private property, racism, and *sexism*. All Blacks must carefully examine what Black sexism is all about, how sexism historically has been a divisive element in the struggle, how the elimination of this oppression can reinvigorate the movement.

The Black woman is determined not to be the private property and pawn of any man. She is tired of being an object for gratification, exploitation, manipulation, or assault. When her burning demand for equality allies with the struggles of all women, gays, workers, and people of color, the stage will be set for the coming revolution.



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**On the cover:** Black prisoners comprise over 50% of the U.S. prison population. Drawing by Roy Johnson, based on photo by Jerry Gay.

### Seattle general strike 60th anniversary

In 1919, the first city-wide general strike in the history of the U.S. erupted in Seattle, Washington, earning the state the nickname of "The Soviet of Washington." Meg White tells the story.



### Leonard Peltier

After escape from prison and recapture, Indian leader Leonard Peltier faces grave dangers from the feds. Angelica Merlino reports.



### Surrogate Proletariat

Moslem women in Central Asia led the way to socialist progress there after the 1917 Russian Revolution. But sexism and Stalinism wiped out their enormous accomplishments. Stephan Kass reviews the book.



### Cinema

Woody Allen's film is the epitome of cultural chic, but Karen Brodine asks him to turn his camera on those who want to change not only themselves but the world.



### Sweating in Sun City

In gross violation of labor laws, garment production bosses in southern California perpetrate the super-exploitation of women of color, many of them undocumented workers. Stephen Durham reports from Los Angeles.



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## freedom socialist

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### Glad tidings

Please send me a 2-year sub. Your paper makes a valuable contribution to revolutionary Marxist politics. It is also very well produced. We will find it useful in our many debates on the relationship between revolutionary organizations and the movements of the oppressed.

**Robbie Mahood**  
Revolutionary Workers League  
Canadian Section of the  
Fourth International  
Regina, Saskatchewan

### We accept tips

The Summer issue is fabulous. Please renew my sub and keep the change. Thanks for printing such a fine socialist feminist paper, full of interest and excitement. Enthusiastically,  
**Nancy Stolov**  
Olympia, Washington

### Feminists of color

We are planning a **Radical Third World Feminists' Anthology: A Woman to Woman Dialogue** of essays by women of color on their perspectives of the Feminist Movement. We want to express to all women—and especially white-middle-class women—the experiences which divide us as feminists and to examine intolerance, prejudice, and denial of differences within the feminist movement. We intend to come to terms with the silence among us and eventually dissolve the divisions. We want to create a definition that expands what "feminist" means to us. Third World women will be the only ones to select and edit for this anthology. Deadline is October 15, 1979. 2000-3000 word limit.

Mail with stamped, self-addressed envelope to Gloria Anzaldua, 948 Noe St., San Francisco, California 94114.  
**Cherrie Moraga Lawrence, Gloria Anzaldua, and Friends**

■ The National Council of Negro Women, Inc. will sponsor the first national scholarly research conference on "Black Women: An Historical Perspective," on November 12-13, 1979 at the Shoreham-American Hotel in Washington, D.C. The conference coincides with the opening of the National Archives for Black Women's History and the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial Museum.

Participating in this conference are many of the nation's most distinguished scholars. NCNW plans to publish a selected number of conference papers in the relaunched *African American Woman's Journal*. Persons, organizations, and institutions are invited.

**Sheila Gardner, Conference Coordinator, NCNW Research Conference, 1318 Vermont Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, (202) 332-9202**

### From the women's prison

The *Freedom Socialist* is a very good example of where our interests lie. It is extremely rewarding to expand our knowledge of our brothers and sisters.

I am currently the President of *Las Hermanas* group here. We seek more active and consistent community support, and need books and newspapers, including gay materials.

We strongly need more people like you in our corner! Thank you.  
**Alicia Zwiag, for Las Hermanas Purdy Treatment Center**  
Gig Harbor, Washington 98335

### South seas voyage

On some South sea islands I recently visited, the schools are in the hands of the Mormons and the Seventh Day Adventists. Houses frequently lack plumbing and electricity. And the cost of living on the French islands is very high.

In Australia and New Zealand, prices are higher than here in the USA. Comparable housing in Australia and New Zealand is higher, clothing and food reasonable.

The Australian longshoreman's pension is just about enough to keep them going. Medicare and hospital benefits are not up to ours. There was a big medical scandal while I was there, with the politicians trying to make the people pay more into Medicare.

I am sending you a check for the Freeway Hall Eviction Fund.  
**Maurice Anderson**  
Hot Springs, California

### Peddling our paper

I'm thrilled with the latest *Freedom Socialist*. Especially the greater international coverage, expanded humor (hats off to Ms. Tami and Hagar the Horrible), and incisive reporting on *all* the crucial issues that workers at my job and on the bus are discussing (gas shortage, nuclear power, Nicaragua, Iran, Middle East, fishing wars). I'm plumb pleased and proud to peddle this great paper.  
**Jamie Bevson**  
Portland, Oregon

### A voice from 4-wing

Please put me down for a subscription. I'm sure the paper will carry an honest account of the happenings at Walla Walla. Every few days the institution takes something else away from the inmates, to keep our anger at blow-up level . . . 500 were sick and nothing was done for them . . . The guards eat food sent to us in the wings . . . and throw our food on the floors . . . there is not much we can do about it . . .

If this population is to come thru this struggle, we have to support each other as one . . . If we are together and not straddling the line, the State will have to listen to our side and act on our concerns before they can end this lockdown.

The inmates of 4-wing do have concern for each other. We hope to pull together.  
**William F. Wynn, 127557**  
Walla Walla Prison

### Abortion rights conference

A Washington State Pro-Choice Conference for Reproductive Rights has been called by the Yakima Self-Help Organization. It will be held November 3-4 at the Central Washington University campus in Ellensburg, and will confront the continuing and systematic efforts of anti-abortion groups to undermine the rights of women. National speakers and a variety of workshops will be featured. Contact the Yakima Self-Help Organization, 804 So. 6th Ave., Yakima, WA 98902, (509) 575-6422.  
**Deborah J. Lazaldi**  
Yakima, Washington

### Feel better now?

. . . During the Shah's rule, the large Iranian exile and student community carried on an exemplary struggle, in spite of their precarious position as exiles, almost entirely alone. Even during the final struggle in 1978, most of the left aped their bourgeoisie in first downplaying the events, and then slandering them as a feudal and clerical reaction against the "progressive" Shah. And that racist attitude is still dominant on the left—witness your (bourgeois press) cartoon in the last issue, the absurd "death or the veil" propaganda spread by the bourgeois press and the bourgeois feminists masquerading as socialists, such as your sisters in the Spartacist League whose "analysis" you so willingly adopt.

Like all the other opportunists, even the CP, you hail the revolution now that its depth can no longer be hidden. But you still distort and slander it in a maternalistic fashion—what absurdity about the "centrality of women's leadership." Like any other revolution, the main lesson is solidarity—the Iranian women are inspiring. But they are not feminists, they are revolutionaries. You are just like your daddies, carrying the white women's burden of educating those backward women in colonial countries. This "women's leadership" nonsense is just a call for the maintenance of the status quo, an alliance with the ruling class until some theoretical time when women can lead. It's a reflection of *Patty Hearst-style spoiled brats* whose daddies always for them have their way—and who can't see why they shouldn't have their way on the left (which they just recently discovered) in the same manner.

. . . Your irresponsible yellow journalism could only come from a spoiled rich girl bourgeois feminist with no experience in politics.

. . . support Big Nurse or else, that's the FSP . . . Feminists with contempt for proletarian democracy . . . just like other closet-("Israel has a right to security") Zionist feminists on the make in the SWP, *Guardian*, etc.; *especially* the Spartacist League, which is only the FSP with a national organization. Or, better, the FSP is just a semi-autonomous Seattle branch of the SL—the main difference that the SL is more of a closet-oriented organization at least in theory, paying more attention to the need to cover its capitulations to Zionism, racism, bourgeois feminism, etc. with some kind of artificial resort to orthodoxy.

*I won't be renewing my sub.*  
**Mark Richey**  
Oakland, California

*We should think not.*

*Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphics, photographs, and pertinent information on world and national affairs for publication. All material will be carefully considered by the Editorial Board.*

*Se comunica a los señores lectores que nos pueden enviar para publicación cartas con sus opiniones, nuevos relatos, comentarios, caricaturas, gráficos, fotografías, y toda clase de información sobre sucesos nacionales o extranjeros. Todo el material que nos sea enviado será cuidadosamente considerado por el Consejo de nuestra Editorial.*





# International roundup

*Binding all countries together with its mode of production and its commerce, capitalism has converted the whole world into a single economic and political organism.* —Leon Trotsky

## Cuba

**I**n a tepid replay of the 1961 missile crisis, Capitol Hill is abuzz with bluff and bluster over the alleged presence of 3000 Soviet ground troops in Cuba.

The Carter administration acknowledged the existence of the troops just before the opening of the conference of nonaligned nations in Havana. What a coincidence! Senators up for reelection pounced upon the issue to parade their get-tough-with-the-Soviets bravado while Carter played the pacifier role.

Nobody mentioned, of course, that the U.S. owns and maintains a military base in Guantanamo, Cuba, and has combat troops encircling the Soviet Union—in West Germany, Turkey, Greece, Japan, and South Korea.

Cold war hypocrisy makes for hot politicking. ■

## Ireland

**A**ssassinations carried out by the Irish Republican Army have spotlighted Northern Ireland's fight for independence and provoked Margaret Thatcher, the Tory Prime Minister of Britain, to vow "war" on the IRA.

IRA guerrillas took credit for the August 27 executions of Lord Louis Mountbatten and two members of his family. Mountbatten, a cousin of Queen Elizabeth, was England's last Viceroy of India and a famous World War II naval commander.

In a separate incident, 18 British soldiers near the British border in Northern Ireland were ambushed and killed by IRA guerrillas.

On the day of Mountbatten's funeral, Thatcher met with John Lynch, Prime Minister of the Irish Republic, who agreed to share intelligence information on the IRA and to help Britain "stamp out terrorism."

The IRA has announced that "many more deaths" will follow if the British do not pull out all troops from occupied Northern Ireland and grant independence to that oppressed land, still a colony under the thumb—and thumbscrews—of British imperialism.

## Namibia

**N**amibia, the African nation bordered on the south by South Africa and on the north by Angola, is the scene of heavy fighting between liberation forces and South African troops.

South Africa governs Namibia but is losing political ground and scrambling for a Zimbabwe-style "solution" to the demand for independence.

A tenuous coalition of pro-South African puppet organizations is desperately trying to set up a

## Save Iranian Trotskyists

**A** tidal wave of repression launched by the Khomeini/Bazargan government of Iran has resulted in the executions of at least 70 Kurdish leaders and an unknown number of women and gays. Thousands of anti-Shah fighters, including 14 members of the Trotskyist Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS), have been imprisoned. Twelve of the 14 HKS leaders face death, and world protest is being mobilized in their defense.

The Kurdish leaders were summarily executed during heavy fighting against Islamic troops.

Women have been executed for adultery and prostitution; one woman was executed for adultery while her lover was given 100 lashes.

Freedom fighters risk jail and censorship of their press under the sweeping crackdown on all dissidence and on the radical Left.

Twelve HKS members were condemned to death and two to life imprisonment for advocating socialism

in Iran, but an international protest campaign has apparently stayed the executions.

A demonstration of 3000 in Paris demanded freedom for the HKS prisoners and all anti-Shah fighters and an immediate halt to the execution of women, gays, and national minority leaders. Protest is growing worldwide.

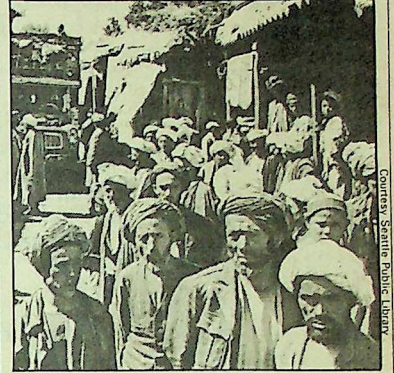
**Protest the imprisonment of anti-Shah fighters!** Condemn the official murders of Kurdish leaders and women! Demand that the lives of HKS members be spared!

**Launch a protest campaign in your area!** Show Khomeini that people all over the world identify with the advance of revolution in Iran. Call on the Left, unions, and all human rights organizations to join in picket lines and demonstrations to protect political freedom in Iran!

**Send telegrams immediately to:** Ayatollah Ruhollan Khomeini, Qum, Iran; Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Tehran, Iran; Hassan Nazih, Director, National Iranian Oil Company, Takht Jamshid Avenue, Tehran, Iran; and the Iranian Consulate, Washington, D.C.

unions are legalized, and schools and medical centers have been built.

The Communist regime has won widespread support, but the successful reforms infuriated the Right, which organized a counter-



revolution, *aided by the Khomeini/Bazargan government in Iran* and the military junta of General Zia ul-Haq in Pakistan.

The heaviest fighting has taken place along Afghanistan's eastern border with Pakistan, which is the base for the two major rightist groups, the Islamic Party and the Islamic Brotherhood. The Pakistani junta has served as a go-between to channel military aid from the U.S. to the insurgents.

The Iranian Islamic regime condemns the government as anti-Islamic. Khomeini/Bazargan fear the popular social reforms in Afghanistan, which pose a threat to their own regime.

The Communist government has achieved fundamental social and economic advances. Despite its Stalinist origins and support, it is a progressive regime. But it is in danger of defeat, and if toppled, the reversal of social reform would deal a severe blow to Afghan workers and peasants, and adversely affect the advance of revolution in neighboring Iran. ■



**Khomeini's soldiers execute Kurdish nationalists in northwest Iran.**

legitimate-appearing government for Namibia. Meanwhile, South African troops are stationed there and vicious attacks have been launched against the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the military arm of the independence movement.

South Africa has arrested and jailed thousands of SWAPO members under cover of the "Terrorism Act," conducts raids against SWAPO bases, and seeks the intervention of UN "peacekeeping" forces to oversee South African-run elections.

Earlier this year, South Africa sent a gang of hoodlums into SWAPO offices to ransack equipment and steal information. But the SWAPO guerrilla fighters are intensifying their armed struggle, using heavy weapons and

taking the offensive against South African bases and military installations.

The increasing number of South African casualties resulting from engagements with SWAPO forces serves warning on the imperialists and all supporters of apartheid that no freedom fighters in Southern Africa will slacken until they overcome. ■

## Afghanistan

**F**ormer military officers, religious figures, and dispossessed landlords, supported by U.S. imperialism, are spearheading a reactionary movement in Afghanistan which threatens the Kremlin-backed regime of President Hafizullah Amin. Amin took office in mid-September after former President Nur Mohammed Taraki was deposed.

Taraki came to power in 1978 through a coup engineered by the Afghan Communist Party. But the serious rebel threat evidently produced an internal split in the party which was resolved by a violent seizure of power by Amin.

Since its rise to power, the Afghan Communist Party has directed a program of major social reform.

Extensive land reform is underway, peasants' debts have been cancelled, women's status is improving, trade

## ... Nicaragua

from back page

The reconstruction of a capitalist Nicaragua can only take place through repressing and exploiting the urban working class and the rural peasantry. And the native capitalists, in concert with imperialism, are prepared as always to use the most vicious means at their disposal in order to insure profits.

7,000 National Guard troops, organized in exile, await a chance to reenter the country, and the capitalist class will not hesitate to call on them to save privately-owned industry.

The army of workers and peasants is presently controlled by the FSLN, and the leftists in the government have powerful positions. But the Nicaraguan capitalists are Somoza in disguise, and the danger of counterrevolution is real.

To save itself, and to promote revolution throughout Latin America, Nicaragua will have to nationalize all industry, institute a monopoly of foreign trade, and establish a workers state.

**Forward to a Socialist Nicaragua!** ■

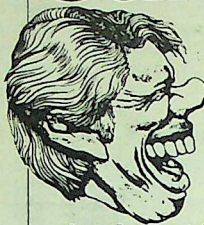


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# Carter's born-again imperialism



by Monica Hill

"For the first time in the history of our country a majority of our people believe

that the next five years will be worse than the last five years. Two-thirds of our people do not even vote. The productivity of American workers is actually dropping and the willingness of Americans to save for the future has fallen below that of all other people in the Western world. As you know there is a growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the news media and other institutions . . ."

Thus spake President Jimmy Carter in July. And then he exhorted the faithful to renew their loyalty-oaths to the system and assured the doubters that all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

Jimmy scrambled to try to restore confidence in a decaying economy and embellish his tarnished image. He imposed "get-tough" changes in his administration, told us the energy crisis was insoluble, and took a riverboat cruise up the Mississippi to meet the folks.

## Slick oil

Carter blamed the crisis on everything except capitalism. He prated about "self-indulgent consumption" and a "crisis in confidence . . . that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will."

Spirit, shmirit—the problem is the economic system and the oil baron oligarchy. But Carter deflected blame from U.S. oil companies: "Our neck is stretched over the fence and OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) has the knife." And his brilliant solution was—*synthetic oil* to be produced at taxpayer expense for the greater profit of the energy moguls.

## Cabinet roulette

All eleven members of the cabinet were forced to offer their resignations. Carter axed five of them.

Joseph Califano and Brock Adams, the last vestiges of liberalism, departed, replaced by pragmatic Patricia Harris of HUD and former Portland Mayor Neil Goldschmidt.

Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal's exit enabled Carter to rid himself of an embarrassing advocate of oil deregulation and \$1.60 a gallon gasoline, and gain an advocate of tight money—Federal Reserve Chairman G. William Miller, who intends to stem inflation and save the dollar by declaring unemployment a national asset and nourishing it.

The Department of Energy's James Schlesinger was also too publicly linked to Big Oil. His substitute is a Coca-Cola executive with a Pentagon past, Charles Duncan, who will tout Carter's synthetic fuel program.

And Attorney General Griffin Bell, noted for his attacks on civil liberties, chose Benjamin Civiletti to follow in his own footsteps.

Georgia boor Hamilton Jordan became chief of White House staff, in position to insure an all-out focus on

the Carter renomination.

## Salvation by sanctity

Carter's shenanigans aim to salvage capitalism at any cost.

After renewing our faltering faith in church, state, the family and the boss, we must tighten our belts and work faster and harder. We are to walk, not ride; to freeze in winter and suffocate in summer; to perish trustfully from nuclear radiation funded by our taxes.

## Will Americans jettison their standard of living by swallowing spiritual solutions to material problems?

A Harris poll in August reported Ted Kennedy still leading Carter 2-to-1, and a *Los Angeles Times* reporter wryly commented: "Many Americans, frustrated by gas lines and fearful of heating oil shortages, may not readily see the connection between morality and petroleum."

## To be Young and Black

Carter is trying to make political capital out of the smoldering antagonisms that divide the country. An illustration is the resignation of UN

Ambassador Andrew Young.

An articulate, dynamic Southern Black, Young was a token sop to the liberals. His criticism of U.S. hypocrisy on human rights and his challenge of Mideast policy exposed the absurdities of the diplomatic game. And Young's voice is heard by a vast constituency of disaffected Blacks.

Young's "forbidden" talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) were cynically exposed, and he was dumped by Carter's State Department after the expected Zionist outcry. Now Blacks and Jews are being goaded to leap at each other's throats—to conveniently ease the pressure on the Administration. Carter can sit back and let public opinion coalesce in support of Young before Carter adjusts his Mideast policy.

Andy Young is probably a conscious scapegoat who knows he will be "vindicated." The Zionist state of Israel can no longer be maintained as imperialism's watchdog over revolution in the Middle East. The human and political rights of the displaced millions of Palestinians have got to be recognized. And Black

Americans, who have historically identified with the Jews and all oppressed peoples, were quick to grasp the degeneration of Palestine's Jews into Israeli Zionists who drove the Arabs off their own land.

Blacks also refuse to swallow the canard that all Jews are Zionists (defenders of a unilaterally Jewish state in Palestine) or that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism.

Jewish and Black workers need to coalesce once again around their common needs, which include a decent respect for the opinions of the Palestinian resistance fighters.

## More trouble ahead

The domestic spectacle is intrinsically linked to the international arena, where the ricocheting value of the dollar dropped sharply after Carter's sham shakeup. As the contagion of world revolution shrinks once-captive U.S. markets, corporate bosses are turning with a vengeance on the U.S. worker to extract compensatory profits.

The U.S. ruling class, under fire from anxious workers, retirees and the jobless, charges Carter with administrative ineptitude as a prelude to their imposition of an authoritarian regime. But no president from either capitalist party could revive the U.S. economy. The Vietnam War is still unpaid for, and investment in a major new war for new markets, with its military and political uncertainties, is not likely to appeal to the bankers at the moment.

## Resurrection versus light

Carter's declaration of hardships to come has increased the polarity between right and left.

Stirred by Carter's official blessing on the right, a growing number of Americans are moving leftward. People of color, women, unionists, gays, students and elders are demanding a sane social system and are fed up with a foreign policy that is *always on the wrong side*.

The liberals, in the face of reaction, historically disassociate themselves from radicals, accept counterfeit concessions, and betray everybody's rights. But the deep anger in America today gives the Left a golden opportunity to strengthen every resistance movement in the country and mobilize them for a unified confrontation with reaction.

Carter is washed up. Playboy Kennedy is no alternative. Radicals can intensify the bourgeois crisis by providing a counter-pole of revolutionary leadership. Otherwise, the "strongman" Bonapartist solution looms ahead. Now is the time for the Left. ■

## Performance evaluation of Pres. Jimmy

by Eldon Durham

### Promises

1. To curb the abuses of big business and government.
2. That human rights will be "the soul of our foreign policy."
3. To cut defense spending.
4. Moral leadership.
5. Full employment.
6. Due recognition to Blacks.
7. A national health program.
8. A national energy policy.
9. Women's rights.
10. A fair shake for labor.
11. Help the people.

### Comment

- He is Big Oil's Little Boy. The White House staff is gargantuan and a great act for Burlesque.
- May be, but the *body* of that policy is support to tyrants, torturers, tycoons, and border cops for undocumented workers. Plus harassment of Soviet ballerinas. P.S. Whatever happened to reparations for Vietnam?
- Ha, ha, ha. He learned to stop worrying and loves the neutron bomb.
- The Georgia Mafia, Ham Jordan, Bert Lance, etc.
- Even he admits to 6%—but it's 42% for Black youth alone. Not to mention Indians, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, auto workers, teachers, English majors, and the like.
- Like Andy Young? Well, then, *who*? And what ever happened to affirmative action?
- Oh?
- Sure. Bite the bullet, don heavy sweaters, join the gas lines for \$2 per gallon unleaded, worship at the shrine of his "moral equivalent of war," and take up residence at Three Mile Island.
- Bye-bye, Bella. Bye-bye, abortion. Bye-bye, ERA. Hello, *chador*.
- See the 8% wage freeze, the miners' strike injunction, union-busting, the right-to-work South.
- You're fired.

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the cause that refreshes!

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# Seattle general strike

by Meg White

**A** shining moment in American labor history is being commemorated this year with the 60th anniversary of the great Seattle General Strike.

On February 6, 1919, industry screeched to a halt. "All of Seattle was silenced as organized labor went out in support of the 35,000 shipyard workers this week," said the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*.

The first and only general strike in American history erupted after World War I when the federal government cut back ship production. Shipyard wages were frozen and angry Seattle yardworkers, affiliated with the Metal Trades Council, struck for higher wages. On 21 January, 35,000 workers were out, and they appealed to the Central Labor Council for a supportive strike by Seattle labor.

When Anna Louise Strong, editorial writer for the militant labor daily, *The Union Record*, reprinted a speech by Lenin on workers control of production, most of the local bourgeoisie promptly fled to Oregon hotels and others bought riot insurance

and stored arms for a feared Bolshevik takeover.

IWW and Socialist Party members were influential in many unions, and they pushed for a general strike. One by one, 110 unions voted to strike in support of the yardworkers' demands and soon the citywide strike of 100,000 workers—60,000 union and 40,000 unorganized—was underway.

The bourgeois press whipped up hysteria over an alleged conspiracy between the Soviet Union and Seattle labor, and screamed for the army to squelch the strike. But while the headlines raged about "anarchy," efficient workers committees distributed food and maintained all emergency services.

The strike was run by the Committee of Fifteen, delegated by a General Strike Committee. And a noticeable calm descended on the city, due to the sure hand of the labor guards who patrolled the streets and saw to it that nobody believed Mayor Hanson's charge that strikers were cutting off water and electricity.

But the pressures against the

strikers were very strong. The international offices of the unions threatened to revoke local charters, and the more conservative local executive board members wavered. The Committee of Fifteen capitulated and recommended ending the strike, and the back of the movement was broken. The strike petered out on February 12.

With the strike over, the shipyard owners were ready to reopen the yards to union and non-union labor alike. But the federal shipping board insisted on union labor at low, government-fixed wages. The yardworkers refused to return and their lonely strike dragged on for five more weeks.

The government withdrew all contracts and stopped the steel supply to the yards, and not until January, 1920 did the yards reopen—with a mere 800 workers.

The demands of the shipyard workers were not won by the general strike. But most unionists were elated by the dynamic, six-day demonstration of workingclass solidarity and control of production and services. The strike

had a tremendous impact on national politics, and on the swift growth of unionism and radicalism in the '20s and '30s.

The memory of those explosive days in Seattle is still fresh, whether viewed as a unique historic event or as a thrilling dress rehearsal for American labor. ■

Meg White is an apprentice cabinet-maker and student of labor history.



Anna Louise Strong



Courtesy: University of Washington Archives

# Sweating in Sun City

by Stephen Durham

**W**omen workers in Southern California's huge apparel industry are slaving in sweatshops just as their predecessors did in New York City 70 years ago.

Cheap labor and the proliferation of nonunion shops have attracted droves of apparel manufacturers, who, like vultures, descend on Los Angeles to exploit a workforce comprised mainly of Chicano/Mexicano, Black, Asian and undocumented laborers.

Los Angeles has become the country's second largest and fastest growing center of garment production.

But while Congress and the state legislature set the minimum wage, prohibit child labor, and assert health and safety standards, garment workers are producing quality clothes in hundreds of small shops that operate in blatant violation of every wage, safety and health code on the books.

## Skirting the law

Most of Los Angeles' 98,000 garment workers are women working in shops that average between 15 and 20 employees. A system of *contractual* labor prevails, which grossly exploits undocumented workers, undermines the union, and frees the manufacturers from compliance with labor laws.

The manufacturer, in this ruthless system, is responsible only for designing and cutting the garment. He then bargains with a labor contractor for the machine-sewing of each article. This middleman operates a sweatshop based on grueling piece-work.

Most of these contractors are middleclass, money-hungry immigrants from Latin America and Asia who are fleeing revolution or a dictator's repression. Armed with their life savings, they become willing stooges for garment bosses and chief marshalls for

exploiting the hapless, undocumented women and men from Mexico and Central America.

## Pennies for stitches

Garments sewn for 80 cents in wages are sold in stores for over \$40!

Ironers, usually elderly, earn 15 cents per garment; the younger thread trimmers earn 4 to 6 cents.

An undocumented Mexicana is paid between 10 and 12 cents per item for sewing pockets on men's pants.

"I have to work 11 hours a day, six days a week, when I can," she says. "I process 500 to 700 garments a day to earn \$5,000 a year."

The threat of deportation prevents her from protesting the lack of unemployment compensation when there is no work.

## The bosses are the criminals

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) has mounted a battle against the open shop bosses.



Doug Barnes/Freedom Socialist

After 40 women presented the union with 1500 payroll stubs documenting wages as low as 17 cents per hour, the union pressured the state Division of Labor Standards and Enforcement to investigate violations of labor laws in the garment industry.

Twelve investigators found that more than 90% of the labor contractors violated the minimum wage law and labor codes, and \$42,000 in fines were levied for child labor violations alone!

Such intolerable conditions are placing garment workers once again on the front lines of class struggle. These sorely exploited minority women workers are further oppressed by rightwing hysteria against "aliens," women, gays and unions, yet their courage and resistance to economic and social brutality will one day vanquish the garment czars.

In their fight for survival, these women will design, cut and sew the death shroud for the *coyotes* who now prosper from the cheap labor of the super-subjugated. ■

# BART lockout

Dear Editor,

The Bay Area Rapid Transit District has shut down, claiming a strike, but the workers call it a lockout. Gates are chained and patrolled by armed company guards.

Union contracts with Service Employees International Union Local 390 and Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555 expired on June 30, whereupon management introduced interim rules mandating forced overtime and no sick pay until the *fourth* day of illness. 300 SEIU workers were suspended shortly after for "sabotage," refusal to work overtime, and attending union meetings during work hours.

On July 11, workers overwhelmingly rejected a "final offer." **BART workers have not had a raise in six years.** They have dropped their 10% wage increase demand but insist on the cost-of-living escalator they won in 1973. Management rejects the escalator and offers a 3-5% yearly raise.

Last spring, management *doubled* the time-in-use between maintenance checkups for transit cars, and breakdowns escalated. Despite driver protests, BART assigned relatively unskilled supervisors to replace suspended mechanics, and soon only 125 of 450 cars were operational. On August 30, after brakes caught fire on cars in the Berkeley Hills Tunnel, many drivers called in sick rather than risk death in a possible major tunnel disaster similar to the devastating BART crash of a few years ago. With only ten cars operating, management closed BART and posted guards.

1200 SEIU workers and 400 ATU drivers, claiming an illegal lockout, have applied for unemployment benefits.

Since the shutdown, there has been only one negotiating session. The union officials proposed that the rank and file should accept any and all overtime hours necessary to restart the system; drop the demand to rescind the 300 suspensions and handle them individually instead; and they urged the formation of a fact-finding committee.

BART steadfastly refuses arbitration and union officials continue to balk at calling a real strike, in fear of losing control of the angry rank and file.

Sukey Durham  
San Francisco, California





# Public study launched on "Natural Superiority of Women"

by Sandy Nelson

**A**re women, by virtue of natural/biological traits or social status, superior to men? And what are the political implications of asserting women's superiority?

Two conflicting approaches to these thorny questions emerged when 130 women and men assembled in Seattle's Freeway Hall on August 30 to examine the controversial issue.

Dr. Jennifer James, anthropologist and associate professor of psychiatry at the University of Washington, said that males were always dominant over women because of strength and speed. Only modern technology, by eliminating constant pregnancy and childbirth, can liberate women.

Three other panelists also disclaimed female superiority. Dr. Sheila Johansson, historian and research associate at the UW Center for Demography; Dr. Daniel Greenblatt, UW instructor in Women Studies; and Janie Pulsifer, master's degree candidate in human sexuality, maintained that the notion of a superior sex is scientifically undeterminable and politically divisive. Greenblatt said that objective truth is unknowable because any

interpretation of data is subjective.

Speakers from the audience contended that women were socially superior to men in the past as evidenced by the equality that characterized matrilinear communal societies, and are socially superior today by virtue of their drive for radical change; that women enjoy clear biological advantages over men in terms of health, longevity and resilience; that the question needs to be answered to better understand the social/political status of women and to effect change; that the question can be answered objectively by using scientific evidence.

Said Susan Williams, M.D., of New York Radical Women, "The question is not longevity or strength but who is historically, biologically, socially, and culturally prepared to lead society forward to the next stage of history. Women, because of their universal oppression, are in a position to lead the revolution, just as they were the major force in moving humans out of the primitive horde into the beginnings of real civilization."

Patrick Haggerty, a researcher into ancient society, said that modern sex roles do not stem from primitive times when a supposed "mother-child unit" needed males as "protectors and protein providers." "It was not

women who were dependent on men for the groceries, but the other way around," he said. "Was it Man the Hunter or the rise of private property that led to women's enslavement?"

Angelica Merlino of Portland Radical Women said that Marx and Engels held that the first class division was between women and men. "The essence of our oppression is economic inequality," she said.

Joanna Russ, professor of English Literature at the University of Washington and author of feminist science fiction, defended science as the road to truth. "We are hearing linguistics in its most modern permutation—that the real world doesn't exist. But science is not purely subjective—just stick your hand in an electric light socket!"

Clara Fraser, *Freedom Socialist* editor, wondered, "What is so inflammatory and untactical about saying that a specially oppressed group has particular distinctions?" she asked. "Isn't it an insult to men to announce that this concept would drive them away as allies? Superiority doesn't mean the Third Reich but greater responsibility, more work, more giving."

The forum, sponsored by Seattle Radical Women, was the opening gun of a series on the question. ■

## Los derechos a un aborto en peligro

por Lynda Schraufnagel

**L**as feministas de toda la nación manifestarán durante la Semana de Acción por Los Derechos a Aborto los días del

21-28 de octubre para lanzar un contraataque a la campaña terrorística anti-aborto caracterizada por bombas incendiarias, vandalismo y asaltos.

Los anti-aborto son los mismos conglomerados de gente demasiado familiares y bien financiados, extrema derechistas que golpean la Biblia por un lado y odian a todos los que son diferentes incluyendo a los homosexuales, a las madres en la asistencia pública y a la gente de color. Muchos de ellos se oponen a los planes contra conceptivos.

Desde la decisión de la Corte Suprema de 1973 que legalizó el aborto, las fuerzas a Derecho-a-la-Vida han usado cartas históricas para ganar adeptos producidas por listas de correos a base de computadoras. 60,000 marcharon en Washington, D.C. el pasado 22 de enero en el aniversario de la decisión de la Corte Suprema.

Su victoria mas corrosiva hasta el momento fue la Enmienda Hyde de 1977 que prohíbe el uso de dineros federales para los abortos. De esa forma acabaron con los derechos a un aborto para mujeres pobres en todos los estados de la unión con la excepción de ocho estados. Y su más reciente campaña es para los "derechos del feto," prohibiendo el aborto por medio de una enmienda constitucional ya aprobada por 14 estados.

La aprobación popular de los derechos a un aborto aumentaron el año pasado del 53% al 60%, pero la minoría hace el ruido.

### Cenando con el enemigo

Alarmada por el poder de los anti-

aborto, la presidente de NOW, Eleanor Smeal, fue invitada por las patrocinadoras del Derecho-a-la-Vida, a una reunión de "Paz" en febrero.

Ella y las otras conciliadoras discutieron los derechos a la reproducción con las "feministas" anti-aborto y nunca mencionaron la palabra aborto. La reunión fue interrumpida por extremistas mostrando fetos embotellados.

Esto en cambio animó las manifestaciones del Día Internacional de la Mujer en marzo centrados en el tema del aborto. La mas grande fue organizada en Olympia, Washington por una coalición representando a los homosexuales, feministas, a los trabajadores, radicales, y mujeres de color.

### Rosie Jiménez, marty

La Enmienda Hyde, en efecto, niega el aborto solamente a mujeres empobrecidas, muchas de ellas de color. Las únicas opciones disponibles son la esterilización y las "carnicerías ilegales de los callejones oscuros."

Un abortista ilegal mató a Rosie Jiménez de 27 años de edad que estaba tratando de subsistir con sólo 86 dólares al mes de asistencia pública y un empleo temporal para mantener a su hijo. Con esa miseria también estaba tratando de ir a la escuela.

La respuesta de la Liga Nacional de Acción de los Derechos a un Aborto (NARAL) es una creación de un fondo llamado Jiménez para reemplazar el dinero de Medicaid para los abortos que "generosamente" libera al Congreso del peso de suplir los 40-50 millones de dólares que se necesitan al año.

La muerte de Rosie Jiménez exige una protesta de enojo del mundo entero y un paro a las mortíferas "Derecho-a-la-Vida" para que las mujeres puedan controlar sus propios cuerpos y sus propias mentes. ■

## Malice Aforethought

by Ms. Tami

Wearied by the difficulties of life on the Potomac, Jimmy Carter recently embarked on a cruise to sample life on the Mississippi. But even there he was assailed by the burdens of office.

Jimmy's first step in ending discrimination against gays was to travel on a stately old riverboat named the "Delta Queen." However, few recognized the enormity of his gesture, and a small band of lesbian-separatists living in a collective outside Eugene, Oregon wrote to demand the boat be renamed the "Delta Amazon."

Carter's rhythmic jogging on the wooden decks boomed out his presence like a jungle message drum. Bosses, lemming-like, rushed out to order thousands of workers to line the banks of the Mississippi and get their hands ready for an old-fashioned presidential shakedown—this time in person.

Afterward, people discovered they couldn't get home because no gasoline was available, and a city of cars sprang up along the

Mississippi, filled with oil deregulation refugees. Frantic calls to Joan Baez were disappointing; she refused to allow them to relocate on her land near Carmel.

Jimmy tried to solve this new crisis with a policy that combined austerity with utilization of nature's most renewable resources. Unfortunately, his now-famous "BITE THE BUNNY" speech was largely ignored.

Thanks to a law requiring the President to be guarded constantly by two men from the Weather Bureau, Jimmy was safely back in Washington before hurricanes compounded the disaster. He immediately entered a marathon race but collapsed while attempting to symbolically outrun inflation.

Presidential aides are now preparing Jimmy for a trip across Newark, New Jersey on stilts—and everyone is waiting to see what the separatist collective in Oregon will make of that! ■

**RW** RADICAL WOMEN, the nation's first socialist feminist organization, is the revolutionary wing of the women's movement and the feminist vanguard of the Left. Immersed in the daily struggle against racism, sexism, antigay bigotry, and labor exploitation, RW's impressive record validates its view that the woman question is decisive to world revolution.

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by Sam Deaderick  
and Tamara Turner

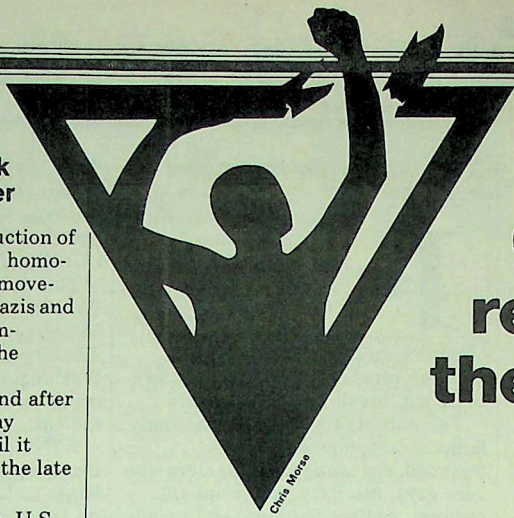
**A**fter the destruction of the European homosexual rights movement by the Nazis and Stalinists, compounded by the social, economic and political disruption of Europe during and after World War II, international gay political activity dwindled until it picked up steam in the U.S. in the late forties.

But even before this rebirth, U.S. gays had a profound influence on popular culture—theatre, movies, dance, art and design, poetry and drama—and many gays became activists in movements, parties and organizations that did not address gay rights.

Gay bars and bath houses, private clubs, and other meeting places flourished, but the gay community was virtually invisible to outsiders.

Gay protest was difficult to organize in the U.S., a land that had institutionalized oppression of women, sexual puritanism and sex-role stereotyping. Only rare, short-lived attempts at organizing were made before the second half of the 20th century, and only a few stellar individuals displayed the courage to defend sexual freedom.

These pioneers who brought the ideas of the early European gay liberationists to the U.S. were the ancestors of the modern gay movement, but little was known about them until 1976, when Jonathan Katz' *Gay American History* revealed the rich panoply of early gay resistance in the U.S.



## Gay resistance: the hidden history Part V

**Long before the Stonewall riots in 1969,  
when "Gay Power!" resounded in the streets of  
Greenwich Village, courageous pioneers braved  
jail, harassment, and scorn to defend homosexuals**

### Emma Goldman, perennial pioneer

The first known American to publicly champion civil rights for gays was the great Russian-born anarchist and feminist Emma Goldman.

When asked in 1900 how she could "dare come out in public for Oscar Wilde in puritan America," she replied, "Nonsense! No daring is required to protest great injustice."

She had to fight to defend her gay liberation views against her anarchist comrades, who feared that open support of homosexuality would harm their cause. This only made her more determined to speak out.

In 1923, Goldman wrote a major article for the *German Yearbook for Sexual Intermediate Types* about

French anarchist and poet Louise Michel, alleged to be a lesbian. Wrote Goldman,

**It is a tragedy . . . that people of a different sexual type are caught in a world which shows so little understanding for homosexuals, is so crassly indifferent to the various gradations of gender and their great significance in life . . . The entire sentencing of Wilde struck me as an act of cruel injustice and repulsive hypocrisy . . ."**

While excoriating society for its persecution of gays, Goldman also denounced the sexism of those who

assumed a woman to be a lesbian simply because she did not fit men's "shopworn requirements of womanhood."

### Repressed invert

The next documented defense of homosexuality was a 1923 paper, "Studies in Feminine Inversion," by F.W. Stella Browne, published in the *Journal of Sexology and Psychology* in New York.

She blamed society for "the tragedy of the repressed invert" and said that "the homo-sexual impulse . . . has a fully equal right to existence and expression; it is no worse, no lower; **but no better.**"

### Police harassment

The first homosexual rights organization in the U.S. was apparently the Society for Individual Rights, chartered in Chicago in 1924. It published two issues of a newspaper, *Friendship and Freedom*.

The seven members of the Society planned to recruit other gays, and, through a process of education, change the sexual conduct laws.

But in less than a year, the wife of one member discovered the existence of the group and told a social worker, who called the police. Four members were arrested without warrant and jailed.

The organization disbanded, and ten years elapsed before another gay political organization appeared in the homophobic U.S. of A. ■

**The next installment of "Gay Resistance: The Hidden History" will complete the examination of American gay activism up to the birth of the "homophile" movement in the late 1940s.**

## The SWP and gays

# The boys on the bandwagon

**I**t's all been said before. Too many times. "The gay movement is peripheral to the class struggle. It's not even a movement, really, but a collection of people who sleep with their own sex. **Any** other movement is far more important, hence few resources should be allocated to gay rights."

