

NATIONAL

Refugees for all seasons

BY BOB HIPPLER

Welcome to the latest production of Jimmy Carter's traveling propaganda show—"America: Humanitarian Haven for Freedom Fighting Refugees!"

There's only one problem. How do you tell which refugees are the freedom fighters?

Simple. They're the ones the media dubs "political refugees," the ones who fulsomely praise "free enterprise" and "democracy."

The shape-up system

The White House is coldly manipulating the plight of political and economic refugees for its own political gain, and is using a blatantly dual strategy.

On the one hand, refugees fleeing from workers states are embraced as political heroes and proudly displayed as brave escapees from godless communism who prefer life in the capitalist paradise to building non-exploitative, collectively-owned societies in their own countries. Rarely is it mentioned that these refugees are generally non-workers.

On the other hand, the government acts brutally toward truly desperate refugees from the lands of its own repressive, poverty-stricken, capitalist allies. This embarrassing wave of destitute humanity is repelled by any means necessary, including mass deportations and murder.

Creating refugees: a scenario

The refugee strategy has yet another, deeper purpose. It obscures the U.S. role in *creating* refugee problems in under-developed countries.

The Vietnamese boat people and the recent Cuban emigrés are glaring examples of the "discredit the reds" game plan.

In both cases, sweeping social revolutions produced refugees from the dispossessed classes and their allies.



Haitian refugees in Miami demonstrate against U.S. support of dictator Duvalier.

This sector either fled immediately or "lost faith" as the revolution deepened and threatened their privileges.

U.S. policy has actually *multiplied* the refugee flow from both countries, as well as from Laos and Cambodia.

The government has refused to lift its murderous, 20-year economic blockade of Cuba. Cuba cannot buy medical supplies from the U.S., which also boycotts Cuban sugar, tobacco, and any product in the world that contains Cuban nickel. As a result, many Cubans take to the sea to escape economic hardship.

Vietnam also suffers economic discrimination by the U.S. And if the continual economic war weren't enough, U.S. capitalism engineered naked military invasions of both Cuba and Vietnam in the 1960s. Cuba defeated the U.S. at the Bay of Pigs, but Vietnam was decimated. The poverty of both countries is caused directly by American imperialism.

Haitians unwelcome

The Duvalier regime in Haiti is a rightwing U.S. ally that receives U.S. arms and police training to bolster repression and abject poverty.

Haiti has an unemployment rate of 50%, illiteracy is over 90% and infant

mortality is over 20%. A vicious secret police, the Tonton-Macoute, murders and rapes at government whim.

Over 30,000 Haitian refugees now live in the Miami area, 80% of them under threat of deportation. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has regularly deported the refugees—600 have been returned to Haiti.

In a May 14 statement answering widespread criticism of the disparate treatment of Cubans and Haitians, Carter promised the Haitians "equal treatment," but not "political refugee" status. Even this minimal promise was false: most Cubans are being processed through tent cities or military bases, but all Haitians go through federal penitentiaries.

Mexicans go home!

Millions of Mexicans are similarly denied legal status and routinely subjected to factory and neighborhood raids, and deportation. In parts of Texas, children of undocumented workers are not allowed to attend the public schools.

Big growers are notorious for hiring undocumented workers at subminimum wages. At the end of the season, just before payday, the Immigration and Naturalization Service is sum-

moned to round them up. Yet the U.S. has a treaty with Mexico guaranteeing free border crossings!

Flip-flop diplomacy

Sometimes Carter's dual strategy becomes startlingly visible, particularly when a major upheaval occurs elsewhere and U.S. policy flip-flops.

Before Somoza fell in Nicaragua, Carter was rounding up anti-Somoza refugees for deportation. Now that revolutionary forces are in power, the U.S. welcomes pro-Somoza reactionaries with open arms.

A similar turnabout took place after the socialist Salvador Allende was murdered in a CIA caper in Chile. Suddenly, Chilean refugees fleeing the monstrous new military dictatorship were turned away.

In the 1950s and '60s, the U.S. accepted refugees from Soviet-bloc Hungary and Czechoslovakia—but not from Guatemala after its progressive government was overthrown by a U.S.-backed coup.

U.S. policy displays an historical consistency going right back to the 1917 Russian Revolution, when hundreds of thousands of White Russians were granted political exile status.

But when just as many Jews tried desperately to escape Hitler in the 1930s, U.S. immigration doors were slammed shut.

The shores of the U.S. must be open to all poor and oppressed immigrants, regardless of the political situation in their home countries and irrespective of their ethnic origins. Otherwise, refugees become the pawns in an international con game, and are pitted against the poor and the ethnic minorities in this country who are deprived of services given fully to politically OK newcomers. That carnival must not be permitted to continue. □

Bob Hippler is a gay activist and CRSP member long associated with the Campaign for a Citizens Police Review Board in Los Angeles.

Miami, Orlando, Chattanooga**Ghetto war in Dixieland**

BY JANET SUTHERLAND

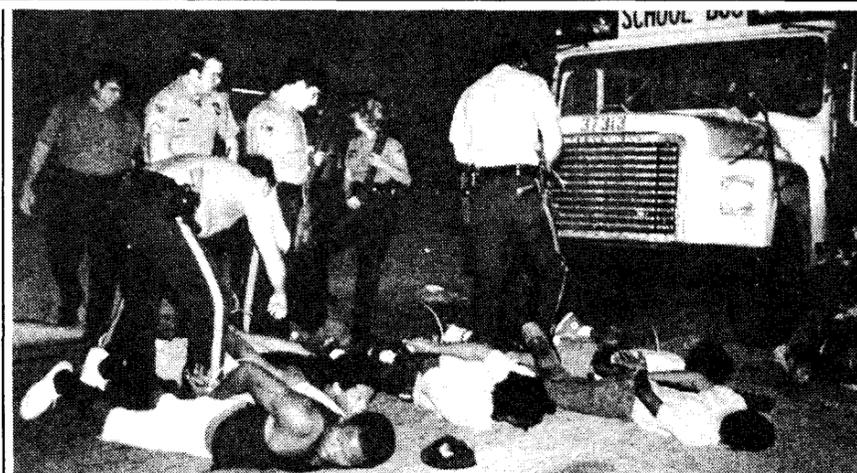
Riots in Miami and Orlando, Florida and in Chattanooga, Tennessee spread like wildfire in the most violent summer of discontent since the ghetto rebellions of the '60s.

Miami erupted in May when an all-white jury acquitted four policemen who beat to death Black insurance man Arthur McDuffie. The response from the ghetto, Liberty City, was prompt, with 400 people injured, 1250 arrested, 16 dead, and damage to white business estimated at \$100 million.

In July, the attempted wrongful arrest of a Black man in Miami provoked another riot, fueled by the disappointment of 600 unemployed youths with a job fair that offered only 200 skilled jobs. Police teargassed the protestors, injuring innocent bystanders.

Later that month, Chattanooga Blacks rebelled when another all-white jury acquitted two Ku Klux Klan members and let the third off easy for the shooting of four Black women. Police tactical squads sealed off neighborhoods from their residents.

Also in July, white cops in Orlando brutalized a Black woman while arresting her, and the ensuing outburst lasted three days and nights. Stores were



Police brutality in Miami's Liberty City area.

looted and burned, Blacks and whites were injured, and police ran amok.

Racism U.S.A.

Southern metropolises, which had begun to offer Blacks some respite from rural poverty and the KKK, have now reverted to type, joining Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles and dozens of Northern cities in heaping police abuse on top of Black unemployment. And the already incendiary situation is aggravated by the favoritism shown to Cuban and Indo-

Chinese refugees while social services for Blacks are slashed.

Southern officials tried to cool things down by calling in Jesse Jackson of PUSH, Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP, and Andrew Young, formerly of the Carter regime. But Blacks were not fooled. Their hopes for reform obliterated by ten years of sellout by Black politicians, the protesters shouted insults at the Black mediators and put the torch to more white businesses in the ghetto.

In August, the federal government

announced it would bring civil rights violation charges against some of the acquitted criminals—another case of too little, too late, and no answer to the crying need for jobs, shelter, food, clothing, education, and dignity.

The media also begged the issue. CBS-TV reportage on Miami clearly detailed the complicity of state prosecutors who permitted their three police witnesses to discredit themselves through contradictory testimony about McDuffie's murder. This provided the jury with an excuse for acquitting the murderers. But the TV "analysis" focused on the racism of cracker cops and ignored the collusion of a political-legal system which has long rested on racial persecution.

Black revolt

It is significant that white *property*, not white people, is the chief target for Black fury.

Blacks know that their conditions change only when businesses burn and ghetto rebellion disturbs the orderly process of profit-taking.

In the absence of a mass movement, an electoral alternative, and a radical leadership, the Black militants have no outlet but destruction. It is the fire this time—but political revolution is not far behind. □

LETTERS

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Madelyn Elder, a phone company cable splicer, explains why angry women employees are demanding their fair share of contract gains from union officials.

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One hundred radicals meet on the anniversary of the American Revolution and consolidate an important connection with the Latin American movement and with international Trotskyism. A two-year-old faction fight is decisively resolved amid three rich days of political analysis, program planning and pointed entertainment.



Women and pornography 15



Capitalism thrives on porn's basic message that women are cheap targets and that men should degrade women—and themselves—for power and kicks. Karen Brodine, a poet and social critic, examines the dynamics.

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freedom socialist

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Black woman, white rapist

Dessie Woods, a Black, defended herself and a friend from an armed white rapist in June 1975. Her imprisonment for murder is being contested in the Fifth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

In her five years in the Georgia Women's Institute of Corrections, Woods has been repeatedly beaten, drugged, and subjected to nude solitary confinement. In December 1977, she was illegally transferred to the Georgia State Mental Institution and drugged with Prolixin, a dangerous mind-controller. After a national protest, she was returned to prison.

The National Committee to Defend Dessie Woods, an all-Black organization in Gainesville, Florida, has won international support. Woods will be up for parole in November, but her situation is unpredictable because of her fight in prison for Black women and for herself. **Dessie Woods Support Committee**

625 Post Street, Box 667
San Francisco, California

Right on, comrades

Congratulations on your "Gay Resistance" series. 4 stars for your "Feminist Scoreboard." We believe that the *Freedom Socialist* is a truly revolutionary group. We support your struggle; it is our struggle.

Tony Hamils, Anthony Melchiorre
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Black poet framed

In January, an all-white jury in Buffalo, New York convicted Black poet Yusef Alhakk of second degree robbery of a drug store. The pharmacist identified Yusef, whose picture should not have been among mugshots since he had no criminal record.

In the trial, the judge overruled defense objections and sustained the racist prosecutors, who asked the jury to accept the testimony of the white, licensed pharmacist and reject Yusef's witness, an unemployed Black laborer. Yusef was sentenced to 4-12 years.

Yusef was selectively arrested. He is no thief; he had maintained employment for eight years. But he is a political, and a member of ten human rights groups, including anti-Klan, antidraft, and prisoner support activities. He needs help. **Alhakk Defense Committee**
P.O. Box 41, Station C
Buffalo, New York

SWP homophobia

The SWP has disengaged from the lesbian/gay movement and the fight against sexism. Recently, the New York City SWP forced their only openly transsexual member to resign or be expelled for her "lifestyle." She quit.

The vulgar and pernicious charge against her was "violation" of the SWP's "dress code," which makes any form of "cross-gender dressing" incompatible with SWP membership. To raise the "issue" of transvestism against a transsexual is vicious, disgusting, and backward.

The shocked SWP members who revealed this latest victimization also reported that Dave Frankel, SWP writer for *The Militant* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, declared, "The SWP is not a party of social rejects," and should force the transsexual to resign. Fred Stanton, another party official, stated, "A man

could never be a woman even if he wanted to." The SWP belittled the difficulties of a transsexual as mere seeking of a personal lifestyle.

The SWP also opposed the October 1979 March on Washington for Lesbian/Gay Rights, refuses to condemn the execution of homosexuals in Iran, minimized gay oppression in Cuba, and does not protest antigay immigration laws or police murders of gay activists like Fred Paez.

Lesbian/Gay Rights Monitoring Group
415 W. 23rd St. #11F
New York City, New York

Trial by gender

Last fall, a jury convicted Sandy Hagen of first degree manslaughter and second degree criminal possession of a deadly weapon for the August 1978 shooting death of Gilbert Rivera in Brooklyn. Rivera had an arrest record for 16 offenses, such as burglary, robbery, and grand larceny, most of them drug-related crimes.

Hagen knew Rivera, who had once thrown her across a hallway when she interrupted his assault on another woman. He was 6'2" tall. During a later, uninvited visit to her apartment, he struck her and they both scrambled for his gun, but she reached it first and fired.

At her trial, the prosecution claimed this was a case of jealousy, not self-defense.

Sandy was sent to prison at Riker Island, then to Bedford Hills. She did not receive a fair trial. Under New York law, a person may use deadly physical force if he reasonably believes another is about to use it. The provisions of the law employ the masculine gender; the judge used this sexist language in his instructions to the jury.

A Washington State court found this to be an error in the Yvonne Wanrow case, denying equal protection of the law (the essence of sex discrimination). The Wanrow case is persuasive authority for a New York court, though not binding.

Sandy Hagen Defense Committee
Box 1200, 164 W. 21st St.
New York City, New York

L.A. school crisis

I'm a substitute teacher, a member of the United Teachers of Los Angeles union and its "Teachers for Change" caucus.

The Board of Education is increasing class size and eliminating many probationary contract teachers. Since most of them will go on the substitute list, subs will lose their jobs.

Actually, given present class size, there is a teacher *shortage* in L.A. The Board's displacements and dismissals are an attempt to "end" this shortage and gain leverage in the contract negotiations. The Board wants to slash salaries for subs, cut benefits for all teachers, and raise wages only 5%.

The Board majority is antibusing and is fighting Judge Egly's busing/integration plan in the U.S. Supreme Court. School Board President Roberta Wientraub has openly suggested that white parents should pull their children out of the schools if busing goes through.

The union is more worried about parent participation in the schools than in getting parents in its corner.

The union membership has a large female majority while the school administrators are mostly

male. Even some of the female anti-busers on the Board decry administration sexism, and a group of female administrators just won an affirmative action class action suit against the Board. The union leadership also has a male majority, and the union is being crippled by their lack of interest in mobilizing teachers for self defense. Teachers for Change had to pressure the union into staging a demonstration.

The caucus is pushing for a "Strike Preparedness" stance.
Bob Hippler
Los Angeles, California

Prison rape

POS RIP was formed through the efforts of Russell Smith, who was released from federal prison on May 30 after serving over seven years—two of them for protecting himself from rape. For his efforts to circulate the facts about prison rape, Smith was confined to an isolated cell and severely harassed by prison officials. Upon his release, Smith determined to fight prison rape and demand the segregation of rapists.

One out of every five prisoners is subjected to rape by prison officers, jail guards, or physically stronger prisoners. Victims are of all races, nationalities, sexual preferences, and both sexes.

POS RIP needs help in establishing a program to force prison officials to protect prisoners, and in publicizing the conditions which provoke prison rape.

