



Tom Tutthill/LNS

Recollections of mortality

The booming antiwar front

BY MARY REEVES

On the third day of May, huge antiwar demonstrations — the first since the Vietnam days of rage—assembled at the Pentagon and in San Francisco, Seattle, and Kansas City.

It is likely that 100,000 protesters marched. But it is certain that this mass outpouring of people had a vast agenda of interlocking grievances, and all their demands were vociferously announced.

Which is as it should be. The radical, multi-issue tone of the marchers is precisely the tone that will build opposition to U.S. "advisors" in El Salvador and Wall Street advisers in the White House.

The all-encompassing program of the demos, moreover, marked a giant leap forward from the tentative, super-cautious moderation of the first nationwide antidraft conference held last February 13-15 in Detroit.

Detroit conference

The conference itself, called by NCARD (National Committee Against Registration and the Draft), did set a few good precedents.

Assembled in Detroit was an impelling force to fight a draft and war buildup *before* they became a grim reality.

Another major advance was the progress from narrow antidraft work to a politicized movement able to grasp the naked imperialism of U.S. foreign policy.

The 1000 participants also took a firm stand against the raid on human services to pay for the war budget, and took important steps toward connecting the draft with racial and economic oppression. Speakers acknowledged that unemployment forces many minority and poor people into the military, to give their lives for a system that gave them nothing.

The conference resolved to fight the KKK and to relate the rising climate of racism at home to the government's attempt at preparing the public for militarism abroad.

This crucial stance on racism promised to draw the talent and energy of multitudes to the struggle. And at least in the Seattle demonstration on May 3, women and men of color predominated in the program of speakers.

These were the pluses.

Sour echoes of the '60s

On the minus side, burning issues for the movement—the identical issues that tore apart the Vietnam-era protesters—were dealt with in a bureaucratic fashion that sourly recalled the worst practices of the '60s.

The leadership of the anti-Vietnam-war movement was, in general, skittish about its own radical leadership, skirted labor, feared feminism and misused its women, achieved no firm alliance with people of color, scorned gays, shamelessly courted the liberal establishment, and resorted to shameful backroom politicking, clique power plays, bureaucratic stifling of dissent,

and a bare-bones minimum program that could disturb nobody.

Hot debates raged for years on single vs. multi-issue program, women's rights, reform or revolution, Old or New Left leadership, legalistic vs. confrontation tactics, etc. The movement split down the middle on most of these topics, and its gains were shortlived.

Ten years later, at the inception of a brave and broad new antiwar movement, it is imperative that the movement, to survive, be grounded on radical, linked-issue principles and operate with full internal democracy.

NCARD deserves credit for trying to organize an antidraft conference in which discussion could occur. But opportunities for dialogue, debate and expansion of program were very limited, and representation from the feminist, gay and minority sectors was conspicuously small. Many radical groups, however, were there in force.

Sexism? What's that?

The key matter of women being drafted was allowed only two comments on the plenary floor.

A speaker from NOW asked that no stand be taken, pending the Supreme Court ruling on whether the draft

Social Justice contingent from New York City had to organize a dramatic, angry march on the podium in order to gain a voice.

One of their demands was the right to caucus as people of color. How disgraceful that this *right* had to be fought for!

Draft-age people, also sorely frustrated at the lack of time to address their concerns, resorted to caucusing and pressure so they could present their issues.

The February 25 edition of the *Guardian* de-emphasized some central events such as this confrontation by Blacks and youth, focusing instead on the fight between left and right for control of CARD. Not until the April 8 issue did the *Guardian* discuss the battle royal between CARD/SWP and the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) for leadership of the first nationwide antiwar demonstration on May 3 in Washington, D.C., and the decision forced on the SWP to abandon its divisive call for a separate May 9 demo. (Workers World Party, an SWP opponent, is a driving force in PAM.)

No new tricks for old SWP

Dictatorial tactics, sly maneuvers and astounding power manipulations

course, helped to defeat the motion. "You can't tell the labor movement what to do!" pontificated they.

SWP wants every movement to be isolated and shielded from the radicalizing effects of solidarity with any other movement. SWP also pressed for a non-interventionist rather than an anti-capitalist/anti-imperialist stand, so that they wouldn't have to expose themselves as radicals and lose the support of the pro-capitalist, rightwing Libertarians present.

Let the people decide

Never has the need been so urgent for open debate on antiwar policies.

Democratic discussion about the draft must be initiated nationwide so that future conferences can avoid the bureaucratic degeneracy that marked Detroit's conference.

The needed pattern was provided through a forum held in January by Seattle Radical Women on "Women and the Draft." Feminists representing pacifist, separatist, liberal, and a variety of socialist tendencies addressed an audience eager for debate but anxious to collaborate.

We must and can build an international antiwar movement that ex-



Top of page: May 3 demonstration in Washington, D.C. Above: May 3 demonstration in Seattle, Washington.

discriminates against men. And the Socialist Workers Party dismissed any and all arguments for drafting women as a call for "equal oppression."

Had the delegates discussed and condemned sexism, they might well have taken a pro-draft-women line, since exclusion of women from the draft is based solely on the premise of female inferiority.

Instead, without any debate, the plenary opposed drafting women.

Blacks, youth storm podium

When the issue of racism and poverty hit the floor, the Black Veterans for

by the SWP threatened to derail the conference.

The SWP packed the floor in an attempt to stifle discussion and hold program to unnecessarily elementary rock bottom. They even blocked with pacifists against a fine resolution to support Black armed struggle in apartheid South Africa.

One major motion called for the conference to build unity with the labor movement by urging it to hold a national antiwar conference, to support labor's antiwar boycotts and strikes, and to condemn the AFL-CIO-CIA front in El Salvador. The SWP, of

pects differences but respects the leadership of youth, women, people of color, workers, lesbians/gays, and radicals. *Such* a movement will understand how capitalism breeds atrocities like Vietnam, the Shah, and El Salvador—as well as tunnel-visioned opportunist political engineers in the antiwar movement.

The close-to-May Day protest at the Pentagon was a thrilling new opportunity for revolutionary politics in North America. The course of progress toward "Money for people, not for war!" will be thorny and rancorous. But it will be trod. □

IN THIS ISSUE

Volume 7, Number 1 Spring 1981

An Australian in America 12



Refreshing commentary from visiting Australian gay socialist, David Fagan, extracted by reporter Robert Crisman.

Asian American poets 7

Karen Brodine probes the roots of their socialist feminism with poet-radicals Nellie Wong and Merle Woo.



Education for all 5



Yolanda Alaniz reports on the struggle to keep minority teachers in the classroom and equal educational opportunity programs on university campuses.

Feminist Front 15

Portland militants fight the right wing the united front way, and seek deeper connections with labor, gays, and minorities.



World Trotskyist conference 13



Latin American and French comrades lead the way to regroupment and reform of the 4th International, as described by the CRSP delegation of Murry Weiss, Dr. Susan Williams, and Stephen Durham.

Also

International		People of color	
Iran/Iraq	3	Atlanta (editorial)	10
Poland, Ireland, China	3	Quinault warrior	4
National		Rita Silk-Nauni	2
Reagan	16	Russell Means attacks Marxism	10
Antiwar	1	Lesbians/gays	
Ripping off the elderly	5	Andrea Canaan case	8
Women		Labor	
Left-sexists	6	Fraser vs. Seattle	8
<i>Fat is a Feminist Issue</i>	11	Free speech fights	8
Portland united front	15	Columns	
Pro-ERA Mormons	4	Ms. Tami	14
		Clara Fraser	11

the freedom socialist

On the cover: Ana Guadalupe Martinez, popular military leader of Salvadoran revolutionaries.

Staff

Editorial Board	Manager
Robert Crisman	Janet Sutherland
Sam Deaderick	Proofreaders
Clara Fraser	Peggy Shafer
Tamara Turner	Joanne Ward
Production Coordinators	Typing
Doug Barnes	Kathy King
Helen Gilbert	Rune
Paste-up	Business Managers
Andrea Bauer	Mary Ann Curtis
Megan Cornish	Melba Windoffer
Chuck Meyer	

The Freedom Socialist (ISSN 0272-4367) is published quarterly by the Freedom Socialist Party, Freeway Hall, 3815 Fifth Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105. Phone 206-632-7449. Subscriptions: 1-year \$2.00 (Institutions \$5.00), 2-year Supporting \$15.00, 5-year Sustaining \$50.00. Add \$2.50 surface postage outside the United States; add \$7.00 for overseas airmail. Back copies \$.75 each. Donations to defer publishing costs welcome. Subscriptions exchanged. FS articles and graphics may be reproduced with our permission and with appropriate credit given. Material submitted to us will be carefully considered for publication.

LETTERS

Midwest reverberations

I would like to subscribe to your newspaper and purchase two subs for friends. I saw the FS a year ago (at least) when Clara Fraser spoke at the University of Nebraska. Her speech had a lingering effect on many of us. In solidarity,
Jane Pemberton
Lincoln, Nebraska

Night on Big Mountain

6,000 Navajo, or Dine, people are being forcibly displaced by the strip-mining of a 22 billion ton coal field in the Big Mountain area of Arizona-New Mexico. The Indians, who refuse to move, see the relocation as physical and cultural genocide.

The invasion began last summer when Consolidation Coal Company violated a court order and desecrated five graves at Burnham, New Mexico. Dine people occupied Consolidation's stolen property, and 14 were arrested. Eugene LaMone was convicted of trespass, fined, jailed, and denied the right of appeal. It took a writ of habeas corpus to get him released March 11.

In April 1981, the BIA started impounding Navajo livestock to starve the people into moving.

Letters of support or donations are needed.

Big Mountain Support Group
1728 8th Ave.
Oakland, CA 94606

Mistaken identity

In your editorial "Vote Socialist" (Fall 1980) you are clearly mistaking the Socialist Party USA (SPUSA) for an organization which no longer exists, the Socialist Party of America (SPA). In 1973, SPA underwent a three-way split.

The right wing named itself Social Democrats USA (SDUSA) and is closest to your description of the "SP."

The middle or centrist faction of the party is the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), led by Michael Harrington, which agreed with SDUSA on working within the Democratic Party, but works with the liberal wing. SDUSA is in the conservative wing.

U.S. senator Patrick Moynihan is a SDUSA member while Berkeley congressperson Ron Dellums is in DSOC.

The left wing reorganized as the Socialist Party USA. Its basis was the Debs caucus of SPA which opposed the war in Vietnam and worked for independent candidacies such as the creation of the Peace and Freedom Party in 1967.

Programmatically, SPUSA is actually quite close to the FS. It is a feminist socialist party.

SPUSA has never backed a Democratic presidential ticket. In 1976, the party ran its own ticket and backed the Peoples Party/Peace and Freedom Party ticket where it was not on the ballot (the FS also endorsed the Peoples Party candidates in 1976).

Last year, the Socialist Party presidential ticket consisted of anti-war activist David McReynolds and radical nun Dianne Drufenbrock—the "red sister" of Milwaukee.

McReynolds, the first openly gay male to run for president, has been jailed for refusing induction in the Korean war, burning his draft card during the Vietnam war, civil rights demonstrations in the South, and disarmament demonstrations in the U.S. and Soviet Union . . .

Jan B. Tucker
State Executive Committee
Socialist Party of California

Thrilling victory

The excellent article "Prison" in the Summer 1979 FS mentioned the '78-'79 Pontiac, Illinois prison deadlock, which set new records for brutality and suppression of inmate rights.

Ten Black prisoners facing the death penalty won a thrilling victory on May 9 when the jury acquitted them on all charges after only a few hours of deliberation.

This verdict—in the largest death penalty case in U.S. history—lays a hopeful basis for acquittals for the remaining eight facing the death penalty. The decision also provides grounds for appeal for the eight convictions already obtained in the non-death penalty cases.

The state decided to try the 16

prisoners facing death in two groups so that two different, and contradictory, frameups could be perpetrated. But now the prosecution may drop the second trial.

The brothers are confident of total victory despite the state's continuing machinations. In a statement to support rallies in several U.S. cities, they sent their love and thanks.

To help, contact Pontiac Prisoners Support Coalition, 407 S. Dearborn Street, Room 1000, Chicago, IL 60605, or 4233 7th N.E., Seattle, WA 98105.

Andrea Bauer
Pontiac Support Coalition
Seattle, Washington

Irish gays

We find the FS interesting and informative, its analyses and views stimulating. Please find enclosed a number of *Gay Stars*.

We are formally a reformist, though liberationist, grouping. The influences upon us are politically quite different from yours. On the Irish question, we uphold an anti-nationalist position as do a number of left groups and sections of the women's movement in Belfast.

But you are right on the gay and women's issues—those that count.

Jeff Dudgeon, Secretary,
Northern Ireland Gay Rights Association, Belfast

We're excited that you fight for gay rights, especially since you connect them to women's rights. We don't believe that either can be won permanently through reforms. Only in the struggle for socialism can the economic basis be prepared for women's and gay freedom. We also believe that the economics, traditions and culture of Ireland propel it to throw off British colonial rule and establish socialism. The greatest hope for women and gays lies in solidarity with this revolutionary movement.

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

Rita Silk-Nauni

Life sentence for self-defense

BY BOB HIPPLER

Native American prisoner Rita Silk-Nauni walked out of state prison in Oklahoma in late March, temporarily free on \$100,000 bail from a 150-year sentence.

But her taste of freedom was brief. She had been released on appeal bond while Judge Joseph Cannon was out of town, but when he returned, he overruled the bond, and instigated a "manhunt" by state police. On April 4, Silk-Nauni surrendered. A court appeal of this outrage will take months.

She is already appealing her June 1980 conviction for the self-defense killing of a police officer, citing procedural errors in the trial and jury selection, and prejudice of the judge.

The story began on September 19, 1979, when Silk-Nauni arrived at the Oklahoma City airport with her son Derrick, 10. She was fleeing California and a husband who beat her.

Lacking bus money, mother and son walked two miles and were stopped by police, who accused them of littering. When one of the

cops tried to force Derrick into the police car, Silk-Nauni went to her son's aid. In the melee, one officer was wounded and the other killed with the wounded officer's gun. Rita, herself badly injured, was charged with first-degree murder.

Rita asserted in court her right to fight off attackers. But her official plea was "not guilty by reason of insanity," since Oklahoma law forbids introducing evidence of an impaired mental state when the plea is self-defense, and her lawyers needed to present both her husband's recent abuse and the officers' violence as contributing circumstances.

The jurors, drawn from the white upper class, all believed in the death penalty, but Judge Cannon prevented defense lawyers from inquiring into their other prejudices. The judge banned from the courtroom Indian artifacts and other displays of support for Rita, packed the room with armed guards, and refused to hear arguments of self-defense, defense of the child, or police misconduct.

The jury found Silk-Nauni guilty, not of first-degree murder, but of manslaughter and shooting with intent to kill, and recommended a

150-year sentence. The judge condemned her "to spend the rest of her life in prison . . . if it were up to me, I would give her more." He "reduced" bond to \$100,000.

In Los Angeles, California, two AIM women, Lois Red Elk and Hashi Hanta, lead the Silk-Nauni defense movement. Says Hanta, "In a state where police are known to be racist, especially against Indian people, Rita's act was not one of planned aggression, but the use of her inherent right as a mother to protect her child and defend herself."

Other Los Angeles defenders include the Feminist Women's Health Center and the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP). Both groups are concerned about the racist and sexist double jeopardy faced by women of color who try to defend themselves.

Donations can be sent to Silk-Nauni Defense Committee, c/o Frances Wise, Native American Center, 2830 South Robinson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73109. □

Bob Hippler, Los Angeles teacher, unionist and CRSP member, is an energetic human rights campaigner.

INTERNATIONAL ROUNDUP



Marsella Sands, Bobby's sister, marches in solidarity with prisoners.

Ireland

Remember Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes, valorous Irish Republican Army martyrs in the cause of Irish self-determination and liberty.