One pseudo-radical proponent of this imperious brand of sexism and homophobia is the Socialist Workers Party. Two years ago they were busily painting banners reading "No More Miamis!" Now they are pulling out the few members they had assigned to the gay movement and sending them into "heavy industry" instead. Priorities, they claim.

### Straighten up!

Justification for this abandonment of the gay struggle appeared in the *Militant* on April 13, 1979.

A long article urged gays to push the labor movement toward support of gay rights, but cautioned gay activists (and the unions!) that "the unions should not throw the same resources into the defense of gay rights that they must throw into the defense of women's rights and Black or *latino* rights."

The *Militant* then called on the "so-called gay movement defined by sex" to repudiate the demand to revise age of consent laws—not because youthful sexuality should not be legislated, but because "the advocates of repealing age of consent laws are primarily adult men who believe they should be unrestricted in having sex with children."

Slanderous? Of course. But this isn't the first time the SWP regime has indulged in queer-baiting.

### Their line's been changed again

In early 1970, the SWP National Committee endorsed the unwritten policy of several branches to exclude gays from membership. The NC justified it as a matter of "security," a shabby echo of the armed services, the FBI, and the late, unlamented Senator Joe McCarthy.

A few months later, the Young Socialist Alliance, the SWP's youth affiliate, formally adopted and applied a policy of excluding gays from membership.

But later in the year, the policy was rescinded because the gay movement was growing, achieving recognition, and winning support. Because the SWP's reflex to any mass movement is to jump on the bandwagon, it was soon calling loudly for "Democratic Rights for Gays!"

But the party never admitted its past error; internally it was explained that the previous policy caused more problems than it solved.

The party then underwent a deepgoing internal debate that addressed the history of the gay movement, the source of gay oppression, transvestism, strategies for intervention, and related topics. But the proponents of significant intervention into the movement lost, even though they limited their proposal to the single-issue, legal reform tactic so beloved by the SWP.

Many gay activists left the party, and SWP intervention for the next several years was limited to urging the gay movement to avoid supporting or raising the demands of women, people of color, or workers, and to limit itself to legal reform.

### Back in the closet

Today, as the conservative reaction mounts against the ERA, abortion rights, gay rights, and affirmative action, lesbians and gays of color are trying to roll back the right wing and are making their strong presence felt in the gay movement. And precisely at this juncture, the SWP capitulates to the sexist prejudices of the bigots and scurries into the trade unions to the absolute exclusion of other mass work!

Few will mourn SWP's passing from the gay struggle. The genuine militants and revolutionists in the gay milieu understand well that raising the consciousness of labor means pressuring it from **without** as well as from within, and this demands an **autonomous, independent movement to raise demands without fear or compromise.**

In practice, the SWP's fleeting, holier-than-thou patronage of gay politics only strengthened the liberal gay opportunists and tainted the word "radical." Now, with the SWP dilettantes gone, genuine radicalism stands to gain a far stronger voice in the gay movement, enabling the mass of lesbians and gay male activists to learn that opportunist reformism à la SWP can only spell defeat for gays **and** the unions.

Homophobic straight workers or antiunion gays can improve nothing for today; a revolutionary alliance of all the oppressed represents the only sensible road to liberation. ■

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Is there marriage after rape?

# The convoluted Rideout story

by Jamie Bevson

**G**reta Rideout of Salem, Oregon is not unlike millions of other American wives who are repeatedly abused, beaten, and

raped—by their husbands. What is different about Greta's story is her widely publicized effort to fight back on the basis of a new Oregon law that outlaws rape in marriage.

Her suit was the first test of a similar law on the books in Iowa, Delaware, and New Jersey.

John Rideout, the accused, was technically on trial, but media sensationalism and courtroom theatrics turned the trial into an inquisition against Greta for daring to challenge the wife-as-property tradition.

She was "convicted" in the public mind as deserving of her husband's brutal treatment, and he was acquitted.

### Blaming the victim

The case began on October 10, 1978 when Greta charged John for having beaten her for refusing to have sex with him and then raping her in front of their 2-year-old daughter.

Greta's past sexual history was ruled admissible in court, and she was grilled about extramarital relations, a pre-marital abortion, having a child out of wedlock, and lesbian fantasies. The defense contended that Greta was a disturbed and impressionable girl manipulated by local feminists into "crying rape."

During the trial, John became a national symbol for the "keep 'em barefoot and pregnant" mentality, and Greta was offered \$50,000 for the rights to her story and a speaking tour.

Ten days after the acquittal, however, the Rideouts announced a "reconciliation." The financial offers to Greta were immediately withdrawn and the media insinuated that her charges had been motivated by financial greed. Liberals and feminists refused to clarify the facts behind the reconciliation and fled in confusion, dropping Greta like a hot potato.

### No shelter

Why did Greta go back?

What the reporters didn't divulge was that she was fired from her clerking job because of the notoriety, was evicted from her apartment because John's brother kicked her door down, received no financial support from John or from her family, was threatened with a custody battle for her child, and was branded with a public image as a pathetic liar.

Greta Rideout "chose" reconciliation because she had no alternatives.

But like so many abused women forced to return to their husbands, she learned that the cycle of abuse continued, despite his promises to change.

After two miserable months, Greta left again, quietly. But even a final divorce didn't prevent Rideout from coming back and kicking her door down in an act of terrorism on August 28. He pleaded guilty of trespassing and awaits sentencing.

### Rape law threatened

The trial and reconciliation, coupled with the desertion of Greta's erstwhile feminist supporters, opened the doors to a reactionary attack on the Oregon law. John's attorney hoped the trial "might discourage some ladies from



bringing this kind of charge," and some legislators decried it as "undermining the contractual obligations of marriage" and causing discrimination against men because women could not be charged with rape.

Several bills and an initiative against the law are underway in Oregon and the outcome could provide a rightwing springboard for similar action in other states with antirape laws.

### Sex and society

The marital rape law defines marriage as a partnership of equals rather than property ownership of women by men, and this is vital to the demand for women's right to control their own bodies.

The law also defines rape as a crime of violence, removing it from protection as a "private" sexual matter permissible in the marriage contract.

The law is a step forward, but it is not enough.

Women like Greta Rideout must not be abandoned when they do not succeed in attaining self-liberation. Most women are still socially, economically, and/or psychologically dependent on individual men and desperately need support and solidarity to aid them in their quest for emancipation.

Millions of Gretas are stymied by starvation wages, lack of job skills and few rights as workers, housewives, tenants, gays, or single parents.

The solution to their plight is to broaden the struggle against male violence into a political movement of all the oppressed that can transform capitalist family relationships and their economic underpinnings into a new way of life based on thoroughgoing principles of humanity and democracy.

# Abortion rights imperilled

by Lynda Schraufnagel

**F**eminists nationwide will rally during Abortion Rights Action Week on October 21-28 to launch a counter-offensive against a terroristic anti-abortion campaign that resorts to fire-bombing, break-ins, and assaults.

The anti-abortionists are the same familiar conglomerate of well-financed, rightwing Bible-beaters who hate gays, the ERA, labor unions, radicals, welfare mothers, and people of color. Many oppose contraception.

Since the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, Right-to-Life forces have used hysteria-producing computerized mailings to swell their ranks. 60,000 marched in Washington, D.C. last January 22, the anniversary of the Court decision.

Their most damaging victory to date is the 1977 Hyde Amendment which prevents use of federal money for abortions, thereby ending abortion rights for poor women in all but 8 states. And their latest campaign is for "fetus rights"—outlawing abortion through a constitutional amendment already ratified by 14 states.

Popular approval of abortion rights increased from 53% to 60% last year, but the minority makes the noise.

### Dining with the enemy

Awed by the power of anti-abortionists, NOW's president Eleanor Smeal invited the Right-to-Lifers to a "peace" meeting in February. She and other conciliators discussed reproductive rights with anti-abortion "feminists"—and never mentioned abortion. The meeting was disrupted by extremists displaying pickled fetuses.

Smeal's treachery in accommodating the anti-abortionists brought sharp criticism from the National

Women's Health Network and the formation of Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2) in Chicago and the Abortion Rights Movement (ARM) in Washington, D.C.

This in turn spurred International Women's Day demonstrations in March centered on the abortion issue. The largest was organized in Olympia, Washington by a coalition representing gays, feminists, labor, radicals, and women of color.

R2N2 brought 1500 women to demonstrate against the National Right-to-Life Convention in Cincinnati on June 23, and on June 26 they delivered 22,000 signatures to Congress petitioning for no Medicaid restrictions on abortions. The answer of the House of Representatives was to forbid Medicaid abortions even in cases of rape, incest, or potential health damage.

### Rosie Jimenez, martyr

The Hyde Amendment in effect denies abortions only to impoverished women, many of them people of color. The only options left are sterilization or back-alley butchery.

An illegal abortionist killed Rosie Jimenez, 27, who was trying to rear a child and attend school on \$86 a month from welfare and a part-time job.

The response of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) is the creation of a Jimenez fund to replace Medicaid money for abortions, which graciously relieves Congress of the burden of supplying the needed 40 to 50 million dollars a year!

Jimenez' death demands an angry world outcry and the routing of the deadly Right-to-Lifers so that women may control their own bodies and their own minds. ■

Lynda Schraufnagel is a waitress, a unionist and an activist with Radical Women.

# Peltier recaptured

by Angelica Merlino

**N**ative American political prisoner Leonard Peltier is in jail again following an escape attempt that his supporters

suspect was set up as a trap to kill him.

Peltier, framed on charges of murdering two FBI agents at Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975, fled the prison at Lompoc, California on July 22 and was captured five days later. Fellow escapee Bobby Garcia was also captured during the break, while a third escapee, Dallas Thundershield, was murdered by prison guards.

The federal government and local police are intensifying their joint annihilation of Native American freedom fighters. Peltier had been transferred from the Marion, Illinois penitentiary to Lompoc prison in a move which many Indian activists feel was another FBI conspiracy to isolate and kill him.

Only a few months ago, AIM leader John Trudell's wife and children were burned to death by arsonists in retaliation for his organizing a major demonstration to protest FBI harassment of Native Americans.

Thousands of national and international supporters have rallied to Peltier's defense, and his case has prompted Congressman Ron Dellums, D-Calif., and the Black Congressional Caucus to investigate illegal FBI activities against Indian militants. The



feds and the energy barons want Indian leaders silenced so the ravaging of reservation minerals can proceed unfettered.

Rocque Duenas, a coordinator of the Peltier Defense Committee and an aide to Dellums' FBI investigation, was arrested near Lompoc within hours of Peltier's escape, stripped, and charged with concealing escape maps in his clothing. The maps were undoubtedly a plant, and authorities may charge him with Thundershield's murder. Duenas is being held on \$250,000 bail.

The safety of Peltier, Duenas and other Indian leaders is in grave jeopardy, and Indian spokespeople are urging all friends of Native Americans to make their voices heard.

For an international tribunal examination of U.S. abuse of Native Americans!

Hands off Native people's land! Stop the FBI genocide of Native American activists!

Drop all charges against Rocque Duenas!

Free Leonard Peltier! ■

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# PRISON

by Janet Sutherland

**S**ince that terrible day at Attica, New York when twenty-eight prisoners were massacred in 1971, prisons have changed only

for the worse.

The Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla is a prize case in point. It has been exploding for months, with no relief in sight for its beleaguered inmates.

In Walla Walla, inmates are race-baited, beaten, raped, condemned for weeks to live in a dirt yard in 114° temperature without shelter or shade, fed rotten TV dinners which must be eaten near pools of their own excrement, locked up four-to-a-cell for months, robbed of personal belongings, and routinely dehumanized.

Murders and suicides are endemic inside the walls, and choking fear haunts everyone.

U.S. prisons are hell-holes that reveal the naked core of a social system founded upon terrible punishments for the misfits, victims, rebels, parole violators and psychopaths who get sent there.

Prison life directly expresses the essence of class and race and sex relations in the outside society—and that is why prison condition exposés and revolts alarm the authorities. The revolts have the smell of revolution; if helpless convicts can erupt, anyone can.

## Desperate for a hearing

On May 9, three Walla Walla lifers—Robert Green, Carl Harp and Robert Washburn—held ten prison workers hostage for twelve hours in order to bargain for press coverage of prison conditions. Permitted to speak to reporters, the lifers condemned Walla Walla for being overcrowded, filthy, and lacking in facilities and programs. Then they surrendered, having harmed no one.

During the incident, the prison tactical squad herded 300 protesting prisoners into the recreation yard. The prisoners refused to return to their cells, and remained in the yard until the next day, shouting encouragement to the three lifers inside.

The reprisal against this was a five-day lockdown—total cell confinement for all prisoners.

## Selective prosecution

Trouble between Native Americans and Chicanos soon flared up, egged on by the divisive tactics of guards. Indian prisoner Lloyd Broncheau was murdered.

Walla Walla County Prosecutor Art Eggers refused to investigate or charge anyone for the murder on the basis of felon testimony—an implicit declaration of an open season on prisoners.

When Native American prisoners held a memorial service for Broncheau on June 15, guard William Cross forbade use of some scrap crate-wood to fire the sweatlodge used in Indian ceremonies. Later, as he intervened in a dispute, Cross was killed.

This time the prosecutor accepted the word of prisoners, and charged George and Jimmy Simmons, Native American brothers, with first degree murder.

The administration imposed another lockdown, and guards admonished Black prisoners to “get the featherheads... the lockdown is the Indians’ fault.”

## Sadism, Inc.

During lockdown, all mail was censored. No showers were permitted, little food was supplied, medical treatment was minimal, and prisoners were

beaten. One guard quit, appalled because other guards were lacing food with rat poison.

On July 7, men were dragged from their cells, robbed, and locked into mop closets. Returning Eight-wing prisoners saw their letters, photos, and other personal belongings dumped into garbage cans. This outrage, and the continued denial of showers, led them to tear up their cells in protest.

In response, drunken guards forced prisoners to run a gauntlet from their cells to the yard while guards beat them. Prisoners were then forced to lie spread-eagled and were clubbed in the groin. Guards on the wall urinated on the injured in the yard below.

230 men were forced to remain outside until late August, devoid of sanitation. Their rebelliousness provided the authorities with an excuse for confiscating more prisoner property and for reconstructing Eight-wing as a maximum security unit.

On July 8, twelve guards brutalized six segregated prisoners. One guard repeatedly sodomized inmate Carl Harp with a nightstick. Confirmation of this by the prison chaplain caused headlines and the suspension of twelve guards.

Members of the legislature, officials from the Department of Social and Health Services, and even Governor Ray, whose neglect and unconcern are notorious but who blamed her predecessor, all made political noises—and did nothing.

## Policy crisis

A team of outside, expert investigators blamed the guards for the uproar at Walla Walla, and the guards promptly staged a retaliatory wildcat strike on July 29 to protest unsafe working conditions.

The 42 guards who struck were summarily fired by Warden James Spalding, whose tacit consent to previous brutality evaporated when the media exposé became an embarrassment to him.

The guards’ union, Local 621 of the Washington Federation of State Employees (an affiliate of AFSCME), requested sanction for the strike, but state union officials—aghast at guard viciousness—postponed action, offering only to negotiate safety conditions.

Debate in the press over responsi-

bility for the uproar was still raging as five of the twelve suspended guards were fired in mid-August. But none were prosecuted for assault, and seven returned to work despite prisoners’ letters and a tape recording, released by United Families and Friends of Prisoners, that revealed guard savagery.

A public outcry has arisen for alleviation of prison overcrowding and guard violence, but the calls for reform are invidiously countered, most sensationally in an August *Life* magazine article that judged Walla Walla as **over-controlled by prisoners**.

The expert investigators’ report excused the guards, but admitted that they relinquished control and then tried to regain it with excess force. The report attributed the guards’ confusion to a conflict of management philosophies—prisoner passivity versus sharing in decisions—and recommended clarifying the role of the guards as enforcers of

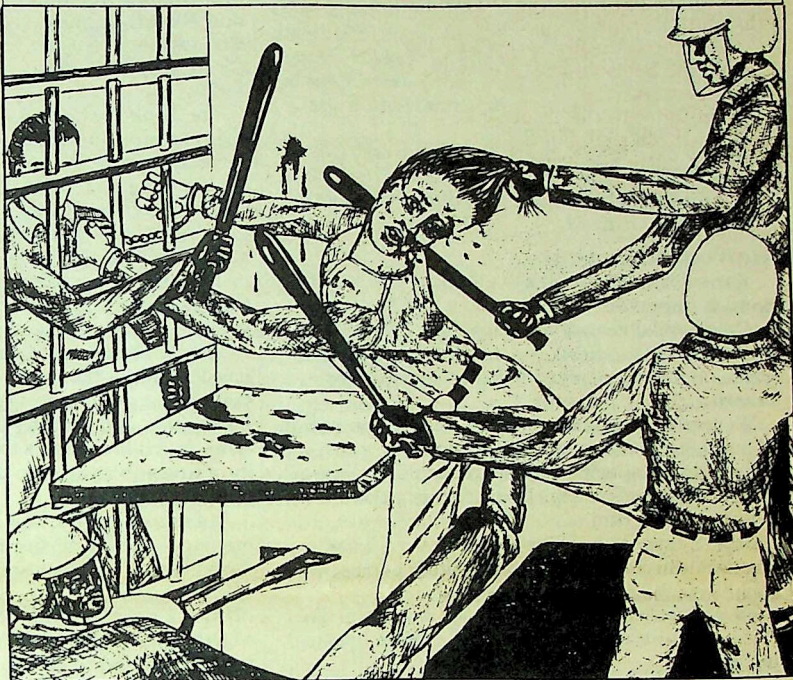
lected an advisory council.

Former Warden B.J. Rhay agrees with the investigators and blames the liberalization policy of the previous administration for the upheaval. But there was ingrained resistance to these reforms from the outset, which undermined them and **set them up to fail**.

The investigators reported that guards sabotaged the new program, taking their cue from the warden’s hostility to the changes.

A Native American prisoner told the *Freedom Socialist* that the administration permitted prisoners to arm themselves as a handy pretext for guard violence and reestablishing control.

Nationwide, reform measures are being stamped out in men’s prisons. The blueprint of lockdown, search, destroy, and tighten-up employed at Walla Walla was conceived at Pontiac Correctional Center in Illinois last summer and repeated at Illinois’ Stateville



Walla Walla prison guards beat Manuel “Buddy” Rampola in the segregation unit. Observed via mirrors and drawn by prisoner Greg Takemoto on July 8, 1979.

rules at the expense of prisoner rights.

## Chain-gang mentality

Ironically, Walla Walla has been considered a model of prison reform.

Prisoners wore their own clothes and hair styles, attended classes, participated in social, ethnic or issue clubs, and

prison in March.

Prison officials no longer even attempt rehabilitation or routine warehousing; they emulate the repressive Texas system, where 10% of all U.S. prisoners live under a fierce “law-and-order” regime, convict-guards act as thugs for the authorities, and strict regimentation and hard labor prevail.

## FSP organizer talks with Indian inmates

**O**n the 54th day of the lockdown, I accompanied anxious representatives from the Northwest Indian Women’s Council and the Native American press in a 12-hour meeting with terrified Indian prisoners in a dilapidated visiting room at Walla Walla penitentiary.

One by one, thirteen prisoners were brought in to talk to us. And in low, tense voices the men drew a graphic picture of their torment.

A prison administration that treats their religious rights and ceremonies with contempt and hostility... racist guards who take sadistic pleasure in taunting them with insults like “Where is your god now, featherhead?” as they beat and maul them... a sinister prison hospital that maims or kills more than it heals... the loneliness and despair of long sentences served hundreds of miles from families and tribes.

The excruciating strain of isolation, confinement and the constant threat of death (at the hands of guards or other prisoners) was etched deeply on their faces. One man talked openly of

suicide. The rest spoke with the emotionally charged monotone of the condemned.

At intervals they could find no words to describe their nightmare, so we sat in silence, not wanting to end the meeting which would force them to go back to their cells.

They handed us messages from their cellmates. Hastily scribbled on scraps of paper, those desperate pleas for help filter through my mind to this day.

And yet, despite the fear and the horror, all the prisoners were more concerned for others than themselves. “Get the weakest and the most vulnerable transferred first,” they urged us, over and over again.

Driving away from Walla Walla late that night, the memory of Attica suffused all of us, and we felt a sudden, urgent responsibility for preventing another massacre.

We had witnessed the anguish of human beings whose lives were in imminent jeopardy. We had to let the world know, before it was too late, before the final darkness.

— Guerry Hoddersen

## Macho microcosm

Prisons have a “tolerance” policy for inmates who injure each other.

Survival in a penitentiary is based on knowing how and whom to hurt. The weaker, younger, more sensitive and nonviolent prisoners suffer most, and gays and Indians are specially abused.

Placed in segregation for safety, gays forfeit the privileges of exercise, education, and work release. Unsegregated, they become the property of aggressive convicts or are marked for rape. And they are blamed when prisoners fight for the power to buy and sell them.

Guards also buy the male mystique. They usually come from small prison towns, which offer little alternative employment. Guards are frequently military veterans, schooled in totalitarian tactics. Says one Native American prisoner at Walla Walla, “It’s a big macho thing... the guards try to act tougher than the prisoners.”

About 95% of all prison guards are white, and few understand the prison population, **which is 40%-80% people of color**. At Walla Walla, guards receive only two weeks of training; they respond to the unfamiliar, hostile prisoners with ignorance, fear and belligerence. And their racism introduces and reinforces divisions between warring ethnic/racial groups.

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## The new face of the feminine mystique

The word is out, ladies: feminism is passé and the hooker look is in.

According to Madison Avenue, feminism is only the shrill, strident echo of a distant past before women liberated themselves from the home and assumed glamorous careers in corporate suites and government bureaus. The "new woman" has no need of a movement to defend her rights—she already has them!

Yes, today's woman should be a devoted mother, glamorous wife, highpowered careerist, charming hostess and expert homemaker, international gourmet, long-distance jogger, athlete and exerciser, seductress, community activist, cultural sophisticate, and purveyor of the "meaningful" relationship. That's all!

Never mind that we're still doing most of the household chores, that those challenging new careers look suspiciously like the same dead-end, underpaid jobs we've always had, that childcare is a luxury item and that inflation is pricing working women out of house and home, health care, autos—and those expensive new-look cosmetics.

All we have to do is learn to turn adversity to our own advantage, think positively, behave assertively (not aggressively!), and get out there and make it—*fashionably attired*.

### Retrograde culture

*Retro* (for retrogressive) is the key "in" word for women's apparel.

Commercial nostalgia for the fatal '50s has produced stiletto heels, super-tight peg-legged pants, and slick merchandising of come-hither dresses.

Women's magazines advise us on the finer points of hunting, titillating and capturing men.

And childless writers harangue us on the joys of motherhood and monogamous commitment.

*Woman-as-victim* is the latest in chic.

*Dark, suave, compelling Draculas* do a brisk business vampirizing and slaughtering entranced women on the stage and silver screen.

Record jackets display semi-clad women in the delectable process of being raped, beaten, chained and stabbed.

And *Vogue* shows what fun it is to be slapped around while clad in haute couture costumes.

### Schizophrenia time

What a split-level image! Females are to be self-confident, independent and sophisticated, AND dependent and submissive playthings. But there's a method to this madness.

Betty Friedan observed in *The Feminine Mystique* that the empty glorification of woman as a domestic sex symbol is in direct proportion to society's reluctance to treat her as a complete human being. And in a time of deepening recession and joblessness, the corporate powers are pushing women out of the job market and back into the home—which requires the crushing or co-opting of the women's movement and its gains.

This superwoman image is retained as a sop to middleclass feminism while it beats a hasty retreat from women's basic demands and concentrates on the needs of white professional women and relatively affluent housewives.

But this contradictory image of womanhood, virtually unattainable even for the privileged, puts a cruel and impossible burden upon working and poor women, women of color, and lesbians. It reduces women to self-hate, a sense of inadequacy, and competitiveness—the hallmarks of the feminine mystique.

Madison Avenue is huckstering an artificial, irrational, essentially Nazi program for women—*Kinder, Kirche, Küche*. Capitalism tries to hype women by glorifying the traditional role of mother, wife and lover, but failing this, the violent woman-as-victim image is employed to convince us that female autonomy cannot prevail against the macho supermale.

### For a new sexual politics

If the powers that be think they can bamboozle women once again with a shoddy, '50s-style hype they have another think coming. Women have nothing to gain by resurrecting all the badges of oppression. Instead, we must topple the system that thrives on turning us into corpses, dollies or property. And that means *seizing* the government and the corporate suites and creating some *really* avant-garde styles in human existence.

— Guerry Hoddersen

# The revolution unveiled

One of the great travesties against the international movement for the emancipation of women has been the systematic repression of its history and the lessons of its struggles.

All feminists, radicals and historians, therefore, should hail Gregory Massell's fascinating work, *Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919-1929*.

The book documents the heretofore unheralded revolution by Moslem women in the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union who, under the leadership of Bolshevik women cadre, broke the chains of their bondage to the polygamous Islamic patriarchy.

This book restores a key missing link in the intertwined story of the struggle for workers' and women's liberation—and it illuminates the centrality of women's struggle in the current Iranian revolution.

But there is a basic flaw in the author's politics and methodology. He wishes to demonstrate how "totalitarian" Bolshevism consolidated its power in Central Asia by "manipulating" women to "cruelly" disrupt Islamic traditionalism. So he twists the wealth of historical data he has unearthed to fit his pet notions and to reflect his adherence to the behaviorist school of bourgeois sociology, which views all human activity as programmed and passive behavioral patterns detached from historical leaps and economic reality.

To reap the real fruits of his research, therefore, the very different standpoint of historical materialism must be employed.

No stronger confirmation exists in modern history for Engels' postulate that "the first class oppression coincides with that of the female sex by the male" than the class dynamics in the steppes of Central Asia at the time of the October Revolution in 1917.

By common law, women were the chattel slaves of the men of that society.

Women's labor in the fields and on household looms produced the bulk of the economic product in Central Asia, but this was appropriated in its entirety by fathers or husbands. Through the mechanism of the bride price, women were sold as commodities in the market place. And the bride price fluctuated in direct relation to the market price for the products of women's labor.

Women had no rights over their own bodies and no rights to personal property. They were slaughtered or beaten at will by fathers or husbands. Through the custom of levirate, a widow was forced to marry and serve the closest surviving male relation of her husband, and runaway daughters and wives were hunted down and mutilated like slaves in the U.S. South.

As the ultimate symbol of their bondage, women of the settled agricultural societies were forced from the age of eight to don heavy cotton clothing and black horsehair veils which covered them from head to toe, blocking them forever from the sunlight.

Concomitant with female bondage was a system of sexual apartheid still prevalent in Islamic society today—and recently decreed again for Iran by the Ayatollah Khomeini. Women were secluded in one part of the household and never permitted to join the company of men or address men who were not close relations. A woman could only travel under escort, slinking along the sides of a street.

Incredibly, Massell ponders why Central Asian men so wantonly abused and destroyed their very valuable human property. His bourgeois, sexist mentality cannot comprehend the direct connection between brutality toward women and men's abiding fear of a slave revolt.

Prior to 1917, the female revolt could only be dis-

parate and unorganized, usually taking the form of murder of the male slaveowner-tyrant.

And despite the repression, women manifested solidarity, helping each other as they could.

*When Red Army troops entered the Asian steppes, they found their first and surest allies among the women*, in particular the runaway wives and daughters, orphans, child brides and cast-off wives. These women were swiftly recruited into the Bolshevik party and became its *most committed, core cadre*.

And the victorious proletariat of Russia took up the cause of their enslaved sisters.

Through the *Zhenotdel* (Department for Work among Women of the Communist Party Central Committee), hundreds of Bolshevik women throughout Russia went into the steppes to work with the Central Asian women cadre for the overthrow of female slavery and the establishment of socialism.

Under the inspired leadership of revolutionary feminists like Inessa Armand, Krupskaya, and Nukhrat, the *Zhenotdel* developed a two-pronged strategy for the abolition of slavery.

First, they dealt with women's immediate survival needs. They created economic and social alternatives for women trapped in the male-dominated clan structure. Women's clubs were organized which initiated all-women production units on land that had been expropriated from local potentates. These clubs also provided health and medical education, skills training, day care centers, and dormitories, all of which facilitated the integration of women into the industrial proletariat.

Schools for political education were set up so that Central Asian women could find their voice, exert their will and take on a leading role in constructing the new society. A key feature of this process was the creation of *women's soviets*, known as the Delegate Assemblies of Women.

Next, and carefully coordinated with the first part of the strategy, the new workers state banned bride-selling, polygamy, child marriage, and the levirate. All acts of brutality against women were prosecuted and the equal rights of women to property, employment, and political expression were asserted and defended. Women were encouraged to divorce vicious and polygamous husbands, and this campaign enjoyed a huge response.

All these measures were backed up by the full power of the Soviet state.

By 1927, the assault on slavery reached its height. *Tens of thousands of women participated in mass unveilings in the public squares of the cities of Central Asia*.

The ten-year struggle of the *Zhenotdel* and the women of Central Asia broke the back of female bondage—and in the process won over to the revolution the poor and landless male peasants and nomads.

Tragically, however, the goals of the revolutionary feminists to smash all manifestations of the oppression of women were not to be completed.

There were no bounds to the fury of the Islamic-patriarchs over the new liberation of women. But the bitterest blow to women and to the revolution was the treachery of Central Asian male Communist Party leaders. Fearful of losing their own male prerogatives, these "communists" insidiously sabotaged the campaign against women's slavery.

The Stalinist Thermidor—the backlash to revolutionary integrity and Bolshevism—resulted in the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution as a whole and in the dissolution of the *Zhenotdel* and all other party and mass organs of struggle for women's emancipation. Thousands of the most courageous Central Asian and Russian women cadre were lynched and by 1929 the women's movement was stamped out.

The swiftness, strength, and thoroughness of the Central Asian women's revolt and rise to leadership were directly related to their acutely oppressed status, and the legacy of their heroism lives on today in the growing revolutionary alliance of the Iranian communist and women's movements.

The tremendous historical experience of this female proletariat foreshadows and reveals the path that the international revolutionary movement must follow to achieve socialist victory and freedom for all oppressed humanity. Women are not only the locomotive of revolutionary history but the sex whose status is the fundamental index of a society's progress or retreat.

— Stephan Kass

Gregory Massell. *Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919-1929*. Princeton University Press, 1974. 435 p. \$20.00

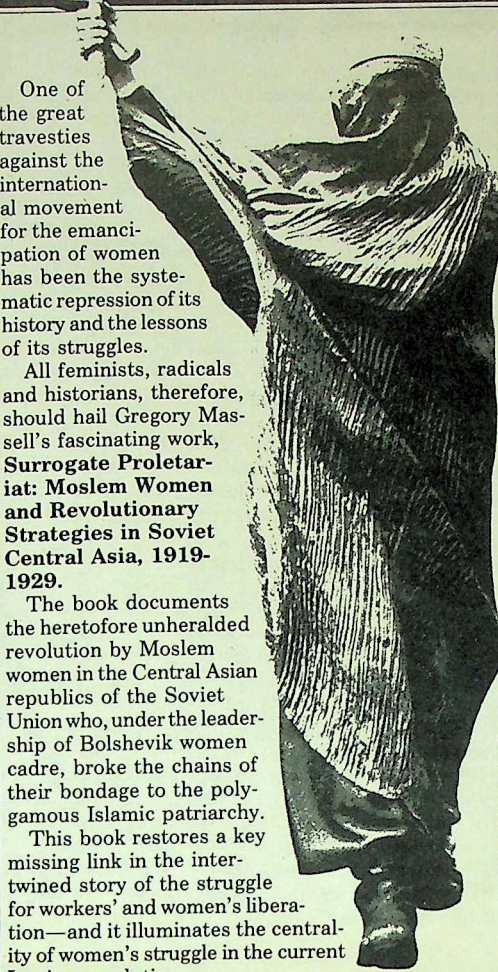


Illustration by [unreadable]



# MANHATTAN

Woody Allen's latest comedy-drama, *Manhattan*, opens with a spectacular black and white study of the New York skyline and harbor, replete with fireworks and a soundtrack of George Gershwin classics. And after this loving tribute out of Allen's fantasies, another less innocuous fantasy unravels.

Though he brings to *Manhattan* his usual skill at condensing humor into witty statements, building tension, and exposing the subtle self-deception of human relationships, his humor hopscoches back and forth, crossing the line between irony and the cheap shot. Allen edges from wit into stereotype, drawing easy laughs from a comfortable audience. He balances, teeters, and inevitably loses control of his sharp, honed one-liners. Then, falling into cliché, he steps on the crack that breaks your mother's (not your father's) back.

Allen works with familiar material: the convoluted, endlessly analyzed particulars of the relationships between the people who live in *his* city. Everyone is settled comfortably in careers, dinners, affairs, and cars. When Isaac, the main character, quits his TV writer's job, he still retains his analyst without much hardship.

Fans of the film insist that Allen is poking fun at his characters' sexism and pretentiousness, that he is satirizing the privileged. But the self-deprecating humor is very mild, and too little change occurs.

The effect of humor depends on who's laughing and at whose expense. The ones who really lose out in this film are those who end up most stereotyped—the women, particularly the lesbians. I saw the film in a theatre in San Francisco's wealthy Union Street district, and the bulk of the laughter came from men. The laughs filled the theatre most solidly when women characters in the movie belittled themselves, or when the subject arose of Isaac's ex-wife, a lesbian.

The audience roared at lines such as "My wife left me for another woman," "Very few people survive even one mother," "I thought your penis

substitute would be a Great Dane," "Your vibes were so great you changed her from a bisexual into a homosexual," and "A book about my mother, the castrating Zionist."

One of the movie's most disturbing scenes is between Isaac and Jill, his ex-wife, and her female lover. The two lesbians are predictably portrayed as bitchy, cold, and hostile. Jill is exploiting the details of her failed marriage to Isaac by writing a soon-to-be-published book. She also sends their son to ballet lessons, which Isaac, typically homophobic, construes to mean she is trying to make his son into a "queer." So he plays football with the boy.

The film manages to end on a relatively strong note provided by Tracy, the young woman with whom Isaac is involved. Calmly resisting his desperate, cynical credo of "no-one is honest when he wants something," Tracy holds her own and emerges with integrity, self-respect and hope for people. But Tracy, too, lives in affluence and ease, and represents nobody but herself.

Warmed-over Woody Allen just doesn't work. The moment an artist rests or repeats or relies on what worked before, the product suffers. *Manhattan* doesn't move much beyond *Annie Hall* and the same loveable, bumbling, searching, sexist male loser, bless his little heart.

I wonder if Woody Allen will move beyond his almost complacent portrayals of a sensitive chauvinist to a changing, struggling, *feminist man* using his talents to do more than endlessly work through the details of his 20-year-long psychoanalysis. I hope that his fascination with women will reorient him from his flip, existential theatre of the absurd and the futile, and lead him to the rich humor and drama of people who struggle to change the world as well as themselves.

— Karen Brodine

Karen Brodine is a poet, typesetter, teacher and socialist feminist organizer.



Clara Fraser

## Of hermits, hedonists and related narcissists

In the melting pot ghetto of East Los Angeles where I grew up during the Great Depression, everybody seemed to know that the only way to keep things from getting worse was to organize to make them better. Everyone was involved in some group bent on improving some facet of social arrangements. What outfit you belonged to was your badge of distinction, the mark of your individuality and the guidepost to your relations with others. And the kind of life that gravitated around causes was full of meaning and stimulation. Social activists found satisfaction, ideological understanding, humor, and companionship as the fringe benefits of commitment, and it was an exciting way to rise to the call of *human* beingness. The political *was* the personal.

That's right, back in those olden times working people cared about the world, and everybody had a pet panacea, especially in that golden southern California clime of sects and movements where anything seemed possible and the improbable was institutionalized. And to the adolescents growing up optimistic, athletic, and reflexively welded to our clubs and teams and schools and neighborhoods, the symbol of high craziness was the *hermit*, the barefoot wierdo who wandered through the Hollywood hills and fled if people approached. We laughed 'til we fell down, teenage-style, at a man who chose solitude instead of the human comedy.

Our heroes, naturally, were the freedom fighters and rebels. One day in 1938, a group of wounded Spanish Civil War veterans visited our high school, and classrooms emptied as students and teachers alike rushed to welcome the Abraham Lincoln Brigaders and to gaze, star-struck, at the glamorous figures. One of them, praise be, lived on my street and offered to walk me home. He walked and I floated, Cinderella at the ball. *That* was prestige!

We were poor, with nothing but prospects, but filled with hope and idealism and the enormous capacity for enjoyment. We never had any *money*; everything we earned went for clothing, school supplies, streetcar fare, movies and dance halls—the basics. Daddies were periodically unemployed and mamas slaved in the garment shops or in somebody's kitchen or store, and we hung on every tale of our parents matching wits and fists with the bosses. We helped neighbors in need, fed the beggars who came to the door if they asked *nicely*, and went to all the mass meetings against the mass of injustices. We had a wonderful time applauding the speakers, booing the bad guys, and kidding around with the buddies we ran into. We were a *community*, and that was invigorating.

How good it was to be young and alive and turned on and tuned in and doing something that mattered.

Quiet as it's kept, it still is. While nothing is too good for the working class, and no labor-saving household device should ever be sneered at, when the sole purpose of living is to luxuriate in the "good life," in "personal life," in the panoply of "self-discovery" lures and hoaxes—irrespective of what's happening in the world and to whom—then it is clear that many people are simply losing their *homo sapien* bearings. So I welcome the current dissection of this phenomenon of narcissism because it focuses the spotlight on the follies of the resigned, the fashionably cynical, the boringly self-absorbed, and the yearners for private contentment amid public chaos.

As if individual satisfaction can be achieved by political withdrawal in a society sick unto death and crying out for more, not less, collective responsibility and intervention!

The me generation is the inexorable outcome of the official, anti-humanitarian, anti-worker, racist, sexist, bourgeois culture. Some of these shallow eat, drink and be merryites, frantic to get it on before the sky falls down, can get real nasty, and radicals are being mau-mau'd by these me-me's. But others are unaware of the option of creating stunning progress, unexposed to the exhilarating benefits of collective politics. Still others passively await a new giant movement to supply safety and comfort in numbers.

In any event, the tables will turn, and the new crop of self-pamperers will become as extinct as their predecessors, the hermits. For a new upsurge, a new uplift, is in the air, and the cultural cycle will soon reflect the upbeat connectedness of the '30s and the '60s instead of the disengagement of the '50s.

The culture always reflects the socio-economic times. But this doesn't excuse a surrender to alien class pressures, and we must let consciousness be our pilot in dealing with the privatists. Time is on our side—for they will soon discover that they're not really having any *fun*.

## Art & Politics

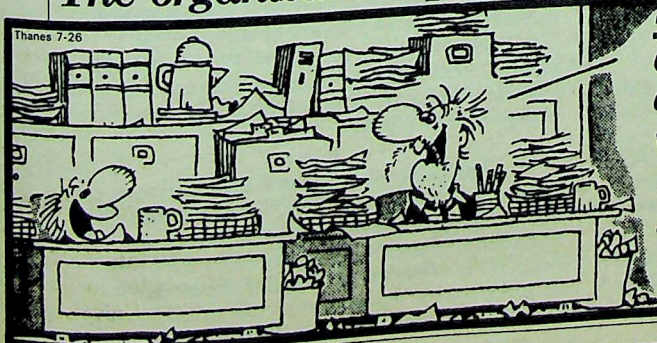
WHEN WE succeed in adjusting our social structure in such a way as to enable us to solve social questions as fast as they become really pressing, they will no longer force their way into the theatre. Had Ibsen, for instance, had any reason to believe that the abuses to which he called attention in his prose plays would have been adequately attended to without his interference, he would no doubt have gladly left them alone. The same exigency drove William Morris in England from his tapestries, his epics, and his masterpieces of printing, to try and bring his fellow citizens to their senses by the summary process of shouting at them in the streets and in Trafalgar Square. John Ruskin's writing began with *Modern Painters*; Carlyle began with literary studies of German culture and the like; both were driven to become revolutionary pamphleteers. If people are rotting and starving in all directions, and nobody else has the heart or brains to make a disturbance about it, the great writers must.

—George Bernard Shaw, *English playwright*

I KNOW not if I deserve that a laurel-wreath should one day be laid on my coffin. Poetry, dearly as I have loved it, has always been to me but a divine plaything. I have never attached any great value to poetical fame; and I trouble myself very little whether people praise my verses or blame them. But lay on my coffin a *sword*; for I was a brave soldier in the Liberation War of humanity.

—Heinrich Heine, *German poet*

## The organization question



I'M GOING TO GIVE UP TRYING TO GET AHEAD IN MY WORK, SO I CAN CONCENTRATE ON SLOWING DOWN THE RATE AT WHICH I'M FALLING BEHIND.



## What is the FSP?

The Freedom Socialist Party is a revolutionary, socialist feminist organization, dedicated to the replacement of capitalist rule by a genuine workers democracy that will guarantee full economic, social, political and legal equality to women, people of color, gays, and all who are exploited, oppressed and repelled by the ruthless profit system and its offshoot—imperialism.

### For revolutionary internationalism

The working class is international, bound by global abuse and the common task of winning liberation through socialism. We support the revolution on all its fronts and seek to transform it into worldwide socialism, which alone can insure the final defeat of capitalism and all forms of subjugation.