People Organized to Stop Rape of Imprisoned Persons
P.O. Box 3001
St. Louis, Missouri

Aquash-FBI murder film

Anna Mae—*Brave Hearted Woman*, acclaimed at two film festivals, is unfinished. Funds are badly needed to complete "the strongest film statement ever made about the way this country deals with Indians."

Anna Mae Pictou Aquash participated in the American Indian Movement takeover of the Washington, D.C. Bureau of Indian Affairs building in 1972. She was a key organizer for Los Angeles AIM.

In 1973, she was at Pine Ridge Reservation during the 71-day siege of Wounded Knee. Armed FBI agents attacked a camp there in June 1975, and one Indian and two agents were killed. Although Anna Mae was in court in Cedar Rapids, Iowa on that day, the FBI arrested her twice and she went into hiding.

In February 1976, Anna Mae's body was found at the foot of a cliff. Police and FBI agents rushed to bury the "unidentified" body. But her family and friends refused to believe she died of exposure. A second autopsy revealed two bullet wounds in her head. Yet there was never an official investigation.

Filmmaker Lan Ritz has taken these gruesome facts and created a film that is a document of the living movement. Through Anna Mae's letters and her friends' stories, we come to know a vital woman fighting for sovereignty, treaty rights, and respect.

The Film Fund, Inc.
308 11th St.
San Francisco, California

Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphics, photographs, and pertinent information on world and national affairs for publication.



INTERNATIONAL ROUNDUP

Poland

Down with the privileges of the bureaucracy! Down with Stakhanovism! Down with the Soviet aristocracy and its ranks and orders! Greater equality of wages for all forms of labor! The struggle for the freedom of the trade unions and the factory committees, for the right of assembly and freedom of the press, will unfold in the struggle for the regeneration and development of Soviet democracy.

—Leon Trotsky, 1938
(*Transitional Program*)

Adopted by the fledgling Fourth International 40 years ago, these Trotskyist demands could have been emblazoned over the Lenin Shipyards gates in Gdansk, Poland when a strike of shipyard workers erupted on August 14 over the summary firing of a woman labor leader. The stunning strike quickly blossomed into a nationwide workers challenge to the bureaucracy's stranglehold.

It was clear to the whole world that the socialist workers of Poland were

of censorship and ruling caste privilege, release of all political prisoners, public access to economic information, and automatic cost-of-living wage increases.

Worker delegates from all over the country poured into the Lenin Shipyards with financial donations and declarations of solidarity. Sympathy strikes swept the country. Labor organizations around the world sent support and money.

Insisting on the fullest expression of democracy, strikers broadcast negotiations throughout the shipyards and to the press.

Faced with political disaster, the government negotiators held out only two weeks before conceding the major demand for independent unions and the right to strike. Worker negotiators agreed to recognize the PUWP as the leading party, and promised not to act as a political party.

The workers immediately set up offices for the new trade unions and were flooded with applications for membership. Meanwhile, local strikes continue as workers try to consolidate the Gdansk agreements.

Gierek's removal as party chief (ostensibly for medical reasons) was almost a minor news event amidst the historic proletarian victory.

The anti-bureaucracy worker's



Poland's strike leaders Anna Walentinowicz and Lech Walesa hold firm in negotiations. AP

defending their economy by demanding democratic reforms. Socialism must mean workers' power, not bureaucratic oppression.

The general strike was triggered when shipyard management fired Anna Walentinowicz, a crane operator and leader in the 1970 and 1976 upsurges. Widely respected as a powerful advocate for labor, she was dismissed in retaliation for her activism.

Following the example of the American sit-down strikers of the 1930s, Polish shipyard workers took over their workplace and turned it into an organizing center for a strike movement that quickly raced across Poland, fueled by massive indignation over high meat prices, government censorship, repression of political dissidents, bureaucratic privilege, and low wages.

While the government accused strike leaders of "anarchism" and "antisocialism," the strikers proudly sang the "International," the anthem of world revolution.

The Catholic Church's corrupt hierarchy was quickly enlisted to counsel "peace, calm, reason, prudence, and responsibility"—and a back-to-work policy. Thinly-veiled threats of Soviet intervention issued from Edward Gierek, chairman of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), but the Kremlin didn't dare to intervene and risk worker wrath on a world scale.

movement across Eastern Europe is stronger than ever before. The future is grim for Stalinism, but dazzlingly bright for the heroic masses in the workers states. The time is ripe for them to consolidate their gains and expand their offensive against the anti-socialist policies and practices of the parasitic officialdom whose power has been gravely weakened. The workers of the world owe a resounding vote of gratitude to the Polish proletariat. □

Zimbabwe

Woeefully underpaid Black workers bombarded new Prime Minister Robert Mugabe with a wave of strikes last May. Despite Mugabe's appeal for time, shoemakers, industrial and textile workers, and miners walked out and won a minimum wage law effective in July.

Zimbabwe gained independence from Britain in April and the people expect radical changes, even though Mugabe, leader of the ZANU guerrillas, made heavy concessions to the whites, agreeing to maintain capitalism and retain a white army commander.

The army, police force, civil service and economic moguls are predominantly white.

Colonial racism has left Zimbabwe a festering sore. The ratio of doctors is one per 1000 whites, but only one for



Salvadoran guerrillas pose before a poster commemorating ten years of resistance by the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), a Marxist group.

El Salvador

Five thousand El Salvadorans have been slaughtered by the army, police, and right-wing death squads since the military/Christian Democratic junta seized power last October. But a unified revolutionary force now resists the junta.

The U.S.-supported junta is a grisly one, murdering opponents and using the "land reform" program (developed by U.S. consultant Roy L. Prosterman) as a cover for military control of the countryside. Troops have smashed the independent press, occupied the universities, and ravaged the land in pursuit of guerrillas.

General strikes in June and August halted the economy and provided a proving ground for revolutionary organization. Reprisals against striking electrical workers spurred a retaliatory 24-hour blackout when 1500 electrical workers seized five power plants.

Resistance leadership comes from a coalition of labor, small business, and radicals—the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR). The FDR is organizing people's militias and radicalizing the countryside. It does not call for immediate insurrection.

The FDR includes several major leftwing military forces, which are coordinated by the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU). All are in need of arms. Within DRU a debate rages over strategy, and the responsible view prevails that the call for all-out war is politically premature. In September, the ultraleft National Resistance (NR) split from DRU after arguing to no avail that DRU lead army dissidents bent on quick overthrow of the junta.

One wing of DRU, the reformist Communist Party, previously cooperated with the junta.

Another sector of DRU, the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), originally promoted armed struggle and led a rebellion in October. ERP expected a

quick military victory, as did its offshoot, the Forces of National Liberation (FARN). Now both groups seek to expand their mass base, as does the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), which split from the Stalinists ten years ago. FPL is a Marxist party close to the workers, slum dwellers, and peasants; its second-in-command is a woman, as are 40% of its cadres.

Another component of DRU is the Socialist Workers Party (PST), Trotskyists who are fighting for a unified socialist Central America.

Millions of U.S. dollars supply the junta; U.S. warships stand off the coast. And U.S.-supported troops from Honduras and Guatemala threaten intervention.

In August, the FDR went international to enlist arms for the civil war and expose U.S. meddling. Emissaries gained support from the Socialist International in Norway.

Rivers of blood have been shed because the leaders trusted "reform" promises. Now nothing short of total divestiture of imperialist interests, and their own socialist state, will suffice. **U.S. dirty hands off El Salvador!** □

Iran

Twenty months after the overthrow of the Shah, the deepening radicalization of the masses continues to challenge the efforts of the bourgeoisie to stabilize the economy and their own political power. This political contradiction is the basis of the actual dual power governing Iran.

As peasants continue to seize large areas of farmland, and factory shoras (committees) become more authoritative, the government tries to push back the revolution through military attacks on the autonomy-seeking Kurds and sustained repression of radicals. May Day demonstrations were attacked viciously by the Islamic fundamentalists who control the new parliament.

Parliament is concentrating on responding to severe military attacks from Iraq, whose government fears the spread of the Iranian revolution, and where pro-Shah Iranians are now based. The soiled hands of the U.S. are clearly in evidence in this war. Iraq is filled with U.S. operatives and Carter is refusing to sell Iran spare parts for its U.S.-made weapons.

Also on the parliamentary agenda is the fate of the U.S. hostages. In preparation for international tribunals, Pres. Carter has assembled 60,000 pages of secret documentation, detailing U.S. involvement in Iran back to 1941. But the White House refuses to meet Iran's major demands: an apology for Yankee crimes against Iran, release of frozen Iranian assets and the return of money stolen by the Shah.

The two major issues of the hostages and Iraq are pressuring parliament toward the left. If parliament, instead, turns against the self-organization of the Iranian masses, they will erupt again. The fate of the revolution has yet to be decided. □

every 13,000 Blacks. Half the Black children die by age 5. The countryside was devastated by war and systematic crop destruction by the British.

Mugabe has launched a recovery program, provided a workers rights charter, and begun universal schooling and health care. The rich now pay taxes. The unpaid mortgages of whites, formerly subsidized by the government, are being foreclosed and land collectivization is proceeding even without the needed expropriations.

A landlocked country, Zimbabwe's trade routes are controlled by South Africa. But in July, Mugabe expelled South African diplomats caught recruiting former Rhodesian soldiers. When South Africa threatened reprisals, Mugabe, who was visiting the U.S., appealed for massive U.S. aid.

Zimbabwe's hard won independence cannot be preserved with imperialist loans. No neo-colonial solution will work; socialism is the real future for Zimbabwe. □

Jarvis revolt fizzles

Californians dump Jaws II

BY SUKEY DURHAM

That guru of the taxpayers' revolt, bellicose Howard Jarvis, is a wolf in sheep's clothing who tried a re-run of his notorious 1978 tax-measure victory, Proposition 13.

But this time, his new, improved version of a plan to slash social programs lost by almost a 2-to-1 margin.

Dubbed "Jaws II" by nervous state legislators, Jarvis' Proposition 9 was defeated on the June 3 ballot. It would have cut California state income taxes in half.

While the precise long-term effects of the measure were debatable, the state would have lost \$4.9 billion in revenue in 1980-81 and at least \$4.4 billion every year thereafter. And Prop. 9, like its predecessor, was a constitutional amendment which could not be modified by the legislature.

Rightwing overkill

Passage of Prop. 9 meant a full-scale, frontal attack on governmental programs and services. Education and health care—including mental health, public transportation and recreational facilities—were slated for severe cuts. Stepped-up layoffs of teachers and public employees were imminent, and

tuition at the University of California could have climbed to \$3,000 per year. Drastic cuts in services and the imposition of steep user-fees were planned, placing an added burden on those least able to afford the ravages of inflation.

Local governments in California have already lost a whopping \$7 billion as a result of Prop. 13. Since 1978, cities and counties have depended on state bail-out funds to stay afloat, but the state surplus that was used to finance education and other social programs will be exhausted within a few years. Had Prop. 9 passed, the surplus would have disappeared immediately.

Welfare for the rich

Prop. 13 slashed the skyrocketing property taxes to 1% of assessed value and placed severe restrictions on the government's ability to levy new taxes. Wealthy landowners, like Jarvis, benefited greatly from this scheme, but renters—47% of the population—got nothing but rent increases and cut-backs in everything from libraries to garbage pickups.

Under Prop. 9, the wealthiest 5% of taxpayers would have received 40% of the dollar tax-savings. But a married couple, earning \$12,500, were to receive a tax break of only \$64. Prop. 9, moreover, had no provision for closing

tax loopholes for the rich—that necessary first step for true tax reform.

Robin Hood reversed

In spite of Jarvis' masquerade two years ago as a populist defender of the little guy against the horror of big government, California voters saw through his act this year.

Jarvis' comments—unionists are "greedy bastards" and "people who decide elections don't read"—exposed his supporters as rightwing cynics whose "reform" is that stale variation on the theme of stealing from the poor to give to the rich.

Backers of "Jaws II" placed a lot of confidence in the views of Arthur B. Laffer of the University of Southern California, one of a growing enclave of conservative, laissez-faire economists. Laffer claims that massive tax cuts, under certain conditions, can stimulate the economy and increase government revenues. Translated, this means that if government would butt out of the marketplace, Big Business could continue to reap superprofits through further attacks on the workers' standard of living.

With oil companies already reporting billions of dollars in profits in the very midst of an alleged energy shortage, many voters are wondering if Big

Business—and not big government—isn't their worst enemy.

Cut back the bosses!

Workers in California had different plans for the oil moguls and their ilk. Prop. 11, on the same ballot as Prop. 9, aimed to place a 10% surcharge on the windfall received by oil companies as a result of Carter's decontrol of oil prices. Prop. 11 also would have taxed all oil produced in California. But Prop. 11 lost by a 43%-to-57% margin, a defeat attributed primarily to a huge oil-financed advertising campaign.

The California AFL-CIO, along with consumer and community groups, is now gathering signatures for the Tax Simplicity Act, a measure to reduce taxes for workers and raise the taxes of banks and large corporations from 9.6% to 12%.

Tax reform is a stopgap

As the economy careens towards disaster and the capitalists engineer a recession in hopes of halting inflation, it is obvious that tax reform can only temporarily and partially ease the economic crunch. Only a planned socialist economy, administered by a workers' government, can finally end economic crisis, corporate greed, and human misery. □

WHAT IS THE FSP?

The Freedom Socialist Party is a revolutionary, socialist feminist organization, dedicated to the replacement of capitalist rule by a genuine workers democracy that will guarantee full economic, social, political and legal equality to women, people of color, gays, and all who are exploited, oppressed and repelled by the ruthless profit system and its offshoot—imperialism.

For revolutionary internationalism

The working class is international, bound by global abuse and the common task of winning liberation through socialism. We support the revolution on all its fronts and seek to transform it into worldwide socialism, which alone can insure the final defeat of capitalism and all forms of subjugation.

For union democracy

The working class has the strategic power, numbers, need and opportunity to effect a socialist transformation of society. But first the trade unions must be freed from the stranglehold of the class-collaborationist bureaucrats and from dependence on the twin political parties of big business. Internal union democracy, class struggle principles, independent political action in the form of a Labor Party, and an end to internal racism, sexism and heterosexism are on the order of the day.

For women's liberation

We organize for the total emancipation of women on every level of life. The

multiple afflictions of women—as members of an oppressed sex, workers, people of color, lesbians—propel them into militancy within every social movement, thereby laying the basis for unifying all the mass movements. Women, particularly workingclass women of color, are playing an increasingly vanguard role in the American and world revolution, thanks to the rise of the autonomous women's movement and women's caucuses within unions and all political parties.

For racial/ethnic freedom

The struggles of oppressed minorities against racism objectively challenge the basic core of the American political system. The resistance of people of color, who suffer a dual oppression, spurs all other sectors of the working class to advanced political consciousness and militancy.

We stand for immediate and unconditional economic, political, and social equality for Blacks, Chicanos, Asian Americans, Native Americans and Puerto Ricans, and endorse the demand for self-determination by the Indian and Puerto Rican nations.