Bobby, the Catholic H-Block prisoner and newly-elected Parliament member from Protestant-dominated Belfast, Northern Ireland, died on May 5 in the 66th day of a hunger strike to dramatize the IRA demand that the British overlords grant political status to republican prisoners. Francis died a week later, after fasting 59 days for the same demand.

Tory Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher scoffed at the very idea.

Gas bombings, street fights, and gunfire promptly erupted in Ireland, and thousands around the world protested in solidarity with the hunger strikers, demanding that the British get out of Northern Ireland.

Sand's and Hughes' deaths pour more fuel onto a volatile situation that is leading partitioned Ireland inexorably to civil war. The brutally oppressed

Catholic, anti-British minority in Northern Ireland is prepared for battle with the majority Protestants who favor continued British rule. The elite Protestants are a minority in Ireland as a whole.

Northern Ireland: Hunger strikes, street riots, and mass demonstrations are pushing the class and nationalist struggle to a new level. On International Women's Day in March, 1000 pro-IRA women and male supporters demonstrated outside Armagh Jail, the women's prison, in solidarity with the women inside who are fasting for political prisoner status.

Republic of Ireland: Up to 40,000 have demonstrated in support for the Northern Irish prisoners. But the government of this independent, largely Catholic republic, trying to stay in England's good graces, has restricted free speech for advocates of a unified Ireland and has passed antilabor laws. This is sparking mass labor protests.

The British: The government colluded in the assassination of five leaders of the H-Block/Armagh support campaign. And British troops watched the attempted assassination of socialist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey by the Ulster Defense Association, a rightwing paramilitary gang.

An important cause of renewed Irish militancy is the new political direction of the Sinn Fein, political arm of the Provisional IRA, active throughout Ireland. It supports women's rights and advocates rank and file democracy in the trade unions, international solidarity, and struggle on a workingclass basis. Its call for mammoth resistance and socialist democracy, stimulates a revolutionary surge toward a free and unified Ireland. □

Poland

Revolution is sweeping this troubled country on Russia's western border.

Millions of heroic workers and farmers, male and female, have mobilized for free speech, an end to bureaucracy, and the right to strike, and they speak in a single, awesomely strong voice. Stalinist leaders from Warsaw to Moscow are forced to listen and don't like what they hear.

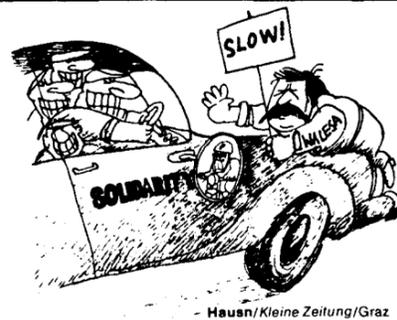
When police, backed by the Polish government, brutally attacked union-

ists and farmer-activists in the northern city of Bydgoszcz, the ten million member labor federation, Solidarity, shut down the country.

Under the threat of a general strike, the regime agreed to withdraw special police units from Bydgoszcz, to punish the officers responsible for the beatings, to stop obstructing Rural Solidarity (to which 1.3 million independent farmers belong), to guarantee Solidarity's security, and to pay workers for the time lost in the strike.

Two weeks later, the government agreed to recognize Rural Solidarity, which has followed the lead of Solidarity since late 1980 in demanding the right to organize independently for farmers and farmworkers.

One-third of the three million Communist Party (PUWP) members are now members of Solidarity. And an April 15 conference of party rank-and-



file delegates condemned PUWP's lack of democracy. The delegates wanted to be able to elect the top leadership, support Solidarity, and enjoy freedom of the press.

Within Solidarity, a militant left wing is forming against a right wing that seeks collaboration with the bureaucracy. Most of the leaders, like Lech Walesa, vacillate between the two.

The Kremlin has restricted itself to highly publicized military maneuvers and disapproving articles in *Pravda*. But the danger of Soviet intervention is great as Solidarity grows.

The workers of Poland are a beacon to the international socialist forces that oppose Stalinism. Soon, the rest of Eastern Europe will follow suit and the Soviet workers themselves will move toward political revolt against the conservative bureaucratic caste that stifles worker democracy in the USSR.

Opposition movements throughout the Soviet bloc cannot be safe from Soviet tanks until a regenerated, political democracy prevails in the USSR. □

China

The spectacular political extravaganza of the Gang of Four trials was staged by China's new leadership to assure their nation and world capital that the Deng Xiaoping regime was shedding the problems and national isolation of the past and moving forward.

Unable to risk a Khrushchev-style revelation against Mao because of Mao's lingering authority, the ruling clique instead pilloried Mao's agents in the Cultural Revolution. The Chinese press helped protect Mao's legend by contrasting his "mistakes" with the "crimes" of his associates.

Reserving the most furious attacks for Mao's widow, Jiang Qing, the regime borrowed a sexist scenario from Confucian history: unhappy with the legacy of a dead emperor, but unable to criticize such a holy figure, the politicians attacked his widow, the empress dowager. But Jiang Qing resisted.

The only woman on trial, she alone defied the court and she did it with scorn, clarity and courage. She received a death sentence suspended for two years while her behavior is evaluated.

The Deng regime was part of Mao's administration until he purged its members in the factional struggle that fomented the Cultural Revolution. He consolidated power through political purges then, and the present regime is doing it now.

China's rulers continue to oscillate between two counterposed economic programs. The first relies entirely on China's own productive capacities, stressing sacrifice among the workers and very little foreign trade. The second policy pushes foreign trade, an influx of foreign capital, and experiments with personal financial incentives through the introduction of a small free market for peasant goods.

The current leaders are proponents of the latter program; Mao and the "Gang of Four" espoused the former.

The demand for democracy and a proletarian foreign policy still simmers in the masses. New leadership and new turmoil will emerge in China until this deformed workers state escapes from the conservative trap of "socialism in one country" and connects with the international struggle for socialism. □

War and counterrevolution Iran/Iraq



as well. Iraqi victory would be a devastating blow to their autonomy. There are 3 million oppressed Kurds within the borders of Iraq.

For a revolutionary victory!

Bourgeois press predictions of a swift Iraqi victory have been entirely discredited, despite Iraq's military superiority. The Iranian population, kindled with revolutionary spirit, is virtually unconquerable.

The war is a terrible roadblock in the path of the permanent revolution in Iran. But when the Iraqis are defeated, the armed workers, women, and national minorities of Iran will be free to continue the greater struggle—the completion of the revolution and the building of modern socialism. □

A blaze with enormous destruction for more than eight months, the war between Iran and Iraq shows no sign of abating.

The war began in September 1980 when Iraqi president Saadam Hussein announced that Iraq would take by force the Shatt al Arab estuary—a critical waterway, linking Iraqi and Iranian oilfields to the Persian Gulf, that has long spawned military conflict.

Hussein's provocation was far more than an attempt to gain economic and territorial advantage. **It was an open attack, backed by world capitalism, upon the great, unfolding Iranian revolution.**

White House sabotages Iran

Though the Iraqi people strongly opposed the Shah, Iraq has provided asylum to his top henchmen, including ex-Prime Minister Bakhtiar, key generals, and SAVAK agents. Meeting frequently with U.S. officials, these counterrevolutionaries used Iraq as a base of operations for plotting the overthrow of Iran's Provisional Government.

The White House has provided co-

vert support to Iraq. Officially, the State Department is neutral, but the Reagan administration, like the Carter regime, wants the Iranian revolution decimated and Iran pauperized by large-scale destruction of its productive facilities.

Internal convulsions in Iran

The two major left organizations in Iran—the Fedayeen and Mojahdeen—are actively fighting Iraqi aggression. But both organizations have suffered splits over the question of support to the Provisional Government.

The majority of Fedayeen and Mojahdeen support the Provisional Government in the war effort. The Mojahdeen minority organized independent guerrilla forces in southern Iran and the oil-rich Abadan region; successful defense maneuvers were mounted against Iraqi forces.

Khomeini has mercilessly attacked both groups in the press, and revolutionary guards have assaulted left-led demonstrations. Since the Shah's overthrow, Iranian political life has been characterized by a dual power which extends into the military and takes form

in two distinct channels of command—one controlling the regular army and another the revolutionary guards.

It seems to us that the left should call for a military united front to defend the revolution, a front that guarantees political freedom for radicals, national minorities, and women. Such a call would promote the concept and reality of popular control and would expose the Provisional Government's vacillation on granting rights to all revolutionaries.

The national minorities

Iran's national minorities are also waging independent struggle against Iraqi aggression.

At the outset of the war, Iraqi president Hussein tried to win over the Arabs in southern Iran. Claiming to be their liberator, he called on them to overthrow Khomeini. The Arabs answered by rising against the Iraqis in defense of the gains they won through the Iranian revolution.

The Kurds in northern Iran, who were engaged in a military struggle for autonomy as the war broke out, have trained their guns on Hussein's troops

Portrait of an Indian woman warrior



Frances Hobucket, a rank and file leader of the Quinault Tribe, firmly tells tribal police chief Dick Davis and officer Larry English that she refuses to accept a citation for "illegal" clam digging. More than a dozen Indians dug clams for four days on a strip of beach on Washington's Quinault reservation, an act of protest against the tribal government's bureaucratic and unwarranted one-year ban on clam digging. The clams are a basic source of income to many Quinaults.

Sandy Nelson

Frances Hobucket is a spunky leader of her people, one of many women and traditional elders of the Quinault tribe who have spearheaded a revolt against their corrupt tribal bureaucracy and its insidious policy of self-termination.

Fran, who lives on the oceanside reservation at Taholah, Washington, is a 31-year-old mother of four whose philosophy fuses Native American humanism, innate feminism, and revolutionary socialism.

Tribal dissension erupted in 1975, when Chairman Joe DeLaCruz forced the adoption of an illegal constitution that usurped for the bureaucracy the decision-making authority that traditionally had rested in the collective membership of the General Council.

Crassly imitating the U.S. government's colonialism and paternalism toward Indian people, DeLaCruz proceeded to suppress tribal democracy by employing slander, intimidation and threats of violence against his critics.

DeLaCruz tries to keep his dirty linen out of public view. His slogan is "Indian business is Indian business." But Hobucket and her colleagues boldly take their people's struggle for democracy into the public arena, so that dissidents in other tribes will be moralized and tribal bosses pressured into accountability.

She brings to the center of the Quinault fight for national sovereignty the explosive issues of feminism and gay liberation.

Fired, baited, harassed

In March 1979, Hobucket, the sole support of her children, was accused of insubordination and fired from her job as purchasing manager for the tribe's administration department. Her crime was her refusal to authorize illegal contract purchases by the officials.

She initiated a newsletter to alert Quinaults to DeLaCruz' greedy, opportunistic administration which was systematically surrendering tribal treaty rights and cornering benefits for themselves that earlier Indian militants had won in blood for everybody. The bureaucrats had become puppets of the federal and state government.

Fran's concept of freedom most definitely included rights for women and gays. So the DeLaCruz opportunists fought her and her faction with lesbian-baiting, blacklisting and physical threats.

The reservation community today is polarized between supporters of the privileged officialdom and the incorruptible traditionalists who want to re-establish an independent nation based on their abundant forest and fisheries resources, and their classical collectivism and equality.

Turmoil in Taholah

When tribal judge Carol Burgett was illegally fired in a purge of dissident tribal employees last July, Hobucket organized community support for her reinstatement. Burgett was rehired and then "impeached" a month later.

"They hate the thought of being exposed by a woman judge," Hobucket said at the time. "It's terrifying that they've developed a kangaroo court process to lynch the judge and any others who object to their dictatorship."

A three-month-long water shortage last summer ignited the first protest demonstration in tribal history, and opposition leaders successfully blocked the logging of the last 122 acres of tribally-owned wilderness forest. The militants are also fighting the forestry management program run jointly by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and DeLaCruz. This program is designed to make the Quinaults "partners" in the rape and expropriation of their forests.

After a year of stormy protest against his dictatorship, Chairman DeLaCruz clings grimly to his chairmanship. At a General Council meeting called by Hobucket's group last September, the chairman's resignation was accepted by a majority vote. But the stunned bureaucracy, after catching its breath, soon declared the meeting "illegal," marshalled its forces for a rump second meeting, and reinstated DeLaCruz.

Sovereignty or submission

"Indian people everywhere are losing land, timber and subsurface mineral rights," says Hobucket indignantly. "And now DeLaCruz wants to bargain with the state to abrogate our fishing rights. The state has no jurisdiction here—we're a sovereign nation."

She fears that further erosion of the dwindling Native American land base will prompt the federal government to terminate her tribe, turning over tribal resources to government and then private ownership—stripping the Quinaults of their birthright, their means of subsistence, their culture and their identity.

Quinault power has declined so drastically that today tribal members risk arrest by tribal and BIA police when they dig clams in defiance of DeLaCruz' arbitrary one-year closure of the clam beds. Yet the clams are a treaty-protected resource and the sole income source for many Quinaults with limited options for employment.

Frances Hobucket and her co-fighters are the vanguard of the new army of Indian warriors who identify with the beleaguered indigenous people of the world in their challenge to colonialism and its native agents. The determination of a Fran Hobucket is the quality that will restore the shattered right to self-determination of the Indian nations. □

Revolution against revelations

Rebel Mormons fight for feminism

BY SU DOCEKAL

Arch-enemy of women's liberation, the Mormon church faces organized rebellion from its own ranks. The rebel group, Mormons for the Equal Rights Amendment, boasts articulate members in 23 states.

Mormons for ERA are consistently on the move to expose, denounce, and picket church activities. National attention focused on them last November when police arrested 21 members and supporters who had chained themselves to the gates of a spectacular new Mormon temple in Bellevue, Washington, a Seattle suburb.

To stop all the publicity, the church subsequently dropped its charges against the 21. But in April, leader

Marty LaBrosse announced that she will sue church leaders for assaulting her and violating her religious freedom. LaBrosse, a Mormon, was knocked to the ground and kicked by a church official during the demonstration.

Mormons for ERA originated in 1978 when Sonia Johnson found her church making defeat of ERA a top priority.

Male church officials gave instructions to women members on strategy and tactics for an extensive and secret lobbying campaign. The church threw thousands of dollars into lobbying against the ERA in key states (while flaunting the law requiring lobbyists to register) and more thousands into numerous anti-feminist organizations. The church also formed many new anti-ERA "concerned citizens" groups which assume different names to hide

their Mormon affiliation.

Outraged, Sonia Johnson publicly challenged the church. She was swiftly tried, found guilty of undermining church leadership, and excommunicated in 1979.

To a Mormon woman, centered around church and family, excommunication means a drastic loss of economic security, family and friends.

But the struggle against the church's harsh repression and heavy-handed attempt to turn its medieval morality into law has radicalized Johnson and other Mormon women, and created a bond between these angry rebels and non-Mormon feminists.

Mormons for ERA has received enthusiastic support throughout the feminist movement, and has injected a much-needed dynamic of urgency and

militancy into the moderate sectors of feminism.

Mormons for ERA have yet to broaden their focus and come to grips with the church's key role in the political right wing.

The church considers private profit to be divine law, and its religious dogma is based on the worst aspects of capitalism; Mormons own controlling interests in many huge corporations. Not only women, but Blacks and gays, have been discovered to be inferior by Mormon "prophets," and highly-placed Mormons lead the national drive to bust the unions.

All these targets of a reactionary church are natural allies of Mormons for the ERA, allies who could offer relief from isolation. Mormon feminists need to become part of a united front that will be strong enough to beat the retreat for the entire right wing. □

Susan Docekal, a sheet metal apprentice, is in the forefront of the struggle for women's emancipation.

Ripping off the elderly

BY MELBA WINDOFFER

Running, dodging and trembling for their lives, elderly and handicapped women and men find themselves combatants on a daily battlefield. All-too-easy targets for rapists, con artists, glib salesmen, smalltime hoodlums and delinquent children, the aged also fall victim to cruel and greedy relatives, the thievery of health insurance companies, and doctors who over-medicate and overcharge. And the politicians could not care less.