### For union democracy

The working class has the strategic power, numbers, need and opportunity to effect a socialist transformation of society. But first the trade unions must be freed from the stranglehold of the class-collaborationist bureaucrats and from dependence on the twin political parties of big business. Internal union democracy, class struggle principles, independent political action in the form of a Labor Party, and an end to internal racism, sexism and heterosexism are on the order of the day.

### For women's liberation

We organize for the total emancipation of women on every level of life. The multiple afflictions of women—as members of an oppressed sex, workers, people of color, lesbians—propel them into militancy within every social movement, thereby laying the basis for unifying all the mass movements. Women, particularly workingclass women of color, are playing an increasingly vanguard role in the American and world revolution, thanks to the rise of the autonomous women's movement and women's caucuses within unions and all political parties.

### For racial/ethnic freedom

The struggles of oppressed minorities against racism objectively challenge the basic core of the American political system. The resistance of people of color, who suffer a dual oppression, spurs all other sectors of the working class to advanced political consciousness and militancy.

We stand for immediate and unconditional economic, political, and social equality for Blacks, Chicanos, Asian Americans, Native Americans and Puerto Ricans, and endorse the demand for self-determination by the Indian and Puerto Rican nations.

We advocate the collaboration of Black organizations with the revolutionary movement as the most realistic and historically validated alternative to the dead ends of separatism or reformist integration. The revolution depends upon massive Black involvement and leadership.

### For gay equality

The revolt of lesbians and gay men against sexual repression and sex-role stereotyping is a key ingredient of the fight for women's equality and is equally revolutionary. Revolutionary socialism is the logical road for sexual minorities who stand apart from the bourgeois nuclear family and who wish to end, once and for all, the long, bloody centuries of persecution and terror.

Because of their special oppression, lesbians are a particularly militant component of all social movements.

### For human rights

Among the most hapless and vulnerable victims of capitalism are children, elders, the disabled, prisoners—anyone who is not a profitable worker. We demand a world where all people have the inalienable right to security, care, love, and unhampered opportunity and growth.

### For a mass party of the working class

History has proven that only a thoroughly democratic and centralized vanguard party can lead the proletariat and its many allies to power. The FSP, a product of the living tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, aspires to become a mass organization capable of providing direction and coordination for the coming American revolution.

Through independent growth, revolutionary regroupment, and other forms of fusion, we are confident of our eventual merger with the dynamic masses who will sweep every obstacle out of their path and ascend to the socialist future.

from page 19

State Director of Adult Corrections Robert Tropp blames the inadequate training of guards on lack of funds, but he was forced to admit that he got from the legislature all the training funds that he requested.

Such deliberate neglect pervades the administration, which views prisoners as scum of the earth who respect only brutishness. Hence, guards need be nothing more than instruments of repression—and convenient scapegoats when news of the blood and corpses hits the front pages.

### Prison is for the poor

The prison population is increasing astronomically (from 194,896 in 1967 to 278,141 in 1977) as rightwing political pressures result in more and stiffer sentences and stricter parole rules. And criminal techniques learned in prison result in an ever higher rate of return—up to 75%!

The previous income of felons was 45% lower than the national median, and their crimes are mostly nonviolent—against property, not people.

Income, social background, and race determine who will be imprisoned; middleclass white offenders can buy a different grade of justice.

The biggest thieves and murderers, of course, head corporations, the government, and the military. When deposed, they reside in seaside villas on rich pensions, or write bestsellers. Few are tried for their crimes.

### Slave labor

Many states use prisoners to build roads and clean parks, paying them little or nothing.

A recent lawsuit against the Texas Department of Corrections revealed that slave labor conditions can virtually make prisons self-supporting. Convict products and labor pay for three-fourths of the cost of Texas prisons, and furnish goods and produce for other institutions as well.

Prison jobs offer little but relief from idleness. Making license plates involves skills that are useless on the outside. Prison laborers receive no fringe benefits or compensation for injury on the job. And a sizeable portion of their meager wages is often siphoned into an inmate welfare fund—actually a petty cash account for the administrators.

In work release programs, prisoners who work outside as dishwashers and janitors pay inflated rates for inadequate room and board.

Prisoners are also exploited as guinea pigs by drug companies doing medical research. Dangerous drugs are tested on inmates, who are exposed to diseases like malaria and hepatitis to test new cures. By offering incentives such as an outside trip, daily visiting privileges, or better pay than prison jobs provide, the drug companies lure willing victims who rarely know the risks involved.

### Capitalism, the prison outside

Prisons are not contrived to be humane places.

Despotism and cruelty are the normal mode. A dictatorial hierarchy, racism against and among people of color, rigidly drawn class lines, sexism to the point of mania, and machismo-worship are the prevailing strands of prison culture—a telling caricature of life outside the walls.

Prison simply isolates and intensifies the bourgeois, white male supremacist model of power relations.

Prison is the degrading end-product of an outside system of neglect which fails to provide decent childcare, housing, health care, schooling, social consciousness, employment or cultural enrichment to millions of people. Capitalism then channels much of the rebellion of the poor and deprived back on their own people, in the form of crime, and jails the criminal—double jeopardy for oppression.

The thief who burglarizes the corner gas station must not be allowed to turn his energy into making the assets of Standard Oil available to all the people. He must not be allowed to become a political challenger, an organizer of masses. He must remain isolated, preferably antisocial, dangerous. And he must learn to accept the system of capitalism, crime, punishment and jails so he can become a model prisoner and perpetuate the cesspool inside and outside the walls.

So the chain of abuse on the outside reverberates doubly inside prisons, the dumping grounds of a society which cares about profit, not people.

Meanwhile, workers bear the burden of increased taxes for prisons, and also pay for crime when they become the victims of criminals, i.e., the successful graduates of the prisons.

### What can be done

In a sane, caring, socialist world, crime will plummet as equal distribution of wealth, vast opportunity for useful work, and a real share in decision-making give all people access to a full and rewarding life.

But today millions resort to crime to survive, to feel important, to escape drudgery, or because they are bred to it. And truly dangerous criminals should not be glamorized or sentimentalized, for the lumpen, declassed, largely slum-bred sociopaths feed off workers and are the raw material for strikebreaking and fascist gangs.

But most people in prison shouldn't be there at all, especially political prisoners, and in the interim, radical reform of prisons is crucial, a matter of life and death to prisoners and their families, the working guards, the proletariat as a whole, and the helpless victims of crime. The entire criminal justice system must be revamped, modernized, revolutionized.

"Crimes" that do not victimize others—sexual practices, morality and "age of consent" infractions, gambling, prostitution, narcotics and alcohol consumption, drunkenness, pornography, self-defense, petty welfare and tax violations, etc.—must be expunged from the lawbooks.

Similarly, all anti-labor, anti-picketing and anti-assembly laws and injunctions, and criminal syndicalist laws, must be ruled unconstitutional, as well as laws penalizing the media.

Radicals, labor unions, political and service organizations, feminists, gays, people of color and concerned individuals need to form a massive coalition to press for all the indicated demands:

- **Sentencing and parole policies must be geared to realism and fairness**, and those who enforce them permitted reasonable case loads.
- **Smaller prisons and an alternative to solitary cells** must be built or adapted immediately.
- **For varying types of custody from minimum to high security**. Separate the insane and the incorrigibles from the rational and those whose crimes are victimless or against property.
- **Community control of prisons—let unionists, civil rights groups, and families of prisoners, not professional bureaucrats, determine policy.**
- **Prisoner self-government** to allow prisoners a real voice in policy.
- **A Citizens' Review Board** to hear all complaints, assess violations, award damages and impose fines.
- **Prisoner rights** to organize political, labor, religious, cultural and social units; to have access to the media; to be supplied decent housing, food, health and psychiatric care; to compensation for lost property and violations of civil and human rights.
- **End all brutality, racism and sexual oppression in prisons**. Fire staff who violate prisoner rights.
- **Parole Native American prisoners to their own or accepting tribes or place them in nonracist custody near their homes.**
- **Good salaries and conditions and regular training in human relations and supervision for prison staff.**
- **Proportional representation of women, people of color and gays** at all levels of prison staff.
- **Let friends and families of prisoners visit frequently and in privacy.**
- **Effective skills training programs for prisoners**. Apprenticeships and jobs at prevailing wages, with membership in related unions. Useful work release programs. Prison should be a productive community where inmates pay their expenses, make restitution for crimes, and support their families.

Humanity cannot survive half-imprisoned and half-free. All the world's a jail under capitalism, but nobody is more impotent, harassed, or despairing than the captives behind bars. The condition of people in prison is the proper concern of the working class, for prison is only the distorted mirror image of the total society. ■

**where to find the FSP**

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San Francisco/Berkeley: 2661 21st St., San Francisco, CA 94110. (415) 824-1497.

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**OREGON**  
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National Office, Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105. (206) 632-7449.  
North Branch, 1931 E. Calhoun, Seattle, WA 98112. (206) 722-3812.  
South Branch, 831 32nd Ave., Seattle, WA 98122. (206) 324-5016.



# A Victory for Socialist Feminism

## Organizer's Report to the 1969 FSP Conference



Bill Cumming/Danah from portrait

A Victory for Socialist Feminism describes the birth-pangs of a political party. When, in 1967, the Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party separated from the parent body and became the Freedom Socialist Party, one of the unresolvable differences that had precipitated the split was the Woman Question. And in the new party's first two years of life, its feminist principles were tested even further in the crucible of experience and all but the most determined champions of women's equality ended up out of the party.

Those comrades who stuck to their feminist battle stations emerged tempered enough to go on to build a unique kind of party.

The issue that triggered the split in the young FSP was a divorce between two leading members, Clara and Richard Fraser (Clara Kaye and Richard Kirk). Washington State divorce law at that time put the wife at a terrible disadvantage, and when Richard Fraser forced the issue and contested Clara's divorce and custody suit, the party had to face the then-disputed question of whether a political principle or a private matter was at stake. Fortunately for its sur-

vival, the party made the correct decision—an historic decision.

Clara Fraser, considerably ahead of her time, refused to be intimidated by male chauvinist "radicals" who scornfully accused her of confusing the personal and the political. Nor would she be shamed into secrecy and submission by any individualistic fear of public "disgrace" over the exposure of her domestic battles for equal rights. She saw clearly that the physical abuse, the husband's alcoholism, her economic burdens, and the reactionary political and moral slander against her character, wielded as blackmail in the child custody dispute, were not just the center of *her* case, but the heart of women's oppression everywhere. And these outrages were no more to be tolerated in a radical party than anywhere else; on the contrary, in a Marxist organization energetically espousing the great principles of women's emancipation, Richard Fraser's conduct was particularly reprehensible.

The ensuing intra-party conflict categorically separated the socialist feminists from the hypocrites, and the Victory transpired when the conflict deepened into rift and the rift into outright split. Because the women and their few male defenders won out, this chapter of feminist history warrants close attention today, when the women's movement is scrutinizing the Left in search of a basis for a principled alliance.

And the book speaks just as tellingly to male-dominated radical groups who are still wondering just what it *is* that women revolutionaries want!

### V. The Nature of the Split

**T**he split in the FSP did not happen cleanly and neatly. There was no clear counterposition of opposing views, no intensive internal discussion bringing out the political character of the disputes, no final confrontation and decision at the party convention.

Had all this taken place, the nature of the split would have been crystal clear. Since it didn't happen, the split had to be subjected to an *ex post facto* analysis.

The immediate occasion of the split was an organizational dispute over an expulsion. In one sense, then, the split can be seen as the culmination of a long series of clashes over organizational norms, priorities and procedures. If our analysis went no further than this, we would have to say that the split in the FSP derived from organizational differences, with the majority asserting organizational standards that the minority was simply unable to live up to.

Finding the party's internal discipline unbearably constricting, they walked out and established a club of their own in which they could operate more comfortably.

This is part of the truth, but it does not go far enough.

It is an axiom of Leninism that any serious, long-term organizational conflict, especially one culminating in a split along factional lines, generally expresses a deep, underlying political polarization. It is the task of analysis to identify and reveal this basis.

#### The Character of the Opposition

The oppositionists in the FSP, even at the point of split, never admitted the factional nature of their grouping, because they were unable to explain the political basis of their factional cohesion. They had never thought through the implications of their politics. They remained to the end an unprincipled combination, unable to find any basis for their bloc other than a reflexive hostility to the standards, methods and personnel of the party majority.

What lay behind this hostility? Obviously, most (but not all) of the oppositionists felt an instinctive repugnance to the practice of bolshevik organization. *This in itself reflects a certain political attitude.*

At the basis of Leninist organizational norms lies the concept of the vanguard party, standing in an advanced position, ahead of the mass movement, constantly striving to bring the movement up to its level while maintaining its own principles and program intact.

*An attack on organizational norms and procedures, therefore, is generally an implicit attack on the concept of the vanguard party and a drawing away from the clear and sharp definition of program that characterizes such a party.*

It is important to realize that an assault on the

party's program need not take the form of an open, direct ideological assault. It can express itself through an attempt to interpret the program in an opportunistic fashion by softening its distinctive features to make it more palatable to more backward elements, and even to opponent tendencies within the movement.

Party members who display such opportunistic leanings will also manifest dissatisfaction with the "undiplomatic" behavior of comrades who are too "pushy," too "inflexible," too "intolerant,"—who insist on a precise and uncompromising political differentiation of the party from its opponents and also from the lower political levels of the mass movements in which the party intervenes.

The oppositionists in the FSP instinctively shied away from any attempt of the majority to push the party's **program** as its determining feature, and to insist on **principle** as the guideline to tactics in the mass movement.

Seen in this light, the major clashes that preceded the split reveal a definite pattern.

The February priorities crisis involved something more than a publication schedule. The real priority involved was the priority of the **party program** as defined in the basic documents containing our distinctive positions on the Black Question and the Woman Question.

This program should have been the key to determining the party's public image and its course of intervention in the mass movement.

The minority's sudden preoccupation with China, their tortuous attempt to make it a central point of dispute with the majority, and their urging the party to enter the regroupment arena before clearly and publicly presenting its **own** program, were aspects of their general tendency to push the FSP's own distinctive contributions to revolutionary tradition into the background.

The same trend was evident in the internal discussion that occupied the party for some months in the spring and summer.

1. In citing the China question as the "key to the international situation" and to the regroupment process in the U.S., Frank pushed the FSP program on the the decisive American questions—the liberation of Blacks and women—into the background, thereby minimizing our differences with the Workers World Party, with whom he was then carrying on a flirtation.

2. The entire dispute over regroupment and the nature of the party ("a party" vs. "the party") revealed an oppositional current that only became fully explicit much later, after our former comrades had launched out on their own.

They were looking for a "regroupment" in which they could find a comfortable home as a left wing of a larger, broader organization; we saw the whole regroupment process as a more protracted and complex one.

For us, the FSP would necessarily be *the* party for some time, and would cede that claim *only* to a new, nationwide, Leninist party that could rightfully

assume the task of leading the American Revolution.

3. In the election campaign disputes, the differences that emerged between the majority comrades and the candidate concerned the latter's unwillingness to stress the program that had been agreed upon, while the opposition, unconcerned with this major political problem, concentrated their efforts on fomenting organizational impediments to effective prosecution of the campaign.

#### The Decisive Woman Question

These examples of behavior were symptomatic of a general tendency in the opposition, whose members were drawing away from a sharp definition of the party program and from bolshevik political and organizational concepts.

Nevertheless, up to the final crisis, the opposition was never fully unified.

There was always some wavering and some crossing of lines, and a few comrades tried to remain aloof from both of the crystallizing tendencies.

The decisive question that finally drove all the disparate elements together was—the Woman Question.

And here again, the opposition's attitude toward the party program was expressed not in open ideological confrontation, but in personal and organizational conflicts.

The opposition would not recognize a Woman Question inside the party—only a "Clara Question." It was Clara, the leading spokesperson of the party majority, who became the figure upon whom all the various elements that comprised the opposition eventually focused their hostility.

There had always been male chauvinism within the party, which Clara had usually successfully overridden with the cooperation of the rest of the old party leadership.

But now she was appearing as the leader of the party majority *against* her former male colleagues. This independent and decisive leadership from a woman was too much for some comrades to take.

This explained the fantastic success of the anti-Clara campaign among some of the male comrades who tended to stand with the bolshevik majority on almost every *other* question.

What had been a latent, half-expressed tendency was transformed into a raging disease, and the final crisis in the dispute between Clara and Kirk was enough to bring it out into the open.

When disciplinary action was finally taken against Kirk, the entire party faced a decisive test.

Principle required solidarity with Clara in the face of Kirk's open scabbery on the Woman Question. The majority passed the test. Kirk was expelled, and his expulsion ratified. *Thus the party reaffirmed in practice its theoretical position on the Woman Question, and made clear to all concerned that the FSP regarded it as a fundamental, first-class political issue.*

The minority could not pass the test.

Not only were they unwilling to stand by their

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principles on this question, they were unable to live a minute longer inside a party that would. In walking out, they made clear that for them the Woman Question was at best a second-class question, and that they would not tolerate its elevation into a guide to living practice.

The opposition's hypocrisy on the Woman Question—a real backwardness, which they attempted to conceal with demagogic rhetoric—was the decisive factor impelling them into hurried flight from the party ranks.

This was their first definite, organized break with the party program; it was not to be their last. From the moment they deserted the party, the oppositionists followed a political course that led them further and further from Marxism.

### A Historic Parallel

The Woman Question was not the sum and substance of the differences in the party, but it was the *barometer* of the opposition's political degeneration, the weather vane pointing out the direction of their political drift. In exposing their incapacity to deal honestly with this fundamental issue, the deserters signalled their growing inability to deal with any question in the bolshevik manner—clearly, incisively, and forthrightly, on the grounds of principle.

The split in the FSP was unusual in form, but not without parallel in the history of the Marxist movement.

A similar struggle, the famous bolshevik-menshevik split in which Lenin first emerged as the leader of the revolutionary movement in Russia, was fought out in the Russian Social-Democratic Party in 1903.

Although the Russian party was a great, mass organization and ours is a small revolutionary nucleus, the parallels between the problems faced in both cases are too striking to be ignored, and the struggle in the FSP appears in some respects as a microcosm of the vast earlier struggle.

The Russian Social-Democracy was a party still in its formative phase, struggling to unify itself around a program and defend its political integrity as a vanguard detachment of a much broader radical

movement. And the Russian revolutionists, like ourselves, very soon faced an organizational crisis over what appeared to be trivial, secondary matters.

*The crisis came to a head at the 1903 Congress of the party over (1) the composition of the editorial board of *Iskra* (the central party organ), and (2) a minor difference of wording in two drafts of the statutes defining membership requirements.*

On the first issue, Lenin had simply proposed a reduction in the size of *Iskra's* editorial board to weed out the less effective and productive members of the original team in the interests of efficiency.

But, to quote Deutscher (*The Prophet Armed*), "considerations of efficiency clashed, as they often do, with acquired rights and sentiment." The future mensheviks sensed in Lenin's simple proposal a deep, dark conspiracy to wrest the hegemony in the Russian revolutionary movement away from its traditional leadership.

This dispute immediately threw into relief the "minor" differences in the drafts of the membership statutes. It became clear that the difference between the two drafts was hardly trivial, for it concerned two basically different definitions of the party.

Lenin had proposed that the primary requirement of party membership be activity as a *member of a local organization* of the party, while Martov, future leader of the mensheviks, proposed that it be activity *under the direction* of a local party organization. Lenin was looking toward a tight, disciplined formation in which each member would be bound to the revolutionary collective by a close, integral connection with its local organization. Martov, on the other hand, envisaged a looser association, with the individual member's responsibilities very vaguely defined, leaving each member free from regular control and supervision by the local organization.

The question of *priorities*—efficiency in carrying out the party line versus sentimental considerations, and the *nature of the party*—these were the split issues that divided bolshevik from menshevik.

As we now know, the differences that lay behind these disputes over technical questions were anything but superficial. They set in motion a long process of political dispute, and the Russian Social-Democracy broke up into two camps: the bolsheviks, who stood at the head of the 1917 revolution, and the mensheviks, who were obstacles in its way.

### Lessons of the FSP Split

Our party also faced its first crisis very early in its existence, and the problem was similar.

Once a party has declared its independence and come out into the open, it is forced to define itself, and this means first and foremost defining its attitude toward its own politics.

Even the *best* politics, so long as they remain on paper or are confined to discussions within closed circles, have no definitive existence. They must be carried out into the real world and put to work as operating principles of a living organization.

This is the final test of the seriousness with which an organization regards its politics. This determines what its real program is.

Such was the test our party faced during 1967. In withstanding the test—a split not with old enemies, but with those who had been longtime friends and comrades—we ended the formative process set in motion a year and a half earlier, when the FSP came into being.

Only after the split did the FSP finally stand by itself, firmly rooted in its own dynamic principles.

### VI. 1968: FSP Condition and Performance

**T**he party's salient accomplishment of 1967 was to maintain its integrity in the face of a menshevik challenge from within its own ranks.

In so doing, it saved itself from an opportunistic drift into centrism, reformism and eventual liquidation.

Still, the lifesaving struggle exacted heavy costs. The bitter and protracted internecine conflict seriously drained the energies of the party cadres and prevented significant party growth during the fight. The year ended with some major tasks uncompleted, only one basic document published, and new sources of growth, opened up by the election campaign, unexploited.

With the new year, the party had new tasks, and the first was political and organizational survival.

With the membership at virtual half strength, substantial scaling down and alteration of perspectives were required. The deserters not only absconded with party correspondence and

documents, but stole the \$300.00 Publication Fund. We had to settle the ideological account of the split, clarifying our position and tracing out the inner logic of our opponents' evolution.

We had to maintain public functioning and momentum, as well as continued contact with and intervention in the mass movement.

We had to prevent the usurpation of the name of the FSP by the mensheviks.

And we had to strengthen the party, tempering and toughening the small cadre for the great responsibilities it now had to shoulder alone, while augmenting our slender forces through intensified contact and recruitment work.

### Performance Analysis

The 1968 record is characterized by some successes, some unfinished tasks, some projects that never got off the ground, much exploratory activity in probing the possibilities of alliances and united efforts with other groupings, and the eventual strengthening of our identity, mode of operation, and course.

1. Our first job was to *explain the split* to our friends and periphery.

We accomplished this slowly and painstakingly, but effectively, in that we made our position succinct and programmatic. We refused to borrow a leaf from the book of our opponents' style and label the dispute as "the Frank question" or "the Kirk question," etc. Instead, in a series of detailed open letters to our former comrades in response to their demands and charges, we opened a political debate on issues of principle and program.

We hoped thereby to engage them in open ideological debate, but this they fled from, preferring to circulate their version of events privately.

It was difficult for us to convince many people, in that period, of the validity of our course, given the general hostility toward our conception of the Woman Question as a major political issue that required *independent mass organization*.

Also, there prevailed great resistance in the student movement to *any* organizational forms geared toward serious revolutionary action and pointing in the direction of a vanguard party.

Nevertheless, we forced every local radical grouping into an examination of these issues and a general consideration of their role and import, thereby definitively establishing ourselves as the hard-core proletarian tendency and the rightful inheritors of the party's name.

2. We were highly successful in keeping the party *publicly visible* through forums and socials.

A forum series on Afro-American History in February and March 1968 featured an impressive roster of speakers and was widely publicized. The series built up to a very good attendance.

A long summer series on the history of women's emancipation, jointly sponsored with Radical Women, was so successful that it contributed to this very history. It was a major breakthrough in bringing the woman question as a serious, first-rank political subject before a new generation of radicals. The speakers roster, presentations, and planning and implementing were all excellent. The series was an important learning experience for a substantial sector of the local movement.

Our winter series, which evaluated the politics of the New Left, was less popular from the standpoint of attendance, due to the sharpening of political differences between ourselves and the mass of student militants in the wake of the national elections. But the programmatic differentiations that we explored and clarified in the course of the series were political accomplishments of the first order, in terms of sharpening the theory and character of the party.

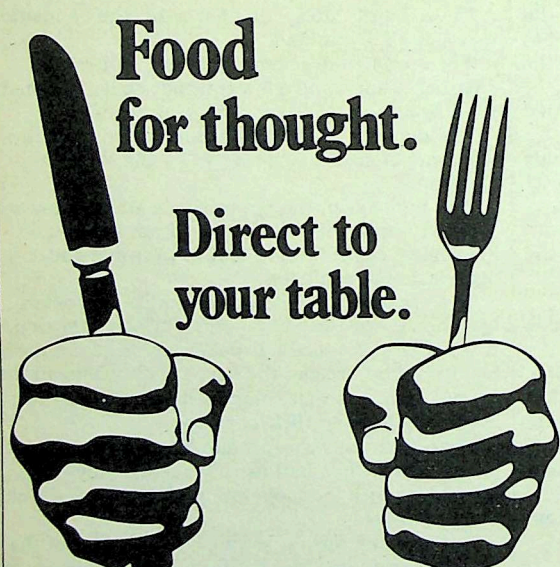
3. *Our headquarters, Freeway Hall*, was an invaluable resource, and our utilization of it guaranteed our right to the party's name once and for all in the eyes of the general radical public. It was also an important financial resource, as income from increasing rentals provided the decisive margin of solvency.

We did not, however, use the hall as a political resource to the extent that we could have, being particularly deficient in keeping the bookstore open regularly and publicizing it. We thereby deprived ourselves of an important arena for political contact and dissemination of literature.

4. Our work in the *mass movement* engendered very mixed results, as a consequence of the relation between the objective thrust of the movement as a whole and the internal condition of the party.

The dominant feature of the movement over the past several years has been the increasing radicalism of Black and white youth.

During 1967, this process accelerated suddenly and qualitatively.



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Early in the year, the student movement, with SDS in the lead, proclaimed a shift from "protest to resistance." Coincident with this was a piecemeal eruption of local draft resistance groups around the country, initiated by Black youth but soon taken up by white students. Explosions in the Black ghetto over the summer were followed by a massive influx of Black Student Unions across the country, and the first thrust of the Black Panther Party toward national prominence.

The opening months of 1968 saw a continued deepening of the process of radicalization.

SDS mushroomed on campuses across the country. A new third-party movement, initiated with the formation of the Peace and Freedom Party of California, began to attract young people seeking an independent political outlet for their radicalism. The draft resistance movement began to manifest signs of outgrowing its initial formlessness and developing a broader political and social consciousness. A nascent women's movement appeared from out of the student milieu. The Black Panthers proclaimed their intention to form a Black revolutionary vanguard with a socialist ideology.

These national developments were reflected locally. From a position as an isolated backwater on the national scene, Seattle was being drawn into the maelstrom of a reviving radical movement.

### New Left Convulsions

At the beginning of the year, the FSP was apparently in a very good position with respect to the new radical movement. We had broad connections in SDS, good relations with young Black militant leaders, and a fraction of two exerting considerable influence in Draft Resistance.

When a group of young women from SDS became interested in forming a radical women's organization, they turned immediately to our comrades for assistance in public speeches, programmatic guidance and organizational collaboration.

This era of good relations did not last long. In a very short time, our friendly and cooperative relations with the New Left on various fronts gave way to increasing divergences and friction.

Seeing our own program as the most advanced expression of the anti-war movement, we cast ourselves in the role of leadership of a potential revolutionary left wing in Draft Resistance, devoting much of our energies to this enterprise.

When the moment of decision for the left wing arrived—a choice between principled politics or endless clique maneuvering as the pathway for decision-making—the left wing promptly collapsed, crystallizing into a conscious counter-left wing.

This is an old story in politics, but one which newer comrades seem to have to learn through personal experiences. We made no opportunistic adaptations to the situation, and the party fraction emerged from the battlefield with an enhanced understanding of the interrelations of mass movement building and party building, and the need to integrate the two processes. This was a tribute to their growing maturity and ability to profit from experience and party guidance.

The fraction learned it had been overly sanguine and optimistic; it should have seen its role more clearly as one of swimming against the stream consciously and energetically, paying more attention to the needs of the party and utilizing the party as a center for pulling together the best individuals in the mass movement.

The chief lesson derived was to relearn once again that the party needs to retain its own separate existence outside the mass movement, in opposition to it when necessary, and always available to the most advanced elements for advice, assistance and the opportunity for membership.

By late summer, both DR and SDS were driving in an anarchistic direction, characterized by deliberate organizational formlessness, irresponsible adventurism and unbridled subjectivism. Concurrent with this was an increasing hostility to "Old Left"—that is, Marxist—concepts of class line, program, organizational structure and procedures, and methods of delineating strategy and tactics.

In this atmosphere, we were forced into increasing isolation, and finally decided to withdraw from active organizational participation in the student arena in order to concentrate on educational work with individuals not cemented into the politics of prolonged adolescence and the cult of spontaneity.

### The Women's Movement

Our sojourn with the New Left in Radical Women had similar results, although in a different form.

From its inception, we were very favorably disposed toward this fledgling organization we had helped to initiate. Its very formation was historic and dramatic, an exciting validation of our long-

proclaimed but lonely stance on the woman question.

Here seemed to be the best field for close cooperation with a key sector of the New Left—its young women.

Even before it was really off the ground, Radical Women acquired a name for itself through its forums and actions. Nevertheless, it was not able to clearly define itself in matters of program, organization or tactics.

Our attempts to orient the organization in a pro-socialist, working-class direction based on a serious organizational foundation were met with discomfort, outrage, clandestine maneuvering, chronic attempts to ignore or violate decisions, growing hostility, the withdrawal of some members and finally division in three directions.

Our comrades, together with a few sympathizers, were left in possession of the organization, while the New Left and single-issue types formed two new groups.

One of these, the "Women's Majority Union," oriented blatantly toward middle-class suburban housewives who "want to kill their husbands" ("the real battlefield!").

They announced their devotion to an ongoing mystical soul-search for their true natures and a quest for a fully "liberated" lifestyle in this society—liberated basically from wage-labor, children, and the responsibilities of life.

They renounced connection with the ghetto movement, the labor movement, and the general movement for social revolution, preferring to work for women's rights in an exclusively reformist and sensationalist fashion.

In their urgency to build a mass movement, they resorted to red-baiting, personal attacks and unrestrained malice, so fearful were they of being branded a "red front" as a result of guilt-by-association with revolutionaries.

The other split-off tendency from Radical Women formed itself into a "Women's Liberation Committee" of the SDS and the Peace and Freedom Party, and later of SDS alone, after the demise of the PFP.

This group spun off in the opposite direction, opposing the need for the businesslike organization of an independent women's movement and adopting an ultra-left course, resulting from an erroneous belief that the answer to reformism is a sectarian contempt for the struggle for limited and partial objectives. They, too, hysterically resisted a structured organization.

Our attempts at close collaboration with some sections of the New Left resulted in a polarization of ideologies and methods. Discussion within the movement was thereby raised to a much higher level than previously, which is always the case with clear-cut splits, as every Leninist knows! Issues were clarified and positions taken, and the in-fighting among the women radicals in particular had a significant impact upon the student movement as a whole, which was struggling on a national plane to resolve these very differences.

### PFP and Black Panthers

The Peace and Freedom Party displayed some initial promise, but it soon became apparent that it was unable and unwilling to advance programmatically past its first burst of enthusiasm and beyond its socially narrow and classless student base.

A large outpouring of radical sentiment of various hues coalesced into a loose association in this party, but no concise program of clear political direction emerged, and the party took shape in shapelessness—as an indeterminate, all-inclusive, Peoples Front type of action-apparatus, composed of equal parts of radicalism, reformism, revolution, progressive capitalism, and socialism.

Our unwillingness to enter the party and "help shape its course" flowed from the impermissibility, in principle, of supporting a United Liberals, Radicals, and Socialists type of political stew.

We could not have altered its course, given its basic composition and direction, and we could not have operated as a minority within it without compromising that very principled approach to electoral coalitions which we had upheld for so long against the opportunism of the former comrades who had defected from our party.

We did give critical support to the two Black candidates of the PFP—Eldridge Cleaver and Flo Ware; nevertheless, our persistent refusal to enter or endorse the PFP organization created considerable friction between us and most of our younger friends who had rushed into the "new" and supposedly non-Stalinistic PFP as soon as it was launched.

They failed to see that only the faces had changed; despite definite and welcome improvements in the planks of the Black struggle, the labor movement, women's rights, and independent political action, the

fundamental and overriding character of the program was its appeal for multi-class support on supra-class issues—i.e., the Peoples Front against war, fascism, poverty, etc.

PFP was an anti-monopoly, anti-military/industrial coalition—anti-establishment, not anti-capitalist. This type of program topping a middle-class/student base spells precisely that kind of mish-mash electoral coalition which Leninists deplore, despite its apparent radicalism and super-militancy.

The PFP was a Stalinist type of party, even though few of its adherents realize it to this day, and are furious at the allegation!

But friendship is friendship, and politics is politics, and a political party like FSP must choose.

Friction between us and PFP increased with our active support of the Black Panther Party electoral campaign.

The local Panthers were trying to free themselves from the injunction to effect an electoral coalition with the PFP imposed on them by Cleaver's candidacy on the PFP ticket. This questionable move by Cleaver deprived his own party of the drama, momentum and influence it needed to build its own ranks through electoral activity. The local BPP had only one candidate in the field, and it was incumbent upon us to help assure his ballot status and mobilize electoral support on his behalf.

This campaign was the decisive action in Seattle, crucial for the Black freedom movement and therefore crucial for the entire movement—yet Socialist Workers Party was running a counter-candidate to Cleaver, PFP had Cleaver on its slate, and both parties were straining mightily on behalf of their own campaigns.

Only FSP took upon itself as a primary responsibility the task of assisting the local BPP campaign, providing publicity, Nominating Petition signers, technical assistance, etc.

The non-self-seeking on our part was recognized by the Panthers, who included our spokeswoman on their roster of Nominating Convention speakers, and we were generously afforded the opportunity to engage in a meaningful and innovative dialogue on feminism with them and the audience at that event.

The highlight of our supportive activities was the mass rally called on their behalf and in their defense by an ad hoc unity committee initiated by our comrades in Radical Women and composed of virtually every radical grouping in town.

To achieve this hugely impressive and effective united front against police harassment in the ghetto was not only a herculean task, in which we succeeded, but a politically expensive one. By virtue of our pressure on Radical Women, PFP, SDS and others to support the mass meeting, we incurred resentment and annoyance.

Nevertheless, we would be happy to do it again for the Black freedom movement, which would otherwise be ignored by white radicals stewing in their own organizational juices and self-concerns.

### Performance Evaluation

By the end of 1968, the FSP stood out as a distinctly independent, unique and determined tendency amid the myriad of local and national factions and groupings within the radical movement.

We ended up organizationally alone and politically together, a rather remarkable achievement for our small cadre of hardheads attacked consistently and sometimes hysterically from all sides because of our intransigence combined with flexibility—a dialectical approach to strategy still unabsorbed by old and new left alike.

By refusing to sacrifice principle in exchange for popularity, we had earned some outright hatred from those who demanded our participation and collaboration in *their* projects on *their* terms.

But the lifespan of our alliances was dictated by the *limits* of our capability for compromise and concession. Our capability was very broad, but limits we did insist on. This earned us general, if infuriated, respect.

We failed to write enough, publish enough, hold enough public meetings, complete all of our documents and projects in time, and follow through consistently on administrative responsibilities. But we significantly improved our functioning in some areas, and, most important, we emerged from this year of difficulty, contradictions and challenge with a vastly expanded self-knowledge and a new capacity for realistic judgments and decisions. ■

The next installment, to appear in the Winter *Freedom Socialist*, assesses the state of the movement in 1969—the New Left, the Black rebellion, the G.I. movement, women's liberation—and charts the FSP's political and organizational tasks for that momentous period.



# VIVA Nicaragua!

**The streets ran red with blood before U.S.-backed butcher Somoza could be run out of Nicaragua by the insurrectionary population. Today, red banners wave in Managua to proclaim the first overthrow of a Latin American dictator since Batista fled Cuba. But the collaboration of the Sandinistas with the capitalist class spells danger for the future of a free Nicaragua.**

by Sam Deaderick

**I**t is July 21, 1979. 100,000 cheering celebrants through the newly renamed Plaza of the Revolution in Managua to welcome the new Government of National Reconstruction.

Hated dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle has fled to Miami, along with the top command of his National Guard, and 46 years of bloody rule by the U.S.-supported Somoza family is at an end.

Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) banners flutter in the breeze. The streets that were so recently filled with gunfire and the groans of the dying explode with laughter, song, and tears of happiness as the members of the new government arrive and are inaugurated.

For the first time since Fidel Castro's victorious rebel army marched into Havana 20 years ago, a popular uprising has toppled a Latin American rightwing dictatorship and seriously weakened—and threatened—the economic and political stranglehold of imperialism over Latin America.

But the political future of Nicaragua is uncertain. Participation in the new government ranges from Sandinista guerrillas to major industrialists, and the tentative, uneasy alliance of irreconcilable classes makes any long-term stability impossible.

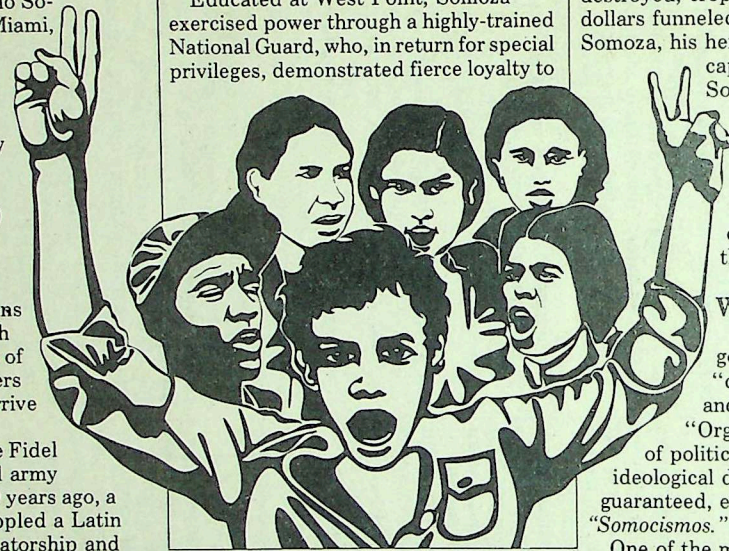
### The tyrant Somoza

Virtually the entire population of the country—poor peasants, urban workers,

small shopkeepers, magnates of big business—unified in opposition to the tyrant Somoza.

Through an interlocking network of family ties, the Somoza dynasty, installed by Yankee armed forces in the 1930s, owned up to 60% of all arable land. The family completely controlled all major industry and the political, military, and judicial apparatus.

Educated at West Point, Somoza exercised power through a highly-trained National Guard, who, in return for special privileges, demonstrated fierce loyalty to



Marcel Hatch/Freedom Socialist

the regime and brutalized, tortured, and murdered the citizenry on command.

### Civil war

The FSLN uprising against Somoza in September 1978, was defeated by the National Guard with U.S. and Israeli-supplied weapons. The FSLN regrouped and launched the final offensive in May which brought down the government.

The National Guard demonstrated unprecedented barbarity during the

fighting. Civilians were routinely shot as suspected FSLN sympathizers and residential areas were bombed and napalmed.

The population fought heroically. FSLN forces were strengthened by the full-scale participation of armed women, and young children took up arms.

40,000 were killed in the fighting and 600,000 left homeless. Factories were destroyed, crops ruined, and millions of dollars funneled out of the country by Somoza, his henchmen, and major capitalists who feared both Somoza and the revolutionaries.

The new government faces an enormous task of reconstruction; it must increase agricultural production and patch together the shattered economy.

### What next?

The program of the new government calls for "democratic rule, justice, and social progress."

"Organization and operation of political parties without ideological discrimination" is guaranteed, except for the "Somocismos."

One of the major leaders of the "Prolonged People's War" tendency of the FSLN has said that "private property will be respected. The only thing the revolutionary state has taken over to administer is the property of Somoza and his henchmen. The industrialists can keep calm."

But industrialists never keep calm in revolutionary situations. Nicaraguan workers and peasants will soon realize that Somoza was only the most brutal of their oppressors and that the revolution has only just begun.