We advocate the collaboration of Black organizations with the revolutionary movement as the most realistic and historically validated alternative to the dead ends of separatism or reformist integration. The revolution depends upon massive Black involvement and leadership.

For gay equality

The revolt of lesbians and gay men against sexual repression and sex-role

stereotyping is a key ingredient of the fight for women's equality and is equally revolutionary. Revolutionary socialism is the logical road for sexual minorities who stand apart from the bourgeois nuclear family and who wish to end the long, bloody centuries of persecution and terror.

Because of their special oppression, lesbians are a particularly militant component of all social movements.

For universal human rights

Among the most hapless and vulnerable victims of capitalism are children, elders, the disabled, prisoners—anyone who is not a profitable worker.

We demand a world where all people have the inalienable right to security, care, love, and unhampered opportunity and growth.

For environmental sanity

The world's natural riches must be used and safeguarded by the people,

not by the corporations who exhaust resources for profit and destroy worker safety and health. Nuclear energy threatens to maim or annihilate future generations. Technology must be used wisely and humanely to preserve the earth and its creatures.

For a mass party of the working class

History has proven that only a thoroughly democratic and centralized vanguard party can lead the proletariat and its many allies to power. The FSP, a product of the living tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, aspires to become a mass organization capable of providing direction for the coming American revolution.

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Ma Bell's daughters come of age

BY MADELYN ELDER

It used to be that workers struck when contract negotiations collapsed. Times have changed.

No sooner did negotiators for the Communications Workers of America (CWA) settle with AT&T on August 9 than telephone workers in New York City, opposed to the settlement, hit the bricks.

The contract stunk. In the face of vast technological change, job security had been won only for those with 15 years seniority. Raises amounted to only 10.2%, and that amount went to already top-paid workers. And the industry-wide negotiations left many locals still bargaining over their own working conditions, with the likelihood that many isolated and vulnerable locals will have to strike on their own.

Hardest hit by the sellout were the predominantly female operators whose fingers control the intricate machinery central to the Bell system.

In spite of CWA's "Year of the Operator," a movement begun by Pacific Northwest Bell operators, an insulting \$5 a week raise is all operators will get. Meager provisions were won to prevent supervisors listening in and counting mistakes, but the only type of monitoring actually curbed is unlikely to be used against operators anyway. They are still subject to penalties, often for mistakes resulting from supervisor harassment.

Operators on the march

Last May, Pacific Northwest Bell operators held a conference in Seattle to convey their wage demands to union negotiators. They also demanded that attention be paid to the workplace hazards and harassment they suffer. And they found themselves complimented for their decisive intervention into a February strike called over working conditions in the field.

Keynote speaker Clara Fraser took time out from her discrimination case against Seattle City Light to address the operators and urge them to take leadership of their union and the entire labor movement. "Led by women and minority workers, labor will create profound social change in this land," said Fraser, a longtime feminist and labor activist.

She cited labor history to show the power of a united movement. "The CIO, like the IWW, was an industrial, multi-craft union, and CWA is such a union, with operators, installers, splicers, computer experts and others all in the same bargaining unit. And women are 51% of it."

She compared the operators' role in the February strike to the bold action of Seattle City Light clericals, who were quick to join the electrical workers' 1974 walkout. "Without the women, the other workers would not have won. Without you pushing the union officials, the CWA will not win a better contract."

The conference expressed its own militancy by giving a standing ovation to Fraser.

Important support for the conference came from non-operators. One installer cited Fraser's quip, "Women used to work until they got married. Now they work to support their husbands." The speaker lamented the attitude of skilled males who still believe operators work for "luxuries" for their families.

Economic sexism

Bell operators in the Northwest are mostly women, people of color, and gays, and they demonstrated their

combined strength and impact in the February strike.

When a woman cable splicer in Renton, Washington refused to work alone in a hazardous site, she was disciplined and a strike broke out, quickly spreading throughout the region. Portland and Seattle operators struck in support, causing a daily loss of thousands of dollars in long-distance revenues. Management was forced to negotiate, and the issue was temporarily resolved.

The operators had set an example of solidarity for the entire union.

Union officials, however, have not awakened to the significance of the operators, who learned at the conference that they were not to be represented on the bargaining committee. This exclusion raised serious questions about possible gains for them during bargaining. "Every contract, it's the same thing," declared one Portland operator. "Our issues are shoved aside until the last minute. Then we are given a dime raise."

When an area representative of national CWA hedged on making their issues a top priority, another woman operator retorted: "The reason you don't want to answer my question is because we all know the answer is 'no.' No, the operators are not a top priority for bargaining." The conference unanimously voted to send a resolution to the national bargaining committee demanding top priority for operators' issues—and the CWA rep fled.

The hand that rocks the switchboard

The conference workshops documented operator complaints about job stress. With little control over the speed of incoming calls, operators experience pressures that lead to insomnia, muscle spasms, recurrent vaginal or bladder infections, ulcers, hypertension, colitis, and coronary



Switchboard operators are leading the battle against speed-up, low pay, and job harassment.

heart disease.

Operators sometimes wait 40 minutes for another operator to replace them for a bathroom break. Job monitoring is pervasive; management calls its practice of unobserved listening-in on operators "quality control," but workers call it harassment. Although the union has introduced laws against monitoring in state legislatures, Bell's lobbyists have stymied them.

Despite demeaning conditions, Bell expects operators to attain a high skill level. They must remember myriad FCC regulations for citing rates and even the time of day. As the public's regular contact with the phone company, operators must learn PNB's

special language and style, responding to customers and life-and-death situations with super friendliness, efficiency, tact, and speed.

Operators are learning from their smouldering anger at sellout bargaining and job persecution. They know it is they who control crucial and lucrative communication links, and who have vital organizing skills. They are gearing up to become the driving force that will transform the union into a fighting organization deserving of their allegiance and leadership. □

Madelyn Elder is a cable splicer for Bell Telephone and a shop steward for her CWA local.

Passing the buck on worker safety

Industrial insurance ripoff

BY HEIDI DURHAM

Thousands of U.S. workers are robbed of their livelihoods through workplace hazards. They are killed or maimed by speeded-up equipment bristling with murderous gears and faulty levers. They are contaminated by deadly substances. They are victimized by accidents and by ruthless harassment. Yet the bosses harangue about malingerers and incompetents and hack away at an already deficient workman's compensation program.

It is the labor of worker-taxpayers that finances the meager compensation benefits, and few workers know that industrial insurance was instituted by Big Business in order to serve its interests.

Prior to 1920, employers in some states could be sued by workers under "employer liability" laws. These were open jury trials which exposed the horrible conditions perpetuated by giant industries to public scrutiny and criticism. So business sponsored the first state compensation programs, granting only minimal injury compensation.

Both management and insurance interests benefited by the shift from chancy juries to bureaucratic administrative agencies whose employees could be pressured or co-opted. The new worker compensation system, along with the non-enforcement of

industrial safety laws, was a boon for capital.

It is true that significant advances for the injured worker have been won in the past 60 years. But the modest gains envisioned by socialists and labor militants earlier in the century have yet to be won: **full compensation** for wages lost through injury; retention of **the right to sue** the employer for negligence; and **state-owned insurance agencies** to prevent diversion of most premiums to insurance company coffers rather than to injured workers.

Adding insult to injury

A worker disabled while performing a job that makes thousands of dollars for the boss loses his or her value as a seller of labor power and is no longer marketable. In most states, workers disabled by industrial accidents get **less than 25% of their incomes** in compensation, and many victims of occupational disease receive **no compensation at all** because they can't get the necessary support from doctors and employers to prove that their disabilities are work-related.

Final settlements made on permanent-total and permanent-partial disabilities are an insult. In Washington State, a worker who loses the function of one eye gets \$7,200, while a worker who incurs the same injury off the job can sue and receive up to \$85,000.

An injured worker lucky enough to live in a state which provides voca-

tional rehabilitation soon finds that the resources are grossly inadequate. State provisions for 2-year job retraining in the construction look good at first, but in the programs trades, for example, where wages are relatively high and the level of education low, an injured worker cannot earn equivalent wages on a different job after only two years of retraining.

Bring the murderers to trial

Business, industry, and the government are the true malingerers. They not only fight to deny workers their benefits, but they do virtually nothing to insure safe job sites. Industry will endanger a worker's life rather than install safe machinery or slow down the pace of production or hire extra workers or conduct proper training.

Oceans of workers' blood have been spilled for the profit system and millions of lives wasted in needless disability. Organized labor can no longer temporize on this issue—it must demand a total revolution in the workers' compensation system and the flabby health and safety laws. Big Business itself must be put on trial for the carnage it has inflicted in the interest of its profits. □

Heidi Durham is an I.B.E.W. member and female pioneer in the electrical trades. She has become an advocate of the physically disabled since an on-the-job accident.

Rank and file victory at Hispanic Feminist Conference

BY SARA MARSH

The twin themes of internationalism and solidarity among the oppressed prevailed when women from all over the western hemisphere convened March 29-31 in San Jose, California, for the first-ever National Hispanic Feminist Conference.

Decisively linking the subjugation of women to other freedom struggles, the more than 500 feminists from Cuba, Mexico, Central America and the U.S. passed resolutions on issues ranging from the Equal Rights Amendment, Puerto Rican independence and migrant workers' rights to Clara Fraser's sex and political ideology case.

On the eve of the meeting, a last-minute conflict erupted over the conference site, and this issue became the catalyst that radically broadened the scope of the meeting. Conference planners, steeped in single-issue chauvinism, located workshops to be held outside the Convention Center at the Park Plaza Holiday Inn, callously ignoring a 5-year boycott of the hotel by Native Americans. The Park Plaza is built on Ohlone burial grounds.

Boycott joined

Challenged by conference participants at the opening General Session on Friday night, conference leaders denounced the boycott as a "split" issue that should not be supported because the American Indian Movement (AIM), a boycott sponsor, does not support the ERA. But two wrongs don't make a right, said the rank and file delegates; only hours after arriving in San Jose, they voted to remove all workshops from the Holiday Inn.

Said Janie Perez of San Jose, a founding member of Mujer, a Chicana feminist organization, "The issue here is the boycott, not feminism or the Chicana conference." Perez and many other Chicanas, sensitive to the erosion of the land base of sovereign Indian nations, joined the picket line outside the Holiday Inn.

Tension between conference organizers and the more political participants mounted as inquiries arose about how conference money was spent, why community women were excluded from the organizing nucleus,



"The issue here is the Holiday Inn boycott and supporting the Native Americans. If we don't stand up for their rights, who will stand up for ours?"

—Janie Perez

and what forums were available for different tendencies to express their opinions. Subsequently, many workshops passed resolutions addressing these concerns.

Chicana militance

One workshop, "Chicanas in the Movement: As Working Women, As Feminists, As Socialists," drew a crowd of 100. For the first time, there was open discussion, which allowed participants to introduce a variety of resolutions. Commitment was expressed to feminism, undocumented workers, and Latin American revolutions.

Panelist Rosa Morales, a militant in the struggle for race, labor, and sex freedom, described sexism in the Chicano movement and racism in the women's movement. Chicanas, she said, are demanding a voice in both movements.

Yolanda Alaniz of Seattle Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party explained how socialist feminism connects the movements.

Challenging the charge that the Holiday Inn boycott supporters were "splitting unity," Alaniz decried liberalism, with its single-issue approach to unity, an approach which is blind to the real differences within a movement. "Working women," she said, "have more in common with Native Americans than with middleclass feminists. There is a class division in the Hispanic movement, just like there is in any other movement. We can be united on issues, but economically there are differences. We need multi-issue politics and a united front strategy to win."

Lesbian vanguard

A triumphantly successful resolution presented by the lesbian caucus

set the tone of Sunday's General Assembly.

It called for the conference name to be changed to Mujeres Indio Afro Latinas Americanas.

It criticized conference organizers for their homophobia, and proposed 20% open-lesbian representation on next year's planning committee.

It expressed solidarity with Native American struggles and specifically supported the Park Plaza boycott.

The resolution passed with a large

majority despite attempts by conference bureaucrats to forestall a vote. The hall rang with shouts of victory, and women lined up at the microphones to propose, and pass, 35 more resolutions!

The conference provided great opportunities for feminists to share information and develop an international network. But even more important, militant Chicanas stood firm against the reformists at a time of severe economic crisis when increasing rightwing attacks send the liberal feminists scurrying back to the safety of single-issue politics.

And it was no coincidence that those who led the way face the multiple oppression of sexism, racism, homophobia and low wages on a daily basis. Working women of color are providing bold revolutionary leadership, and the Chicana feminists of Las Mujeres Latinas deserve an enthusiastic salute.

Sara Marsh is a poet and a teacher of adult basic education.



"What's important is that we as Chicanas see the connection between our own oppression and other peoples'. We need a united front strategy to win."

—Yolanda Alaniz

Español

Los temas de internacionalismo y solidaridad sobresalieron cuando mujeres del hemisferio occidental se reunieron en Marzo 29-31 en San José, California para la primera Conferencia Nacional Hispana Feminista.

Más de 500 participantes feministas de Cuba, México, Centro América y los Estados Unidos compararon la esclavitud de la mujer con otras luchas de liberación, pasando resoluciones sobre la Ley de Derechos Iguales, la independencia de Puerto Rico, los derechos de trabajadores campesinos y el caso de sexo e ideología política de Clara Fraser.

Un conflicto al último minuto sobre el lugar de la conferencia radicalmente amplió la conferencia. Planeadores de la conferencia habían localizado unas juntas en el Park Plaza Holiday Inn, construido sobre un cementerio Ohlone el cual ha sido objeto de un boycott de 5 años por los nativos americanos.

Líderes de la conferencia denunciaron el boycott porque uno de los participantes, el Movimiento Indio Americano (AIM), no soporta el ERA. Pero los delegados rápidamente votaron cambiar el sitio de las juntas.

Dijo Janie Perez, una fundadora de el grupo de chicanas feministas, Mujer, "La cuestión es el boycott, no el feminismo o nuestra conferencia." Muchas chicanas se unieron a la línea de pickets en el Holiday Inn.

La tensión creció cuando los participantes preguntaron como habían usado los organizadores el dinero de la conferencia, porque habían sido excluidas mujeres de la comunidad, y qué foro había sido provisto para la discusión de diferencias. Muchas juntas después actuaron sobre estas preocupaciones.

Una junta, "Chicanas en el Movimiento: Como Trabajadoras, Como Feministas, Como Socialistas," atrajo

a más de 100 personas. La directora Rosa Morales, una activista política, dijo que chicanas demandan una voz en un movimiento chicano no sexista y en un movimiento de mujeres no racista. Yolanda Alaniz de Radical Women explicó como el feminismo socialista conecta los movimientos: "No puedo dividirme como una mujer de minoría, una chicana, y una mujer trabajadora."

Alaniz dijo que liberales ignoran diferencias reales de clase dentro del movimiento hispanico, el cual debe unirse en cuestiones pero reconocer diferencias económicas. Mujeres trabajadoras se parecen más a los nativos americanos que a las feministas de la clase media. "Necesitamos una estrategia unida de frente unico, de coordinar muchas luchas, para ganar," dijo ella.