Hustles, scams and terror

Charming strangers kindly offer to clean basements bursting with a lifetime's accumulated junk. These benefactors really do leave a clean basement—goodbye lawn mower, lawn furniture and tools along with the junk. It's fine if you are moving to a condo.

Unscrupulous salesmen sell expensive funeral insurance and worthless roofing and furnace repair jobs that nobody needs. The work of the contractors is generally a disgrace; halfway through a job they frequently demand the remainder of the money for materials and then disappear. The victims of the scam are always surprised, because the salesman was as kind and considerate as a loving son.

Elders are suckers for a hard-luck story. They listen sympathetically to a nice guy who only needs one more quarter to buy milk for the baby, or one dollar for bus fare, only to find that all the other retired neighbors have given to the same unworthy cause.

Before the banks permitted direct government deposit of Social Security checks, elderly people were regularly blackmailed or terrorized on the first of the month. Mail boxes are pilfered, gar-

dens and fruit trees robbed and damaged, and homes burgled with impunity. Senior citizens are beaten in their homes, on the streets and in the parks, and often injured fatally. Purses are grabbed and women knocked to the street. Sometimes, women are brutalized in a game called "chicken," a favorite of male punks who run them down with pickup trucks or souped-up cars.

After a lifetime of toil, American society gives its elders little or no protection from enemies or friends. Family members have beaten up their own elderly for a small Social Security check, a TV set, an heirloom that might be worth a little money, or just out of annoyance. This crime is as common and as concealed as child abuse and incest.

Health and retirement scandals

Even with all the hazards of life under decaying capitalism, workers are living longer than was anticipated when the Social Security system was started in 1937. So Congress wants to keep workers on the job until 68 and reduce retirement benefits at 65. A later retirement date, however, will not provide better health or a better life; brown lung, cancer, and all the other industrial ills are still not controlled.

The biggest ripoff of all is the health insurance that supposedly makes up the difference between Medicare subsidies and doctor bills. The elderly patient will be lucky to collect even 50-80% from Medicare, and then the fun begins: cashing in on the supplementary insurance is frequently a lost cause. Medicare contributes far more to doctors than to aged patients.

As Ruth Mulvey Harmer shows in **American Medical Avarice**, health

care for the elderly is almost nonexistent. While doctors accrue fast and easy money from Medicaid and Medicare fees, poor patients die for lack of care or suffer from inadequate medical research, which should prohibit dangerous drugs but often endorses them.

Elders unlucky enough to wind up in nursing homes face some strange and arbitrary rules, over and above the usual scandalous conditions, which increase their suffering. A husband and wife who have shared 50 or 60 years can be rudely separated, because companionship between the sexes and sexuality are ruthlessly suppressed.

Politics make the difference

People of advanced age are reduced to fear by the daily uncertainties of their lives, and become fair game for the conservatives, who appeal to their prejudices but refuse to be accountable

for their well-being. This need not be so! The elderly are the biggest bloc of voters in the country and they wield considerable political clout.

If the elderly combined their strength with all the other oppressed sections of society they could turn this country around and over, and build a society where ripe age is an honorable, sheltered and cherished status instead of the purgatory it is today. □



Melba Windoffer: a lifetime of dedication to socialism, women, labor, minorities and all the afflicted.

SAVE OUR TEETH FROM THE DIXY CUT BACKS



Senior citizens protest cutbacks in medical/dental benefits by former Washington State governor Dixy Lee Ray.

RADICAL WOMEN PUBLICATIONS

1. **Radical Women Manifesto: Theory, Program and Structure** \$1.00
2. **Race and Sex, 1972: Collision or Comradeship?** by Dorothy Mejia Chambliss \$.50 (also available in Spanish)
3. **Lesbianism: A Socialist Feminist Perspective** by Dr. Susan Williams \$.50
4. **Woman as Leader: Double Jeopardy on Account of Sex** by Clara Fraser \$.50
5. **In Defense of Marxist Feminism: A Critique of Current Trends in the Socialist Feminist Movement** by Dr. Susan Williams \$.50
6. **The Emancipation of Women** by Clara Fraser \$.50
7. **Women Who Work** by Melba Windoffer \$.50

Write for free publications list.

Enclosed is a check money order in the amount of \$ _____ for

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____
5. _____ 6. _____ 7. _____
(Indicate quantity after document number.)

Name _____ (please print)

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Send checks or money orders (no cash, please) to Radical Women, Freeway Hall, 3815 Fifth Avenue N.E., Seattle, WA 98105.

Equal education battleground

BY YOLANDA ALANIZ

Affirmative action faces the executioner's axe—even in Seattle, that paragon city of "livability."

One of the nation's most integrated cities, Seattle is in a prolonged uproar over education. Former Washington state governor Dixy Lee Ray set the political climate with her terse dictum, "Education is a privilege, not a right!" And now two critical affirmative action educational programs are threatened, one in the Seattle School District and another at the University of Washington.

Minority kids are the victims

For the past six years, the Seattle School Board has had an affirmative action goal that matched minority staff hiring totals to the district's percentage of minority students—42.4%. The present minority staff total is only 25.6%, but the school board, under pressure from the right wing and threats of "reverse discrimination" charges, has scuttled its own policy.

Under a new formula adopted in February, minority hiring is based on the minority percentage in Seattle's

labor force—22.4%. This shameful substitution coincided with an actual **increase** in the numbers and percentage of minority students and a decrease of the overall Seattle student population. The increase of minority students would have boosted minority hiring under the old formula.

The problem is further compounded by school closures. Minority teachers have the least seniority and are slated for layoff.

The Seattle Urban League held a special, well-attended community meeting to oppose the change in policy and possible layoffs. It plans to organize within the minority communities.

EOP in danger

At the University of Washington, President William Gerberding threatened to abolish the Equal Opportunity Program (EOP) that enables low-income and minority students to make up academic deficiencies and receive a higher education.

To protest this slaughter, there quickly emerged a coalition of student minority groups, EOP staff, and community organizations—predominantly Chicano, Black, and Asian. Slapped with arrests during demonstrations, the

protestors didn't back down. A wave of public pressure bore down on the University administration to halt any changes in EOP.

The Coalition for Equal Education Programs, initiated largely by militant Chicanas and Chicanos, won a temporary victory when Gerberding agreed not to change EOP, but to set up a task force to "research" the program.

Swim or sink

The Coalition also has an internal challenge to confront: the liberals want to soften the demands of the radicals. Far more worried about alienating the administration than winning the fight, they almost sold out the EOP issue altogether. Opportunism has no color.

The EOP staff, radicals, and community supporters want to fight militantly to save EOP. In the '60s, these people fought like tigers to win affirmative action, and today they will be the ones to save it. But to win, the militants must win over the liberals, not the other way around!

Equal access to education is a precious thing to people of color. A tough united front with an intransigent leadership can preserve it. **¡Unidos venceremos!** is the slogan of the day. □

BY CONSTANCE SCOTT

The Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee is accelerating its campaign against feminism and its timing couldn't be worse. As the right wing steps up its heavy fire against women's rights, these betrayers from the left follow suit. And radical solidarity, which insures the survival of all movements for progressive change, is dealt a treacherous blow from within.

At a May 1980 conference of feminist and socialist lesbians and gay men, PWOC's Florence Buckley labeled the oppression of women and lesbians/gays as "secondary." Moreover, said she, feminism is "anti-workingclass and inherently racist."

Buckley's speech, published in the July 1980 PWOC *Organizer*, defines feminism narrowly as a "special political theory" which considers divisions between men and women the "principal contradiction in our society." In the campaign against rape, says PWOC, feminists disregard the "centrality of struggling against racist myths" and give the ruling class a free hand in perpetuating racism.

In the March 1981 *Organizer*, PWOC "celebrates" International Women's Day editorially by answering PWOC critics—an answer that simply reiterates its false and illogical position.

PWOC is trying to buy the support of sexist male workers, white and Black, disregarding the burning need to unify all workers around mutual respect and attention to the most oppressed. PWOC not only ignores history, distorts reality, and betrays women, it would also deprive the left—already perilously isolated from its natural allies—of the energy, radicalism and leadership of women workers.

Sexism is divisive

Conjuring up a phony contradiction between the interests of sex and class, PWOC claims that feminism fights sexism at the expense of class struggle. This hierarchy of oppressions is a traditional cover for sexist leftists, male and female, who are blind to the fact that the increasingly decisive position of women in the working class and other struggles is pivotal to class struggle and revolutionary change.

PWOC refuses to understand that the women question *cannot* be severed from the class question historically, logically or factually. The overwhelming majority of women are workingclass, half of the class is female, male supremacy, not feminism, has divided women and men since the advent of male-owned private property, and women are the most exploited workers and 80% of the poor.

In a crude effort to mask its chauvinism, PWOC labels the entire women's movement as petty bourgeois. This fiction ignores millions of working women, proletarian homemakers, socialist and socialist feminist workers in the feminist movement.

PWOC Leading the left-sexist pack



As in all other objectively revolutionary civil rights movements, class divisions exist among feminists. The establishment feminists, at whom PWOC sneers, parallel the middleclass misleaders among people of color and the system-serving bureaucrats and privileged aristocrats in the unions. But PWOC doesn't talk about jettisoning *these* movements, or brand them middleclass.

"Overemphasized" rape

PWOC magnanimously allows the struggle against sexism to continue—if it is not "overemphasized." This means subordinating the historic democratic demand for women's rights which is the entire content of feminist ideology!

As an example, PWOC calls the anti-rape slogan "Take Back the Night" racist, and counsels women to "strongly oppose . . . racist hysteria, and take care not to play into an overemphasis on rape which generates racist paranoia among women."

Black men are more often prosecuted for rape than whites. And false charges of rape have led to lynchings of Black men. But it is a vicious distortion of history to blame these outrages on feminists who confront the violence that victimizes women of all races. To condemn feminism for the sadism of white lynch mobs is absurd.

Would PWOC ever warn people of color to be careful and not to over-emphasize racism—because this would alienate white workers on a secondary issue? Yet PWOC (and their ilk) has the

chutzpah to insult women and gays with this kind of insensitive prejudice.

Gays also get second billing

PWOC pontificates that lesbian/gay oppression is a "secondary strategy of capitalism to divide working people . . . not directly an economic form of discrimination, although antigay prejudice has economic effects."

Tell that to gays who are "found out" on the job or can't get hired, or who work for less. Like women, gays are directly discriminated against on both the economic and social-cultural fronts. Far from being *less* directly subjugated, women and gays are doubly jeopardized and doubly rebellious.

Gay liberation does not divide the working class. Homophobia does. Lesbians/gays, who defy traditional sex roles and the nuclear family relations so essential to capitalism's profits, already stand on the front lines of many labor struggles. PWOC's heterosexism seeks to exempt it and other leftists from helping all workers understand the validity of gay rights.

To the lesbian of color, PWOC's artificial separation of race and sex oppression is stunning. PWOC wants her to fragment and prioritize her daily struggle against the *combined* racism, sexism, and homophobia of her bosses and also of her "fellow" workers. But this is a political and psychological impossibility, and it would blunt, not enhance, worker militancy.

History rewritten

PWOC tells outright lies about the history of the suffragists, who supposedly allied with "racist politicians to secure the vote for white women at the expense of Black people."

Most early feminists, Black and white, fought fiercely for abolition. Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, the Grimke sisters, Frederick Douglass and Susan B. Anthony worked to unite the struggles of Blacks and women. Unlike PWOC, these early suffragists understood that if the two movements were not linked, neither group could seriously challenge the core of its oppression.

Most male abolitionists, however, refused to defend women's suffrage. As a result, women of all colors were denied the vote. Not until sixty years after Black men won enfranchisement did Black and white women gain it.

PWOC brings its historical myths up to date by naming Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, and Shulamith Firestone as

the "modern theoreticians of feminism." That's roughly equivalent to naming Reagan-supporter Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as the ideological leader of the Black movement.

These women have differing ideologies, and represent only some segments of a vast movement. PWOC handily overlooks the long communist tradition of feminism and the countless socialist women, lesbians, and women of color whose organizing brought about its reemergence. The viable theoreticians of today's movement are not publicized in the bourgeois media; they are the socialist feminist writers and the women unionists in the forefront of workplace organizing.

Reforming "sexism"

Viewing the women's movement as a "broad democratic reform movement," PWOC conveniently skirts over the fact that women's oppression is a cornerstone of the private property system. Without cheap, available female labor, profits would crumble. Women's equality is a "reform" that capitalism cannot grant.

Sexism is lucrative. Women of all races are paid much less than men of all races. And wives provide unpaid labor in the home at no cost whatever to the bosses or government. Does PWOC seriously think these gross inequities can be eliminated by mild reforms?

Or is PWOC's vision of woman's proper role similar to what it is already—barefoot, pregnant, underpaid, overworked, neglected, unemancipated, victimized, scorned, and unemancipated second-class citizens?

Radical women haters

PWOC isn't alone in its falsifications and entrenched misogyny.

PWOC stems from the Stalinist/Maoist tradition which insults women with proclamations that the unequal nuclear family is a "revolutionary unit" and that Soviet and Chinese women are totally equal to their menfolk.

PWOC also echoes most of the Trotskyist left. The condescending Socialist Workers Party considers women's liberation a trivial adjunct to the labor movement. And Spartacist League still screams that feminism is reactionary and bourgeois.

All the left that is male-dominated is infected with the cancer of male chauvinism and clings desperately to the aristocracy of labor—privileged white males who will have to be pried loose from their stuffy conservatism by the militance of class-conscious women, people of color and gay workers.

Revolutionary feminism

The Freedom Socialist Party does not share the prejudices or perspective of these radical sexists. World socialism will wipe out all the roots of woman's bondage, but *the fight for that liberation must develop on this side of the barricades*. And the deep divisions within the proletariat will only be healed with the aid of a revolutionary program that stresses the cardinal issues of sexism and racism.

A working class that discriminates can't lead anyone and neither can sexist radicals.

The most oppressed section of the working class, working women of color, will be out front in the fight for a socialist feminist society. They will insure that all workers win their freedom in the process of revolutionary change. Even the likes of PWOC and other male chauvinist radicals will benefit from socialism—no matter how far behind they have trailed and how much treachery they have perpetrated in the surge of the female have-nots against the pillars of capital. □

Constance Scott, National Organizer for Radical Women, lives in San Francisco and is active in the feminist and gay movements.

RADICAL

WOMEN is the nation's first socialist feminist organization, revolutionary wing of the women's movement, and feminist vanguard of the left. Immersed in the daily struggle against racism, sexism, antigay bigotry, and labor exploitation, Radical Women's impressive record validates its view that the woman question is decisive to the world revolution. **Join us.**

DIRECTORY

ALASKA

Juneau: P.O. Box 1325, Juneau, AK 99802.
907-586-1617.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles: 744 1/2 S. Sycamore Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90038. 213-935-8638.
San Francisco/Berkeley: P.O. Box 31634, San Francisco, CA 94131. 415-824-1497.

NEW YORK

New York City: 301 W. 17th St., #2E, New York, NY 10011. 212-929-0210.

OREGON

Portland: 1112 N.E. Tillamook, Portland, OR 97212.
503-249-0708.

WASHINGTON

Seattle: 6019 S. Redwing, Seattle, WA 98116.
206-723-8923.

Spokane: W. 3005 Boone, Spokane, WA 99210.
509-327-6975.

Grays Harbor: P.O. Box 1104, Aberdeen, WA 98520.
206-532-0452.

A c o n v e r s a t i o n w i t h



Nellie Wong & Merle Woo,



p o e t - r a d i c a l s

Merle Woo and Nellie Wong are gifted Asian American poets, affiliated with the Women Writers Union and Unbound Feet, two groups of San Francisco/Bay Area feminist writers. Woo teaches Asian American studies at the University of California at Berkeley. Wong is an executive secretary and San Francisco organizer of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party. Karen Brodine, San Francisco poet and organizer of Radical Women, does the interview.

