

On Mao's  
Contradictions  
Antigay Witchhunt

# the freedom socialist

Vol. 4 No. 2 Summer 1978

25¢



## THE HOUSE OF LABOR

*in these hands is  
placed a power  
that can free  
the shackled world*

—page 11



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## freedom socialist

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## International Notes

Dear comrades, reading the back issues of the *Freedom Socialist* was very interesting. I would like to order *Crisis and Leadership* and the poster from the Trotsky Memorial Meeting, 1975. If they are sold out, I would like to receive *The Emancipation of Women by Lenin*.  
F.A.B.  
Umeå, Sweden

I have enjoyed reading the *Freedom Socialist*. Enclosed \$2 for a sub. I would send more, but am just a student with no more to give now. I look forward to the next issue.  
N.L.  
Islington, Ontario, Canada

## Lullaby of Broadway

I am enclosing a batch of nine subs from New York, including three 5-year subs. The spirit of the sub drive is mounting and we are anxious to see ourselves listed in the next tally! In comradeship,  
Susan Williams  
New York CRSP

Lenin said somewhere, "The most important time for getting subscriptions for the revolutionary paper is after the drive."

In any case, the Fund Drive for the *Freedom Socialist* is our central task. New York CRSP is going to be in the thick of it, with you and for you—all the way. Warm comradesly greetings,  
Murry Weiss  
New York CRSP

## Chilean Solidarity

We would like to establish an exchange of publications with you. We would be happy to add you to the exchange list of our *Chile Newsletter* in exchange for a complimentary subscription to your publication. We would also be most willing to send you back issues of the *Chile Newsletter* and/or other information about NICH's program for Chilean solidarity work...

Hoping for a continuing fruitful exchange, yours in solidarity,  
Bob High  
National Office  
Non-Intervention in Chile  
Berkeley, CA

## Atrocities in Ethiopia?

I enjoyed the paper. An Ethiopian I know read the article, agreed, and could have added more. He has letters from home accusing Cuban soldiers of rape. It's a dire situation. Castro seems to have become politically decadent, like Brezhnev.  
Moira Ferguson  
Lincoln, Nebraska

## Proud Author

Thank you for printing my article on the gay movement; people said they loved it. I have sold the paper to everyone in the Union of Lesbians and Gay Men and to members of my restaurant union.  
It is a beautiful paper and I'm very proud of it!  
Stephen Durham  
Los Angeles, CA

## Disagrees on Israel, Ethiopia

As a member of CRSP, I read the paper with great interest...

In the spirit of making a good thing even better, I offer two criticisms. "Israel and the Arabs" contends that "Israel has a right to security, and the Palestinians have a right to their own homeland, both outside and within Israel. Begin has to give."

If FSP opposes Zionism and supports the PLO's program for a secular state in Palestine, then it is incorrect that "Israel has a right to security" in any context. The "Jewish state" of Israel has no right even to existence, let alone security; it is as much a colonial settler state as Rhodesia.

Your solution of a "Socialist Israel" implies that Palestinian Arabs must wait for the solution through procedures open only to Israelis. Wrong. Jewish and Palestinian Arab workers, peasants and students must work together for a *socialist Palestine* as part of the world revolution.

Next, the Ethiopia article dismissed the Dergue government as "tyrants"; however, they presided over the forcible expropriation of the feudal, landlord-comprador class last March. The Dergue itself is the arena of very intense class struggle.

True, if the Dergue were socialist, it would grant unconditional inde-

pendence to Eritrea... It has been reported that Cuba is only helping the defense against the Somali invasion and declining to help attack Eritrea.  
B. Callison  
Oakland, CA

## Editor's Response

Our formulation "Israel has a right to security" was a slip; we oppose the Israeli imperialist state. But we do think the Jewish people in Israel have the right to live and the right to achieve an accord with the Palestinian Arabs for a socialist Middle East—and this may temporarily include both a socialist Israel and a socialist Palestinian state (although we advocate dual control in a democratic, non-ethnically separated Palestine).

The Jews are colonial settlers who drove out the natives, but, unlike the white Rhodesians, the Jews are a persecuted race with their own valid historic and cultural claim to their ancient homeland.

A more outrageous example of invaders on stolen land exists right here in the U.S., but no Indians or socialists demand that whites leave the Americas. We call instead for a socialist government to guarantee racial equality, and valid demands for sovereignty. Similarly, we call for a socialist Middle East, run by a bilateral, Jewish/Arab government.

In the Ethiopian war, the primary issue at stake is the principle of national self-determination. The Dergue routinely murders opponents, and has slaughtered students who criticized the government from the left. It only permitted land expropriation after the peasants did it and insisted on continuing it.

We do not support the Somalian regime. But socialists must support the legitimate struggle of Eritrea for separation and the Ogaden Somalis for reunification with their people—otherwise we condone the colonialist shattering of African tribal unity. These nationalist struggles have a profoundly revolutionary character that challenges imperialism and the discredited Ethiopian regime.

Thank you very much for your thoughtful criticisms.

The Freedom Socialist welcomes letters and urges readers to air their views and responses to the paper.

# Native American Mother Resists Racist Courts

by Ann Manly

Julie Evening Lilly is a Native American freedom fighter. A leader in the successful Skyhorse-Mohawk defense in California, she suddenly found herself to be a federal fugitive charged with kidnapping her own daughter and subject to arrest, extradition to Virginia, ten years of prison, and the loss of her child.

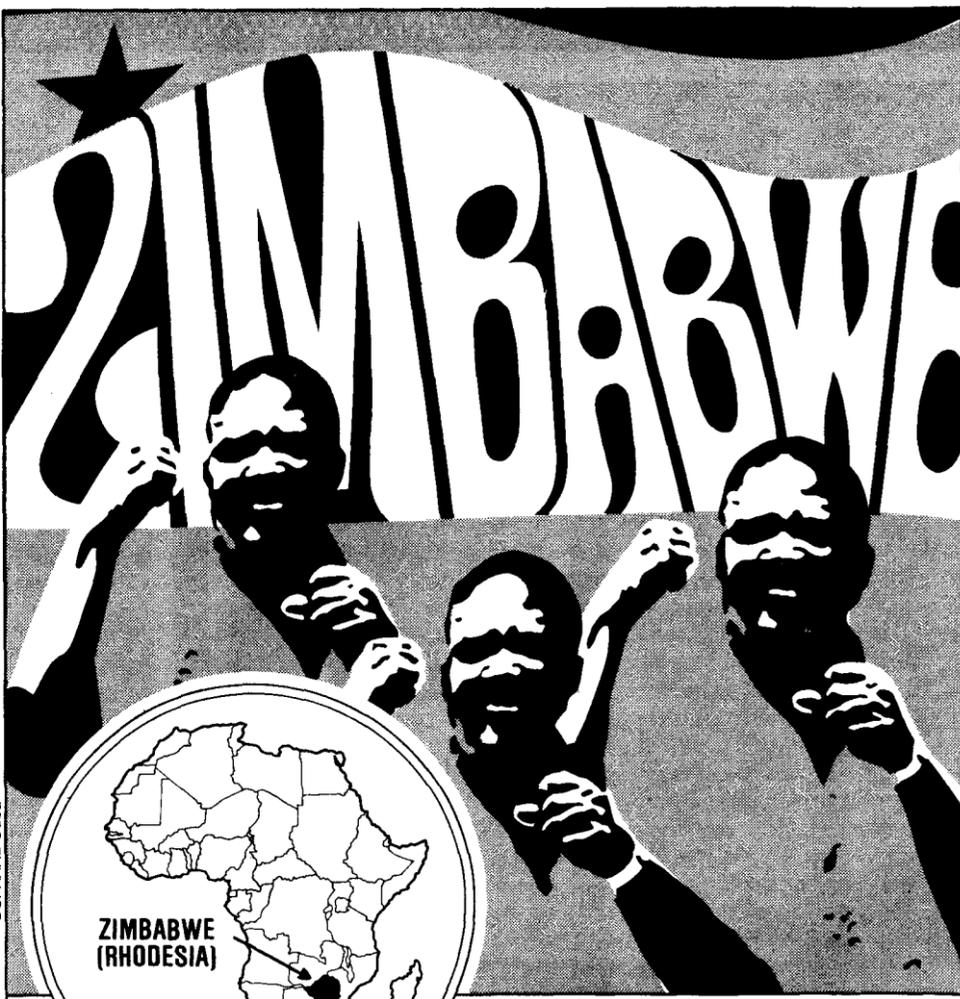
In 1971, a California court awarded custody to Julie Evening Lilly, but her ex-husband, a white southern racist, seized the child, Erin, and took her to Virginia. Evening Lilly fought a long legal battle for Erin, but a prejudiced Virginia judge ruled that a "non-Christian" Indian mother could not provide a suitably "decent" home.

Erin, then 6 years old, was being systematically robbed of her heritage and beaten regularly for asking for her mother. In 1976, Evening Lilly removed Erin from this environment. The father tried to have

Evening Lilly arrested, and California denied this because of her prior legal custody. But her work on behalf of Skyhorse-Mohawk targeted her, and the state of Virginia slapped her with the kidnapping warrant, which her attorneys seek to overturn. Governor Brown of California may not extradite her, but she remains a fugitive everywhere but in California.

Evening Lilly needs help. Supporters should write or telegraph Governor Brown, Sacramento, CA, and demand he stop extradition. Also, thousands of dollars are needed for legal expenses and a possible Supreme Court appeal. Send contributions to Evening Lilly Support, 1165 Echo Park Avenue, #200, Los Angeles, CA 90026.

Proponents of human rights are asked to organize support groups to publicize the desperate plight of a brave woman and her daughter, typical victims of the government policy of wresting Indian children from their parents. ■



OSPAAL-Cuba

**A phony pact promising Black rule but preserving white power is defied by guerillas, who vow to wage revolutionary war until the Black majority triumphs**

by Tom Boot

**L**ast March, beneath the imposing portrait of imperialist Cecil Rhodes, three cautious Black nationalists signed an "internal settlement" with Prime Minister Ian Smith of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), betraying their people's militant liberation struggle.

Smith called the pact "a victory for moderation," but guerilla leaders, in defiance of the treachery, are fighting on.

The Blacks who signed the infamous pact—Bishop Muzorewa, Reverend Sithole, and tribal Chief Chirau—are now members of Smith's transitional regime, responsible for drafting a new constitution and supposedly implementing Black rule by the end of 1978.

**White Power**

The agreement aims to stave off economic crisis and civil war by allowing Blacks universal suffrage and

some governmental participation.

But Zimbabwe's whites will retain legislative veto powers for at least another decade.

White supremacy is further insured by two key devices:

1. Police, military, judicial and civil service departments remain under the domination of the old bureaucracy.

2. The white minority, controlling 80% of the wealth and more than half the land, is guaranteed compensation for any financial losses incurred by the transition to Black majority rule.

**A Mass Guerilla Army**

Smith hopes that his deal with the three liberal leaders will erode Black support for the Patriotic Front of guerilla fighters.

The Front is an alliance of two forces: ZANU, quartered in Mozambique and led by Marxist Robert Mugabe, and ZAPU, Zambia-based and headed by non-Marxist Joshua Nkomo.

The U.S. and Britain, anxious to avoid civil war, economic loss, and a threat to their strategic hegemony in southern Africa, propose to include the Front in negotiations and in the transitional regime. Assisted by South Africa's Vorster, they hope to entice the moderate Nkomo into concessions.

Mugabe, however, demands a predominant role for the Front in the government, the army and the police force. He condemns proposals for stationing U.N. troops in Zimbabwe as a ruse to force the guerillas to surrender their weapons.

The Front and its military component, ZIPA, promise intensification of resistance and are encouraging the masses to join the armed struggle.

**A LUTA CONTINUA! ■**

by Monica Hill

**"I**want to stress we want peace more than any nation on earth," intoned Menachem Begin in the bloody aftermath of his recent invasion of Lebanon.

But these pious words fail to white-wash the murder, by Israeli troops, of 1200 Lebanese, 90% of them civilians, and the creation, by displacement, of 300,000 more Arab refugees.

Prime Minister Begin insists that the U.S.-equipped Israeli blitzkrieg was intended to "insure the well-being and normal way of life of the citizens of Israel and the residents of Southern Lebanon."

The butchering of Lebanon, however, has extended the diaspora of frustrated Arabs, now forced to step up their resistance in order to maintain their struggle for national liberation and quench the Israeli thirst for conquest.

**U.S. and U.N. Complicity**

The White House, which had advance notice of the invasion, claims it is attempting to "moderate" the slaughter of civilians, while sealing its \$4.8 billion sale of jet fighter planes to Israel, Egypt, and oil-rich Saudi Arabia.

The United Nations, in an effort to disguise U.S. complicity and Zionist hysteria, has entered the war.

Behind its "peacekeeping" cover, the U.N. has three purposes:

1. To consolidate the Israeli invasion. U.N. troops are "keeping peace" in the territory stolen and occupied by Israel.
2. To contain Palestinian and Lebanese resistance.
3. To provide fake "protection"

which reactionary Arab rulers can use as an excuse for not aiding the Lebanese.

**International Protest**

Begin's so-called "retaliation" strike against Lebanon has already backfired.

The invasion exposed some intrinsic components of Zionism—land grabs, population displacement, and wanton slaughter.

Severe criticism of Israeli militarism by Jews and Gentiles throughout the world has been ignited. And in Israel, 45,000 Jews rallied in April to condemn Israel's expansionism and proclaim that "Peace in Israel is Better Than a Greater Israel."

**Zionism Means War**

But how is peace to be won? Israel, the Zionist state carved out of Palestine by European Jewish settlers aided by western imperialism, is a chronic affront to the Arabs, who have inhabited Palestine from time immemorial, and to the Arab revolution, which must fight two enemies—the sub-imperialist ruling class of Israel and the Arab bourgeoisie, which betrays its own people.

Jewish hegemony over the native population cannot be tolerated by either the Arab masses or by truly internationalist or democratic Jews. Peace can only be attained by the achievement of a revolutionary Palestine through the joint struggle of Arab and Jewish masses against Zionism and for a Middle East socialist federation.

A shared, bi-lateral, joint government of Jews and Arabs in Palestine would adequately protect the rights and security of the merged population.

**U.N. out of Lebanon! U.S. out of the Middle East! For a Bi-lateral Socialist State in Palestine! ■**

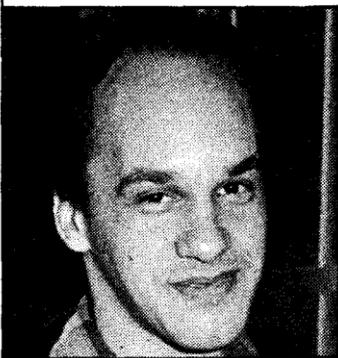
**While Begin's bloody hands were clasped in a prayer for "peace," his Israeli troops took another toll of Arab lives in**

**LEBANON**



United Nations "peacekeeping" troops entering Southern Lebanon.

Lester Millman/Newsweek



Tom Boot is a metal trades worker and close observer of African politics. He is actively involved in the Black movement and in the Coalition for Protective Legislation.

# The Insistent Case of Rosa Morales

by Yolanda Alaniz



Doug Barnes

**The discrimination suit of a Chicana unionist against the University of Washington touched a nerve in the Chicano movement, women's groups, and the radical left—and polarized them all**

The Rosa Morales case has cut deeply into the Chicano movement, laying bare the class differences that divide it, the sexism that further splits it, the homophobia that pervades it, and the bankruptcy of the Chicano separatist remedies prescribed by some of the radical left.

Rosa Morales—Chicana feminist, unionist, and radical—was a valued secretary for five years at the University of Washington. When she publicly disagreed with her boss, Chicano Studies head James Vasquez, he trumped up charges of "rudeness," "insubordination," and "incompetence," spied on her, suspended her, and then fired her.

The bitter fight she waged against Vasquez to regain her job proved to be an acid test for her, for her supporters, and for a variety of ideologies.

### An Uppity Secretary

Morales fought hard for affirmative action on campus. But the militant leadership in Chicano Studies was replaced by maneuverers like Vasquez, who had swung sharply to the right when University officials laid down a hard line against equal opportunity.

The University constantly violates its own affirmative action plan; Vasquez, highly-paid agent of the administration, would not tolerate Morales' defense of Chicano students and staff. And his political hostility to Morales' activism was intensified by his sexist concept of a secretary as demure and conformist.

Morales contended that Vasquez' infringement on her freedom of speech and association was an intrinsic part of University efforts to halt the struggle of all low-paid, female, and minority staff.

Firmly backed by her union, United Workers Union-Independent (composed primarily of women and minorities), Morales appealed to the Higher Education Personnel Board.

Morales' attorneys, Juan Soliz and Frederick W. Hyde, did a first-rate job of presenting the issues in the case.

After a twenty-six day hearing, the Examiner ruled the University. Refusing to deal with the real issues of the case—political and sex discrimination—he completely ignored most of the testimony, which clearly established Morales' competence and diligence, and scrupulously documented the harassment preceding her firing.

Union attorneys are now appealing the Examiner's decision.

### Political Lines Drawn

At the outset, Chicano radicals, socialist feminists, and gays rallied around Morales. But conflict was brewing.

A major split occurred over feminism. Morales' union and her allies agreed that Morales should build a broad base of support from both workers and feminists. Because Morales was fired for being an outspoken, independent woman who defended herself and other workers, she felt feminists would rally to her cause.

MEChA, a Chicano student organization, initially agreed with this policy and actively supported the case. But at the eleventh hour, they succumbed to the influence of CASA, a national Chicano organization which has turned

to single-issue nationalism and Stalinist-style hysteria against Trotskyists.

Attorney Soliz ardently and brilliantly defended feminism to the men in MEChA. But on the pretext that Morales had switched her case from a Chicano worker's issue to a feminist issue, MEChA withdrew the most important witness in the case, the only one who could have demonstrated MEChA's support to Morales—who was victimized for defending them!

CASA viciously baited Morales, her union, and her supporters.

### Mucho Machismo

These Chicano men, trapped by their own sexism, separated themselves from most of the Chicanas, who steadfastly intensified their support of Morales and her right to think as she pleased.

El Centro de la Raza, a Chicano center, strongly supported Morales because of its central concern with workingclass issues. El Centro's director, Roberto Maestas, was one of the best witnesses on Morales' behalf.

Unfortunately, El Centro pressured Morales to discard gay support. When Morales was scheduled to speak at a Women's Rights Day Rally, El Centro demanded that MUJER, a Chicana feminist group supporting Morales, withdraw its cosponsorship of the rally because lesbian speakers would appear.

### Vasquez held the sexist concept of a secretary as demure and conformist

El Centro antigays cross-examined MUJER members about their attitudes to gays, baiting the members as feminists and lesbians. A Chicana FSPer and other MUJER activists were denounced and insulted.