La asamblea general pasó una resolución, presentada por el grupo de lesbianas, de cambiar el nombre de la conferencia a Mujeres Latinas. La resolución también criticó organizadores de la conferencia por homofobia, propuso 20% de representación lesbiana en el siguiente comité de planeación, y solidaridad con los nativos americanos y el boycott del hotel.

La sala resonó con gritos de victoria, y mujeres corrieron a los micrófonos a proponer 35 resoluciones más.

La conferencia histórica hizo posible que los asistentes compartieran información y desarrollaran un trabajo internacional—y de ser firmes con los liberales, quienes ignoran la crisis económica y crecientes ataques de la derecha buscando seguridad en la política de cuestiones singulares.

No es ninguna coincidencia que mujeres trabajadoras de color, quienes encuentran sexismo, racismo, homofobia y bajo sueldo a diario, están proveyendo dirección revolucionaria y franca. ¡Qué vivan Las Mujeres Latinas! □

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James Simmons as drawn by Native artist Russ Hanson, an inmate at Walla Walla Prison.

Cruel and unusual punishment Native prisoner shackled

The trial of James Simmons, Native American prisoner accused of first degree murder, has been halted while his attorneys appeal the fact that he was shackled during the trial at the order of Judge Yancey Reser.

Simmons had previously acted as his own attorney and had never caused any disturbance in court. His current attorneys—Leonard Weinglass, John Wolfe, and Mary Wrasman—are taking this infringement of their client's rights to the State Court of Appeals on the grounds that shackles would inflame the prejudice of a jury which is pre-selected, by law, on the condition that it is willing to invoke the death penalty.

In June 1979, the state rushed to accuse James Simmons and his brother George, prisoners at the Washington State Prison at Walla Walla, of the murder of a guard who had harassed

Native American prisoners.

The Simmons brothers were singled out for prosecution, isolated, and punished relentlessly by the legal system. But the state has made no similar effort to seek, accuse, or bring to trial any suspects in the deaths of the three Native American prisoners killed at Walla Walla since May 1979.

Both Simmons brothers sought and won a change of venue for their trials, but, in line with state law, Superior Court Judge Reser from Walla Walla traveled to Seattle with them for the two trials. Reser was presiding when George Simmons, enraged at the racist testimony of a fellow prisoner, lunged across the courtroom toward the witness. One of the six courtroom guards—all of whom could easily have subdued the unarmed defendant—fired a shot which only narrowly missed George and the court reporter.

In February 1980, George Simmons was convicted of second degree murder, and this is being appealed on the grounds that his court-appointed attorney had never before defended anyone charged with a felony.

When James Simmons was brought to trial this spring, Judge Reser ordered him shackled, giving his brother's misconduct as the reason. James challenged both this order and Washington State's death penalty as cruel and unusual punishment. Attorneys argued unfairness because the death penalty penalizes only those who, like Simmons, plead innocent and lose. Accused people must plead guilty in order to be tried on a lesser charge.

In September, Judge Reser ruled the death penalty unconstitutional, saying it places an undue coercion on those who plead not guilty. The state will appeal this decision. □

Sharon Crigler

No right to self defense against domestic violence

BY TAMARA TURNER

Sharon Crigler, a young Black mother who accidentally killed a man who was attacking her, is finally free after years of legal battles that won her strong community support.

Crigler was originally convicted of manslaughter in Tacoma, Washington and sentenced to 10 years in prison for firing a fatal warning shot through her closed front door. The terrified Crigler was trying to prevent her former boyfriend from breaking it down. He had beaten her frequently, both before and after she ended their relationship. On the night of his death, he had gone to her apartment and threatened her with a gun. Police took him away but released him a short time later, without informing Crigler. He returned to her building, talked the manager into letting him inside, and was kicking down her door when she fired.

Following her arrest, Crigler put all her trust in the judicial system. She later said, "I thought I'd tell my story

and people would see the truth, but when I walked into that courtroom, I saw there were no Blacks on the jury and no one was even my age—not one person under 35."

The judge described her to the jury as "one of those welfare mother leeches who suck up my tax dollars." A juror called her a "black nigger bitch."

She was found guilty.

Crigler won her legal appeal in April 1979 because of the judge's improper instructions and the blatant racist atmosphere of the trial. But the Pierce County prosecutor, who could have let the case drop at that point, was unwilling to let the reversal mar his 20-year record of courtroom victories. Claiming that this was not a case of self-defense, he ordered a re-trial.

Throughout the nerve-wracking years of struggle, Crigler took her case to the community. She spoke before feminist groups, and her defense committee distributed information and solicited support and funds. Crigler appeared on a panel of feminists waging legal cases at an International Women's Day



Sharon Crigler

Janet Sutherland

celebration sponsored by Seattle Radical Women in March 1980.

Her plight began to receive national attention, but serious problems developed as the April 1980 re-trial approached. Three of her key witnesses had left the state. Crigler had remarried and had a 3-month-old baby. She was

demoralized by the possibility of losing again in another racist court and desperate about her family's future if she were imprisoned.

The prosecutor offered a deal: to recommend probation if she would plead guilty to the original charge. She accepted. Her supporters came forward with letters of endorsement to the sentencing judge. On July 14, 1980, she was freed on a 5-year probation.

Sharon Crigler's ordeal is identical to that suffered by countless other women unprotected from violence because of racism, sexism and poverty, who are subjected to the system's fury when they physically defend themselves and their children.

Yvonne Wanrow Swan spent over seven years fighting her legal case before she accepted a plea bargain similar to Crigler's.

But Crigler and Swan won their freedom, because they sought out and found vindication in the feminist community, which rallied behind them and served notice that these women should not be further victimized. □

Survival in the Black Hills

BY GUERRY HODDERSEN

By the thousands, Indian and environmental activists from many countries thronged the prairie farmlands outside Rapid City, South Dakota for the International Survival gathering in July. Led by Women of All Red Nations (WARN) and American Indian Movement (AIM), the Black Hills Alliance sponsored the event in protest of the lawless encroachments of more than two dozen giant energy corporations who are conspiring to strip the Black Hills of its mineral wealth and poison its inhabitants.

The Alliance brought ranchers, religious activists, alternative lifestyle technologists, students, and Native Americans into an uneasy assemblage unwilling to discuss differences, fearful of radical intrusion, and unable to achieve a clear focus and direction.

Living outdoors in blistering heat,

the participants attended workshops on genocide against Indians, the planned destruction of family farms, alternative technology, and the need for a citizens' review board to halt the abuses of the energy development corporations. Of special value were Janet McCloud's workshops, which, unlike many other workshops, encouraged discussion. McCloud, a veteran Native American leader, praised the militancy of WARN and AIM in the national struggle for Indian survival.

Workshop speakers had to compete with the noise of B-52 bombers from Ellsworth Air Force Base, carrying nuclear weapons. These deafening flights dramatically echoed the doomsday note struck by many antinuke participants who prophesied nuclear holocaust and chemical-caused epidemics of cancer. But they were not yet politically astute enough to grasp the need for a radical confrontation with the capitalist system itself, which is the

progenitor of the profiteering madmen and neofascists bent on destroying the oppressed, raping Mother Earth and sacrificing the Black Hills.

For centuries the Black Hills have been the ceremonial grounds of the Sioux people, insured to last "forever" by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. Yet Big Capital has gained easy access to this land, aided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the poverty of the people, racism, assassinations and FBI frameups.

Racism is rampant in South Dakota. In Scenic, a saloon sign warns, "No Indians Allowed." At Pine Ridge, Indians live in houses without plumbing, while rich white farmers own mansions and lease Indian land dirt cheap from the BIA.

The embattled Sioux are surviving and resisting because they know how to build unity with other oppressed people. The next International Survival encampment will hopefully be just as picturesque but far more militant, democratic, and conclusive. Survival demands nothing less. □

Guerry Hoddersen accompanied Janet McCloud to South Dakota for the International Survival conference in July. Guerry is organizer for Seattle Local FSP.

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CRSP



Yolanda Alaniz, Seattle, and Stephen Durham, Los Angeles, delivered an inspiring greeting in Spanish. Alaniz later spoke on the Chicano movement and Durham presented the organizational resolution.



Murry Weiss analyzed the split in the Fourth International and the 1980 elections, and gave the Coordinator's Report on CRSP activities and prospects. Weiss was recently honored on his 65th birthday with a celebration in New York City that paid tribute to his life work as an intransigent revolutionary.

Madlyne Scott reviewed the highlights of the Black movement and predicted a new wave of Black revolution.



Gloria Martin, a veteran socialist feminist organizer, was the producer-director of entertainment for the plenum and was the banquet's featured speaker on "Permanent Revolution in the '80s."

Carlos Petroni represented the Revolutionary Workers Front, an organization of Latin American Trotskyists. He addressed the plenum in Spanish.



Stephan Kass, New York City CRSP coordinator and history/economics writer for the Freedom Socialist, opened the International Spectrum discussion.

Laurie Morton, National CRSP treasurer from New York City, assessed the gay movement and the recent Conference of Lesbian/Gay Male Socialist Feminists.



Dr. Susan Williams, the newly-elected National CRSP Coordinator from New York City, condemned the Fourth International's ban on women's caucuses.

Muffy Sunde of the Portland, Oregon delegation served as a session chairperson.



BY ROBERT CRISMAN

In a fitting commemoration of the anniversary of the American revolution, 100 socialist feminists from seven countries convened in Seattle, Washington over the three-day July 4th holiday to evaluate the past period, analyze new developments and plan future activity by the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party.

On the landmark occasion of this expanded national plenum of the CRSP Steering Committee, a protracted faction fight with an anti-Leninist, anti-socialist-feminist minority was terminated, formal collaboration was cemented with some key sympathizers of the Fourth International's Bolshevik Faction, and policies on major international and domestic issues were developed.

The international connection

The high point of the meeting was the agreement reached between CRSP and the Revolutionary Workers Front (RWF), Latin American supporters of the Bolshevik Faction of the Fourth International (FI).

The RWF will recommend to the Bolshevik Faction leadership that CRSP be included in the upcoming discussion organized by the Parity Committee to Reorganize (Reconstruct) the Fourth International. CRSP will subscribe to the Parity Committee's *International Correspondence*, and will provide material support to Salvadoran revolutionists. Both organizations will continue joint discussions and united front activity.

This accord opened important channels of communication between CRSP and the international Trotskyist movement. It was a giant first step toward participation in the December 1980 Open World Conference of Trotskyists sponsored by the Parity Committee.

The Parity Committee was formed in 1979 in opposition to the FI's increasingly opportunistic leadership, which is dominated by Ernest Mandel's bloc in the United Secretariat (USec) and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Parity Committee member groups boycotted the FI's Eleventh World Congress in November 1979 as a protest against revisionism and the betrayal of Trotskyists in Latin America.

RWF leader Carlos Petroni, a Latin American, told the plenum how SWP officials aided and abetted a ferocious campaign by Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction against the Simon Bolivar Brigade, Latin American Trotskyists who had fought Somoza in Nicaragua.

Hundreds of Brigade members were jailed and dozens handed over to the police in other Latin American countries. The Brigade's crime, according to Nicaragua's new government, was "ultra-leftism" and "sectarianism." In the midst of a revolution, they had dared to raise the classic Trotskyist call for a government *without* the bourgeoisie. *SWP leaders visiting Nicaragua helped the bourgeois government find and jail Brigade members—even though both the Brigade and the SWP are members of the Fourth International!*

Petroni voiced the Parity Committee's demand that SWP actions in Nicaragua be judged by an international worker's tribunal composed of representatives from all Trotskyist tendencies.

Weiss breathes fire

The National Coordinator of CRSP, founding member Murry Weiss from New York City, gave the keynote presentation on the split in the FI.

"Any revolutionary organization and leadership," said this veteran leader, "shows what it is made of in the living test of revolutionary events. It is not enough to have a new state; we must destroy the old state. And the USec/SWP leader-

Historic links forged with

Agreement reached with

Channels opened for invol

ship was tested and found sorely wanting from Iran to Nicaragua; they are opportunists looking for an easier way to lead a revolution."

Revolutionaries, said Weiss, are "people who make revolutions; people who fight in the streets, block by block, in the fields, for years, over and over again—until, as in Iran, in sustained struggle and in interaction with their leadership, they overthrew the Shah. Or Somoza in Nicaragua."

Weiss also leveled scathing criticism at the SWP's "turn to heavy industry," a forlorn strategy of sending all members into industrial jobs while abandoning vital sectors of the working class and mass movements.

This labor turn, he said, scorns the strategic political importance of occupations filled by low-paid women and people of color. He connected this misguided tactic with the SWP's accommodation to the labor bureaucracy, its accelerating reformism, its treachery in Nicaragua, and its suppression of women's caucuses in the International.

Women's caucuses smashed

Dr. Susan Williams, New York City, reported that the International had banned women's caucuses as "violations" of democratic centralism. Fuming that "there is no contradiction between program, leadership and ranks,"

the FI said women's caucuses are unnecessary.

Nonsense, retorted Williams, there's a great contradiction—sexism is rampant in the world organization. "Male leadership of the FI has been maintained for decades, the very reason that women's caucuses were formed in the first place!" The question is hardly new: Marx proposed women's branches in the first communist international, she said.

Williams attributed the retreat of Trotskyists on feminism and female leadership—central issues to revolution in our time—to their capitulation to opportunism.

Carlos Petroni also condemned the ban, saying it "relegates women comrades to work in reformist organizations of Euro-communism and the Democratic party." Murry Weiss called the suppression "natural, automatic male supremacist, bureaucratic conduct. It's not only a conscience question: if we don't wake up to it, we can't make a revolution."

The plenum repudiated the FI's reactionary turn against women.

World affairs

The strife within the International reflects the crisis of world politics.

In a motion on "Iran, Women and Permanent Revolution," the plenum



Members of the Women Writers Union—Merle Woo, Sara Marsh, Nellie Wong, and Karen Brodine (Sukey Durham not shown), all from San Francisco's Bay Area—read their stunning poetry. Woo and Wong also presented a special report on the Asian American movement.



PLENUM

International Trotskyism

Latin American revolutionaries

Movement in World Congress

supported Monica Hill's *Freedom Socialist* articles on Iran (Winter 1978, Spring 1979), and Murry Weiss' several CRSP documents, which cite the *dual power in Iran* as the present stage of the revolution, and *women as a leading force* pushing the revolution.

Comrade Petroni presented a rich history and analysis of events in El Salvador, Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, and Brazil, and called for a socialist federation of Latin American states.

Tom Boot reported on Africa, Henry Noble on China, and Sam Deaderick on Iran, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. A resolution was passed condemning "the miserable spectacle of wars between workers states (the Vietnam/China/USSR conflict) as an inevitable outcome of the Stalinist perversion of revolutionary Marxism embodied in the national-chawinist concept of socialism-in-one-country."

Revolution at home

The theme of international revolution was brought home by Angelica Merlino, Portland, Oregon, in an overview of the American Question which brought the cheering audience to its feet.