Karen: Growing up as Asian Americans, what experiences moved you toward socialism and feminism?

Merle: The way I saw my father treated; he was an Asian grocery store clerk who didn't speak English well. Any work white men didn't want to do—low-paid labor such as laundry and cooking—Asian immigrants did. The men were consequently stereotyped as "women," supposedly obsequious, passive, and obliging. They were victims of racism and sexism.

I also felt the same powerful self-contempt that was drilled into my mother who was raised in a missionary home for Korean orphans. Her religion taught her it was evil to be Korean, evil to be a woman.

And I saw racism at school. The nuns said, "Pray for Merle, her parents are pagans," and they'd ask us, "Why don't you all go back to Chinatown?"

Nellie: For my part, I grew up insulated in Oakland's Chinatown, and didn't directly encounter racism until I entered Oakland High School which was largely white and middle class. I went into cultural shock. Other students had clothes and cars, but as the children of immigrants, we were different. We looked shabby. The class differences were very naked.

My parents couldn't afford an education for us all. My sisters had to work as waitresses and fight to go to school. It was assumed that my brother would go.

I, myself, have been a clerical worker for thirty years. I know that without clericals, Corporate America would come crashing down.

Karen: When did you first see yourselves as political persons?

Nellie: When I began writing poems, I realized I had definite ideas. My first professor told me I was "bitter, bitter." Luckily I met strong women who said I had a right to write angry poems. Once a young Chicana wept to hear "When I Was Growing Up," which is about the way media images make us all want to be white.

Merle: Teaching made me politically

aware, fast. The Educational Opportunity Program doesn't serve as many as it should; I learned how education is mostly for the few privileged people, how students are put down, how propaganda molds our experience.

Going to the Women Writers Union was the beginning of self-affirmation. I saw that my experience was necessary to others—that's why the word socialism is beautiful. It's a social thing we are doing—writing with other people and yet it's still ours. The images flow back and forth.

I learned that we have no choices under the white ruling class. The Chinese were brought in right after the Civil War because cheap labor was needed. Coolie labor versus

slave labor! It's still the same.

The true oppression of Asians in America is glossed over. Racism is reserved for Blacks and whites; we're used as buffers. Years ago, when my brother was in the South, he didn't know where *he* was supposed to sit in the bus. In affirmative action, Asians aren't really included.

Karen: What problems have you found in the mass movements?

Nellie: Sexism and racism. For Asians, in particular, there's invisibility; when we talk it's as if people don't hear us. I'm active and vocal—abrasive, aggressive and assertive—but I'm treated as if white women put words in my mouth. And there's invisibility in the feminist community—if I talk about class and race,

then petty-bourgeois feminists think I'm not "sticking to the subject."

Merle: And at the recent Left-Write conference, Nellie's speech was ignored not only out of racism and sexism, but because she was too radical for them. Robert Chrisman, publisher of *Black Scholar*, who is sexist and homophobic, called for Third World unity above all—women could wait. Judy Grahn talked about "using lesbian separatism as a tool." That didn't scare them. But when a Third World woman talked about socialist feminism, about getting together and fighting everything together, and reminded them that sexism was at the heart of the system—*that* scared them.

There are similar divisions on campus and in the Asian American community. The liberals are homophobic and sexist: they discount our group, Unbound Feet, call us "over-emotional" when we make critical, radical statements. And they avoid struggle; they refused to protest the Charlie Chan film because they didn't want "controversy"!

Karen: You've said, "Yellow feminists are at the core of change." Please explain.

Merle: We're fighting every single thing that has kept us down as women of color. The exploitation of all Yellow immigrants—that's race and class. And sexism cuts across everything, all over the world, and it goes very deep. Connecting these struggles means a lifelong commitment to ending the divisions, and the only way Yellow feminists can achieve this unity is through revolution—through socialism.

Nellie: When you're a worker and a woman of color, you better understand the dynamics of capitalism. You know why they want you to feel small, insecure, insignificant, with no identity. As women leaders, we're fighting for a collective goal, not just our individual careers.

Merle: We turn self-contempt into something else—into contempt for racism and sexism and class oppression, all those things that produced the self-contempt. We move out of individualism and work with people, help make them into leaders, because we need everybody.

Nellie: It's adversity, being in the heat of the struggle, that moves us forward. Fighting gives me back my energy.

Clara Fraser says, "We belong to the world." True. As Asian American socialist feminists, we never stop explaining and showing women and radicals and people of color how to work together. We keep breaking through the stereotypes. □

Yellow Woman Speaks

Shadow become real; follower become leader;
mouse turned sorcerer —

In a red sky, a darker beast lies waiting,
her teeth, once hidden, now unsheathed swords.

Yellow woman, a revolutionary, speaks:

"They have mutilated our genitals, but I will
restore them;

I will render our shames and praise them,
Our beauties, our mothers:

Those young Chinese whores on display in barracoons;
the domestics in soiled aprons;
the miners, loggers, railroad workers
holed up in Truckee in winters.

I will create armies of their descendants.

And I will expose the lies and ridicule
the impotence of those who have called us

chink
yellow-livered
slanted cunts
exotic

in order to abuse and exploit us.

And I will destroy them."

Abrasive teacher, incisive comedian,
Painted Lady, dark domestic —
Sweep minds' attics; burnish our senses;
keep house, make love, wreak vengeance.

MERLE WOO

Clara Fraser's legal marathon with city

The First 7 Years



You can fight city hall—if you persevere and get a lot of help from your friends. Clara does, on both counts. The “progressive” city of Seattle, unmoved by her vindication by the Human Rights Department and a City Hearing Examiner, relentlessly engages in punitive and expensive legal maneuvering to stall Superior Court review of her sex and political ideology discrimination case. But they will not prevail.

BY MONICA HILL

Seattle City Light fired Clara Fraser on a late Friday afternoon in 1975 because she was a formidable critic of management duplicity and a socialist feminist who disdained to conceal her politics. Seven years after she filed her first complaint against them in 1974, Fraser still seeks justice in one of the most bitterly contested and absurdly prolonged labor-management contests in history.

City Light is one of the largest public utilities in the nation, and the interests of its bosses are served by a host of attorneys and politicians who work overtime at slandering and deflecting Fraser. Their mission is to discredit her and freedom of the political issue at stake—*freedom of speech on the job*.

Confronting the city fathers are Fraser, her untiring attorneys Valerie A. Carlson and Frederick W. Hyde, Jr., her defense committee coordinator Sara Marsh, and a broad-based phalanx of supporters who first weathered victory and then defeat in a 40-day administrative hearing which spanned the first five months of 1980.

Now the Fraser team is slogging through more long months of legal battles over who shall pay for the hearing transcript, and this unprecedented dispute has delayed the superior court hearing of Fraser's appeal.

**Hear
Monica Hill
on her
West Coast
Tour
“Revolutionary
Feminism and the
Reaganesque '80s”**

Portland: Sat., May 23, 8:00 pm. Dinner 7:00 pm.
2831 N.E. Union. 249-1710 or 249-0708.

San Francisco: Saturday, May 30. 824-1497.

Los Angeles: Saturday, June 6. 935-8638.

Monica Hill is an FS writer on Mid-east affairs, past president of United Workers Union-Independent, and former national coordinator of Clara Fraser defense work.

Courtroom merry-go-round

Fraser appealed on August 8, 1980. She also filed a complaint for declaratory judgement, stating that the decision of panelists Darlene Allison and Beverly Stanton was invalid because (1) they were not an impartial panel of her peers, and (2) numerous procedural irregularities occurred during the hearing process that violated her due process and equal protection rights.

The purpose of the complaint for declaratory judgement was to achieve a simple and speedy resolution of the case. But in the Superior Court hearing on September 4, Judge Eugene Cushing brusquely agreed with the City Attorney that Fraser had to wait for a trial on her main appeal to get a decision on these matters.

The appeal process has been stalled ever since in the wake of tortuous legal maneuvers orchestrated by the City Attorney's office.

“The city stands its basic case against Clara won't stand up in court,” says co-attorney Hyde, “so they're concentrating on procedural matters to block the main case.”

The city wants to burden Fraser with an impossible \$10,000-\$15,000 cost of transcribing the hearing. Fraser, black-listed from well-paying jobs since her firing, hasn't got the money. But she does have an excellent transcript, prepared daily during the original hearing. Superior Court Judge T. Patrick Corbett, however, conceded to the city on September 23, 1980 that the city could prepare a new, expensive transcript for which Fraser should pay.

Fraser moved on two fronts. She filed an indigency plea, requesting a hearing on the matter. And when the city demanded she pay the transcriber immediately, she requested Judge Corbett to modify his ruling.

On December 18, 1980, Corbett did order the city to pay, pending final outcome of the case.

Two weeks later, on December 30, the city moved for reconsideration. Judge Frank Sullivan heard the case on January 29, 1981 and rejected the city's plea. Fraser tabled her indigency plea.

A month later, on February 24, the city appealed the two adverse decisions to the Court of Appeals, and the hearing was held on April 24.

The court hasn't yet decided whether to allow the appeal.

So much for swift justice from the courts, structured as they are on a crazy chessboard system that keeps the litigation game going endlessly.

Free speech: use it or lose it

In a political climate where repression of workers is chillingly reinforced by the state juggernaut, Clara's case assumes even more ringing immediacy.

She has won strong endorsements and urgently needed financial help from an impressively wide array of supporters representing every movement for social change: labor, civil liberties, feminist, Black, Chicano, Native American, Asian American, lesbian/gay, ecology, elders, tenants, artists, novelists and poets.

As one Fraser Defense Committee member said,

People opposed to the rise of neo-Nazi politics must be able

to speak out. If we lose the right to free speech, we lose democracy, and fascism takes over.

That's why we're determined to fight this case, and win.

How it all began

Clara Fraser was Education Coordinator at City Light under former Superintendent Gordon Vickery, whose dictatorial regime provoked a mass walk-out and mayoralty-recall campaign in 1974. The walkout infuriated Vickery and then-Mayor Wes Uhlman.

They found a scapegoat in Fraser, who was a leader and public spokesperson for the strikers, the chairperson of their negotiating committee to draft an employee Bill of Rights, and a hard-hitting witness who testified against management before a Public Review Committee on Vickery's practices.

An outraged Vickery soon terminated the special pre-placement training for a novel Electrical Trades Trainee program for women that was coordinated by Fraser, and for the next year he harassed Fraser and the ten ETTs,

Management über alles

City Light presented the standard discredited defense in a human rights case—put the complainant on trial.

Trumped-up charges materialized five years after the fact. Fraser, it seems, was not only “too radical, incompetent, abrasive, vituperative and manipulative,” she was also criminally liable for “rifling” desks, “stealing” city money, falsifying contracts, evading income tax payment, and, it was darkly hinted, rattling Vickery's garbage pails in the middle of the night.

The other prong of City Light's case was a demagogic insistence on management's absolute prerogative to run things and people any way it sees fit. At City Light, of course, it meant torpeding employee rights and affirmative action, and punishing whoever protested.

Fraser was depicted as a devil who single-handedly disrupted the system and posed a lethal threat to the American way of management.

Seattle television commentator Don McGaffin of KING-TV (NBC) had a



Clara has become a popular speaker at labor events. Here she addresses members of the Inland boatmen's Union.

finally firing eight of them. (They subsequently won their case and were reinstated. Many went on to become journeyman electricians.)

He also launched a redbaiting campaign against her and circulated her FBI file. But Clara continued to speak out. After a year of maneuvers, Vickery finally resorted to the stratagem of a “budget cut” and fired Fraser suddenly, without notice.

Fraser has already been twice vindicated legally. In 1977, after lengthy investigation of her complaint, the Seattle Human Rights Department declared that City Light had indeed discriminated against Fraser on the basis of her political ideology and sex.

But almost three years went pass before the case came to hearing, years of city roadblocks. Finally, in June 1980, after examining mountains of documents, testimonial evidence from the 8-week hearing, and *amicus curiae* briefs by the ACLU and National Lawyers Guild and two feminist attorneys who are experts in discrimination law, Hearing Examiner Sally Pasette concurred that the utility had violated the city's Fair Employment Practices Ordinance by discriminating politically against her.

trenchant comment on this Kafkaesque trial:

This is a terrible and ugly hearing . . . When City Light rose up against . . . Gordon Vickery in 1974, Fraser was an outspoken critic of Vickery, and then-Mayor Wes Uhlman. And that's what this really is all about. Vickery and Uhlman are tough, unrelenting politicians. The workers at City Light, and Fraser, went out for their jobs and lost. What followed is something called political retribution—vengeance.

Fraser's witnesses, who were blue-collar workers, clericals, professionals, technicians, middle-management, and even a few upper-management executives who had left City Light, provided stunning proof of this vengeance. One by one, they exposed top management's repertoire of dirty tricks in the drive to get Fraser.

Fraser countered the lies of the bosses with truth. When she was unexpectedly asked by the City Light lawyer to describe her political ideology, she was happy to do so:

hall



I am a socialist feminist. I believe we live in a corrupt, vicious and doomed society . . . I believe that the source of sexism, racism, despair, and the wanton destruction of the earth is to be found in the nature of the system, which is based on the production of goods and services for profit, and not human needs. I believe we need a socialist system to replace capitalism—we need an economic and a political democracy. I believe it is necessary for workers to go on strike for their rights, and for the most exploited and helpless among us—women, minorities, and gays—to organize for their sur-



addresses striking Janet Sutherland/FS

vival. And I believe that these are political acts . . . Hearing Examiner Sally Pasette found the weight of evidence in favor of Fraser. Although she failed to find sex as well as political discrimination, her June 21, 1980 ruling catapulted Fraser to the threshold of legal victory.

Biased jurors

One month later, two of the three city-appointed hearing panelists overruled the Hearing Examiner. Ignoring the evidence, discounting the law, and scorning the strong dissent of the one Black panelist, they found City Light innocent of everything but exercising *enough* management prerogative! They pronounced Fraser guilty of "in-subordinate" disagreement with management policies.

Wrote Fraser:

These two panelists, with no expertise in law, no commitment to equal opportunity and affirmative action laws, and no comprehension whatsoever of the world of labor-management relations, have done what no court of law could do, and what no legislation would accomplish without ratification by three-fourths of the 50 states. They have in effect abolished the First Amendment of the United States Constitution.

Fraser's appeal challenges the way the two panelists were chosen and their unfounded conclusions of law.

The presidents of the Human Rights Commission and the Women's Commission failed to follow their own rules in making the appointments. The Women's Commission president did not take the precautions against conflict of interest, bias or prejudice, and appointed two jurors whose pro-management connections and sympathies became obvious as the hearing unfolded.

Said Fraser's attorney Valerie Carlson, "The two panelists lacked the background and competence to understand the problems of working mothers. It was a jury stacked with two women who are not workers, not feminists, not socialists, not advocates of affirmative action, and have no history of support for labor or civil rights."

Loyalty Day

In response to the city's callous roadblocking of the case, Fraser's defense committee performed heroically.

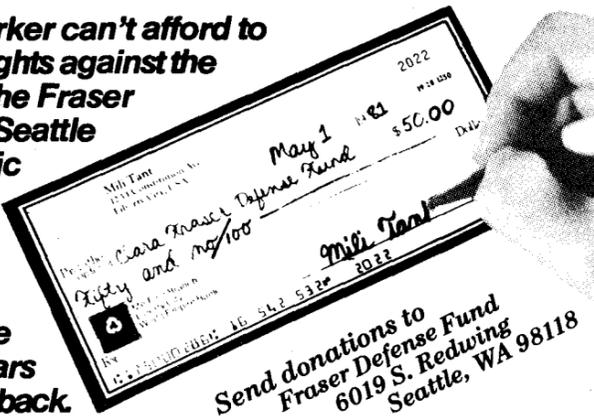
A successful information campaign was launched by the United Feminist Front to break through an initial press blackout of the 1980 hearing. And the defense committee has continued to win publicity, build support, raise money, and assist in the legal defense.