But MUJER stood firm, endorsing equality for all regardless of sexuality. They insisted that Morales speak at the rally to increase support for her case.

And El Centro did the principled thing and maintained its support of Morales.

The fact that many unaligned Chicano men gave unstinting support to Morales also deserves mention.

### Chicanas steadfastly intensified their support of Morales and her right to think as she pleased

The landmark case of Rosa Morales graphically revealed the warring economic classes and political loyalties in the Chicano community. Her case exposed the barrenness of the Stalinists and Maoists, whose antifeminist, antigay, and narrowly nationalistic politics destroyed the basis for a unified defense effort.

The suicidal splits within the Chicano community over her case should convince Chicano militants that working people must defend all victims of capitalism in order to effectively combat the common enemy.

**¡UNIDOS VENCEREMOS!**

**Yolanda Alaniz is President of United Workers Union-Independent and a member of the Seattle Women's Commission. She works as Third World Outreach Coordinator for Seattle Rape Relief.**



Lenore Norrard

Determined picketers demand that Morales be rehired.

The Morales defense team holds a press conference. (l to r) Frederick W. Hyde, attorney; Yolanda Alaniz, United Workers Union-Independent president; Morales; Juan Soliz, attorney. Not shown: Lois Harris, Union grievance coordinator.

Doug Barnes



## El caso de discriminación de una sindicalista Chicana en contra de la Universidad de Washington tocó un nervio del movimiento Chicano, de los grupos feministas y de la izquierda —y los polarizó a todos

El caso de Rosa Morales hizo una incisión profunda en el movimiento Chicano, mostrando las diferencias de clases que lo separan, el sexismo que lo divide aún más, la homofobia que se expande por él, y la bancarrota de los remedios separatistas Chicanos prescritos por algunos radicales de la izquierda.

Rosa Morales—Chicana feminista, sindicalista, e izquierdista—fue una secretaria valiosa de la Universidad de Washington por cinco años. Cuando ella no estuvo públicamente de acuerdo con James Vásquez, su jefe y la cabeza del Centro de Estudios Chicanos, éste fabricó acusaciones en su contra de "grosera," "insubordinada" e "incompetente"; la espió, suspendió y luego la despidió.

La amarga lucha que libró en contra de Vásquez para re-obtener su puesto llegó a ser una prueba de ácido para ella, para los que la apoyaron—y para una variedad de ideologías.

### Una Secretaria Arrogante

Morales luchó arduamente por el concepto de acción afirmativa. Pero el liderazgo militante en el Centro de Estudios Chicanos fue reemplazado por manipuladores oportunistas como Vásquez, quien viró bruscamente hacia la derecha, mientras que la administración universitaria establecía una posición de intransigencia en contra de la igualdad de oportunidades.

La Universidad viola constantemente su propio plan de acción afirmativa; Vásquez, quien recibe un alto salario de la administración, no toleró los esfuerzos de Morales en defensa de los estudiantes y empleados Chicanos. Y su hostilidad política hacia el activismo de Morales se intensificó por su concepto sexista de que una secretaria tiene que ser conformista y grave.

Morales mantenía que la infracción de Vásquez en contra de su libertad de expresión y asociación fue una parte intrínseca de los esfuerzos de la Universidad para frenar la lucha de todos los empleados mal pagados, mujeres y personal minoritario.

Respaldada firmemente por su sindicato, el UWU-I (Sindicato de Trabajadores Unidos-Independientes), compuesto principalmente por mujeres y otras minorías, Morales llevó su caso al Consejo Estatal de Empleados de la Educación Superior.

Los abogados de Morales, Juan Solis y Frederick W. Hyde, hicieron un trabajo de primera calidad presentando los problemas del caso.

Después de veintiséis días de audiencia, el Juez oidor falló en favor de la Universidad, rehusando tratar con los reales problemas del caso—discriminación política y sexual. El ignoró completamente la mayoría del testimonio, el cual estableció claramente la competencia y diligencia de Morales, y documentó escrupulosamente el hostigamiento que precedió a su despedida.

Los abogados sindicales están apelando ahora al Juez oidor por su decisión.

### Se Dan A Conocer Las Líneas Políticas

Al comienzo, los Chicanos militantes, las feministas socialistas, y los homosexuales se reunieron en torno a Morales. Pero el conflicto estaba fermentándose.

Una división mayor ocurrió por el feminismo. El sindicato de Morales y sus aliadas sostuvieron que Morales debería establecer una base amplia de apoyo entre los trabajadores y las feministas. A causa de que Morales fue despedida de su trabajo por ser una mujer franca

e independiente que se defendía a sí misma y a otros trabajadores, ella pensó que las feministas apoyarían su causa.

MEChA, una organización de estudiantes Chicanos, estuvo inicialmente de acuerdo con esta política y apoyó activamente el caso. Pero, a última hora, sucumbió a la influencia de CASA, una organización Chicana nacional la cual se ha vuelto hacia el puro nacionalismo, el stalinismo y la histeria anti-trotskyista.

El abogado Solis defendió ardiente y brillantemente el feminismo a los hombres en MEChA. Pero, bajo el pretexto de que Morales había llevado su caso desde los problemas de los Chicanos trabajadores al problema feminista, MEChA retiró el testigo más importante del caso, el único quien pudo haber demostrado el apoyo de MEChA a Morales—¡quien fue sacrificada por defenderlos a ellos mismos!

CASA atacó viciosamente a Morales, a su sindicato y a sus protectores.

### Mucho Machismo

Los hombres Chicanos, atrapados en su propio sexismo, se separaron ellos mismos de la mayoría de las Chicanas, quienes resuelta y heroicamente intensificaron su apoyo a Morales y a su derecho de libre expresión.

El Centro de la Raza, un centro Chicano, respaldó fuertemente a Morales a causa de su preocupación central con los problemas de la clase trabajadora. El director de El Centro, Roberto Maestas, fue uno de los mejores testigos en favor de Morales.

Infortunadamente, El Centro presionó a Morales para que se deshiciera del apoyo que recibía de los homosexuales. Cuando Morales iba a hablar en una reunión del Día de los Derechos de la Mujer, El Centro exigió que MUJER, un grupo de feministas Chicanas que apoyaba a Morales, retirara su co-patrocinación de la reunión, porque aparecerían oradoras lesbianas.

Los de El Centro que están en contra los homosexuales interrogaron a miembros de MUJER acerca de sus actitudes hacia los homosexuales, atacando a los miembros llamándoles feministas y lesbianas. Una Chicana del FSP (El Partido de Libertad Socialista) y otras activistas de MUJER fueron denunciadas e insultadas.

Pero MUJER se mantuvo firme, endosando la igualdad para todos sin considerar su sexualidad. Insistieron en que Morales hablara en la reunión para aumentar el apoyo en su favor.

El Centro hizo lo justo manteniendo su respaldo a Morales.

El hecho de que muchos hombres Chicanos no alineados le dieran su apoyo ilimitado a Morales también merece mención.

El caso sobresaliente de Rosa Morales reveló gráficamente la lucha de las clases económicas y las lealtades políticas en la comunidad Chicana. Su caso expuso la esterilidad de los stalinistas y maoístas, cuyas posiciones anti-feministas y anti-homosexuales, más su estrecha política nacionalista destruyeron la base de todo esfuerzo de defensa unida.

Las divisiones suicidas dentro de la comunidad Chicana alrededor de su caso deberían convencer a los Chicanos militantes que los trabajadores tienen que defender a todas las víctimas del capitalismo para poder alcanzar la fuerza necesaria para combatir al enemigo común.

**¡UNIDOS VENCEREMOS! ■**

## World Trotskyist Leader

# Mandel Tours U.S.

by Fred Hyde

For the ruling class, the best defense of capitalism is to avoid argument about the need for change—and prevent Marxist scholars like Ernest Mandel from treading these hallowed shores.

But ten years of protest have forced the State Department to lift its travel ban on Mandel, a revolutionary economist and Fourth International spokesman.

After lecturing in New York and Vermont, Mandel came to Seattle in May and debated economist Kenneth Boulding, who tried to shock the audience with a numbing series of stock one-liners like "Does capitalism exist? Probably not," and "Marxism produced Hitler."

Mandel polished off this jokester with an eloquent analysis of the contradictions of capitalism and the coming socialist alternative.

But he hedged on the issue of the divisions plaguing U.S. workers. Asked what measures he advanced to overcome antagonisms between men, women, minorities and whites, Mandel demonstrated little knowledge of American sociology.

He said that overcoming race and sex rifts was not as decisive to the American revolution as raising the political consciousness of the working class. Though acknowledging class unity to be essential, he failed to realize it is precisely the struggle to overcome sexism and racism which enlarges class-consciousness.

Mandel is therefore wrong when he states that changing the status of women from unpaid domestic laborers to wage earners would merely lower the rate of surplus value and not affect class struggle.

Mandel said that race was more important than the woman question, revealing through this underestimation of feminism—typical of European Trotskyism—his unawareness of the relationship between the two issues and the vanguard role of minority women in all movements for change.

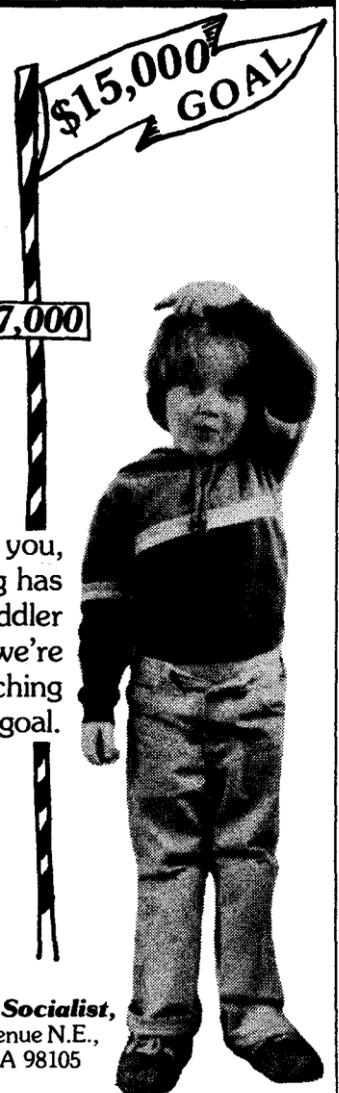
"The over-exploited part of the working class plays an extremely important role in making possible the spread of a higher level of class-consciousness," he conceded. But he never began to reflect Trotsky's ringing prediction that women would rise to become "the most active, the most revolutionary, and the most initiative section of the working class." ■

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**Full-scale combat rages as Ogaden Somalis and Eritreans strive for liberation. Cuba and the USSR play a cynical role while Carter negotiates arms deals with everybody.**

# ETHIOPIA

by Sandy Nelson

The Ethiopian regime remains embattled on two major fronts.

Routed by victorious nationalist rebels in Eritrea, the Ethiopian army is preparing to re-enter Eritrea, Ethiopia's annexed northern territory.

Simultaneously, the Ogaden region is still in dispute, despite the withdrawal of Somalian forces in March. Somalian guerrillas have accelerated their struggle against Ethiopian-directed Cuban and Soviet troops, as the Somalis valiantly try to remold their nation, brutally carved apart by colonialism.

## Barre Plays All Sides

Renewed fighting in the Ogaden was complicated by the unsuccessful April coup of soldiers and army officers against the phony "socialist" military junta of Somalian President Siad Barre.

Barre had been scrambling for increased Chinese aid—and reconsidering a Kremlin alliance, despite the USSR-Ethiopia collusion and his previous expulsion of Russian advisors after a Soviet attack on Ogaden rebels. He is *also* trying to secure materiel from the U.S., and arms sales talks are underway.

In return for military aid, Carter wants Barre to officially recognize the very borders under dispute—the colonial borders separating the Somalis in Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya.

Agreement with Carter's conditions would shatter the authority of Barre's regime.

## Cuban Sellout

Castro and the Soviets echo Carter's line.

Castro claims it is highly practical to accept "the borders left by colonialism." He calls Somalian revolutionaries "reactionaries," labeling their attempt to reunify as "aggression."

Such callous pragmatism deals a murderous blow to Somalian nationalism, with its enormous potential to resist the straitjacket of Barre's regime and turn towards socialist revolution.

## Eritreans Unify

Faced with the impending onslaught of new Ethiopian offensives backed by USSR-Cuba, the rival factions of the Eritrean Liberation Front and the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front have united. Both organizations have waged unceasing warfare for Eritrea's autonomy since its forced annexation to Ethiopia in 1952.

But Eritrea's evolution from anticolonialism to anticapitalism may be slow, given the betrayal by the Stalinists of Eritrea's right of self-determination.

Eritrea is still in grave danger. ■

Patrick Chauvel/Sygma



Thomas Hart Benton/"Wheat" 1967

## Fury in the Fields

# The Farmers Leave the Dell

by Janet Sutherland

**C**rushed between giant agribusiness and the banks, small farmers in the U.S. are venting their anger in what for them is a new form—wide-scale, militant protest actions and media events.

For the small farmer is dying out—and none of the usual schemes and stratagems can provide relief for both the beleaguered farmer and the frantic consumer unable to afford spiraling food prices.

### A Financial Noose

Farm products sell at prices so low farmers cannot pay off the enormous bank loans on their equipment. They cannot compete with the wealthy agricultural conglomerates. Farm prices, after the peak period in 1973, have fallen 23%, while costs have risen 33%.

Farmers demand "parity"—setting food prices high enough to guarantee the level of farm prosperity last achieved in 1914.

They are also demanding a "Buy American" trade policy. But the large food corporations plant exportable cash crops (rather than cheaper food for domestic consumption), and the corporations control Congress. The AFL-CIO, like the farmers, endorses embargoes on competitive foreign foodstuffs, but starving out foreign farmers will hardly resolve the dilemma of U.S. growers.

### Strike!

Last fall, growers faced the lowest relative prices for food products in 40 years. Midwest farmers, fearing bankruptcy, quickly formed the American Agricultural Movement, and, in December, organized a national strike.

They blocked traffic with their tractors in many state capitals, and even staged an unprecedented sit-in at the U.S. Department of Agriculture headquarters. They threatened to plow up planted ground, and they refused to

buy seeds, tractors, fuel and fertilizer from speculators. They also delivered truckloads of free food to striking coalminers in a bid for public support.

Congress responded by proposing useless legislation, ultimately defeated, that would have increased subsidies for unplanted land. And the United Farmworkers Union told a demonstration of farmers in Texas that they should not seek profits at worker expense.

### No Exit

Unfortunately, neither parity nor subsidies can loosen the economic noose.

Parity would mean astronomical food price hikes for the consumer.

And subsidies only benefit large landowners who can let land lie fallow and collect government funds. The small farmer would be forced to stop farming in order to collect even a tiny subsidy!

The wildly fluctuating food market has cut the number of small farms in half. The lost acreage has been gobbled up by corporations and wealthy farmers—farms over 1,000 acres now total 54% of all U.S. farmlands!

An aid program exclusively for small farmers—and *not* at the consumer's expense—would assure the support of the working class.

A labor-farmer alliance is the sole hope for building the political strength necessary to force the government and agribusiness into halting the strangulation of the family farm. For the current system exploits both farmer and worker, and further struggle will show farmers the need to cooperate with workers in forging a new government of *all* who produce. ■

Janet Sutherland was raised on a small farm in rural Washington. She is a high school teacher in Bellevue, WA, specializing in literature, social problems, and women's studies.

by Sam Deaderick

**A**nita Bryant and Co.'s rabid crusade against gays is stoking a rightwing furnace of self-righteous bigotry not seen in this country since the McCarthy era. And the gay community, rent with dissension, is reeling in the face of the assault.

Disoriented by the fear, caution and silent martyrdom of its liberal leadership, the besieged gay organizations are in sharp crisis—fragmented, confused and virtually defenseless. For gays are the most vulnerable segment of the oppressed in America.

But the real dynamic propelling Bryant's movement is not simple heterosexism—it is the hope that smashing gay rights can be the first stage of a national rightwing mobilization to liquidate all the civil rights won in the last 30 years.

High on the agenda of Bryant's group, Protect America's Children (!), is opposition to the ERA and abortion. In her famous *Playboy* interview, Bryant said, "Look at the Houston convention... The government gave the feminists \$5,000,000 and Phyllis Schlafly not one penny. It's almost communistic..."

Protect America's Children recognizes the front-line character of its battle against gay rights and is pouring energy and money into a vitriolic campaign of hatred. The organization has donated \$20,000 to antigay efforts in St. Paul, Minnesota and Wichita, Kansas, and \$3,000 to an antigay group in Seattle, Washington. And it works closely with spinoff groups around the country.

#### The Front Lines

In St. Paul, Minnesota, gay civil rights were repealed by a margin of almost two to one in April.

The St. Paul defense effort was led by gay liberals, who followed the meek advice of the National Gay Task Force to underplay the vital fact that the opposition was a far-right coalition out to deny rights to *all* minority groups. Gay moderates hoped this tactic would avoid provoking "reaction."

The gay campaign was thus marked by a completely defensive posture and failure to aggressively expose the right wing. As a result, the majority of St. Paul voters were convinced that a vote against gays was a vote for "moral decency."

Gays in Wichita, Kansas faced an even more severe defeat, losing five to one. The Wichita gay leaders opted for a low-key approach, while the reactionaries were visible and flamboyant.

In Eugene, Oregon a repeal effort was launched and conservatives gathered enough signatures in one week to force the issue to the ballot.

A coalition of liberals and radicals headed the defense effort. They compromised on a strategy of grass roots organizing to attract favorable voters to the polls. But no mass actions were planned, and in May, gays suffered yet another crashing defeat in this supposedly progressive university town.

In Seattle, Washington, a Mormon policeman has launched a signature drive, hoping to put an initiative on the ballot to repeal housing and employment protections for gays *and* transfer the enforcement powers of the Office of Women's Rights at the same time!

Two groups are providing leadership to the pro-gay forces—the moderate Citizens to Retain Fair Employment, and a united front of gay, radical, and

feminist groups, the Washington Coalition for Sexual Minority Rights.

The Citizens group adopted a restrained approach from the beginning, advising gays to remain quiet while the antigays collected signatures. But WCSMR publicly denounced the antigay campaign, setting an excellent example of aggressive electioneering. Seattle gays and their supporters are relatively well-informed about the issues and prepared to engage in an outspoken and sustained battle for survival.

#### Patience and Terror: The Liberal Betrayal

The defeat of gay rights in Dade County, Florida last summer demonstrated to the right wing that the gay movement was divided, politically inexperienced, lacking in popular support, and, at least in Miami, incapable of strong self-defense.

The Miami defense effort, designed by Democratic Party pros, concentrated on a slick media campaign. Incendiary charges hurled by antigays, such as child molestation, were never answered. No mass demonstrations or marches were held, and support from racial minorities was not sought. Miami gays lost two to one.