She hailed the mounting resistance to the capitalist-financed right wing and praised the indomitable leadership of women of color, who can link all the protest movements. "We American women are leaders now," she said, "and the best!"

Women's leadership, the emergence of women of color, and the need to organize united fronts were the concepts unifying special reports on the Black, Chicano, Asian, gay, labor, and women's movements. CRSP committed itself to serious involvement in the Chicano movement, and to learn Spanish. The plenum also endorsed a call for national/international conferences of multi-racial lesbian and gay socialist feminists. Delegate Tom Boot laid the groundwork for that endorsement with a report on last fall's Third World Lesbian/Gay Conference in Washington, D.C.

The delegates affirmed the prospects



for mass radicalization outlined in two *Freedom Socialist* articles: "The American Economy" (Winter 1979/80) and "Economic Crisis and Political Opportunity" (Spring 1980), written by Stephan Kass, New York City delegate.

Speakers Stephen Durham of Los Angeles and Sara Marsh of San Francisco discussed their organizing efforts against the Ku Klux Klan.

Following Maxine Reigel's discussion of military policy, CRSP adopted the thrust of "Women and the Draft," an article by delegate Constance Scott, San Francisco, and pledged to deepen the antidraft struggle "through building an anticapitalist, antiracist and anti-sexist movement." Delegate Scott gave the plenum report on feminism.

CRSP also approved Laurie Morton and Murry Weiss' "Towards A Strategy For Independent Political Action In The 1980s," and called for critical support of socialist candidates in the 1980 elections.

Native American leader Janet McCloud, a guest speaker, vividly described governmental attacks on Indians, particularly women, one-third of whom have been sterilized. McCloud movingly addressed the many problems entailed in uniting Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans. "Mutual respect is the precondition for any successful alliance," she said.

Fraser vs. City Light

United front strategy leaped to life in Monica Hill's report on the *Clara Fraser vs. Seattle City Light* case concerning discrimination based on sex and political ideology.

Fraser has waged a six-year legal battle in defense of free speech on the job since she was fired as Education Coordinator at the public utility, where she had organized a unique women's electrical trainee program and had become a leader in an employee walkout and subsequent labor negotiations.

"Seldom has such a successful campaign of this size ever been mounted for a woman," commented Hill, a Los Angeles delegate. She displayed the impressive lists of national endorsers and contributors "which encompass every civil rights movement of the past four decades, and embody what are intrinsically socialist struggles. The workers—women, gays, and people of color—who endorse the case are actually the heart of the labor movement."

CRSP enthusiastically re-endorsed Fraser's unremitting struggle and donated \$500 to the cause.

Peace, it's wonderful

The comradeship that suffused the meeting was a far cry from the recent in fighting, as analyzed by Patrick Haggerty in a presentation of his paper on democratic centralism.

Said delegate Sukey Durham, San Francisco, "We are wrapping up the fight, drawing conclusions, and moving on: Hallelujah!"

The October 1978 First National Conference of CRSP at Alderbrook, Washington, declared CRSP to be a

socialist feminist organization governed by majority rule. Within weeks, a small faction congealed, most of whom were virulently antifeminist. They raised a hue and cry against organization of Radical Women chapters in Los Angeles and New York City—despite their previous agreement with this course. And they tried to mutilate the substance of key international resolutions they previously supported and change them by fiat. These autocratic attempts were followed by organizational slanders and open refusal to abide by majority rule. This petty bourgeois, unprincipled combination tried to block all CRSP activities. They even claimed that they alone were CRSP, but this pretense was abandoned as they ran out of steam. They didn't bother to attend the July 4th plenum.

CRSP unanimously adopted Murry Weiss' "Urgent Letter" delineating the issues of the struggle, and reaffirmed its goal of Trotskyist regroupment in a revised and strengthened *CRSP Tasks and Perspectives*.

The national CRSP treasury was in the hands of two members of the discredited minority who refuse to relinquish it. The plenum also passed a resolution deploring this maneuver and demanding the return of its funds.

In other business, CRSP restated support for the *Freedom Socialist* as a "strategic and widely disseminated expression of the CRSP program," and created a Coordinating Committee to replace the old Editorial Board.

The faction fight was thus conclusively relegated to the bursting archives of movement battles over democratic centralism and the Woman Question.

Lenin: "Every Ruler Must Learn to Cook"

The delegates expressed their thanks to the hard-working plenum Presiding Committee, composed of Jamie Partridge, Portland; Manny Sunshine, San Francisco; Sharman Haley, Juneau, Alaska; and Yolanda Alaniz and Clara Fraser, Seattle.

A superb organizational effort oiled the plenum machinery. Heidi Durham was head commissar. The well-planned, comprehensive agenda moved smoothly, guided by skilled chairpersons from every city. The meeting site was comfortable, with a literature display that invited browsing and purchases, and colorful banners and international posters adorned the walls (see poem by Nellie Wong on this page). The food, self-prepared and served, was a gourmet's delight, capped by a gala banquet on Saturday night.

Entertainment varied from brilliant readings by poets from the Women Writers Union of Oakland, California to Eldon Durham's droll "Benediction." Satirical skits and vocals were staged with star-studded CRSP casts.

Delegate ages ranged from 15 to 69. People came from Trinidad, London, France, Nicaragua, Argentina, and Canada as well as the U.S. There were 30 visitors, 11 of whom joined during the plenum; a 12th joined later.

The newly-elected CRSP officers are: Co-chairs, Murry Weiss and Clara Fraser; National Coordinator, Dr. Susan Williams; National Treasurer, Laurie Morton (New York City). The wave of socialist fervor that elected them will stand them in excellent stead as they chart the course of a revitalized CRSP in a revolutionary world. □



Posters and Banners

written at the CRSP Conference,
Seattle, Washington, July 4, 1980



"Libertad De Expresion"

a brown man speaks, yes, he speaks through a chain wrapped tightly around his mouth.

"Labor with white skin cannot be free while labor with black skin is branded"

a black woman, a shawl of courage wrapped around her shoulders. her arms become my fists, her eyes my light.

"¡Unida la Clase Obrera! ¡Adelante la Mujer! ¡Viva la Revolucion internacionalista!"

a black man against an orange moon digs his pitchfork into the earth to begin the revolution.

"The International Party Shall Be the Human Race"

a black woman rises from the earth. a red sun rises from her head and heart.

"Asian Americans Defend their rights to Language, Housing, Culture & Jobs"

a tiger roars against a fuschia sky of hope and victory and no compromise.

"The Woman Question will never again be put on the back burner!"

a woman in black swings her red flag. a fire from the kitchen burns down the bars that imprison her.

"Gay Liberation Through Socialist Feminist Revolution"

one strong arm becomes many strong arms, together break through a triangle of oppression of race, sex and class, bursting forth a bright red star of change.

"Why Are We Burning, Killing The People of Vietnam?"

a Vietnamese boy sees through the bullets of his young life. if he lives, he will look to the future with sisters and brothers finding solutions that America cannot.

"Revolution in the Revolution— The Global Defiance of Women"

woman after woman after woman wave after wave after wave walking together, always on course, prepared for the battles ahead on land and on sea.

—NELLIE WONG

EDITORIAL

1980 elections demand a statement of protest

VOTE SOCIALIST!

More voters than ever before in a national election will boycott the polls in November. It is estimated that less than half of those eligible will turn out.

But disgust, cynicism, and apathy are unproductive. A positive action is demanded by the tenor of the times. **And this is the time to vote against the system by voting socialist.** Only the socialists stand for a clearly differentiated, radical, **working-class** program in opposition to the corrupt capitalist parties.

A vote for socialism is a vote against the terrible profit system. It is a declaration of war against the plutocrats who woo us with empty, absurd slogans and fabulously expensive media campaigns.

This election year provided radicals with an historic opportunity. We have long urged a united front of the left that puts forth a joint slate as an independent and united socialist alternative. This could have reached a large and sympathetic audience. A united socialist campaign would have helped relieve the fragmentation of the left and spurred common discussion and united action around a minimum programmatic agreement. The failure to build a united electoral front is a major strategic error of the U.S. left, one that will cost us dearly in terms of education and organizing for the future.

We do not give full support to any of the socialist presidential candidates; we are critical of them all. But we believe you should vote for only those socialist parties who are putting forward a **presidential** candidate, and hence not splitting their support between socialists and virulent antisocialists!

The *Freedom Socialist* does not support Barry Commoner's Citizens Party, which stands for a

slightly more humane version of "free enterprise." This party is **not** socialist.

Nor do we support Socialist Party candidates: they are anti-workers state, anti-revolutionary, liberal leftists indistinguishable from left Democrats, and captives of the State Department. They stand with the bourgeoisie in fierce opposition to uppity militants and consistent radicals who jeopardize SP partnership with the ruling class and SP's pastoral vision of a serene stroll toward socialism. This is the party of the left-leaning labor bureaucracy and careerists. The SP usually runs candidates for local and minor office only, while counseling a vote for a bourgeois presidential candidate—a hypocritical accommodation to the reformist labor bureaucracy, with its unholy relations to the capitalist class.

We will not vote for the Communist Party if we can help it. This is the party of Stalinist terror and treacherous class collaboration. The CP campaign is token and frivolous since its actual support and energy go, as usual, to any liberal Democrats they can find. The CP usually campaigns for Kremlin-supported bourgeois presidential candidates, and refuses to run a CP candidate in opposition. The CP, moreover, is antigay, lines up with the union bureaucrats against the ranks, and sneers at feminism. Fifty years of world betrayal of the international proletariat is no qualification for our support.

The two parties to which we are programmatically closest are the Workers World Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

The Workers World Party has done some good work in the trade unions, the women's and gay movements, the racial/ethnic minority movements,

and the fight against fascism. But their theory has always been close to Stalinism, and on international issues they objectively line up with the Kremlin.

The Socialist Workers Party, a bureaucratically-run organization, has recently rediscovered "heavy industry" and is conducting a love affair with the all-male and all-pale labor aristocracy that backs up the conservative AFL-CIO officialdom. The SWP abandoned the progressive mass movements overnight. Its international policy is rife with pragmatic opportunism and the abandonment of classic Trotskyism. It still manages to call for an end to capitalism, and is still affiliated with the Fourth International, a world organization in the throes of crisis but still salvageable as a revolutionary vehicle.

We urge our readers to study the actions and platform of the radical candidates on the ballot in your state, and to choose among them—even if that party fails to meet all your standards. Awarding your **critical support** to an anti-capitalist candidate who comes closest to your ideas is an honored and principled process for radicals.

Marx wrote over a century ago that once every few years the oppressed are permitted to decide which puppets of the oppressing class shall oppress them for a season. Workers feel this truth, and voter turnout has declined steadily since post-Civil War days. But a socialist vote is a reasonable antidote to do-nothingism, and it represents a resounding triple commitment—to protest, to the creation of a mass electoral alternative to boss politics, and to the noble goal of basic structural transformation in the U.S.A.

—ELDON DURHAM

BOOK REVIEW

The White Morning

What a grand surprise this novel is—the story of an armed revolution led, fought, and won by women who overthrow the autocracy and establish a democratic republic in Germany during World War I!

Gertrude Atherton based *The White Morning* on her knowledge of Germany gained from living in Munich for seven years. Published in 1918, the book set off a huge controversy.

Some critics claimed she had no basis in fact for such an outlandish story; others accused her of providing women with a blueprint for revolution. Her answer to the first criticism was succinct: "I should not have written *The White Morning* if I had not been firmly convinced that a Gisela [the heroine] might arise at any moment and deliver the world."

And she addressed the second criticism with her characteristic dry wit: "I

am firmly convinced that the German official mind would never give credence to oppressed women rising up to overthrow their authority."

But the women do exactly that, with a vengeance that is Wagnerian.

The leader of the revolution is Countess Gisela Niebuhr. She has vowed never to marry because she does not wish to exchange one tyrant, a father, for another, a husband. She becomes a feminist writer with an enormous following of women who become increasingly militant when Germany goes to war.

Gisela is not a socialist, but many socialist men and women are part of the movement she inspires.

Atherton brilliantly describes the struggle of the women against their militarist rulers. She doesn't pull any punches. When Gisela realizes that her lover, a Prussian officer, poses a threat

to the movement because of his rank and mentality, she stabs him, and her lieutenants dispose of his body.

Atherton's revolutionaries are not playing games. These women are uniformed and armed soldiers who kill in battle, shoot police officers on sight, take over communication centers, airfields, and army barracks, and blow up bridges or whatever gets in their way.

When the Kaiser appears on the palace balcony, confident that his imperial presence will overwhelm the women, they force him to abdicate. And as the white morning light dawns on a world all had been waiting for, every town and hamlet begins reporting on the success of the revolution. Except for sporadic fighting, all is won.

On this morning, Gisela boards a plane and flies over the cities. Thousands of women are gathered in the town squares, waving their special flag in triumph. This flag is white, with a curious design sketched in crimson: a hen in successive stages of evolution whose final form is an eagle with the face of a woman.

As Gisela's plane hovers over an army barracks, she observes a dozen women fighting one huge soldier who

holds them off with a sword. The plane dips low and Gisela shoots him in the shoulder. He falls, as the women cheer.

Gisela's plane lands frequently so she can personally inform the women that the revolution has been victorious. In a strong voice, she announces, "The hens are eagles all over Germany. Word has come from every quarter."

It took courage and conviction to write this book, and Atherton had both. Her vision, however, does not go far enough. The victorious women do not plan to take public office; they will select men and train them instead! Yet Atherton, who was no socialist, was far ahead of most socialists of her day—and ours—in her grasp of feminism's central role in revolutionary change. She graphically depicted women who assumed militant leadership with naturalness and commitment.

Gertrude Atherton, in retrospect, deserves our deep admiration.

—GLORIA MARTIN

Gloria Martin, a founder of Radical Women and former organizer for the Freedom Socialist Party, is a rare book dealer in Seattle.

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Can Charlie Chan!



I recently interviewed Forrest Gok, writer for the Asian American *San Francisco Journal* and a member of the Can Charlie Chan coalition, which has been protesting the filming of *Charlie Chan* in San Francisco, and the movie *FuManchu*. These motion pictures depict Asian Americans in insulting, racist stereotypes.

When *FuManchu* opened, the theater management stationed Asian Americans and other minority workers in prominent places, but picketers convinced 80 people not to buy tickets that night. Still others demanded their money back, saying that the picketers were right.

Forrest Gok thinks that the increase in racist and sexist films is due to the declining international status of the

U.S. and the loss of credibility. "The white middle class is feeling put-upon, tax-pinned, and money-drained," he says, and the media reflects the mood of the country. He believes the media is anti-Asian American and anti-anybody who is not white, middle-class, and male, and this results in growing ethnophobia and hostility to women and gays.

The coalition fears that in the next ten years, social, political and economic gains may be reversed, and it is therefore crucial that filmmakers tell the truth and not reap profits at the expense of oppressed people.