Said an enthused supporter, "We wanted to show that people can and must fight back and win."

It is especially important for radicals to win. The hearing record shows that Vickery had described Fraser as a dynamic training person. He even told one witness, "If she was as loyal to me as she is to Karl Marx, I'd rehire her." The point is he had no right to persecute her in the first place because political loyalties are not supposed to be ordained by bosses. Clara's allegiances are her own affair. □

How much is Free Speech worth?

An individual worker can't afford to fight for human rights against the government. In the Fraser case, the City of Seattle joggles up public money for a platoon of lawyers and endless capricious court actions. We rely on your dollars to help Clara fight back.



Free speech roundup Fired workers demand their rights

Sharman Haley beats Alaskan officials

Public employees have the right to express their political beliefs, according to a Superior Court decision in Juneau, Alaska in January.

This legal victory followed a 1½ year struggle by research analyst Sharman Haley to appeal her firing by Alaska's Legislative Affairs Agency.

Haley, a socialist feminist, lost her job in March 1979 for joining a lunch-hour demonstration to protest the control of multinational corporations over the Alaskan economy. Organized by the Common Ground Collective and Alaskans for Democratic Resource Management, demonstrators demanded higher taxes on multinationals, cancellations of further oil and gas lease sales, and more environmental impact study of mining and open-sea oil drilling.

The protesters also called for "public ownership and democratic control over all [Alaskan] productive resources" and for "democratic workers' self-management at every workplace."

Haley's boss charged her with violation of a statute which barred staff from participating in "partisan" activity. Haley appealed to the Legislative Council on the grounds of having been denied freedom of speech, and the Council reinstated her with back pay—but simultaneously re-fired her because of "lack of confidence."

Haley fought back. She filed suit and roused public attention. Alaska's largest newspaper, the *Anchorage Times*, applauded the firing in an editorial titled "Socialism in Juneau" and warned about socialists "infiltrating" state government. But the *Anchorage Daily News* ran a pro-Haley cartoon, and a barrage of letters to the editor supported freedom of speech for workers and Haley's right to her job.



Sharman Haley

After months of litigation, cover-ups and sexist attacks by the state, Superior Court District Judge Thomas B. Stewart ruled in Haley's favor. Declaring the initial firing to be unconstitutional, he said that Haley's right to free speech "outweighs any threat to the government interest." He also found the second firing "specious . . . thoroughly tainted with the unconstitutional initial firing . . . a shallow attempt to rectify [their] initial mistake." But he denied Haley's claim to lack of due process in being terminated without a hearing because, he said, no loss of property or liberty was involved.

Haley believes firmly that the decision sets an important precedent for other free speech fights across the country. Not only is it a victory for employees without union protection and for outspoken radicals, "it's certainly a vindication of an employee's right to say what she wants on her lunch hour."

Haley's lost pay and employment with the legislature have not yet been restored pending possible appeal by the state and a separate legal process to determine damages. □

Andrea Canaan vs. Louisiana

Andrea Canaan is suing the state of Louisiana for the freedom to speak out on lesbian/gay issues on the job. Hired in 1979 to coordinate Louisiana's Women and Employment program, Canaan initiated training and placement for women in nontraditional trades. During one staff meeting, Canaan stated that her strong commitment to the program came from her experiences as a Black lesbian feminist.

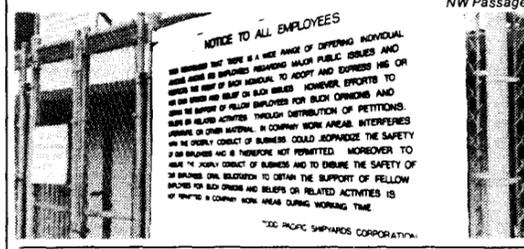
A month later, after being fired from Canaan's staff, an ex-employee retaliated with charges of sexual harassment and quoted Canaan's statement in her charges. Within two weeks, Canaan was fired on trumped-up accusations of incompetence and misuse of state facilities and equipment.

Canaan's bid for an injunction against her firing was dismissed by the judge without allowing the basic issues of free speech, due process, lesbianism, and minority rights to be addressed. Canaan is appealing this decision.

"I am committed to going as far as we can with this issue," she states. "I believe in its importance—we must have examples of struggle."

Letters and donations may be sent to: Canaan vs. Louisiana, c/o ACLU, 606 Common St., New Orleans, LA 70130. □

Shipyard militants fight back



Seattle's Todd Shipyards fired three workers last January for distributing flyers that commemorated Martin Luther King's birthday and his role as a labor leader. A week later, Todd fired three others for leafleting in protest of the earlier firings.

The fired employees had distributed their leaflets before work hours in a non-work area.

The six victims—two Black women, two Black men, one white woman and one white man—are members of Seattle United Trades Committee, a rank-and-file group that supports affirmative action and union democracy, and exposes the rampant racism, sexism, and safety hazards at Todd.

Management has since posted signs prohibiting discussion of social or political issues on the job, and plainclothes cops recently photographed people attending a Todd Six support rally.

The six have filed grievances with their unions and are organizing labor and community support. Send letters and contributions to SUTC, Box 335, Seattle, WA 98111. □

Government harasses radicals

The government war against radicals rages on in court and in Congress.

Defending itself against a suit brought in March by the Socialist Workers Party, the government claimed the right to harass, spy on, blacklist, and deport people who have not committed crimes but who advocate revolutionary change.

The SWP suit has exposed decades of abuse, including FBI fingering of radical workers to employers, as in the recent firings of nine SWP members at Georgia Lockheed and five at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. The Lockheed workers are still fighting to be rehired.

Congress, meanwhile, may pass the Blitz Amendment, which would blacklist and deny federal jobs or training "to anyone who publicly advocates the violent overthrow of the government." This measure, named for the two Communist Workers Party members at whom it was originally aimed, was narrowly defeated last session.

For information on the Blitz Amendment: Campaign for Political Rights, 201 Massachusetts Ave. N.E., Washington, DC 20001. □

—HELEN GILBERT

BLACK POLITICS IN THE YEAR OF

ATLANTA



Twenty-seven children are dead and dozens are missing in Atlanta, Georgia. And this epidemic of crime-horror against Blacks has sent shock waves throughout the Black community nationwide. Fear, grief and anger are smoldering over the ingrained social injustice these wanton murders epitomize.

Yet Black leadership lags far behind the outraged, radical mood of the Black working class.

Not since the assassination of Malcolm X and the FBI liquidation of the Black Panther Party has the official Black leadership been so inadequate, so lacking in response and direction.

Forced by the outcry from grassroots Blacks, Atlanta's officials, police, and the FBI undertook a secretive investigation into the murders—one year late. Then they blamed the victims. They accused the young of curfew violations and questioned the "moral fiber" of tenement youth. But these same dignitaries refused to explore KKK involvement.

Atlanta's Blacks, disgusted with the passivity of their spokespeople, resorted to arming themselves and to self-defense patrols. Four militants were arrested and labeled "vigilantes" by the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Mayor Maynard Jackson (a Black renowned for firing 900 striking sanitation workers in the '70s).

What the Black leadership *has* done is to deflect criticism by red-baiting the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party for "using" the

slayings "to promote their ideology in Black neighborhoods and increasing heated racial tensions."

Camille Bell, mother of one of the victims, isn't fooled. "*The problem*," she says, "*is the Blacks who feel they have made it and no longer choose to remember that they're Black—to remember that the real powers in this country see us as niggers.*"

Nationally, the majority of Black male leaders mirror the middleclass, moderate leadership in Atlanta. They know that liberalism is no answer. But they fear a unity of all the oppressed because this could be revolutionary. And the Andrew Young-Julian Bond-Jessie Jackson elite is more concerned with preserving their own male, middleclass privileges than with ending institutionalized racism and the institutions that promote it and benefit from it.

Black cultural nationalism, *which excludes class struggle*, is on the rise. Black nationalist Bobby Wright, a Chicago psychologist, is busy putting down the revolutionary, independent Black woman. He labels author Michele Wallace as sick and suicidal because she decries Black and white sexism and calls for Black unity in *Black Macho and the Myth of the Super-Woman*. And Black lesbians and gays, he announces, are reactionary contributors to the genocide of the race. This is the ideology of Stokely Carmichael and the Black United Front, and it can only lead its followers to cultural, social, and

economic destruction.

Another source of pernicious inaction is from those white "revolutionaries" who, through their own guilt or miseducation or opportunism, fail to criticize the useless reformism, dead-end nationalism, and destructive sexism within the Black movement. All too many white radicals submissively hold that racism is the only important ("primary") oppression, that other forms of oppression are a secondary nuisance, and that the "white European" must only tag after the prevailing Black ideology.

No matter. Nothing can destroy the class struggle reflexes and militant potential of the Black community in meeting head-on the terrible challenge of the '80s—bare-bones survival against race, sex, and class exploitation. *Black history is revolutionary history, and Black revolt is the key to the history of this country.*

A new radical leadership composed of the most oppressed and most courageous is being built from the ground up. Black women and Black lesbians and gays are already prominent in this rising power; they form the vital link necessary to unite the Black movement in revolutionary struggle with other oppressed people. And this is a struggle not just for survival, but for justice and power.

Support armed self-defense in Atlanta!

—TOM BOOT

Fighting words on the humanity of Marxism

BY GUERRY HODDERSEN AND CLARA FRASER

Thousands of participants in the Black Hills International Survival Gathering last summer heard American Indian Movement leader Russell Means issue a twofold denunciation. In a speech titled "Fighting Words on the Future of the Earth," he denounced corporate America's establishment of "national sacrifice areas" for uranium mining on Indian land. And in the same breath, he blistered Marxism for a single-minded interest in "material gain."

Marxism, he said, is a European doctrine which "despises the American Indian spiritual tradition and culture" and advocates "national sacrifice of our homelands."

"Those who advocate and defend the realities of European culture and its industrialization are my enemies," he said. Capitalists only rape the earth "at the rate at which they can show a profit," but Marxists do it because it's "efficient," and this is due to the European, materialist origins of Marxism.

Said Means, "I do not believe that capitalism is responsible for American Indians having been declared a national sacrifice. No, it is the European tradition . . . Marxism is just the latest continuation of this tradition, not a solution to it."

Marxism is universal

The charge that Marxists are only interested in "material gain" echoes the capitalist class itself and the anti-naturalist, idealist philosophers who deliberately confuse materialism with greed, insensitivity and disdain for "higher" values.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Marxism, above all, is a creed of humanism, a call for sharing and caring, and a product of love for people, beauty and truth.

Yes, Marxism comes from Europe—and also from classical Greece, and Mideast and Arabic science, and African tribalism.

It reveres the ancient social forms and lifestyle of American Indians (Engels wrote a whole book about it, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*). Marxists have never advocated sacrifice of Indian homelands but have always endorsed tribal sovereignty.

Marxists do not rape the earth and do not worship efficiency at the expense of people and nature.

It is not European tradition, whatever that is, but *U.S. capitalism* that commits genocide against Native Americans, Means' apologetics for Wall Street notwithstanding.

And "Indian spiritual tradition" can mean many things to different tribes. Indeed, many Indians are Christians, yet Christianity has nothing in common with the ancient culture. Almost all of the original culture has been twisted and degraded and lost in the maelstrom of 400 years of capitalist oppression and the imposition of bourgeois culture. Indians, for example, were once matriarchal; descent was reckoned in the female line. Yet today sexism, and anti-gay bigotry, are often called Indian traditions!

The only universal and absolute feature of tribal culture was economic communism. It was the basis for political democracy; the high status of women, elders and youth; the advanced level of the natural sciences; and the nature-based, *materialist* outlook. *The same features that identify Marxism!*

These bold ideas make Marxism the anathema of the ruling class. It has become the powerful tool of the oppressed in the struggle to overthrow capitalism—first in Europe, where the modern industrial working class first emerged, and later around the globe, in Asia, Africa, and Latin and North America.

Beloved enemies

Means' wholesale labeling of European thought as "genocidal" is an untrue abstraction.

He seems unaware of the actual history of Europe, with its eventual division into two warring classes. Hence, he misunderstands and distorts the struggle

of antagonistic ideas which reflects the class struggle. Surely, Means must know that it is not industrialization per se, but *privately owned and controlled* technology that destroys the earth, the working class, and indigenous peoples.

And he must know that Marxism is not a "continuation" of "European imperialism" but its sworn antithesis, with a long and honorable record of negating and expropriating the capitalist expropriator.

As for "Marxist imperialism," there is no such thing. Even the Stalinist Soviet bureaucracy is not "imperialist" because it doesn't represent finance capital, permit private investments, inherit wealth, or enrich anyone personally through its foreign or domestic policy. There is no capitalism and no capitalist class in the USSR; "imperialism" is the expansionist policy of *finance capital*, which doesn't exist in the USSR.

Means should not make identities out of differences, and buddies out of mortal enemies. This could spell disaster for AIM.

Cultural-nationalist pitfalls

The great dividing line in capitalist America is not between "spiritual" Indian and "anti-spiritual" European-Marxists, or between Indians and Europeans.

The real battle line lies between capitalists (of all colors) and the oppressed (of all colors).

By adopting the reactionary, cultural-nationalist line that secondary, "porkchop" traditions are more important than class issues, and that everything Indian is good and everything European is bad, Means seriously deflects his struggle away from the corporations and the government, and opens fire instead on his actual and natural allies, the radicals.

By trading-in revolutionary politics for narrow cultural nationalism, Means turns away from the struggle for real national sovereignty. The banks and giant industries have made it abundantly clear that only the total destruction of Indian nations will satisfy their hunger for the wealth on Indian lands. Only Marxists hold to the principle of the Native American right to self-determination—to total autonomy or alliance with other nations, as they so decide.

Only Marxists will fight to defend Indian nationalism and internationalism. Means' ill-tempered speech undermines the very international solidarity so crucial to winning political self-determination for Indian nations.

to page 15

BOOK REVIEW

The political economy of fat

Fat is a Feminist Issue, by Susie Orbach. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Publishing, 1979, paperback, 203 pages, \$2.25.

The feminist movement has been restoring self-esteem to women for years now. But I'm still jolted occasionally by the recognition of just how far our movement's horizons extend. Reading **Fat is a Feminist Issue** by Susie Orbach supplies one of those jolts.

At first, I thought it was a new diet book (I used to read at least one a month). I discovered instead a virtual manifesto that profoundly expands the parameters of women's rights.

Orbach refuses to blame women for being weak-willed. She denounces the sexist system that defines the perfect woman—and drives the rest of us into the dreary cycle of frenetic binging and desperate dieting. She proclaims women's right to learn from their own bodies how to eat.

The book is a self-help guide for women who are compulsive eaters—those who eat out of sync with hunger and worry constantly about food.

Most women know the pattern well. Faced with a problem, we automatically reach for food. But when we've eaten, we then have *two* problems. Not only do we still have an article to write, or a closet to clean, we must listen as well to our own mental barrage about our fat, ugly, self-indulgent, disgraceful, slobby selves.

But don't despair: the pattern can be broken. Orbach furnishes a *political* perspective and some useful analytical tools to use in digging through the myriad factors surrounding compulsive eating. From infancy, says the author, women are taught to use food as a cure-all for unhappiness, boredom, anxiety, loneliness and self-hate. If it hurts, eat chocolate cake. Eating becomes a mode, however maladaptive, of coping with life. Add society's dictum that we must all be perfect "10s" and the trap is slammed shut.

Orbach encourages women to take their lives into their own hands, to be sensitive to their bodies' true needs, to distinguish between true hunger and a compulsive desire to eat, and then to learn what and how much to eat.