Nevertheless, fear and dissension mark both leadership factions as the moderates heap public scorn and derision on the coalition. Unfortunately, too much energy is being turned inward and too little expended (as of this writing) in building a massive and collaborative united front.

A grim lesson should have been learned. To counsel self-effacement and respectability in the face of an incipient pogrom is to insure betrayal. To die a martyr, in noble silence, is to die a coward, and to convince others to do so is akin to murder. Yet gay liberals still laud the tactics of the suicidal Miami

defense, despite the bitter reality: in the wake of the wave of challenges to municipal gay rights ordinances, the antigay forces have moved onto the state and national levels.

#### The Briggs Uproar in California

In California, the Briggs Initiative, launched by a State senator from Orange County, would bar gays, or anyone who advocated gay rights, from teaching or working in California public schools. 358,576 valid signatures were collected, putting the issue on the November ballot.

California gays are rallying in a strong defense effort. In Los Angeles, a new group, United Action Coalition Against Briggs, is coordinating what have been isolated defense efforts. And in San Francisco, Bay Area Coalition Against Briggs is gaining wide support in a fight against the reactionary initiative.

On the national level, the U.S. Supreme Court recently refused to rule on a challenge to North Carolina's sodomy laws, lending implicit assent to any state's right to legislate sexual expression.

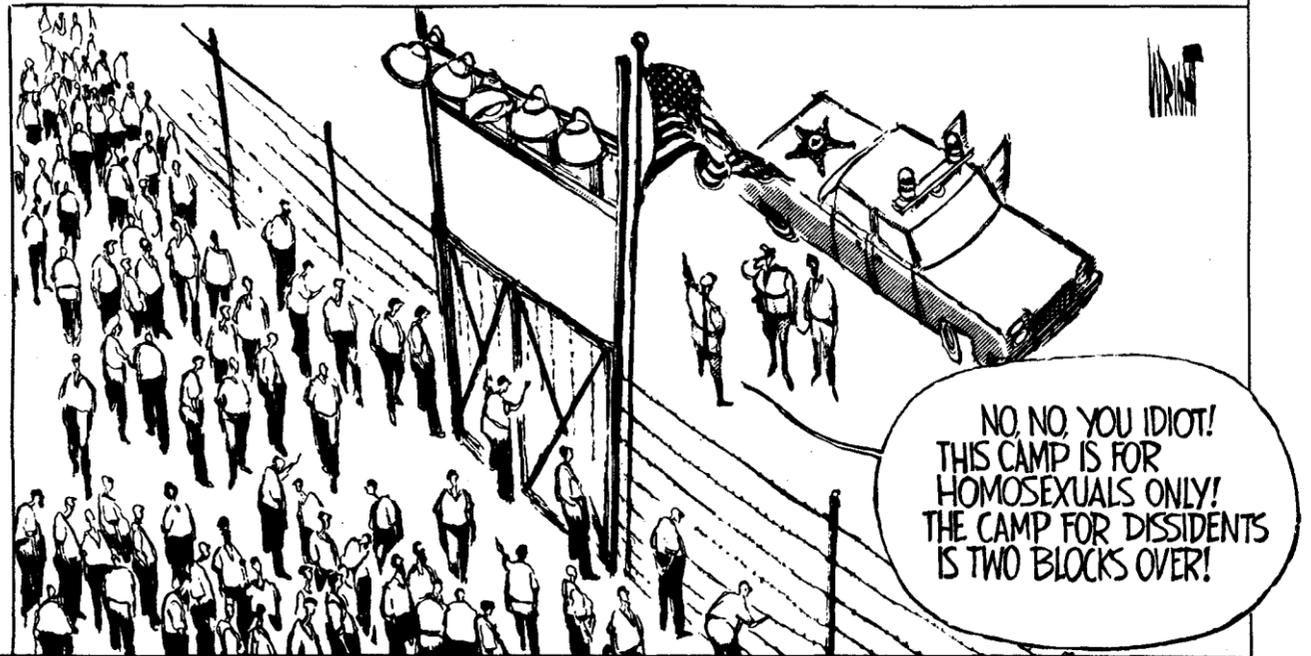
#### For a United Front against Reaction

Antigay slander can be resisted effectively through direct and concentrated counter-attack, and not by gays alone. The social force and political persuasiveness necessary to defeat the reactionaries can only be assembled through a determined alliance of all the other strata the right wing wishes to defeat—feminists, ethnic minorities, and the ranks of labor.

Defeats for gay rights embolden the total rightwing crusade. But a successful defense and extension of gay rights would build a firm barricade against a reactionary groundswell and re-moralize all the movements for social justice. ■

## The newest scapegoats

# Witchhunters Incite Antigay Hysteria



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# Myra Tanner Weiss

## On Mao's

# Contradictions



Hsinhua News Agency

The degree of confusion encountered in Mao Tse-tung's small work, *On Contradiction*, is appalling. Obviously, this book was published not because Mao understood the dialectic but because he led a revolution and held state power.

This, too, is a contradiction. How can a revolution be won without a correct revolutionary program? Marxists consider theory and program to be of primary importance—our most indispensable weapon. And the different paces of the Russian and Chinese Revolutions bear this out.

The Russian Bolshevik Party attained power after a 9-month struggle, from February to October 1917. But the Chinese Revolution, which began in 1924, was led by a party dominated by Stalin, and 25 years of ferocious struggle ensued before the bourgeois Chiang Kai-shek was vanquished and China started on the road to socialism.

A terrible price in time, lives and energy was paid for Mao's theoretical errors.

### The Poverty of Mao's Philosophy

Mao's dialectic is just as erroneous as his politics. He makes a great to-do in *On Contradiction* about "external" and "internal" contradictions:

The basic cause of development in a thing is not external, but internal, and lies in internal contradictions. Everything has its internal contradictions, hence motion and development. Contradictions within a thing are the basic cause of its development, while its relationship with other things, their interconnection and interaction, is a secondary cause.

[Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1960, p. 5]

This apparently innocent statement is extremely deceptive. What is the relation between the "internal" and "external"? Is one "primary" and the other "secondary"? Life provides excellent examples to refute this erroneous contention:

1. A seed has a kernel that is contained—and counterposed—by a shell. Under the impact of sun and rain, a transformation takes place—a plant develops. Sun and rain, of course, will not transform a pebble into a plant—internal qualities and external influences are equally essential to plant life.

2. Mao considers quality primary as compared to its contradiction, quantity. But quantitative change can effect qualitative change. One more unit of heat at a certain point transforms water from a liquid to a gas. The "secondary" therefore becomes "primary."

3. Marx analyzes commodity production prior

to describing circulation, which is derivative, "secondary." But he also shows how circulation proved to be primary, how it became the historical cause of the transformation of production. Before capitalism, commodity exchange developed to such a point that the production of commodities ceased to be merely incidental to the characteristic production-for-use, and the entire productive process was transformed into capitalism—production solely for exchange.

*The truth is that "primary" and "secondary" phenomena are mutually dependent, interchangeable and unified, as well as contradictory.*

### Method and Madness

The contradiction between the capitalist class and the working class is irreconcilable, since it is based on the rate of exploitation (the rate of surplus value). Any change in this rate *must* come at the expense of either capitalist or worker, and each class has the means of compensating for a loss. The boss can increase the scale of operations, which increases his absolute profit despite a relative decline. And the unionized worker can slow down on the job, lowering the rate of exploitation by reducing the intensity of labor.

Marx's *Capital* shows how this economic contradiction and inevitable struggle between the classes is the *same* contradiction as that between use value and exchange value encountered within the commodity. This basic contradiction, inherent within—*internal* to—the commodity, becomes manifest—*external*—in the contradiction between the world of commodities and the specific commodity, money. And that contradiction eventually develops into the class contradiction between capital and labor.

An *internal* contradiction is thus transformed into an *external* one, yet it is still an internal contradiction when viewed from the vantage point of society-as-a-whole. But Mao's trick of converting such interdependent and fluid phenomena into rigid and isolated categories violates the foundations of dialectics.

### The Dialectics of Chairman Mao

When the working class takes power in economically underdeveloped countries, it must carry out the unfinished tasks of the bourgeois revolution as well as the new tasks of the proletarian revolution. Under those difficult conditions of scarcity and economic backwardness, a bureaucracy can easily arise—an opportunist stratum of officials and administrators with ready access to prized material goods.

Like the labor bureaucracy in capitalist countries,

the bureaucracy in a backward workers state has material interests of its own which are highly contradictory in nature, and this contradiction is reflected in its politics.

It is anticapitalist and pro-socialist insofar as it rests on the working class and manages a planned economy that excludes profiteers. But at the same time, its privileges make it politically conservative; bureaucrats desire, above all, accommodation with the capitalist world so they can maintain the status quo and consolidate their privileges.

And their conservatism is expressed on all levels of national and international policy.

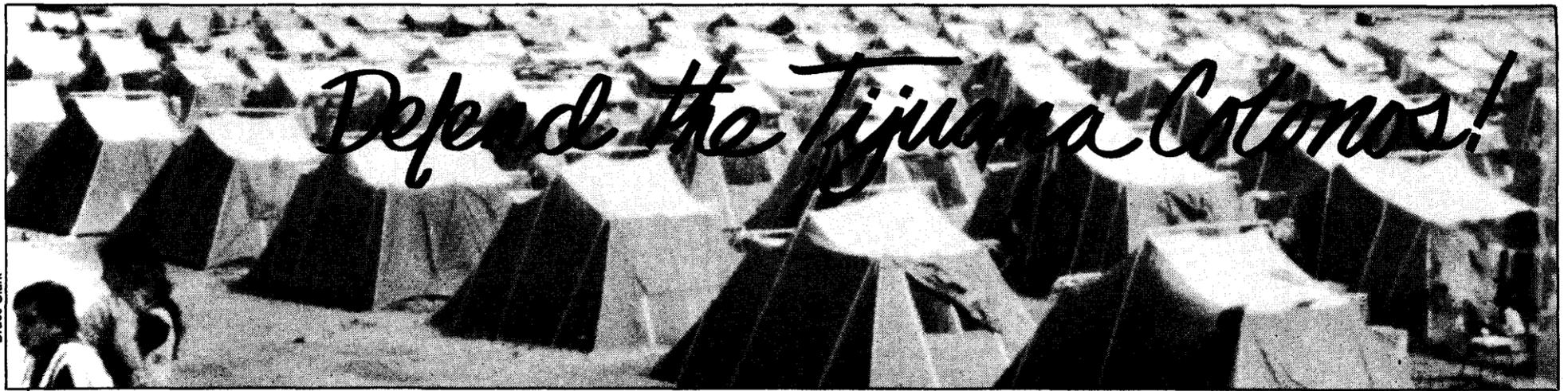
The contradictions of the bureaucratic caste in a workers state must be understood in order to grasp the meaning of the wide swings in policy that emanated first from Stalin's regime, and later, in modified form, from Mao.

For Mao wanted only to end the imperialist threat against China; he had no intention of transforming U.S. capitalism. So he urged struggle against imperialism—the "primary" contradiction—but not against "secondary" capitalism. And to justify this opportunism, he perverted dialectics, twisting and turning it to serve his own contradictory political ends. ■



Doug Barnes

Myra Tanner Weiss, a revolutionist since the 1930s, was a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party and its three-time candidate for Vice President of the U.S. She left the SWP in the '60s and taught advanced seminars in *Capital* at New York's School for Marxist Education. She is a founder and organizer of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP).



Bruce Clark

by Jesús Mena

**L**ast winter's phenomenally destructive rainfall in Southern California produced "The Wettest Year of the Century." But the ensuing damage was not all wrought by nature, as the shantytown dwellers of Tijuana, Mexico, right across the California border, learned to their dismay.

The normally dry Tijuana riverbed is crowded with "colonias" that serve as housing for tens of thousands of Mexico's poor and unemployed. The government covets this real estate and is desperately trying to convert it into a high income residential, commercial and industrial zone, financed primarily by U.S. capital. The flood-level rains provided the perfect pretext for achieving this sinister urban renewal.

Broadcasting dire predictions of rains so torrential that Noah would have been terrified, the media created deliberate panic and the government promptly staged an emergency evacuation to "save" the people from a supposedly impending break in the dam.

25,000 residents were forced to flee their homes, leaving everything behind, and the army rushed in and bulldozed all the colonias, plus 300 small businesses and shops.

#### Tent City

The evacuees were housed in an appalling "tent city" (el Campamento de Otai)—one portable toilet per six tents, a communal kitchen which had to be rented, and military guards who demanded identification from everybody. El Campamento de Otai was a badly-run prisoner of war camp.

The "captives" revolted. In a quickly organized demonstration, 1,000 angry people marched on City Hall and the government had to halt the bulldozing.

The remaining colonos formed a struggle committee, el Comité de Colonos de la Zona del Río, supported by the PRT (Partido Revolucionario Trabajadores), the Mexican section of the Fourth International.

El Comité evolved into a strong and popular movement that addresses the plight of all the colonos, including the tent city refugees. Several mass actions have been organized; the most dramatic was the intervention of 2,000 colonos into the official May Day parade. Against police orders, the demonstrators stopped the parade and held a spirited rally, demanding justice for the colonos and for all workers.

#### Mexico: A Political Powderkeg

The high political level of the Tijuana struggle is hardly exceptional for Mexico, which is undergoing a tremendously accelerated class polarization as a consequence of economic crisis.

Inflation is rampant. Forty percent of the working class, and 68% of agricultural workers, are unemployed or underemployed.

The masses are growing increasingly cynical about the populist rhetoric and grandiose promises of the Mexican regime. In the mines, factories and barrios workers are experimenting with new modes of struggle and organization. Since the union movement is state-controlled, this new, experimental stage is a necessary precursor to an even higher, revolutionary level of struggle. The deep significance of the Tijuana movement must be judged within the context of this mounting radicalization.

#### Colonos in the Forefront

El Comité de Colonos is today the focal point of the class struggle in Tijuana.

Less than 25% of Tijuana's labor force work in Tijuana proper. Jobholders work in small enterprises where workplace organizing is extremely difficult, but the colono movement has taken a decisive step towards fulfilling the frustrated organizational and political needs of the workers.

The demands of the colono movement are basic and modest: new homes for the dispossessed, fair compensation for losses, a flood control system for the riverbed area, and paving of the streets in the colonias.

While not formally questioning the legitimacy of the government, the movement does not trust the state and relies consciously on its own mass activism to win.

Slum housing is a terrible problem throughout Latin America. But the only country in Latin America to replace slums with modern housing is the workers government of Cuba. Impoverished Mexico desperately needs such a popular, revolutionary government to meet the great needs of the colonos, the workers, the unemployed and all the victims of Yankee imperialism and its henchmen, the bourgeoisie of Mexico.

**STOP THE TIJUANA EVICTIONS! FAIR COMPENSATION FOR THE COLONOS! FREE HOUSING FOR THE COLONOS AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE! INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE COLONO MOVEMENT! ■**

**E**l pasado invierno las lluvias caídas en California hicieron grandes daños y perjuicios, no todos causados por la naturaleza, como lo supieron recientemente los moradores de las poblaciones de Tijuana.

El normalmente seco cauce del río Tijuana está bote a bote con Colonias, en las que viven miles de mexicanos pobres. El gobierno quiere esta tierra para

hacer una zona comercial, industrial, y residencial para gente rica, financiada primeramente por capital norteamericano.

A causa de las lamentables predicciones de lluvias torrenciales dadas por la radiodifusión, se creó un pánico y los residentes fueron evacuados.

Huyeron 25,000 personas, y el ejército removió la tierra de las colonias.

Los evacuados fueron apiñados en una "ciudad de tiendas de campaña" que más parece un campamento militar.

Más de mil airados colonos marcharon hacia la Alcaldía de la ciudad, forzando al gobierno para que detuviera en último término a las excavadoras. Se formó el Comité de Colonos de la Zona del Río, apoyado por el PRT (Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores), sección Mexicana de la Cuarta Internacional.

El popular "Comité" organizó acciones masivas, incluyendo la dramática intervención del día Primero de Mayo. En contra las órdenes de la policía, 2,000 manifestantes pararon el desfile y tuvieron una reunión en masa.

El alto nivel político de la lucha no es excepcional para México, donde la inflación, la cesantía y la pobreza crean una rápida polarización de las clases.

Los sindicatos son controlados por el gobierno del Estado. Las masas desconfían del régimen, y así es como los trabajadores experimentan con nuevas formas de organización.

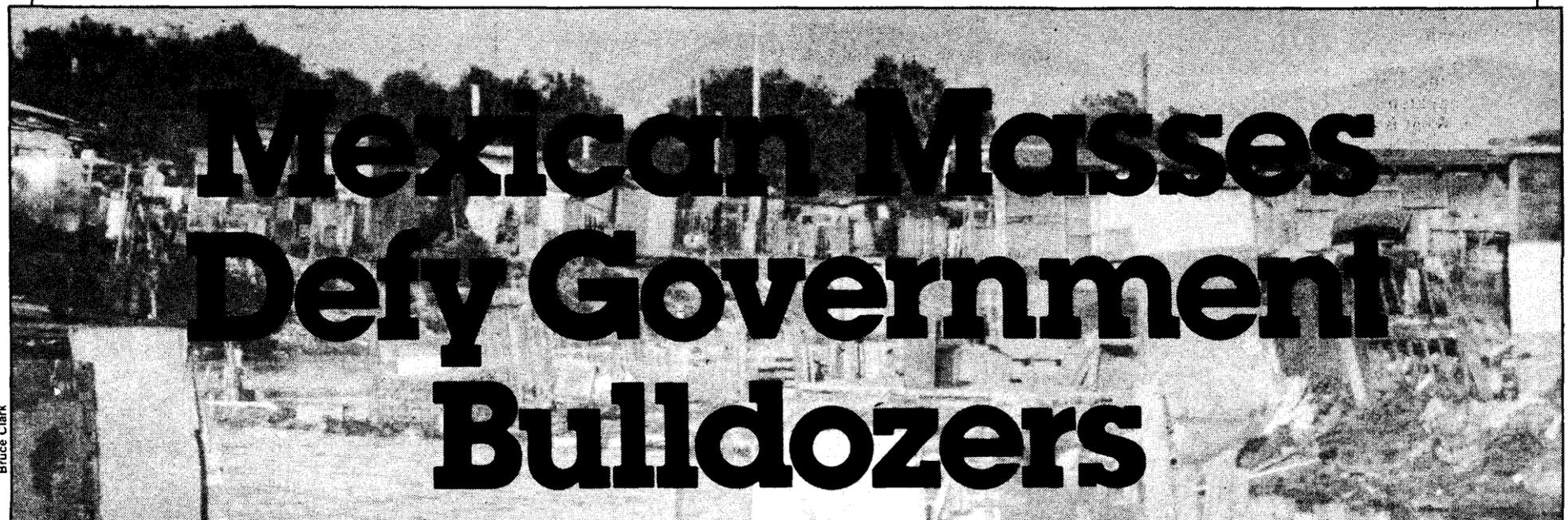
La nueva etapa es la precursora del más alto nivel de acción revolucionaria, y la gran importancia del levantamiento de Tijuana debe ser juzgada en el contexto de esta intensificada lucha de clases.