The coalition, which includes such groups as the Asian American Theatre, Chinese Progressive Association, Women's Writers Union, and Unbound

Feet, has contacted the Committee Against *Fort Apache* (a racist movie being filmed in New York), Native Americans opposed to filming *Hanta Yo*, the anti-*Cruising* coalition, and Radical Women. All agree that people of color, women and gays should band together to expose these films, pressure filmmakers into better choices, and educate the public on the danger of divisive stereotypes.

The giant media are capitalism's great propagandists, instilling the very prejudice which they then reflect. American workers should decisively repudiate derogatory and offensive films by hitting where it hurts—at the box office.

—KAREN BRODINE

THEATRE

sing a black girl's song
bring her out
to know herself
to know you
but sing her rhythms
care/struggle/hard times
sing her song of life
she's been dead so long
closed in silence so long
she doesn't know the sound of her own
voice
her infinite beauty

Ntozake Shange's explosive choreopoem, *for colored girls who have considered suicide/when the rainbow is enuf*, cuts to the heart of the Black woman's emotional experience in America. Through the arts of poetry, music, and dance, the forces are revealed which are designed to beat her down: poverty, race and sex oppression. Brutality and pain overshadow her life, but the overwhelming tone of the play is one of scathing humor, moral strength, love for Black women, and the triumph of struggle and survival.

...bein alive and bein a woman and bein colored is a metaphysical dilemma/ i haven't conquered yet

Shange created her dazzling work through an intense self-realization developed by her study of women's history, Black and African dance, and Third World women poets. From its first improvisational experiments in San Francisco bars in 1974, to its 1976 presentation on Broadway under the auspices of Joseph Papp, *for colored girls* crystallized into a unique presentation of pure and total theatre.

Seven women, identified simply by dresses of different colors, bring Shange's powerful words to life on a bare stage decorated only by a large, suspended flower. Compelling rhythm, melody and choreography suffuse the poetry. The music of Smokey Robinson, the Dells, and Willie Colon furnish the stimulus to the dances, while the pony, the swim, bomba, merengue and children's games vie with street corner seductions in this fluid glimpse of ghetto living.

Each poem represents, chronologically, a different facet of Black women's experience. In "toussaint," an 8-year-old girl discovers her first Black hero in Toussaint L'Ouverture, the liberator of Haiti, and then discovers a boy of her own age, Toussaint Jones. Another poem shatters us with the pain and terror of an illegal abortion, then we are moved quickly into "sechita," in which a dance hall girl symbolizes the degradation of the ancient priestesses and goddesses.

With fearless honesty, Shange describes why Black women hate their own strengths and distrust their own sisters.

ever since i realized there waz someone callt
a colored girl an evil woman a bitch or a nag

i been trying not to be that & leave bitterness
in somebody else's cup

The play pitilessly dissects the tortured relations between Black women and Black men. Shange is relentless in showing how Black men, in a reflex to their own oppression, turn on Black women. The relationships become power struggles instead of loving friendships.

In "a nite with beau willie brown," a young mother relives the horror of her children's terrible deaths. Their father, an unemployed, seriously-disturbed Vietnam veteran, had made them the targets of his insane violence.

"sorry" is an hilarious sequence of all the different lines that men use to excuse their unfaithfulness. The women declare their independence from this psychic manipulation:

one thing i don't need is any more apologies

i'm gonna do exactly what i want to and i won't be sorry for none of it letta sorry soothe yr soul/i'm gonna soothe mine

Shange's candor in confronting the critical sex division within the Black community has subjected her to the same kinds of attacks that beset Michele Wallace because of her *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*. Shange is

accused of being an upper middle-class outsider who is exploiting Blacks and hates Black men. But the overwhelming support of a large sector of the Black community for the play is demonstrated by the positive response to performances of the choreopoem nationwide.

for colored girls is what art should be: a living, dynamic force which demands that we experience, understand, grow, and relate to one another in a new way. It makes us hate, love, rage, gasp, laugh, cry and cheer because we have come face to face with truth.

In the final scene, as the women reach out to their ultimate support—*each other*—the audience is drawn in and enveloped in a joyful celebration of and rededication to the crusade for control of our own destinies. Art and life have fused; theatrical rapport is transformed into a revolutionary political affirmation.

i waz missin somethin
somethin so important
somethin promised
a layin on of hands
a layin on of hands
the holiness of myself released
i found god in myself
& i loved her/i loved her fiercely

—HELEN GILBERT



Clara Fraser

The People vs. City Light

My marathon case against City Light is like an endless football game, with the score changing each quarter and the final tally bearing little relation to the actual yardage gained on the ground or in the air. I was leading at halftime, scored a winning touchdown in the third quarter, then came out on the wrong end of a 1-point conversion.

The July 21 decision against me by two of the three hearing panelists was such a travesty of the rules of the game—and of justice—that I cannot accept it as the final score.

Hearing Examiner Sally Pasette, an attorney, found for me on the grounds of political ideology discrimination.

Elizabeth Ponder, the only Black panelist, well understands discrimination, and she ruled for me on the grounds of both sex and political discrimination.

But panelists Darlene Allison and Beverly Stanton reversed Pasette's knowledgeable decision, ignored Ponder's special expertise, and substituted their own pro-management prejudices for the objective findings of fact and conclusions of law arrived at by Pasette and Ponder. The written decision of Allison/Stanton unabashedly revealed their antilabor bias and total lack of understanding of sex discrimination and civil liberties law. It ignored my First Amendment rights and flaunted the provisions of the Seattle Fair Employment Practices Ordinance.

Allison/Stanton attributed full credibility to all of City Light's professional-liar witnesses and no credibility to my testimony or that of my witnesses. These two Tory panelists disregarded the stacks of memos that crassly illustrated management's violations of my constitutional rights to criticize and rebel. They identified so supinely with absolute "management prerogatives" and "legitimate business reasons" for persecution that they conferred on employers a divine and tyrannical authority that far exceeds their legal—not to mention their moral!—powers.

The Terrible Two condemn me for such crimes as failure to "compromise" on affirmative action and workers' rights, and for creating "animosity" through my advocacy of fair employment practices.

They accuse me of permitting my "personal political activities and interests" to "interfere with" my job.

They denounce me for "insubordination," "vituperation," "going too far"—highly subjective value judgements that express *their* political views of management/labor relations.

So now I am being punished for persecuting poor City Light. Can you believe this?



And what is to be said about a legal process in which I am judged by two people who cannot remotely be considered my peers, who are not radicals, or feminists, or unionists, or workers, or civil libertarians, or even reasonable?

They even rejected, without explanation, my Motion for Reconsideration of their ill-considered, ill-advised and stupid decision. So now I am requesting Superior Court to review my case.

It's horrendously expensive and time consuming. But I have to keep faith with my feisty legions of endorsers and supporters from labor, civil rights, civil liberties and all the other progressive movements dedicated to preserving democratic rights in the face of swelling totalitarianism on the job. I feel ethically impelled to ride this one out so long as the tide carries me, so long as my wonderful defense committee can summon the financial resources, the personnel and the jubilant spirit of solidarity to fuel the political-legal battle.

We will carry on until free speech in the workplace is vindicated in law and in life. Otherwise, the habit of workers to speak up, to organize, to negotiate and to criticize is sorely endangered, and without these fragile liberties, not even token democracy exists. Fascism rules.



If ever I needed the help of my sister and fellow workers, I need it now to try to reverse the panel's alarming decision.

Please: ask your unions, and all the other organizations you work in, for donations to the Fraser Information and Legal Defense Fund. If you know any affluent individuals (we don't!) or any open-minded, grant-awarding foundations, ask them, too. And send us your modest contributions—these are the staff-of-life to us. Nothing is sweeter than the money of the underpaid and hard-pressed working people who have learned that the capitalist class is not about to subsidize the emancipation of labor.

Mutual aid is the cement of resistance—and the roadway to victory. Your oppression is mine and my case is yours. Take it! Together we will make that scoreboard light up *for us!*



Donations for Clara Fraser's case should be sent to: Fraser Case Information and Legal Defense Fund, c/o United Feminist Front, 6019 South Redwing, Seattle, WA 98118. Phone 206-632-7449 or 723-8923.

AGATHA CRUMM by Bill Hoest



GAY RESISTANCE

THE HIDDEN HISTORY

Part VIII - Conclusion

BY SAM DEADERICK

On the fateful evening of June 28, 1969, plainclothes police entered the Stonewall Inn in New York City on a routine raid of a gay Greenwich Village bar. The charge was selling liquor without a license. But the patrons—young lesbians and gay men, drag queens, gays of color and street gays—did not respond routinely.

As the cops closed the bar, arrested the employees, and ushered the patrons out, a crowd gathered. At first, the mood was festive. But when the paddy wagon arrived, the crowd shouted and namecalled, tossed coins, and then hurled bottles and stones.

With a full-scale riot exploding at their heels, the police barricaded themselves inside the Inn.

People ripped up a parking meter and battered a hole in the Inn's door. Someone squirted lighter fluid through the opening and tossed in a match. As the flames shot up, sirens announced the arrival of police reinforcements, and the protesters dispersed. **But for three consecutive nights, gays clashed with squads of roving tactical police.**

Stonewall marked the beginning of saying "NO" to all forms of gay oppression. The subsequent ad hoc organizing within the gay community laid the basis for today's gay movement, infused with the vigor of youth and armed with radical ideas and tactics. Almost overnight, militancy replaced the moderate homophile movement.

The GLFs

An unprecedented upsurge of gay protest ensued, sparked by the Stonewall riots but drawing inspiration, courage and expertise from the Black struggle, feminism, and the antiwar movement. Borrowing their rhetoric, political ideas, and organizational precepts largely from the New Left, vociferous Gay Liberation Fronts (GLF) sprang up nationwide.

The fervently debating GLFs strongly inclined toward a radical view of gay liberation, and toward a multi-issue movement allied with women, minorities, and radicals.

But, like the New Left, they generally lacked organizational structure and hence were dominated by charismatic personalities. And many prominent gay male leaders imitated the machismo of the New Left politicians.

Women's leadership, similarly, was never respected or encouraged in the early GLFs. Lesbian rights were considered peripheral to "general"—or male—gay liberation. Inspired by feminism, lesbian activists criticized, threatened, and warned, and finally, amid bitter political fights, they stormed out of GLFs around the country.

Lesbian separatism

The feminist movement, however, proved no less prejudiced against les-

bians. Fearful, moderate feminists, instead of standing up to the charge that feminism equalled lesbianism, busily gay-baited lesbians. Lesbianism, quoth they, was an irrelevant "lavender herring."

Thousands of demoralized lesbian militants, rejecting the sexism of male gays but unceremoniously excluded by the respectables in the women's movement, embraced the utopian isolationism of separatism.

Men became the enemy. History's greatest social contradiction was that between men and women. Class war was irrelevant as compared to sex war. Men were biologically programmed to be aggressive, violent and individualistic, while women were inherently sensitive, caring, and given to collective social forms. Biology was destiny.

The separatists demanded that women secede and construct the "Amazon Nation," the "real revolution." And the women who adopted this unscientific reworking of the old feminine mystique held that women who consorted with men were traitors.

Burdened with an impossible ideology and acrimonious infighting, separatist ranks have quickly thinned, losing the influence of a decade ago. Some now call themselves "matriarchists"; sadly misusing Engels' **Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State**, they propose returning to prehistoric matriarchy to escape the problems of a male-dominated, space-age capitalism. (Marxist feminists, following Engels and Morgan, seek to recreate the matriarchal commune on a **higher** technological level than even capitalism provides.)

Gay isolationism

GLF males also underwent rancorous ideological fights.

The New York GLF disintegrated when one faction championed single-issue, exclusively gay reform politics, ignoring the integral links between gays and women's liberation, minority rights, and workingclass issues.

From the GLF split in New York came the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), which inspired similar groups nationwide. The GAAs recaptured some of

Spurred by feminism, lesbian activists criticized, threatened, warned, and finally walked out of GLFs across the country.

the original GLF militance and tactical creativity, and adopted the tighter structure necessary for cohesive and sustained political work.

Unfortunately, the GAAs also drifted toward a single-issue strategy, which hamstrung their effectiveness as revolutionary agents or successful reformers. They turned into white male, gay rights clubs.

Liberal camp followers

Despite their subsequent adulteration and demise, the explosive force of the new, left Gay Liberation Fronts

broke political ground for many successful civil rights campaigns. From 1969 until the mid-70s, the movement grew powerful enough to overturn sodomy statutes in several states and to codify protections against discrimination in many municipal ordinances.

When substantial reforms had been won, a new layer of professional liberals crept out of their closets and quickly rose to public prominence.

Led by David Goodstein, the entrepreneur/owner of the widely-circulated gay male tabloid, *The Advocate*, the careerists sprouted throughout the movement. Their first task was to discredit gay radicalism and create a tasteful, moderate image acceptable to non-gay sympathizers within the Democratic party.

The compromisers were more than willing to sell out lesbians and minority gays. Along with nervous mayors, police chiefs, city councils, state legislators, and presidential advisors, they pontificated that gay rights must be approached slowly, in careful stages. Above all, the embarrassing militants must be denounced.

But the liberals were caught off guard in the mid-70s by the momentum of Anita Bryant's rabid antigay crusade and they were dumbfounded by the mass resistance to Bryant. During Gay Pride Week in June 1977, the largest gay demonstrations in history were staged. Over 250,000 marched in San Francisco, and 100,000 in New York. Marches occurred throughout

the U.S. and the world.

Post-Bryant blues

Gay liberals, counseled by their Democratic party cronies, tried to repel the antigay hysteria with discreet public information campaigns which downplayed homosexuality and ignored the homophobic assault—as well as the mobilization of the far-right to halt **all** civil rights gains. Doomed to fail, the liberals neither halted the attacks nor gained popular support.

The intensely anti-radical, single-issue leadership of the national gay movement could devise only suicidal remedies for countering reaction. The liberals betrayed gay rights.

By scorning alliances with other oppressed groups and insisting that outspoken resistance to antigay initiative campaigns would spark a backlash, the gay reformists politely delivered gay rights to the bulldozers of the reactionaries, whose war of lies and slander showed no similar concern about good taste.

The November 1978 victories against antigay initiatives in California and Seattle stemmed from a much different kind of political approach. Though deemphasized by the media, the pressure from radicals for a hard-hitting, name-your-enemy, labor oriented, united front tactic pushed

the entire campaign to the left. Assuming ideological and organizational leadership from the outset, lesbian feminists spearheaded a dramatically effective drive to gain support from women, minorities and labor.

But these victorious campaigns were not the norm; the gay movement still faces a groundswell of bigotry. In Washington State, the same Mormon cop whose antigay Seattle initiative was defeated in 1978 has filed a statewide initiative. And a rightwing coalition rushes federal antigay legislation through Congress.

Gay minorities to the fore

In October 1979, 450 **lesbians and gays of color** convened in Washington, D.C. and called for a mobilization to "end **all** social, economic, judicial and legal oppression against us." They then led the National March on Washington, imparting to it the vibrancy of internationalism and militancy.

Gays and lesbians of color comprise the new, emerging leadership of the movement, serious fighters capable of challenging and building a movement to defeat the rightwing bigots.