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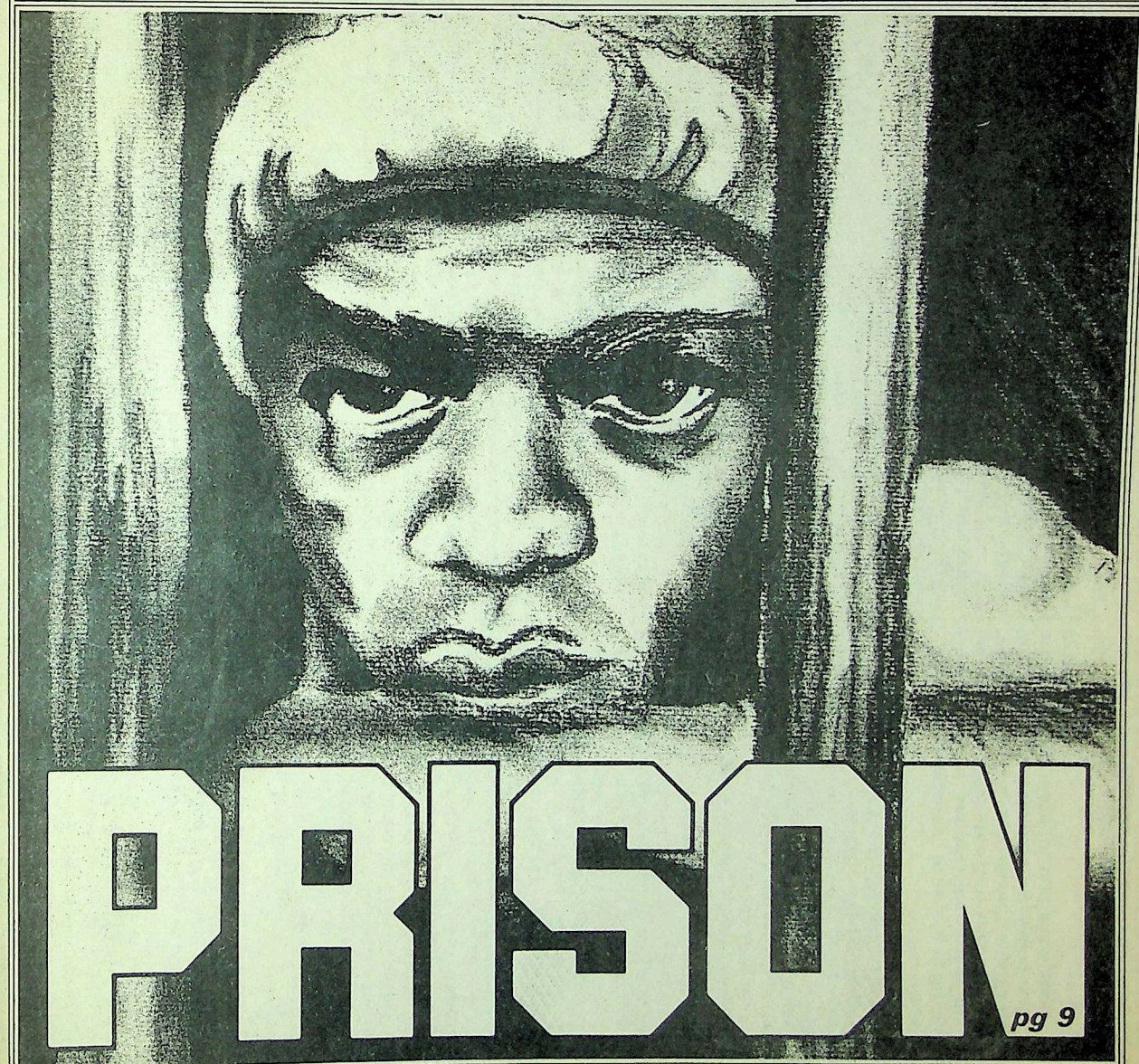
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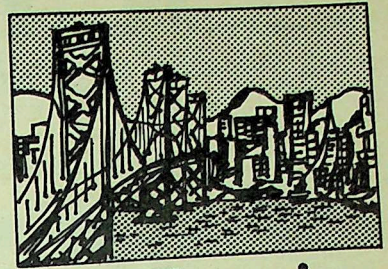
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# the freedom socialist



*San Francisco  
Is No Gay Mecca*  
pg. 9

Summer 1979

Volume 5, Number 2

# THE GREAT NUCLEAR REACTION

by Janet Sutherland  
and Cindy Walker

The near-disaster at Three Mile Island on March 28 riveted world attention onto the hornet's nest of nuclear energy production.

As a reactor in the plant spilled 250,000 gallons of radioactive effluent and vented unknown quantities of lethal steam over the surrounding countryside, the world press descended on nearby Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Reversing its 20-year disparagement of antinuclear protest, the media unearthed information that sounded a shrill alarm and oriented the populace to even greater dangers than this technological failure.

In-depth investigative news reporting produced an indictment of the entire nuclear industry as well as the corrupt system that supports it: monopoly-domination by Big Oil; profiteering at public expense; an underdeveloped and unrefined technology; sell-out by government "regulators"; coverup of research evidence that even low-level radiation from nuclear waste increases the cancer risk to workers; planned genocide of Native American uranium miners; the collusion of government and business in discouraging safer modes of energy production; and so on, ad infinitum.

Stirred by the reality, working people are becoming increasingly receptive to the program for change offered by Marxists. It remains only for the internally contradictory antinuclear movement, conceived in the middle class, to take the distinct turn to the left necessary for it to become a broad-based movement tied to the working class and the unions.

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On the cover: Chimneys of death, the new symbols of the nuclear age. Graphic by Marcel Hatch.

## Newport News Strike 6

Led by militant women and Blacks, Newport News shipyard workers fought the company, the NLRB, and their own union (USWA) — and returned to work on their own terms. Ann Manly and Henry Noble assess the struggle.



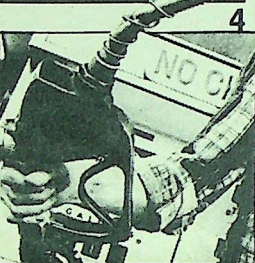
## War between Workers States 5



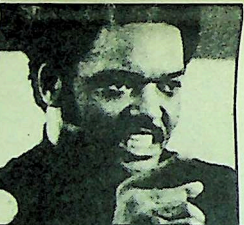
Confusion over Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea is worldwide, and the issue has divided the 4th International. Stephan Kass explains why it is that workers states, corrupted by socialism-in-one-country nationalism, turn on each other.

## Gas Crisis 4

A criminally contrived gas shortage rocks the economy, the government, and the American way of life. Stephen Durham tells how Carter and the energy barons are having a ball while life is disrupted for the rest of us.



## Jesse Jackson's Gospel 12



Madlyne Scott and Tom Boot say that the Black community can do without Rev. Jackson's current sermons on bootstrap-pulling, blaming the victim, and the sins of feminism.

also

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## freedom socialist

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## Letters

### Never Too Late

I was out of the country when your appeal came for funds for the Freeway Hall Eviction Fund. I hope the enclosed \$50.00 is not too late—I know it is too little!

J. Weizenbaum  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

*Donations are never too little—or too large! Thank you so much for your generosity. It's people like you who keep us afloat.*

### Tell Us Again

Thank you for your Spring 1979 newspaper.

Your coverage of the China-Vietnam-Kampuchea conflict is very good.

With more and more information coming out, many friends of Vietnam are putting together an "Evening of Solidarity with Vietnam." Enclosed are copies of material.

I'm with the Peace and Freedom Party (Alameda County).

Shirley Lee  
Oakland, California

### Grazia!

I have sent you an international money order of \$15, as witness of our international solidarity with you. If you have need, I can also give you hospitality if you are visiting Italy.

Braccini Marcello,  
for the "Internationalist Current" of the Partito Socialista Italiano  
Torino, Italy

### Frame-Up

Zikisa Seba-Ra, 22, also known as Anita M. Jones, a black woman law student at Morgan State College, Maryland, was arrested by Baltimore police on December 4, and charged with the robbery of two people.

On November 10, a female and two males allegedly robbed James Harrison and Jeanette Holeman, a female guest in his home. The thieves allegedly raped Holeman.

Zikisa was arrested at gun point. Six policemen entered her apartment without a search warrant and ransacked it. No guns or loot from the robbery were found, yet the police forced Zikisa to submit to a "pat" search, running their hands over her body.

Harrison could not and did not identify Zikisa. But after the police showed him her photograph and strongly suggested her as the most likely suspect, he did identify her.

Ms. Holeman, who was blindfolded during the ordeal, also identified Zikisa.

Don't let an innocent person be framed and condemned to life in prison! Please offer assistance to Zikisa Seba-Ra, c/o Rosie M. Jones, Box 1924, Towson State University, Towson, Maryland 21204.

### Doctrinairism

Kadima, a group committed to fighting anti-Semitism and all forms of oppression, and to achieving a just peace in the Middle East, strongly disagrees with the Anti-Defamation League on the Weber case. . . The ADL opposes affirmative action programs because they

involve "quotas," and quotas have historically been used to discriminate against Jews.

As Jews, we understand these concerns. . . however, we cannot afford to be doctrinaire.

There are times when stated numbers serve not as a form of exclusion, but rather as insurance of inclusion. The affirmative action program in dispute in the Weber case was necessary to insure the inclusion of Black people as potential members of the notoriously discriminatory skilled trades.

We further believe that angry cries of "reverse discrimination" will not stop until there are sufficient jobs for all.

Nancy Geiger, Robbie Stern,  
Charna Klein  
Seattle, Washington

### Towards Theoretical Clarity

Some constructive criticism on the Spring issue. . .

In the article "Iran" . . . you omitted the struggle of the national minorities.

On the role of women, we have no question as to the *potential* of Iranian women to impel the revolution to the left. Our acquaintance with revolutionary Iranian women and our exposure to

cannot reform itself, even in response to left mass opposition. Instead, a political revolution will be necessary to achieve an end to the Stalinist bureaucracy in China.

Fred Brode,  
John Dickerson,  
Roy Simmons  
Houston, Texas

### Editor's Response

*The armed struggle of the national minorities is discussed in this issue. We certainly agree on the importance of the question.*

*We contend that women's rights did propel the left forward in Iran. The first mass demonstrations challenging Khomeini from the left were organized by and for women, and these protests deepened, strengthened and extended the anticapitalist revolution. Every revolutionary tendency had to grapple with the valid demands raised by the women. By putting Khomeini on notice for the first time that reactionary moves would be met with massive opposition, the women showed the way to mass struggle against post-Shah, Islamic capitalism.*

*We agree that Kampuchea became a workers state—if grotesquely deformed—when private*

PLEASE START MY SUBSCRIPTION TO THE FREEDOM SOCIALIST IMMEDIATELY AND SEND MY FRIEND COPIES TOO. ENCLOSE FIVE DOLLARS TO COVER SOME COST. THANK YOU FOR CONTINUING THE STRUGGLE IN A FEMINIST/SOCIALIST WAY.

B. GUENTHER



PULLMAN, WA.

FSP/RW theory convinces us of the leadership ability of Iranian women. However. . . the FSP was premature in stating that "the slogan of the liberation of women has become the focus and rallying point for the radical opposition." This statement of revolutionary potential as *fact* detracts from an otherwise fine article.

On Kampuchea, you say that the KNUFNS has promised to rebuild agriculture, industry and the cities, and this would be an enormous step forward on the road to a Kampuchean workers state, implying that the Khmer Rouge state was not. What was it? We believe Kampuchea became a workers state when the Lon Nol regime was overthrown by the Khmer Rouge, resulting in nationalization of all land. Certainly, the regime of Pol Pot was an extremely backward, deformed workers state, but because the *destruction* of both private property and private accumulation of surplus value occurred, it is a workers state nevertheless.

On Deng's visit, do you think it is possible that the left opposition from the Chinese masses *really* has the potential of forcing the Chinese leadership into a revolutionary direction? It is our position that the bureaucratic Chinese leadership

property and land were nationalized. At the time the article was written, we were facing an unprecedented and unique social formation which demanded careful analysis, and we had not yet arrived at this position.

*We still tend to think that the heroic Chinese masses could force the CCP in a revolutionary, internationalist direction and could replace the present leadership short of a political revolution. The Chinese workers have never been defeated by the bureaucracy, and have not yet tested their enormous power.*

Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphics, photographs, and pertinent information on world and national affairs for publication. All material will be carefully considered by the Editorial Board.

Se comunica a los señores lectores que nos pueden enviar para publicación cartas con sus opiniones, nuevos relatos, comentarios, caricaturas, gráficos, fotografías, y toda clase de información sobre sucesos nacionales o extranjeros. Todo el material que nos sea enviado será cuidadosamente considerado por el Consejo de nuestra Editorial.





# International Roundup

*Binding all countries together with its mode of production and its commerce, capitalism has converted the whole world into a single economic and political organism.* —Leon Trotsky

## Iran

**T**he Iranian revolution continues to gather strength. The Khomeini/Bazargan government, maneuvering to contain the masses who brought down the Shah in February, faces increasingly strong and widespread opposition to its Islamic capitalist regime.

Women were the first sector to organize massive resistance to the despotic rule of the mullahs. Enraged revolutionary women demanded full emancipation and equal rights, and bitterly denounced their subservient status under Islamic law.

Iran's hundreds of thousands of national minorities are waging military warfare against the government in order to win their right to self-determination and an end to oppression by the Persian majority. The Turkmeni, Kurds, and Arab minorities are all demonstrating militant opposition to the new regime; the Arab provinces of Khuzestan in southern Iran—the center of the oil industry—is the scene of particularly heavy fighting. Hundreds of Arab oil workers have been killed or wounded by Khomeini's troops.

May Day found hundreds of thousands in the streets of Tehran. One major demonstration was called by the Marxist guerrilla organization, the Fedayeen, and the other was called by the government. One-to-two hundred thousand people participated in each. The Fedayeen demanded nationalization of industry, while the government raised anticommunist slogans.

On the evening of May 1, a leading ayatollah, Morteza Motahari, was assassinated by the Forghan, an underground, fundamentalist Moslem group opposed to clerical rule. Despite the left's condemnation of the assassination, the government exploited it to justify an anticommunist campaign. Members of the Fedayeen and the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party have been jailed, and press censorship has been imposed throughout the country.

But the masses, conquerors of the bloody Shah, are not about to acquiesce to repression by the Moslem clergy. A Fedayeen-led demonstration of 50,000 called for the release of Fedayeen and the Socialist Workers Party militants. The demand for release of the

prisoners has been taken up by a wide spectrum of Iranians—workers, students, writers, and intellectuals. Protests of the arrests have also come from New Zealand, Denmark, France and the U.S.

Permanent revolution is raging in Iran—the transition from capitalist democracy to the overthrow of the bourgeois clerical regime and the institution of true workers democracy.

## Mideast

**S**igned in late March amid angry Arab protest, the Israeli-Egyptian peace pact is predictably intensifying the conflict in the Middle East.

Although the treaty binds Israel to establishing autonomy for Palestinians in the occupied territories, the Begin government has not stemmed its repression against them. New Israeli settlements are being authorized, and the government imposes strict 22-hour curfews at any hint of protest.

Palestinian students are being terrorized and schools closed down. Bir Zeit University, one of only two Palestinian colleges, was shut down May 2. The Israelis systematically cripple Palestinian leadership by blocking education and forcing emigration.

The treaty ensures the replacement of Palestinian workers by offering Israel access to a cheap labor pool of Egyptians, who are being driven into Israel by Egypt's intolerable working conditions and a faltering economy.

Egypt is already paying a heavy price for Sadat's dream of replacing the Shah of Iran as guardian of U.S. interests in the Mideast. The U.S. provides only enough weapons to equip Egypt to protect continued U.S. access to Mideast oil.

Egypt is suffering heavy economic sanctions from Arab countries as a result of the treaty. Saudi Arabia cancelled orders for Egyptian-manufactured weapons, Kuwait removed its deposits from Egyptian banks, and the Islamic Conference denied Egypt millions of dollars in development monies.

Further isolating itself from most of its neighbors, Egypt furnishes troops to fight the insurgents in North Yemen and Oman. And when resistance to this policy surfaced in

the Egyptian military, Sadat increased army officers' pay by 20 percent.

Business as usual prevails in the Mideast, exposing the treaty as an elaborate screen for a deal with U.S. imperialism, which further exploits Egyptian and Israeli workers and cynically sacrifices the Palestinians.

The peace treaty poured salt in the festering wounds of the tortured Mideast.

## A pair of old salts

Carter and Brezhnev embraced for the cameras after checkmating the worn chessboard pieces of SALT II. Their celebration was akin to a wedding of incompatibles who feign fidelity and cheat every chance they get. For behind the scene of the sugary smiles and handshakes, the mad arms race continues unabated.

## Zimbabwe

**A**pril was election time in Zimbabwe, and the white minority government stage-managed the elections in order to ensure continued white rule. This has sparked a debate in the U.S. ruling class over the issue of lifting economic sanctions against the racist regime.

In May, the U.S. Senate voted 75 to 19 to request Pres. Carter to lift the sanctions. When he refused, the Senate amended a \$40 million defense authorization bill so as to overturn Carter's support of sanctions.

Carter is forced to respect the Case-Javits amendment, passed by Congress in 1978, which allows the lifting of sanctions only if "free" elections are held in Zimbabwe and if the white government negotiates with all parties, including the Patriotic Front (which wants Black majority rule and is waging guerrilla war against the white regime).

Carter's hands are also tied by universal condemnation from U.S. Black organizations of the new puppet regime of Bishop Muzorewa.

The sham elections were based on a March 1978 constitution which guaranteed a disproportionate number of parliamentary seats for whites. Whites could vote twice—for 20 white positions and for 72 Black seats. **Blacks could vote only for Black candidates!**

The Patriotic Front, denied any participation in the election, advocated a boycott of the polls and pledged to disrupt the elections. Whites voted one week before Blacks did, and 100,000 troops were mobilized to protect the polls and to force Blacks into voting.

As soon as the Black compromiser Muzorewa was voted in, he demonstrated his ties to the former Ian Smith regime. He launched a bombing raid against Mozambique, where the Patriotic Front is based.

After the raid, Patriotic Front co-leader Robert Mugabe clearly analyzed Muzorewa. "It is the same regime," he said, "using the same instruments, the same tactics and the same strategy. It is a clear sign that Smith still rules the country."

## Great Britain



**V**irulent antifeminist Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Tories—the voice of the British bourgeoisie—took the helm of

government in early May.

Her ascension marked a grave defeat for Great Britain's working class, due in large measure to the betrayal by the officialdom of the Labour Party, led by former Prime Minister James Callaghan.

Thatcher, a stodgy representative of British imperialism, opposes abortion rights, equal pay, and gay rights, knowing full well that sexism and racism are the handiest routes to proletarian disunity. Unfortunately, her goal of smashing labor is objectively aided by the labor bureaucrats themselves.

Upon taking power in 1974, Labour promised "a fundamental shift in the balance of wealth and power in favor of working people." Instead, unemployment doubled, the earnings gap between women and men increased, and real wages decreased.

The winter of 1978-79, popularly dubbed "the winter of discontent," was marked by catapulting inflation, violent clashes between the fascist National Front and radicals, and massive strikes brought on by Callaghan's imposition of a 5% ceiling on wage increases—at a time when inflation stood at 9%!

The Labour government, in power, frantically tried to keep peace with the bourgeoisie by containing workingclass militancy. Its congenital inability to advance the workers' movement was glaringly exposed, and the way opened for the Tory victory.

The program of Thatcher's Conservative Party is a textbook in reaction—"law and order" campaigns, implacable opposition to abortion rights, continued subjugation of Northern Ireland and Scotland under British rule, attacks on the closed shop and the right to strike, and so on.

But British workers, after a winter of rank-and-file protest against the ruling labor bureaucracy itself, are girded for struggle.

As Tory attacks on labor, women and racial and national minorities magnify, the strike wave of last winter may well appear as a minor skirmish compared to the class war that British labor and its allies could wage against the rightwing government. A powerful left wing must be built in the trade unions and political organizations to mobilize and lead these embattled masses.







Doug Barnes, Freedom Socialist

## The energy crisis

# Blackmail at the gas pumps

by Stephen Durham

**I**n California, the lines of customers waiting for gasoline stretch for miles. The price of petroleum products rises almost daily.

And the giant oil corporations, pretending helplessness over the phony "crude oil shortage," are using American workers as hostages and raking in record profits.

Meanwhile, Jimmy Carter, the willing captive of the energy barons, poses as protector of the public interest, intoning fake conservation sermons as he blithely announces the removal of price controls on domestic oil. He buys a decorative wood-burning stove for the presidential mansion, even as the besieged automobile-dependent public nears panic.

Furious Americans, already falling behind in the race with runaway inflation and blackmailed by the contrived shortage of crude oil and gasoline, are forced to subsidize the oil cartels.

### Sham Shortage

There is no immediate shortage of world reserves of crude oil, and everybody seems to know it.

Underground oil is many years away

from being seriously depleted. The Middle East still has large reserves, and the U.S., which presently produces 50% of its domestic needs, can tap billions of existing and potential barrels of oil, enough to provide energy for decades. The Department of Energy claims a shortage of 500,000 barrels a day, but stocks salt caverns in Louisiana and Texas with 220,000 barrels a day to build up its Strategic Petroleum Reserves!

Since any petroleum held in reserve or left in the ground today will bring higher prices tomorrow, Big Oil and its presidential ally perpetrate the hoax of a worldwide shortage of petroleum to force the consumer to pay more for less. The oil industry stands publicly condemned of outright fraud and arrogant price manipulation for the second time.

### Drilling Pocketbooks

The oil moguls are deliberately refusing to drill oil or refine crude oil imports.

Domestic crude oil production has hit an all-time low, dropping 16% since last November. And the refiners slowed production from 85% of capacity to 83% during the first week of May in spite of unprecedented consumer demand for gasoline and pressure from the government to

stockpile heating oil for next winter. 1979 oil profits have already reached record levels, surpassed only during the 1973 oil embargo. During the first quarter of 1979, Exxon profits increased 37% over first quarter 1978. Texaco registered an 81% gain, and Standard Oil of Ohio reaped a staggering 303% increase.

These bumper-to-bumper profits come from drilling the consumer's pocket dry. During first quarter 1979, American workers suffered an annual rate of inflation of 24.9% for energy costs. And the oil corporations literally have the consumer over the barrel, since one-half of all U.S. energy is produced by using petroleum products.

### Carter Tilts at Windfalls

Promising even higher oil profits, Carter declared April 5th that he would decontrol domestic crude oil prices—exactly what the oil profiteers have long demanded. At the same time, armed with a "windfall profits tax" proposal, Carter tried to shore up his crumbling public-defender image by undertaking a mock battle against excessive oil profits.

Carter claimed this tax would capture 50% of the \$17 billion that the oil companies stand to gain as the domestic price of \$6 a barrel rises to the world market price by 1981. Within days, however, this beneficent vision was replaced by a more moderate proposal: a levy of 21% which would be allocated to an Energy Security Fund. However, the government proposes to use 76% of this fund to finance a search for new energy sources and then give the research results *free* to private interests for their enormously profitable development. Thus, taxpayers' money would be plowed right back into the corrupt energy industry from which it has supposedly been taken.

Carter, at the behest of the oil companies, refused to link Congressional approval of the windfall profits tax to his plans to decontrol oil prices. This virtually assured the defeat of the concessionary tax.

U.S. workers are neither impressed with Carter's confusing theatrics nor receptive to his lame explanations of the national energy shortage. 54% of 1600 people polled by Associated Press in April believe the energy crisis is a hoax.

### Iran As Scapegoat

The administration's favorite whipping boy for the energy crisis is the revolutionary upsurge in Iran. But the Iranian revolution never created a critical shortage of oil.

Iran's oil shutdown last December only temporarily disrupted the crude oil market, and oil exporting nations, especially Saudi Arabia, were quick to replace the 5.5 million barrels of oil per day withdrawn from the world market during the anti-Shah strikes and demonstrations. U.S. imports of crude oil have actually risen by 1.5 million barrels between December and March of this year, as reported by the International Energy Agency.

Carter also blames OPEC nations for the crisis, and they obligingly meet periodically to raise the price of oil on the world market, as happened in June. But foreign capitalist interests coincide with those at home—profit for the investor.

The scare campaign was engineered to convince the people that the day of energy reckoning had arrived. The myth that revolution abroad causes hardship at home is strenuously peddled to avoid the danger of revolt abroad spurring revolt at home.

### Methodical Madness

Carter's deceitful energy policies have enabled the oil companies to extort huge sums in consumer dollars to finance the development of *future* energy resources, while ignoring present needs.

"Decontrolled" domestic oil means more expensive energy, the failure of transportation-connected business such as tourism, loss of jobs, and staggering inflation as consumers plunge more deeply into debt. The energy capitalists prosper, and the people at the bottom—the poor, the old who live on fixed incomes, minorities, women and young people—face the spectre of slow starvation. The people are expected to underwrite the flailing capitalists by drastically reducing their own standard of living.

The labor movement must not surrender to the lies and manipulations of the energy imperialists and the government. Oil and all natural resources must be nationalized and managed by workers' control and the union movement must start planning now to provide for human needs by organizing a Labor Party that can break the energy barons' iron grip on the government.

Labor, united against Carter and his big business cohorts, could turn the tables on all of them and guarantee low-cost gas for our cars and buses, low-cost energy for our furnaces and lights, and safe, clean energy alternatives to our current petroleum-based technology.

A simple reordering of priorities from military to civilian consumption would also work miracles in restoring the energy equilibrium. ■

## Bank workers strike back

**A** two-year contest over union recognition seethes unabated in Seattle as Financial Institution Employees of America, chartered by the Retail Clerks Union, squares off against the union-busting Seattle First

National Bank by using a weapon bankers understand all too well—the withdrawal of funds.

SeaFirst's contract with FIEA (formerly First-bank Independent Employees Association) expired in November 1977. Negotiations for a new contract were abruptly ended when management implemented a small wage increase which they called their "final offer," and announced their refusal to recognize FIEA's recently concluded affiliation with the Retail Clerks.

SeaFirst has completely refused to bargain, hoping to smash the union. When the National Labor Relations Board ordered SeaFirst to recognize the affiliation and resume bargaining in good

faith, management flatly refused and appealed the NLRB ruling to federal court, a procedure that could take two years.

To retaliate, the union struck a sharp blow right where it hurts—in the bank's coffers, denouncing SeaFirst's illegal antilaborism as well as its vast investments in South Africa and Chile.

FIEA, in a well-publicized campaign, called upon unions, organizations and individuals to withdraw their funds from SeaFirst. To date, more than \$76 million has been withdrawn in union funds by approximately 90 unions. It is not known how many other accounts were moved; requests to withdraw were sent to 13,000 FIEA supporters.

The bank's refusal to bargain has prompted rising anger among the employees, and the union is growing significantly. Emboldened by widespread community support, the workers are intensifying their fight, and that is something that SeaFirst can definitely bank on. ■

## Gas Lines Getting You Down?

Read the *Freedom Socialist* while you wait. And Subscribe Now to a paper that knows the alternative to this capitalist mess!

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# WARS between workers states

*The bitter fruits of "socialism" in one country*

by Stephan Kass

**I**ndochina is once again in flames. In December 1978, Vietnamese troops poured across the border into Kampuchea, ousted the despotic Khmer Rouge regime, and have since supplied military backup for the National United Front for National Salvation (KNUFNS) which rules the country.

In swift retaliation, to "teach Vietnam a lesson," Chinese troops attacked north Vietnamese border provinces.

The long shadow cast by the Soviet Union, meanwhile, fell on all three countries, and the bourgeois press gleefully announced that communism couldn't end war any more than capitalism.

Indeed, great damage has been wreaked by this war among workers states. The unhappy spectacle of the revolutionary masses of China, Vietnam, and Kampuchea turning their fire against each other could disorient world revolution and open up dangerous avenues for imperialist intervention.

Nevertheless, liberation struggles rage unabated, and they reflect, even if unconsciously, the *internationalist alternative to Stalinist degeneration—Trotskyism, the continuation of genuine Marxism.*

As perplexing as are the developments in Southeast Asia, the tragedy can be understood and combated through the use of Marxist theory and, in particular, the Trotskyist explanation of Stalinism, which rests on a scientific analysis of the bureaucratically deformed workers states that mark the political landscape.

## Socialism-in-No-Country

Stalinist and semi-Stalinist regimes rationalize war against other workers states on the basis of the long discredited notion of "socialism in one country"—the belief that a total system of socialism can be established in a single country, based on *internal* forces of production alone.

If such a nationalistic and utopian "socialism" is actually possible, then war is obviously justified to protect socialism at home against socialism abroad.

The question is, can socialism itself exist in geographical isolation?

The answer—according to Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and life—is no.

Proletarian revolutions can collectivize the means of production and can institute rudimentary planning, but they are still at the mercy of restricted productive forces that are inadequate to abolish want and hardship—and a plentitude of goods and services is the material basis for socialism.

**Socialism is the organization of a planned and harmonious social production for the satisfaction of human wants. Collective ownership of the means of production is not yet socialism, but only its legal premise. The problem of a socialist society cannot be abstracted from the problem of the productive forces, which at the present stage of human development are world wide in their very essence. The separate state having become too**

narrow for capitalism, is so much the less capable of becoming the arena for a finished socialist society.

—Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*

Workers states, by overthrowing capitalism and collectivizing the means of production, have advanced living and cultural standards well beyond those of neo-colonial, underdeveloped, capitalist states. This is why Marxists unconditionally defend workers states, which are historically progressive, against retrogressive imperialism. Yet, to this day, all workers states remain dependent on the international market, which is capitalist.

And this economic dependency fuels the flames of internecine conflicts among competing workers state bureaucracies, who wage war, often in concert with their imperialist allies, to protect their own narrow, ethnocentric, nationalist interests.

"Socialist" nationalism is anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, and counterrevolutionary. Socialism does *not* mean the *dependence* of a revolutionary society on the international division of labor under capitalism. Socialism *does* mean the destruction and transformation of the capitalist economy on a *global* basis, so that a truly new communal culture can arise out of an economy of plenty.

Socialism in one country is the negation and death-knell of true socialism.

## Origins of Stalinist Dogma

The appalling theory of socialism in one country originally evolved from the reformist outlook of the Second International.

The conception of the building of socialism in one country is a social-patriotic conception.

The patriotism of the German social democrats began as a legitimate patriotism to their own party, the most powerful party of the Second International. On the basis of the highly developed German technology and the superior organizational qualities of the German people, the German social democracy prepared to build its 'own' socialist society.

—Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin*

Under this jingoistic banner, the corrupted Second International acquiesced as hundreds of thousands of proletarians of many lands slaughtered each other in the First World War.

The fallen banner of proletarian internationalism was rescued by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

The Third International, a great achievement of the victorious Russian Revolution, proceeded to formulate strategy and coordinate tactics for extending proletarian revolution throughout the world. The new International was democratic centralist instead of nationalist in order to consolidate the revolutionary movement against the highly centralized bourgeois counterrevolution.

Lenin regarded as anathema the idea that the Russian Revolution was a local phenomenon that could result in a socialist society sufficient unto itself.

At the Third Congress of Soviets in January

1918, Lenin said, "Of course the final victory of socialism in one country is impossible, but something else is possible: a living example, a getting to work—somewhere in one country—that is what will set fire to the toiling masses of all countries."

So foreign was one-nation socialism to the Bolsheviks that even Stalin wrote in 1924 that "for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially a peasant country like Russia, are not enough—for this we must have the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries."

From the destitution of Russia in the wake of World War I and the decimation of the most advanced sections of the proletariat in the Civil War that followed the October Revolution, a

to page 18

*The entire course of the revolution in Indochina has been marked by Soviet and Chinese attempts to bargain with U.S. imperialism over the fate of the Vietnamese revolution.*





# Blacks, women lead the way Southern labor hangs tough at Newport News

by Ann Manly and Henry Noble

**A**fter a four-month-long strike marked by unprecedented solidarity and militance on the part of steelworkers and their nationwide supporters—and by viciousness and violence on the part of the cops and the company—members of USWA Local 8888 went back to work at the world's largest private-sector shipyard at Newport News, Virginia on April 21.

The strike was called to force Tenneco, the multinational oil conglomerate that owns the yard, to recognize the union, which was legally certified in January 1978. And though the issue is still tied up in the courts, the Steelworkers went back to work "on our own terms," to organize inside the yards.

The shipyard employs 15,000 workers, of whom 60% are Black and 2,000 are women, many of them veterans of the civil rights and affirmative action wars. And the fighting power of the women and Blacks has been spectacular, given the backdrop of the open shop stronghold that is the South today.

## Sticking to the Union

Since 1940, the workers had been represented by Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA), a company union formed to head off a CIO organizing drive. Black workers were disgusted by PSA's racism, and women had to fight unceasingly for hire, promotion and equal wages.

In January 1978, the PSA was replaced by the Steelworkers in a representation election. By October, 13,000 workers had joined. Tenneco went to court, charging fraudulence, and the union was stalled until January 30, 1979, when the workers walked out in protest over the year-long legal delay.

Hundreds of picketers chanted, "We're fighting for our union; we cannot be moved," and "What time is it? Steelworkers time!" 70% struck, despite intimidation by city and state cops in full riot gear.

Twenty-four strikers were arrested under Virginia's "right-to-work" picketing constraints, but food, money, telegrams of support and picketers

continued to arrive.

Strikers' wives initiated an auxiliary that involved entire families. Said a woman crane operator, "Seeing women steelworkers picketing and chanting puts hesitant wives at ease."

Virginia's public employees, themselves under legislative attack, hailed the strike. The president of a teachers' local called it a "battle for every worker in Virginia... in the South and in the country."

## The Chips Are Down

On March 2, the court sent Tenneco's election challenge to the NLRB. Tenneco announced that scabs would remain at work, but strikers would be "considered" if they reapplied and signed "unconditional agreements to return."

Undaunted, 80% of the workforce respected the picket lines and morale remained high.

In April, the NLRB postponed decision for "probably" 7 months. More than 50% of the workers were still out, but the USWA International recommended suspending the strike. The International had wanted workers to return from the outset. Said USWA President McBride at that time, "Perhaps we made a blunder saying this strike went beyond Newport News... We don't want our strikers involved in a struggle beyond the contract covering them." This means that the International is not prepared to take on the open-shop South.

In a split vote in April, the local's negotiating committee agreed. Dissenters demanded a vote by the membership at the April 13 meeting, and when this was refused, they organized to force a vote.

## Democracy by Demand

Thousands debated at the membership meeting, the first since the strike began. A Black man proposed returning only "on our own terms"—to their regular jobs and without the "unconditional" statements. His motion was adopted overwhelmingly.

Picket lines grew large again, but two days later, police and troopers attacked picketers and supporters, clubbing and chasing them over a 15-block area. The cops stormed the lobby of strike

headquarters, tossing two people through plate-glass and severely beating twelve others, but were prevented from entering the union offices by furious workers.

Thirty persons were hospitalized and 63 arrested, but the picket line grew.

Five days later, Tenneco dropped its demands and all but 124 strikers returned to their jobs and previous pay rates, intent on regrouping and following through.

## Look Ahead, Dixieland

Newport News rank and filers, who risked their lives to save their new union, had won an inspiring strike victory in a right-to-work state. And they did it in spite of the compromisers—their own International leadership and the legalistic NLRB, which steadily counseled surrender.

The fight is not over.

The issue of affirmative action can be raised more pointedly to win the support of the Black community, which has been split by USWA's past racism. Alliances with other Tenneco workers nationwide can expose Tenneco's role in the energy ripoff and activate more support. Frequent membership meetings and defense work for the 124 fired strikers can rebuild union strength.

And the International can be pressured by an aroused labor movement to acknowledge the significance of the Newport News shipyard to labor organizing in the South.

The low-paid workers of Newport News have shown that proletarian solidarity between the races and sexes is essential in order to strike a blow against the discriminatory and antilabor Southern system.

The heroism of angry women and Black strikers is leading the way to a new dawn for downtrodden Southern labor. ■

Ann Manly is production coordinator for the *Freedom Socialist*. She grew up in the South and is a longtime feminist with a keen interest in economics and labor.

## Weber: el caso Bakke de los trabajadores

por Valerie Carlson

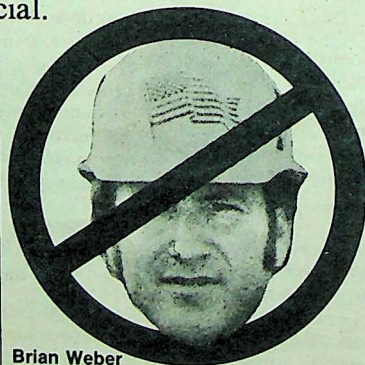
**E**l pleito de Brian Weber, "discriminación al revés", recién decidido ante la Corte Suprema estadounidense, fue una gigantesca ofensiva dirigida al corazón de la acción afirmativa. Si la decisión de la Corte no hubiera dismantelado esta arma formidable, fallando en contra de Weber, habría resultado la destrucción completa de las oportunidades de trabajo para los que están en desventaja social.

Desde el caso Bakke al de Weber, la devastación de la acción afirmativa amenazó trasladarse moverse del campo educacional al económico y del sector público al privado.

En la Corte Suprema la acción en favor de Bakke, el acceso a las profesiones por parte de las minorías fue limitado; pero fallando en contra de Weber, la corte al menos ofreció alguna esperanza de promoción en el trabajo.

En 1974, Weber era un asistente de laboratorio con un sueldo de \$21,000 al año, en la planta de Gramercy de la Kaiser, en Louisiana, cuando fue rechazado en un nuevo programa de entrenamiento técnico en el trabajo. Este programa era un requisito del contrato sindical. El propósito del programa era aumentar la movilidad de todos los trabajadores y compensar las desigualdades raciales del pasado.

Siete negros y seis blancos fueron aceptados, dos de los negros tenían menos antigüedad que Weber.



Brian Weber

Acusándolos de violación al acta de los derechos civiles, Weber entabló juicio a la Kaiser y U.S.W.A. (El Sindicato de Trabajadores de Acero) en nombre de todos los trabajadores elegibles blancos de la planta.

### Carrera sin ascenso

Hasta 1974, la Kaiser exigió experiencia previa a los trabajadores con preparación técnica y contrató a los

de afuera en vez de promover a sus propios trabajadores. Por consiguiente, Weber ni siquiera habría podido ser *candidato* a un puesto de mayor experiencia antes de la iniciación del mismo programa que ahora está poniendo en duda.

El plan de la Kaiser y el USWA fue aumentar la representación de las minorías y mujeres hasta que el gremio de los trabajadores contuviera un 5% de mujeres y un porcentaje de minorías igual al de la población del área alrededor de cada planta. La población minoritaria de Gramercy era de un 39%, pero sólo un 2% de trabajadores con experiencia técnica en la Kaiser era minorías. Para lograr esto, un 50% de las minorías y mujeres, más un 50% de blancos debieron ser admitidos al programa de entrenamiento.

### Kaiser la Grande

Las primeras dos decisiones de la corte local determinó que el objetivo de un 50% era "una preferencia ilegal", porque la Kaiser no admitía ninguna discriminación anterior. Ni tampoco la corte escuchó el testimonio documentado acerca de la historia de la Kaiser sobre los bajos salarios, limitación de empleo y segregación de facilidades para las minorías. Los negros estaban forzados a comer en medio de los gases de la fábrica, mientras los blancos gozaban de comedor con aire acondicionado.

La administración de la Kaiser sólo testificó acerca de su política de igualdad de oportunidades (por escrito), sus fracasadas tentativas de reclutar negros, y su adopción al "sistema de cuotas" para cumplir con los requisitos federales y evitar "los litigios vejatorios". Si la administración hubiera admitido las dispari-

dades que justificaron el selectivo programa de entrenamiento, habrían provisto una base para pleitos caros y seguros de las minorías contra ellos.

### La Justicia al Revés: Otro Giro

La habilidad de los sindicatos para defender las especiales necesidades históricas tanto de los trabajadores minoritarios como de las mujeres fue seriamente puesta en peligro por el caso Weber. Una resolución reciente de la junta local del USWA en Nueva Orleans, llamó al caso Weber "un ataque contra los sindicatos en la peor tradición del acta Taft-Hartley," "derecho al trabajo" sin pertenecer a un sindicato y la prohibición al derecho legal de huelga.

Los líderes de los derechos civiles proclaman legítimamente que el problema envuelto es simplemente una justa e imparcial reparación para las minorías, y no la vengativa discriminación contra los blancos proclamada por Bakke y Weber.

Los programas voluntarios de la acción afirmativa ya están tambaleándose ante la herida paralizadora infringida por Bakke, la cual constriñó las oportunidades para ser empleados de "cuello blanco". Si Weber hubiera bloqueado el acceso de los operarios para la preparación técnica, las minorías habrían vuelto a los trabajos de barrenderos, las mujeres a las oficinas como secretarías y el movimiento laboral al período de afiliación voluntaria al sindicato.

Pero el rechazo de la corte a la demanda de Weber, puso al movimiento sindical en una posición fuerte para la batalla a enfrentar y obtener una verdadera acción afirmativa para las minorías y las mujeres.

Los sindicatos pueden y deben intensificar ahora su lucha para la acción afirmativa. ■



## Insurrection in NICARAGUA



**B**esieged by a brilliant offensive launched by the Sandinista guerrillas on May 29, and opposed by virtually every sector of the population, the Nicaraguan dictatorship of General Anastasio Somoza Debayle is swiftly collapsing. Even his longtime imperialist allies are deserting the doomed regime.

In a successful attempt to paralyze the government, the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) led a general strike on June 4 which shut down most businesses and transportation facilities.

The FSLN's drive for power is relentless. All key cities have either been taken by the guerrilla forces or are about to be.

And fighting is reportedly taking place within blocks of Somoza's fortified bunker in Managua, the capital.

### Somoza the Butcher

Educated at West Point, with close political and financial ties to Congress and U.S. capitalists, Somoza has responded to the Sandinista offensive with desperate barbarity. His dwindling National Guard has bombed, strafed, napalmed, and gassed the civilian population.

Somoza refuses to accept the Geneva code on prisoners. Said an officer of the National Guard, "We don't take prisoners, they have all died."

The opposition press has been smashed and martial law declared.

### The U.S. Wheels and Deals

Although the U.S. claims neutrality, the FSLN reports covert shipment of American arms, and the U.S.-backed dictatorships of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador are providing military aid to Somoza, aid that is evidently coordinated by the Panama-based U.S. Southern Command.

Fully aware that Somoza cannot retain power, the White House is maneuvering for an anti-Marxist government friendly to the U.S. But the FSLN refuses to compromise with the U.S. or the Organization of American States, suggested as a possible "mediator" by Washington.

### For a Socialist Nicaragua

In August 1978, the FSLN seized the National Palace in Managua. Holding 500 people captive, they demanded the release of 150 political prisoners, \$10 million in ransom, and safe passage to Panama, Venezuela or Mexico.

On September 9, 1978, a full-scale uprising was defeated by the National Guard, supplied with U.S. weapons.