Menos de un 25% de la fuerza laboral trabaja en Tijuana misma, y unificar a los trabajadores de los talleres de las pequeñas empresas de Tijuana es difícil, aunque el movimiento colono, la resistencia básica, es un paso decisivo hacia el cumplimiento de las frustradas necesidades políticas de los trabajadores.

El movimiento demanda nuevos hogares y justa compensación por sus pérdidas, que controlen las inundaciones del cauce, y que pavimenten las calles en las colonias. Los colonos confían en su propio poder como masa para triunfar.

El único país en Latinoamérica donde se han reemplazado estos terribles barrios por viviendas modernas es en el gobierno de los trabajadores de Cuba. México clama por una revolución para ayudarle al pueblo contra el imperialismo y sus secuaces, la burguesía mexicana.

**¡PAREN LOS DESALOJOS! ¡COMPENSACIONES JUSTAS Y CASAS GRATIS PARA LOS COLONOS! ¡SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL CON EL MOVIMIENTO COLONO! ■**



Bruce Clark

## Who are the pro-earth, antinuclear people and what do they want?

by Cindy Walker

In May, thousands of Live Without Trident protesters provoked the latest in a series of mass arrests by trespassing on the nuclear submarine base at Bangor, Washington.

This alliance of pacifists and environmentalists is only one of various nationwide and international coalitions focusing world attention on the perils of nuclear energy and industrial waste.

Environmental concern has surged since the late 1960s, when scientists verified what Indians and Marxists had long predicted: uncontrolled and unplanned production jeopardizes the earth. Today, as greed drives rival industrialists to strip the planet, contaminate the environment, and foment nuclear war, an aroused army of protesters seeks to build an international network of rebellion against the rape of the environment.

### But What About Jobs?

Many Trident demonstrators grasp the vital connection between the exploitation of natural resources and of human beings. They participate in anti-Bakke rallies, defend workers on strike, and bid for the support of labor, minorities, and women for their determined challenge of the corporate and governmental powers who pillage nature and poison people.

Antinuclear activists tend to be young, white and middleclass New Leftists. Political liberals with a tinge of Utopianism, their cry for scaled-down technology and reduced consumption alienates workers because the pleas are not offset with the demand for full employment.

Historically, workers have always borne the brunt of technological change, and the voice of labor is the first to disparage the need for environmental protections.

Myopic union leadership in Oregon campaigned against limiting nuclear power development with the slogan, "On this issue there is no bargaining table between labor and our management friends."

This stance is duplicated nationally as loggers and workers in the building, utility, construction, steel and auto trades enter the fray against the environmentalists and antinuclear forces.

### Corporate Responsibility

Organizations like Environmentalists for Full Employment, however, alert

workers to the terrible dangers of resource pollution and depletion by asserting that health, safety, and continued employment depend precisely on controlling a ravaging capitalism. They demand that jobs be created by the allocation of sufficient funding to public services.

But environmentalists in general skirt an outright anticapitalist analysis and get very excited about personal mini-solutions like lifestyle changes, boycotts and recycling. They also advocate the tired non-solution of population control as a substitute for economic transformation. But the roots of the problem lie in the irrational economic system which enshrines profit to the detriment of clean air, drinkable water, safe energy production, occupational health and safety, and effective land use planning.

### Labor is the Key

The pro-earth people will have to learn to place the burden of responsibility squarely on the capitalist class and demand funding for all human needs. A sane environmental ethic that respects the limits of nature, and asserts the need to stop plundering and start cooperating with the only earth we have, can emerge only when environmentalists and labor join hands to restore ecological harmony by vanquishing the corporate scavengers.

Meanwhile, inner-city minorities and reservation Indians continue to be the paramount victims of industrial pollution as the throwaway society plunges madly toward its own destruction. ■



Cindy Walker teaches a Women's Studies class at Portland State University and belongs to the Oregon State Employees Association. She has worked as a municipal neighborhood land use planner.

**ENDANGERED  
PLANET**

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The Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party is a national Trotskyist tendency formed in July 1977 to stimulate the process of radical regroupment necessary for the construction of a genuine Leninist party in the U.S.

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March, 1978 Vol. 1

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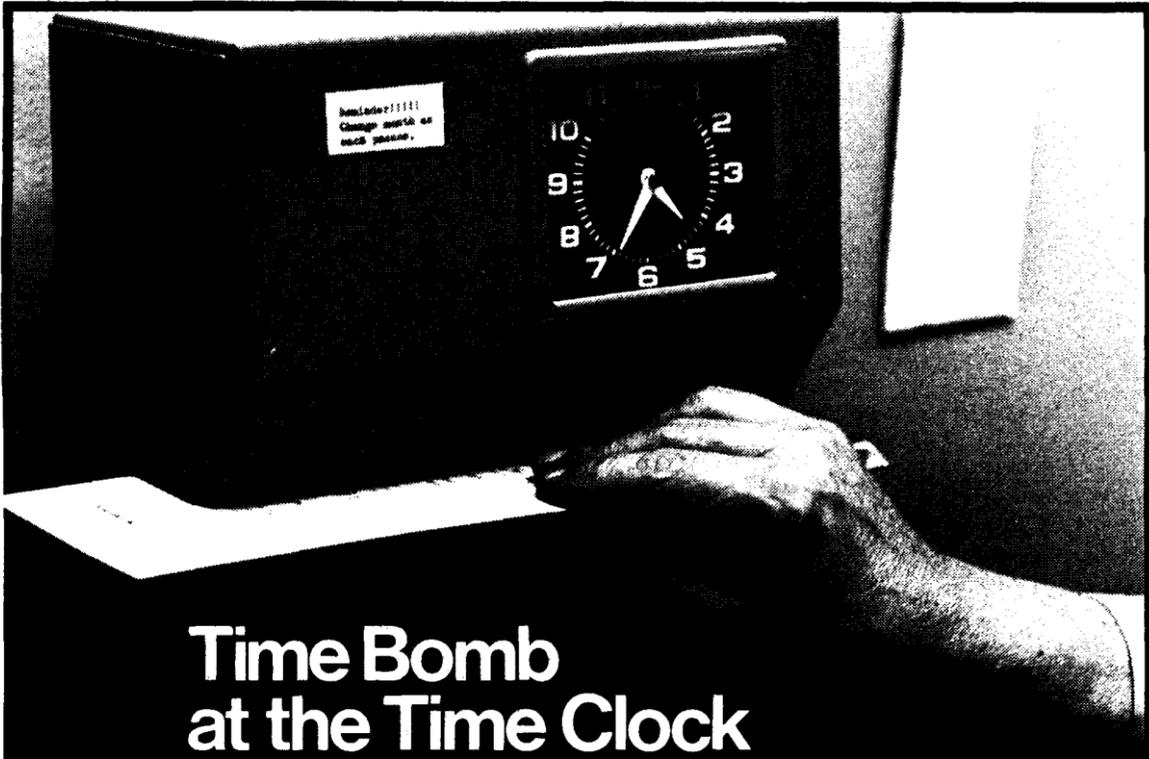
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## Time Bomb at the Time Clock

# THE HOUSE OF LABOR

by Tamara Turner and Sam Deaderick

**A**merican workers love their paychecks, hate their bosses, despair of their unions, and are bored and exhausted by their jobs. "Take This Job And Shove It!" is a popular music bestseller.

Karl Marx taught that labor power is a productive expenditure of workers' brains, nerves, and muscles—and that capitalism operates by killing the human geese who lay the golden eggs of profit.

He was right. No matter how hard workers exert themselves and no matter how rich the privileged class becomes, labor's share grows smaller, working conditions deteriorate, and the job becomes a grueling endurance test instead of cause for pride.

What is in store for the harassed working people of this country, bludgeoned by the bosses and the bosses' government, demoralized by the conservatism of the top labor officials, and rent asunder by their own fears and prejudices?

Quiet as it's kept, the skilled hands of this tired and resentful working class hold a power that is decisive to the future of humanity—the power of solidarity that can transform life in the U.S. and help revolutionize the planet.

For the hands and minds and combativeness of workers could deal the death blow to the terrible system that drains and maims them. Workers' power could inaugurate a new civilization on earth based on cooperation and mutual aid.

But this potentially potent class, whose strategic economic position can determine whether the country operates or stops, faces enormous obstacles from without and within.

### I. The Enemy Without: Capitalism

**T**he fundamental tension in modern society is the contradiction between the ruling class which owns all the great capital wealth and the workers who create and increase this wealth.

A constant war is waged between these two classes. The history of U.S. labor is a chronicle of self-defense against violence, of daily struggle against destitution, degradation, disaster, deceit, brutality, prison, murder and massacre. From the days of colonial America through the Knights of Labor, the progressive American Labor Union, the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the massive Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), and the more recent battles of farmworkers, municipal employees, and coalminers, labor history reverberates with the drama of explosive proletariat.

The ingenious American proletariat of the depression-ridden 1930s invented the sit-down strike. Camped inside the giant auto factories of Detroit, they refused to budge until recognition for their bold new

industrial union—the CIO—was granted.

The reign of the limited and isolated craft unions of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was over; the CIO now held sway, and it radically transformed the union movement, conferring upon it the capability for plantwide solidarity long sought by the IWW.

American workers continued to struggle heroically against inflation; unemployment and underemployment; appalling safety conditions; stingy vacations, sick leave, pensions, and health benefits; union-busting; speedup; and harsh disciplinary policies. And today worker militancy is reviving.

New blood—from the New Left, veterans, youth, minority activists, professionals, technicians, feminists, and gays—is sparking a heightened class consciousness and broadening labor's demands to encompass new issues and extended benefits.

The class has learned many valuable lessons about the nature of the capitalist antagonist, and the slow, molecular changes in worker awareness are irresistibly preparing it for eventual self-identification as *a revolutionary class* with the aim and intent of throwing off the terrible capitalist yoke.

### The Unemployment Boom

Despite relatively high living standards, job insecurity plagues all workers.

President Carter considers the current 7% jobless rate "acceptable." A permanent sub-class of 10-14 million people who cannot ever hope to find jobs is okay, says this representative of Big Business.

He is echoed, unfortunately, by many privileged aristocrats of labor who care only for their own job security. Seniority affords protection predominantly to the older, white male, skilled workers and tends to pit them against all other workers.

For over 30 years, nonwhites have been victimized by an unemployment rate double that of whites. And men of all races have a better chance for re-employment than women—2 out of 3 unemployed men eventually will go back to work compared to less than half the women who lose their jobs.

This is the day and age of expensive "Job-Finding" classes, work "motivation" programs, and employment agencies with fees that eat up two months' salary. The system doesn't really work for anybody except a relatively small layer of labor's elite.

Thirty hours work for forty hours pay—or any flexible, sliding scale of wages and hours applicable to prevalent conditions—could eliminate unemployment. If this transitional demand, advanced by Trotsky in the 1930s, were realized, a mortal blow would be struck at the ruling class, for capitalism depends upon a reserve army of labor, available to be used or discarded at a moment's notice. **30 for 40 or Fight!** is the relevant demand for today, but organized labor is slow to adopt it.

### Another Day Older and Deeper in Debt

Despite decades of rising national income, *real* wages—what is left after taxes and inflation—are shrinking. It now takes \$1.88 to buy the same amount of food that \$1.00 bought in 1967. To regain the buying power of the early '70s, most workers need wage increases of 20% to 50%.

Even the improved contract recently won by striking coalminers increased their *real* wages by only **\$1.85 every two weeks**. And their health benefits were whittled down—in the most dangerous industry in the land.

The wages of government workers, teachers, hospital employees, and many other sectors of the service and white-collar proletariat are swiftly eroding, and the prospect of massive hunger looms dead ahead.

### The Godhead of Productivity

The giant corporations complain that productivity is so low that they can't make a decent profit off the workers anymore.

But productivity—the average amount of goods produced per labor hour—has actually increased; in 1976, it rose faster than in any year since 1962.

A study undertaken of 82,000 dressmakers in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in New York revealed an absolute decline in real wages over a ten-year period, accompanied by a 15% increase in productivity!

Productivity is usually achieved not by increasing the labor force but by speedups that wring everything, life and blood included, from the workers. After Carter asked for a 65% increase in coal production, the mine operators forced "incentive programs" into the new contract. Hourly wages were replaced by tonnage pay, forcing miners to compete for bonus wages. The dread scourge of piecework is again on the rampage.

Auto workers produce a car every minute, and work under inhuman conditions. Said one Detroit assembly line worker,

**It's hard to imagine if you've never been through it. But if you have 2 seconds left after a job, they want those 2 seconds. And to get those 2 seconds, they're willing to scream at you, throw you in the street...they take whatever means necessary.**

Higher productivity means higher profit—yet wages are still declining.

### Work Now—Pay Later

Many workers would be safer walking blindfolded on a freeway than working on the job.

It's far cheaper for business and industry to pay fines for injuries, deaths, and improper handling of toxic materials than to create a safe work environment. Despite the increasing number and severity of industrial injuries, management keeps slashing the safety and health budget. In 1975 alone, industry cut safety expenses 10%.

A conservative federal estimate placed the 1977 death rate for workers at 100,000 from work-related illness, with another 390,000 suffering temporary but total illness or injury. The United Auto Workers placed the total figure closer to 4 million.

A high percentage of the 247,000 textile workers exposed to deadly cotton dust are expected to contract "brown lung," an occupational disease that has crippled and killed thousands. The textile industry has long sought to keep the disease a secret, attributing the exposé to a "Commie and Black plot."

Many industries now require women working near toxic substances to undergo tubal ligations or hysterectomies, transfer to lower paid jobs, or quit. An estimated 12 million women workers are exposed to dangerous chemicals.

Harmful effects of toxic chemicals upon males are largely ignored despite evidence of higher rates of stillborn babies or miscarriages among their wives.

Working is increasingly dangerous to health.

### The Blind Watchdogs

OSHA, the federal Occupational Safety and Health Act, is a mockery.

Responsible for pinpointing illegal danger levels, the agency intervenes only when the death rate reaches 4 to 8 times the normal rate of the rest of the population! Fines are minimal and inspections fiercely resisted by management.

The labor officialdom is generally deaf to cries

to next page

for help from the workplace. Many union bureaucrats warn that too many complaints will push the bosses to move to a more favorable labor climate down South or overseas.

Thus, instead of resisting the runaway shop phenomenon, the bureaucrats passively acquiesce to thousands of employee deaths yearly, as the working class is increasingly maimed and broken on the mad wheel of profit.

### Right To Work For Less

While union bureaucrats sit on their plump wallets, the bosses feverishly hack at Labor's house.

Sophisticated "union-proofing" techniques are taught to managers and supervisors, and consultants with advanced degrees instruct administrators on how to engineer decertification elections. Unions last year lost 628 of 811 such contests!

The political right wing, led by the National Association of Manufacturers, has raised a war chest of \$20 million to destroy unions. The National Right to Work Committee spent \$8.5 million in 1977 and plans to introduce open shop laws into the 1978 legislature of seven states.

So-called "right-to-work" laws do not insure freedom to work or more jobs. They do prohibit contracts that require all employees to join a union when the majority has voted to join. This eliminates the "union shop," a basic protection against scabs and freeloaders. Unions are legally bound to represent all the workers in a shop, office or factory, so all workers should share the cost of unionism, but right-to-work laws encourage finks to flout their responsibilities and strikebreak with impunity.

Right-to-work originated in the antilabor, racist, and sexist Deep South and has spread northward and westward like a plague.

Unemployment, inflation, physical danger, union-busting, degradation... epidemics inflicted upon the working class which are inherent in the capitalist mode of production for private profit. Any struggle against them becomes objectively anti-capitalist, and potentially a march in the direction of socialism.

If the labor movement were dedicated fully and frankly to its own class interest, it could topple the system of exploitation by the bourgeoisie. Instead, big labor frantically pursues the hollow course of conciliation and betrayal.

What is the House of Labor doing to repel the union-smashers and ease the worker's burden?

Very little. Instead of strengthening the fist of labor, the union bureaucracy is shaking the hand of capital.

## II. The Enemy Within: Labor Bureaucrats

The union bureaucracy is a professional core of opportunist labor fakers who sell out strikes, command workers to cross each other's picket lines, negotiate no-strike pledges and 3-year contracts, and do everything in their considerable power to suppress and disorient the rank and file. The calculated complicity of conservative union officials harasses and sometimes terrorizes the membership into succumbing to management.

This bureaucracy is the chief mechanism through which the ruling class maintains its control over the working class—since this is inside control from the workers' own leaders, and workers respect the authority of their leadership.

The bureaucracy, furthermore, is a key component of America's social-democracy, that narrowly pragmatic and reformist transition link between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Like their cousins in power in Portugal, West Germany, and Great Britain, the labor bureaucrats play the dishonorable role of conciliating the contending classes and helping maintain the hegemony of the capitalists.

A worker in a large establishment can have no direct impact on the boss, so the union officialdom is the go-between, diffusing the militance of workers so that the status quo is never seriously threatened. The bureaucrats are well paid, privileged power brokers; in many unions, the contracts they accept cannot even be challenged by the membership.

International union officials maintain their positions through a sub-stratum of regional and local agents who take their orders from the top. Strife between locals and dictatorial Internationals is chronic.

The Fitzsimmonses and Meanys have ridden to prominence on a wave of unprincipled deals. They

are the labor connection to big money and big government; they guarantee that if *they* are treated right, labor will behave. Not always successful, they still manage to persuade millions of workers that significant gains are impossible and that miniscule wage raises are great victories.

Union scandals erupt constantly as bribery, payoffs, murder, extortion, theft of pension funds, and ties to organized crime are unearthed. But the bureaucratic machine is so entrenched that public exposure rarely causes more than a ripple of annoyance in the luxurious, business-as-usual executive suites of labor's men of power.

### The Labor Aristocracy

The bureaucratic kingdoms in the palace of labor rest securely on a relatively stable base of support: the labor aristocracy.

This privileged layer of workers is overwhelmingly white, male, older, and highly skilled. The labor officialdom is the social expression of their interests, protecting their higher wages at the expense of the lower strata of the workers.

The aristocrats of labor vehemently oppose affirmative action, strikes, union democracy, independent labor politics—anything that endangers their adaptation to company policy. They are generally the voice of conservatism among the rank and file; they are the henchmen of the bosses and bureaucrats. They are capable of impulsive rebellion when their own interests are challenged, and they expect instant solidarity from everybody else—a favor they rarely return. And they are enamored with labor's shabby role in the political big-time of capitalist politics.

In this lies the fundamental treachery of the high-priests of labor—a century of betrayal of the working class to the twin parties of Big Business.