In May 1980, 200 **lesbians and gay male Marxists** held an East Coast conference. Over half the participants were women and gays of color, and lesbians of color stepped forth as the strongest leaders of the assembly.

They clearly diagnosed racism, sexism, and homophobia as diseases of capitalism, and declared their uncompromising intent to defeat the bible-thumping right wing.

Unlike moderate gay leaders, lesbians and gays of color understand that more than sexual preference is at stake in their struggle. Abortion rights, employment equality, police justice, and the right to boycott, organize unions and strike, are gay issues, just as gay freedom is a workingclass issue.

In retrospect

The long hidden, often terrifying struggle for gay rights has never been separable from other basic social issues.

Medieval landlords leered as the Inquisition tortured gays, independent women, and rebel peasants with equal ferocity. The Nazis annihilated gays along with radicals, Jews, unionists, gypsies, and "inferior" peoples. In the 1920s, the same U.S. authorities who castrated and lobotomized gays also imprisoned and executed anarchists, labor leaders, and foreign-born radicals. And today, the hands that torch abortion clinics and slay civil rights leaders also beat and murder gays.

The masses of minority gays worldwide cannot be free until white supremacy and the economic imperialism that maintains it are finally eliminated. Gay workers will not be free until capitalism is destroyed, and lesbians will be fettered until that pillar of capitalism, the bourgeois family, has been undermined.

Moreover, reactionaries know, even if gay liberals do not, that the gay liberation movement heralds a vast social revolution, profoundly altering the fundamental ways in which women and men relate to one another. This 4000-year-old relationship, based on economic exploitation and cultural/psychological subjugation, is changing drastically, and striking deep blows into the bourgeois body politic.

No shadows, no closets

The enormous task of uncovering the proud past of gay resistance has achieved a momentum which guarantees that gay history will never again be forced underground. Our heroines and heroes are emerging from dark centuries of suppression. And understanding their victories and defeats helps us to design our own future. The powerful lesson of their history is clear: we must reject the mistaken isolationism and opportunism responsible for centuries of death and demoralization.

The gay movement is a small and vulnerable segment of a whole society in total turmoil. But allied with other revolutionary warriors, it can majestically bear aloft the most powerful weapon of all—the banner of socialist feminist internationalist, and permanent revolution for the human race. □

Northeast Multi-National Lesbian and Gay Male Feminist Socialist Conference

Lavender Left organizes

BY STEPHEN DURHAM

In the Memorial Day weekend, lesbians and gays representing every shade of lavender left politics transformed the placid surroundings of Appel Farm in the New Jersey countryside into a high voltage political forum. Every basic social and economic issue affecting the lives of lesbians and gay men in the U.S., Puerto Rico and Canada was confronted.

Led by the most dynamic sector of gays—lesbians of color—the three days in May of talk and debate were marked by respectful collaboration, generating a powerful commitment to return to urban centers to organize against mounting racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, homophobia and class exploitation.

The Third World caucus, the women's caucus and the Jewish caucus played active roles.

Conceived during the Lesbian/Gay March on Washington, D.C. in October 1979, and organized by a coalition of gay activists and left groups, this conference mirrored the same high level of feminism, class consciousness and women's leadership so evident at the First National Conference of Third World Lesbians and Gays held in Washington, D.C. last October.

150 participants came from the U.S., Canada, Costa Rica, and Puerto Rico. One-sixth were people of color, and lesbians constituted an impressive majority.

Organizations present included Boston's Lesbians and Gays against the Right, and New York City's Dykes Against Racism Everywhere, the Committee of Lesbian and Gay Male Socialists, and COHLA (Comite Homo-

sexual Latinoamericano). From Baltimore came the Lesbian and Gay Study Group and the Movement for a New Society. Philadelphia was represented by the Lavender Left and Toronto by the *Body Politic* newspaper.

Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women delegates came from New York City, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Other radicals present were Workers World Party, Revolutionary Socialist League, New American Movement, and Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee.

Dozens of independent radicals, active at work, on campus and in the community, contributed the lessons of their rich experiences.

Lesbians of color

Lesbians of color quickly emerged as the conference leadership, giving form and direction to every major issue. Steeled from years of fighting on every front, they set the political tone for the discussion of racism held by the women's caucus and various other panels, and they presented regular reports from the Third World caucus. They strongly defended feminism, supported the intervention of left parties in the lesbian/gay movement, and articulated their right to autonomous organizing to advance their own consciousness and program.

The Third World caucus, which included men and women, warned against disastrous attempts to polarize the gay movement and the struggles of women and people of color. Weighing one movement against another constitutes a subtle form of racism and sexism, they said, which poisons the movement from within and drives people of color and women out of the ranks and the leadership.

Triad of controversy

The participants of color sparked a broad agreement around the necessity to build an antiracist, antisexist and class conscious lesbian/gay movement; this was tested and refined by debates over socialist feminism, Marxist theory and Leninist parties.

The Maoist-oriented Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee totally rejected feminism, but was met with resounding opposition from Freedom Socialist Party panelist Laurie Morton of New York City, who won majority support. "*Socialism without a feminist tone is no help to me!*" declared a Puerto Rican lesbian.

Dr. Susan Williams of New York Radical Women defended Trotskyist socialist feminist theory. Tracing the development of private property, women's oppression, and class society, she thoroughly exposed the bankruptcy of the antigay Stalinist notion of the "revolutionary nuclear family."

Opponents of Marxist theory emphasized culture over political action, or advocated pragmatic, nonprogrammatic activism or anarchist theory as the antidote to Marxist socialism. But the conference would not be swayed from its predominant socialist and feminist course.

The Revolutionary Socialist League avoided the feminist issue and as the controversy over Marxism developed, they disappeared from the debate.

The initial hostility displayed to Leninist parties and their promotion of ideological debate was defeated by a stirring defense of free speech that won broad endorsement. Everyone was encouraged to express opinions on controversial issues rather than allowing only one person from each left organization to speak.

In one workshop, justifiable anger erupted at the heterosexism of much of the left, but this was tempered by the contrary example of the FSPers, with their years of working at building the leadership of women and gay radicals.

Into the streets!

A sense of unity, bred by discovery of wide areas of political agreement, resulted in resolutions that mark a high point for the U.S. gay movement.

Resolutions were passed calling for an end to police brutality, the withdrawal of troops from Miami's Black community, a "Fight Racism and Sexism" contingent in New York City's Stonewall Commemoration in June, support to the People's Convention called by the Coalition for a People's Alternative in 1980, and August demonstrations outside the Democratic Party Convention.

A resolution to build alliances and united fronts against increasing attacks on people of color, women, Jewish people, lesbians and gay men was passed unanimously.

A *Lavender Left* quarterly newspaper was established.

Since the conference, the planning committee has called on leftist lesbian and gay activists to organize national and regional conferences with the same format of discussion and debate.

The Appel Farm conference shone with a ray of hope over a movement polarized by liberal reformism. These radical activists, whose political work touches every struggle against intolerance and discrimination, have advanced the gay movement one step closer to its rightful central role in the general movement against racism and sexism, the social glue of U.S. capitalism. □

Malice Aforethought

by Ms. Tami

My neighbors, Marcy and Michael, have had their ups and downs of late. Goaded by shrinking paychecks and with no choice but to return to the basics, they read everything they could find on nutrition. Both are talented cooks, and they hoped to find a way to remain healthy without eating meat, poultry, fish, cheese, eggs, milk, cereals, fresh fruit and vegetables.

These were the foods that had been studied by a government committee and targeted as inflationary. Reagan-CarterAnderson agreed: people who insisted on buying foods in any of these major food groups were indulging in excesses that were responsible for the nation's spiraling woes.



While Marcy read and took notes on the seemingly endless suggestions in *The Edible House Plants Cookbook*, Michael studied *Ten Things To Do With Mold* and discovered a chapter on main dishes. All through late summer, the dank aroma of "Jade Plant Goulash" and the insidious stench of "Mildew Stew" wafted about our hapless neighborhood on alternate evenings. It was immediately apparent that there are some foods which cannot be salvaged no matter how attractively they are arranged and served.

News of the Polish workers' uprising

put an end to the couple's ordeal. "The Poles haven't been able to afford meat either," exclaimed Marcy, "and they've gone on strike about it!"

Jimmy Carter approved of the Polish workers' actions. "The working men and women of Poland have set an example for all those who cherish freedom and human dignity," he intoned in a major speech.

"Sure," said Michael, "and all those who cherish food."



When the Poles won their demands, he and Marcy decided it was time for something besides austerity, and we were all invited over for a potluck.

Marcy read us the list of what the Polish general strike had won: nationwide, automatic cost-of-living raises; better health services; more daycare centers; longer maternity leaves; better job safety; the right to form independent unions; and glory of glories, the right to strike!

We started shouting to get the same rights here, when the resident pundit on the block observed, "Don't you understand? When Polish workers strike, it's anticommunist—but when American workers strike, it's communist!"

Marcy grinned and said, "Just tell your bosses to consider it the best Polish joke in the world." □



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BY SAM DEADERICK

Every four years the U.S. electorate is granted the dubious privilege of observing so-called democracy in action. Observing, *not* participating. Major party candidates are selected behind closed doors and the finished packages are artfully produced as major events of light, sound, color, and hollow promises. Voters watch the glittering circuses and try to choose the best candidate from dismal, pre-empted slates.

It's an impossible choice. The promises of jobs, an end to inflation, opportunity for all, peace—whatever—are identical and equally unbelievable. Even the media recognizes the paucity of programmatic differences among the candidates. Commentaries abound decrying the miserable choice, and the lack of *political* conflict forces journalists to focus on personalities and style instead.

None of the candidates can offer a credible program for real improvement. And only a believable blueprint for progress could gain the loyalty of the desperate voter.

Americans are afflicted with record-high inflation, depression-level unemployment, political and physical attacks on women, people of color and gays, slashed welfare benefits, draft registration—and no solutions in sight. Intolerable living conditions and racist police brutality have incited bloody riots in Black communities, civil rights gains are being shot down by KKK bullets, and international tensions have escalated to the point where nuclear war threatens.

And as the economic and political crisis deepens, all the major league candidates have veered sharply to the right.

The Republicans, Democrats, and pseudo-independent Anderson offer only rightwing measures to deal with the crisis. In a desperate attempt to prop up the crumbling capitalist economy, the major candidates blithely propose more hardship, more bellicose war threats, and the sacrifice of human needs on the altar of greater profits for the plutocracy.

The presidential politicians try to outflank each other on the right, and the only winners of this con game will be Big Business and the resurgent right wing. Bourgeois politics mean disaster for workers and the poor.

KKK mentality

At the Republican convention in Detroit, the extreme right wing ecstatically seized control of the party with virtually no opposition.

Ronald Reagan, the photogenic demagogue who considers the Vietnam War a "noble cause" and "welfare chiselers" the major enemy, turned the convention into a coronation and presided over the adoption of the most overtly reactionary party platform in modern U.S. history.

Bill Wilkinson, the leader of the country's largest KKK faction, wrote that the Republican platform "reads as if it were written by a Klansman."

Traditional Republican support of the ERA was dropped, and the current platform contains such planks as "right to work" laws, "fiscal and monetary restraint" in social services, \$100 billion more for "defense," and a constitutional amendment to ban abortion.

Nevertheless, Republican bigotry had to be tempered to appeal to the "center" and gain a November victory. So Reagan struck a balancing humanitarian note. In his acceptance speech, he ballyhooed "family, neighborhood, work, peace and freedom," called the GOP "the party of Abraham Lincoln," and climaxed his sermon with quotes from F.D.R. himself. Republicanism was given a veneer of old-time Democratic rhetoric in order to woo disenchanted Democrats.

Lesser Evil Politics Clone Parties, Clone Candidates

And with the Democratic party reduced to acrimonious shambles, the Republicans just might succeed.

Democratic disarray

In sharp contrast to the polished unanimity of the Republican swing to the right was the chaotic and damaging right turn of the Democrats.

Four years of Carter-the-Businessman's efforts to restore an ailing capitalism alienated the very people who put him in office—labor, people of color, women, and the poor. The popular Democratic coalition, based on an optimistic liberalism, has been shattered by the harsh reality of economic downturn and world crisis.

Jimmy Carter is a different kind of candidate than in 1976. His old image as a down-home, compassionate, non-politician-reformer-savior has been replaced by the 1980 reality of a cold-blooded spokesman for Big Business who didn't keep his shining promises and whose cold wars have frightened off the liberals.

Ted Kennedy became the tragic-hero of the liberals this time around. His rhetorical, poetic appeal to "the common people" fired the hearts of the party ranks. But Camelot II was not to be. He had flubbed the primaries—and capitalism can no longer afford even the pretense of liberalism.

A backroom compromise was engineered: Carter would have the nomination, but would concede pet platform planks to Kennedy. Nothing was lost since boss-party platforms are meaningless. Carter was still free to entice vacillating Republican voters by fight-

ing on rightwing ground with rightwing weapons—increased military spending, opposition to abortion, a reckless foreign policy, and tax cuts for business.

Sealed by Kennedy's pouting concession, the Democratic rightward swing was complete.

Enter Anderson

With the Democrats and Republicans fighting over nothing and neither having the support of the major voting blocs, it was necessary to field a third candidate who could pretend to offer an alternative to demoralized Republicans and Democrats.

John Anderson presents himself as an "independent" option to the bankruptcy and conservatism of capital's Tweedledum and Tweedledee parties. But he is only independent of their *structure*, not of their ruling class control or their cynical corruption.

In his early days as a true-blue Republican Congressman, Anderson introduced a bill to designate the United States as a "Christian nation."

He once read a tract on Black inferiority into the *Congressional Record*.

But, from youthful extremism, he developed into a "moderate" Republican, mouthing concern for the disinherited while counseling due restraint when it came to economic solutions. His record shows a long string of anti-labor votes and he's always been a strong supporter of nuclear power.

And that's his approach to this day, except he now supports the ERA and abortion rights, and *safe* nukes. His response to inflation is a 50¢ per gallon

gasoline tax. He promises labor more jobs but can't quite figure out how to create them. He's against a "peacetime" military draft, but is also a hawk.

Who does he actually represent? The list of his backers reads like a *Who's Who* of big capital.

From the very beginning, his campaign rode on the favor of the big-money media—the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, the *Washington Post*, Time-Life, Inc., CBS—and the power-broker families who buy and sell presidential candidates—Rockefeller, Cabot, DuPont, Lodge, Ford, Mellon.

Anderson is also a longtime member of the Trilateral Commission and the Council of Foreign Relations, international economic-and-foreign-policy bodies headed by David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan Bank.

Why do the conglomerates back a challenge to their own parties? To block a *genuinely independent* third party which would sound the death-knell of the two-party scam.

The ruling class are no fools; they know that Reagan's 19th century posturing and Carter's coldly reactionary record make it impossible to choose the "lesser evil." So huge numbers of worried voters, searching for an alternative, might choose not to vote—or to vote socialist. Enter Anderson, the proof that politics provides options, that an obscure politician can challenge the big boys without having to abandon the holy capitalist ideology.

