

Voting rights marauders

Derailing freedom's train

BY GUERRY HODDERSEN

We're not on our knees begging for the ballot! We're **demanding** the ballot!"

The tense crowd of Blacks packed into Brown's Chapel in Selma, Alabama surged to its feet and cheered when Martin Luther King thundered these words.

It was January 1965. The historic Selma campaign for Black voting rights was underway.

Before it was over, three civil rights activists would be murdered and thousands beaten, gassed, trampled, and jailed by whipwielding lawmen on horseback. And tens of thousands of demonstrators, outraged by the Alabama police state, would fill the streets of Northern and Western cities, echoing the cry for Black voting rights.

In August 1965, Congress finally succumbed to the uproar and overwhelmingly passed the Voting Rights Act.

Ballot breakthrough

The landmark law gave Southern Blacks their first opportunity since Reconstruction to participate in electoral politics.

The law prohibited literacy tests and poll taxes, and required federal examiners to register voters and oversee actual voting places.

And it required the Justice Department to approve **any proposed changes** in voting laws in six Southern states and 40 counties.

The voting rights victory was an opening wedge against discriminatory laws, repressive local governments, segregation, illiteracy, racism, and the economic/political status quo that kept Southern Blacks in bondage, to be used as cheap labor in a fascist-like world 100 years after emancipation.

Renewed in 1970 and expanded in 1975, the Act now bans literacy tests for voter registration nationwide, and requires bilingual voting assistance in districts with large non-English-speaking minorities.

But today, 16 years after Selma, the KKK is on the move, Southern business wants humbler help at lower wages, and the Voting Rights Act—due to expire August 6, 1982 unless extended—is in danger of being gutted by the New South and the New Right.

Confederate echoes

President Reagan initially opposed extension of the Act. But under fire



Fanny Lou Hamer, leader of the battle for voting rights and Black freedom in Mississippi.

from Blacks, he retreated and now favors extension. Reagan's reversal, however, is transparent opportunism; his original opposition remains a clear signal to Southern legislators that he sanctions severe weakening of the Act.

Leading the Southern racists is arch-segregationist Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. He favors extension only if the Act is altered to require pre-clearance of voting procedure in all 50 states—a massive, unnecessary and unenforceable process—or if the Act is amended as suggested by anti-abortion demagogue Henry Hyde.

Senator Hyde's proposal would allow states to bail out from under Justice Department supervision if they have demonstrated "constructive efforts" to enfranchise minorities and have no record of voting rights violations in the past ten years.

Senator Orin Hatch, affirmative action foe, would saddle any victim of racially biased voting restrictions with an impossible burden—proof of purposeful "intent" to discriminate (rather than evidence of past history of discrimination and its effects) as a basis for federal intervention.

"Times have changed!" cry these opponents of the Voting Rights Act.

The times, they aren't a'changing

Unquestionably, the Voting Rights Act brought changes to American politics, particularly in the South.

In 1960 only 5.2% of Mississippi's Blacks were registered to vote. By 1971, the percentage had risen to 60.7%. The number of Black elected officials in Southern states covered by the Act has risen from 156 to 1,183 in the past 12 years.

But these goodlooking statistics reveal a change more cosmetic than fundamental.

While Blacks comprise 20% of the South's population, Black officials hold only 5.6% of all electoral offices. In Mississippi, where 37% of the people are Black, **no** Blacks hold statewide office. In half the Mississippi counties with Black **majorities**, **no** Blacks serve on county boards.

Harassment, subtle and violent, continues against Black voters.

In Pickens County, Alabama, two Black women were recently convicted of voting fraud for registering voters—

and this in a campaign to elect the first Black to the county school board. One of the women was fired from her teaching job of 27 years, and both received prison terms, one for four years and the other for five.

The times really haven't changed that much. Only the slick rhetoric of racism is altered as the capitalist class rolls back the civil rights gains of the past 20 years.

Legal chicanery

If the Act is extended with a bail-out for states with "clean" records, there is little chance that Congress will act against jurisdictions that violate voting rights **after** the bail-out.

If the Act is not extended, the only way to challenge discriminatory voting practices will be via the costly, agonizingly slow federal court system—the same route used before 1965.

The Supreme Court has already undermined the Act by upholding at-large elections in Mobile, Alabama. The 113-year-old at-large system dilutes the Black vote and sabotages chances of Blacks being elected from Black-majority districts. The Supreme Court ruled, however, that the system was not "proven" discriminatory, and the Court ignored the historical evidence that not one Black has ever held city office in Mobile, where Blacks comprise 40% of the population.

Protest the police state

Beyond the glare of congressional debate on the Act lurks the Klan, which crushed Black Reconstruction in the 1870s and bathed the short-lived Southern democracy in blood.

The KKK is poised to strike, awaiting a signal from the congressmen who serve big business—a signal that the civil rights era is over and a new reign of police and vigilante terror is to be inaugurated.

Civil rights supporters, North and South, must meet all proposals to weaken the Voting Rights Act with the same mass protests by which the Act was originally won.

To do less is to break faith with all the martyrs in the struggle for political and economic equality for Southern Blacks, and with the new heroines and heroes from Mobile to Pickens County. □

In 1965, Guerry Hoddersen was a SNCC organizer in Carthage, Mississippi, where the struggle to integrate public facilities met with mob violence.

The unsmiling Irish



Christine Spengler

Michael Devine died on August 20, the tenth Irish Republican Army (IRA) hunger striker to lay down his life to repudiate British rule and assert the right to self-determination for Northern Ireland.

But the Catholic Church has pressured relatives of the remaining hunger strikers into ordering medical treatment to prevent further deaths. Early in October, the hunger strikes ended and the British offered some concessions to apply to all prisoners—far short of the IRA demand for political prisoner status for the nationalists.

The strikes did not alter British policy. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher cast a cold eye on Irish and world opinion, and pursued her government's murderous policy of criminalizing Irish political prisoners. But her indifference to the

heroic deaths has galvanized popular resistance to British rule of Northern Ireland.

Thatcher supporters in Ireland—the church and the governments—are cracking under the pressure of the infuriated mass demand for a united Ireland. Marshalled by Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Provisional IRA, the cry for an independent socialist republic cannot be drowned out.

Sinn Féin's Owen Carron won by a wide margin his August campaign for the British Parliament seat vacated by Bobby Sands, the first H-Block prisoner to die from a hunger strike. In both the North and South, the Irish church and state have lost vast popular support by capitulating to the British.

Alarmed about the growing sentiment for the IRA, the Irish Catholic Bishops Conference at Maynooth sounded an alert in mid-June against "Republicanism." The bishops condemned the protests over the status and conditions of prisoners in the notorious H-Block and Armagh jails. Ever willing to placate the

violent British occupying army and the rightwing Ulster Defense Regiment, the bishops reserve their displeasure for those who use force to **resist** oppression.

But mass demonstrations and elections in the North and South defy the bishops and expose the weakness of the capitalist parties.