We must refuse to let the media, medical professionals, or crackpot diet book writers perpetuate the unnatural separation between body and mind that the culture forces on us. There are no weight charts or calorie/carbohydrate counters in this book; instead, there is encouragement to live your life for *now*, not for when you're thin. Buy new clothes—that fit *now*! Make friends with that person in the mirror. If you don't like yourself fat, you won't like yourself thin either!

The author points out that the definite advantages of being fat tend to reinforce compulsive eating. One advantage is the comfortable habit of implicitly demanding that the world like "the real" you underneath all that girth, but this can present a problem when a woman loses weight. When women switch bodies in mid-stream, they are suddenly perceived and treated differently; the stress can push many right back into the old safety patterns—and the old weight.

The thesis that eating and body size are issues causing women to live in a constant state of inner psychological warfare is a sound one. A debilitating self-consciousness is engendered that affects a woman's entire life. Unfortunately, however, the book stops with this insight.

While Orbach acknowledges the need to change society, she only offers advice on how to cope personally with the cultural pressure. She is good on individual solutions, but neglects the underlying, causative matter of the basic social upheaval necessary to confer equality on women and eliminate their massive insecurities.

Orbach, the liberal, files one disclaimer: she did her research only among white women, hence Black and Latin women may find that themes significant to them are not addressed. Actually, all women, regardless of color, suffer from job and social discrimination based on weight, and all are assaulted by the same media bombardment about the acceptable thin body, and Aryan features. The white bourgeois culture in the U.S. actually doubles the social and emotional jeopardy of women of color.

Orbach has a valid and important theory, but she herself fails to recognize its full extent and implications. She calls on us to change the way in which we relate to the system, but our only hope is to change the system itself. She ends up depositing us—slim, self-confident and accepting—right back into the lap of the monster that was engineered to defeat and control and demoralize us in the first place.

Fat is clearly a feminist issue, but feminism is a political issue—and a revolutionary one at heart. A lot of rebelliousness against the capitalist stereotype of female charm smolders within fat women, and fat women are not all helpless victims. They can be wonderful fighters with considerable self-respect. In the final analysis, the most attractive woman is the one who is, above all, in touch with the body of humanity.

—LAURIE MORTON

Laurie Morton is FSP organizer in New York City and drives a bus.



Clara Fraser

A tale of two torrents

1981 HAS BEEN one long trauma, one of those watershed threshold-of-the-decade years that makes you approach the morning paper, the mail and the clamoring telephone with mingled dread and hope.

The gruesome, lingering deaths of Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes are reason enough for rage—rage at No. 10 Downing Street and those British stooges, the Protestant bourgeoisie in Ulster.

The agony of El Salvador, a postage stamp-size, corpse-strewn nation, puts Dante's inferno to shame.

The strange and bitter crop of young Black bodies harvested from the bloody soil of Georgia tells us more about depravity than many of us ever wanted to know.

Coat-hanger abortions are back in government vogue, a credit to the unwavering jellybean geniality of our assassination-prone president. That's how much he and his oligarchy of bionic politicians care about women.

Billie Jean King, heroine of womansports, is sued for palimony by a woman friend. Billie Jean defends the love that spoke its name, but apologizes to the world for—adultery. Thanks a lot, Billie Jean.

WHAT'S NEW IN the labor movement? Don't ask. You'd think Joe McCarthy, the lord high inquisitor of commies, had been untimely resurrected. Ultra-patriotic, boss-fondling union bureaucrats are coping with the restless ranks by the time-dishonored tactic of scapegoating reds as the reason for lousy contracts and management prerogatives run riot. These labor officials resort to heavy metal sounds to drown out the real melody—the music of a labor movement organized by the very radicals these piecards harrumph about.

Some of the cultural nationalists are also spewing venom about Marxism, which is "alien" and not a verified cultural artifact of their heritage. Capitalism, however, is just dandy, simply innate to the culture. Their only criticism of green power is that they haven't got any. And this state of unfairness is basically due to women—color them white—who gobble up all the good jobs. As for ho-mo-sex-u-als, please don't make me sick. It was invented by white Europeans.

Tunesmith Tom Lehrer wrote a ditty in the '60s that meticulously documented how Catholics hate the Protestants, whites hate the Blacks, Baptists hate the Lutherans—and everybody hates the Jews. It was hilarious satire then, but today it's universally true. Even non-Zionist Jews feel the fallout of Begin's lifelong compulsion to terrorism against somebody else's submerged nation.

IT'S A NASTY year, filled to overflowing with events that have got to become horror cult classics. But a funny thing is happening on the way to Armageddon.

It's like Dickens said about the French revolutionary period: the worst of times, the best of times. We can never forget that a planet in convulsion means that the human race is in *struggle*, and this is gloriously positive.

The will of the distressed to challenge, overcome and prevail is elemental. Their raw instinct for self-defense in the pursuit of justice has the awesome power of a volcanic phenomenon.

WITNESS THE great comebacks of the people:

In Ireland, the Sinn Fein issues a resounding cry for socialist reunification in the land of the plough and the stars.

Mitterand, a social democrat backed by the communist workers, is elected in France as the stockmarket quivers with the seismic shock.

In Iran, amidst a war, the revolution enlarges and deepens. In Atlanta, Black workers are forming their own militia.

Women are constructing new coalitions to confront the rabid antifeminists.

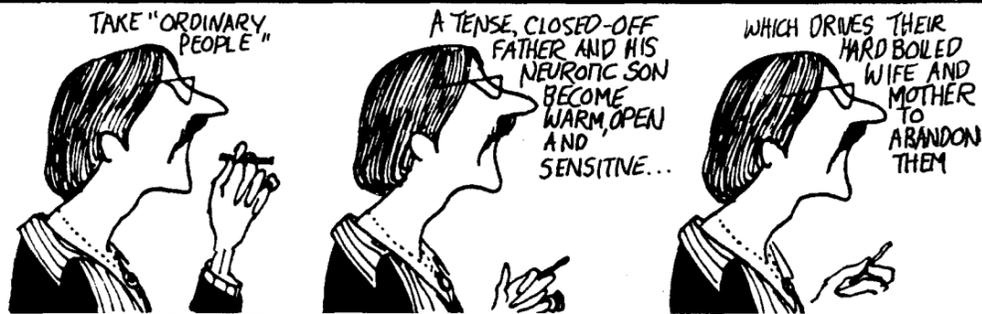
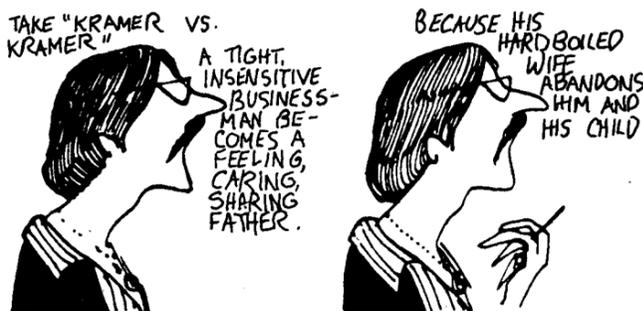
The strike index is rising, rebel caucuses are breaking out in many locals, and the unorganized are stewing. **Nine to Five** notwithstanding, the underlayers of the working class know very well that sadomasochistic pipedreams do not a better future make, and only a union will suffice.

The streets are alive again with the sound of antidraft and anti-imperialist critics who don't want an instant replay of Vietnam. And proponents of social benefits are telling Reagan that his supply-side economics are no demand of theirs.

1981 IS BURSTING with promise. When two torrents clash, the stronger will triumph, and our side bids fair to be the victor because there are so many more of us.

All the omens point toward an invincible tide in human affairs that will wash away the refuse and the torment, and prepare the earth for its first civilization.

FEIFFER





David Fagan, Australian gay leader, visits North America



BY ROBERT CRISMAN

Meet David Fagan. He's the engaging young radical from Down Under who decided one day, as he worked at his library job (unionized, of course), to pay a visit to his Trotskyist co-thinkers in the U.S. and Canada. And Havana. And London, too, why not?

All he needed was the money. So he borrowed and saved and scrimped and finally arrived at San Francisco's Golden Gate in November 1980.

And then for a solid two months he proceeded to dazzle his new-found friends in distant lands with his enthusiasm for New Wave and punk music, his fascination with cities, food, and comradely hospitality, and a most knowledgeable grasp of politics.

A great speaking tour

In New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle, Fagan addressed well-attended public forums with a hard-hitting speech on "Lesbian/Gay Resistance: A Socialist Feminist Perspective."

He also spoke on numerous campuses, including Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island; Portland State University in Oregon; the University of Washington in Seattle; and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

Newspaper, radio, and TV interviews brought his views on socialism, feminism, and lesbian/gay liberation to a vast audience.

Wherever Fagan went, he was met with genuine curiosity about and interest in the Australian struggle. His description of Australian politics and his vivid portrait of Australia struck a familiar chord with North American audiences. The similarity of movements and issues seemed remarkable for countries so widely distant.

Chip off the old block

Colonized by the British in 1770 as a penal settlement, Australia grew to nationhood on the subjugation and attempted genocide of aboriginal Blacks.

Since World War II, the country has developed increasingly close economic and military ties with U.S. imperialism: Australia was a U.S. ally in Vietnam.

Today, the penetration of Australian capital into Southeast Asia makes it an imperialist power in its own right. Which is why Fagan organizes against it.

The value of a Labor Party

Like the U.S., Australia counts itself a bourgeois democracy.

But while U.S. workers remain tied to avowedly capitalist parties, Australian workers are more advanced and are represented by their own party, the Australian Labor Party.

Fagan values the existence of a labor

party in the advance toward socialism, despite the ALP's traditional reformism. The party expresses, he says, "a conscious, independent, workingclass activity, and draws the political line clearly between workers and bosses."

U.S. radicals, he insists, must push for the formation of a labor party here. Working within the ALP gives the Australian left an influence in the labor movement that far outweighs its size, and the same would be true for U.S. radicals. An American labor party led by radicals could well be the springboard to world revolution, he says.

An old sad song

Australian radicals, despite their impact, remain mired in accommodation to reformism, in a dead-end sectarianism, or in virtual abstention from social movements.

Fagan left the Australian Socialist Workers Party in the wake of its wholesale and mechanical "proletarian turn" to the straight, white, male labor aristocracy. Fagan condemns the racism, sexism, and homophobia that paralyze so much of the left in this country, and in Australia as well.

The SWP "turn," he says, was a consummate abandonment of the *majority* of workers who are non-straight, non-white and non-male; the turn marked an open refusal to offer the socialist alternative of solidarity to a divided working class.

New vanguards

Contrasting happily with Fagan's assessment of the left were his examples of explosive struggles reshaping the Australian labor movement.

Australian Blacks, according to Fagan, inspired by the American Black struggle, are mounting a fierce survival battle against the usurpers who stole their homeland. Like Native Americans, they are fighting the government and predatory uranium mining interests for national self-determination and the retention of their land rights.

Growing segments of the working class are taking up the anti-uranium struggle, a fact Fagan attributes to the rise of feminism, which fostered women's leadership in the labor movement. The women are more sensitive to many issues than men are: the Women's Committee of the ALP, unlike the party itself, has come out strongly against uranium mining.

The Women's Committee continually resists easy ALP backsliding on women's and gay rights, and on critical health and safety issues.

Fagan notes the rightwing danger to women in both countries. And he excoriates petty bourgeois feminists who yield to the reaction. "Witnessing this," he says, "makes urgently clear the need to link feminism with socialism."

Lesbian/gay militancy

Fagan points with pride to the in-

creasingly feisty lesbian/gay movement that is beginning to link its struggle with that of Australian women and all the oppressed, and to fight for socialism.

Gay Solidarity, a group Fagan helped found, stands foursquare with the demands of the most oppressed under capitalism, and is spurring activists to link up with lesbians/gays of color throughout Southeast Asia.

The movement has grown beyond the narrow, isolated concerns of the white male gay elite. This was reflected in the National Lesbian/Gay Conference in Sydney in August 1980, where gay Blacks and Asians were represented and more than one-half of the participants were women. The conference theme, "Gays Taking the Offensive," indicates the combative stage of the movement.

A national "Socialism and Homosexuality" conference, held in Melbourne in April, appeared to have great potential, said Fagan.

The gays-and-Cuba question

Fagan's advocacy of a multi-issue and socialist gay movement drew him into controversy over gay Cuban refugees during his public forum in Seattle.

Despite some baiting from the rightward-leaning gay press, Fagan staunchly defended the Cuban revolution against U.S. imperialism without ceasing to lambast gay oppression in Cuba. He says that persecution of gays is part of the Cuban leadership's glorification of the "revolutionary family."

And he carefully distinguishes between Stalinism, the ideology that arose out of Cuba's isolation and poverty, and the socialist benefits that

have lifted Cuba out of the starvation, disease, prostitution, crime and illiteracy that plague capitalist-dominated Latin American countries.

The prime role of U.S. workers

Fagan strongly believes that U.S. workers will break the world stranglehold of capitalism by making a revolution right here at home. Excited support for revolutions abroad is not enough, he says.

He points to the race and sex liberation struggles that have attained their sharpest expression within the U.S. working class and reshaped the international proletarian struggle.

Women, gay, and minority workers in the U.S. will forge an invincible race and sex unity that will sweep divide-and-conquer-capitalism from the face of the pillaged earth, he says, and they constitute a world leadership, an example for all!

A giant leap forward

Fagan's tour was sponsored by CRSP, Radical Women, and the FSP. On the eve of his departure, at a rousing farewell party in Seattle, Fagan won cheers when he announced his intention to join CRSP and the FSP.

"As a gay man," he said, "I recognize that capitalism oppresses all of us in a multi-faceted and interlocking way. The FSP also recognizes this, knows what to do about it and how to do it. I want to end my oppression. That's why I decided to join."

And that's one of the main reasons why you should know comrade David of Sydney, Australia. □

Support
THE FREEDOM
SOCIALIST

Radical Press on Critical List!
Inflation Ranked No. 1 Killer!

Don't let
cost increases
stamp us out!



- Enclosed is \$2 for a 1-year sub, 4 issues. (Institutions \$5)
 Enclosed is \$15 for a 2-year Supporting sub, 8 issues.
 Enclosed is \$50 for a 5-year Sustaining sub and free copy of
 A Victory for Socialist Feminism.
 Enclosed is \$ _____ as a donation.

Name _____ (please print)

Address _____ Phone _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send checks or money orders to Business Manager, *Freedom Socialist*,
 Freeway Hall, 3815 Fifth Avenue N.E., Second Floor West, Seattle, WA 98105.
 Add \$2.50 per year for surface postage outside the United States (allow 6-8 weeks for delivery of overseas mail).
 Add \$7 per year for overseas airmail (allow one week for delivery).

Fresh promise for world Trotskyism

● Dissidents unite at European conference, form Fourth International (International Committee) ● SWP treachery repudiated as delegates affirm classic revolutionary principles ●

BY MURRY WEISS, STEPHEN DURHAM AND DR. SUSAN WILLIAMS

The reconstitution of world Trotskyist forces was the subject. Europe was the place. The World Conference, convened December 19-28, 1980 by the Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International, was the event. And an historic fusion of revolutionary activists—the Fourth International (International Committee)—was the outcome.

150 delegates from 40 countries, representing a force of over 20,000 revolutionaries throughout Africa, Europe, the Americas, and the workers states of Eastern Europe, attended the conference. And three U.S. leaders of CRSP (the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party) were on hand as official observers.

Armed with the powerful lessons of the class struggle in their countries, the participants gathered to formalize the split in the Fourth International, and to work toward a resolution of the leadership crisis in international Trotskyism—a crisis brought about by the opportunism and stiffening bureaucratism of the Socialist Workers Party (USA) and the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the leadership body of Trotskyism.

The conference was a new beginning, a giant effort that had to be made.