Lesser evils like little Hitlers

Some progressives urge voting for Carter because Reagan represents a serious danger of nuclear war. But Carter has already tried one invasion of Iran and plans another. And Anderson's Trilateralist foreign policy-makers are the same Wall Street moguls who backed Carter in 1976.

But what about unemployment, inflation, the menacing ultra-right? Won't Reagan make all of this worse?

Yes, he will. And so has Carter for the past four years. And Anderson offers more of the same.

There is no lesser evil among the capitalist candidates. They are all executives for the ruling class, for the bosses. They all guarantee spiraling unemployment, inflation, war, and the end of human rights.

Don't go away—there is hope

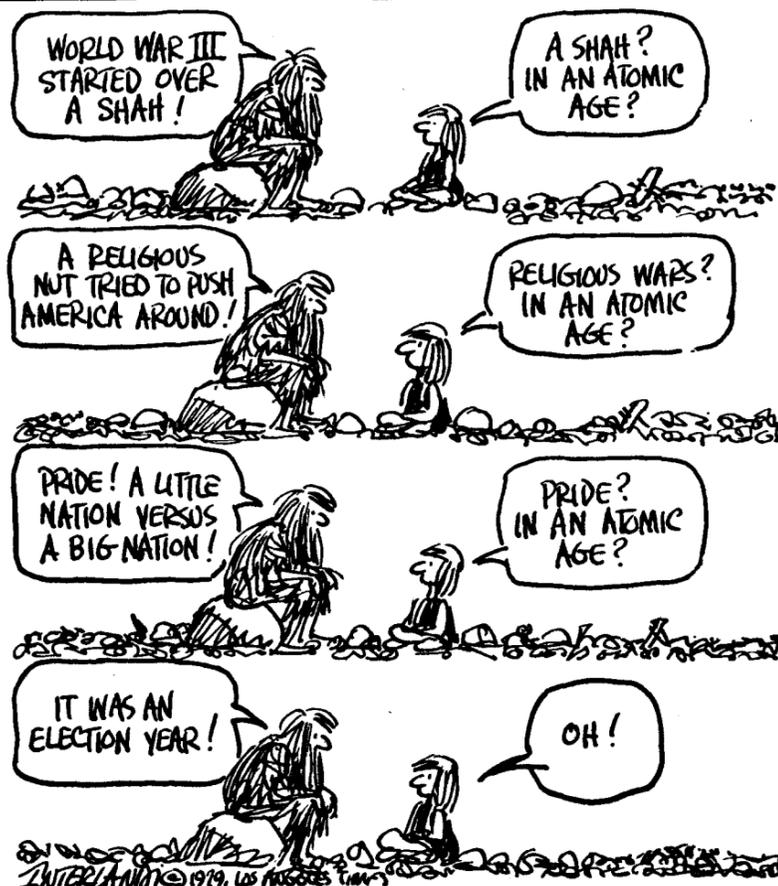
The alliances that traditionally elect presidents are in disarray and the stage is set for the emergence of a new party—a truly popular, mass party based on the labor unions, people of color, women, gays, the poor and neglected, all those to whom the latest crop of jaded presidential hopefuls offers no representation.

An explicitly anticapitalist party standing for jobs and civil rights for all, and for labor's political independence from management, would put class struggle on the electoral agenda.

As the global crisis of capitalism deepens, millions of Americans are seeking a genuine alternative, a class alternative, to the idiotic electoral mania that infests the country every four years. They are more than ready for a labor party, and open to a *socialist electoral coalition* which could be a stepping stone toward a revolutionary solution.

To choose among capitalist candidates is a choice among gravediggers. The only choice for 1980 is to vote for the socialist or communist or truly independent, anticapitalist candidates. A strong showing for leftwing minority parties in November will pave the way for united socialist or labor party campaigns in the following years.

Then and only then will equally-evil politics be supplanted by principled politics—by the clear electoral confrontation of the oppressed against the oppressor. U.S. politics will grow up to become meaningful, honest and revolutionary. □



WOMEN AND PORN



BY KAREN BRODINE

A woman stuffed head-first into a meat grinder . . . a semi-nude woman bound and gagged . . . a movie ad: "See exotic Oriental chicks loving to submit."

Every day we are bombarded with these "natural" links between sex and violence, with the lie that women want and deserve to be humiliated and brutalized. Porn touts violence against women as normal, acceptable, admirable, and vital to male sexuality and privilege.

Feminists are leading the attack on the \$4 billion-dollar-a-year, mob-controlled pornography industry, whose profits soar above those of the movie and record industries combined. Feminists denounce porn as terrorism against women, as a symptom and propagator of sexism and racism, as a glorifier of the degradation of women and men.

Last fall, 7,000 people led by Women Against Pornography marched through the sleaze parlor section of Manhattan's Times Square. Nationwide, similar groups have organized invasions of stench-filled peep shows and picketed porn shops to educate the public about the sale of fetid fantasies to men who like to imagine that they have an effect on women that they know they really don't.

Rallying around the slogan "Pornography is the theory, rape is the practice!" women's rights activists are angrily exposing the daily conditioning that dictates even the most intimate and supposedly spontaneous feelings.

The economics of porn

With economic hard times at hand and an erosion of the few gains of women and minorities, the smut czars have increased the sordidness of their product to appeal to the growing number of men already dehumanized by capitalism.

Pornography benefits capitalism by deepening the division between men and women, and between races, through the use of stereotypes that play theme and variations on women as hated objects, as commodities to be abused, bought, sold or raped.

The porn industry leads the way, discovering and developing new markets. The mainstream media and advertising world follow with their own, slightly watered-down images of anti-female violence.

Porn films have already moved on to their logical extreme with "kiddie" porn—the sexual use of children aged 10 or younger—and with "snuff" films of women actually killed and dismembered to provide kicks for males.

Every racist-sexist myth is exploited for profit, from paranoid notions about Black sexuality to absurdities about Asian women as submissive receptacles.

Porn reinforces the capitalist system and the most retrogressive aspects of bourgeois culture and relations.

Freedom or fetish?

The difficult problem for feminists has been to chart an antiporn strategy without endangering freedom of expression.

Many liberals and sexist radicals—with the hearty support of the porn

tycoons—maintain an absolutist position that any attack on pornography attacks the First Amendment.

But the Constitution, which guarantees free speech and provides protection from *governmental* interference, doesn't prohibit private actions and protests against violators of human rights. On the contrary, critics have a First Amendment right to organize against porn.

After much debate, Women Against Violence, and California's Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media, have stopped calling for *legislation* against pornography because censorship laws have proven to be hardest on progressive ideas and would be used against feminism itself. These groups now emphasize education through study, picketing, and boycott.

Not for women only

Antiporn groups still tend toward a single-issue approach that deprives the movement of much-needed broad-based support.

Porn involves sexism, racism and homophobia in a capitalist culture; porn is not just a concern for women.

Some feminist separatists choose resignation in their despair of eradicating pornography; hatred of women, they claim, is "natural" to men. They, too, offer no economic analysis of porn, and their separatism leaves them unable to connect other forms of oppression to sexism.

The erotica question

Another major objection to anti-porn organizing is that pornography

must be defined and quantified before it can be fought.

The academics explain that they cannot absolutely prove—or disprove—links between commercially-produced fantasies of violence and the actual violence inflicted on women. But most women are not such nit-pickers about denouncing porn's viciousness in a society where life imitates "art" with terrible regularity.

The most specious charge flung at antiporn organizers is that they are uptight, moralistic prudes who can't see pornography as a vehicle of liberation from crippling restraints on human sensuality. But the typical porn film plot depicting a virginal schoolgirl transformed into the sex-mad slave of an all-powerful male leads only to the question: liberation for whom?

While all porn is erotica, all erotica is not porn, and erotica itself must be limited to what is not brutish, exploitative, and physically dangerous.

Cleaning up the act

The issue of pornography cannot wait to be resolved "after the revolution." There is an intrinsic relationship between pornography and violence against women and minorities. Radicals need to resist oppression in all its forms.

The fight against pornography must address all the lies the media spews in service of the capitalist system which poisons our environment, our bodies, our minds, and our deepest emotions. Porn is a fitting expression of the decay of U.S. society, and it must be obliterated along with its rotten socio-economic roots. □

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New Left sexism

The special problems of draft-age gay males are underplayed—even though open gays have been forced to carry cards branding them as "undesirable." It is illegal to be a gay in the military, as witness the recent Navy witchhunts.

The single-issue, male chauvinists in the antidraft movement address the woman question only indirectly—as the "constitutional challenge." Women leaders are generally not featured or recognized although sex discrimination in and by the military is the *most explosive issue of the movement*.

In July, a federal Appeals Court in Philadelphia ruled in the case of Goldberg vs. Rostker that the male-only draft discriminated against men—not women! The government's case rested on military "convenience" and "flexibility," and never addressed sexual exclusivism, sexism within the military, or the women-in-combat uproar. Supreme Court Justice William Brennan issued an order staying the Philadelphia ruling which almost stopped registration, but the Supreme Court may yet uphold the Appeals Court and open the way for Congress to extend the draft to women, a practice of ten other countries.

Many radicals are barely awake to the radicalizing impact of the question of women and the draft. *The Guardian* has reversed its position and now agrees with the once lonely stance of the *Freedom Socialist*, admitting that women's exclusion from the draft must be fought. "Fighting the draft is the primary struggle," says *The Guardian* correctly, "but to do so without fighting the exclusion of women is to objectively make a sexist error. To fight the exclusion of women but not to fight the draft is to make the error of objectively supporting imperialism."

But *The Militant*, organ of the SWP, insists that women's exemption from the draft has nothing to do with discrimination. They see the demand for a non-sexist draft as a danger that "defuses and derails" the antidraft movement and jeopardizes, of all things, the ERA.

ERA, however, will never be won until women are equally liable for registration and the draft. The illogic of the SWP is astonishing. Exclusion from the draft seriously reinforces women's second-class status, whereas women's inclusion would double the ranks of the protesters and bring the dynamic of women leaders into the movement. But the SWP is unable to address two interlocking questions simultaneously.

Different drummers

In response to the antidraft movement's myopia and chauvinism, legions of militant women, people of color and gays are forced to stay out of it and work independently.

In Los Angeles, Chicano activists recently celebrated the tenth anniversary of their heroic nationwide struggle against the Vietnam War. In Seattle, an organization of registration-age people and supporters, RAP, addresses all the key, overlapping issues affecting potential draftees. Antidraft coalitions of women radicals, feminists and lesbians have formed autonomously nationwide to avoid the insult of second-class status afforded them in the movements of the '60s and early '70s.

But the movement is still dominated by groups like CARD and their obsolete and discredited single-issue focus. In CARD, the pro-capitalist Libertarian Party rubs elbows with religious pacifists and some radicals, but there is little opportunity to propose meaningful solutions to the draft crisis.

Some left parties like the SWP, desperate for allies and popularity, once again eagerly align with pacifists and reformists who challenge only militarism and the war apparatus, and not the underlying system itself. And where principled leftists try to raise the level of consciousness and clout, the alleged "radicals" lead the chorus of red-baiting and programmatic opportunism.

An old familiar score

Groups like CARD look backward to the '60s and duplicate its worst errors.

The New Left was an essentially middle-class student movement that spurned the leadership of people of color or women. It never achieved a cohesive theory to explain the interdependency of capitalism, imperialism,

war, racism, sexism, homophobia, and poverty. And it confused formlessness with democracy. SDS and most of its offshoots died, degenerated or sold out after the U.S. withdrew from Vietnam. And from this shambles, little emerged to shape the strong, national, political resistance movement that is necessary today to educate and defend the war-and-draft resisters.

The best elements of the New Left became Marxists, i.e., consistent revolutionaries. That was its positive and enduring legacy. But its machismo and contempt for theory doomed it, and CARD, etc., are slated for the same fate if they insist on perpetuating the errors of history.

Congress has now passed the biggest arms package ever, a *\$52.9 billion* military authorization bill. The recurring choice before the antiwar movement is a fundamental one—to ignore the lessons of its predecessor movement or to build a democratic united front that frankly discusses differences of policy and works for the future as well as the present.

The capacity to allow its intrinsic revolutionary spirit to survive and flourish will determine whether or not this new antiwar movement is just another flash-in-the-pan for achieving limited aims or a truly powerful apparatus for bringing capitalism to a grinding halt. □

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The antidraft movement

New faces and old problems

BY MARY REEVES

At summer's end, the antidraft movement was boldly challenging government statistics on how many 19- and 20-year-olds had refused to register. Unprecedented in U.S. history were the hundreds of thousands of refusals to register prior to an actual draft.

The *Boston Globe* reported an average of 25% noncompliance, running to 47% in some urban centers. Of 4 million men born in 1960-61, 1 million refused or failed to register and countless more registered under protest.

Yet Selective Service officials proclaim near universal compliance—93%, or 3,593,187 out of an alleged pool of 3.8 million young men. Speaking for the National Committee against Registration and the Draft (CARD), Rev. Barry Lynn urged an audit of the faked federal figures.

Even the government's phony 7% non-compliance figure far exceeds its predicted 2%. And Pres. Carter, under pressure to release the count before the November election, still ponders his failure to deliver America's youth to the U.S. war machine. He will have to fabricate an issue far more compelling than the Soviet move into Afghanistan or the hostages in Iran, to whip up the patriotic fervor of youth.

What does it all mean?

Excitement over the exact numbers of protesters eclipsed the political *meaning* of the victory won by the movement, and left undetermined the problems of sexism, racism, and vague direction that undercut the movement's revolutionary potential. To survive, the movement will have to think through very carefully what the next level of resistance should be.

CARD is not yet properly focused on the plight, defense, and ideological preparedness of the 266,000 youth who resisted the massive propaganda machine, defied the authority of the government, and risk five years in prison and \$10,000 in fines. The non-registrants need to be organized and educated; they present a substantial enforcement problem for the courts and overcrowded prisons, and an effective public support system for them has to be mobilized.

The movement also ignores the salient fact that the most intense antagonism against registration comes from *workingclass and ghetto areas*. Although



Doug Barnes/Freedom Socialist

the government depends on catastrophic unemployment and decreasing educational opportunity to channel people of color into cannon fodder, huge numbers of minority eligibles disdained to register. And CARD generally ignores issues such as the government's history of offering citizenship as a bait to make undocumented workers immediately liable to be drafted and put on the front lines.

The movement did organize effective educational forums and post office registration-site protests July 19 through August 2. But the national leadership is predominantly white, middle-class and male. Plans for the national week of protest against the draft (October 12-18) ap-

parently involved only token representation of women, gays, people of color and radicals.

This is a grave error because recent history has proved that only a multi-issue commitment to address the basic social problems inextricably connected to the draft can rally the millions who defied registration or registered unwillingly, and those who wish to defend them.

Draft protestors grew up amidst the feminist and gay movements and are sensitive to the poison of racism. They're debating the old question of a single- vs. multi-issue program, a debate the anti-draft movement leadership avoids.

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