Two H-Block prisoners, Paddy Agnew and Kieran Doherty, took advantage of their legal right to hold office in the South, and in mid-June won seats in the Irish Free State Parliament. The election destroyed the governing majority of Prime Minister Charles Haughey of the Fianna Fáil Party, which refused to support the prisoners.

The Trotskyist parties—Peoples Democracy and League for a Workers Republic—are gaining a power base.

Irish hunger strikers have given the world an indelible picture of the British government, the real terrorists, who have blood on their hands. Aroused from lethargy, thousands of Irish are now inspired, unified, and politicized. And international sympathy is skyrocketing. □

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the freedom socialist

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LETTERS

Roses without thorns

I am a socialist, interested in what the various socialist organizations (especially in the U.S.) are doing and saying. I am also a pacifist, at least in theory: no one knows what they'd do in an actual situation calling for use of violent force.

Thus, I don't react at all well to the four people (women?) on your front-page holding up their guns in a militant fashion. I am not a militant, and don't approve of military action by a person or group.

I am not a Marxist. I do believe that material matters—food, shelter, etc.—are paramount. When these are more available, equally, to everyone, I will attempt to deal more with spiritual matters.

I also think many "industrialization" activists do destroy natural resources, whether done by private enterprise or socialists. Sorry if my thinking doesn't follow some "party" line.

Love, kisses, and roses,
Richard M. Bowers
Delhi, NY

Socialism makes sense

The whole FS was excellent. It really got me to thinking, because I have never read anything much on socialism, and it really made sense.

From the article, "The Booming Antiwar Front," I learned about the Shitish leadership of the Vietnam antiwar movement and how it scorned minorities, gays, etc. I was just a kid in the '60s and don't have a full understanding of what went on then. I strongly agreed with the points, "Never has the time been so right for open debate on antiwar policies" and "We must build a movement that expects differences but respects the leadership of youth."

In "Black Politics in the Year of Atlanta," I found the refusal of the FBI to investigate KKK involvement about par for that sick agency. I certainly agree that new, radical leadership is needed to replace the weak leadership of Black liberation.

"Fighting Words on the Humanity of Marxism," most of all, gave me an idea of what real Marxism is, and how it is not really an oppressive system such as that in Russia.

I really like Clara Fraser's writing in "A Tale of Two Torrents," and the

article about David Fagan from Australia was of particular interest to me. Enclosed is a check for a sub. Thanks!
Scott Combs
Parsons, Kansas

KKK in Ohio

I was suspended as secretary/bookkeeper with Ohio's Middletown City School District.

I was singled out from other employees—all of whom customarily used school duplicating equipment for non-school-related uses—and suspended for making copies of an anti-racist leaflet.

My appeal to the Civil Service Commission was filed by my union (Ohio Association of Public School Employees).

In the past two years, there have been two KKK rallies and numerous racist attacks. The Klan has announced that rallies here will be annual events, and Klanspeople consider Middletown a "Klan stronghold."

Am enclosing a leaflet we're distributing to build a counter-rally if the Klan goes ahead with plans.

Beverly J. Burns
Middletown, Ohio

A friend indeed

Please begin a sub for me. A friend brought back your Spring issue from the San Francisco Gay Freedom march and several of the articles were really valuable for me. Thanks.

Sherry Skillwoman
Eureka, California

What's up Down Under?

A broad progressive slate to present an alternative to the Labor and Liberal parties here is being discussed for the coming elections.

Several of us representatives from the gay movement, along with delegates from the Black [Australian Aboriginal], environmentalist, and local union movements, attended a meeting to discuss programme for mobilising support. We faced racism and sexism from some of the delegates, mostly environmentalists. There was no feminist representation, and hostility to feminist politics and gay liberation.

We presented feminism as a non-negotiable point and contended that a

truly progressive slate had to connect all the vital issues. We also pressed for a candidate representing the elderly.

After a mammoth 7-hour meeting, we won all our points, and made important contacts.

Our major cause for elation was linking up with representatives of the Black movement who were putting forth views similar to ours! Their understanding of the impact of feminist/gay liberation was sharp and we found ourselves in a de facto alliance that we shall pursue.

The electoral group meets again in a fortnight to discuss launching the campaign. A tentative proposal for a name has been "Tookeen yarn purai"—a northern New South Wales Aboriginal dialect meaning, "We must preserve the land."

I have sold all the FS copies. Favourite articles were those on PWOC and the interview with Nellie and Merle. Congratulations to the FS staff—it's an impressive issue. But oh vay, the photo of me! A little Fourth International symbol would have been nicer. Revolutionary socialist-feminist greetings!

David Fagan
Rushcutters Bay, Australia

Sorry we missed you

In your Spring, 1981 article "The Booming Anti-war Front" (on the Detroit conference of the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft), you wrote:

"One major motion called for building unity with the labor movement by urging it to hold a national anti-war conference, support labor's anti-war boycotts and strikes, and condemn the AFL-CIO front in El Salvador."

This "major" motion was put before the conference by the joint efforts of the Socialist League (Democratic Centralist) and the pre-fusion Revolutionary Workers League, both by floor speakers and in a joint leaflet. Could you correct this omission? Fraternally,
The Editors
Workers Struggle

Consider it corrected. Thank you.

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

SWP pillories Garza

In a vicious smear campaign perpetrated on ex-member Hedda Garza, the Socialist Workers Party turned its lawsuit against government spying into a witchhunt of a political opponent.

A longtime SWPer, Garza was expelled in 1974 for her association with the International Tendency within the party. The tendency criticized the SWP's conciliatory position on Portugal and on organizing tactics in Latin America.

From the day she was subpoenaed by the government to testify in the current SWP lawsuit, Garza repeatedly sought, but was denied, the legal assistance of the party. She also pursued every legal device to avoid testifying altogether.

Abandoned by the SWP, Garza endured a 7½-hour pretrial deposition conducted by the government. The SWP attorney was a silent observer. Garza's deposition was described as

"exemplary" by the SWP.

The government was unhappy. Forty years of spying on the party had proven nothing but FBI illegality.

So Assistant U.S. Attorney Edward Williams tried a new approach.

He phoned Garza and casually revealed details about the 1967 visit of Bolivian revolutionary Hugo Moscoso, who had stayed in the Garza apartment. The details could only have come from bugging her house.

Garza warned the SWP that illegal tapes existed and again asked for assistance. It was refused.

In her courtroom testimony, Garza refuted the surprise allegations of illegal SWP financial aid to Moscoso. Her answers matched the testimony of SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

But the shocker came when Garza appealed to the judge to make the FBI produce all the tapes of the bug on her apartment. The government

responded that its main information was not from bugs but from *conversations with Garza*.

The SWP swallowed this clumsy, provocative ploy. Instead of using cross-examination of Garza to elicit information helpful to its case, SWP attorney Winter tried to discredit Garza. And the June 26 *Militant* and July 6 *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* spread the slander worldwide.

Garza has circulated a 10-page exposé and repudiation of the SWP attack on her, and has requested people to demand that the SWP retract its charges and publish an apology. Failing that, she wants a Left Commission of Inquiry convened to investigate the allegations against her.

The FSP sent a letter to the SWP in September, expressing outrage that the SWP wantonly endangered the Left solidarity needed for its own defense.