Since May, however, the FSLN appears certain of military victory. Their forces are growing tremendously, with massive participation of armed women, and of children as young as 10 years old.

The FSLN has not called for a socialist government. All the different factions within the FSLN advocate revolution-in-stages—first a bourgeois democratic revolution, and later a socialist revolution. In the midst of a fiery civil war, such a Menshevik-Stalinist theoretical error invites reactionary forces to strangle the revolution.

State repression of national minorities, feminists, and revolutionary workers in Iran under Khomeini's pro-capitalist rule is proof enough of the bloody results of any compromise with capitalism, even if the terrible lessons of Chile hadn't already made this clear enough.

It is only a matter of time before a Leninist wing emerges among the revolutionary forces. ■

## Justice stalled for Alaska cannery workers

by Tamara Turner

**T**hree grueling seasons in Alaska's salmon canneries have gone by without change, despite a momentous legal victory won by the Alaska Cannery Workers Association that should have ended the appalling discrimination against the predominantly Filipino and Native Alaskan workforce.

Even though a federal judge ruled for the plaintiffs in April, 1977, no back pay or punitive damages have been levied against the giant New England Fish Company, nor has an injunction been issued to halt white-skin privilege in jobs, training, and housing.

The original lawsuit, filed in 1973 by Nemesio Domingo, Jr., was broadened into a class action representing 700 Filipinos, other Asians, Native Americans and Native Alaskans. And because it is a Title VII case, each member of the class must *individually* prove claims against an employer found guilty. Individual hearings have finally begun—2 years after the discrimination ruling—because the judge wanted to watch the "national scene" (the Bakke and Weber cases) before scheduling individual hearings.

Domingo and his brother—who also has a cannery lawsuit pending—were ousted and then reinstated by their union, Local 37, ILWU, because it initially saw their suits as an attack on the union's integrity. The militants were also blacklisted by cannery owners, but this was halted by an appeal to the NLRB.

The community-activist ACWA, a Seattle-based group concerned with cannery conditions in Alaska, aided the plaintiffs throughout their long struggle.

### Sealed-in Racism

Every can of salmon processed in Alaska represents a century of stolen labor and ruthless racism.

Each successive group of Asian immigrants has labored in the canneries, earned lower wages than other workers, demanded equal pay, and been replaced by other desperate workers.

Only whites get supervisory, longshore, cooking, and machinist jobs, while the lowest-paid "wet" jobs—direct contact with the fish—fall to nonwhites. Though most machine work can be learned in 4 weeks, cannery management insists that these jobs require special training and skills that people of color do not have.

### Home Away from Home

Nepotism and segregated housing prevent news of better jobs from filtering down to nonwhites.

Whites live in heated bunkhouses in a private room or one shared with another person. The rooms contain beds, dressers, and storage. Nonwhites live 8 to a room in unheated bunkhouses furnished with bunkbeds and crates nailed to the walls for dressers. The only light is from a bare ceiling bulb, and the air reeks of fish-slimed gear hung on the walls for lack of outdoor storage.

This housing violates health and safety laws on the number of persons allowed per square foot, as well as the Alaska Fire Code, yet the court will not halt its use.

Cannery mess halls and menus are segregated. "White food" consists of meat, potatoes, vegetables, and fruit; everyone else gets fish and rice. When the ethnics demanded fruit and vegetables, they were told that "those don't grow in Alaska!"

ACWA members participated in food strikes in 1972, and the strikes, coupled with the law suits, have helped better the workers' diet.

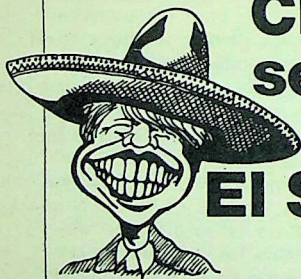
### Equality Now!

Decent jobs, training, living conditions, and wages still lie cruelly beyond the grasp of the cannery workers. Their struggle can be aided by bringing pressure on Judge Gus Solomon of the U.S. District Court in Portland, Ore. to carry through *his own* findings against the cannery corporations and obliterate the racist patterns of the past. ■

## Arthur Felberbaum dies

Arthur Felberbaum, 44, died of a heart attack on May 24. He was a founding member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a Socialist Workers Party member until the mid-sixties, and Education Director of the School for Marxist Education from 1975 until 1978.

## Carter anoints Chicano serenity in El Sereno



by Monica Hill

**Los Angeles** - Jimmy Carter's slickly publicized May visit to the Chicanos of El Sereno, California was a callous sham, a bungled attempt to mask the severe oppression of Chicanos and Latinos in the U.S.

The family he chose to visit, according to the *L.A. Times*, "opened a restaurant as a takeout taco stand a year ago. In true Horatio Alger fashion, the industrious couple expanded the operation." They now live in a neighborhood which talks proudly of its "neat homes with an affection born of hard work, scraped paint and mowed lawns."

Ah, bliss . . . all-American serenity in El Sereno. But the ploy fooled no one, even though Carter's drop-in was carefully staged to inspire lagging public confidence in the "melting pot" and in rugged individualism. Said one Chicana, "I don't know why he came. I think he's a fake. That's what all the people I talk to think."

### The Bitter Truth

Actual living conditions of most Chicano and Mexicano workers in Southern California are a far cry from the rags-to-riches myth. Hundreds of thousands of Mexican refugees and Chicano U.S. citizens are an economic mainstay of the U.S., but these Hispanics—a majority of the population in metropolitan Los Angeles—

receive the least education and labor at the lowest paying jobs. They are largely the gardeners of the rich, the bus boys, the food workers, the janitors, the car washers and the gas station attendants. Mexicanos are the primary producers in the massive Southwestern agricultural industry, and the women are bulwarks of L.A.'s vast garment industry (which outstrips New York's). *Mexicano/Chicano workers clothe and feed us all.*

But to the U.S. government, they are "illegal aliens" and second-class citizens slated to be imported and exported, hired and fired at will—a permanent and highly vulnerable reserve of cheap labor. They are more highly exploitable than most victims of racism and sexism because so many are not U.S. citizens. Even their right to poverty-level wages is flagrantly violated, and they pay social security taxes they will never see, plus sales, state and federal taxes.

An abysmal lack of health care takes a relentless toll, especially among garment workers toiling under sweatshop conditions worse than those suffered by New York's early immigrant laborers, and among agricultural workers felled by back injuries, tuberculosis and pesticide-induced respiratory diseases. Mothers, lacking childcare, fight desperately to raise children, who are not provided with bilingual education in the schools, and the women are unrelieved victims of forced sterilization and minimal access to birth control and abortion.

### For a United Self-Defense

Unrelenting oppression creates a potential volcano of defiance, and the power elite knows it. Police arrests, brutality and murder of Chicanos and Mexicanos, supplemented by KKK attacks, proliferate here.

*Down with discriminatory immigration laws! Down with Congressional slow-death policies toward Chicano/Mexicano workers! Down with police brutality and sweatshops! For a united resistance against oppression of Chicanos!*

The producers of life's necessities must be the first to benefit from their grueling labor. ■



by Sam Deaderick and Tamara Turner

**T**he pioneering work of Renee Vivien and Colette opened long-bolted doors for lesbian novelists and lesbian literary heroines in the early 1900s. By 1928, other European writers were adding their works to a growing list of impressive books on the subject.

Radclyffe Hall publicly challenged the obscenity charge against her work, and Virginia Woolf published a sly satire on sex roles in a book capturing the personality of her friend, novelist Vita Sackville-West. Mary Renault created lesbian characters of wit and audacity, as well as a series of acclaimed historical novels about famous homosexuals of antiquity.

### The Well

**The Well of Loneliness** by Radclyffe Hall, a wealthy English novelist, caused a furor unparalleled since the infamous trial of Oscar Wilde.

Issued by a major publisher in 1928, the book was promptly banned by an English court as destructive to the morals of young people. Its crime? A sympathetic account of lesbian life and a plea for an end to the misery caused by homophobia and ignorance. The author became the center of an international storm.

In America, the book's publishers were subjected to sensational obscenity trials in Boston and New York, and won the right to publish the *Well* in 1929. But in England, the book was declared obscene and banned until 1959. Radclyffe Hall took a public stand in her book's defense and appeared in court every day, despite urging from her friends to avoid the notoriety. During summary remarks from the judge that were particularly offensive and inaccurate, the author leapt to her feet and shouted angrily at him, and the judge threatened to have her ejected.

Forty-five leading British authors, including Arnold Bennett and Virginia and Leonard Woolf, signed protests against the censorship of the book, but their testimony, like that of distinguished lawyers and physicians, was not permitted in the trial.

Despite the many valid literary and political criticisms of the *Well*, Hall's decision to publish, and her staunch defense of the rights of lesbians, sparked an international forum for discussion of the subject and encouraged many prominent women authors to deal with the theme.

### Woolf and Sackville-West

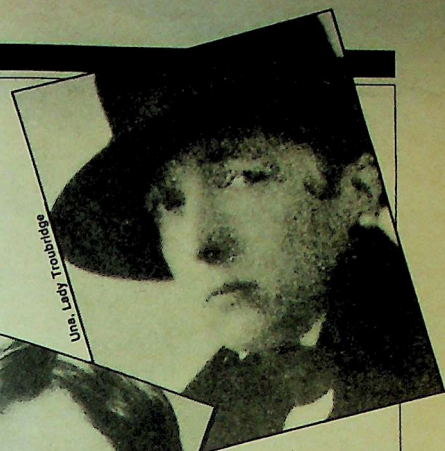
Most women writers did not center their novels around lesbianism, preferring to include a lesbian character or lesbian episode, or, as in the past, only hint obliquely at lesbianism. Virginia Woolf opted for this course in the musings of *Mrs. Dalloway*.

But *Orlando*, published in 1928, complete with photographs of the leading character as a man *and* as a woman, posed by Woolf's friend and sister writer Vita Sackville-West, was a *tour de force* on the subject of sex roles.

Sackville-West wrote a number of novels. *The Dark Island*, a melodrama, has a lesbian subtheme. *Challenge*, published in 1924 in the U.S. only, is a novelized version of Vita's elopement with her woman lover in 1919. Both women eventually were persuaded by their husbands to return home and keep up appearances. After Vita's death, her son, Nigel Nicolson, published portions of her personal

# Gay resistance: The hidden history

## part IV



Left to right:  
Vita Sackville-West,  
Virginia Woolf,  
Radclyffe Hall

record of this romance in his book *Portrait of a Marriage* (1974). This unique volume is a vivid and understanding account of his mother's lesbianism and his father's homosexuality.

### Symbol of Evil

Publishers still tend to surrender to possible public or legal hostility by insisting that authors use a formula plot wherein gay characters are left dead or dying, preferably by violent means.

English, Continental and American novels, moreover, tend to use homosexuals as standard symbols of evil, and lesbians as examples of decadence and insanity. The small number of early novels that escape this vicious formula are exceptionally good.

Anna Elisabet Weirauch's trilogy, *The Scorpion*, published in German in 1919-1921 and translated into English in the 1930s by Whittaker Chambers (before he turned coat and helped the witchhunters pillory Alger Hiss), accurately reflects the powerlessness of women to provide for their own economic needs. The author implicitly condemns a society that decrees passive roles for females and absolute power for fathers. Her novels contain a large portion of despair and suicide, yet the lesbian protagonist still develops into an independent woman who decides on her own terms how she will live.

### Mary Renault

The best-written novel of lesbianism until 1946 was *The Middle Mist*, written by Mary Renault in that year and originally published in England as *The Friendly Young Ladies*.

Famed for her brilliant historical novels of ancient society such as *The King Must Die* and *The Persian Boy*, her beautiful and accurate treatment of male homosexuality as an integral part of her characters' lives is remarkable. Yet *The Middle Mist* is conspicuous by its absence on any list of her literary output.

However, publishers are now beginning to release

many out-of-print or unpublished works because the women's movement has created a large—and lucrative—demand for information about women and by women. Thus, *The Middle Mist*, long out-of-print, was republished in paperback in 1972.

It is an outstanding portrayal of two English lesbians living on a houseboat on the Thames. The women are healthy, intelligent, self-supporting, creative, independent, and respectful of each other's need to grow. Both have a superb sense of humor.

Their solutions to the problems created by the different paths they are taking are direct and mature. And the macho male who attempts to seduce one of them in order to bolster his sexual ego is outflanked in one of the funniest scenes in English literature.

Renault also draws an unforgettable picture of the feminine mystique, as exemplified by the younger sister of one of the lesbians.

### Looking Forward

The rich storehouse of lesbian literature now available is having a monumental impact on other writers, young lesbians, and independent women everywhere. For the truth is out—it has been *women* writers who have had the courage to write about gay relationships and depict them as valid expressions of human love and sexuality. The great male writers, even when gay, have consistently *avoided* direct and central use of characters who happened to be gay.

The woman artist-as-revolutionary has furnished the courage, honesty, and disdain of compromise that are crucial to resistance. Hence, these great writers and great human beings set the stage for the next wave of gay upsurge—the post-World War II cry for equality.

The rise of fascism in the 1920s and '30s, the defeat of the Russian working class by Stalinism, and the social chaos that plagued Europe during and after World War II, all but served to wipe out the memory of the early gay rights movement. Not until the late forties and early 1950s did the movement reemerge—and this time on American soil. ■

To be continued next issue.



Six months after the eviction notice, with miles to go before we sleep, Seattle FSP, Radical Women, and CRSP still have not found a new home.

**Look** With the resilience (and audacity!) of the potentially homeless, we are hanging onto threatened Freeway Hall until we can find a suitable substitute.

**Homeward,** We have racked up hundreds of miles on our collective odometer in the

**Angels!** exhaustive process of inspecting old morgues, desolate warehouses, 19th-Century brothels, and rubble-strewn storefronts. But even these relics are too expensive given today's obscenely inflated real estate market!

Funds are desperately needed to secure a new headquarters *now*.

Please, please, please send contributions to Freeway Hall Eviction Fund, 3815 Fifth Avenue N.E., Seattle, WA 98105.

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by Helen Gilbert



## Native American women host national conference

importance of political awareness, and the strong contributions of Native women.

### Women Organizers

Women originated, organized, and raised the funds for the conference. The Northwest Indian Women's Council was the primary mover, assisted by Women of All Red Nations (W.A.R.N.). Their leadership created a welcome atmosphere of cooperation, pride and celebration of Indian culture, in marked contrast to the conferences sponsored and financed by the government.

"The conference was a beginning," said Janet McCloud, a nationally known Indian spokeswoman and a key member of the Conference Planning

Committee. "The only way to bring about social change is to roll up our sleeves, sweat and struggle. The conference provided a foundation for carrying on the work we have to do to survive."

Representatives of the FSP and Radical Women assisted in conference planning, logistics, publicity, athletic events, meal preparation and childcare, and were grateful for the privilege of participating in the historic meeting. Their efforts were warmly acknowledged, and the close collaboration between Native people and non-Native supporters was a unique feature of the event. ■

**N**ative Americans, indomitable survivors of generations of genocide, have conferred upon the International Year of the Child an especially profound meaning.

1000 Native people evinced their deep concern for their children—"the foundation of our future"—at a conference to examine the life-and-death issues confronting them and to plan for their very survival.

Representatives of 82 tribes and nations from the U.S. and Canada formed an encampment of tents and teepees in the woods surrounding the Daybreak Star Center in Seattle on June 7-11. The spectacularly beautiful Center was an auspicious setting, for the land was wrested from the U.S. Army as a result of a militant occupation by Northwest Indians in 1970.

### Unity Amidst Diversity

The conference took many important steps toward unifying and revitalizing the Indian movement. Four diverse elements from four different generations were brought together: traditional leaders, AIM militants, grassroots community organizers, and government employees, professionals, and other more privileged Indians.

And all worked together in a climate of openness, candor, mutual criticism and mutual respect, reflecting the traditional cultural patterns of group interaction.

Discussion centered on three major issues: sovereignty, the destruction of the environment, and the need to strengthen the traditional extended family. Speakers at the plenary session described antinuclear organizing in South Dakota, the

## Fishing rights victory

**I**n upholding the Boldt decision 6 to 3, the U.S. Supreme Court correctly honored the treaties made 120 years ago entitling Indian fishers to one-half the salmon caught in Washington State.

The decision is a great victory for Native Americans against what a federal appeals court called the most concerted efforts "to frustrate a decree of a federal court witnessed in this century."

The state of Washington, however, will resume management and control of fishing as a result of the decision, and the state is already looking for a way to defy the decision in life. Non-Native fishers are again seeking congressional legislation to break the treaties, and Washington's congressmen are kowtowing to the racism of these whites.

The Indians have been vindicated legally, but the court made some concessions to the anti-Indian forces and provided some serious loopholes. Continued vigilance by Native Americans and their friends is mandatory. ■

## Gay rights at the crossroads

by Robert Crisman

**G**ay rights election victories in Seattle and California last fall were spear-headed by militant feminists and radicals who mobilized gays, women, minorities, and labor against the bigots. And these triumphs provided an impetus for gay progress reminiscent of the early civil rights movement. But almost immediately, homophobic legislators,

thugs, cops, nazis, the Klan, Coors, and the fundamentalists revved up their offensive.

### Hoodlums Ride Again

- Early this year, the New Jersey legislature introduced a bill to punish homosexual acts with ten years in prison.
- Public outrage reversed an Oklahoma bill to castrate gay men.
- A Baptist minister urged vigilantes to run gays out of Key West, Florida.
- Police in Queens, N.Y. watched as thugs attacked a gay rally.
- The January murder of two gay men by Los Angeles cops perpetuated a reign of terror against minorities that consumed more than 30 Black and Chicano lives in 18 months.
- In San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle, police and media provoked a "morality" uproar linking gays to drugs, street violence, child prostitution, and "pornography."

### Outrage in Gay Mecca

The concept of San Francisco as a liberal city with a politically influential gay population was shattered in May when gays rioted against terrorism.

Ex-cop Dan White gunned down the mayor and gay city supervisor Harvey Milk last November. Gays have since been knifed on the street, and gangs of

cops twice beat up lesbians in bars.

"Kill Queers" graffiti deface walls, and police sport "Free Dan White" T-shirts.

The press and politicians have long scapegoated gays for the scandals created by real estate speculators and the Housing Authority; "homosexual invasion" is blamed for raised rents and forced evictions in workingclass and minority neighborhoods.

Moderate gay leaders do little to counter this propaganda; they cooperate with the press in extolling the attainment of the American Dream for gays with \$50,000 incomes.

But on May 12, the round-the-clock nightmare of intimidation provoked a battle between police and 1500 gays. One week later, murderer White was slapped on the wrist with a manslaughter conviction, and gays rampaged at City Hall, causing \$1,000,000 damage and national shock waves. That same night, while new mayor Diane Feinstein complained that gay trashing had ruined San Francisco's "image," 200 cops brutalized gays in Castro St. bars.

A peaceful march of 5000 occurred the next night. The riot, however, signalled gay refusal to be destroyed without a fight and revealed the bankruptcy of a passive, reformist strategy. The question of how to

organize for self-defense was sharply posed.

### What Next?

Tenuous legislative victories ring increasingly hollow in the face of extermination.

A liberal, white male elite tied to the Democratic party maintains a stranglehold of the gay movement in San Francisco and elsewhere. The National Gay Task Force primarily benefits privileged professionals, and much of the gay press, notably David Goodstein's *Advocate*, is moving rightward politically.

The reformists reject any open liaison with militant feminists, minorities, or workers, thereby bolstering rightwing divide-and-conquer tactics. And these isolationist politics force many gay activists to scramble for a mythical gay "unity" that ignores class differences and produces a class-collaborationist instead of class-struggle policy. The proposed October March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay

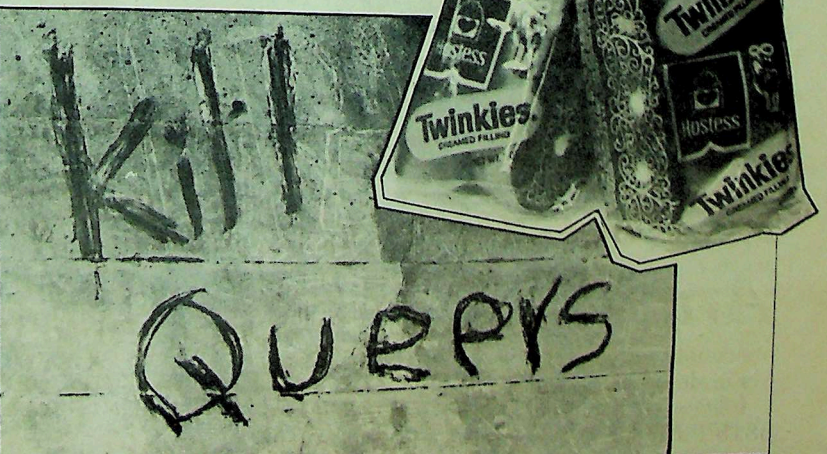
Rights, for example, will voice important demands such as gay parents' rights, but will focus exclusively on gay issues.

The left generally downplays gays. Stalinist and Maoist homophobia profanes Marxism and human decency. And the Socialist Workers Party urges gays to ignore their own movement and to make no waves in unions which ignore gay issues and the sexism that triggers gay oppression. Many gays turn to personal-lifestyle solutions because of the lack of a clear political alternative from radicals.

Many other gays, however, are ready to fight, as San Francisco demonstrated. And they need not go it alone. As the attacks accelerate, the illusory promise of single-issue reforms will be increasingly exposed, and gays will seek out a common front with other oppressed groups.

Hard times loom for all workers, and gay survival and progress depend on uniting with all the afflicted in mutual defense against the capitalist-fostered, rightwing enemy. ■

When his defense claimed junk foods drove him to kill, double-murderer Dan White got off with a mild manslaughter conviction.





from front page

### Who Profits?

Unshaken by the Three Mile Island meltdown emergency, the nuclear industry callously proposed that the ratepayers assume the cleanup cost. With the price of building plants now in the billions, cost overruns are absorbed by raising electricity bills and increasing taxes which the government uses to subsidize and cushion industry errors (\$18 billion to date has been handed over to the nuclear capitalists by the government).

The 50 giant companies that dominate the building, equipment, fueling, and operation of nuclear reactors, for either energy or weapons use, are reaping astronomical profits. The 10 biggest companies hold more than half the nation's uranium resources and own 40% of the milling capacity.

Major oil companies—Kerr-McGee, Atlantic Richfield, Exxon, Mobil, and Gulf—are big investors in nukes, as are General Electric, Anaconda, and Rockwell International. Moguls sitting on each other's Boards of Directors arrange unlimited benefits for themselves, including price-fixing at every step of the production process. These financial maneuverings extend to private or public utilities, the rate-collectors who usually contract out the building and operating of plants.

And the government, the supposed watchdog, expedites this extortion of the public.

### Consumer Ripoff

The public pays dearly for nuclear energy because electric utilities are regulated monopolies.

State commissions set rates at a level designed to cover operating costs and provide a profit on the investment. But the profits are determined by the size of the investment, not by the ratio of costs and sales; hence, the more capital invested, the larger the profit! Utilities are encouraged by the cost-plus, rate-fixing system to adopt expensive, capital-intensive technologies like nuclear reactors.

Utilities are also allowed to raise rates for money to invest in new plants and equipment, generating more profit for private companies.

Since 1957, the federal Price-Anderson Act limits company liability to \$560 million, yet Three Mile Island lawsuits already exceed that figure, and the companies running the plant will pay little of the cost. One provision of the act diffuses the impact over the rest of the industry and *their* ratepayers, and government subsidy picks up the rest.

The ratepayer pays extra when reactors fail and when construction and production are delayed.

Companies cut corners on equipment or design, then can't meet safety regulations. But since profits, not safety, rule the industry, plants such as Three Mile Island are rushed prematurely into production to qualify for \$40 million in tax write-offs and a rate increase worth \$49 million.

### Technology Fiasco

The whole rush to produce nuclear energy is far ahead of the invention of a safe and workable technology.

According to the Union of Concerned Scientists, the industry has never adequately tested the emergency equipment that failed at Three Mile Island—a circulating water system that must continually cool the fissionable reactor core to prevent a meltdown and an explosion of huge quantities of radioactive steam into the atmosphere.

The industry has been plagued with the results of bad planning.

Five of the 72 U.S. nuclear plants are closed because their engineering did not compensate for earthquake stresses.

Other plants are shut down for repairs about 40% of the time.

A fire nearly destroyed the plant at Brown's Ferry, Alabama, and the partial

meltdown of the Enrico Fermi reactor almost wiped out Detroit.

The Three Mile Island failure revealed that the technical underpinnings of nuclear energy production are a matter of guesswork.

### Unsafe at Any Site

Additional hazards occur as large quantities of deadly radioactive material are transported without proper safety precautions.

Between 1971 and 1977, lethal radioactivity was released in 36 of 144 accidents.

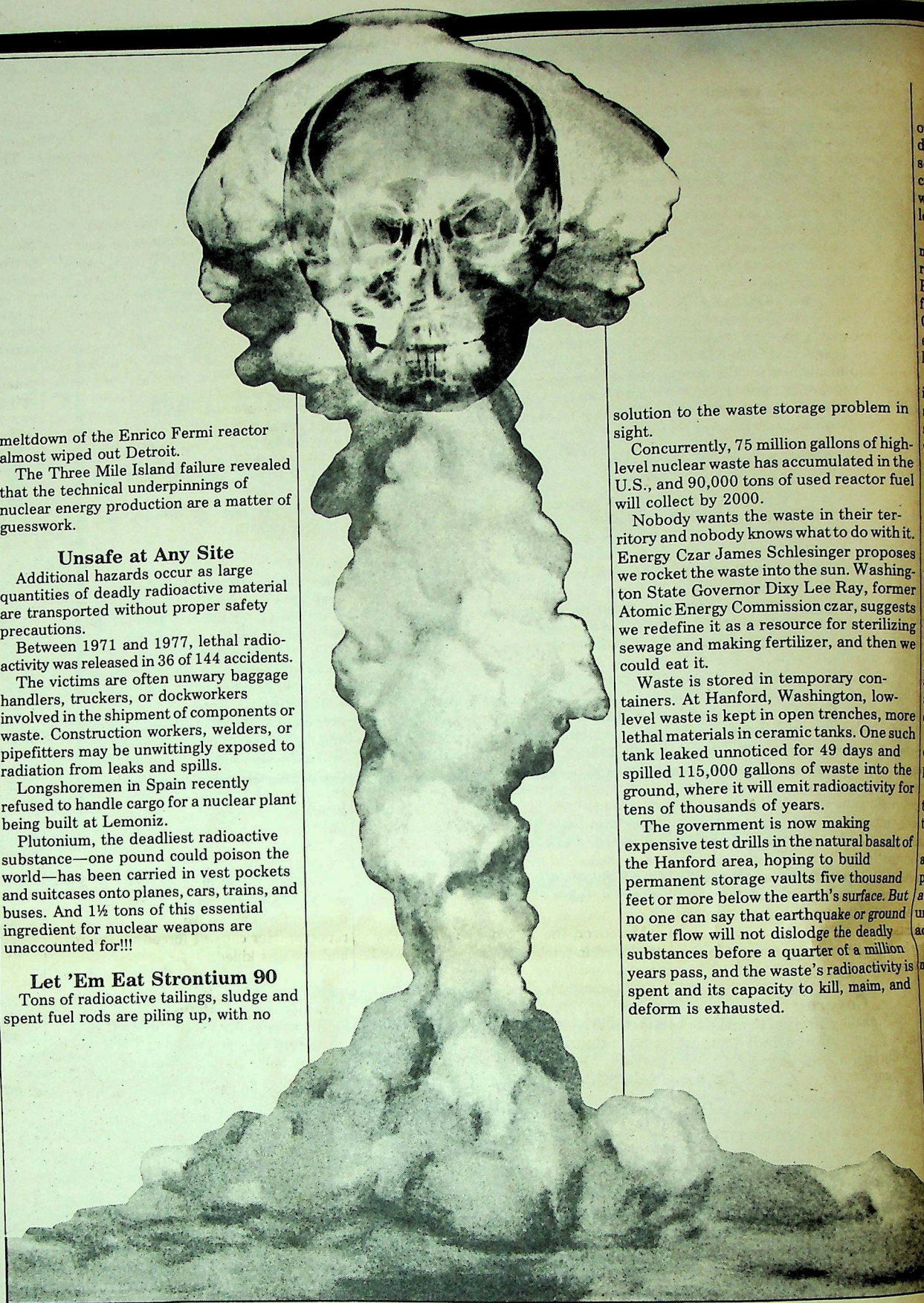
The victims are often unwary baggage handlers, truckers, or dockworkers involved in the shipment of components or waste. Construction workers, welders, or pipefitters may be unwittingly exposed to radiation from leaks and spills.

Longshoremen in Spain recently refused to handle cargo for a nuclear plant being built at Lemoniz.

Plutonium, the deadliest radioactive substance—one pound could poison the world—has been carried in vest pockets and suitcases onto planes, cars, trains, and buses. And 1½ tons of this essential ingredient for nuclear weapons are unaccounted for!!!

### Let 'Em Eat Strontium 90

Tons of radioactive tailings, sludge and spent fuel rods are piling up, with no



Doug Barnes/Freedom Socialist

*Is this the way  
the world will  
end—with a  
mammoth bang  
and a radioactive  
wasteland?*

Industrialists and politicians, claiming our energy-producing resources, are capturing energy. But with nuclear technology still endanger humanity for centuries to come.

Lethal wastes from the jerrybuilt reactors, and in the wake of the threatened Three Mile Island nuclear reactor, the living within the hazardous circumference of chimneys of death have been mercifully terrible danger.

All earthlings must now confront the horror of uncontrolled radioactive malignant force that eats away at workers, and leaves a lethal and crippling living things—while disproportionate profits are spawned at the expense.

With mounting militance, the workers are shouting, "Shut them down!"

What stands mercilessly condemned is not just the multinational corporations and their government henchmen, but the capitalist system itself which exists to manufacture profitable poisons irrespective of the danger to the workers or to the system's own progeny.

Life on earth can be saved, but only if the people's health and safety are not held hostage by the nuclear militarists and energy entrepreneurs. The industry must be nationalized, under workers' control, and decisions about the production of energy must be made by the people themselves.

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from front page

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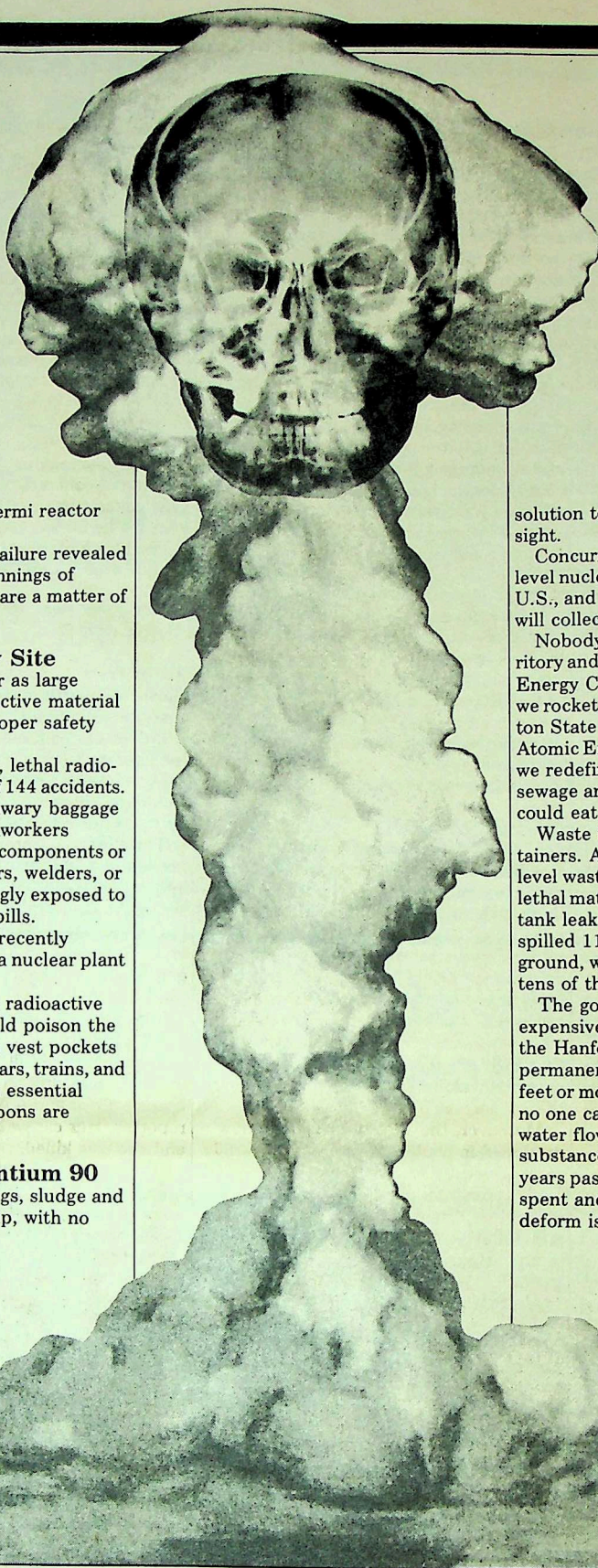
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### Nuclear Family Incest

The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) openly promoted nuclear energy development and altered, misrepresented, or concealed the facts. The AEC convinced the public that nuclear power was safe and clean, and expedited legislation limiting industry liability.

In 1974, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) replaced the old AEC (in response to charges of conflict-of-interest). But 85% of NRC employees had worked for AEC. According to a 1976 Common Cause study, 65% of 429 top-level NRC employees came from companies that held licenses from or contracted with NRC.

With only 250 inspectors for the entire industry, NRC regulators rarely check safety conditions. But last year, 3000 safety inspections were made and a 40% violation rate was discovered. Only 6

solution to the waste storage problem in sight.

Concurrently, 75 million gallons of high-level nuclear waste has accumulated in the U.S., and 90,000 tons of used reactor fuel will collect by 2000.

Nobody wants the waste in their territory and nobody knows what to do with it. Energy Czar James Schlesinger proposes we rocket the waste into the sun. Washington State Governor Dixy Lee Ray, former Atomic Energy Commission czar, suggests we redefine it as a resource for sterilizing sewage and making fertilizer, and then we could eat it.

Waste is stored in temporary containers. At Hanford, Washington, low-level waste is kept in open trenches, more lethal materials in ceramic tanks. One such tank leaked unnoticed for 49 days and spilled 115,000 gallons of waste into the ground, where it will emit radioactivity for tens of thousands of years.

The government is now making expensive test drills in the natural basalt of the Hanford area, hoping to build permanent storage vaults five thousand feet or more below the earth's surface. But no one can say that earthquake or ground water flow will not dislodge the deadly substances before a quarter of a million years pass, and the waste's radioactivity is spent and its capacity to kill, maim, and deform is exhausted.

minimal fines were assessed as penalties.

On January 8, 1979, an NRC safety inspector questioned the safety of Three Mile Island and seven similar plants. NRC higher-ups ignored him. Tapes of NRC proceedings revealed that when the accident happened, NRC knew nothing and relied on self-serving company officials for information.

The NRC has a gentleman's agreement on self-regulation with the energy profiteers.

None of this is strange, given the fact that most politicians are owned outright by the energy interests.

Public pressure has produced some action in the NRC. They shut down five plants near geological faults and repudiated the Rasmussen Report, which greatly underestimated the dangers from nuclear accidents.

But the complicity of government in the nuclear nightmare cannot be hidden.

### Coverup

The NRC's shabby attempt to make the world think everything was under control at Three Mile Island was a typical reflex by typical nuclear liars.

In the early 1950s, when the AEC knew full well (after Hiroshima and Nagasaki) that nuclear weapon test sites were unsafe, it deliberately stifled protest against testing. The AEC called the coverup "judicious handling of the public information system," or, in Eisenhower's words, "keepin' 'em confused about fusion and fission."

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thyroid, fears about radiation were dubbed "Communist-inspired scare stories."

*In the heyday of atomic testing, in the early '50s, 200,000 soldiers were marched into test areas and exposed to lethal radiation. Today, they contract cancer at a rate of 2 to 4 times that of the general population.*

The AEC promoted nuclear energy with the same disregard for public safety it showed in weapons development, repeatedly suppressing studies of the effects of radiation.

As a result of the plot to silence public fears of radiation danger, exact data on radiation-linked cancer is unclear. But cancer deaths increase dramatically—as much as 400%—in direct relation to infinitesimal increases of radioactivity in the environment.

resistance to the Black Hills mining operation is growing. The struggle there this summer is crucial for Native American survival and for the defeat of the corporations.

### The Voice of Unionism

Last fall, nuclear corporations gave major support to "right-to-work," anti-union legislation and candidates. Unionists are increasingly speaking out about company abuses that endanger both the public and employees.

After a Willow Island, West Virginia cooling tower accident killed 51 workers at Research-Cottrell, a union steward on another company project protested the pouring of concrete onto steel reinforcing rods caked with mud. It took a wildcat walkout by 90 workers to save his job.

Workers have charged that contractors

are beginning to join what promises to become a vast movement.

This upsurge gained spectacular credibility May 6 when a Washington, D.C. antinuclear demonstration attracted 110,000 people.

Although Ralph Nader's reformists and the Socialist Workers Party tried to narrow the focus of the demonstration to the one-note, one-issue of nuclear energy, a wide spectrum of ideologies was represented by the crowd. Thousands were ready for a more incisive critique of the system than was provided. The SWP, as usual, will try to dampen the revolutionary potential and education of the vast, loose network of antinuke fighters, but the movement will see the same inevitable radicalization that suffused the antiwar movement.

The Left has to learn the bitter lessons

## The Great Nuclear Reaction

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Nuclear waste escapes into the air, leaks into the water, lodges in the beef and milk of cattle drinking from streams, and enters humans to appear as cancer 10 to 40 years later, to cause birth defects in fetuses, and to engender genetic mutations.

### Low Energy Level?

Allied with the coverup of nuclear power's inherent dangers is the bald-faced lie that all other energy sources are exhausted or impractical. There are alternatives, and a rational, humane, workers government would instantly explore them. Investigations into solar power must be bolstered, and geothermal and wind energy research and production expedited. Currently, the money spent on solar energy development is less than the price of one nuclear plant.

Moreover, the 12% of electricity now produced in nuclear reactors could easily be replaced by reconstructing the coal-fueled power plants on the basis of a technology oriented toward worker-safety and pollution control.

And extensive reserves of oil and natural gas still exist.

Alternative energy would furnish cleaner air, reasonable safety, and reusable and renewable resources.

Basic changes in energy priorities are necessary and possible.

### Nuclear Genocide

Before Harrisburg, the industry's disregard for human life was best known to a few antinuclear activists and a growing group of direct victims, the workers who faced daily exposure to dangerous radiation levels.

It was not well known that Native American uranium miners are among the most abused.

Impoverished, they provide cheap labor for the 55% of U.S. uranium mining located on Indian lands, and their mortality rate is astounding.

Among 100 Navajos who haul uranium ore in Shiprock, New Mexico, 18 have died of cancer, and more are dying. Mine operators are supporting research to prove the high cancer rate is due to cigarettes!

Uranium mines are surrounded by heaps of refuse which emit low-level radiation. The dust blows into the lungs of Navajos living perilously close by, and children playing in the tailings develop burning sores.

Union Carbide and other companies plan large scale strip and solution mining on Lakota lands in the Black Hills. The company claims were filed while the Lakotas' attention was absorbed by the savage FBI attack at Wounded Knee and the aftermath of frameups and imprisonments.

Lorelei Means, Native American activist speaking at a Seattle antinuclear rally on June 3, said that nationwide

allow serious construction defects, inflate costs by rebuilding certain components, and then blame the resulting rate-base increase on worker incompetence.

(The NRC ignores such complaints, and shoddy construction projects and worker accidents proliferate.)

The death of Karen Silkwood was no accident. An activist in the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, she worked in a Kerr-McGee plutonium production plant in Cimarron, Oklahoma. When she started collecting evidence that company negligence was endangering workers and the public, plutonium was planted in her home refrigerator. She was contaminated with deadly radiation.

Frightened and ill, Silkwood took her evidence and drove to a meeting with a union official and a *New York Times* reporter. Her car was forced off the road and she was killed.

The papers scattered in her car documented Kerr-McGee's safety violations, its falsification of safety check records and illegal arrangement with the AEC to be alerted prior to inspections. The papers were removed from the car and destroyed—by agreement between state police and Kerr-McGee officials.

In a civil suit on behalf of her survivors, a federal jury found Kerr-McGee negligent in handling the plutonium that contaminated Silkwood, and awarded her estate \$10.5 million in damages.

Feminists, as well as the union, rallied to the Silkwood case, which dramatized the heroism and struggle of working women in energy production jobs. Management refuses to make the workplace safe and clean, and forces women of childbearing age to quit or move to traditional, lower-paid work once they've reached the "minimum acceptable" level of exposure. Men are "spared" this sex discrimination and are privileged to die sooner. Men are also subject to sterility from radiation, or to passing on genetic defects to their offspring.

But now the voice of those for whom human life is a preeminent value is rising to counter the commitments of money and ego that have poured into the nuclear rat-hole for 30 years. Women who have everything to gain and little to lose are risking their very lives, like Silkwood, to defy the pleading of nuclear apologists who cite the size of the public investment as cause for "not pulling out now."

Silkwood's martyrdom must be avenged.

### Sane Energy for a Sane Society

Although the face of the antinuclear movement has been predominantly white and middleclass, its complexion is changing.