Nicaragua was the spark

The newly-formed Fourth International (International Committee)—FI(IC)—is comprised of three groups.

The Bolshevik Faction (BF) is largely Latin American. The Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI), majority component of the FI(IC), is a European Trotskyist tendency whose largest section, the OCI (International Communist Organization), is also the largest Trotskyist group in France. The Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT) is a smaller tendency, mainly European and a previous factional ally of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The BF and the LTT were bureaucratically expelled from the Fourth International in October 1979.

The BF and LTT leadership was outraged by the SWP/United Secretariat's disgraceful support to the Nicaraguan government's persecution of the Simon Bolivar Brigade. (The Brigade, composed of Latin American Trotskyists, fought in the military struggle against Somoza. The SWP fingered its fellow Trotskyists to the government, which proceeded to arrest, torture, and expel them.)

After the International threw out the BF and LTT leaders, it ordered their ranks to sign a statement condemning the Brigade—a loyalty oath that was a prerequisite for attending the 11th World Congress of the International in December 1979. The ranks refused.

The third grouping in the FI(IC), the OCRFI, has been outside the Fourth International since the 1953 split. It combined with the BF and the LTT in October 1979, as the Parity Committee, and condemned USec's heinous role in

Nicaragua.

Overcoming past political differences, these three tendencies arrived at agreement during 1980 in assessing the degeneration of the International and on the meaning of events in Afghanistan, Poland, El Salvador, Iran and Nicaragua.

At the December 1980 World Conference, these delegates particularly underscored the significance of the upsurge in Poland, where permanent revolution in a workers state is unfolding. They also launched an international campaign of solidarity with the workers of Poland and El Salvador.

Vibrant comradeship

A week before the World Conference, the three CRSP envoys from the U.S. were greeted by a standing ovation from the Bolshevik Faction at its pre-conference internal meeting.

tendencies agree. Disputed issues were not on the agenda but slated for future internal discussion.

Firmly rooted in Trotsky's **Transitional Program** and Lenin's powerful concept of democratic centralism, the **Theses** analyze the degeneration of the Fourth International and chart a course for the reconstitution of Trotskyist forces. They condemn the accommodation of the SWP and the United Secretariat (USec) to "Castroism," and denounce their uncritical support for centrist and popular front leadership such as Khomeini in Iran and the FSLN in Nicaragua.

Castroism is defined as an opportunist and centrist policy which advocates peaceful coexistence with U.S. capitalism and adaptation to Stalinism and nationalism.

The **Theses** charge the Fourth International with failure to boldly or-

CRSP delegation at conference



Dr. Susan Williams



Stephen Durham



Murry Weiss

CRSP Coordinator Dr. Susan Williams addressed the meeting, vividly analyzing the unfolding Permanent Revolution on U.S. soil as revealed in the struggles of women, people of color, lesbians and gays—the most intensely exploited and, as well, the absolute majority of U.S. workers.

Murry Weiss, National CRSP Co-Chair, was introduced to the meeting as a veteran North American Trotskyist and close collaborator of SWP founder and leader James P. Cannon. Comrade Weiss presented CRSP's international perspectives and offered a dynamic view of the vital role of women in the global revolution.

The warm welcome, interest, and respect extended to the CRSP delegation by the Bolshevik Faction was a noteworthy step toward the fertile collaboration that is essential to genuine internationalism.

The World Conference itself involved nine days of intense discussion marked by strong solidarity. The walls were decorated with the historic slogan "Workers of the World Unite!" painted on a banner in French, Spanish, English and German, and flanked by towering graphics portraying Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The rich multilingual atmosphere radiated the internationalism of class struggle and gave deep meaning to the enthusiasm, experience and expertise of the delegates and observers.

F.I. degeneration

Conference discussion revolved totally around the main document adopted, **The Draft Theses for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International**. The completed sections of the **Theses** address those subject areas upon which the combined leaderships of the three

ganize for socialism amid the heated class struggle propelling Iranians and Central Americans into combat against national and international exploiters.

The USec/SWP retreated, say the **Theses**, from the front lines of the most oppressed sectors of the working class into the ranks of the relatively privileged trade unionists, as demonstrated by the International's abrupt "turn to heavy industry."

Delegates from 50 organizations described their opposition based on their experiences in daily struggles, to USec's discredited politics. Many of these reports paralleled the collective experience of CRSP, the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women during their 16-year-long resistance to SWP opportunism and reformism.

Representatives of USec, invited by the conference organizers, made a one-hour presentation but refused to debate the **Theses**. The USec speaker called the split in the F.I. a split against the Nicaraguan revolution. He said reunification could be considered only if the FI(IC) recanted.

The voice of feminism

CRSP's strong internationalism and revolutionary feminism was a conspicuous, if silent, factor at the conference.

Although as observers they were denied the opportunity to address the conference, the CRSP delegates were notable as the only North Americans present. CRSP documents were accepted for publication as part of the conference proceedings and the delegation prepared a statement to be read for the conference. When the delegation was not allowed to read the statement, it presented a letter of general support and commentary to the newly-formed FI(IC) Executive Committee.

Said the CRSP letter,

The future of Trotskyism is bound together with the rise of women and all the oppressed. The reconstruction of the F.I. will take on its fullest meaning in a bold and unambiguous turn to working women, all oppressed people of color, lesbians and gays, the youth—all the most intensely exploited and oppressed who have everything to gain and nothing to lose in a revolutionary struggle to the end.

We take sides

The World Conference was a powerful and decisive first step toward the resolution of the deepening crisis of leadership in world Trotskyism.

Many issues vital to North America and the world were not discussed—the revolution in Portugal, Stalinophobia, racism, sexism, nationalism, heterosexism, the North American question, and others. The delegates felt that only their areas of agreement could be explored and emphasized at the outset.

And it was abundantly clear that a river of blood had carved a fundamental political split between Bolshevism and Menshevism, between revolution and revisionism in the International. This split was confronted head-on, which is the only avenue for revitalizing and reunifying on a principled basis.

In attending the Bolshevik Faction pre-conference and then the longer World Conference, CRSP was privileged to be a part of a milestone assembly of international leaders. This was a first for CRSP. And the indelible mark of socialist feminism implanted by CRSP in the minds of conference participants was certainly a first for them—a highly unwelcome first to many of them.

Nevertheless, CRSP anticipates a democratic discussion and collaboration with FI(IC) representatives here and abroad, a discussion aimed at enumerating our agreements and differences, illuminating the uncertain areas in-between, and examining disputed issues. Many sections of the **Theses** are not yet translated into English; CRSP is studying them as they become available.

CRSP calls upon all U.S. Trotskyists to join CRSP and once again take up the ideological cudgels in defense of Marxism and the titanic traditions of Lenin and Trotsky. CRSP urges U.S. revolutionaries to rally in partisanship with what appears to be the staunch and determined course of the new FI(IC) to salvage the International from the shoals of revisionism.

Down with the centrism, reformism and unprincipled combinationism of SWP/USec!

Join with CRSP to support and extend the ideological work and mass organizing of the FI(IC)! □

For information on CRSP, contact Dr. Susan Williams, National CRSP Coordinator, at 301 W. 17th St., #2E, New York, NY 10011, 212-929-0210. Or contact your nearest Freedom Socialist Party or Radical Women branch.

El Salvador Vietnam of the Americas



BY TAMARA A. TURNER

Pentagon might and the Reagan right are inflicting carnage on tiny El Salvador. To win supremacy for the unspeakable junta, the U.S. is directly assisting in the slaughter of all people who oppose the regime—roughly 90% of the 5½ million Salvadorans.

The media blitz concocted by the White House portrays the junta as honorable men diligently trying to bring about democratic reforms while caught in the middle between leftwing violence and the ultraright. The uncomfortable fact that the junta itself spawns the repression, terror, and massive assassinations is ignored.

Also omitted from the news releases is the sinister extent of U.S. arms and shipments to the junta's death squads and U.S. complicity in the largest counterinsurgency training program ever undertaken by the Pentagon in a Latin American country in a one year period.

There is no middle ground in El Salvador's bitter civil war. Fifty years of military dictatorships have proved that all attempts at peaceful reform end in nothing but government fraud and murder.

Hence, broad sectors of the popu-

strikes have stiffened the spirit of the masses.

Women comprise 40% of FMLN leadership. They are tough, determined and incorruptible.

A family affair

How did El Salvador become the death factory it is today?

The conflict began in the mid-1900s when communal lands were abolished to make way for coffee plantations (*fincas*). By edict, the peasantry was displaced and forced to become agricultural wage-earners. In one stroke, 60% of El Salvador became the private property of 2% of the population—the oligarchy of "The Fourteen Families." The bulk of the people cultivated coffee and cotton, or starved.

In the 1920s, the unfolding world depression caused the coffee market to disintegrate. A small worker's movement developed, the product of traveling organizers who informed the people of the gains of the newly-won Russian Revolution and formed unions among railway workers, farmworkers, textile workers, and peasants, despite government bans on unionizing.

Among these radicals was Augustin Farabundo Marti, who in 1925 helped found the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS). When the government refused to acknowledge PCS electoral

following two weeks. **Anyone with Indian features was shot on sight.**

Marti was executed, the PCS and the unions were crushed, and the oligarchy instituted a 50-year-long military rule.

The two faces of Carter

Because El Salvador lacked strategic or economic importance to the U.S., ex-President Jimmy Carter felt free to

and power, strongly opposing industrialization and its accompanying dependence on U.S. or other foreign capital.

In May, ultraright junta member Col. Guiterrez announced that the second phase would not be carried out—ever.

The imitation-Vietnam "land to the tiller" program for the peasantry continues, but a split inside the oligarchy has made it a schizophrenic nightmare.



There is no middle ground in El Salvador. All attempts at peaceful reform end in government fraud and murder.

vent his self-righteous "human rights" rhetoric against General Romero's government. Carter hoped Romero would resign in favor of a civilian-military cabal backed by the industrial bourgeoisie, which was becoming an important borrower from U.S. banks and was promoting El Salvador as a haven for anti-union, runaway U.S. textiles and electronics firms.

The July 1979 Sandinista victory in Nicaragua abruptly ended Carter's human rights gibberish. Overnight, policy shifted toward the prevention of another Nicaragua—even if this meant another Vietnam.

Romero was dumped by a coup in October 1979, but the succeeding civilian-military junta could neither make reforms nor halt military atrocities. A second junta, led by Christian Democratic Party member Jose Napoleon Duarte, took over in January 1980 and soon announced a land reform program similar to that used by the U.S. in Vietnam and orchestrated by the same American expert.

The immediate aim of land reform was to sabotage the expanding revolutionary movement by redistributing just enough marginal land to buy off the peasantry. The fertile coffee lands were to be expropriated next, with full compensation to the owners.

This second phase of land reform was endorsed by the U.S. as a means for destroying the large sector of the oligarchy which has always chosen land ownership as the basis of their wealth

Laws mandating the initial, limited land reform were dutifully passed by the junta to favor one side of the oligarchy, while the other side employs the armed forces and its 100,000 member rural paramilitary force, ORDEN, to stop land reform.

Government functionaries and U.S. land reform agents order the peasants to organize under the new laws, then troops arrive and murder those who obey.

Mass resistance to this barbaric trap has triggered a knee-jerk response from U.S. strategists, who have now poured over \$100-million into El Salvador since 1980, and inexorably increased U.S. deployment of Vietnam-style military "advisors."

The whole world is watching

The only result of U.S. arms and assistance is that government forces are able to butcher more Salvadorans than ever before.

Reagan cannot solve the U.S. economic crisis without a war, and war hysteria against Cuba, Nicaragua, and the USSR is being deployed to justify intervention in Central America—just as in Vietnam.

But world sentiment isn't fooled by this phony "The Russians are coming!" demagoguery. Enormous sympathy and support exist for the tormented people of El Salvador.

**U.S. out of Central America!
Victory to the FMLN!
For a socialist El Salvador!**

Overnight, U.S. policy shifted to prevent another Nicaragua, even if this meant another Vietnam.



lation have united in a coalition for freedom that is successfully exposing the isolation of the junta from any support except the right and, of course, the Washington, D.C. warmongers.

Effective mass opposition has been built through the consolidation of the popular organizations into the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), whose military arm is the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). Guerrilla warfare and general

victories in 1932, the PCS set January 22, 1932 as the day of insurrection. Three days before the uprising, Marti and other PCS leaders were betrayed and arrested.

Unaware that their leaders were jailed, thousands of workers and peasants, primarily Indians, marched into nearby towns and cities. The army was waiting for them. 4000 marchers were killed outright and 4% of the Salvadoran people were slaughtered in the

ms.tami

M·A·L·I·C·E·A·F·O·R·E·T·H·O·U·G·H·T

Conventional wisdom has it that the people who take potshots at presidents, popes, civil rights leaders, Beatles, and assorted dictators do it because they allegedly are nobodies who seek to become Somebody. But *who???*

We are never told anything meaningful about these peculiar gun-toters. The "psychological" profiles churned out by the media are nonsensical. And the "political" motivations ascribed to the various assassins would serve better as the plot for a musical.

But take heart, devoted readers. Ms. Tami has just completed an in-depth study of the question and compiled the only accurate, unassailable composite

portrait of them all.

The person's name is Marvin (Marv) Edwards, alias Henny Edgar Hoover Scheherazade McCarthy. Note androgynous possibilities in this moniker.

Marv has no political motivations whatsoever. Oh, there are the Minutemen Summer Camps, the fleeting, five year membership in the KKK, annual invitations to Friends of the Czar picnics, and ownership of a home video game called "Invaders" in which players compete to blast blips of school desegregation buses off the screen. But nothing overtly *political*.

Physically, Marv is medium-everything, plus hairless thighs and smallish

feet. His only distinguishing marks are cigarette burn scars on his arms, earned at age 17 while demonstrating true courage to his pet rock.

While his military record shows him to have been 4F, he speaks fluent Cambodian and makes very funny remarks in Arabic and Swahili. His passion for weapons was honed on mail-order gun catalogs; his catalog collection completely fills his small mobile home.

Marv has little success with whichever sex is opposite, brushes his teeth but rarely flosses, cannot debate Mormon missionaries, and is *not* an Aries.

This should help interpret the news.

WHERE TO FIND THE FSP

ALASKA

Juneau: P.O. Box 1325, Juneau, AK 99802. 907-586-1617.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles: P.O. Box 29471, Los Angeles, CA 90027. 213-935-8638.
San Francisco/Berkeley: 2661 21st St., San Francisco, CA 94110. 415-824-1497.

NEW YORK

New York City: 301 W. 17th St., #2E, New York, NY 10011. 212-929-0210.

OREGON

Portland: 2831 N.E. Union, Portland, OR 97212. 503-249-8067.

WASHINGTON

Seattle: National Office, Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105. 206-632-7449.
North Branch, 1931 E. Calhoun, Seattle, WA 98112. 206-722-3812.
South Branch, 3948 S. Hudson, Seattle, WA 98118. 206-723-2482.
Grays Harbor: P.O. Box 1104, Aberdeen, WA 98520. 206-532-0452.

Feminist front emerges in Portland



Stop the cutbacks! Stop the Right! Join together! Win this fight!" The shouts of 350 demonstrators resounded in the streets of Portland, Oregon on International Women's Day, March 8.

Organized by United Feminists Against the Right (UFAR) the march proclaimed the health of a growing protest against reaction.

After the November elections and steep cutbacks of social services, a

group of concerned Portland people of color, gays, feminists, radicals and trade unionists discussed, debated and brought UFAR into existence.

The organization is a public, militant and democratic united front made up of diverse feminist groups and individuals consolidated around a common program.

UFAR addresses issues that affect all afflicted and exploited sectors of society in order "to wage an uncompromising and long-range offensive to

stop the Right from wiping out every gain won over the last 50 years."

UFAR moved quickly and successfully to organize counter-pickets at right-to-life vigils. They publicly exposed a misleading anti-abortion hotline. And they have mobilized hundreds of Portlanders into action.