Garza can be contacted at 200 W. 79th St., NYC 10024. □

INTERNATIONAL ROUNDUP

France

Capitalists cringed, the stock market plunged, and radicals celebrated in the streets of Paris on May 10, when French voters overwhelmingly rejected the 14-year incumbent president, conservative Giscard d'Estaing, and elected Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterand.

In June, socialists were elected to 290 of 491 seats in the new French Parliament, giving the Left a majority for the first time in a generation.

The Communist Party defeated itself in the presidential race by a racist platform that blamed Arab immigrants for drug trafficking and the poor for their poverty. CP candidate Maurais fell on the first ballot, and CP legislative representation plunged from 86 to 43 seats.

In the final balloting, the CP supported Mitterand, and this provided him with the winning majority. The new president offered four cabinet posts to the Stalinists, and in return they promised to denounce the Soviet presence in Afghanistan and keep in line the General Confederation of Labor, the country's largest trade union.

The electoral campaign of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), a Trotskyist party, was sabotaged when Communists and Socialists withdrew their names from the petition to place the LCR on the ballot. Despite this treachery, the LCR supported Mitterand in the final balloting, in order to show the world that French workers wanted control of their government.

The electoral mandate from the Left was clear. But Mitterand rushed to reassure frantic bankers and businessmen, and global capitalists, that his socialism was *hardly* the Bolshevik variety. Nevertheless, Mitterand was forced to make good on some of his promises.

In early June, he raised the hourly minimum wage to \$3.10, boosted allowances to the handicapped, aged and poor, created thousands of new jobs, abolished the death penalty, and imposed new taxes on the wealthy.

Big business is most perturbed over his promises to nationalize private banks and 11 major industries, and to replace Catholic schools with a public education system.

Mitterand's social democrats want to reform capitalism rather than institute socialism. But radicals will protest his class collaboration. Advanced workers—especially working women who have swelled and radicalized labor's ranks in the last decade, and workers who have not forgotten the CP and SP betrayal of the 1968 general strike—will continue to demand the thorough-going social and economic changes they voted for in the elections. □

Britain

Urban ghettos exploded for two consecutive weeks in July and sporadically throughout the summer as Black, Asian, and poor white youths tore up the streets in cities throughout the country. 20 districts in London alone were hit.

The protesters raged at the worsening poverty and massive unemployment sweeping Britain, at the savagery of the white cops, and at the racist thuggery of "skinheads"—sympathizers of the neo-fascist National Front.

The riots first erupted when Pakistani teenagers routed 250 skinheads who had plundered East Indian shop-owners in London's Southall neighborhood. When the cops came to the skinheads' defense, the Pakistanis turned on the police.

On the next two nights, hundreds of Black and white youth fought pitched battles with police that turned Liverpool's impoverished Toxteth district into a war zone. The police used tear gas—for the first time outside Northern Ireland—to quell the combat.

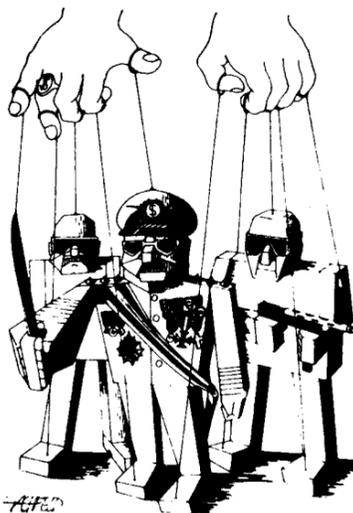
Howling conservatives blamed "permissive parents," "greed," and "outside agitators." Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher denounced the rioters as "hoodlums" and icily rejected the pleas of frantic Labor Party officials to

reverse her austerity policies and administer aid to the ravaged inner cities.

Since Thatcher came to power in 1979, unemployment has doubled to 11%. Joblessness is 33% in Asian communities, and Black unemployment has shot past 50%.

Thatcher gave aid, all right—to the police. She updated the Riot Act and increased police authority to arrest and hold any suspected "troublemakers." Her Tory colleagues renewed their racist assaults by demanding a halt to non-white immigration.

The government and police wage all-out warfare against the most oppressed people in England. But the victims have shouted out loud and clear that they will not abide the murderous abuse of a racist society in search of scapegoats for its own decline. □



Guatemala

Revolution is spreading throughout Central America as armed struggle in Guatemala reflects and bolsters the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions.

Guatemala's four armed revolutionary groups—the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, Rebel Armed Forces, Organization of People in Arms, and the Guate-

malan Labor Party—began a unified offensive early this year against the barbarous dictatorship of President Romeo Lucas Garcia.

The insurgents also proclaimed international solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution.

In 1954, a CIA-backed military coup overthrew the government of reformist Jacobo Arbenz, who had expropriated giant landowners like United Fruit. Today, the Guatemalan bourgeoisie is an increasingly dependent junior partner of foreign capital.

The guerrilla movement grew during the '60s, then waned, and the main form of resistance shifted to mass organizing and strikes in the major export industries. But rigged elections, and increased government violence, especially toward militant Indian workers and peasants, spawned a more radical, unified, and broader-based guerrilla movement in the later '70s.

Women and large numbers of the Quiche Indians have joined the battle. The indigenous peoples of Guatemala comprise half the population.

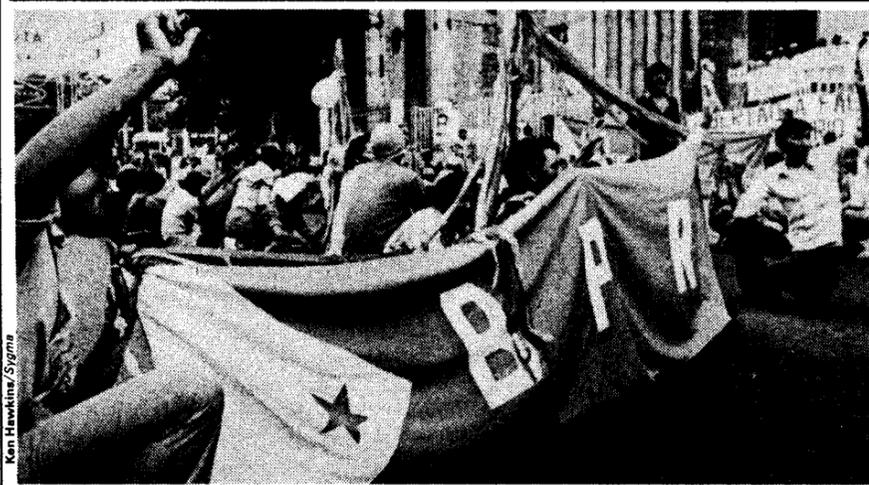
The predictable government response has been heightened repression. In 1978, 100 Indian peasants were massacred by army troops for protesting expropriation of their land by large landholders.

In January 1980, 30 Indians were burned to death inside the Spanish embassy for demanding the army's withdrawal from their community.

The choice is revolution or death for the Guatemalans, and for all who inhabit the tortured Central American isthmus.