Radicalized by the urgency and enormity of their task, activists have begun to find common ground with workers. And many labor unions which were pro-nuclear

of the past, and accept the historical mandate to address all the issues linked by the thread of the heinous crimes of the nuclear establishment. Without determined radical leadership, the anti-Nuke people, like the New Left, will fade into reformist unreality and deserved obscurity.

Serious environmentalists, nuclear opponents, afflicted workers, and concerned trade unionists, minorities, women, gays, and radicals must not only promote the immediate demand to halt the imminent nuclear holocaust but educate the movement and the working class by raising all the connected transitional and long-range demands. ■

### A Graduated Program for Today

- Shut down nuclear plants.
- Eliminate health and safety hazards that maim and kill energy workers, from coal miners to electrical lineworkers.
- Stop uranium mining on Native American lands.
- Halt the construction of nuclear weapons, which will be used to enforce imperialism.
- Health care for all nuclear victims, and close monitoring of the health of succeeding generations.
- Emergency research, at industry expense, into safe disposal of existing nuclear wastes.
- Safe energy AND full protection of the environment—no compromises.
- Conduct the necessary research to develop safe energy production; step up the study of solar energy feasibility.
- Empower the workers involved to determine, maintain and inspect all energy production and distribution systems.
- For nationwide, federally funded retraining and vocational training of all displaced workers in energy-related industries.
- Affirmative action training programs for minorities, women, the handicapped, and other specially afflicted workers to prepare them for jobs in the energy field.
- Open the books and records of the energy moguls and government energy agencies.
- Take the vast profits of the energy business. Nationalize the industry. Energy for people, not for super-profits.
- For the building of a Labor Party. Only a workers government can insure economic and human rights for all.
- Replace capitalism, and its imperialist adventures, with a socialist democracy that will end the exploitation of life and the rape of the earth. Install a new revolutionary society fit for human habitation.





Val Carlson/Freedom Socialist

*Deep in the heart of Texas lives an indomitable woman radical—*

## Laura Brode

**Barbara Brown:** What kind of a childhood did you have in New York City?  
**Laura Brode:** A daily struggle to live. We were on welfare or on charity. I was sick a lot, and at the hospital I saw how the social workers talked down to us poor people. Then, when I was about 17, there was the bank failure, in 1929 or '30. I had a job assembling jigsaw puzzle pieces in a factory and we couldn't get our pay. All the workers were struggling—most of us were unemployed and all were immigrants.

**BB:** When did you first get interested in politics?

**LB:** People were organizing into Unemployed Councils. I was naive, didn't know much about Marxism, but I had studied European history. My friends or family didn't influence me, but some teachers did. I knew there had to be some changes, and I found the Young Communist League in 1931 and joined.

The group I first joined was mostly women. We were organizing unemployed women office workers. We would leaflet the employment offices where there were always long lines of women.

**BB:** Was the Woman Question ever discussed?

**LB:** Well, we believed women would be liberated after the revolution, and that the struggle would go on after the revolution. We read Marx and Engels about the family. But it was nothing like today—no women's groups. And the YCL leaders were all men.

**BB:** When did you leave the YCL?

**LB:** After 1934, and the treachery of the French and German Stalinists. They didn't oppose Hitler, that was the basic problem. And their line was

changing all the time, so you couldn't trust what they would do. I heard about the Trotskyists, and had to go all the way up past 14th St. from the Lower East Side to find them. I initiated that on my own.

They weren't the Socialist Workers Party yet, but they had a kind of headquarters, I think on 20th St., where they had meetings and dances. I'd go in, but I couldn't get my Stalinist friends to go in with me. It turned out they had just followed me there to report on me. And when the YCL heard I was talking Trotskyism, I was expelled, but I was never officially informed about it!

*In her teens, this stalwart socialist joined the Young Communist League and later left it to become a Trotskyist activist. In the 1930s, she lived in a New York City tenement and was a clerical worker for the federal WPA. Then she hitchhiked to Texas.*

*Interviewer Barbara Brown probes the origins of Brode's radicalism and the scope of her feminism—and elicits some poignant responses.*

Those were exciting times. The Socialist Party, Norman Thomas's group, was falling apart, and the Trotskyists were invited to join them in 1936. Then we were expelled in 1937 and we took a good many Socialist Party comrades with us. And in 1938 the Socialist Workers Party was started.

**BB:** Why did you move to Texas?

**LB:** Fred and I lived in tenement buildings, and even there the rents were sky-high. My job was low-paid filing for WPA. And at the 1938

Socialist Workers Party convention, comrades from Texas said we could find better jobs there. So we gave away our warm clothes, and hitchhiked. It took 8 days. And in our first winter in Texas, there was a blizzard!

**BB:** Were there jobs?

**LB:** Oh, it was terrible! I could never get a job because I was too dark; I had very black hair. They said I looked like a Cajun. It was my first experience with discrimination.

**BB:** Where did you live?

**LB:** Outside Houston in a Hooverville shanty—just some boards and no foundation and like a fisherman's tent on the sides. I was on low land that would flood. The water got thigh-deep. We lived there over two years, and then we chopped down some dead trees, took them to the sawmill, and built the little house where my son was born in 1942.

**BB:** What was that like, living in an isolated area with a new baby?

**LB:** It was so hot all those months before I had him. We had the first Norther when I came home, and we had no windows. Someone helped us board up the hole where a window should have been. I had to carry water from the pump and get the formula ready on a kerosene plate with two burners. We washed on a board with a pot of boiling water. I never thought I'd live like that.

**BB:** What jobs did you have?

**LB:** I worked for WPA again in '41 as a proofreader on a writer's project. I was

worked for the railroad and was gone for long periods. I was mostly alone.

Then, with the civil rights upsurge, we had lots of activity. When Malcolm X was still in jail, his book came out, and I went house to house in the Black neighborhoods talking to the grandmothers who were babysitting the children. They understood Malcolm—that we must all fight to free ourselves. Some people say we won't have to struggle—can you imagine? Life's a struggle!

Then came the sit-ins at Woolworth's. The lunch counter in the basement was for Blacks—whites sat upstairs. The Blacks picketed outside and would sit in upstairs. Some whites would go and sit in with them, and I would go every day. Finally, the other whites ignored us.

**BB:** What was it like during the antiwar years?

**LB:** A lot of violence. Someone who didn't like our antiwar beliefs would drive by after dark and shoot at the house. One night I was standing at the sink washing dishes, and was almost hit. It went on for years. One time I was sick, just out of the hospital and a shot went through. Fred, of course, was away. This is the life of a revolutionary—you're sick, the husband is off, and you take care of yourself!

**BB:** Did you ever consider moving?

**LB:** Of course not! This is our home. Why should we leave?

**BB:** How did you like the CRSP Conference, where feminism was a main topic of debate?

**LB:** Oh! It was the first time for me! It was so exciting. I was like Rip Van Winkle—waking up and seeing all those women radicals! All those women speakers and organizers. I don't think all the men think it's that important—but for me it was thrilling. I just loved it. Naturally, I'm a woman!

**BB:** How do you feel about the way women on the Left are demanding their rights today?

**LB:** This should have happened in Left political parties a long time ago! We would have been much further ahead. I would have loved for it to happen before. But of course, as revolutionaries, we women did what we could. Even then! ■

**Barbara Brown formerly lived in Houston and is now a Seattleite. She works as a school counselor and is a member of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP).**

## The gospel according to Rev. Jackson

by Tom Boot and Madlyne Scott

**T**he Black community faces a double dilemma of enormous dimensions as unemployment, poverty, and affirmative action cutbacks coincide with a severe leadership vacuum.

And the man on horseback who has charged forward, like a chivalrous knight, to fill the leadership void, is the charismatic Reverend Jesse Jackson, media star and national spokesperson for Black "self-help" and self-blame.

Jackson's reputation as an orator and militant grew out of his role as a disciple and later heir-apparent of Martin Luther King. But his emergence as a singular leader is a product of the temporary demise of the civil rights movement.

The dynamic Black upheaval of the 1960s subsided after Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, and King were killed and jailed, and the reformist leadership was bought off, scared off, or hoaxed. And Jackson, instead of rising to meet the new challenges of the '70s, moved swiftly backward.

Jackson voiced disapproval of the Vietnam war, but resisted taking the genuine anticapitalist position which flowed obviously from a strategic combining of the civil rights and peace issues. He refused then and now to advocate societal change that would begin at

the base and eliminate the economic system of capitalism. He chose to call for everyone to get a piece of the diminishing pie. And when that proved impossible, he became a biting critic of ghetto culture as the cause rather than the product of poverty.

In Seattle, recently, he attracted one of the biggest assemblages in a decade. He got "right-ons" for denouncing "excess" profits and arms sales to dictatorships, and then he unfurled his formula for "Black success," which stresses individual boot-strap-pulling far more than cohesive struggle.

He encouraged entry into the Republican party. He exhorted Blacks to assume individual responsibility for their plight. He preached the absolute merits of personal excellence and the "efficacy of religious morality," as if achievement were a moral instead of a social question.

He was especially concerned about a return to the "solid old virtues of family discipline," and his capitalist stance was exemplified by his venom on the woman question.

Women like Rosa Parks, initiator of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and Fannie Lou Hamer were inspirations to the civil rights era. But the male leaders, including Jackson, denigrated them. Stokely Carmichael announced that the most appropriate position for Black women was prone, so they could "make revolutionary babies." And Jackson flays

Black feminists as "sell-outs." "Such women only divide and disunify the movement," he says.

Under the usual guise of a call for unity and a putdown of "extraneous," "divisive," and "strategically wrong" concern about women's rights, he seriously disunifies the struggle and stifles the creative leadership of Black women.

The Black community does not need these tired and reactionary propositions.

The Black community must go forward. And to do so, it needs a fighting and **liberated** movement to combat this racist and sexist capitalist system.

Black women are acutely conscious of their dual oppression as women and as Blacks, and Jackson's macho slanders against women's equality will prove to be his undoing. Black women together with non-sexist Black men will solve the crisis of leadership, despite the demoralizing Jesse Jacksons. ■



Madlyne Scott

Tom Boot



by Monica Hill and Yolanda Alaniz

**R**

adical Women, the voice of revolutionary socialist feminism in the United States, resoundingly extended the content, force and reach of its program at its Second National Executive Committee

Plenum held in New York City in May at Columbia University.

Exciting additions to the organization's basic document, the **Radical Women Manifesto**, expanded on the international character of women's struggle, on the significance and vitality of feminism among women of color, and on the identity of RW as a decisive sector of the Left.

The plenum adopted a strong resolution on ecology and energy, written by Marcia Cutler, Portland, Oregon, and Sharman Haley, Juneau, Alaska. The NEC demanded closure of nuclear plants and called for a socialist development of technology in harmony with human and environmental needs. A resolution on the mounting threat of the right wing and feminist responses to it, written by Constance Scott, Seattle, was also endorsed.

A public debate on the question of the "natural superiority of women" was kicked off by the adoption of an introductory discussion article by Dr. Susan Williams, New York, which will be published and disseminated.

"Marxist feminists have an enormous contribution to make on women's biologic, social, and political role in primitive as well as modern society," states the article. "This is the theory which shapes our aspirations and strategies."

#### Women in Iran

Most significant to the participants was the approval of a resolution on the Iranian revolution, written by Monica Hill, Los Angeles, which documented the centrality of women's leadership in the world revolutionary struggle.

The plenum evaluated the Iranian revolution as a stunning vindication of revolutionary feminism—and of permanent revolution—and enthusiastically endorsed the demand of Iranian women for full economic, social and political freedom *now*.

The delegates condemned the majority of the Left for ignoring, downplaying, distorting or slandering the vanguard stance of women in Iran, and attributed this grave underestimation to a sexist blindness so entrenched that it may well retard the revolutionary momentum in Iran and elsewhere.

#### Women of Color

The NEC applauded reports of the augmented recruitment of women of color to RW, and gave a stamp of approval to the right of representatives of specially-oppressed groups to form caucuses within RW. In response to a written proposal by Regina Jean-Joseph of N.Y., the **Manifesto** is being enlarged to include a section on the long-hidden history of women of color in the civil rights, labor, feminist and radical movements, where they have been a vital if unrecognized force.

Approving the written proposal of Karen Brodine



**Radical Women National Executive Committee delegates (l to r): Yolanda Alaniz, Seattle; Karen Brodine, San Francisco; Melba Windoffer, Seattle; Monica Hill, Los Angeles; Mary Reeves, Seattle; Sukey Durham, San Francisco; Sharman Haley, Juneau; Deanna Cecotti, Portland; Constance Scott, Seattle; Dr. Susan Williams, New York; Marcia Cutler, Portland.**

## Radical Women plenum— a giant step forward for revolutionary feminism

from San Francisco, the new **Manifesto** will also describe the varieties of contemporary feminism so as to clearly distinguish RW from the conservatives of NOW, the antipolitical cultural-lifestylists, the social democratic feminists who support the capitalist Democratic party, the Matriarchists, the separatists, etc. And RW's political opposition to the Stalinists and Maoists will also be spelled out.

The delegates felt that such a precise differentiation of key tendencies in feminism and radical politics would aid in the recruitment of women of color, and of all women.

Said one Black delegate, "The question has never been 'When are minority women going to become feminists?' It's when are white feminists going to confront their racism?"

At a public forum presented by New York RW during the plenum, Constance Scott, National RW Organizer, hailed the contributions of women of color to the struggle. As an integral part of their own communities and civil rights organizations, she said, "they do not sever their femaleness from their subjugation as people of color and workers." Instead, they lead the way in showing the "real life connections between all the strands of oppression used to divide us from each other."

The **Manifesto** will reemphasize RW's support of cultural pluralism, but will simultaneously explain how negative aspects of a culture, such as the church and the institutionalized nuclear family, sorely oppress women of color.

The Stalinist line on the "revolutionary fighting family," a shabby variation of women's subordination, will also be addressed.

#### FSP Affiliation

The influence of Trotskyism and the theory of

permanent revolution, which have shaped the program and style of RW, will be more explicitly spelled out in the revised **Manifesto**.

And the historical development of the relationship between RW and the Freedom Socialist Party, which culminated in RW's affiliation with the FSP in 1974, will be described in detail in the new edition of the **Manifesto**, for the record and for the benefit of new readers.

#### Past and Future Linked

The plenum was treated to an inspiring speech by RW co-founder Melba Windoffer, who recounted, with humor and profundity, RW's rich history of programmatic self-delineation, accomplishments in action, and the problems, the pain and the glory of building the organization. The strong sense she imparted of RW's role in the movement for human rights was influential in shaping some key decisions of the meeting.

New York RW, which hosted the plenum, generously furnished housing, superb meals, and even some sightseeing and theatre-going for the out-of-towners.

After 3 days and evenings of intensive and wide-ranging political analysis—and a welcome interlude featuring feminist poets and musicians—the NEC members from New York; Juneau, Alaska; Los Angeles; San Francisco; Portland; and Seattle left for home after a tremendous political experience. Their horizons were expanded, future tasks were well-outlined, and a new RW **Organizer's Handbook** was in their grasp.

Their message to serious feminists was clear: "Create a militant and radical leadership, or the right wing will take over and ravage the future that is really ours to build." ■

## Rebuttal

### A fairy tale for Marxist realists



nce upon a time, Marxists actually debated the question of whether a workers revolution would mean the swift liberation of women, people of color, and gays.

The international left was actually deeply divided on this issue, which was generally considered to be a "divisive," "secondary" and "petty bourgeois" issue.

Milt and Edith Zaslow argued that no socialist revolution had ever led to complete equality for women, so it was condescending to motivate specially oppressed groups with "fairy tales about miracles of instant, total liberation."

Instead, they thundered that backward attitudes, morals, psychology and institutions would at best "wither away" in time—lots of time.

But to prove their mild interest in the question, they assured people that an enlightened socialist government would try to hasten the elimination of prejudice. It would grant immediate civil rights to the super-oppressed and guarantee them the right to organize independently of the state in order to

try to stamp out sexism-racism on their own.

A very, very difficult task, according to these experts on human nature, the Zaslows.

However, children, a few salient facts had been overlooked.

Since women, people of color, and gays comprised a solid majority of the working class, who was going to be running this socialist state if not **them?**

And how was this diverse majority to unite and overthrow the capitalist class **in the first place** unless the old prejudices and discriminatory behavior were overcome **BEFORE** the revolution???

It was patently obvious that the privileged, white male minority who had union cards did not have the power, much less the inclination, to seize the state for the purpose of guaranteeing to the rest of us the right to organize against hatefulness **after** the revolution!

It was obvious because society was **already** undergoing a revolution in social relations which preceded socialism!

Women and gays were abandoning the old forms of personal and family relations by the drove.

Blacks, Asians, Chicanos, and Native Americans were mounting an all-out assault on racist ideology and culture.

And even the holy fathers of the church were forced to reexamine their eternal truths in the wake of angry denunciations of their doctrine from feminists and gay militants.

So while the Zaslows kvetched over the agonies of changing discriminatory attitudes and habits, the specially-oppressed people were already confronting and confounding every stereotypical image and changing the way people thought all over the world.

What the poor Zaslows had failed to see was that the revolution had started without them.

But that didn't matter to the revolution, as you know. Many one-time revolutionists flipped and joined the leagues of irrelevant radicals—and all because they worshipped at the shrine of white-skin privilege, penis politics, and heterosexism.

We called them the "refracted" voice of the capitalist oppressor. But we were wrong. Their voice wasn't a distorted image, it was the real thing.

Anyway, the super-subjugated masses got together, and most of the white male workers had to join them, and the liberated revolution lived happily ever after.

It really did.

—Guerry Hodderson



## Uproar over Black Macho

Hurrah to Michele Wallace for writing *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*. She yanked the closet door open on a topic black women know well and have talked about privately for years—the sexism of black men.

Her description of the ramifications of sexism during the Civil Rights Movement of the '60s has put the issue of black sexual politics on the table and forced another chink in the armor of male supremacy. The book is a catalyst for exploring the politics of black male/female relationships and for learning to respect the leadership role black women must take in any struggle for liberation.

Highly principled in her refusal to excuse the sexist behavior of black men, Wallace's writing constitutes a demand that they take responsible action towards women and the movement for social change.

But the response to her is generally obnoxious.

Robert Staples, in the March/April *Black Scholar* rambles, whines and pleads for an "understanding" of sexism. He then rants at black women for daring to raise the issue! Staples missed the boat. He might have

written about the problems of black feminists, and how the problems differ from those of black men and white feminists. He might have offered something intelligent on what black men must do to "get right," to support black sisters' struggles. Instead, in Moynihan-like fashion, he explains that the problem with black men is black women.

If we black women just weren't so assertive and decisive, black men wouldn't be driven to desert us as a form of "masculine protest."

Of course, Staples denies that he supports Moynihan's black matriarchy theory. And he agrees with Wallace's contention that for many black men, identity is located in their penis. He then calls on black women for our sympathy and support. How absurd—unless black women believe that the males afflicted with this dread social disease cannot relocate their identity.

Come on, fellas...we are tired of sympathizing and understanding *at our own expense*, which doesn't help *you* and certainly isn't in *our* best interest.

Staples writes that black men experience "feelings of nobodiness, fear of vulnerability." What he fails to say is: **SO DO BLACK WOMEN**. Add to those problems the fear of rape, the consequences of illegal abortion and inadequate birth control, poverty, abandonment, etc., and the brothers could begin to get the *female* picture.

Broaden it to include our vulnerability to woman-beating, then add the fears of some of



Faith Rhoads

us who are lesbians. Got the picture, fellas, or is your sexism in the way?

Staples at least admits that women got a raw deal in the Sixties. But the *Guardian* (May 30) dares to ask if sexism ever existed at all in the Black Movement! Please. No more. Of course it did! The calls for our "prone" position and the making of "more babies for the revolution" still echo through the now-abandoned meeting halls of the Black Liberation Movement. We need no more racist, sexist garbage from the *Guardian*.

Ms. Wallace is right on target when she writes that black women are isolated because we aren't talking to one another, and that we should. Her book is an excellent starting point for a necessary discussion that has been waiting for years to happen. Thank you, Michele.

—Kathy Saadat

## Statement by Murry Weiss and Stephan Kass on joining the FSP

Our decision to join the Freedom Socialist Party constitutes a high point of our lives as revolutionaries.

Our decision arose out of two years of close association with the FSP in the building of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP). Our decision is a meaningful continuation of our lifetime struggle for a truly Leninist party.

As socialist feminist men, we welcome the opportunity to work in a party with a leadership predominantly composed of women. The FSP has placed socialist feminism as a pivotal issue in building a vanguard party, and has merged Leninism with the fullest revolutionary power of women, while other radical organizations are still crippled by sexism and racism.

### Alternative to the New Left

The FSP was originally the Seattle Branch of the SWP, conducting a deep struggle against the sexism, opportunism, bureaucracy, and centrist tendencies of the Socialist Workers Party.

After the formation of the FSP in 1966, a new split developed between women and men, when the women insisted that feminist deeds, not merely words, be carried out in life.

During this same period, the New Left experienced a severe split between men and women, centered in New York, over sexism. This split extended to a male-female division in the gay movement and erupted in the Black and other ethnic and racial minority movements.

These splits were never resolved or even faced up to in the radical movement, and this staggering fact underlies the fragmentation and stagnation of the revolutionary left.

The New Left also failed to ground itself in a coherent, theoretical Marxism, and fell into the hands of the right wing of its leadership, which led the movement into social democracy and the labor bureaucracy. It is an irony of history that the impetus and radicalism of the New Left was soon harnessed to the male supremacist party of American imperialism, the Democratic party.

The FSP is the revolutionary alternative to the dangerous Democratic party trap. The

leadership of Trotskyist women is the strongest possible variant to the betrayal of the New Left and feminist movement by their conservative leaderships. The FSP alone combines the unremitting, permanent struggle of revolutionary feminism with the continuity of Bolshevik Leninism. This powerful combination, embodying the struggle against bureaucracy, sexism, racism and bigotry, opens the door to a vital link with all the oppressed.

### Leninist Spirit and Practice

The essence of FSP and Radical Women is personified in the fresh, inspired and devoted cadre of primarily young revolutionary women, gays, blacks and chicanas assembled in the course of twelve years of rich struggle.

In its documents and self-understanding, the FSP has laid a foundation pointing to the future. The party developed in fierce struggle with the bourgeois and petty bourgeois environment that dominates U.S. society and has created a "moral medium" climate of its own that withstands the pressures of the imperialist culture we live in.

The cadre conducts its struggles in all the main arenas of political life. The party is overwhelmingly proletarian and trade unionist, an assertive force that has gained notable enemies, sturdy allies and sympathetic admirers in all sectors of the population.

The FSP had the unbelievable audacity to launch the *Freedom Socialist*, which expresses a unique viewpoint in the milieu of world Trotskyism, and faithfully reports the immediate and transitional struggles of the world's masses. The paper has extended its influence worldwide.

The party headquarters, Freeway Hall in Seattle, Washington, is a traditional center for radical activity. Today, threatened with eviction, old and new supporters have joined the campaign to secure a new headquarters.

A crucial characteristic of the FSP is its professional revolutionary conception. Members center their lives around the needs of the revolution, continuing the great tradition of the historical panoply of fulltime revolutionaries—from the fighters of the First International on the

barricades of the Paris Commune to the Bolsheviks of October, 1917 and the women and men of the Fedayeen and Socialist Workers Party of the Iranian Revolution.

### Builder of CRSP

The FSP, from the beginning, has played a leading role in the building of CRSP. CRSP's founding **Statement of Purpose** declared: "Revolutionary Socialist Feminism . . . the movement for the total emancipation of women in every sphere of life . . . must be vigorously embraced, promoted and demonstrated in practice by any movement that calls itself Marxist."

In the course of intensive discussion within CRSP, we discovered increasingly close agreement with the FSP and its core thesis: that the struggle for women's emancipation is a central generating force of the revolutionary process and an expression of the law of permanent revolution, a key theory of Trotskyism.

Indeed, the theoretical focus on socialist feminism in the program and action of CRSP was in fact drawn from the history, thought and experiences of the FSP, whose formation signified the most fundamental breakthrough of the revolutionary movement: the fusion in concept and action of American Trotskyism with the new and unique dynamism of women, gays and people of color which shapes the working class today.

The links between our political trajectory and that of the FSP, therefore, were forged at the moment CRSP was formed.

And when N.Y. CRSP found itself plunged into a fundamental struggle inside the Marxist Education Collective, a struggle that epitomized the 13-year travail of the FSP to launch itself, the links tightened for both of us.

### Microcosm of FSP History

Within the MEC, the Trotskyist/socialist feminist program of CRSP met with implacable hostility. Stephan, who was coordinator of the MEC, was attacked for a "conflict of interest" in joining CRSP.

The MEC majority formed an unprincipled combination with Stalinists, the ultra-left Spartacists, and the state-capitalist contingent of International Socialists to combat "vanguardism" and "premature and divisive" Trotskyism.

In the course of this bitter strife, CRSP members led in the formation of a women's



## Norma Rae

### The flick that failed

Because *Norma Rae* is a film inspired by a real-life, courageous Southern woman, Crystal Lee Jordan, and her organizing work in the hellish J.P. Stevens textile mill, it has seduced some people into hailing it as a pro-labor and feminist classic. But it is neither. It is untrue to both the woman and the struggle.

The setting is authentic: an enormous, windowless mill with high brick walls like a penitentiary and air thick with lethal cotton dust and the ear-shattering shrieking of the looms which batter the senses of the workers. Isolated from each other by management's divisive strategies and ground down by starvation wages and lethal speedup, the workers are obviously long overdue for organizing.

The problem is that the screenplay and director Martin Ritt falsify, trivialize, and vulgarize the title character, and the true chemistry of solidarity between the heroine and the other workers never comes across.

The dedicated effort of Norma Rae to build a union is portrayed as stemming less from conviction than from her fascination with Reuben, the New York intellectual who is the organizer for the Textile Workers Union. Minimizing her unwavering involvement in the long months of trial, error, argument, and danger that surround the formation of a union, the movie focuses voyeuristically on Norma Rae's relationships with her father, her husband, Reuben, and assorted other men. The decisive rapport with women workers is strikingly absent.

Dynamic actress Sally Field brilliantly captures the flavor of Norma's sardonic, twangy humor, her untutored intelligence, her quick sensitivity, and her earthy and honest approach to life. But the whole person, growing and learning, never appears, so her acts of courage and her developing emancipation remain erratic, incomprehensible, unmotivated. Norma's refusal to be bought off with the bribe of a better job, her defiance of the bosses, her lack of race prejudice, etc., seem to come out of nowhere.

Just as Norma Rae comes packaged as a stereotypical romantic female, so Reuben is an instant organizer. He simply arrives in town, shrugs off a few snarls from the townsfolk, jauntily passes out leaflets to the workers, and sets up shop in his motel room (very realistically furnished!). He is not confronted by any of the real menace of a small, North Carolina milltown. Reuben never tangles with anything more alarming than cow manure.

As Norma Rae's mentor, Reuben lectures her on how to talk to Southern men: don't bruise the male ego, he warns. What should she read? He offers nothing on unionism or the history of ideas, but does introduce her to poet Dylan Thomas, whose disrespect for women is monumental. He has her typing and phoning and

information-gathering, but we never hear Norma Rae making a speech or see her writing a leaflet or planning strategy. She is a passive *object* in relation to him, responding to and serving him rather than her own economic and human needs.

And since a comradeship partnership between Norma and Reuben is apparently impossible for Hollywood to conceive, he can only maintain this necessarily platonic relationship by dashing out the door to seek prostitutes for relief. The basic theme of the picture, then, is the tension and suspense of their thwarted, sublimated sex-love. Boy never gets girl or vice-versa, and the motives for all this nobility are never revealed, but the juxtaposition of unionism and sexual frustration is a peculiarly puritanical approach to class struggle.

The nitty-gritty of daily organizing is subordinated to the non-love motif. Reuben demands the right to display union notices inside the mill, and wins handily. He speaks eloquently of union solidarity, but we never learn *how* these Blacks and whites came together in the Black church, where his first meeting is held. Norma and others are apparently *charmed* into joining the union, and the members have incredibly little to say at any time!

When Norma gets Reuben proof that the company is inciting racial conflict, she is fired, arrested and jailed. She is so humiliated by this disgrace that she apologizes to her kids for her unorthodox life! Very shortly thereafter, the union is inexplicably certified.

Now, in life, this is when a very hard part of any union struggle really begins, but Reuben drives breezily away, back to New York, mission accomplished! Norma Rae is left standing forlornly near the mill walls. Sigh . . . her Pygmalion is gone and all she has left is her union.

Since the producers took no risk of teaching the audience how to build a union, the film makes the organizing of J.P. Stevens look like a pushover. In reality, Crystal Lee Jordan was blacklisted and never regained a mill job. Her union never managed to negotiate a contract. And despite a national boycott, J.P. Stevens' profits are increasing.

Fortunately, Barbara Kopple, Academy Award-winning producer of *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, has arranged with Crystal Lee Jordan to film the real story. And Jordan may sue director Ritt, a former victim of the Hollywood blacklist who refused Jordan's demand that the union campaign be emphasized over her personal problems.

Too bad Ritt learned nothing from his fellow victims of the witchhunt who left us that superb legacy, *Salt of the Earth*, the truly classic saga of the class, race and sex wars of our epoch.

—Janet Sutherland



Clara Fraser

### Shadows and substances

An icepick slammed into the brain slew Leon Trotsky. Everybody knows that.

What everybody doesn't know is that an identical weapon was viciously used in the same way to slaughter a talented and beautiful woman radical of the Thirties—Frances Farmer, once-acclaimed star of Broadway and Hollywood.

The perpetrator of the first crime was a depraved Stalinist henchman whose heinous act was a front-page sensation. But the coldblooded murderers of the outspoken and rebellious actress were never brought to justice because they were the political establishment.

The usual cabal of FBI and CIA agents, rightwing vigilantes, police, film studio moguls, Tory judges, and the power structure of the city of Seattle (Farmer's hometown) joined forces in this case with the psychiatric witch doctors, and conspired to harness the unconventional politics of a brave and brilliant feminist-before-her-time.

For the crime of dissidence, Farmer was arrested, confined to the loony bin (Western State Hospital in Steilacoom, Washington) and subjected to a snakepit regimen of torture and degradation previously reserved for recalcitrant Wobblies and Asian immigrants. She was administered incredible doses of untested drugs, electroshock and hydrotherapy, and was mass-raped by orderlies.

Yet they couldn't break her mind, her will or her indomitable revolutionary spirit. So in 1948—national witchhunt time—they plunged the "therapeutic" pick into her magnificent brain. Farmer disintegrated into passivity and died at 56, a burned-out, disoriented recluse.

This terrible tale of psychiatric abuse, of totalitarian mind control to enforce conformity, is cautiously but indignantly told by William Arnold in his stunning book *Shadowland*, a biography of Farmer—and of America.

• • •

Anticommunist hysteria is endemic to the Pacific Northwest.

Its lurid history is replete with the corpses of IWW labor martyrs; the radical Congressman Marion Zioncheck, hounded to death by J. Edgar Hoover and his cronies; Anna Louise Strong, revolutionary journalist without honor in her Seattle hometown; and innumerable other rebels who dared challenge the status quo and proclaim their partisanship of a better way to live and to arrange social interactions.

Of course, lots of us hellraisers and muckrakers and social critics do manage, most of the time, to fly over the cuckoo's nest, evade the cops, outflank the neo-nazi terrorists, and escape the prefrontal lobotomies.

Where we *do* get it is squarely in the pocketbook. The ruling class simply exerts economic and legal sanctions against us so that we are excluded from gainful employment. *Job discrimination is the shadowy shape of organized brainwashing and political reprisal in our era.*

• • •

I ought to know. From the World War II loyalty oaths through the dismal days of the McCarthy purges and up until this very moment, I have been afflicted by economic harassment.

For five long, insolvent years, I have struggled to regain my job with City Light, whose management fired me because of their political and sex bias. And now, after incredible legal adventures involving the top levels of city government, my Hearing is slated for September.

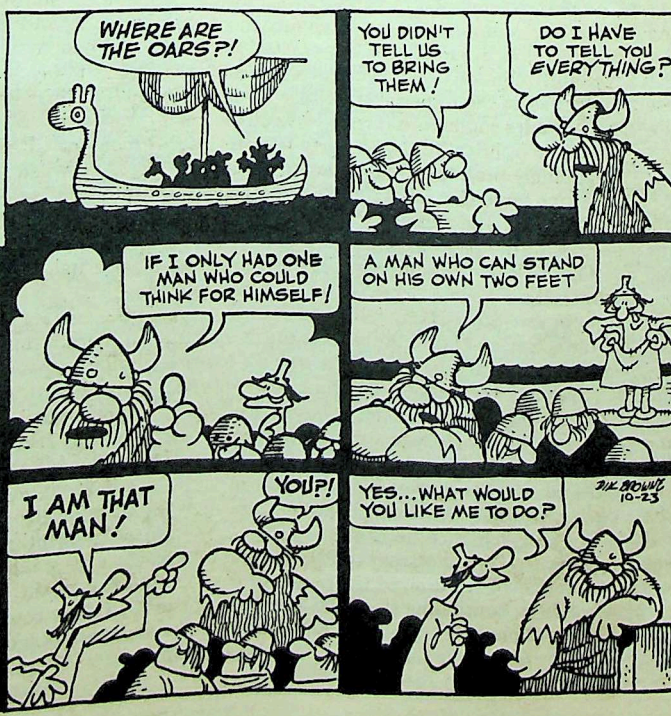
And it wouldn't surprise me at all if a pompous practitioner from the psychiatric establishment materializes on the witness stand to speak to *my* sanity and competence.

As author Arnold says, "It can happen to anyone." And it mostly happens to women. But experience has prepared us for these mental health medievalists, and we know how to prove that traditional psychiatry is as obsolete as the power structure that wields it against us, as absurd as the FBI informants lurking in the shadows of political cases.

We will not forget or forsake Frances Farmer. Amidst our troubles we will pay tribute to her fierce strength of character. And we will avenge her sacrifice in all our victories to come, in this new age of Aquarius.

### The organization question

from Hagar the horrible





● **A Victory for Socialist Feminism** describes the birth-pangs of a political party. When, in 1967, the Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party separated from the parent body and became the Freedom Socialist Party, one of the unresolvable differences that had precipitated the split was the Woman Question. And in the new party's first two years of life, its feminist principles were tested even further in the crucible of experience and all but the most determined champions of women's equality ended up out of the party. Those comrades who stuck to their feminist battle stations emerged tempered enough to go on to build a unique kind of revolutionary party.

The issue that triggered the split in the young FSP was a divorce between two leading members, Clara and Richard Fraser (Clara Kaye and Richard Kirk). Washington State divorce law at that time put the wife at a terrible disadvantage, and when Richard Fraser forced the issue and contested Clara's divorce and custody suit, the party had to face the then-disputed question of whether a political principle or a private matter was at stake. Fortunately for its survival, the party made the correct decision—an historic decision.

Clara Fraser, considerably ahead of her time, refused to be intimidated by male chauvinist "radicals" who scornfully accused her of confusing the personal and the political. Nor would she be shamed into secrecy and submission by any individualistic fear of public "disgrace" over the exposure of her domestic battles for equal rights. She saw clearly that the physical abuse, the husband's alcoholism, her economic burdens, and the reactionary political and moral slander against her character, wielded as blackmail in the child custody dispute, were not just the center of her case, but the heart of women's oppression everywhere. And these outrages were no more to be tolerated in a radical party than anywhere else; on the contrary, in a Marxist organization energetically espousing the great principles of women's emancipation, Richard Fraser's conduct was particularly reprehensible.

The ensuing intra-party conflict categorically separated the socialist feminists from the hypocrites, and the **Victory** transpired when the conflict deepened into rift and the rift into outright split. Because the women and their few male defenders won out, this chapter of feminist history warrants close attention today, when the women's movement is scrutinizing the Left in search of a basis for a principled alliance.

And the book speaks just as tellingly to male-dominated radical groups who are still wondering just what it is that women revolutionaries want!

### III. The Woman Question Emerges

**W**hat does a party do when its most prominent spokesman and ideologist falls apart politically and personally, and is transformed into a detriment to the party and a danger to its integrity?

This difficult question was thrust upon the FSP less than a year after its formation, and the struggle for an answer occupied a great portion of the party's time and energies during 1967.

In the course of this turmoil, all the internal differences were greatly sharpened and relations grew increasingly embittered. Furthermore, a new issue was added to the list of disputed questions that symptomized the deepening internal crisis. It was *this* issue, and the differences that emerged over how to deal with it, that gave decisive impetus to the clarification of the internecine conflict.

The leader in question was Comrade Dick Kirk. The new and fundamental issue raised, in a highly peculiar fashion, was the Woman Question.

#### The Crisis of a Leader

As the principal architect of our tendency's position on the Black question, Comrade Kirk was for years our most prominent political representative and spokesman within the milieu of radical politics and the ghetto. Nevertheless, long before the January, 1967 conference, he was experiencing a singular political and personal degeneration, which accelerated with time.

His theoretical work was reduced to zero, and

# A victory for socialist feminism

## Organizer's report to the 1969 FSP conference

he showed an increasing propensity toward opportunistic maneuvering in the mass movement and the national political arena. His behavior inside the party was increasingly factious, arrogant and disruptive. His characteristic response to criticism was sullen withdrawal, punctuated by outbursts of violent rage.

His irrational and outrageous behavior was rendered virtually uncontrollable by his growing alcoholism, an advanced condition which he alternately denied or used as an excuse for his actions.

By the January conference, Comrade Kirk's irresponsibility was so flagrant that he had been relieved of most of his duties. Only national correspondence, which he worked at sporadically, remained. The decision to place him on the Literary and Correspondence Committee was largely motivated by the desire of the entire party, including the coalescing opposition, to be free of his disruptive scenes. It was hoped that by confinement to literary work he could still be induced to make a positive contribution to the party. But he couldn't.

The new executive was hardly installed in office

*One faction in the party viewed women, and the party, in mystical, stereotyped and subjective terms . . . the other faction made clear that it aimed to fight for translating abstract ideological norms into practical standards of comradely, non-chauvinist conduct to be used as firm guidelines in real life*

before Kirk unleashed a virulent campaign of innuendo and slander against it, which paralleled the attacks of the minority. In the following months, his antics became more and more intolerable. Explosive, undisciplined behavior in party meetings, veiled organizational charges and vitriolic personal attacks against comrades, drunken and violent scenes at internal meetings and public functions—all became part of his regular modus operandi.

#### Rampant Male Supremacy

Finally, his political degeneration and rapid personal disintegration became linked to an increasingly overt and vicious male chauvinism.

Our tendency has always been characterized by its advanced position on the Woman Question. Kirk had never voiced any political disagreement on this position; in fact, he fancied himself one of its foremost proponents. In practice, however, his actions belied his political pretensions.

His male supremacist attitude expressed itself most openly and clearly in his intense personal vendetta against Comrade Clara, to whom he was legally married, although they had been separated for more than a year. He made repeated demands on her for money. She was the target of his con-



Bill Cumming/Detail from portrait

tinual, personal harassment to the point of public physical violence. In effect, he denied her right to a life of her own. He unilaterally assumed custody of their son and possession of their jointly-owned house, and refused to discuss either child custody or a financial-property agreement with her.

Thus he condemned the child to an upbringing by a raging drunk, despite the danger to the child. And he blackmailed Clara into continuing to give him money by threatening to provoke a legal-political scandal if she refused.

In her struggle to free herself and her child from this unrelieved oppression, Comrade Clara was completely alone. The party maintained an Olympian detachment from such a "personal" matter, and Clara never raised it, not wishing to burden the party with the problem.

Given the party's indulgence of his organizational disturbances and rampant chauvinism, Kirk made no effort to curb his behavior. Instead, he repeatedly raised the charge that he was being slandered and maligned, and demanded an investigation of "corridor gossip" against him—a demand which he conveniently refused to put in the form of a motion requiring action.

#### Kirk Is Finally Challenged

In May, 1967 the executive decided that something had to be done about Kirk's repeated charges. They named a sub-committee to investigate these vague charges, but Kirk refused to meet with it, claiming he hadn't requested it! A second sub-committee was named, and Kirk's shabby performance was repeated. The matter dragged into July, with Kirk still demanding "vindication" of something or other.

The second sub-committee submitted a report to the executive detailing its lack of success, and charging Kirk with a serious violation of party discipline for his refusal to meet with an authoritative body mandated to investigate the charges *he* was flinging. The sub-committee recommended that since he was incapable of functioning in a rational manner, he be either suspended or expelled from the party.

The executive substantially agreed with the report and formed a **Control Commission** with powers to investigate, bring charges, conduct a trial and decide on the necessity and nature of any disciplinary action.

Also, at the request of Clara, the executive directed the Control Commission to assign an **arbiter** to mediate an out-of-court divorce and custody settlement between herself and Kirk, adjudicating the disputed issues in the light of the *party's* principles rather than those of the bourgeois court. Kirk was constantly threatening legal action and Clara had come to believe that the party had to take steps now to avoid an unprecedented and scandalous confrontation between two leading party members in a public divorce court.

Kirk's provocations were of the sort that no



serious organization can afford to tolerate. His disruptiveness and chronic, uncontrollable violations of the basic rules of comradely behavior, along with his chauvinistic persecution of Comrade Clara, posed a threat to the political and organizational integrity of the party. His growing tendency to create public uproars threatened the party with imminent scandal.

Virtually every comrade felt that Kirk represented *at least* a serious problem that should be dealt with in *some* fashion. At this time (before the election campaign had generated any serious frictions), there still appeared to be grounds for believing that the Kirk problem could be separated from other internal problems, and that the party could unite to bring him into line.