### Boss Politics versus Labor Party

The AFL-CIO ripped another fortune from the pockets of union members in 1976 to install a "friend of labor" in the White House. Vice President Mondale summed it up: "No organization worked harder for the Carter-Mondale ticket than the AFL-CIO... To put it frankly, we couldn't have done it without you."

Predictably, Carter's midnight promises to labor faded with the dawn of his coronation. Immense deeds can be accomplished by the proletariat, but endlessly electing handpicked stooges of the capitalist class is not one of them. The absurd tradition of supporting enemy candidates is the most effective block to independent workingclass politics that the bourgeoisie and the labor officialdom have devised.

A Labor Party, on the contrary, based on the trade unions and representing the interests of all the exploited and subjugated, could change the direction of U.S. society.

A Labor Party would serve notice on the Republicans and Democrats that labor can speak with its own voice and mobilize vast support. Labor could stop begging and wheedling for paltry concessions, and start to make the laws itself.

Such a party would become a vibrant arena for debate between liberal and radical; the fundamental question of the very nature of the social order would

be high on the agenda, elevating a thousandfold the consciousness of the workers.

Labor charlatans dread and fear the prospect of workers organizing politically as a class, for they know that such emancipation would soon dispatch the bureaucracy to the ranks of the unemployed. Nevertheless, interest in and support for a Labor Party is on the upswing among thinking workers, and scores of locals have passed resolutions to this effect.

### In Search of Union Democracy

The cornerstone of a Labor Party would be a truly democratic structure capable of guaranteeing the free expression and untrammelled education of the workers. Union democracy today is a rare luxury, and woe to the dissident who criticizes the regime!

The bureaucrats routinely conduct most meetings with an iron hand. Few issues reach the floor without their nod, and few floor decisions are made without their seal of approval.

Occasionally a movement develops for union democracy. The Sadlowski campaign in the steelworkers union last year gained mass appeal because of his emphasis on restoring elementary norms of democratic procedure to the union. And a growing number of recent union elections have featured this demand by rank and file slates.

The mineworkers asserted their democratic tendencies in life when they voted down two proposed contracts during the stormy coal strike and sneered at Carter's invocation of Taft-Hartley. The miners are a vivid reminder of the fact that the modern union movement was born in the electrifying upsurge of the CIO, a model, in those days, of free speech and association. Caucuses and factions abounded, and everyone was heard.

Labor's valiant spirit will be reborn when it resurrects democracy, a *prerequisite* for advancing worker consciousness and overcoming the schisms that divide labor's ranks into warring factions.

The labor movement will never unfurl its full power until the encrusted bureaucracy is removed. And this task in turn demands the wholesale re-entry of radicals into the labor movement.

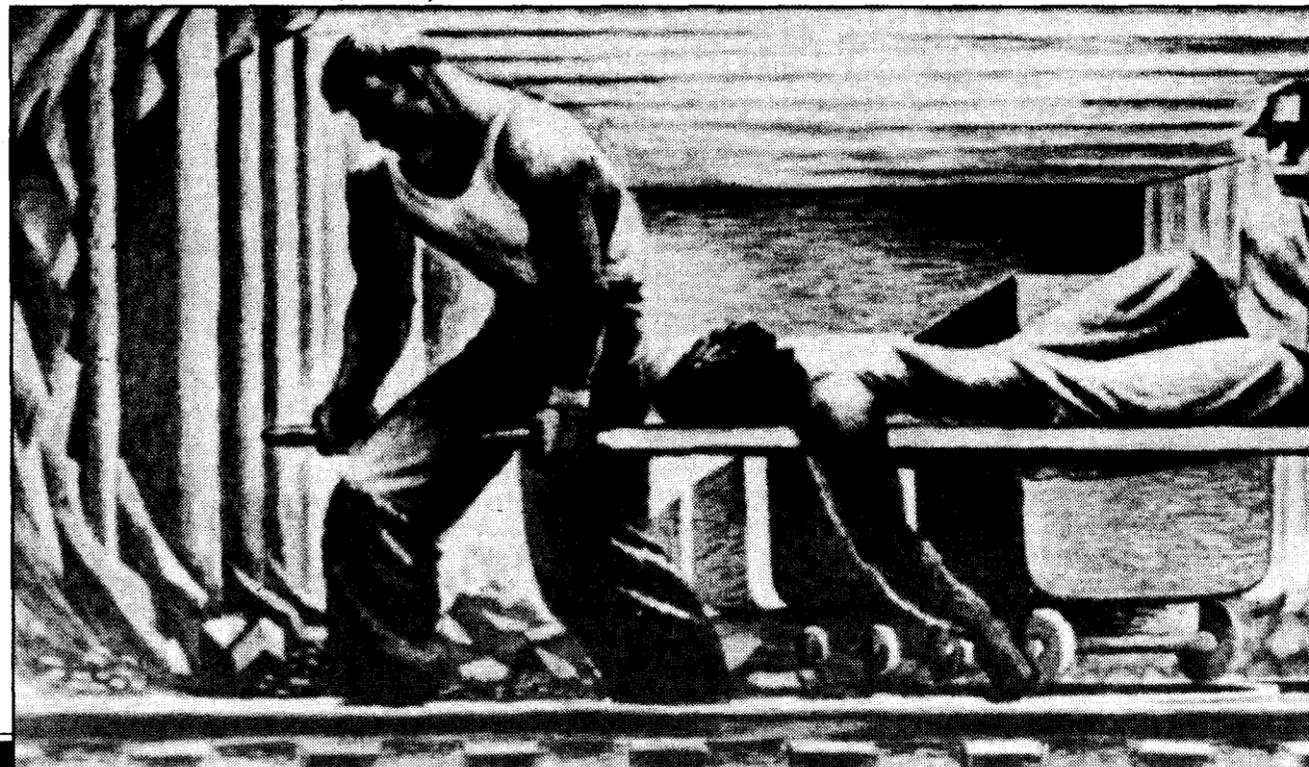
### Ring around the Radicals

Labor leaders are experts in the vulgar practice of diverting rank and file restiveness by yelling "Commie!" More than half of U.S. unions deny office to anyone accused of a "foreign ideology," and 40 unions deny membership to radical untouchables.

The massive "red" purge in the unions during the hysteria of the 1950s constituted the single most damaging blow ever inflicted on the union movement, which found itself beheaded, directionless, and shorn of strategies for growth. By itself, the labor movement can go no further than sporadic militancy; to survive and flourish, it must be exposed to revolutionary ideology.

The current period finds radicals functioning once again in local unions, but red-baiting is still perpetrated by the bureaucrats as an easy substitute for debate, forcing all too many radicals into supercaution or silence. Nevertheless, outspoken radicals have a strong impact in more and more unions and

Martin Fletcher/"Mine Rescue" 1939, mural study



or councils, and political debate is again d in Labor Temples across the country.

#### Vanishes

...tunism...fear and trembling...class col-  
...discrimination...elitism...bureaucracy...  
...crime. Is it any wonder that millions of  
...refuse to join the union?

...h the working class has increased by tens  
...in the last three decades, union member-  
...proportion of the total workforce, is shrink-  
...23% of the non-agricultural workforce is  
...as compared to 31.5% in 1950. From 1974  
...the number of unionized workers dropped by  
...even though 3 million new workers joined  
...force. Between 1970 and 1976, the percentage  
...of workers dropped 2.3%.

...decline in organization among blue-collar  
...especially sharp in the West, affecting both  
...young men. The West, like the South, has  
...magnet for runaway plants which relocate in  
...rural areas and extract their super-profits  
...from female, ethnic minority, and younger  
...in 1970, only 10.8% of 16-to-24-year-old  
...belonged to unions. And only 21.8% of Black  
...are organized.

...million more women are in the workforce  
...a decade ago, and union women generally  
...derably more than unorganized women,  
...number of women in unions remains the same.  
...only 12.5% of 36 million women workers  
...are organized.

...s refuse to expend vigorous efforts to  
...be unorganized. This criminal negligence  
...cause the officialdom is too infused with  
...ism, and sexism to want to sign up the  
...id—or to know how. The bureaucrats reject  
...ations from thousands of workers seeking  
...ion; they do not wish to represent the new  
...ed elements in the class.

...uch-heralded CIO drive to organize the  
...r the Second World War—"Operation  
...undered on the shoals of white racism,  
...erged AFL-CIO has never undertaken a  
...izing drive. The bureaucracy is content  
...ing standard and could care less about  
...re.

...nting the dilemma of a need for unionism  
...trust of unions, thousands of workers  
...to the independent union as an alterna-  
...ers who opt for independent unions are  
...thing to all of organized labor: **For rank  
...rol of the union! For attention to the needs  
...exploited strata of the class! For officials  
...nearly represent the membership!**

...lk of the low-paid, female, and minority  
...e labor force has virtually nowhere to  
...to independent unions that will respect  
...and special needs.

...ed labor is contradictory, at odds with  
...and the same time rebellious and capitula-  
...bureaucracy and its base, the labor aristoc-  
...teacherous tools of the bosses, depriving  
...rkers of leadership and support. But the

**potential** of the ranks and sections of the local leader-  
ship is strong enough to turn the country around,  
and a new, dynamic layer of workers is on hand to  
serve as the sorely needed propellant.

### III. Class, Race, and Sex

**J**ob discrimination against minorities and women  
has long been fostered by bosses to divide labor's  
ranks. But when Blacks, women, Chicanos and  
Native Americans won equal job opportunity legisla-  
tion, management knew it could rely on labor fakers,  
foremen, and most privileged workers to police the  
ranks and exclude the undesirables.

The schisms provoked by gender, color, national  
origin, caste, age, and sexual orientation all shatter  
worker solidarity, corrode class consciousness, and  
prevent workingclass political organization. The  
noxious weed of prejudice within the class, deeply  
entrenched by the capitalist culture and tradition, is  
fed and watered by bosses, government, courts, media,  
church, schools—and by the labor bureaucracy.

#### You've Got A Long Way To Go, Baby!

During World War II, hundreds of thousands  
of women held blue-collar, "nontraditional" jobs.  
When the troops returned, the women were laid off  
and subjected to an incredible propaganda campaign  
enticing or driving them back home.

Thanks to the gains of the new wave of feminism,  
however, female employment is mounting in both  
traditional and nontraditional jobs, and women will  
not again be coerced into financial dependence and  
domestic servitude.

More than 40 million women—nearly 50% of the  
total workforce—are now wage earners. More than  
4 million of them head families, and one-third of these  
families have incomes below the poverty level.

The earnings gap between women and men is  
widening. In 1975, the average male worker with an  
8th-grade education earned considerably more than  
a college educated woman. Women now earn only 57  
cents to every dollar made by a man, down from 60  
cents a few years ago.

When layoffs occur, newly hired women go first.  
Under an equitable affirmative action program,  
women and minorities would not be laid off, regard-  
less of seniority, until race and sex percentage goals  
were filled. (Pacific Northwest teachers and library  
workers have such contractual guarantees.)

The determined spirit of contemporary women  
workers is shaking up wide sections of labor. Women  
unionists, tying in the new consciousness of their sex  
with general workingclass demands, are raising the  
political sensitivity of labor as well as the class con-  
sciousness of the feminist movement. This overlapping  
and intersection of goals create the potential for a  
new alliance with prodigious impact.

"...**The women workers... must become the most  
active, the most revolutionary, and the most initiative  
section of the working class,**" said Leon Trotsky to  
the Second World Conference of Communist Women  
in 1921. And women workers are proceeding to be-  
come exactly that—proletarian leaders.

#### The Minority Worker

Racial and ethnic minorities must shoulder a  
similar constellation of special problems as workers.

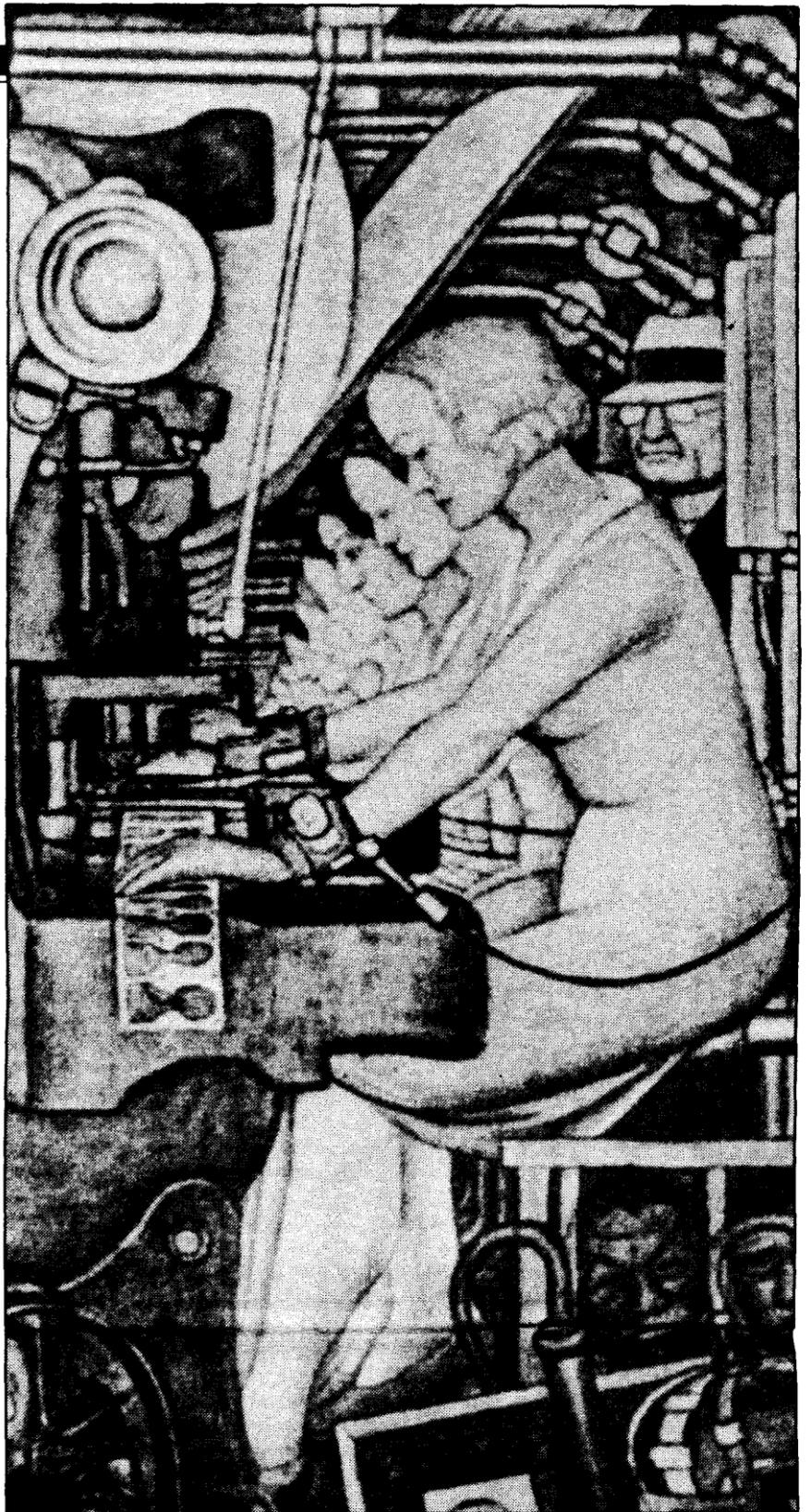
Racism relegates them to a socially inferior status,  
encompassing inadequate housing, schooling, health  
care, jobs, and political clout. The minority worker,  
like the woman worker, fights on two fronts: against  
the boss and against the racism or sexism infecting  
the working class.

Minorities, like women, are last-hired and first-  
fired. They experience hostility in many unions and  
work under the pressure of resentment from coworkers  
whose insecurity turns them against minorities instead  
of the real enemy—the boss and the system.

Company and union affirmative action plans are  
paper tigers; from 1960 to 1978, the percent of minor-  
ities in the workforce has only increased by 2/10ths  
of 1% per year, and Black youth unemployment  
exceeds a staggering 40 percent.

The Black question, from slavery through the  
revolt of the 1960s, has always been the dominant  
issue of American politics. Long capable of paralyz-  
ing the government and inspiring revolutionary  
solidarity on an international plane, the Black move-  
ment vitalized the early CIO, and the voice of Black  
proletarian leaders is ringing out once more, ex-  
pressing the hopes of all the exploited and humiliated.

Chicanos, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and



Diego Rivera/"New Freedom" panel from "Portrait of America" series

Asians have brought yet a new dynamic to the civil  
rights movement and to the class struggle; their ele-  
mentary demands for fair play cannot be satisfied on  
a mass basis by the robber barons of capitalism. Only  
social revolution can establish racial equality!

Thus, the great contradiction between minority  
rebels who are objectively revolutionary, and the  
deep conservatism of the culture they confront, stamps  
their intervention into the labor movement with the  
most profoundly radical character, impact and power  
for effecting volcanic change.

#### The Minority Woman

The most serious discrimination is inflicted on  
the minority woman, who must withstand all the major  
forms of oppression. She must fight for women, for  
her race, and for workers' demands; her survival  
depends on asserting herself on a three-way front.

Women of color have doubled their numbers  
among professional and technical workers in the last  
decade. Their number among clerical workers has  
risen 17% while the number of domestics dropped  
from 35% to 9% of all minority women workers. Their  
significant shift into social labor and unions will have a  
profound effect on the labor movement, for their  
militancy is legendary.

Achieved with unprecedented tenacity, the slow  
climb of the minority woman up the mountain of  
industrial, professional, clerical, and technical em-  
ployment will not be halted. Determined to overcome  
every obstacle engineered by the bosses and union  
bureaucracy to suppress her, she is destined for leader-  
ship of the entire class. As she rises from the very  
bottom of the economic barrel, she will "push everyone  
up with her."

to next page



When the working class speaks with the voice of minority women, its power is impressive. Hospital strikes, the Farah boycott, and the 15-year struggle with the J.P. Stevens Company are prime examples of the linkage of issues accomplished by minority women unionists. Their struggles have become labor rights and civil rights battles of national significance—precursors of the coming radical change in the race/sex ratios among the labor leadership.

**In Labor's Closet**

Gay people comprise a unique minority within the working class. Invisible for generations, tens of thousands of gays are now joining the gay liberation movement to seek antidiscrimination legislation and job protections.

A few progressive unions have negotiated contractual protection from firing on account of lifestyle and sexual orientation, but unions as a whole have hardly begun to address the defense of gay unionists. Radicals, feminists, and minority gays are just beginning to support gay rights on the job, though most gay workers are hesitant.

Heterosexism and the rightwing backlash against gays must be denounced, because if gay rights are defeated, there go all civil rights and liberties—especially the right to organize. Those who aren't respectable white conservatives will soon find themselves marked for lynching.