Calling for armed warfare, class struggle, and a "democratic, popular and revolutionary government," the revolutionary leaders nevertheless favor a post-war government that would include the bourgeoisie. Here, as in El Salvador, Stalinist popular frontism—collaboration with the capitalist class—spells disaster for the revolution.

Not only U.S. imperialism, but the Guatemalan capitalist class must be overthrown if democracy is to prevail. The workers and peasants will soon learn this bitter lesson. □



The Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR) is a member of the Democratic Revolutionary Front, a Stalinist-led popular front coalition.

BY STEPHEN DURHAM

Decades of grueling poverty, the constant danger of murder by rightwing death squads, and the denial of any political freedom have propelled the people of El Salvador into a bloody civil war.

The world's attention is riveted on this small Central American nation, where virtually the entire population—workers, women, students, peasants, small business—is united against the landowners, the U.S.-backed military, and the ruling junta.

But if the people of El Salvador are to win freedom, they must fight against more than the obvious enemy. They must fight opportunism in the ranks of the resistance itself.

A dark cloud of conciliation and compromise looms over the diverse

forces of the opposition, and poses a life or death question: Which way for El Salvador? "Democratic" capitalism or revolutionary socialism?

The popular-front trap

The most massive political opposition in El Salvador has coalesced in the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), a classic popular front of people with diverse class interests.

A popular front is a tactical political formation in which workingclass organizations ally themselves with sections of the bourgeoisie in order to muster the greatest possible force against the regime. **But instead of leading the alliance, the opportunist leadership of the workers allows the bourgeois elements to take control.** And these pro-capitalists always threaten to break up the alliance if the socialists call for an end to capitalism.

El Salvador: toward capitalism or socialism?

Stalinists promote these class-collaborationist, popular front coalitions to gain the greatest mass support in the shortest time. They will lie, cheat, slander, and murder to silence revolutionary demands. They do the bourgeoisie's dirty work by preventing genuine revolutionists from participating in common activity and leading a struggle for a workers state.

The appeal of the popular front lies in its apparent all-encompassing unity in the face of rightwing reaction. The danger lies in its deceitful promotion of bourgeois democracy as a solution to political turmoil, and in the congenital treachery of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. Once in power, this clique always aims the military might of the new state against the very anticapitalist forces who installed it in power. (Iran is a perfect example.)

Hence, the short-term "unity" promoted by the Salvadoran FDR is lethal in the long run. The front includes dissident bourgeois Christian Democrats, small coffee growers, professionals and intellectuals, labor unions, peasant organizations, social democrats, Stalinists, and some representatives of the FMLN (the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front). All the major guerrilla organizations fight under the unified command of the FMLN.

In the popular fronts of the 1930s, European Stalinists and social democrats engineered the defeat of bold

revolutionary efforts against decaying European capitalism. The FDR similarly silences revolutionary leadership for the sake of conciliation with the "progressive" bourgeoisie.

Suicidal "coexistence"

The program of the FDR demands an end to rightwing terror—but calls for continued private ownership of industry, private control of the economy, and "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S.

The FMLN, too, is popular frontist. Its Stalinist leadership follows the FDR's political line. And while the FMLN's worker and peasant ranks display great revolutionary courage, betrayal is inevitable if they follow the leadership of the capitalist class. To fight for capitalist interests rather than their own is sheer suicide.

The FDR's social democratic president, Guillermo Ungo, declared last January, "The object of the FDR is to make the U.S. see that we are in reality a democratic alternative that can coexist with the interests of the U.S. and the world." But the U.S. supplies arms to the butchers in El Salvador, and has a vast political-economic stake in this rightwing terror.

Without military repression, capitalism cannot survive in El Salvador. The bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialists can't afford to pay decent wages, provide health care and housing, end

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Poet-radicals resist a barrage of slander

BY ROANNE HINDIN

Two Asian American poet-writers, highly visible in the San Francisco Bay Area as Trotskyist-feminist leaders, are drawing heavy fire from a variety of opponents equipped with a ready arsenal of racist, sexist, and anti-Trotskyist weaponry.

But San Francisco Radical Women has launched a swift counter-offensive to expose the insidious, Stalinist-style politics of the slander-mongers.

Nellie Wong and Merle Woo are staunch advocates of democratic debate in the Left, and united struggle for the rights of all oppressed people. This principled stand for a dynamic multi-issue approach to world politics has netted them the fury of opportunists.

Woo and Wong were attacked in *Black Scholar* and *Contact II* for their militant speeches last February at "Left Write: A Unity Conference of Writers on the Left."

The Left Writers Union, which formed in San Francisco at this "unity" conference, has also targeted them for abuse.

Asians, as women. We are showing what courage went into our struggle to not only survive, but to live with dignity."

She called on radical writers to make the key connections among different

Asians, as women. We are showing what courage went into our struggle to not only survive, but to live with dignity."

Free expression had been stifled during the Left Write Conference itself, as

right wing, U.S. imperialism, and oppression based on race, class, sex, and sexuality. But when put to the test of defending Wong and Woo—the Trotskyist socialist feminists—the so-called Union failed.

At first, the Union voted to send a letter criticizing the reviews to Conyus and Lambrev. But the Union reversed its stand, taking a sham vote at a meeting when Wong/Woo supporters, a majority of the membership, were not present. A later move to reinstate the letter was ruled out of order and its supporters were called "hysterical" and told to shut up.

The lack of democracy, and contempt for women of color, precipitated a split. The radicals resigned when it became apparent the Union's only objective was to protect the elitist ideas of a few members and to silence all dissent.

In an open letter to the community on June 21, San Francisco Radical Women publicly charged that the Left Writers Union, by refusing to defend Wong and Woo, had rejected the opportunity to build a united front among women, gays, and people of color. The letter accused the Union of choosing the path of letting racism go unanswered, and perpetuating sexism and heterosexism.

Unity means non-exclusion

Unity on the Left will never arise from the Stalinist-Maoist canard that class struggle excludes people of color, women, gays and/or Trotskyists. A united front must demonstrate commitment to eradicate every type of oppression rooted in capitalism.

Courageous feminists of color, like Nellie Wong and Merle Woo, are the leaders of the struggle for true unity—a unity based on *mutual solidarity* and ordained to draw in millions to the revolutionary army that is to come. □

Roanne Hindin is a member of the Women Writers Union, works as a secretary, and is organizer for San Francisco Radical Women.



"Our writing arises from and through political struggle."

—Nellie Wong

struggles that will create international unity among the oppressed.

Sexism and racism on the Left

Several reviewers of the conference attacked Wong and Woo's Trotskyist feminism with a classic display of male chauvinism and racism.

The speeches, they barked, were "self-indulgent" and "bitter."

Conyus, in the Jan-Feb '81 *Black*

the Stalinist-Maoist attitudes of its organizers dismissed the rising leadership of women—especially those fighting *multiple* oppression in the workplace.

And a barrage of insults was lobbed at the most oppressed writers there.

Panelist William Mandel stated that a dockworker who had spoken was the conference's only *authentic* working-class representative. This hackneyed formulation neatly excluded Wong, a secretary, and Woo, a teacher.