With this view in mind, the Control Commission was set up. To make sure it would not be an instrument of any faction or grouping, the Commission was made large enough (five members) to accommodate representatives of every current of opinion in the party. It included Comrade Lee, even though she (and Comrade Frank) had bitterly opposed the formation of a Control Commission. It was hoped that this broadly-based body, backed by the overwhelming majority of the party, could resolve the "Kirk problem" without resorting to expulsion.

### Debate of the Control Commission

The Control Commission, unfortunately, did not live up to expectations, partly because its proceedings were interrupted for several weeks in the late summer by the election campaign, but more fundamentally because of its own internal-paralysis.

From its inception, the Control Commission was bogged down with legalistic pettifogging over its "proper jurisdiction," and endless disputes over procedural questions—usually raised and pushed to the limit by Comrade Lee. These were countered by the "hards" on the commission (Comrades Melba Windoffer and John Severn) who were able to convince the wavering "center" (Al and Skip) of the need for decisive action, pulling them along step by step.

Finding her efforts at procedural obstruction and obfuscation frustrated, Lee adopted another strategy. She raised a barrage of counter-charges against Comrade Clara, to the effect that:

(1) Clara was *responsible* for Kirk's misbehavior, since she had failed in her *proper domestic role of keeping him happy, productive and under control*.

(2) By insisting that the Control Commission use its authority to force Kirk into an equitable divorce settlement, Clara was lending unwarranted political weight to what was essentially a "personal" dispute, outside the jurisdiction of party disciplinary bodies.

(3) Clara was using the divorce and custody dispute issue as a cover-up maneuver to conceal her attempt, along with the "Stalinist" organizer, Comrade Bob, to wrest control of the party from the "established leadership." The Control Commission was part of a devious conspiracy, Lee warned, to "get Kirk," and Clara had even gone so far as to "maneuver Kirk into acting badly" so he could be dealt with as a disciplinary problem, rather than in political debate.

This reactionary, soap opera attribution of Kirk's weaknesses to Clara's lack of wifely devotion had long been Kirk's main line of defense, and now it was being accorded *political sanction*.

Lee's new strategy was effective. After months of wavering and reluctant assent to the arguments of the "hards," the male center (Al and Skip) collapsed and stumbled gracefully into the opposition camp. A new theory was proclaimed: Comrade Clara was now and had always been a *WITCH*.

By October, *the original case against Kirk had been completely submerged and replaced by an inquisition against Clara and every other comrade who had demanded enforcement of women's rights and equal standards of party discipline*. The oppositional nucleus (Frank and Lee) had gained effective control of the Control Commission by dint of discovering the *one* issue around which they could regroup all the vague and disparate oppositional currents into a single faction.

This faction, which never openly admitted its own factional character, had one "principle" and one rallying cry: "Stop Clara and her clique!"

So there now existed a *faction* in the party, that viewed women, and the nature of the party, in mystical, stereotyped and subjective terms. And in mystical, stereotyped and subjective terms. And there could be no resolution of the inner-party conflict until the basic issues could be brought before the membership in a programmatic and materialist manner.

### Counter-Faction

At Comrade Clara's initiative, a counter-faction was formed, openly organized to defend our official position and historical tradition of *women's emancipation and the Leninist nature of the party*.

Comrade Clara simply announced at a party meeting that she was calling for the formation of a counter-faction and invited the membership to join it. Characterizing her faction as bolshevik, and the opposition as menshevik, she candidly declared a political contest for leadership of the party.

This faction made clear from the beginning that it aimed to fight for translating abstract ideological norms into practical standards of comradely, non-chauvinist conduct to be used as firm guidelines in real-life situations. The pro-woman, pro-party faction aimed to win a majority and gain the authority to enforce these standards, and end the previous pattern of arbitrary, capricious, eclectic and male chauvinist practices.

Now, at last, ideological lines were drawn and issues defined. The field was clear for a decisive contest. The party was geared to fight out and settle the political issues, including the question of leadership.

The contest was to take place at the forthcoming party convention, scheduled for December, 1967. For a short time, it appeared that the FSP would settle its internal crisis by a principled confrontation of opposing views, in accordance with the Leninist tradition.

*She simply announced at a meeting that she was calling for the formation of a women's emancipation faction and invited the membership to join it.*

But Clara's flat and unambiguous declaration of program and purpose completely unnerved the opposition. Their pandemonium telegraphed split, and split did occur, determined, however, not by the results of a convention, but by the desperation of Kirk and his faction.

### IV. Split

Since the Control Commission, now exalted by fear and morbid hysteria, proved powerless to render justice and enforce sanity, Clara had appealed to the party membership directly. The non-controlling Control Commission was finished.

Virtually the last official act of the Control Commission chairman, Comrade Al, was to confess once again the commission's complete inability to control or modify Kirk's actions.

Kirk had refused to meet with a party-assigned mediator to discuss terms of divorce and child custody, declaring his intention to carry the contest into court. And even though he was employed, he informed Clara that he was filing bankruptcy, a malicious action which, under Washington State's community property laws, would result in garnishment of Clara's pay check to pay his personal debts—and in loss of her job.

Under these circumstances, Comrade Al announced, Clara should "just go to court" to protect herself, because "there is nothing the Control Commission can do with Kirk."

Given this ultimatum from the Control Commission chairman, representing the Control Commission *majority*, Clara had no option but to proceed with filing for divorce in order to protect herself from garnishment.

Kirk responded immediately with a counter-suit!

Now the party was confronted with the actuality of an impending court fight between two of its leading members. It had two choices: it could abstain from the situation, letting the principals slug it out in court, or it could intervene directly, using its authority to bring about a settlement out of court and an uncontested divorce, precisely what Clara had asked it to do.

In order to implement the latter course, the FSP would have to do something it had never done before—enforce party tradition and discipline in a case it had always preferred to treat as a purely *personal* matter. But this abstentionist course

created grave dangers for the party.

In the first place, the very fact of a bitter legal contest between two leading comrades over a woman's right to a divorce, and over child custody, threatened a very damaging political scandal. Even more important was the *nature of the contest*.

In any divorce case, the issues upheld by a bolshevik party, particularly one noted for its strong stance on women, are different and often opposite to the capitalist marriage norms of the bourgeois courts.

In this particular case, these *ideological* issues would appear in an especially explosive form. Kirk was obviously out for blood, and was using any and all bourgeois weapons at hand to gain victory.

### Scarlet Letter Stuff

He clearly revealed his political treachery in the content of his counter-divorce suit. He accused Clara, among other crimes, of being an "unfit mother" because of "frequent absences from the home," "staying out all night," failure "to make a real home" for him, "insistence on working outside the home," and conversely "refusing" to work during certain periods because she "preferred doing other things," i.e., a very few full-time party assignments.

The incredibly medieval essence of these charges should be apparent to any socialist or feminist. Kirk was standing four-square on the ground of the injured male done wrong by his little woman, who, rejecting all the proper duties of wifery, had frustrated his efforts to build a conventional home. And implicit in his charges was the accusation of adultery. The FSP oppositionists pretended not to see this implication, but it was clearly understood by the lawyers on both sides, and Kirk's lawyer soon made it explicit in the courtroom by *naming the party organizer as the other man!*

This scandalmongering, from the standpoint of FSP policy on women's rights, not to mention simple decency, constituted an absolutely impermissible act of Babbity and *open scabbery*—an outright denial of the fundamental right of sexual freedom of choice, which socialist and humanist tradition have always regarded as a fundamental liberty.

Even more important, the whole thrust of Kirk's legal case was designed to deny Comrade Clara her right to live as a professional revolutionary devoting her life to the *movement* rather than to his care and feeding. By flinging Clara's intensely political lifestyle (how else could she explain her "frequent absences from the home") into court for public scrutiny and evaluation by a bourgeois judge, Kirk was endangering the party, feminism, and socialist humanism.

*Kirk was publicly finking on the Woman Question and on the party*. That was the reality of the matter. The question before the party was very simple: did it in fact take its own politics—its own position on women's equality—seriously enough to intervene and stop overt scabbing? Yes or no?

It was this "yes or no" that determined the final polarization within the party and provoked a split.

The executive finally said yes. Kirk's legal line was politically and ethically impermissible. Recognizing the grave danger for the party's integrity and morale posed by Kirk's counter-suit, the executive resolved to take the matter directly to the party ranks.

### Control or Expel

There were two executive proposals:

(1) That the Control Commission be dissolved as an utterly ineffective body.

(2) That Kirk either withdraw his lawsuit against Clara immediately and submit the issues to arbitration within the party, or be expelled as an *open fink*.

The first proposal was agreed to by all.

The second precipitated a division along majority-minority lines, though there was still some hesitancy about taking decisive action within the majority (bolshevik) faction. The point of the second proposal, however, was not to press for an immediate vote for expulsion, but to present the alternatives posed by Kirk's actions squarely before the party ranks: he must be either *controlled* or *expelled*.

Two long meetings were devoted to a discussion of the proposal, long enough for the full implications of Kirk's legal strategy to become clear to the party majority. Finally, the alternatives were embodied in the following motion:

(1) That Kirk be enjoined from pursuing a contested divorce in a public courtroom;

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# Malice Aforethought

by Ms. Tami

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(2) That a mediator, mandated to determine the actual terms of a divorce settlement on the basis of socialist ethical norms, be appointed;

(3) That if Kirk failed to comply with these conditions, he be summarily expelled.

The measure passed by one vote, over the strenuous objections of the opposition to the effect that the party was *exceeding its authority* by intervening in such a "personal" matter, that it was a maneuver to get rid of Kirk, etc. "You can't DO that!" was the outcry from the ranks of the minority.

Nevertheless, the decision held. Two days after the measure was passed, Kirk walked into a meeting with Clara and the mediator, and two minutes later he walked out, bellowing, "I'll see you in court." He was expelled at the next party meeting.

## Desertion

At the following membership meeting, the opposition raised a barrage of procedural objections to the expulsion, declaring that the decision was based on an "artificial majority" that didn't reflect the real relationship of forces in the party.

The entire meeting (which included all party members in Seattle) was devoted to a discussion of the expulsion, and the expulsion decision was ratified—again by one vote.

And now the opposition took an unprecedented step. Rather than stay and fight for a political decision at the party convention scheduled for a few weeks away, *they walked out*—over a procedural question on which, if their claims to represent a majority were to be taken seriously, they could have won an easy victory.

"I resign! I've had enough!" Frank roared dramatically, and with this rallying cry, he stalked from the hall, his troops stumbling after him, out of the headquarters and out of the party.

This desertion took place toward the end of November, 1967. The behavior of these former members in the succeeding months showed the split to be permanent and indelible.

## Goodby, Already

At first, the deserters tried to open phony "unity" negotiations, proposing a "parity" conference in which they would represent not only themselves but the proxies of some of the party's national supporters they had won over to their side after they left the party.

Moreover, Kirk, as one of their leaders, was to be involved in the proposed negotiations. In reply, the FSP invited them to reapply individually for membership. Kirk was informed that as an expelled member, he had the right to appeal his expulsion at a party convention, but no right to "parity."

The party also demanded the return of its Publication Fund, hundreds of dollars with which the deserters had absconded.

This ended negotiations.

But the former oppositionists suddenly discovered that instead of being a group that had quit the party, they *were* the party.

Again claiming the "majority," they demanded that we recognize their right to the name of Freedom Socialist Party, the headquarters, Freeway Hall, and the assets of the organization.

We said no, don't be absurd. And the split was complete.

The third installment of A Victory for Socialist Feminism will appear in the Fall, 1979 issue of the *Freedom Socialist*.



**News Item:** The Shah of Iran wades in the sea.

**Comment:** Jaws! Where are you now that we need you???

## Cup-Cakes in Court

Throughout history, sugar has been the morbid cause of distorted reason and emotion in all who partook of it.

Marie Antoinette was only one of many who was forced into a profligate life of wealth and misuse of absolute power because of the enormously high sugar-content of her diet.

The people of France, however, were less sophisticated than the modern-day jury in Dan White's double murder trial in San Francisco.

France sentenced Marie to death, despite her junk-food hang ups. A last-hour advocate of better nutrition, Marie faced her insensitive detractors with the ringing cry, "Let THEM eat cake!"

But Dan White's "Twinkie" defense — "emotional unbalance caused by junk food" — got him off. Too bad; it certainly lacked the directness of his first plea. He claimed he was attacked by the Sugar Plum Fairy.

## "My Man" Department

Swinger Margaret Trudeau says her estranged husband, Canada's ex-prime minister Pierre Trudeau, punched her in the face when she left him.

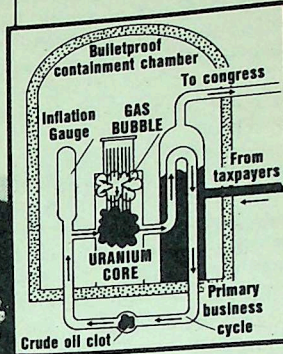
"Actually, I was quite pleased," she bubbled to a *Ladies Home Journal* reporter. "It was the first time in a very long while that I'd been able to really get a response from Pierre. It showed that he really loved me. In a strange way, it made us closer."

In a strange way, this is the end between us, Peggy.

## All Heart



Carter's hand covers painful troublespot.



Enlargement of interior of afflicted area.

# ... workers states

from page 5

parasitic, bureaucratic stratum arose. It wormed its way into the Communist Party in order to exploit the party's power and prestige toward the end of acquiring privileges. Stalin was to become the reflection and expression of this bureaucratic caste.

Deathly afraid of the discontent of the peasantry, and demoralized by the defeats of the revolutions in Western Europe in the early 1920s and the continued threat of imperialist intervention, this privileged caste was intent on consolidating *itself*.

As long as Soviet power rested on the revolutionary workers of the world, imperialism was its mortal enemy. So the regime began to bargain for peace at the cost of betrayal of the international proletariat.

By 1928 the doctrine of a self-sufficient Russian socialism was proclaimed by the Stalinist regime and imposed on the Communist International, for socialist isolationism was a theoretical formula that aptly expressed the cynicism and hostility of Stalin and his cohorts toward the prospects for world revolution.

And for thirty long years, the workers of the world were criminally disarmed by the confusion of the great achievements of the Russian Revolution with the parasitic interests and scandalous policies

of the ruling caste in the USSR.

Not until the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 did the mass of communists realize that they could both defend the revolutionary conquests and resist dictatorship. The specious umbilical cord had finally been cut.

## The Chickens Come Home to Roost

With masterful foresight, Trotsky predicted in *The Third International After Lenin* precisely where the policy of socialism in one country would lead.

The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state if only there is not intervention. From this there can and must follow... a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism, that is to say, will solve the main historical question. The task of the parties in the Communist International assumes, therefore, an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power. It is, of course, not a question of the subjective intentions but of the objective logic of political thought.

Trotsky captures here the total dynamics of Stalinism.

In the British general strike of 1926, Stalin sold out to the capitalists.

In 1933, he paved the way for Hitler.

In the Spanish Revolution of 1936, Stalin sought an alliance with the bourgeoisie instead of the workers.

He helped restore Western European capitalism and its colonial empires out of the ashes of World War II, with the avid cooperation of the Communist parties of France, Italy and Greece.

Finally, dropping all pretenses, the Stalinists formally dissolved the Comintern.

Since 1925, the Chinese Revolution was betrayed by Soviet deference to the Chinese bourgeoisie and to world imperialism. Is it any wonder, then, that soon after the Chinese neo-Stalinists attained power, they quickly made their own accommodation with U.S. imperialism at the expense of the treacherous Russian bureaucracy?

From the Yalta Conference in 1945, to the

to next page

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where to find the FSP



from page 18

Geneva Conference in 1954 and the Paris peace accords in 1973, the entire course of the revolution in Indochina was marked by Soviet and Chinese attempts to bargain with U.S. imperialism over the fate of the Vietnamese revolution. At the same time, the Vietnamese Communists bargained over the Kampuchean revolution in order to maintain supply bases there.

Yet no primary economic impulse thrusts workers states into military conflict with each other in Southeast Asia. The current war is merely the product of the pathetic and doomed attempts of the contending bureaucracies to widen the sphere of their own political control and acquire more bargaining chips in their quixotic quest for 'peaceful coexistence' with U.S. imperialism.

Hence, **the quest for territorial control is the primary motivation behind the current conflict in S.E. Asia.**

Vietnam is allied with the USSR against China because Vietnam cannot risk having its entire border encircled by nations sympathetic to Beijing. And China cannot accept defeat of its political ally in Kampuchea, the Khmer Rouge, which opposes the Soviet Union and its ally, the Vietnamese.

### Proletarian Internationalism

The Communist League and the First International were founded by Marx and Engels on the principle of proletarian internationalism.

This was not a moral precept but a profoundly **materialist** prerequisite for the construction of socialist society, given the social dynamic of the capitalist mode of production.

Marx showed how capitalism, in the course of establishing itself as a worldwide mode of production, smashes through all tribal, national and religious obstacles to the expropriation of the mass of independent producers, and creates uniform conditions for their exploitation as a proletariat.

**But in so doing, capital also creates the conditions for the worldwide unification of the proletariat, hence creating the agency for its own destruction.**

Lenin, in his thesis on the national and colonial questions at the Second Congress of the Comintern, defined the general task of socialism, rising above the national stage of struggle, as "the creation of a united world economy, regulated according to a general plan by the proletariat of all nations, the tendency toward which is already revealed with complete clarity under capitalism and undoubtedly will receive further development and full achievement under socialism."

From such ideas was the law of the permanent revolution laid out by Marx in 1850 and applied by Trotsky to the epoch of imperialism.

This law explains the necessity for every democratic struggle and every anticolonial and national struggle to go over to the struggle for socialist revolution under the independent banner of the proletariat, and for every victorious socialist revolution to either extend itself internationally or perish.

Armed with this understanding of the critical task of unifying the international struggle against the world bourgeoisie, Trotskyists have always battled against the reactionary nationalism of socialism in one country, whether promoted by Stalinists, Maoists, or hybrid bureaucracies.

Trotsky had brilliantly predicted that the social-

ism in one country theory was "the beginning of the disintegration of the International along the lines of social patriotism," wherein various ruling Communist parties would chauvinistically betray each other.

The alternative to workers state cannibalism is the **permanent revolution**, which permits workers to see a clear road toward unity and victory for the international proletariat. Among Trotskyists, however, there are political differences over the Indochinese events which call into question some of the fundamental precepts of Trotskyism. An ideological debate of great magnitude is underway.

### Debate in the 4th International

Two major viewpoints are currently contending within the 4th International, whose function is the programmatic rearmament of world Trotskyism.

The civil war in Kampuchea has raised critical questions concerning the nature of the respective states involved and the nature of a correct approach to conflicts among ruling bureaucracies of deformed workers states.

The U.S. Socialist Workers Party, leading a minority faction in the 4th International, supports Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. Ernest Mandel, leader of the majority faction, opposes Vietnamese troops crossing the border. Both factions roundly condemn the Chinese invasion of Vietnam.

The SWP calls the Kampuchean state under Pol Pot a **capitalist** aggressor, which justifies Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea. But the SWP offers no explanation, aside from Pol Pot's brutality, of how capitalism could have existed in Kampuchea given the collectivized means of production and the abolition of trade and the means of exchange.

Although there was no class of domestic capitalists in Kampuchea, the SWP says that Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime, the apparatus of the state, controlled a capitalist economy. Kampuchea, then was a **state capitalist** society.

Mandel contested this view in the April 9 *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* (English-language voice of the 4th International):

**Once one accepts the utterly revisionist idea that one can have a capitalist state without capitalists, without a ruling capitalist class, without capitalist property and production relations, and without the economy obeying the laws of motion of capitalism, then 99% of the traditional Marxist case against the various theories of state capitalism... collapses.**

(Comrade Mandel might have noted that the SWP, which expelled Mandel's now defunct International Majority Tendency, recently recruited the Revolutionary Marxist Committee—which holds a state capitalist position on China and the USSR.)

Mandel is correct as against the SWP on this question. He goes on to say that the war among workers states in S.E. Asia can in no way be justified because it is a product of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Chinese, Russian, Vietnamese, and Kampuchean revolutions.

The principles of proletarian internationalism, he says, have been overthrown by all the competing Stalinist parties, all attempting to secure areas of influence to bolster their own national interests.

Mandel says that the presence of Vietnamese

troops on Kampuchean soil, supporting the pro-Vietnam wing of the Kampuchean Stalinists, will retard and not advance the Kampuchean revolution.

It does appear certain that the primary motivation behind the Vietnamese entrance into Kampuchea was not international proletarian solidarity, but the need to defend the long border between Kampuchea and Vietnam. Massive military assistance was given to the KNUFNS in order to oust the Khmer Rouge, which is allied with China, and to install a pro-Vietnam regime.

But Vietnamese motives notwithstanding, no support whatever can be given to the truly monstrous Khmer Rouge regime, which perpetrated a forced collectivization at an inconceivable cost in human lives. The regime caused a disastrous setback in the self-organization and advance toward socialism of the Kampuchean masses. And a Khmer Rouge victory in the present armed conflict would further retard the revolution in Indochina.

An abstentionist stance by world Trotskyism, in the face of a bitter civil war, could well be a serious political error. In fact, the majority faction of the 4th International has begun to move away from such a course, and now calls for the Vietnamese to facilitate the self-organization and arming of the Kampuchean masses.

### Let the Kampuchean Decide!

The Kampuchean civil war is distorted by the struggle between contending Stalinist and neo-Stalinist factions.

Currently, the KNUFNS holds political power, resting on the military strength of the occupying Vietnamese troops. The Khmer Rouge is either underground, in the mountains and forests, or in Thailand, militarily allied with supporters of the U.S. puppet regime which ruled Kampuchea until 1975. The Khmer Rouge also receives aid from the Thai military dictatorship.

Certain elements of the KNUFNS program merit support: rebuilding the educational and health care systems, freedom of travel, repopulation of the cities, shortened hours of work, and reinstatement of a system of wages for hours worked.

But the Stalinist leadership of the KNUFNS has never demonstrated any willingness to link itself with the working masses and to mobilize and arm them. Hence, it cannot be regarded as a **revolutionary** leadership.

The Vietnamese troops at present appear to be acting as an army of occupation to insure that the Beijing-backed Khmer Rouge does not regain power. World revolutionists should call on Vietnam to demonstrate real internationalism by supplying and training an army of indigenous Kampuchean workers capable of resisting U.S. imperialism, the Khmer Rouge Stalinists, and Chinese pressures.

Then the Kampuchean could raise their own demands and seize control of their own country.

Such a development would be a first gigantic step toward democratic socialism in Kampuchea, a step whose reverberations would be felt throughout Indochina, Asia, and the whole world.

For as the permanent, continuous revolution arrives at ever-higher stages, the death-knell is sounded for the disintegrating Stalinist monolith, and the end to the century of moribund capitalism is in sight.

Humanity never sets itself a task it cannot fulfill.

## ... joining FSP

from page 14

caucus which was challenged and then defeated by one vote.

Throughout this experience, the two of us drew ever closer to the FSP and to Radical Women, for we had telescoped, in this concentrated struggle, the history of the FSP effort to make feminism a living reality instead of a token hypocrisy in the radical milieu. Together we had fought under the same banner of Leninism expressed so boldly by Marx and Engels in the **Communist Manifesto**:

**It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the spectre of Communism with a manifesto of the party itself... The Communists... are... practically the most advanced and resolute sector of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others;... they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly**

understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement... The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims.

### Revolutionary Integrity

We firmly believe in the need to build a principled vanguard party to salvage Trotskyism from the depredations of the SWP, which has sacrificed revolutionary audacity on the flimsy altar of popularity-at-any-price.

In the FSP we have discovered a surging and inspiring revolutionary force that challenges the politically moribund SWP.

We are proud to take our place in the ranks of the Freedom Socialist Party.

June, 1979  
New York City

Comrade Weiss, a veteran Trotskyist and former SWP leader, is National CRSP Coordinator. Comrade Kass, a teacher of Marxism, is chairman of New York CRSP. The above article is excerpted from a longer statement obtainable from New York or Seattle FSP.

## CRSP mailbox

**Dedicated to the regroupment of U.S. Trotskyists, the workingclass women, gays, people of color, and white male radicals who compose the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party engage in free-wheeling discussion and social actions on a widespread front.**

### ALASKA

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Portland: 1007 S.E. 15th, #8, Portland, OR 97214. (503) 232-7206.

### CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles: P. O. Box 27783, Los Angeles, CA 90027. (213) 463-3706.

San Francisco: 784 Arkansas St., San Francisco, CA 94107. (415) 824-3597.

### PENNSYLVANIA

Lewisburg: 202 S. 2nd, Lewisburg, PA 17837.

### TEXAS

Houston: 1014 1/2 Fashion, Houston, TX 77023. (713) 523-4708.

### NEW YORK

New York City: P. O. Box 475, Village Stn., New York, NY 10014. (212) 789-4156.

### WASHINGTON

Olympia: 3138 Overhulse, #9 Ashtree, Olympia, WA 98502. (206) 866-4939.

Seattle: 2822 31st St. S., Seattle, WA 98144. (206) 722-3812.

Tacoma: 415 N. 5th, Tacoma, WA 98403.

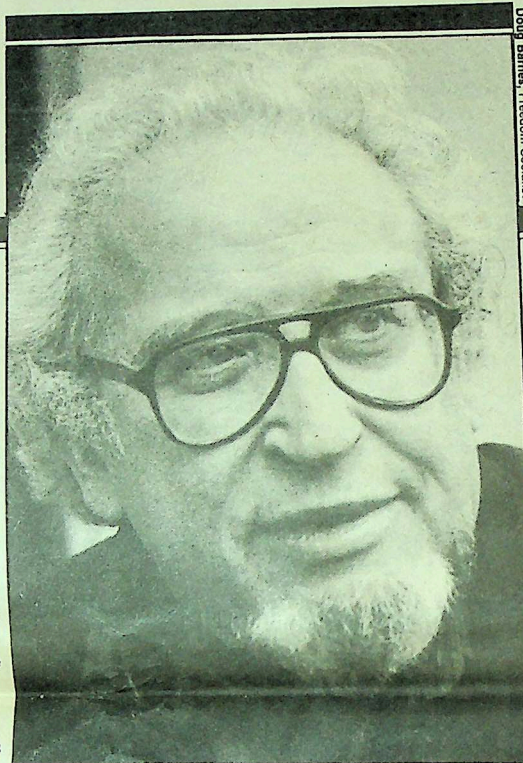
### OREGON

Eugene: P. O. Box 3863, University Stn., Eugene, OR 97403.



## Murry Weiss reports

# My incomparable national tour on Iran



Doug Barnes, Freedom Socialist

**T**he first national tour organized by the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP) provided me with an incomparably thrilling experience.

Back in 1954, I toured for the Socialist Workers Party to encourage the struggle against McCarthyism. In my second tour in 1957, I campaigned for united socialist electoral slates and helped to form the Young Socialist Alliance.

But the April-May, 1979 tour was unique.

First, the backdrop was the tumultuous Iranian revolution—the staggering blow it was delivering to U.S. imperialism, and the central role being played by Iranian women.

Second, every audience I addressed was somewhat different politically, and that was challenging.

Third, I had the welcome chance to develop close relations with comrades in very different locales.

### A Taste of Revolution

Iranian students flocked to my meetings, and this was like a personal contact with the great revolution itself.

The entire spectrum of Iranian politics was represented—Khomeinists, Fedayeen, Mojahedeen, Iranian Trotskyists.

The Iranians were articulate and intense, reflecting the continuous, feverish debates at Tehran University and throughout Iran.

My audiences also included radicals from virtually every U.S. tendency, exhibiting sharp differences on the Iranian revolution.

Socialist Workers Party members attended, and generally said absolutely nothing.

The Spartacists appeared, pedantic ultra-lefts who denied the existence of any revolution in Iran.

A third category was composed of feminists and others new to socialism, who joined in the debates. Surprised by the intensity of discussion in radical politics, they displayed astonishment, or recoil, or fascination—and great interest!

### Whirlwind Tour

The month-long tour was kicked off in New York on April 6. Myra Tanner Weiss, editor of the *CRSP Discussion Bulletin*, and I were the speakers.

In the remarkable Houston meeting, half of the 30 Iranians present were women whose eloquence bore witness to the forceful emergence of their sex in the Middle East. We talked for hours.

And the comrades who organized the meeting, publishers of the periodical bulletin *What Is to Be Done*, decided to join CRSP—most heartening!

The Los Angeles meeting was also well-attended, and was followed by a reception where I met old and new friends and contacts, and held some wonderful discussions.

San Francisco organized another fine public meeting as well as a special meeting with Radical Women that culminated in new applications for membership in Radical Women. (I love to report news of recruitment to CRSP and any of its component parts and allies.)

### Pace Setting, Northwest Style

My Pacific Northwest experience can only be described as a kaleidoscopic blur or small tornado. I felt like someone in an escape-and-pursuit movie, shifting non-stop from one auto and driver to

another, meeting deadlines with only seconds to spare.

I was greeted at the airport by a welcoming delegation bearing the astonishing banner, "Welcome Murry!" And I was handed a huge basket of goodies which featured a Northwest Indian-style smoked salmon, which I eyed nervously.

I was interviewed by the *Seattle Times*, the University of Washington *Daily*, KUOW Radio, Radio KZAM, and on KING Radio, complete with phone calls from listeners.

I spoke at a thronged May Day meeting at Freeway

Hall, and at campus meetings at Seattle Central Community College and the University, the latter attended by 60 people.

I traveled south for an excellent meeting organized by Portland CRSP, and then journeyed to the University of Oregon in Eugene for an exciting campus appearance.

En route back to Seattle, we had a vigorous meeting at The Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington.

And I was royally wined, dined, lunched, and brunchd by everybody.

### Regroupment Prospects

I lodged with comrades instead of hotel-keepers, and this lent a warm and wonderful dimension to the trip. Living together enabled me to get to know people and enjoy their fun-filled hospitality.

Every section of CRSP—Socialist Union, Trotskyist Organizing Committee, Radical Women and Freedom Socialist Party—worked to build the tour. And internal meetings featured full-scale discussion and expressions of political and organizational differences, perpetuating the internal democracy of CRSP that provides a model for regroupment on the left.

To fight for revolution with comrades, to share, disagree, resolve, and unite for new ventures and fresh explorations, to create a Leninist party within the heartland of imperialism—*this* is my idea of the good life, the fulfilled life, the life of challenge and meaning. The tour gave me a rich taste of this and staunchly reinforced all my hopes and plans for the great revolutionary struggle ahead of us. ■

At the other pole is Bazargan's Provisional Government, organizer of a comeback for capitalist rule, its thinly-disguised purpose recognized by the masses.

The Revolutionary Council and the Provisional Government are in a relationship of dual sovereignty—"two-mindedness, two-heartedness, and every possible kind of duplicity," as Trotsky described it.

**But the Revolutionary Council, while it temporarily heads the revolution, severely contradicts the profound aspirations of the working class and the oppressed masses.**

The theoretical explanation for this conservative Islamic regime lies in Trotsky's concept of the "middle caste," which is a universal phenomenon of our epoch: a bureaucratic formation superimposed on trade unions and soviets and epitomized by the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries in Russia in 1917, by the rightwing socialist leaders of the German soviets in 1918, and by the labor bureaucracy in the Western world.

**The burning task is to forge a Leninist Party in Iran, because only a socialist revolution can complete the struggle there.**

The Fedayeen are playing a tremendous role; their leadership during the armed insurrection of Feb. 9-11 was decisive. And the revolution, to unfold and expand, must achieve a common experience and a common program with the revolutionary leadership of the Fedayeen and Mojahedeen. The Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party of Iran correctly advocates such a course. ■

### What I said about Iran

In my speeches, I characterized the Iranian revolution as the manifestation in life of the Marxist theory of permanent revolution, a theory whose relevancy is immensely heightened by the pivotal role of revolutionary women in Iran.

In Tehran last March, women surged into the streets for five days to challenge the male supremacism of Khomeini's Revolutionary Council. These women, escorted by armed Fedayeen and Mojahedeen, initiated the demand for freedom now for *all* the oppressed—women, workers, national minorities, peasants.

The struggles of any one of these sectors propel all the others, and all collide with the Revolutionary Council and the bourgeois Provisional Government. That is why the masses will keep their arms until the aims of all are realized.

I described the central feature of the present stage of the Revolution as one of *dual power*.

On one hand is the power of the masses, expressed in the form of an armed people replacing the imperialist military establishment and the police dictatorship.

Workers control factories, and capitalism and imperialism are in flight.

And the ruling body of this process is Khomeini's Revolutionary Council.



Comune di Padova  
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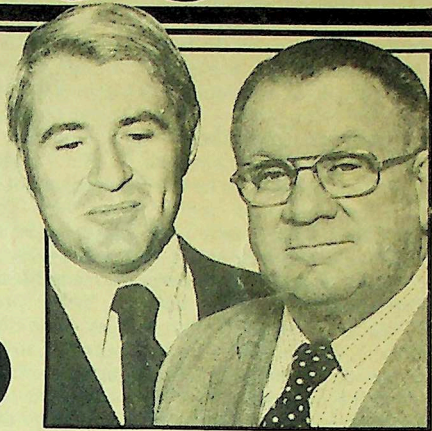
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# Clara Fraser



# VS.



# Seattle City Light

*Fraser's defense of a working woman's right to express her political ideology on and off the job is the civil liberties test case of the '80s.*

BY ROBERT CRISMAN AND MARC KRASNOWSKY

**S**eventy years after Pacific Northwest courtrooms reverberated with the tremors of the free speech fights launched by IWW rebels, the First Amendment rights of working people are once more on trial in Seattle.

As the testimony unfolds in the critical case of Clara Fraser against Seattle City Light management, a harrowing story comes to light, an incontrovertible record of city management skullduggery against a woman employee who has long been a

frontrunner in the crusade for the dignity of labor and for affirmative action for minorities and women.

The right of workers to speak their minds on and off the job, and to freely choose their own friends and associates, is on trial in Seattle.

The job rights of the most exploited and demeaned workers—lowpaid women and people of color—are also on trial.

And the right of political radicals and critics of all types to express their convictions, without persecution from today's breed of McCarthyite witchhunters in government and business, is on trial, too.

That is why feminist Gloria Steinem called this case "the human and civil rights test case of the '80s."

And that is why an impressive and significant groundswell of support erupted almost overnight once the case came to public hearing on January 14, 1980.

Fraser filed her sex and political ideology discrimination charges six years ago, in August, 1974, and was upheld by the Seattle Human

TO NEXT PAGE



Top right: Ex-Mayor Wes Uhlman and Gordon Vickery. Left: Electrical Trades Trainees Heidi Durham and Daisy Jones, participants in a unique training program organized by Fraser. Above: Walkout leader Al McDougall addresses City Light workers in April, 1974. Fraser, in white jacket, seated behind him.



# As Clara Fraser's historic case of discrimination based on sex and political ideology unfolds in the courtroom, it is clear that the rights of labor, as well as the tenets of socialist feminism, are equally on public trial.

Rights Department in 1977. In 1979, Mayor Charles Royer conciliated a settlement, but the Seattle City Council rejected it and called for a hearing to determine whether Fraser may win job reinstatement, back pay and damages.

**With endorsement from Washington State's King County Labor Council AFL-CIO, the National Lawyers Guild, and scores of labor, civil rights, and other social-issue organizations and concerned individuals across the country,** Fraser's charge—that Seattle City Light harassed and then fired her in a blatant act of discrimination on the basis of sex and political ideology—has won sympathy from thousands of people.

## Fired for her principles

**C**lara Fraser was hired on June 4, 1973 to be the first Education Coordinator for Seattle City Light, a public utility. A few months later, she was assigned to organize the Electrical Trades Trainee (ETT) program, designed to bring women into the all-male trade.

Fraser was chosen for this unique task because of her rich experience as a feminist and civil rights leader, as an organizer and administrator, and as a professional developer of adult vocational projects for the disadvantaged. A veteran labor activist, Fraser helped pave the way for women's massive entry into unions and nontraditional trades in the '60s and '70s. Her background in labor struggles thrust her into another leadership role during and after a dramatic mass walkout by City Light employees in April, 1974, a year after she was hired.

She was elected by the employees to chair a committee to negotiate a Bill of Rights with management. She participated in the Mayor Uhlman Recall Campaign, an offshoot of the walkout. She criticized management's elimination of planned affirmative action training, and its inadequate safety policies, during hearings of a Public Review Committee to investigate City Light Superintendent Gordon Vickery's practices. She drew attention from the media, and was publicly criticized by Vickery.

Many other City Light employees were highly visible leaders. But Fraser was also a known socialist, a 35-year participant in the antiwar, civil liberties, Black freedom and Native American movements, and support work for international struggles. After 21 years in the Socialist Workers Party, she had left it and helped to found the Freedom Socialist Party in 1966 and Radical Women in 1968.

Fraser was clearly anathema to the anti-labor mayor and the City Light bosses, and she was marked for removal.

**Management subjected her to a red-baiting smear campaign, attempted to disrupt and destroy the excellent ETT program for women, and removed her as coordinator of the program. Constant harassment included a specially contrived civil service exam to get rid of her, the secret elimination of her position from the budget, and unwarranted reprimands. She was finally "laid off" without notice, which is illegal under the City Charter.**

The stated reason? A "5% cutback of the labor force."

## Disobedient and Disloyal

**E**choing and intensifying the original red-baiting, guilt-by-association charges hurled by top management against Fraser, Assistant City Attorney Dona Cloud, representing City Light, has used the hearing procedure to perpetuate and expand the political discrimination already inflicted on Fraser.

Fraser is charged with being a "disloyal and disobedient" troublemaker who "influenced" and "manipulated" the massive worker discontent to further her own political "ends."

Cloud has also introduced a new charge, "incompetency," a rationale for firing

Fraser especially devised for the trial.

Cloud has focused heavily on Fraser's off-the-job "affiliation" with some of the women trainees in Radical Women, a socialist feminist organization.

And of course Fraser is denounced as "abrasive" (she "couldn't get along with people"), as lazy (cheating on working hours), as a crook (documents disappeared), and as dishonest (padding a consultant's bill). Like every whistle-blower against government chicanery, Fraser is being personally maligned and slandered to blunt the effect of her criticism.

But Fraser's case is armed with the strongest of all weapons—truth, facts, and logic. Faced with the potent testimony of scores of Fraser's witnesses, management's legal house of cards has already been demolished.

Under questioning by Fraser's attorney, John Chen Beckwith, witnesses have attested to her effective work for affirmative action and labor's aims at City Light, the respect she earned from her coworkers and from sections of mid-management, her sudden removal as ETT program organizer in June, 1974, which seriously endangered the program, and Superintendent Vickery's strong hostility to her, expressed in schemes and tricks employed to discredit and remove her.

## Testimony on the walkout

**A**l McDougall, a journeyman Cable Splicer and a leader of the employee walkout in 1974, testified at length about the bitter division between dictator Vickery in his "marble palace," and employees in the field.

Marilyn Bircher, Cost Accounting Manager, was a spokesperson for the clericals during the walkout. She described how the Vickery administration "manipulated people out of their positions and did little about affirmative action."

Dick Sugiyama, former Equal Employment Opportunity Investigator, stated that Vickery "circumvented the proper personnel practices and promoted his own favorites." Sugiyama said that Vickery angrily "stressed loyalty over competence" and used his "hatchet people" on those who differed with him.

During the employee eruption against Vickery, Fraser quickly became a leader, according to Mike Sharar, former Community Relations chief and close associate of Vickery, because of "her experience in the antiwar and women's movements, her force of personality and her capabilities. She was a central figure."

Marilyn Bircher recounted how instrumental Fraser was in forging the alliance of the primarily female and nonunion clerical workers and the unionized males. "Clara explained that this was a labor/management dispute, that our problems were fundamentally the same as the men's. She became a focal point for us."

Two days after the men of Local 77 (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers) walked off their jobs, the clericals, engineers, and many professionals poured out of the City Light building to join them. Fraser and Bircher were key figures in sparking this solidarity.

## Negotiating a Bill of Rights

**T**he unprecedented eleven-day walkout was ended on April 19, 1974 with an agreement between the workers, the mayor and Vickery. One provision authorized negotiations to hammer out an employee Bill of Rights and Responsibilities to replace Vickery's militaristic "Disciplinary Code."

At the mass meeting ending the walkout, the dissident workers elected Fraser to their negotiating team, and the team, in

turn, selected her as their chairperson, which made her the co-chair of the combined worker-management negotiating committee.

Robert S. Leighton III, Senior Power Station Operator and a walkout leader, testified that Fraser "consistently upheld the positions of the employees" in the negotiations. "She tried to get management to fulfill its promises."

George Rauch, Underground Systems Supervisor, was management co-chair on the Bill of Rights and Responsibilities Committee. Rauch, a hostile witness, admitted that Fraser "represented the employees in a manner agreeable to them," but complained that she forced management to "compromise" and to lengthen the time of meetings.

Rauch, Leighton, and McDougall all testified that the adopted Bill of Rights, completed after a year of negotiation, was never implemented by management. Attorney Beckwith has stressed this as an example of management treachery.

## The big red scare

**M**anagement lost little time in red-baiting Clara Fraser once the walkout erupted.

Joan Whiley, former Community Relations Specialist, said that at

one point during the employee upheaval, Vickery showed her "what looked like extracts from a police file. It said Clara had been a member of the Communist Party in the New York area. I said 'It looks like someone's been going into FBI files.'"