The bigotry of labor's big shots is a huge obstacle to gay rights; their blustering machismo is a pitiful coverup for their cowardly desertion of gay workers. But the militancy of gay unionists is starting to impress the ranks, and broad support can be mobilized (as it has been in teachers' unions).

At the June meeting of the King Co. Labor Council in Seattle, a socialist feminist delegate from the Boilermakers challenged the public expressions of homophobia of the Executive Secretary, and she won vocal support from two other female delegates from different unions. And the official was forced to promise space for debate on the question in the next issues of the AFL-CIO newspaper.

Capitalism dictates the canons of sexual "normalcy" in order to perpetuate the monogamous family, the economic unit for the inheritance of private property. Lesbianism threatens this structure by demonstrating that women can devote their lives to some-

thing other than getting, pleasing, and holding a man and bearing his acknowledged offspring. Male homosexuals belie the notion that the complete man must own a wife to clean his castle and raise his children. People who lead productive lives outside the suffocating strictures of conventional domestic relations scare the establishment to death, because the liberating effect of lifestyle changes and counter-culture tends to carry over into generalized political radicalism.

The demand for sexual freedom, and for free affectional and sexual orientation, thus conveys a revolutionary challenge to regressive sex roles, male supremacy, and the unpaid domestic labor of millions of women. It is clearly against the interests of the union bureaucrats, but in the interests of the broad masses, for gay liberation to be boldly defended in the unions.



The unfolding of the American revolution will mirror the process by which labor comes to grips with the complex problems of its most oppressed strata—women, minorities, and gays. Until unions are transformed into a fighting body for equal economic and social rights, U.S. labor will *never* attain the solidarity vital to its metamorphosis into a revolutionary force.

The trajectory of the race, sex, and sexual orientation movements as they impinge upon the House of Labor describes the shape of class struggle today and tomorrow. Contemporary radicals and union militants who do not understand this salient feature of the "American Question" are neither as current nor as scientific as they think.

**IV. Without Our Brains and Muscles, Not a Single Wheel Would Turn**

Should the unions be abandoned as irreversibly conservatized, incurably sexist and racist, hopelessly bureaucratic, and totally lacking in political integrity? Are they impossibly corrupt, a la *F.I.S.T.* and *Blue Collar* and similar cinematic junk food?

Most emphatically not!

The economy is crisis-wracked, and the restless millions of the working class are increasingly jolted by inflation, technological change, and speedup. Mass challenges to the inert labor bureaucracy are on the agenda, and contempt for bourgeois politicians is at an all-time high.

The trade union movement still possesses enormous vitality, especially at the local level. American

workers have never been decisively defeated, and now that radicals, women, minorities, and gays are filtering through the hallowed portals of Labor, their healthy contempt for musty bureaucrats can serve to transform the union movement into the fighting organ of the class it is intrinsically meant to be.

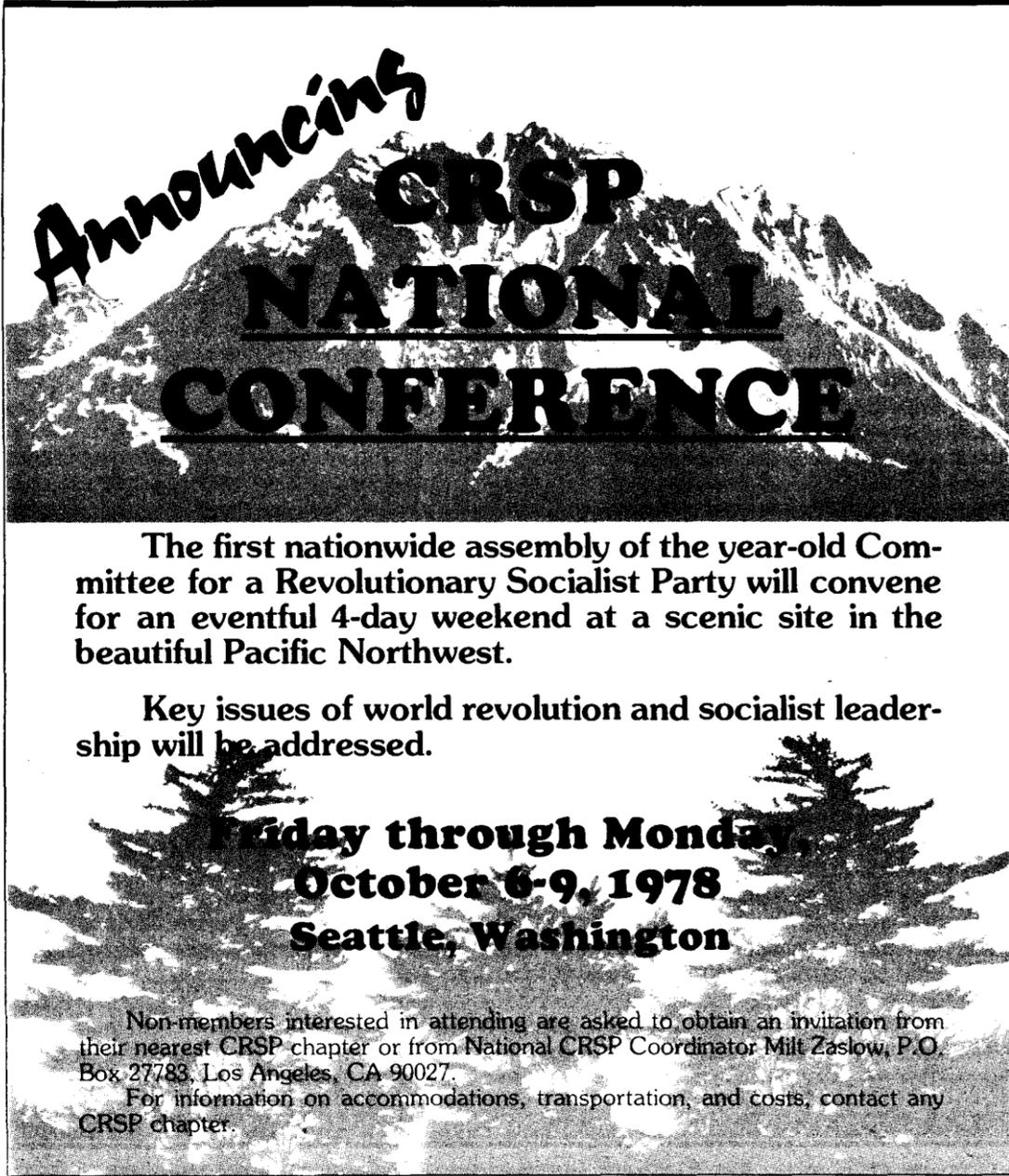
True, workers are generally cautious and anxious today. But militants are relatively free to encourage a class struggle program in the unions—an anti-capitalist, antisexist, antiracist program of militant job action, democratic unionism and independent workingclass politics. This is the preamble to the revolutionary unionism of tomorrow that will alter the program and structure of labor, but raise the union movement to new heights and a vast new breadth.

A gigantic leap on the same order as that made by insurgent workers in the thirties is in the offing. American workers have never been thoroughly infused with reformism of either the Stalinist or social-democratic variety, and when they move, they develop swiftly toward radicalism. Under the pressure of momentous events, and the anger of its most oppressed layers, the class can shed its prejudices and jump from elemental *class consciousness* to *radical political consciousness*.

They can then regain control of their own class organizations and construct a renovated, expanded, and revolutionary House of Labor. In grand alliance with the political leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party, they can seize the time and take the power and the country into their own skillful hands.

The U.S. working class has priceless resources—a glorious tradition, an instinct for rebellion, unrivaled courage, tenacity under fire, a sophisticated education, a yearning for solidarity, and infinitely higher norms of justice, ethics and compassion than their misbegotten "leaders." Given their heads and their hearts, the coming period of tumultuous social unrest will find them standing as never before to confound their exploiters and shake the world.

**Black and brown and white and yellow—women and men—gays and straights—young and old—unskilled and skilled—striking in unison to defend each other's rights and special needs!** This is the glowing visage of the revolutionary army of labor that will storm the ramparts of privilege and end the prolonged death agony of world imperialism, replacing them with a socialist confederation of the entire human race. ■



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by Ivan King

**T**he Seattle School District stands on the doorstep of broadscale desegregation, the first metropolitan school system to achieve voluntary racial balance throughout most grades.

But even this monumental stride hardly brings us near the portals of paradise.

The basic blueprint divides Seattle into three zones, not necessarily contiguous. Each zone, on the whole, contains a racially representative pupil population. "Impacted" elementary schools—those with disproportionately large minority enrollment—will be combined with other grade schools in sets of two or three, and each of these pairs or triads will collectively have a racially balanced student body.

All pupils from the neighborhoods in the pairs or triads will go to one facility for a certain number of years, then move on to the next facility—and these elementary clusters will feed into the junior and senior high schools.

Thus, racial integration at all grades will ultimately prevail.

This system provides some real advantages:

1. Students will associate with both neighborhood peers and those from dissimilar backgrounds.

2. Larger schools offer more educational options plus more efficient use of specialized staff and curriculum.

Promised advantages include genuine multicultural/multi-ethnic education, sex-equity education, and a wide choice of basic skills/career readiness education.

Though widely distributed, the plan's explanations are unnecessarily complicated—the intrinsic educational value of multi-racial schooling is barely suggested. Still, the plan implicitly recognizes that there is no way to integration—integration *is* the way.

### Pros and Cons

Does the Seattle Plan merit support from principled radicals?

Some contingents of the left are cool or critical because of their dedication to "community control" and theoretical or instinctive allegiance to grassroots leaders concerned about the loss of ethnic identity in the new cluster schools.

Others believe that the existing neighborhood-based schools and parent groups offer a more fertile field for recruitment, because they are more cohesive.

And some socialists simply refuse to endorse any positive act by an essentially capitalistic institution.



Doug Barnes

# Busing

## The Wayward Solution

On the other side are those who consider it inconsistent and uncomfortable to find fault with a policy that resembles the very proposals for which they have worked so hard and long.

They urge all progressives to acclaim the plan, or at least swallow reservations about it, if for no other reason than to deny comfort to CIVIC, the latest coagulation of elitist, rightwing, anti-integration forces.

### Critical Support

The agonizing truth is that the Seattle Plan is mechanistic in design, placid in content, and cautious in its vision. The bored professionalism of the educational establishment is dangerous, for its emotion-free plan sets the stage for discrediting or defeating integration.

The computerized plan overemphasizes the goal of simply attaining the "correct" numerical mixture of diverse races. This provokes hysteria from active and passive defenders of the status quo, but provides no rallying point for enthusiastic citizen support. The equal worth of children from all socio-economic strata is never boldly asserted and no change is announced from the traditional subservience of the schools to ruling class needs and politics.

The plan ignores the accumulated knowledge and insights derived from decades of study of inner-city schools:

1. For broad and practical education, white impacted schools are as educationally disadvantaged as minority schools.

2. A rational, principled desegregation program *must* include the suburbs. Some are closer to areas of concentrated minorities and can minimize the distance of busing travel. And historically, suburbs were created through federal highway and middleclass housing subsidies—havens of "white flight."

3. White children have as much, if not more, to gain from integration than minorities; thus, responsibility and inconvenience of busing transportation should be proportionately shared.

4. A culturally plural, fully integrated

*curriculum* is requisite to a truly integrated student body, and the historical role of labor, women, minorities, and nonconformists in the saga of human progress must be part of the core curriculum.

Nevertheless, the plan provides special values for minority and workingclass children. Busing for school integration is wayward, but it is still a reform which could promote the eventual establishment of an equalitarian society.

Busing will probably be better for children, parents and teachers than the present racist and anarchistic system, and will expand people's awareness of the contradictions of the system and the realities of the class structure. It will force all adults to confront their own racism and clarify their basic class and caste interests and alliances.

The plan accordingly merits watchful and critical support and intervention by socialists.

### A Blow against Racism

Segregation is only one symptom of racism, and racism is only one manifestation of a wasteful and destructive economic system.

Capitalism requires a laboring class to exploit, plus a scapegoat race and a subservient sex to visibly bear the brunt of inequities and shortages. Racial and ethnic stereotypes, backed by segregated institutions, now act as blinders for children and adults to the realities of the class structure. Elimination of school segregation can offset some of the prejudice-producing experiences to which youngsters and parents are subjected on other fronts.

Critical support of the Seattle Plan provides excellent opportunities for political education—the plan itself is tacit admission of past failure to provide equal sharing of public education. Previously, education has been proportional to the economic status of each neighborhood.

Voluntary integration will help lend some worth and credibility to the institution to which society's children are entrusted for a decisive portion of their lives. ■



Janet Sutherland

Ivan King was the principal writer of the Seattle Urban League's "Triad Plan" which was the only community-based proposal utilized—in fragmented fashion—in the "Seattle Plan" adopted by the School Board.



# From SWP to FSP— The Odyssey of Two Radicals

by Meryl Sunshine and  
Manny Sunshine

As the Socialist Workers Party inexorably compromised its once-revolutionary principles and practices, we longtime members were abandoned on a deserted battlefield.

We had watched the party degenerate from the pinnacle of world Trotskyism to a cautious, centrist formation ruled by an unprincipled combination of careerists with the narrowed mentality of labor bureaucrats.

When we originally joined the SWP—Manny in 1946, and Meryl in 1954—its brilliant theory and stainless banner offered a bright prospect for the American revolution.

Manny relished the party atmosphere of tough political debate; for Meryl the party promised united militant action in contrast to her experiences in organizations peripheral to the reformist Communist Party. The SWP provided an arena for affecting the class struggle and attaining political growth.

## Machine Politics

Our first realization that the SWP was in serious trouble came in 1963 when party leader Murry Weiss was maneuvered into denouncing the non-existent "Weiss clique." We had heard rumors about the Weisses being accused of undermining the party and we realized Murry's statement was a serious attempt to restore unity in the leadership. But his generous gesture was never duplicated by the *real* clique, the Dobbs-Kerry machine whose appointed heirs still control the SWP.

The machine was always threatened by Myra and Murry Weiss—by their command of theory, their innovative interventionism into the mass movements, their outspoken feminism, and their democratic practices.

Our admiration of the Weisses automatically made us dangerous elements. From then on, we were subjected to unremitting organizational crap. Rumors, innuendos, and accusations against us flew, all aimed at keeping us in line.

## Thought Control

A dispute arose in our branch (San Francisco) over how to treat an existing SWP minority. We had vast political differences with the minority, particularly on China and Cuba, but respected their right to differ, as did the rest of the branch. But the two branch leaders pressured the majority faction to reverse its democratic attitude by whipping them into near-hysteria against the minority.

We couldn't fit into the mold of absolute orthodoxy on every issue and came to be regarded as non-persons.

Meryl Sunshine

## Abstentionism

Our distress increased as the party became more rigid and doctrinaire, suppressing dissident views and expelling all minorities, ignoring major issues, or bungling our involvement in them—especially as regards the antiwar movement.

Manny was deeply interested in SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) and thought the party should assign comrades to work there. He attended SDS meetings and he was disturbed by the party's complete disinterest. He was also unhappy over party failure to attend every party meeting, despite our heavy childcare expenses.

One evening, a three-man party delegation visited us to lay down the law. Manny was forbidden any more contact with SDS, and we were not to pursue any outside activities whatsoever. Our antiwar work was restricted to selling *The Militant* at demonstrations organized by others. And we were ordered to attend every party meeting, despite our heavy childcare expenses.

## Non-Democratic Centralism

In 1968, the SWP arbitrarily expelled one of its most distinguished members and critics, comrade Arne Swabek, for the crime of holding an unpopular, supportive view of Maoism. Arne was an old Communist, a founder of the SWP, and a profound educator, writer, and leader. The night we heard he had been unceremoniously dumped, we resigned from the SWP—the party that had turned into its opposite.

## The FSP—and Hope

Until 1977, we found no political home.

And then through Arthur Felberbaum of the Marxist Education Collective we heard about the Freedom Socialist Party and talked to the comrades in San Francisco and Seattle.

Meryl joined Radical Women, and we attended the RW National Conference in January 1978. We became actively involved in CRSP (Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party).

In the FSP we discovered a soundness of program, a high level of principled activism, a commitment to the working class and trade union struggle, a broad grasp of revolutionary feminism and gay liberation, connections with the movements for racial freedom, a dedication to internationalism and the rich ideological heritage of Lenin and Trotsky—and a rewarding climate of warmth and solidarity.

We were overwhelmed by the high spirits of FSP comrades. They defended the most oppressed and enjoyed fighting the enemy class. They had a good time being revolutionaries and their healthiness was gratifying and contagious.

We joined the FSP, committing our political future to an honest and democratic party.

Manny Sunshine



**Clara  
Fraser**

## Welcome to L.A.!

From the majestic peaks and evergreens of Washington State through the rolling hills of Oregon and Northern California and the fertile valleys and desert winds of Southern California, it was a trip to remember.

The return route along the Pacific was a driver's dream: picturesque Santa Barbara, the misty towers of San Simeon, the picture-postcard ambience of Big Sur, Monterey and the 17-Mile Drive on the cypress-swept shores of Carmel, the Redwood Forest, the rocks that flank the wild Oregon coast, the never-ending thunder of the sea...

Sigh... But this isn't a travelogue. It's a story about people, a unique breed of folks called comrades who were the reason and inspiration for the 3000-mile jaunt.

• • •

Portland, the City of Roses, was in a flurry of preparation for the impending descent of born-again Jimmy Carter, slated to spend one entire evening with a middleclass family in a "typical" neighborhood. The media neglected to notice that I was concurrently ensconced not three blocks away in the spacious if older home of a Radical Women collective—an infinitely more significant occasion!

My sessions with the Portland comrades were immensely rewarding. I came away imbued once again with the awe that invariably overtakes me when I meet youthful radicals of both sexes consecrating their intelligence, thirst for knowledge, unflagging energy, and high good humor to the service of the revolutionary cause.

• • •

From the Golden Gate Bridge, the view of San Francisco in its high-rise alabaster glory has got to be one of the wonders of the world. And the comrades I talked with there vividly express the drama and dynamism of their fabled city.

These paragons of revolutionary vitality are voluble trade unionists, gifted poets, front-runners in the arenas of women's and gay rights, combatants in the minority liberation fray, and eager students and exponents of Marxist theory. And they seem to know everybody in town from Haight-Ashbury to Alcatraz.

They also know some superb restaurants, as befits healthy, red-blooded organizers. Right on, 'Frisco!

• • •

And now for the good news—for the best is yet to come.

**Final destination:** Los Angeles. **Purpose:** a national conclave of the Steering Committee of CRSP, the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party founded on July 26, 1977 (fittingly the anniversary of the Cuban Revolution).

Convened in an enchanting setting replete with a tropical patio for us solar-heat-starved sunworshippers from less favored climes, CRSPers from New York and the West Coast wrestled valiantly with the burning questions of an inflamed planet and a politically dilatory country—ours.