Panelist Diane DiPrima wanted to know "what gays have done lately for the Left." She exemplified the refusal of much of the Left to acknowledge the homosexual revolt as a political issue. She should have asked, "What has most of the Left done lately for gays?"

A gay man who criticized one conference speaker for demeaning gay oppression was told to keep quiet because criticism is "divisive."

Cradle death

Another victim of the conference's Stalinist-Maoist malady is the Left Writers Union itself. Organized as a result of the conference, it has been unable to develop beyond the chronic vacillations of its petty-bourgeois intellectual orientation.

Its founding goals were to fight the



"Every word we utter is a political act and every silence is a political stance."

—Merle Woo

Throwing down the gauntlet

In the opening panel of the Left Write Conference, Nellie Wong addressed the topic, "How does writing arise from our communities?" She extolled the courage of Asian Americans trying to live in a society "which has historically oppressed us because of our race, our sex, our sexuality, and our labor."

She stressed the equal and crucial importance of the struggles of women, workers, gays, and people of color.

Wong cited Mitsuye Yamada—a teacher and feminist writer incarcerated in a World War II concentration camp for Japanese Americans—and Carlos Bulosan, Filipino writer, worker, and radical. Wong quoted from Bulosan's "If You Want to Know Where We Are":

We are multitudes, the world over, millions everywhere; in violent factories, sordid tenements, crowded cities, in skies and seas and rivers, in lands everywhere; our numbers increase as the wide world revolves and increases arrogance, hunger, disease and death.

Said Wong, "Asian Americans, like other oppressed people, cannot afford to bathe in the complacency of individual pursuits without regard for the community. Our writing arises from and through political struggle."

Merle Woo's searing speech to the workshop on Asian American writing condemned the capitalist system which thrives on racism, sexism, and heterosexism. "Every word we utter is a political act," she said, "and every silence is a political stance."

When we write our experience, said Woo, "we are not airing dirty laundry, but exposing issues, criticizing attitudes, making public the wrong done to us as

Scholar, singled out Wong for calumny. He accused her of a "weak presentation that was filled with individual attitudes toward her own work." Yet Wong had not once referred to her own eloquent, revolutionary poetry!

Wong was not only too personal, she was "too broad," complained Conyus with lofty illogic. It seems she addressed the connection between various Asian American communities, and Conyus couldn't follow this.

Moreover, he railed, her speech was full of "pop images . . . lacking in answers to serious problems that affect the Chinese community."

This is typical antifeminist, antigay gobbledegook. Conyus wants to hear about Blacks and male workers, period. Women and gays, especially if they're Asian American, should stay in their assigned places. *Their* concerns are trivial, of course.

In the Spring '81 issue of *Contact II*, published in New York City, Garrett Lambrev blasted Wong's "self-affirmations" as "immature," betraying "barely disguised hostility."

He also derided Woo's speech as full of "bitter feeling that Third World people spend their lives trying to prove they are human."

The "bitter," "hostile," and "immature" epithets reveal the critics' unwillingness to acknowledge the depth of the oppression of women of color, and their right and responsibility to speak out about it. The sexist references to their feelings as inappropriate is one more shabby attempt to discredit Woo and Wong, and suppress their militancy.

So intent was *Contact II* on sidelining Wong that it identified by name every speaker on the panel but her. She was simply the "last speaker."

Shut up if you disagree

The racism, sexism, and homophobia



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BY JANET SUTHERLAND

The enormous record in the case of *Clara Fraser vs. Seattle City Light* was finally certified and presented to King County Superior Court on Thursday morning, September 3, and Judge Jack P. Scholfield approved a schedule for written arguments in Fraser's 7-year-long sex and political discrimination battle.

The September hearing was only made possible by an earlier, historic ruling on May 19.

On that day, the final barrier to a court hearing of Fraser's case was surmounted. The Washington State Appeals Court upheld findings by two Superior Court judges that *the city must pay initially for a transcript* of the 43-day administrative hearing which aired the case from January 14 through July 10, 1980.

Ironically, the city tried to discourage Fraser's appeal last fall by sidestepping its own procedure, which allows hearing appellants to produce their own transcripts. But the city attorneys were caught stalling on producing the very transcript they had persuaded the court to order *them* to prepare—at Fraser's expense.

Irritated by the city's delay, the Superior Court ordered the city to both produce the transcript *and* pay for it. The city lost a request for reconsideration and then an appeal, and had to cough up approximately \$15,000 for the 6500-page written record!

The way is now cleared for court review of the Fraser case, a review that will test whether a public worker can be outspokenly pro-labor, pro-affirmative action, and pro-socialist without being fired for her opinions and legal acts.

Background of the victory

When Superior Court Judge T. Patrick Corbett approved court review of the case in September 1980, Fraser offered the city a complete, typed draft of the transcript prepared under the direction of attorney John Chen Beckwith, who represented the Seattle Human Rights Department and Fraser in the hearing.

Fraser proposed that this draft be proofed against the city's tape recording by experienced transcribers at minimal expense to the city. But the City Attorney protested loudly, and Corbett ruled that Fraser should pay and the city should prepare the transcript in "the least costly manner."

The city promptly hired a court reporter, estimated the cost at \$15,000, and demanded immediate payment from Fraser.

Fraser's attorneys, Valerie Carlson and Frederick W. Hyde, Jr., objected on grounds that the city has always provided tape recordings to appealing parties and allowed them to prepare transcripts as inexpensively as possible. They asked the court to modify its ruling to conform with past practice and because of Fraser's indignity—she couldn't afford to buy her constitutional rights so dearly!

Judge Corbett, indignant with the city's 3-month delay, and concerned about Fraser's indigency plea, ordered the city to proceed at once with the transcript and pay for it. Ultimate payment would be determined by the outcome of Fraser's appeal.

The city requested reconsideration of Corbett's modification. When Superior Court Judge Frank Sullivan upheld Corbett on January 29, the city—with its usual cavalier disregard for public expense—went to the State Court of Appeals, which ruled that the city had no grounds to request the review.

Setting the record straight

In April and May, even before the Appeals Court's adverse ruling against them, the city dropped the massive and faulty transcript on Fraser and de-

Clara Fraser vs Seattle City Light

Victory in the transcript wars and on to court



(From left) Attorney Valerie Carlson, Fraser, Sara Marsh, Defense Committee coordinator, and Frederick W. Hyde, Jr., attorney, examine part of the 4000-page transcript of the Fraser vs. City Light hearing last year.

manded all her objections and corrections *immediately*.

Correcting the huge transcript was an enormous job. But skillful organizing outmaneuvers City Hall! For each of the 43 volumes of transcript, Fraser's attorneys could rely on detailed logs prepared by dedicated volunteer assistants.

Working evenings and weekends, these aides listened to both the city tapes and the Beckwith tapes—poring over the city's garbled, unproofed transcript, noting obvious departures from the record, correcting misspellings, and inserting omitted passages.