Portland Women's Health Center, Woman's Place Bookstore, Radical Women, and members of Communication Workers of America are among those allied in UFAR.

United Feminists Against the Right warns that isolated civil rights movements are easily divided and conquered and that unity is the key safeguard against another McCarthy era and lethal world war. UFAR seeks to build unity by speaking to the special needs of lesbians, working women, and women of color, and the general concerns of all workers. UFAR demands that government spending be reprioritized to serve human needs instead of big business and its vested interests. □

... Reagan

from page 16

of attraction to all those mobilizing against the right wing.

New coalitions are emerging all over the country—the Budget Coalition Against the Cuts, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the National Anti-Hunger Coalition, committees to oppose intervention in El Salvador, etc.

But this broad and, as yet, largely unformed opposition is missing a key ingredient: principled leadership.

The liberals cannot lead, as demon-

strated all too pathetically by their wimpy, mealy-mouthed 1980 electoral campaigns. With no program and no direction, they were abandoned by the voters after years of empty promises and slimy sell-outs which utterly discredited them.

And the radicals? All too many are competitively jockeying for instant mass movement hegemony.

But an independent radical news-weekly, the *Guardian*, in a March 18 editorial entitled "Time for Left Unity," calls for a multi-issue, anti-reformist, left-led united front against reaction.

The Freedom Socialist Party stands in fundamental agreement with the

Guardian's call, and urges all left organizations to respond. The call mistakenly describes the struggle against sexism as "secondary" to the fight against racism, mentions Blacks alone as anti-racist fighters, and barely mentions lesbian/gay rights. But these questions can be debated within a common commitment for an internally democratic united front against the right.

Reagan's zeal may shock the left out of its sectarianism and spark the creation of the instrument of his own destruction. Such a product of the rightwing administration is devoutly to be wished. □

Medical Bulletin

Friends of Murry Weiss will be relieved to know that he has pulled off yet another coup—a remarkable recovery from a near-fatal bout with Legionnaire's disease that hospitalized him in January and February.

Greetings and donations to the Weiss Recovery Fund may be sent to Dr. Susan Williams, 301 W. 17th St., #2E, New York, NY 10011.

... fighting words

from page 10

What Marxism means

The philosophy of Marxism is called dialectical materialism. It is easy to understand. It is an ideology that knows its enemies and takes sides.

There are two paramount disputes in philosophy.

The first deals with the *nature of reality*. Is it fundamentally material or non-material (ideal)? Which came first? Which is causal?

Materialists say that basic reality is physical and natural. Idealists say it is supernatural, intangible, religious.

The second dispute is in the field of *logic*, the laws of thinking: are things static and separate, or are they fluid, changeable and connected?

If you believe in fixed and rigid categories, you belong to the school of *formal logic*. If you are an evolutionist, your logic is *dialectical*.

Some materialists adhere to the formal school, some to the dialectical. Idealists, similarly, may be mechanical or dialectical.

Marxists are *dialectical materialists*. Means erroneously thinks they are formal, mechanical materialists.

Means places his own philosophy in the camp of *formal idealism*. And as we have seen, formal idealism actually contradicts Indian traditional culture, which grew out of a deep reverence for and understanding of the real, natural, ever-changing, material world.

In the beginning

Why do Marxists call matter basic?

Because it was first in time, and is the first cause of all non-material effects. Matter is *prior* to mind; existence *precedes* consciousness. Science, history and life prove this.

Matter-energy is the stuff out of which all else grows, determining in the final analysis how human beings think, feel, relate, produce, marry, create art, etc. Marxism never dismisses the human spirit, but does place mind-feelings-ideas in their physical and historical context as effects, not as basic causes. Yes, ideas and feelings can change the world, but people must still have bodies before their minds and emotions can function.

Matter in motion

Means decries materialists who "despiritualized the universe" and saw nature on a "mechanical mode." But Marx broke sharply from the vulgar, pre-dialectical materialists who saw nature as a giant piece of machinery.

Marx and Engels' genius was to infuse materialism with the early Greeks' and Hegel's brilliant grasp of the laws of development and the dynamic of contradictions.

Matter itself can neither be created nor destroyed, but all matter—in nature, society and the human mind—changes constantly through tension and contradiction. All things are interdependent and in a continual process of coming into being, changing and passing away.

The capitalist system itself was born, matured and will die, because of its inherently contradictory nature—*social* production (by large groups of workers assembled in one plant) on the one hand, and *private*, capitalist ownership and appropriation of profit on the other.

Means, unfortunately, pretends to see no difference between capitalism and socialism. But the two irreconcilable systems spell the difference between life and death for his people.

Historical materialism

The application of the materialist dialectic to *history* is called historical materialism—a revolutionary science of society. It is the sociology of institutional changes caused by the interplay and conflict between the developing productive forces and the kind of world created by this technology.

Historical materialism teaches that all social life is evolutionary and revolutionary, and that human beings can learn to understand nature, production and social relations, and change them in a rational manner.

The kind of economic society we live in determines the nature and level of our laws, government, culture, ideas, feelings and ethics. The competitive, jungle warfare system of capitalist production produces a destructive, anti-human science and culture. The traditional culture of Native Americans, on the other hand, came from a system of tribal communism, and is therefore infused with equality, fraternity and liberty.

Marxism is the only modern philosophy to espouse the re-creation of the pre-class and pro-human Indian world on a contemporary level of advanced science, technology and knowledge achieved by later societies.

Historical materialism promotes the synthesis of ecological balance, social harmony, personal freedom and material comfort that is the human birthright.

The real future of the earth

The only alternative to socialist

revolution that Means offers is a bleak defeatism. "I don't care if it's only a handful living high in the Andes," he announces, "American Indian people will survive [a nuclear war]... that's revolution."

To passively accept the inevitability of imperialist holocaust is not revolution. And nothing can be more ethnocentric or impossible than the goal of self-survival on a ruined planet.

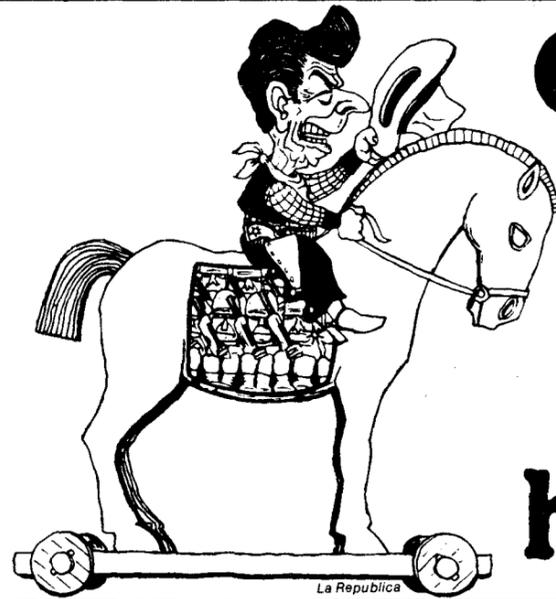
This is defeatism, the grandiosity of despair. It is mystical pie-in-the-sky for the saved or the chosen. It is nationalism turned to acid.

But scarcity and privation need not be the Indian future. There is a better way for suffering humanity—to go forward together to reestablish the democratic collective ownership of the means of producing life's necessities.

Russell Means is not ready for this. The warrior is weary and scornful—even of his own leadership. So he bitterly lashes out at Marxists and Europeans as conventional scapegoats for his problems. Blinded by all-too-commonplace prejudices, and mistaken in his theoretical and historical analysis, he reaches a philosophical, political and spiritual blind alley.

But fresh and unsoured Indian militants, male and female, will not be hampered by retreat into a bunker mentality. They will embrace an alliance with their revolutionary comrades across racial and national lines. Means' isolationism is suicidal, but the great Indian nations, as always, will seek to live and flourish along with liberated humanity as a whole. □

Guerry Hodderson attended the Black Hills Gathering and has interviewed Indian prisoners at Walla Walla. Clara Fraser is an FS editor.



Cowboy Reagan rides a Trojan horse

BY SAM DEADERICK

Not since the Nixon years has Washington, D.C. glittered so brightly with the diamonds, furs and tuxedos of the visibly rich. The Republicans are back, and with them comes the gloss of snappy dress guards at the White House and unrestrained pride in the global network of terror, intrigue, economic thievery and political repression that sustains the U.S. empire.

Former President Carter's gutless but vaunted crusade for "human rights" has been replaced with an open attack on freedom fighters throughout the world. Aimed at stamping out all democratic opposition to the U.S. stranglehold on the underdeveloped world, this war on "terrorism" also aims to terrorize radicals, movement leaders and dissidents at home.

Reagan rode into the White House armed with "a mandate for change." But his mandate is slim, based on only the 24% of eligible voters who voted for him and an ecstatic coterie of bankers, industrial magnates, businessmen, right-to-lifers, white supremacists, and Christian bigots.

Ironically, the gun lobby cheers him on too, although it is reeling from a wave of indignant gun-control sentiment which exploded when a neo-nazi assassin almost murdered Reagan.

To the Conservative Political Action Convention this March, Reagan declared: "Our moment has arrived. Just as surely as we seek to put our financial house in order and rebuild our nation's defenses, so, too, we seek to protect the unborn, to end the manipulation of schoolchildren by utopian planners and permit the acknowledgement of a Supreme Being in our

classrooms."

And cowboy Ronnie has backed up these sinister words with action.

Even before his inauguration, Reagan selected a cabinet indicative of the ruthlessness behind his one-liner jocularly, calm paternalism, and just-folks jellybeans.

The notorious militarist who was Nixon's strongman, General Alexander Haig, was chosen as Secretary of State. Richard Schweiker, new Department of Health and Human Services head, pledged to lobby for a constitutional amendment banning abortion. Labor Secretary Ray Donovan is a construction contractor who supports the National Right to Work Committee. Militant anti-environmentalist James Watt is the new Secretary of the Interior. And while the far right denounced many of Reagan's choices as "ultra-liberal," Office of Management and Budget Director David Stockman warmed their reactionary hearts with a budget proposal that erodes away the few remnants of 50 years of social and economic reforms.

Reaganomics

The revisions of Carter's proposed 1982 budget are like Robin-Hood-through-the-looking-glass—Reagan takes from the poor and gives to the rich.

The food stamp program lost \$1.8 billion and dropped one million people; \$1.6 billion disappeared from the free breakfast and lunch programs for school-children, \$1.2 billion from medical programs for the poor, \$6.1 billion from jobs programs, \$2.2 billion from extended unemployment benefits, \$670 million from jobless youth programs—cuts to the tune of \$48 billion.

Above the sound of the falling axe float

lyrical assurances that these cuts will not affect the "truly needy." And who are they? The rich and the military.

Tax breaks for business will swell profits by an estimated \$45 billion per year by 1985. Tax breaks for workers, however, will allow a couple earning \$15,000 a year, with two children, to save all of \$110.00 in 1982!

The poor are being forced to foot the bill—for the most expensive peacetime military buildup in U.S. history.

Cranking up the war machine

National defense is the only area to gain a budget *increase*: up \$4.4 billion for a \$182.4 billion total in 1982, and continuing to a *\$1.5 trillion* total over the next five years.

The world's bloodiest butchers are newly hailed as defenders of freedom: South Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan gets a royal welcome at taxpayer expense, and the White House is considering an invitation to apartheidist South African Prime Minister Pieter Botha.

What is in store for the world from the Reagan war team is revealed most bluntly in El Salvador. The administration has identified El Salvador as the strategic point-of-no-return for Western capitalism, and is spending \$63 million to murder, torture, and terrorize the Salvadoran population to preserve U.S. control of Central America.

Fightback!

The regime's naked drive for war abroad and poverty at home is being blunted by growing domestic opposition.

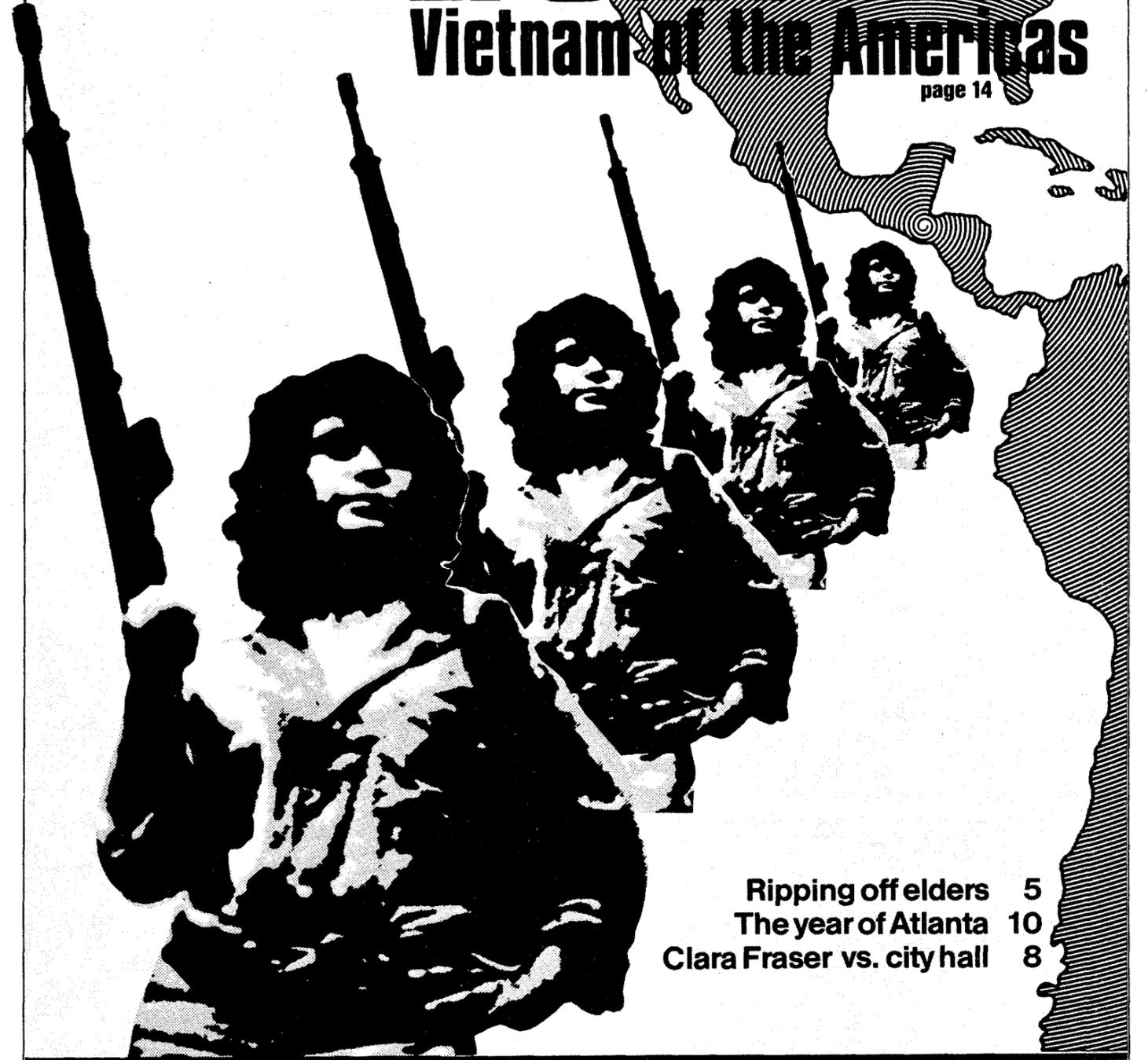
An antidraft/antiwar movement has sprung to life, beginning to serve as a pole

to page 15

the freedom socialist 25¢
Voice of Revolutionary Feminism Volume 7, No. 1, Spring 1981

El Salvador Vietnam of the Americas

page 14



Ripping off elders 5
The year of Atlanta 10
Clara Fraser vs. city hall 8