The rhythm of the three-day event veered from pounding debate to the lilt of agreement and the deep cadence of hard looks at complex issues. And throughout the alternating views and moods ran the leitmotif of proletarian democracy at work—open, candid, invigorating, and therapeutic free speech and careful listening.

Exhilarated by the productive meeting, the body joyously determined to hold the First National CRSP Conference in October, over the Columbus Day weekend. Seattle was awarded the coveted honor of host.

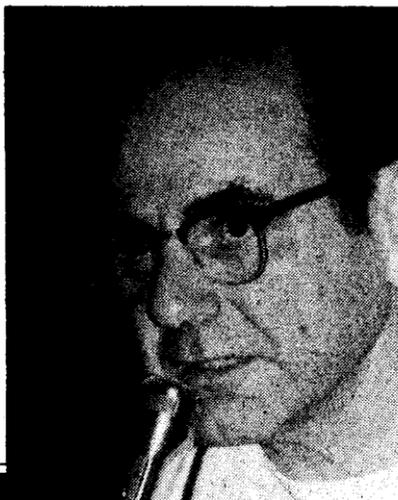
The Angeleno members of CRSP who so generously provided excellent meals, transportation, shelter, meeting sites, and enthusiasm for the out-of-towners will receive their reward for good planning and hard work in a close encounter with the impressive natural beauty of the conference site on Puget Sound. Comrades: we faithfully promise to facilitate for you, and for all the CRSP members and guests who will invade our space in the fall, a total political, social and scenic experience every bit as meaningful as my own trip to L.A.

• • •

The comradeship of revolutionists engaged in a common crusade is devoutly to be cherished. Thank you, L.A.—and onward to the forthcoming American October!



*In the FSP  
we discovered  
soundness of  
program,  
activism, warmth  
and solidarity*



# ...Cuba

from back page  
anticommunists, pro-capitalists and pro-Americans — would-be entrepreneurs, some of them black-marketeers, who feel that Cuba lacks appreciation of their talents.

The exception referred to professed to be a supporter of the revolution. He strongly disapproved of the privileges of the bureaucracy. He favored: 1) prohibiting officials who travel abroad from bringing back clothes, appliances, electronic equipment, etc., unavailable in Cuba; 2) prohibiting officials' personal use of government automobiles; and 3) limiting their pay to that of the average worker.

Asked if he could advocate these opinions in any public forum, his answer was an emphatic "NO!" He said that such views would not be tolerated within the party.

The immediate cause of his bitterness was the economic policy just adopted. The National Assembly of Peoples Power had decreed "seven lean years" of sacrifice. Except for housing, investments in consumer goods and services were to remain constant and all surplus reinvested for economic "development" and "consolidation."

A policy of sacrifice for the masses but not the officialdom is bound to alienate the workers and strengthen the anticommunist opposition.

## Great Strides for Women

The revolution inherited a stagnant economy and high unemployment. Expansion of industry and services turned the labor surplus into a shortage, and it became imperative to bring women into the workforce.

In 1959, only 9% of the workers were women, most of them servants or prostitutes. In 1960, the Federation of Cuban Women was founded and launched a campaign to wipe out illiteracy in one year. Fifty-nine percent of the teachers who went into the countryside were women.

The Federation also motivated women in the traditional trades and peasant women to learn new skills, become involved in social production, and receive training in the militia.

New laws gave women the right to free contraception information and abortion on demand. Women receive 4½ months paid maternity leave, free prenatal care, mandatory and free postnatal care, and guaranteed job

seniority for one year if they choose to stay home with their babies.

By 1969, it was revealed that 73% of the newly-employed women had left the workforce due to rationing and shopping schedule problems incompatible with work hours, arduous housekeeping chores, poor working conditions and a lack of domestic services like laundries and canteens. Complaints about sexism soared; machismo had defeated a great plan for women.

It took four years before a Feminine Front was organized in the trade unions to combat sexism. Shopping was simplified for working women, more nurseries, canteens and boarding

## enduring Cuban machismo had defeated a great plan for women

schools opened, and a public campaign in schools, work sites and mass organizations was undertaken to encourage men to share domestic labor.

Nursery school construction is now a top priority.

Public propaganda urging women to upgrade their skills led them to demand time for study and political work. By 1973, one-half million women were working. The increasing divorce rate is attributed to women's new aspirations and economic independence.

Prostitution is illegal. Prostitutes are reeducated in a new community, where they are given jobs and an opportunity to learn a skill. After three arrests, the prostitute is sent to jail.

A public discussion was initiated in 1973 preliminary to the drafting of the New Family Code and an exciting debate raged. Many men said that women's equality with men was anti-historical and antibiological.

The discussion culminated at the Congress of Cuban Women, which included men. Castro spoke on the continuing discrimination against women, which he attributed to men's failure to share domestic responsibility.

The Code eliminated some glaring inequalities. Marriage now entails equal rights and duties for both partners; persons may live together unmarried

## sacrifice for the masses but not the officialdom

without stigma; either spouse can initiate divorce or annulment. Grounds for divorce were simplified and humanized; alimony was assigned to whichever partner is unemployed, caring for the children, or incapacitated. Visitation rights are equal, and the concept of illegitimacy was abolished. Both parents are responsible for the children.

## But Sexism Persists

An example of the continued discrimination against women is the antidelinquency law, which stipulates that males must attend school or work between the ages of 14 and 60. Females are not mentioned, and women are demanding that the law be extended to include them.

There is no effective affirmative action program by the government to retrain and reeducate adult women, but women we spoke to said the first priorities were for elementary schools and universal health care. Evening

classes for upgrading skill accommodate workers, but it is still difficult for women to take advantage of them.

The nuclear family, unfortunately, is still considered the ideal because the state is currently unable to underwrite all of society's needs and continues to depend on the family structure to fill many of these needs. But it is a mistake to make a virtue of necessity and mis-educate people to believe in the sanctity of an institution which basically oppresses women and children.

In 1976, the first Communist Party Congress produced a thesis on women's rights, calling for all men and women communists to become spearheads in the struggle for equality. The Congress affirmed that "... despite the fact that men and women have been given equal rights since the revolution... a certain degree of inequality survives as a consequence not only of the scarcity of material resources but also of the frequent expression of opinions and attitudes that are not in keeping with the postulates and laws of our socialist society."

But obviously not all communists have heeded these words, and the percentage of women in the leadership is notably low. Castro has complained

## homosexual "flaunting" or "scandal" is prohibited, forcing gays to remain in the closet

publicly about the small number of women in the Communist Party, the only political party in Cuba.

The struggle for women's equality in Cuba depends almost entirely upon the women themselves. If they are ready to fight for their rights, they are given the backing of the party, the unions, the local organizations, and the state.

## Gay Oppression

Persecution of lesbians and gay men is in full sway, fueled by official sanction.

In the mid '60s, a reign of terror against homosexuals was unleashed replete with stoolpigeons, denunciations, and long prison terms. As the witchhunt became a scandal at home and abroad, Castro intervened and the campaign abated.

But in 1971, the first National Congress on Education and Culture declared:

"It is not to be tolerated for notorious homosexuals to have influence in the formation of our youth on the basis of their 'artistic merits.' Consequently, a study is called for to determine how best to tackle the problems of the presence of homosexuals in the various institutions of our cultural sectors."

Gays are absolutely prohibited from teaching. And while homosexuality is no longer illegal, "flaunting" or "scandal" are prohibited, forcing gays to remain in the closet.

Instead of ending discrimination against sexual minorities, the leadership fosters it. This is part of the general Stalinist, pro-nuclear family trend evident in recent years. ■

This report of the Cuban revolution will continue in the next issue and will feature an examination of the economy, legal system, foreign policy, political structure and directions of the new Cuban society.

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## special supplement

Janet McCloud, a Tulalip Indian, is an acknowledged national spokeswoman, writer and organizer for the Native American movement. She is also a tireless advocate of all the overburdened and oppressed of the earth. Under her tribal name of Yet Si Blue, she recently published a powerful manifesto summarizing the crisis facing Indian nations. The *Freedom Socialist* is extremely proud to publish it in our pages, for her ringing message of the hope and beauty that can emerge from despair is an inspiration to all freedom-fighters. This issue contains the first part of her analysis; the second part will be carried in our Fall issue.

# A Warning Message

To All Indian Nations  
and Our Friends  
and Supporters

We face another crisis. For two hundred years our people have struggled against powerful forces to insure a life for ourselves and the coming generations. Many times we faced defeat, but by unified and determined efforts, we rose to the challenge and survived. And now our people must arise once again to face threats that endanger our liberty and our distinctive way of life.

I see three main danger signs:

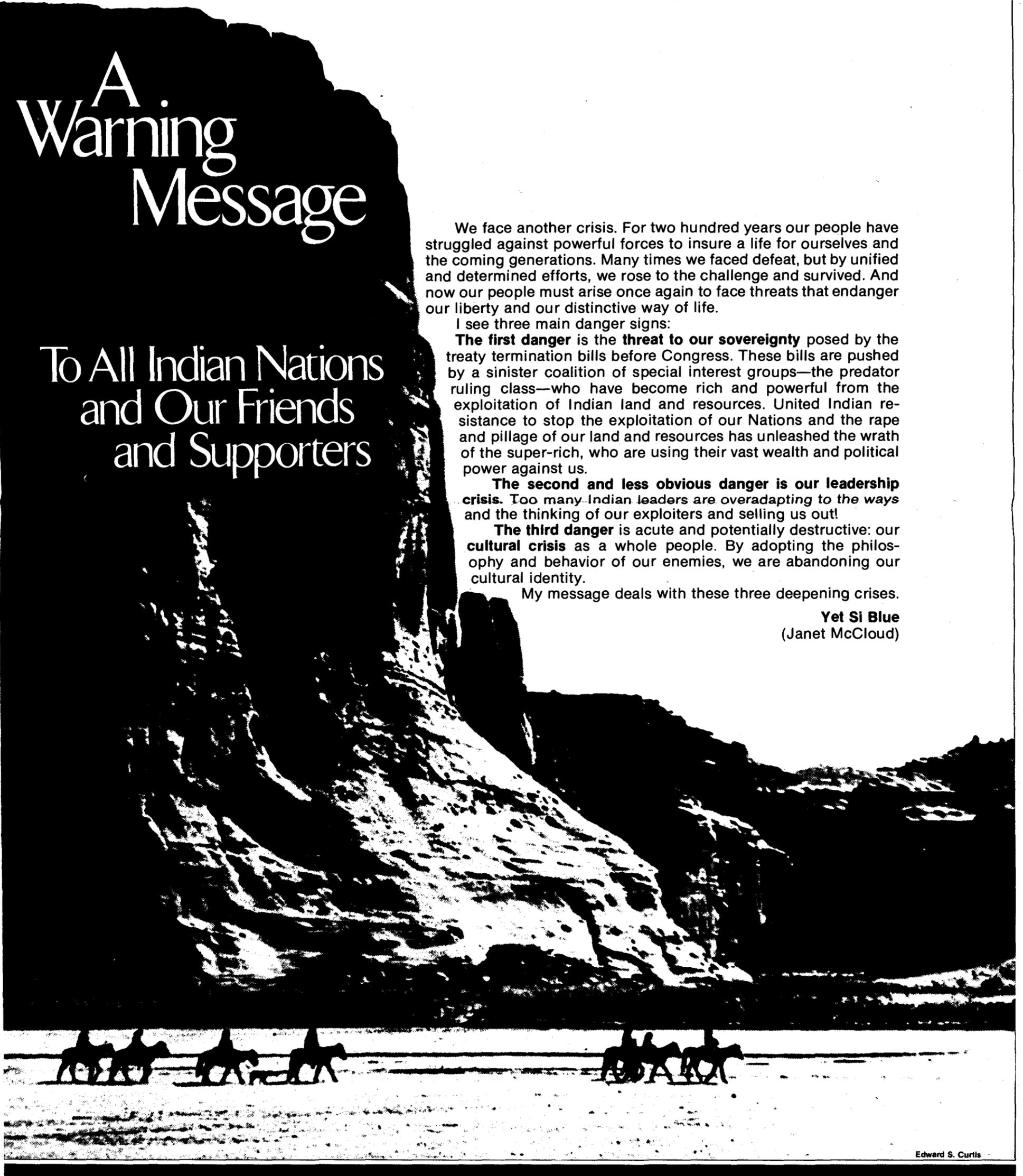
**The first danger** is the **threat to our sovereignty** posed by the treaty termination bills before Congress. These bills are pushed by a sinister coalition of special interest groups—the predator ruling class—who have become rich and powerful from the exploitation of Indian land and resources. United Indian resistance to stop the exploitation of our Nations and the rape and pillage of our land and resources has unleashed the wrath of the super-rich, who are using their vast wealth and political power against us.

**The second and less obvious danger is our leadership crisis.** Too many Indian leaders are overadapting to the ways and the thinking of our exploiters and selling us out!

**The third danger** is acute and potentially destructive: our **cultural crisis** as a whole people. By adopting the philosophy and behavior of our enemies, we are abandoning our cultural identity.

My message deals with these three deepening crises.

**Yet Si Blue**  
(Janet McCloud)





Part I

**The Threat To Our Sovereignty**

DEBTS, SUPREMACY, OATH. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be valid against the U.S. under this Constitution as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the U.S. which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the U.S., shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

—Article IV, U.S. Constitution

The confederation—thirteen colonies—was numerically weak and disorganized. It needed powerful allies before it could begin the struggle to break away from its tyrant masters.

So the colonists sought the aid and consent of the then powerful Iroquois Confederacy in order to set up a separate self-government upon the Iroquois' homelands.

The colonists and the Iroquois Confederation entered into a treaty and pact called "THE TWO ROAD WAMPUM TREATY," a treaty of Peace, Friendship and Protection.

The colonists gave their sacred oath never to molest or disturb the peace of the Iroquois Nations, nor make war or commit depredations against any peaceful Indian Nation. Each would walk its own road, and neither would govern, tax or legislate for

***The U.S. does not have the right to unilaterally take away the sovereign rights of Indian Nations***

the other. The internal sovereignty of all Indian Nations would be forever secured and respected.

*America would not exist today as a nation and would still be in political bondage to Europe had it not been for the aid, consent, and protection of the Indian Nations.*

The U.S. Constitution borrowed its essence—its major concepts of democracy—from the "Great Law of Peace" of the Iroquois Confederation.

America could have been the seventh nation of the Iroquois Confederation; had it been, we would not have the problems we face today. But America's debt to its staunch Iroquois allies was repaid with treachery and violence, and the blows struck against Indian Nations by forked-tongue Americans were to shatter the Indian Nations.

And the treachery continues to this day.

**The White Predator Ruling Class**

The people who originally exploited and exhausted Indian land and resources have become dynasties, an elite aristocracy of the rich and powerful.

Others follow their example: cattle and timber barons and ranchers, who now lease Indian lands; energy producers, like the oil, uranium, and strip coalmining interests; the white commercial and sports fishing industry which has grown rich from the unlimited taking of salmon; and many others.

*They are the predators of Mother Earth and the exploiters of humanity, a robber ruling class which invests the huge profits made from raping our resources into their giant free enterprise system that today exploits other Third World peoples and lands.*

They are America's aristocracy, sick with the contagious disease of greed, caused by a materialistic germ.

The symptoms are a feverish desire for money, for symbols of wealth, for control over people's lives, for ownership of land, and for the accumulation of capital. They are never satisfied, always rushing,

***The real intent of the aid program is to force assimilation of Indians into the American mainstream***

pushing and grabbing for more, more, more!

They are predators, and anyone who has anything they want is their prey!

America's ruling class has unlimited money: own or control the entire media and most elected politicians, and those who oppose them are often assassinated. The ruling elite has the services of the C.I.A. and F.B.I. at their beck and call, and rightwing groups like the John Birchers to do its dirty work.

Congressmen who act as gophers (go-fors) for this ruling class have introduced bills in its behalf that will result in the cultural genocide of Indian Nations.

These bills will throw open Indian lands to TAXATION which Indians will be unable to pay! The unprotected Indian Nations will be rapidly stripped of their remaining possessions and reduce to the status of homeless beggars upon their own lands!

The forked-tongue congressmen self-righteously state that they are acting on behalf of irate America

***A robber ruling class invests the huge profits made from raping our resources into their giant free enterprise system that today exploits other Third World peoples and lands***

citizens outraged by the Indians' unreasonable demands. Actually, this backlash was deliberately created by the ruling class and its media.

**Fraud and Entrapment**

Contrary to popular belief, the U.S. does not have the right to unilaterally take away the sovereign rights of Indian Nations.

Since when can one nation act for both sides in a treaty made between two separate nations? Who ever heard of the rules of a football game being changed during play? Only *nations* may conclude treaties, and only nations may change them. These rules have *NOT* changed.

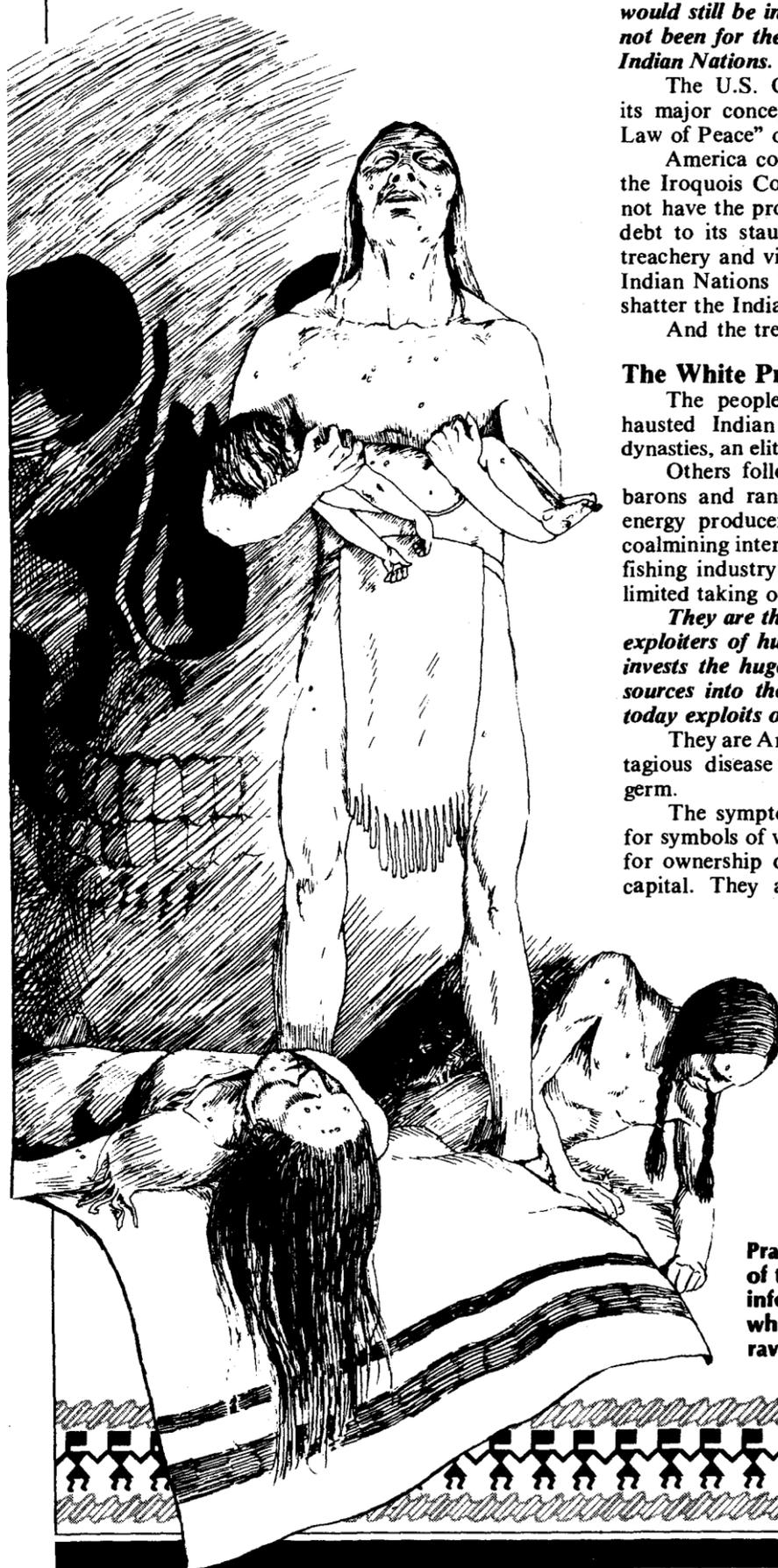
Indians send their leaders to Washington, D.C. as emissaries of their nations to seek economic aid and technical assistance as *guaranteed by treaty agreements*, acting just as any other sovereign nation in the world that has treaty agreements with the U.S. Indian leaders are not just needy U.S. citizens seeking a handout!