Fraser filed objections to the most misleading passages in July. In August, City Hearing Examiner Pro Tem Sally Pasette, who conducted the 1980 hearing, started the process of certifying the record (to the court). She accepted most of these corrections. At a hearing August 10, she also agreed to include all exhibits offered and refused in the original hearing, to add an explanation that minor errors were left uncorrected as a matter of economy, and to affirm that even though the transcript refers to all women as "Miss," the title "Ms." is the correct one.

Pasette was reluctant to accept as additions to the transcript certain passages that were technically off the record, but she agreed to consider them as possible "bills of exception." Bills of exception allow the bringing forward and documenting of information about events during a hearing which are relevant to possible errors in procedure but which do not appear on the record.

Fraser offered several bills of exception to her and the city attempted to have them quashed. Uncertain about the scope of her discretion in responding to bills of exception, the Hearing Examiner asked for written briefs on the matter. The city responded with bills of exception intended to disprove Fraser, and argued that her bills alleging the bias and prejudice of two hearing panelists were not admissible.

On September 2, Pasette refused all bills of exception, saying they should be entered as new evidence before the Superior Court.

Bias and prejudice

On September 3, when Fraser and the city went before Judge Scholfield for a briefing schedule, Fraser's attorneys proposed that her first brief be due on March 1, 1982. This would allow time to investigate procedural irregularities in selecting the city hearing panel that heard the original case, and the overt bias and prejudice of panel members Darlene Allison and Beverly Stanton.

Assistant City Attorney Rod Kaseguma argued for a rush, 45-day deadline and a ban on new evidence.

Judge Scholfield set January 15 as the date for Fraser's first brief stating her case. And he rejected the city's bid to suppress new evidence, since the entire case is up for review.

In the coming weeks, Fraser will take depositions from those responsible for the selection of the biased hearing panel, and will bring a motion to correct remaining defects in the hearing record submitted to the court.

A fascinating story

The judge who reviews the Fraser record will find detailed testimony about her innovative and productive work as City Light's first Education Coordinator—as well as her efforts to build an unprecedented program for women electrical trainees, her leadership role in the 1974 employee walkout, her trenchant testimony before a Public Review Committee set up in the wake of the walkout to investigate City Light management, her negotiation of a new contract for the workers, harsh reprisals against her and her programs, her 1975 firing, and her 1977 vindication by the city Human Rights Department.

But the transcript offers even more. It spotlights former City Light Superin-

tendent Gordon Vickery, Director of Administrative Services Carole Coe, and Assistant City Attorney Dona Cloud as they used the hearing process to indulge in further abuse against Fraser reminiscent of the barbaric treatment of her at City Light.

And the transcript shows Fraser and her co-workers counteracting with a gutsy and magnificent defense of their record and rights.

Fraser was technically the *plaintiff* in the Human Rights Department proceedings against City Light, but she became the de facto *defendant* when the city claimed, five years after the fact, that she was actually fired for incompetence and not the stated budgetary reason. No reprisal was involved, said the city sanctimoniously.

City Attorney Cloud radical-baited Fraser, and accused her of "rifling" desks and forging signatures, grandstanding for her politics, throwing the sand of disloyalty into the finely oiled apparatus of city management, rattling garbage pails at midnight at the houses of Vickery and Coe, and failing to support the production of public power at the lowest possible cost!

What Cloud couldn't explain away were the excellent performance evaluations received by Fraser, and the documented success of her programs.

Even the most cursory reading of the transcript reveals why Hearing Examiner Pasette, an attorney, ruled that Fraser had indeed suffered political discrimination; why Elisabeth Ponder, the one Black member of the 3-person city hearing panel, went even further and found sex discrimination as well; and why Allison and Stanton, the anti-labor panel majority, were wrong to overrule Pasette and Ponder.

The white male monolith

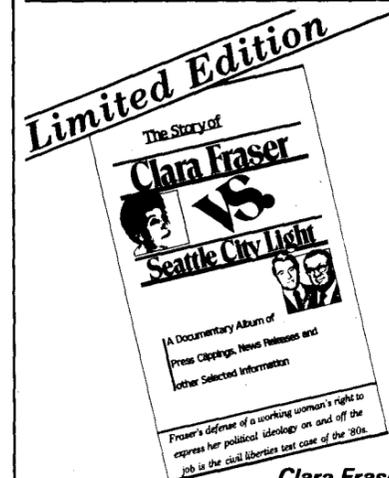
The city's antics in stalling production of the transcript show its immense stake in defeating Fraser.

When she signed on at City Light in 1973, City Light was an almost unaltered monument to white male supremacy. But public law forced it to accept a few minorities and women into management and the trades.

Fraser's job description called for experience and an imaginative approach in training workers, especially the disadvantaged, on the job. Vickery and his top managers, however, interfered constantly.

Vickery torpedoed a shorthand class Fraser had planned, with prior management approval, to upgrade clerical workers. He jettisoned a clerical skills class for soon-to-be-laid-off telephone operators. When Fraser, again with prior approval, reserved places for minorities and women in a pilot management training course, Vickery cancelled the slots.

to page 15



Clara Fraser's fight for free speech on the job is vividly documented in this extensive collection. A must for students of contemporary radical history and grass roots organizers.

Send \$5.00 to Fraser Defense Fund, 6019 South Redwing, Seattle, WA 98118.



BY MAXINE REIGEL

Millions of U.S. youth face a new draft. The slogan of the hour is "Stop the draft!" Is this enough?

Imperialist war is abhorrent and counterrevolutionary. It is also intrinsic to capitalism. And if militarism is to be successfully challenged, the Left must address the *roots* of war, and the critical issue of the *class nature* of the draft and military service.

In Lenin's footsteps

Before World War I, world labor was predominantly anti-militarist.

But on the eve of the war, the major European socialist parties capitulated to the patriotic fervor and pledged allegiance to their own nations' war aims.

This travesty of principle was condemned by the Russian Bolsheviks and the few other resolute internationalists who denounced WWI as mutual slaughter among capitalist nations for territorial markets and spheres of investment and influence. The revolutionaries urged the workers to wage war *against their own bourgeoisie*. "The chief enemy," they said, "is in *your own* country!"

In 1917, the Russian workers and peasants overthrew the Czar. But the war dragged on. After eight months, the Bolsheviks, demanding "Peace, bread, and land!" won the support of the masses organized in the soviets. And the

soldiers in the field *turned their guns around*—against the capitalist state instead of their workingclass brothers in German uniform.

Three years later, Trotsky's Red Army defeated two enemies: the counterrevolutionary troops led by former czarist officers, and armies sent in by 14 capitalist countries (including the U.S.) to crush the first workers state.

This proves the power of military strength used against capitalism instead of for it. China, Cuba, and Vietnam are further examples.

We are not pacifists

By the advent of WWII, it was clear that all great questions of the epoch would be settled by military force. And for socialists, the key issue in analyzing military policy could only be: whose *interests* does the war serve, the bourgeoisie or the workers?

Some wars *are* just and progressive. Socialists are dutybound to defend their class, their workers states, and oppressed nations against imperialism.

Hence, military training must be a basic part of workingclass education.

Trotsky wrote in 1940 that "We are absolutely in favor of compulsory military training and . . . conscription. Conscription? Yes."