Personnel Specialist Fran Ross testified that Administrative Services Director Carole Coe, Vickery's adjutant and Fraser's boss, labeled the walkout "communist-inspired."

Said Ross, "Coe reminded me of the McCarthyite witchhunt of the '50s." Coe credited her inside information to "a friend in the FBI," according to then-Assistant Personnel Manager Steve Church.

Charles Poole, a former Employment Practices Specialist for City Personnel, said he was told by Bill Rheubottom, Fraser's supervisor, that "she was terminated because she was a communist."

Mike Sharar recalled the events surrounding a sloppily-produced, hoax leaflet that was circulated throughout City Light two days before the start of the Public Review Committee hearings (the public investigation of management policies won by the walkout).

The spurious leaflet invited people to hear Fraser speak about Vickery and Mayor Uhlman at a "Trotskyite" meeting at Freeway Hall. The leaflet also included an inflammatory FBI-style account of Fraser's radical history, including her voting record for Socialist Workers Party candidates!

Vickery gave one of the flyers to Sharar, saying he had been "made aware" of it "at a meeting of downtown businessmen." Vickery asked him "to find out what I could about it." Sharar phoned Freeway Hall and found that no such meeting was scheduled. Vickery's reaction to this information was "uncharacteristic silence."

"It was most particularly unusual for him to walk into my office, and to have no reaction to the fact that there was no meeting. My dealings with the Superintendent were such that I never found him at a loss for words . . . Mr. Vickery knew more about the leaflet than he cared to share with me."

Robert Leighton, the head of the Mayor Uhlman Recall Committee, said he was "worried about the leaflet," so he and a fellow worker went to Freeway Hall on the evening of the alleged meeting. No one showed up, and Leighton concluded that the leaflet "was an undercover smear campaign to convince employees not

to be associated with Clara."

Marilyn Bircher testified that Fraser analyzed the hoax leaflet at a mass employee meeting, calling it a management-inspired provocation to divide the workers and diffuse their militancy. Fraser defended her right to be a radical, but offered to resign her official positions with the employee group. She was given a rousing vote of confidence to continue her role, said Bircher, and was applauded.

## The competency question

**W**itness after witness attested to Fraser's proficiency and professionalism, and her good relations with people.

Dick Sugiyama found her "very competent, very organized. When she was not getting any direction, she picked up the slack. There was good planning for the ETT programs. She met the deadlines."

Former trainee Jody Olvera, now a journeywoman Station Constructor, said Fraser set up the women's program so that "we could succeed, and not get dumped onto the job to see who would survive. I thought a lot of care had gone into dealing with the problems we would face, the things women haven't been taught."

Former trainee Heidi Durham, now a junior Power Station Operator, testified that while Fraser was ETT Coordinator, the men electricians in the field were "open" to the trainees. "It was obvious that Clara had done a lot of communicating with people," she said.

Rod Handley, formerly Personnel Supervisor, said that Fraser was "a strong, forthright, rugged individual . . . highly competent . . . committed to affirmative action."

Said Willine Guillery, Fraser's secretary, "She was professional, more competent than Bill [her supervisor]. She generated much more work than he did, especially when she worked after hours."

Jack Telerico and Charles Poole, from City Personnel, said she was a good coordinator in the planning of the ETT program. Telerico said she was "very enjoyable to work with and disagree with," even though he opposed special training for women. Poole said that though he originally disagreed with some of Fraser's program concepts, he was later proven wrong.

Fran Ross said Fraser was adept at Human Relations training, and several foremen testified that they worked well with her.

(Fraser's Performance Evaluations were all graded as satisfactory—until

## 1973

**June 4**—Clara Fraser hired as Education Coordinator.

**September**—Fraser assigned to coordinate the planning and implementation of the *Electrical Trades Trainee program for women*, a landmark project to develop women into City Light electricians.

## 1974

**February-March**—Supt. Gordon Vickery cancels the slots reserved for minorities and women in a management training course, and also cancels a shorthand course developed by Fraser to help upgrade lowpaid minority and white women clericals.

Fraser, her supervisor, and two EEO officers protest these decisions. Administrative Services Director Carole Coe blames Fraser for the protests, declares that Vickery is unhappy with Fraser's "attitude and performance," and instructs Fraser's supervisor, William Rheubottom, to be "more judgmental" of her.

**April**—Vickery issues a harsh "Disciplinary Code" for City Light employees.

**April 9-20**—Mass employee rebellion results in an 11-day walkout.

The walkout inspires the subsequent *Mayor Uhlman Recall Campaign* (antilabor Uhlman backed Vickery against the 1500 City Light employees).

The walkout wins a no-reprisals pledge, reinstating suspended foremen, the establishment of a labor-management committee to negotiate a *Bill of Rights and Responsibilities* to replace the Disciplinary Code, and a *Public Review Committee* to investigate Vickery's practices.

Clara Fraser becomes a leading spokesperson for the dissident employees. She is instrumental in organizing support from the clericals and professionals to the Local 77 IBEW men who initiated the walkout, and she helps articulate the workers' grievances to the media.

Vickery and Coe try to discredit Fraser and the walkout through a red-baiting campaign. Vickery distributes sections of her FBI file to management while Coe announces that a friend in the FBI has told her that the walkout is "communist-inspired."

**April 30**—First meeting of the Bill

## The six

of Rights and Responsibilities Committee. Fraser has been elected, at a mass employee meeting, to be one of their three representatives. She is selected to chair the employee team and to co-chair the total labor-management committee.

Vickery tells division directors to "evaluate" the Training Section and forward their criticisms to him.

**June 6**—Ten women Electrical Trades Trainees are selected by a 5-person hiring panel, including Fraser.

**June 8**—An inflammatory *hoax leaflet* is widely disseminated at City Light, announcing that "Trotskyite Communist" Fraser will speak at a Freeway Hall meeting. The leaflet also states that she has voted for socialist electoral candidates.

**June 24**—ETTs start work. Vickery stages a press conference, crows over his "commitment" to affirmative action and the program's success.

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The trainees confront Coe; she is furious. They seek out Vickery, but he avoids them.

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after the walkout.)

## ETT program sabotaged

**I**n a cynical effort to blunt the effects of Fraser's good work, and discredit her as well, management launched a campaign against the program

Fraser had been assigned to promote. The women Electrical Trades Trainees were supposed to be provided with three weeks of orientation and pre-placement training to help them cope with the difficulties of entering an unfamiliar and dangerous field of work. But after eight days, their pre-training was abruptly cancelled on July 3, 1974. A few days later, in a blatant instance of arbitrary, sexist practice at City Light, Fraser was removed as ETT Coordinator and replaced by her supervisor, Training Coordinator Bill Rheubottom, a less-qualified and totally disinterested male.

The ten trainees, according to trainee testimony, were then shoved out into the field "without proper equipment, clothes or preparation." If they ran into "racist and sexist harassment," they had no recourse, "no place to turn."

Trainee witnesses recounted the total lack of direction and support from Rheubottom. Said Daisy Jones, a Black trainee, Rheubottom "was just not there for us. Clara had reached out, been there when we needed her." Supervisor George Rauch corroborated this, affirming that Rheubot-

tom gave only "weak and ambiguous" direction to the trainees.

On August 5, 1974 nine trainees and Fraser filed a sex discrimination suit with the Office of Women's Rights. According to the trainees, their treatment from that time on was often marked by neglect and harassment.

George Rauch admitted that the trainees brought him "ongoing complaints" of sexist harassment. When trainee Megan Cornish objected to an obscene drawing posted at work, he ordered it removed. But otherwise, "I did nothing unless I could prove the allegations were true."

The ETTs were abandoned to shift for themselves. Supportive foremen had no authority to help them, and Vickery wanted to be rid of them.

## Guilt by affiliation

**O**n November 15, 1974 nine of the ten trainees sent a letter to Vickery requesting he make good on his promises for program supports, and also reinstate Fraser as coordinator.

On December 2, a very strange memo appeared, ostensibly sent to Vickery by the ETT Working Committee (composed of foremen and supervisors). The memo decried ETT "militance"—and charged that "the direction for this militancy is coming from a person who has no responsibility in the program at all." The memo "questioned" the ETT

selection process because of Fraser's off-the-job "affiliation" with three of the women. Fraser "did not reveal her affiliation at the time, or disqualify herself from voting on these three women."

Attorney Cloud has repeatedly tried—McCarthy-style—to hammer home the "affiliation" accusation, and the fact that Fraser and trainee Cornish were housemates. And the testimony has dramatically revealed how Fraser's radical politics were used to turn the foremen and supervisors of the ETTs against them, and to lay the basis for destroying the program.

According to Office of Women's Rights Investigator Sue Ammeter, Vickery told her that "the ETT sex discrimination case was instigated by Clara Fraser." The December 2 memo actually expressed Vickery's and Coe's views about Fraser's influence, not the views of the coerced signers.

Pat Wong, a pro-management, renegade trainee who did not join in the sex discrimination suit, testified she "could tell" that "three of the trainees were Radical Women previously acquainted with Clara." She said Fraser's "influence" over the trainees "was like a mother's over her kids." This "alienated" Wong, a self-professed "individualist" who dislikes groups, and who publicly testified against the other ETTs before the Public Review Committee in 1974, branding Fraser and other ETTs as Radical Women engaging in a "mad play for power."

TO NEXT PAGE

# The six-year saga of Fraser's fight

of Rights and Responsibilities Committee. Fraser has been elected, at a mass employee meeting, to be one of their three representatives. She is selected to chair the employee team and to co-chair the total labor-management committee.

Vickery tells division directors to "evaluate" the Training Section and forward their criticisms to him.

**June 6**—Ten women Electrical Trades Trainees are selected by a 5-person hiring panel, including Fraser.

**June 8**—An inflammatory *hoax leaflet* is widely disseminated at City Light, announcing that "Trotskyite Communist" Fraser will speak at a Freeway Hall meeting. The leaflet also states that she has voted for socialist electoral candidates.

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**July 17**—The *Human Relations Council*, which includes Fraser and other employee leaders and sympa-

thizers, is disbanded by Vickery. Sensitivity training on race and sex, planned for ETT foremen and supervisors, is also cancelled.

**July 31**—Coe objects to Fraser's excessive time involvement with the Bill of Rights Committee.

**August 5**—Fraser and the ETTs file a *sex discrimination charge* with the city Office of Women's Rights, and testify before the Public Review Committee about Vickery's treachery against their program.

In *retaliation for filing the suit*, the ETTs and Fraser are subject to escalating harassment. Fraser's job assignments are downgraded, and her expense vouchers ignored.

**November 15**—ETT's send Vickery a memo requesting reinstatement of both their original program and Fraser as coordinator.

Fraser reprimanded for a letter she wrote *four months previously*.

Fraser denied extra pay for supervisory duties assigned to her during her boss's absence.

**December 2**—A memo to Vickery, actually written by Coe but appearing to come from foremen and supervisors, denounces ETT "militance," Fraser's "influence" over them, and her prior "affiliation" off-the-job with several trainees.

**December 6**—Vickery issues a *loyalty oath* to the trainees, demanding they sign or be terminated.

## 1975

**January-July**—A new mayoral *Recall Campaign* starts, led by Firefighters Union.

**February**—Vickery orders a "study" of the Training Section.

**March 25**—A 5% "employee reduction" announced.

**April 30**—Bill of Rights and Responsibilities completed.

**May 13**—Fraser's job *secretly deleted from the upcoming 1976 budget* and replaced with a newly-titled position. City Personnel starts preparation for a *special civil service exam* for her position.

**May 19**—Fraser amends her original discrimination complaint to include the exam as a reprisal.

**June**—Civil Service Commission votes to make "Training Coordinator" exam "non-competitive" for all incumbents, who now will only have to pass the exam to retain their jobs. Thus, Vickery cannot eliminate Fraser via the exam.

**July 1**—Recall election *loses*.

**July 8**—Vickery denounces and rejects Bill of Rights and Responsibilities (violating the Agreement that ended the walkout).

**July 11**—Fraser "laid-off" at 4:30 p.m. on Friday, without notice, because of a "reduction in force." No other administrative or professional staff are terminated.

**August 15**—IBEW Local 77 passes Resolution supporting Fraser and so informs Civil Service Commission.

**August 29**—Vickery and Mayor Uhlman announce their own "Bill of Rights and Responsibilities" (never implemented).

**September 24**—ETT's "congratulated" by Vickery on "completing their program" and are *terminated*.

**September 26**—Fraser's *unemployment compensation withheld* as she is ordered to repay the severance pay she received. She makes a public protest and the order is dropped.

**October 16**—Fraser's unemployment compensation stipend is *cut in half* after Vickery petitions the City Council to reduce such payments. (Vickery currently receives *two separate city pensions plus his federal salary*.)

## 1976

**January 9**—Fraser files a *protest to the Civil Service Commission* on her contrived exam score.

**January 14**—City Personnel *denies protest* but grants adjustments to other protesters.

**June 21**—Fraser's job filled by a less qualified male.

**July 9**—ETT's *win their sex discrimination case, and are awarded*

\$120,000 back pay and damages, reinstatement, and retroactive promotion to Electrical Helper positions.

Fraser's case had earlier been separated from theirs and channeled to the city Human Rights Department because "political ideology discrimination" was in its jurisdiction.

## 1977-1978

**May 24**—Human Rights Department issues findings in Fraser's favor.

**August 9**—Fraser case referred to Mayor Uhlman for *conciliation* (a mandatory procedure).

**August 24**—Mayor Uhlman *rejects* conciliation.

**September, 1977 through May, 1979**—A string of motions, appeals, and legal challenges and delays by City Light attorneys.

## 1979

**June**—Mayor Charles Royer works out a *conciliation agreement* providing for \$30,000 to Fraser and a job with the Human Rights Department.

**July 2**—City Council *rejects conciliation settlement*, 6 to 2, and orders the case to *Hearing*. The two Black councilmen vote for settlement.

**September 17**—City Council appropriates \$13,500 for the Human Rights Department to hire an outside attorney to represent Fraser, and \$7,500 for salary for pro tempore Hearing Examiner Sally Pasette.

Human Rights Department retains attorney *John Chen Beckwith* to represent Fraser.

## 1980

**January 14**—*Hearing begins* in Room 500, 400 Yesler Building, Seattle, before Pasette and a volunteer Hearing Panel composed of Elizabeth Ponder, Darlene Allison and Beverly Stanton; Bernice Holland, alternate.

**January 29**—Hearing adjourns for four weeks.

**February 25**—Hearing reconvenes, with the prospect of finishing by the end of April, due to recesses.

**May**—The Hearing Examiner then has 20 days in which to issue her proposed decision, subject to adoption or reversal by the Hearing Panel.

A favorable verdict for Fraser would mean reinstatement at City Light and the awarding of back pay, damages and expenses. ■



George Rauch recalled that "it was discussed that Fraser was motivating the ETTs to take negative stands. *The ETTs seemed to be taking outside direction . . . through their affiliation with Radical Women. They belonged to common organizations.*" Rauch held Fraser responsible for ETT "aggressive actions" because the ETTs "seemed to respond as a unit, rather than as individuals," and were pushed by "some outside source."

The testimony of Pat Wong and Rauch—like the affiliation charge itself—is not only classic redbaiting, but is a violation of Seattle's Fair Employment Practices Ordinance which prohibits differential treatment based on "political ideology."

The ETTs were justifiably angry at management for its record of broken promises and reprisals, and their anger was intrinsic, they testified, not a product of "outside agitators."

Daisy Jones bristled when asked if Fraser had prodded the ETTs to protest the pre-placement training cancellation and visit Carole Coe as a unified group. "It was our idea," Jones declared. "My idea. Nobody puts ideas into my head! I was the leader!" Jody Olvera called the charges "baseless" and said that Fraser "never tried to control me."

Four of the six ETT Working Committee members who purportedly sent out the "affiliation" memo testified that neither they, nor anyone else who signed the letter, drafted it. They all said they were "induced" to sign it by management.

Former trainee Megan Cornish, now an Assistant Power Dispatcher, testified that George Rauch told her that the memo had been drafted "on the 9th floor and he was told to sign it."

A retired Station Construction supervisor, Walt Wheelles, testified he signed the letter because he "just wanted to get things over with one way or another." He was told that there was "too much dissension on the crews," although "there was no dissension on my crews." Wheelles said he did not see "anything wrong" with trainees raising complaints, nor did he note "any problems with their work."

Clarence Weigelt, Cable Splicer foreman, signed the letter because "everybody else on the Working Committee had already signed it and I did not want it to look like there was dissension on the Committee." Had he been the first one approached, he "would not have signed the letter," because he disagreed with the section accusing Fraser of directing militancy and being affiliated with trainees off the job.

"I didn't know anything about that," he said. "The trainees were a closely-knit group and there's nothing wrong with that."

Larry Christensen, Distribution supervisor, testified that he "regretted signing the letter . . . and taking someone's word for the allegations I did not know were true and still do not. I would

not sign that letter today . . . *what people do on their own time is none of City Light's business!*"

Trainee Daisy Jones said she had known Joan Williams, one of the interviewers, when Jones was hired (yet nobody has complained about this!).

Several of the foremen witnesses said that outside affiliations have no bearing on interview or selection procedures and that it is not common practice for interviewers to indicate social relations with applicants.

According to Robert Leighton, "those affiliation rumors about Radical Women got started because Clara was the trainees' advocate, working to make sure the trainees got what was coming to them. *It was only natural that women interested in non-trad-*

This was September 24, 1975.

### Trainee victory

One year later, on July 9, 1976, the indomitable trainees, supported by the Office of Women's Rights, won their sex discrimination suit against City Light. The settlement provided \$120,000 in damages and back pay, job reinstatement, and retroactive promotion to Electrical Helper.

Trainee Pat Wong, who had called the suit "senseless" and refused to participate when it was filed, admitted on the witness stand that she threatened City Light management with a suit unless she were awarded the same

him develop the test.

Moore said it was customary to interview all job incumbents when preparing a test. But Employee Relations Manager Don Winkley told him "there is no point talking with Clara Fraser . . . she won't be around much longer."

Moore and his coworkers concluded that the exam was being contrived as a "hatchet job" against Fraser, and said so, whereupon he was rebuked by City Personnel Director Jack Driscoll. Moore refused to continue with exam preparations. "I knew I would not be allowed to proceed in an ethical or professional manner," he testified.

Soon after, subjected to retaliation by his supervisor, Moore left his job.

Anet Fox, former Water Department Training Specialist, and current Personnel Director, recalled that she feared the exam would be used against any or all the incumbents such as herself. She lodged an official protest with the Civil Service Commission, whereupon Vickery, "very upset," phoned her boss, the head of the Water Department, and urged him to tell Fox to "stop holding up the exam."

But the Civil Service Commission supported Fox and ordered the exam to be given non-competitively for incumbents, so management had to abandon the test as an exclusionary competition for already-occupied positions.

### The axe falls

The Bill of Rights work had been finished in May, 1975 and the Uhlman Recall election was held on July 1. It lost. The employment movement subsided, and it looked like a safe time to fire Fraser. Late on Friday afternoon, July 11, 1975, management cited a "5% budget reduction" and laid off Fraser, effective immediately.

Mike Sharar, who was responsible for dealing with the media, was advised by Carole Coe that "there is bound to be media scrutiny" of Fraser's termination. Sharar also testified that it was "unusual that Clara was the only administrative person laid off." Fraser was also the only provisional (non-Civil Service) laid off, the only professional, and the only fulltime woman employee.

Robert Leighton, in his testimony, refuted the budget cut explanation: "It was a typical management device to circumvent required procedure and get rid of someone . . . City Light is a revenue-producing agency and did not need to cut back. Clara was not laid off. She was terminated."

And witness Al McDougall was equally emphatic: "[Until Clara] I never heard of anyone being laid off at City Light for incompetence . . . If you are incompetent at City Light, you are promoted to management!"

### What next?

Clara Fraser's sex and political discrimination case reconvened, after a three-week recess, on February 25, and is likely to proceed through April.

It is already abundantly clear that the future of on-the-job democracy, affirmative action, and the right to political dissent and free association will be determined, to a considerable degree, by the outcome of this singular case. The new McCarthyites, like the old, first isolate and silence the radicals, and then they come for everyone else.

Clara Fraser's good fight for political freedom warrants the support of everyone who believes in the right of political minorities and nonconformists to earn their living and enjoy the same benefits as the majority. Without guaranteed freedom from discrimination on the job, there can be no freedom at all. ■

## A cross-section of Fraser case supporters

King County Labor Council of Washington, AFL-CIO  
National Lawyers Guild  
AFSCME Locals 2083, 2083-N, 1488, Seattle  
CWA Local 9102, Seattle  
Amalgamated Transit Union Local 587, Seattle  
Boilermakers Local 104, Seattle  
Rhonda Allgaier, Seattle  
United Feminist Front, Seattle  
Feminist Women's Health Center, Los Angeles  
Seattle Gay Community Center  
Dick Gregory, Plymouth, MA  
Flo Kennedy, New York City  
Kate Millett, New York City  
Gloria Steinem, New York City  
Ruth Messenger, New York City

Paul Skyhorse, Los Angeles  
Joanna Russ, Seattle  
Julie Evening Lilly, Los Angeles  
Nellie Wong, San Francisco  
Merle Woo, Berkely  
Rosa Morales, Seattle  
Juan Soliz, Chicago  
Jesus Mena, Long Beach  
Humberto Brown, New York City  
Yolanda Martinez, Seattle  
AIM for Freedom Defense Committee, Portland, OR  
Committee to Defend Iranian Legal Rights, Seattle  
Live Without Trident, Seattle  
Black Panther Party, Los Angeles  
Lesbians of Color Caucus, Seattle  
Howard Wallace, San Francisco  
Jeff Cohen, Los Angeles

### itional electrical trades would be in Radical Women and other activist groups."

Fraser recruited actively for the program, as part of her job, and was acquainted with a large number of the 300 applicants. A panel of five, including three foremen, selected the final slate.

### Loyalty Day

On December 6, 1974, four days after the affiliation memo, Vickery sent the trainees his now-notorious loyalty oath.

Acting on advice of attorneys from their union—Local 77 IBEW—most of the ETTs signed the document only after writing in "I wish to remain in the . . . Trainee program providing all conditions are consistent with the Fair Employment Practices Ordinance."

Trainee witnesses testified that while this reply won them a temporary reprieve, reprisals and harassment mounted in the ensuing nine-month period until, three months after Fraser was "laid off," the trainees were summarily "graduated" from the incomplete ETT program, congratulated by Vickery, and "laid off" themselves.

benefits! Management quickly "juggled my civil service records" to change her entry date as a Helper so she could accrue the same seniority as the victorious trainees, and the City Council allocated a financial settlement for her!

### The hatchet job exam

Long before the Friday-night massacre layoff of the trainees, City Light had determined to get rid of Fraser so she could not protest or try to prevent their firing. Jack Telerico, a city planner on the ETT program, testified that "on July 5, 1974, I met with Jack Driscoll, Vickery, Joan Williams, Bill Rheubottom, and Carole Coe about what to do with the program. Clara Fraser got most of the credit for disrupting the program. Vickery wanted to junk it. The ultimate solution was to give Clara an exam and get rid of her through the examination process."

So in May, 1975 Vickery rushed through preparations for a city-wide civil service exam tailored to weed out Fraser.

But a funny thing happened on the way to the exam.

A former Civil Service Department Examination Analyst, John Moore, was directed to develop this test for "Education and Training Coordinator," a position held by Fraser, Rheubottom, and three employees in other city departments. Moore testified that the haste surrounding this test was very unusual because so few positions were affected, and the necessary preliminary work of classifying all city jobs in this category had not been done. Equally unusual was the refusal to allow Moore to bring in U.S. Civil Service Commission experts to help

## The Fraser/City Light Story Needs Telling!



1. Endorse Clara Fraser's case.
2. Donate generously to the Fraser Case Information Fund.
3. Help with the organizing work to build a national campaign.

Yes, I endorse Clara Fraser's case and will donate \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to the Information Fund. Contact me to help on the case.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: Fraser Case Information Fund, c/o United Feminist Front, 6019 South Redwing, Seattle, WA 98118. Phone (206) 632-7449 or 723-8923.

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# Clara Fraser vs. Seattle City Light

March 3, 1980

## *Help Spread the Word on the Clara Fraser Discrimination Case!*

*Dear Friend of Free Speech,*

You *can* fight City Hall!

Time and again, public employees have blown the whistle on discrimination, mismanagement, corruption and hypocrisy in government. Public workers have challenged the power structure, and where they were aided by public understanding and financial support, they have sometimes managed to win.

Currently, Clara Fraser, longtime community activist, feminist and socialist, is engaged in just such an uphill battle.

Her landmark sex and political ideology discrimination suit against Seattle City Light is the "*test case of the '80s*," according to Gloria Steinem. Said Steinem, "Many things we've won prohibiting discrimination based on sex, religion and national origin would be lost if the city's action in firing Fraser is upheld."

At stake in this historic case is the basic constitutional right of all workers to free speech in the workplace. Already support for the Fraser case is building nationwide. Among the growing list of endorsers is Black New York City Councilwoman Ruth Messenger, the National Lawyers Guild National Executive Committee, and the AFL-CIO King County Labor Council of Washington. They all agree the public needs to know what is happening in this fascinating trial.

### **\$\$\$ Urgently Needed**

The issues in this case are so profound—and therefore so explosive—that the downtown dailies originally decided *not to cover the hearing at all*, despite the fact that it is the *first test* of that section of Seattle's Fair Employment Practices Ordinance that protects against job discrimination on the basis of political ideology. This press blackout was only lifted in the face of impressive local and national endorsements for Fraser's fight.

Because the civil liberties at stake in the Fraser suit are so crucial, the United Feminist Front has launched a national information campaign to get the word out on the Fraser hearing. Already thousands of press releases, outlining the first three weeks of testimony in the hearing, have been mailed to newspapers, magazines and civil liberties groups across the country.

With the hearing slated to run at least another month, money for staff expenses, printing and mimeographing, and postage is urgently needed. Contributions of any size will be greatly appreciated. We feel confident that you will want to help spread the word far and wide.

### **Female Radical Against the Establishment**

In 1974, following a massive employee walkout in which she was prominently involved, Clara Fraser was removed from one of her key assignments—coordinator of an unprecedented training program for women electrical workers.



And in 1975, she was unceremoniously fired by City Light from her position as Education Coordinator. Superintendent Gordon Vickery said the firing was necessitated by a 5% reduction in staff—but the unshakeable testimony of dozens of witnesses has shown that it was Fraser's pro-labor and affirmative action advocacy and practices which prompted her dismissal.

Publicly associated with many social issue organizations, Fraser's socialist feminist political beliefs and off-the-job activities were well known to management. What came as a surprise to them was her refusal to violate her own political principles and to swear everlasting fealty to Vickery and his regressive political philosophy.

In retaliation for her on-the-job defense of civil rights and her public criticism of city management, she was subjected to an unrelenting smear campaign of red-baiting, feminist and lesbian baiting, and general harassment which included the circulating of her FBI files, of a hoax flyer purporting to describe her politics, and a crude sexist cartoon of her.

The harassment never stopped. But Fraser kept fighting back.

After five years of investigation, supportive findings by the Seattle Human Rights Department, negotiation, a conciliation attempt, further litigation and legal delays, *Clara Fraser vs. Seattle City Light* finally went to hearing on January 14. The case is expected to extend into April.

### **The Fraser Story Must Be Told**

We appeal to you to stretch your resources and make a sizable contribution to the *Fraser Case Information Fund* so that the United Feminist Front can sustain its exemplary public information work.

Please send your contributions immediately to the *Fraser Case Information Fund*, United Feminist Front, 6019 S. Redwing, Seattle, WA 98118. And call Betty Maloney (206-725-5009, evenings) or Guerry Hoddersen (206-632-7449, days) if you need materials on the case or can help work on it.

You'll be glad you helped. The Fraser case affects every one of us, and together we can deal the "old-boy" system an important knockout punch.

*Give today! Give generously! Thank you.*

*Sincerely,*

————— *Supporters of Clara Fraser's Case* —————

### **National**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>Ti-Grace Atkinson</i> , Feminist Theoretician,<br>New York City    | <i>Julie Evening Lilly</i> , Native American<br>Feminist, Los Angeles   |
| <i>Dick Gregory</i> , Lecturer and Satirist,<br>Plymouth, MA          | <i>Paul Skyhorse</i> , Native American Rights<br>Advocate, Los Angeles  |
| <i>Flo Kennedy</i> , Black Feminist Attorney,<br>New York City        | <i>Joanna Russ</i> , Novelist, Associate Pro-<br>fessor of English, University of<br>Washington, Seattle      |
| <i>Kate Millet</i> , Author and Human Rights<br>Leader, New York City | <i>Murry Weiss</i> , National Coordinator,<br>Committee for a Revolutionary<br>Socialist Party, New York City |
| <i>Janet McCloud</i> , Northwest Indian Women's<br>Circle, Yelm, WA   | <i>Freedom Socialist Party</i><br><i>Radical Women</i>  |



## Regional

### Labor

Seattle City Librarians and Clerks, AFSCME Local #2083 and 2083-N, Seattle  
University of Washington Staff Employees, AFSCME Local #1488, Seattle  
Retail Clerks Local #1105, Seattle  
Hutchinson Center Staff Association Executive Board, Seattle  
*Nancy J. Holland*, President, Financial Institution Employees of America, Seattle  
*Rhonda Allgaier*, Financial Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel, Motel, Restaurant  
Employees and Bartenders Local #8, Seattle  
United Workers Union-Independent, Seattle  
Washington Legal Workers, Seattle  
*Clarence Strong*, Retired Longshoreman, Seattle

### Women

*Karen Brodine*, Lesbian Poet and Writer, San Francisco  
*Sukey Durham*, Lesbian Feminist Poet, San Francisco  
Associated Students of the University of Washington Women's Commission, Seattle  
Los Angeles Feminist Women's Health Center  
Sisterhood Bookstore, Los Angeles  
United Feminist Front, Seattle  
Women Acting Together, Seattle  
Women Writers Union, San Francisco  
Women's Divorce Co-op, Seattle

### People of Color

*Mark Ridley-Thomas*, Board of Directors Chairperson, Southern Christian Leadership  
Conference (SCLC) West,\* Los Angeles  
*Nellie Wong*, Feminist Poet and Writer, San Francisco  
*Merle Woo*, Lecturer, Asian American Studies Department, University of California,  
Berkeley  
American Indian Movement (AIM) for Freedom Defense Committee, Portland, OR  
Black Panther Party, Southern California Chapter, Los Angeles  
*Humberto Brown*, Nueva Alpernapiva Popular Panamena (NAPP),\* New York City  
Committee to Defend Iranian Legal Rights, Seattle  
*Elmer Dixon*, Sydney Miller Free Medical Clinic, Seattle  
Jewish Feminist Coalition, Los Angeles  
*Harriet Greenwood*, Northend Welfare Rights,\* Seattle  
*Jesus Mena*, Chicano Rights Activist, Long Beach, CA  
Latin American Students and Workers Association (AETLA), Seattle  
Lesbians of Color Caucus, Seattle  
*Yolanda Martinez*, Seattle Women's Commission\*  
*Rosa Morales*, Chicana Feminist, Seattle  
Mujer, Seattle  
*Beatrice Smith*, Treasurer, ADC Motivated Mothers, Seattle

### Gays

Committee of Lesbians and Gay Male Socialists, New York City  
Rev. *Wally Lancaster*, Metropolitan Community Church, Seattle  
*Howard Wallace*, Gay Rights Advocate, San Francisco  
*Claude Winne*, Gay Activist, San Francisco  
Seattle Gay Community Center  
Union of Lesbians and Gay Men, Los Angeles



### **Social Issues**

*Anne Davis*, Co-Chair, Campaign for a Citizens Police Review Board,\* Los Angeles  
*Kay Lee*, Seattle Gray Panthers\*  
*Jeff Cohen*, Citizens Commission on Police Repression,\* Los Angeles  
*Kathleen Taylor*, Coalition on Government Spying,\* Seattle  
Coors Boycott Committee, Seattle  
Crabshell Alliance, Seattle  
Pasadena Community Information Center, CA  
*Ron Schwarz*, Disabled Activist, Seattle  
Seattle Tenants Union  
*Michael Linzun*, Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA),\* Los Angeles

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*Valerie Carlson*, Seattle  
*John Caughlan*, Seattle  
*Diego Gavilanes*, Seattle  
*Fred Hyde*, Seattle  
*Gary Iwamoto*, Asian Law Association,\* Seattle  
*Christine Mrak*, Seattle  
*Erasmo Pacheco*, Seattle  
*Juan Soliz*, Legal Center for Immigrants,\* Chicago  
*Daniel Hoyt Smith*, Seattle

### **Individuals**

*Dr. Katherine Grant-Bourne*, Program Planner, Center for Urban Studies, Seattle  
*Dr. Lillian Moed*, Public Health Worker, Los Angeles  
*Carol Munter*, Psychotherapist, New York City  
*Sally Pangborn*, Board Member, American Civil Liberties Union, Seattle  
*Jill Severn*, Reporter, Seattle



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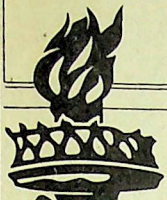
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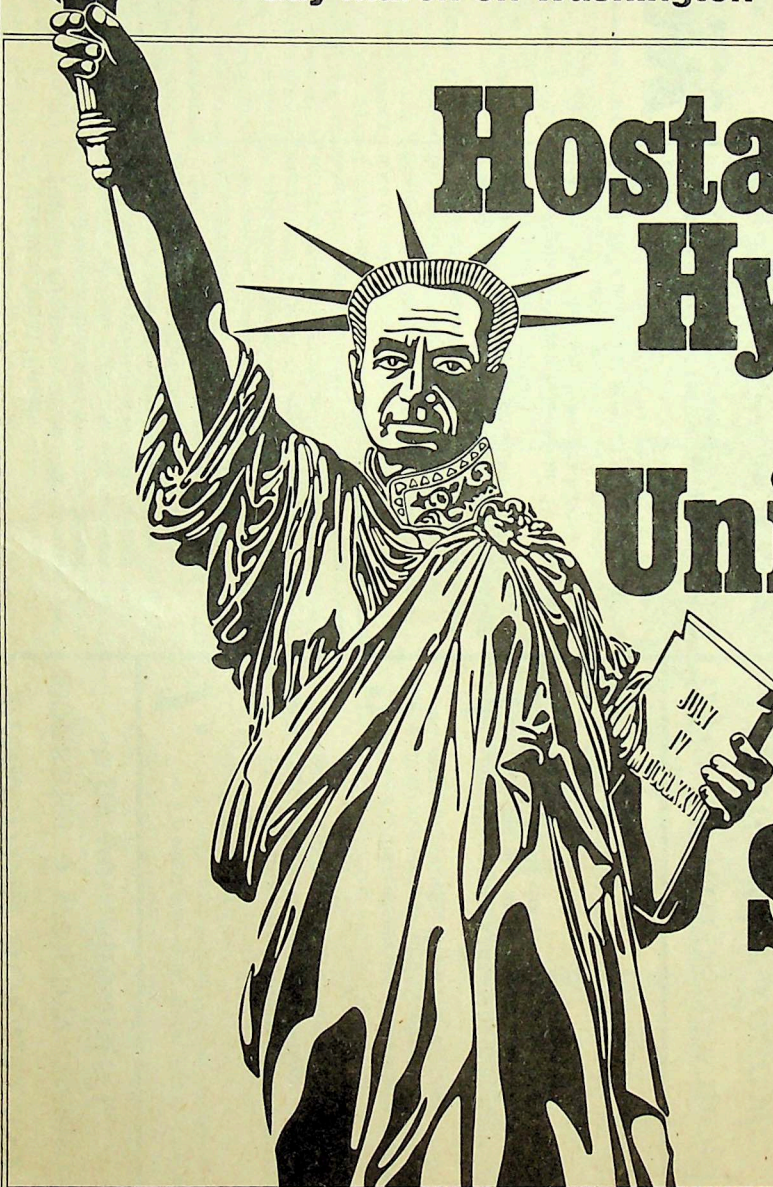


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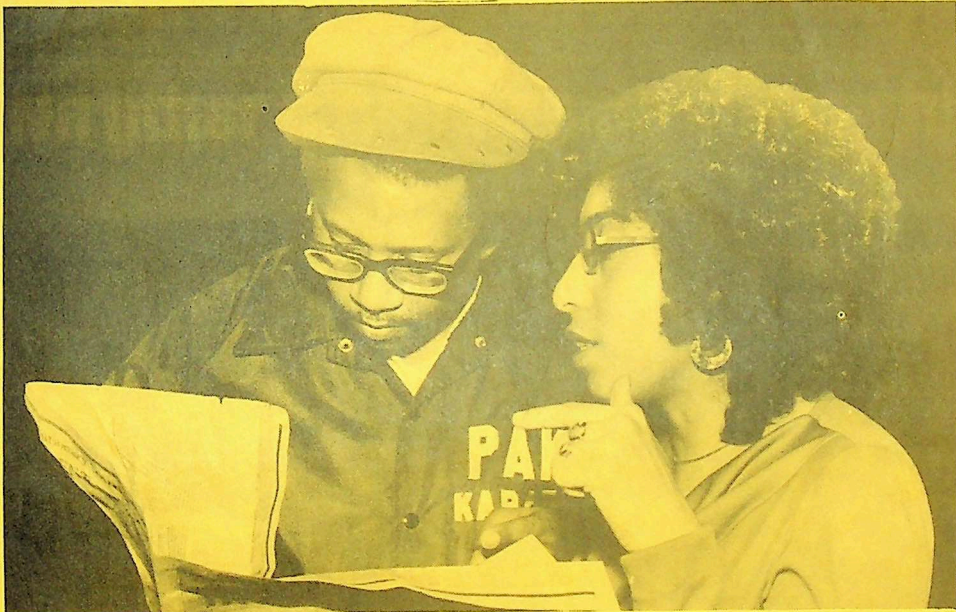
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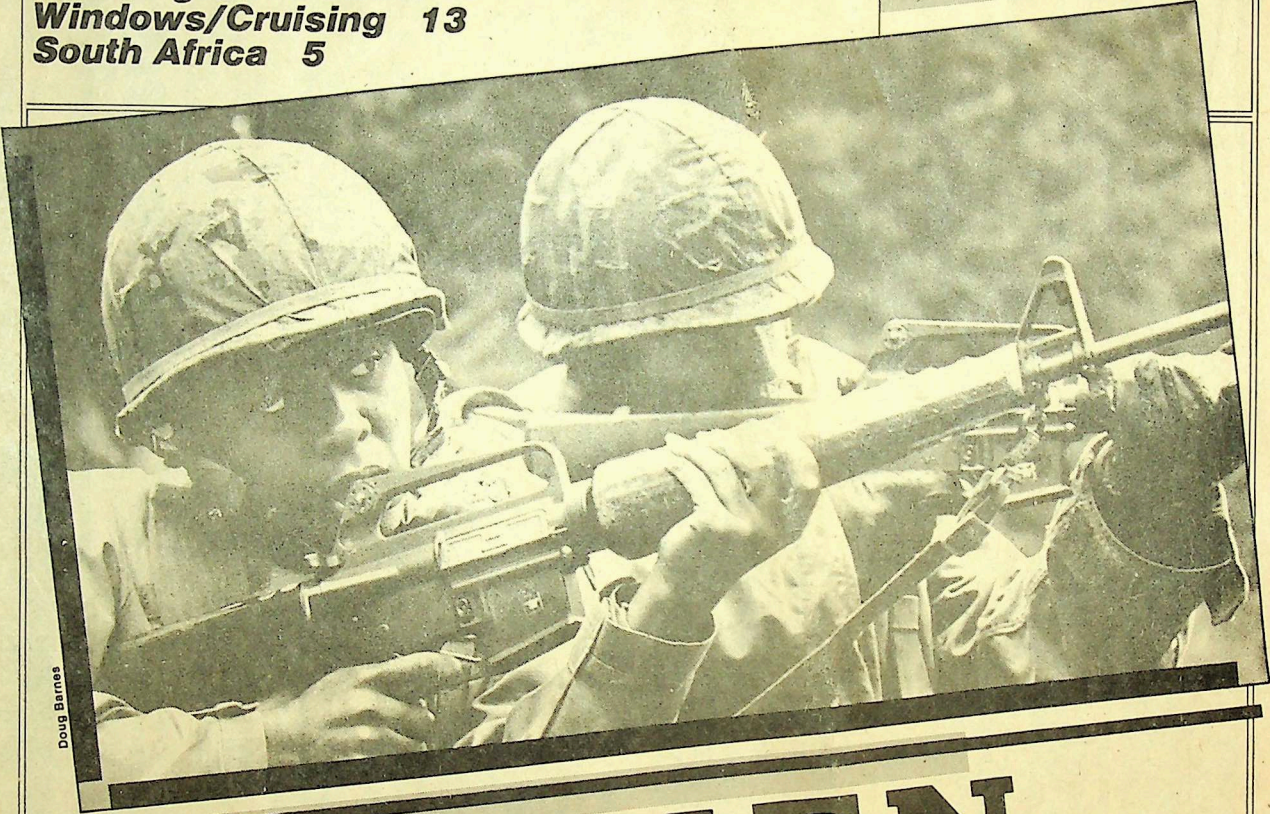
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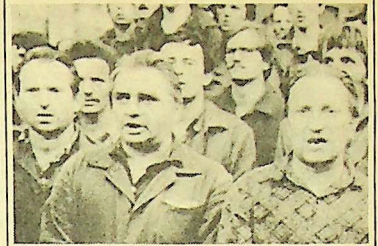
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