But U.S. aid to Indian Nations has been deceptively designed. While Indian leaders view assistance as the long overdue fulfillment of America's *unpaid treaty debts and commitments*, the real intent of the aid programs, as expressed clearly by Sen. Warren Magnuson of Washington, is to *force assimilation of Indians into the American mainstream*.

This fraud is now blatantly exposed as Congress complains that its massive aid has failed to curb Indian militancy, and therefore the treaties must be broken!

Aid to economically depressed Indian Nations is actually a fraudulent entrapment device for accomplishing the following outrages:

1. Imposing federal and state taxation upon the land and resources of Indian Nations.
2. Extinguishing all treaty-protected aboriginal



**Praying for a dead child, one of thousands deliberately infected with smallpox by the white man. The disease ravaged the tribes.**



fishing and hunting rights.

3. Ending treaty-imposed contractual indebtedness—longstanding commitments to Indian Nations.

4. Throwing open Indian land and resources to the waiting predators for rapid exploitation.

5. Forced assimilation of Native Americans into the dominant culture.

Other nations, friendly or hostile, receive enormous amounts of U.S. aid. Does *their* acceptance of U.S. aid automatically assimilate their citizens into the American mainstream and terminate their sovereignty? No.

Yet the dealings of American politicians with small, defenseless nations is so covert and deadly that American prestige has suffered a global decline. Indian Nations, victims of America's two-faced attacks, can readily understand why Arabs, Cubans, Africans and other Third World nations neither trust nor like America!

The U.S. long ago deviated from the principles of democracy, equality and fair play. It merely pays lip service to these words or uses them as propaganda devices. America is like the Roman Empire, which advocated that might makes right and used terrorism, deadly force and psychological warfare to enforce and prove it!

America has betrayed the hopes of the world's oppressed people who came here seeking relief from tyranny and starvation. Many politicians even war against their own needy constituents—students, the handicapped, disabled workers, the elderly and unemployed, veterans, women, the homeless, minorities, and the working poor.

The U.S. rulers war not only against Indian Nations but on their own nation!

#### **We Will Survive!**

Indian Nations will not stand still and be willingly annihilated. We will resist! *The U.S. will have to resort to brute force to enforce any so-called assimilation acts!*

If the U.S. had not always acted with such *treacherous savagery* against Indian Nations, the situation might be different and Indians might have willingly assimilated. But America continues to act in bad faith as treaty-breaking liars, and Indian Nations must take stern protective measures.

***If the U.S. had not always acted with such treacherous savagery against Indian Nations, the situation might be different and Indians might have willingly assimilated***

We must expose America's hypocrites.

We must inform our many friends and supporters in this land and around the world of our emergency situation. They will not let us down.

We must seek the aid and protection of other nations to prevent our annihilation. We are still sovereign Nations with the right to enter into treaty agreements with other nations.

We have faced similar or worse situations in the past which almost destroyed us, but at the last moment, when all seemed lost, we received the strength,

**The Two-Road Wampum belt is the symbol of the peaceful coexistence agreed upon by the Iroquois and the white settlers. "We shall each travel the river together, side by side, but in our own boat."**

determination and assistance to help us survive. We can rally, make our stand for our life and land, and continue onwards, for our own sake and for the sake of the coming generations.

#### **Part II**

### **Our Leadership Crisis**

Traditionally, Indian leaders are the servants of their people. In daily social life, they are outwardly indistinguishable from the rest of the people. Ceremonially, they stand out, arrayed in the beautiful gifts made for them by their grateful people.

The behavior of Indian leaders must be above reproach, *for they are selected for their virtues, not their weaknesses*. They must be brave, alert and intelligent; kind and compassionate to all people, especially children and elders; industrious and generous. They must have integrity and commitment,

***Indian leaders must always be available to listen to the voices of their people, for all decisions must come from the people***

and be the peacemakers, providers and defenders of their people.

Indian leaders walk ahead of their people; they are the first to confront the dangers that may lie unseen upon the path of life. They must always lead the people by the example of their daily lives! They must always be available to listen to the voices of their people, for all decisions must come from the people!

The Indian people love and respect such leaders, who eventually become legends, forever immortalized in the hearts and memories of the grateful people they served. These leaders are the examples held up to our youth—dedicated champions of the people who unselfishly sacrifice their own personal welfare for the benefit of their people, some making the supreme sacrifice of their own lives!

#### **Temptation and Corruption**

Some Indian leaders sent to Washington, D.C. to seek economic aid and assistance are unfortunately tempted and seduced by golden carrots and golden opportunities that our enemies dangle enticingly before them.

Instead of aid, these mis-leaders bring home the poisonous vapors of their betrayal and corruption! They become puppets of our enemies, more effective weapons against our people than atom bombs!

*Most Indian leaders who resist these temptations are ignored. All doors are shut to them!* The enemy-owned news media ignores them unless they throw a rock through a window, and then they are vilified and crucified. But few true leaders are deliberately reckless or destructive, and our real Indian leaders are often persecuted, slandered, framed, imprisoned, or assassinated by our predator enemies.

The media plays up the most destructive type of Indian—the one who betrays the Indian cause, the narcissistic type who needs the limelight, or the power-hungry one who has the 'greed' disease. The media effectively brainwashes despairing Indians into believing that these con artists are the true champions

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and fighters for the cause.

But if these corrupted leaders worm their way into positions of power within their Nations, they soon show their true intent—which is *not* to serve their people!

### **Tribal Democracy Transformed Into Bureaucratic Tyranny**

Economic aid and technical assistance funds to Indian Nations have direct strings attached to our predator enemies, who closely monitor these funds. *And if the fraudulent aid programs do not effectively assimilate Indians into the polluted mainstream, the aid is cut off.*

The strings are also attached to the puppet, sell-out Indian leaders. Indian bureaucratic dictators meet behind closed doors and make secret decisions affecting Indians who have no voice in decision-making and are denied equal participation—but who receive commands in the form of office memos.

The Indian people are not informed of the possible dangers inherent in the aid and technical assistance programs. They are merely used as statistics for new programs, consulted only to rubber-stamp the unilateral actions of the bureaucrats, who refuse to be accountable to the people for the expenditures or use of tribal funds, donations, or program funds.

The new bureaucrats are accountable only to our enemies, not to our friends or to the people.

### **The New Demagogues**

Indians that usurp leadership appear outwardly Indian. They dress up in buckskin and beads, strut around like peacocks, grow long hair, attend a monthly pow-wow and a yearly ceremony, speak like experts about Indian ways, and boast about their pretended virtues and achievements.

They claim to be the defenders of Indian rights, but when danger threatens, they often hide safely in the back ranks.

These rip-off con artists co-opt or stage protest demonstrations where they shout about our oppression and ask for money and aid to help their people. But they are merely lining their own pockets with gold and feathering their nests with furs!

Like all demagogues, they shout, curse, bully, deceive, and hate everyone, especially their own people whom they pretend to champion. They eventually turn off even the staunchest supporters of the Indian cause, and foster the disunity and demoralization of their own people.

The police, of course, turn their backs on the acts of terrorism of these false Indian leaders, and their bully boys, against their own people!

### **Conspicuous Affluence And Betrayal**

A few opportunist Indians have become profiteers in their own right, setting up capitalist enterprises

on the reserved land base of Indian Nations—an abuse of our tax-exempt, treaty-protected status.

They sell life-destroying products—cigarettes, liquor, gambling; some secretly push hard narcotics and mind-blowing hallucinogens. All these deprivations are prohibited by treaty, yet the F.B.I. and police ignore the protests of outraged Indians.

This new ruling class was poor a few years ago. They lived in shacks with no running water, drove second-hand cars, shopped at Goodwill, ate welfare commodities, wore handmade Indian jewelry, and worked at menial jobs, like the rest of the Indians. Now they live in expensively furnished mansions, drive status-symbol cars, shop at the most expensive stores, wear diamonds and gold, and have many gophers to work in their mini-empires.

They openly flaunt their newly acquired wealth amidst the poverty of their people, boasting, "We made it—so can you!" What they don't tell their people is that "it" came from ripping off!

Their bad example is like a disease infecting Indians, many of whom run to grab whatever they can, saying, "Everyone else is doing it, why not me?"

*False leaders are betraying not only the Indian Nations, but our friends and supporters as well—the sympathetic, alternative political and religious movements that are fighting the same oppressor.*

Mostly working class people, who labor hard to raise money for their own movements, friends of the Indian cause have generously shared time, energy and money to support Indians—not because they have to, for guilt reasons, but because they believe in our just cause. They are not blind or stupid; they see what's happening and they don't intend to stand still and be exploited. They support the Indian's cause but they will not support the expensive lifestyles, tastes and duplicity that rip-off leaders are accustomed to.

But without the aid and support of friends, Indians stand alone!

### **Degenerated Leaders Are An Old Story**

Leaders who betray their people are nothing new; it happens all the time.

When the terroristic Roman Empire expanded into European tribal territory, the first thing the Romans did was kill off the true tribal leaders and set up puppets willing to sell out their people for golden carrots and opportunities. The once-free European tribes were reduced to thralldom.

When Rome's cycle finally ended, the Romans died in their own corruption and decay. But the puppet leadership was by now firmly established and followed in the footsteps of the Romans. They

*False leaders are betraying not only the Indian Nations but alternative political and religious movements fighting the same oppressor*

became Kings, Czars, and Emperors, and the people were their serfs, virtual slaves. When the rulers had no more use for the serfs and the unemployed, they sent them to America as indentured servants and bondpeople for the merchants and landowners who became the ruling class of America.

The oppressed masses of America learned from the Indians about democracy and equality, and eventually rebelled against the European tyrants and struck the blow for independence. But the predator ruling class used its financial power to seduce and corrupt the newly-elected government of the United States, using it as the instrument for crushing the people once again.

Names may change, but life situations are the same; the slaves of Rome and the serfs of Europe are today the workers of this country, and the predator ruling class extracts its wealth from their labor.

A great labor movement arose, but its leaders

*Americans repaid their staunch Iroquois allies with treachery and violence, and the blow struck by forked-tongue Americans shattered the Indian Nations*

Thomas Hart Benton/"The Seneca Discover the French" 1956-7



were bought off. And many leaders of the great Black freedom movement were also bought off.

When the Black movement reached a unified and threatening position, the white ruling class poured millions of tax dollars into Black communities in the form of anti-poverty programs. The golden carrots were used to seduce the Black leaders; those who resisted were slandered or cold-bloodedly jailed or assassinated.

The programs were deliberately set up to encourage rip-offs, and the sly racists sprung the trap, exposing the rip-off leaders and self-righteously

***We need to bring our leadership problem out into the open or our friends and supporters will think that all Indians condone the base actions of a few, that all Indians are now corrupted***

screaming about Black community corruption. They rapidly shut off the spigot: no more funds.

Today, the once powerful Black liberation movement is comparatively inactive. There are few effective Black leaders, white racist politicians scorn them, and the conditions of Blacks are worse than ever.

The sell-out leaders are still doing well, however, safe within the predator system.

"Birds of a feather flock together." Look at the corrupt Vietnamese leaders; where are they today? Safe in America, singing sad songs and making it, while the betrayed American G.I.'s who did the dirty work for the ruling class are physically and mentally shattered, unable to find employment.

The so-called American Dream is today a living nightmare for millions of exploited people here and abroad. Is the only road to the Dream to climb the bandwagon of compromise and surrender, like the sell-out leaders of history?

### **Truth Is Our Greatest Weapon**

Dictatorial Indian bureaucrats, no longer acting in our best interests, no longer accountable to their own people, and profiteering against their own people, have ABANDONED the Indian way and adopted the ways of our enemies.

They have evidently lost faith and belief in our cause; they are now American mainstreamers, leading other Indian Nations into polluted, stagnant waters by controlling our decision-making powers and setting a terrible example in their own daily lives.

***But Indian people do not need to despair, or to apologize for the opportunism of some.*** Leaders always face great stress and temptation! It is a miracle that more of our leaders have not sold out. ***We are fortunate, for we still have Indian leaders with integrity and vision who are committed to our cause. Let us seek them out!***

We need to bring our leadership problem out into the open. Everyone is aware of it, anyway. If we do not, our friends and supporters will think that all Indians condone the base actions of a few, that all Indians are now corrupted! We must publicly expose, denounce and reject our sell-out leaders before it is too late!

The mis-leaders are the puppets, imitators and secret weapons of our enemies, who intend to expose them anyway and use their corruption against the rest of us! We must let our enemies know we are wise to their bag of tricks, and this will take some wind out of their sails!

**BRING OUT THE TRUTH. IT IS OUR GREATEST WEAPON FOR DEFENSE AND SURVIVAL. ■**



Thomas Hart Benton/"Old Kansas City" 1956

***The colonists sought the aid and consent of the Iroquois to set up a separate self-government upon their homelands, and made a treaty of Peace, Friendship and Protection***

"Our Cultural Crisis," Part III of A Warning Message, will appear in the Fall, 1978 issue of the *Freedom Socialist*. The concluding section explains traditional Native American philosophy, the history of Indian and white relations, the brainwashing forced upon everybody by the ruling class, and the implacable choice faced by Native Americans—adaptation to an exploitative system or radical struggle for sovereignty.



Lenore Norgaard

Yet Si Blue (Janet McCloud)



by Edith and Milton Zaslow

## Report from

# Cuba

**O**ur trip to Cuba was our first visit to a "socialist" country, and that was exciting. We expected to see tremendous social progress—and we did.

But we also expected a serious backslide into conservative and bureaucratic practices, and we found that, too.

The traveler in Cuba gets the overall impression of a dynamic, forward-moving society.

From all appearances, the population is adequately fed, housed and clothed, and free education, plus medical, cultural, and recreational services, are available to all.

Infant mortality has decreased from the Latin American average of 80-200 per 1,000 births to 29 per 1,000—less than the figure for minority races in the United States.

In 1976, Castro asserted, *"Today we can proudly proclaim that ours is a country where unemployment, racial discrimination, beggars, gambling, prostitution, narcotics, illiteracy, barefoot children, shantytowns and sick people abandoned to their fate no longer exist."*

This was not an empty boast.

What struck us most forcibly were the numerous highrise buildings dotting the landscape, even in remote areas. These were brightly colored and well-designed hospitals, schools, housing projects, and some factories—the first priorities of the revolution.

Nevertheless, for most Cubans, life remains close to the poverty level. Most common articles of consumption, including food staples, are strictly rationed or unavailable. However, food prices are minimal, and such basics as fish and eggs are unrestricted.

### Housing Boom

The quality of housing is very uneven. Newly-built, attractive, reasonably furnished homes coexist with primitive dwellings. Thousands of new units are under construction.

We visited a rural housing project of 220 families, mostly dairy farmers who were impoverished peasants before the revolution. They sold their land to the new government in return for monthly compensation, relatively high wages for work in the large state dairy farm, and free rent in the modern housing development. They were proud of their excellent school, hospital, and recreational facilities—a far cry from the old dirt floor and thatched roofs.

People can build or inherit their homes, but cannot earn income as landlords. Rents paid to the state are keyed to income; workers in the lowest income brackets pay no rent. Rent is very low, generally 6% of wages.

### Equal Education

Female and male students study the same subjects. Six years of primary and three years of secondary school are mandatory, and all advanced studies are combined with work programs where the students work in their chosen fields. All schooling is free.

Women make up 25% of the student body in technological studies, 42% in economics, 50% in medicine, 50% in the sciences, 60% in liberal arts, and 62% in education.

The women we spoke with claim that their children experience no racism or sexism in school, and are imbued early with social consciousness and internationalism. Each province has a

*the traveler in Cuba gets the overall impression of a dynamic, forward-moving society*

special school, a Pioneer Palace, where children are exposed to a wide variety of studies from which to choose careers.

But the children are not being taught to think critically. The Soviet Union is held up as the epitome of an ideal socialist society and Cuban children are taught to view it as the model for their own future society.

### Inequality and Privilege

We did not, of course, expect to find complete economic equality in a

country with Cuba's colonial heritage and continuing economic problems. What can be expected of a truly socialist leadership is that inequalities be held to a minimum and that functionaries renounce all privileges.

*It is the linkage of material benefits to positions of power that is so pernicious, tending to generate an entrenched, self-perpetuating bureaucracy that uses the state machinery to protect its power and privilege.*

Our observations were not encouraging. Defenders of the regime readily admitted a sharp turn from "idealistic egalitarianism" toward an emphasis on material incentives, with officials sharing in the new privileges. Since the Communist Party has a monopoly of state power, bureaucratic degeneration is a real danger.

The wage spread is considerable, ranging from 86 pesos monthly to over 700, but this is much smaller than in the Soviet Union. There are no restrictions on the income of party or state officials.

We were permitted to go anywhere and speak with anybody. With one exception, we heard no criticism of the regime from the left, from a socialist standpoint. We did find widespread and open discontent from avowed