But *not*, he added, by the bourgeois state. Military training cannot be entrusted to the ruling class. It must be carried out by the workers themselves.

And if revolutionaries are forced to fight in the capitalist army, they must use the opportunity to learn self-defense and weaponry, and carry on political education within the ranks.

Class struggle in the military

During WWII, Americans were eager to fight the fascists, and the draft was instituted almost without protest.

The Socialist Workers Party, then the leading U.S. Trotskyists, publicly opposed the imperialist war aims. But the SWP, following classic socialist military policy, also refused to isolate itself from the workers. Its members allowed themselves to be drafted along with their class brothers.

The SWP called for government-funded military training under *trade union control, election of officers* by the ranks, and an *end to racist discrimination* in the armed services. And the party exposed the war as serving the needs of Wall Street, not of "anti-fascism."

Their correct intervention allowed the SWP to play a vital role in the postwar

"bring the boys home" movement, and to recruit valuable cadres.

Hell no, we won't go

In explosive contrast to WWII, opposition to the Vietnam war was massive, inside and outside the military.

Thousands of youth refused to fight the Vietnamese people, and didn't. But the SWP overadapted to the New Left and pacifist core of the antiwar movement. Classic socialist military policy was out of fashion and the SWP wasn't about to illuminate its own heritage.

Individual refusal to be drafted was the predominant pattern of the Vietnam war years; the heroic work of the GI movement became secondary, and broad anti-capitalist education within the military was slighted.

The SWP failed to explain that military training is a right as well as a burden. As a result, hardly anybody today speaks of the positive benefits of military experience.

A farewell to armed women

The establishment currently pushes the draft and deems the volunteer army "unfit" for service—because 43% are Black and 8% women, most of whom joined up due to unemployment and lack of training opportunities.

The state rightly fears that an army of oppressed people would rather frag their officers than murder their fellow and sister freedom fighters around the world. And on June 25, 1981, this fear prompted the U.S. Supreme Court to turn the howitzers of bourgeois justice against women, and to uphold their exclusion from the draft—with the bogus claim that women are unfit for combat.

This degrading decision reinforces the second-class citizenship of women. The issue of women and the draft threw the Left into turmoil—most of it stands four-square behind the bourgeoisie. The *Freedom Socialist* and the *Guardian* are two notably lonely exceptions.

The pacifists, who disregard the class nature of war, like the decision because they are opposed to any draft, for any reason, for anybody.

But the radicals who support the exclusion of women haven't even this flimsy principle to rest their case on. They know that women are fighting in liberation wars all over the world, wars that the radicals *support*. They are in effect denying women membership in the U.S. working class—and all the responsibilities and rights entailed thereby.

People of color, gays, and women have

the right not to be discriminated against by the military. They, more than all others, sorely need the training—and are the most likely candidates for leadership, within the army, of the antiwar and anti-capitalist movement.

4-F Leftists

The Left in general today is sorely lacking in answers to questions raised by the impending reinstatement of the draft. The SWP, for example, eschews education on the capitalism-and-war connection, restricting itself to "No draft, no war" sloganeering.

Workers World Party initially threw all its forces into antiwar work around a multi-issue, radical program. But WWP precipitously dropped this and proceeded to try to herd people into a simplistic "overturn the Reagan program of cutbacks, racism, and war." Their October 16-18 All People's Congress in Detroit ended in a shambles, just before hundreds of infuriated delegates could storm the mikes to rail at WWP's goon-enforced dictatorship of the congress.

The Trend, a Stalinist regroupment effort, is building a "people's alliance" with bourgeois groups and the Catholic Church in support of the Salvadoran struggle. Yet it refuses to link that struggle with the antidraft movement here!

Don't expect to find an elucidation of socialist military policy and women's rights in the platforms of any of the above opportunists. Don't even expect them to say anything about capitalism! That might scare away their erstwhile, and unstable, cohorts.

Make class war

The antiwar movement of the '80s is many-sided, and socialist military policy must be the guide to action.

It is correct for workers and their allies to learn the military arts. It is correct to fight within the military to end anti-workingclass, racist, sexist, and homophobic persecution and exclusion by the nation's largest employer.

It is correct to fight outside the military to end imperialist war and *involuntary* conscription.

It is correct to fight for women's right to resist the draft and the war, to be inducted in the event of a draft, and to be afforded full equality in both spheres.

Says Trotsky in the *Transitional Program*, "Engels defined the state as bodies of 'armed men.' *The arming of the proletariat* is an imperative concomitant element to its struggle for liberation." □

L.A. radicals beat police frame-up

BY BOB HIPPLER

Los Angeles police got a lot more than they bargained for when they attempted to scatter a peaceful downtown demonstration celebrating May Day and protesting U.S. repression in El Salvador, and then arrested Latino march organizer Carlos Petroni on a bogus concealed weapons charge.

By the time Petroni was released later that day on \$500 bail, a vigorous united front campaign had been launched to defend him by the organizations that had co-sponsored the rally.

And in the next two weeks, the Freedom Socialist Party, Radical Women, the Committee in Support of Revolution in El Salvador, the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party, and the Revolutionary Workers Front—political sympathizer of the Trotsky-

ist Fourth International (International Committee)*—had gathered such an impressive array of support for Petroni's right to free speech that the District Attorney was forced to drop the phony charge against him.

Bust now, charge later

The May Day bust was completely unwarranted.

The officer in charge suddenly declared the march illegal, contradicting his earlier assurances of legality.

When 20 cops in riot gear tried to disperse the march, the demonstrators returned to Pershing Square and rallied for a brief round of speeches. Then ten cops sailed in, arrested Petroni, and

*Reactionary U.S. legislation prevents the Revolutionary Workers Front, or any political party, from being a formal affiliate of any international organization.

carted him off to jail.

Only later did the cops lodge the concealed weapons complaint—a felony charge—against him.

The LAPD obviously disliked the revolutionary and internationalist tenor of the march. Rally speakers had inveighed against Reagan and urged support for Polish workers and the Salvadoran revolution. FSP speaker Stephen Durham had connected these issues with the struggles of women, lesbians and gays, and people of color.

After the arrest, Durham, the L.A. organizer of FSP, laid bare the cops' political bias in his testimony before the Police Commission.

While the cops declared the marchers' bullhorn illegal, he said, they allowed nearby Christian fundamentalists to use a bullhorn to hurl rightwing epithets at the demonstrators. This bias was repeated in the disruption of the march and the arrest of Petroni,

which clearly violated the marchers' First Amendment rights.

The cops picked on this march, Durham concluded, because it was relatively small, unscrutinized by the media, radical and overwhelmingly Latino in composition. Petroni, he said, was an obvious and predictable police target.

United front victory

The District Attorney was deluged with letters of support for Petroni. The Feminist Women's Health Center, the Coalition Against Police Abuse, Commission Against Police Repression, the Partisan Defense Committee, the Socialist Workers Party, the ACLU, and the national offices of the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women all sent protest telegrams or statements.

The quick summoning of the united defense that beat the L.A. May Day frame-up is a model of how to fight for civil liberties—and *win!* □

Bob Hippler, Los Angeles teacher and unionist, is a human rights activist.

Of pride, politics, and parades



BY LUMA NICHOL

Prodigious numbers of gay liberationists once again thronged the avenues of the world this year in rallies that resurrected the spirit of the 1969 Stonewall riots which sparked the modern lesbian/gay movement.

300,000 people, comprising 200 different contingents, marched in San Francisco. 80,000 demonstrated in New York City. Cities from Boston to Seattle counted participants in the thousands.

And on the other side of the world, in Australia, 1500-2000 militant lesbians and gays poured into Sydney streets.

Mexico City was the scene of a 5000-strong, third annual march organized by the Homosexual Revolutionary Action Front. Demonstrators were particularly verbal as they passed the U.S. embassy.

Rosaria Ibarra de Piedra, presidential candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party, a Trotskyist organization, spoke in solidarity with the gay struggle, as did the Mexican Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. Lesbian Socialists, Oikabeth (a lesbian group), and Grupo Lambda (lesbians and gay males) also addressed the rally, and greetings were read from the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador.

Revels or revolt

The re-emergence of militance in many U.S. cities was a welcome departure from the crassly anti-political parades and dream festivals that have become the hallmark of gay marches led by conservative white men.

And as polarization between right and left wracks the lesbian/gay movement, the conflict between politics and pure-and-simple entertainment erupted in several cities. Where the pro-circus elements prevailed, the message of the marches was buried.

Yellow woman uproar

The leadership of people of color, and a close cooperation between lesbians and gay men, made the San Francisco event "much more political" than last year's carnival scene, according to coordinator Konstantin Berlandt. And Freedom Socialist Party speaker Merle Woo eloquently delivered the prescription for survival of the movement.

Woo called for "revolutionary feminism, which attacks white, patriarchal, heterosexual hierarchy and exploitation against women, men of color, the poor, and gay men." She excoriated the racist-sexist elitism that plagues the movement, and she drew thunderous applause.

Woo's talk elicited another rousing ovation when it was played over loudspeakers at the gay pride march in Sweden.

Her speech was later broadcast over radio station KPFA in San Francisco and was published in *On Parade*, San Francisco's official gay pride publication.

But not everybody loved Woo. White gay conservatives reacted venomously. *Midwest* magazine publisher Jack Williamson headed his column, "Yellow Woman Speaks/Gay Movement Dies." He hated the demand of "Merle and her slimy ilk" for feminist, multi-racial, gay politics, and his poison pen reveals how

snugly the elitists are tucked inside the pocket of reaction.

It is heartening to report that the reaction against Williamson was swift. Solidarity, a gay male group, sent a strongly worded protest, and the national office of Radical Women initiated a letter-writing campaign to protest Williamson's brand of gay racism and sexism.

Boycott in Portland

Radical lesbians and gays in Portland tried earnestly to include a political rally amidst the day-long program of drinking, floats, bands, and fashion shows.

But an agreement to have *speakers* at the march was sabotaged, behind the scenes, by the liberals who dominated the Gay Pride Activities Committee.

The militants on the committee found themselves the targets of crude racist, misogynist, and red-baiting abuse, and they boycotted the event in protest. "We endorse celebration," they stated, "but denounce censorship of politics."

Success story

Spirited leadership by radical lesbians and feminist men forged the political success of Seattle's 1500-strong Stonewall Day demonstration.

Christopher Smith, representing the sponsoring committee, hammered home the "multi-issue, militant, feminist" theme of the march. "We must let the right wing know we are going to fight back!" he thundered—and the crowd roared its approval.

Madelyn Elder, the speaker from Radical Women and the Freedom Social-

ist Party, stressed that "the demand for lesbian/gay freedom is *revolutionary*," and she pointed to the essential role of radicals in the movement.

A Native American speaker, Jenny Thompson, warned against the "blindness" of sexism worn by many men that hinder the unity of the oppressed.

And Kay Lee, Gray Panther leader, expressed strong solidarity with the lesbian/gay "struggle for basic rights."

A small group of white male flag carriers, calling themselves "Gay, American and Proud" and the "Moral Majority of the gay movement," tried to drown out the march with noise from speakers mounted on their truck. But the crowd ignored them and they soon departed.

Sex and socialism

Race-baiting, red-baiting, and anti-lesbian venom against movement militants bespeak a dangerous refusal to recognize the needs and hopes of the *majority* of sexual minority people.

Political storms lie ahead, and true fighters for lesbian/gay freedom must gear up for them—and come to the aid of the revolutionaries, people of color, and lesbians in their midst.

It is these sectors who can spur humanity on to a socialist future where sexual preference will not have to be a political issue at all. □

Luma Nichol was involved in the Illinois campaign to defend the Pontiac prisoners. Since moving to Seattle, she has represented Radical Women on the Stonewall '81 Committee, sponsor of Seattle's march.

CRSP

The Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party has conducted a 4-year effort on behalf of regroupment for U.S. Trotskyists. For information, contact Dr. Susan Williams, National Coordinator, P.O. Box 475, Village Stn., New York, NY 10014. 212-929-0210.

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ms. tami

What's bugging you?

I recently watched a public television program about the rapacious habits of locusts.

The images on the screen were all the more striking because I had turned off the sound. The realism of post-Disney documentaries requires prolonged scenes of insects chewing on each other, and the sound puts me off anything crunchy for months.

As silent hordes gnawed the landscape into barren emptiness, I inexplicably thought of President Reagan's cancellation of school lunch programs. Of course, these were restored to the budget after all the children signed an oath not to complain about the food. Or belong to any group that advocates second-helpings by force or violence.

With no money saved here, Reagan decided to cut off food stamp benefits to strikers. His "keep 'em barefoot and on the assembly line" credo annoyed AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland.

"That's no way to save money,"

snapped he. "Who goes out on strike anymore? This isn't Poland!" Labor's management now plans a nationwide, one-hour, midnight candlelight vigil to protest the administration's rudeness and ingratitude.

Most other recipients of Mr. Reagan's fiscal attention have been a disappointment to the president. "We expected more feedback on these cuts, more frank dialogue. But the old, the halt, the sick, and the lame lack the civic pride to speak up."

Abruptly, my attention was recaptured by the television program. Human beings, who obviously had had it with the locusts, suddenly appeared and eradicated the pests with Flit or something. After 45 minutes of locusts, five minutes of concerted human activity had taken care of the munching plague. All that was left was little piles of right wings all over the ground.

I turned the sound up. This is the part I like. □

Time for a

LABOR PARTY

BY SAM DEADERICK

Workers in the USA are worried and disgusted. Reagan and Co., on the orders of Wall Street and corporate board rooms, have declared war on the union movement. The Republicans desperately try to return to the heyday past of laissez-faire capitalism and unabashed exploitation of labor—and the Democrats, self-proclaimed champions of workers and the poor, show their true stripes as they trip over each other in a mad rush to support or capitulate to Reagan.

The true class basis of this society becomes more nakedly revealed with each new administration.

Ranged on the one side is the working class—unionists, the unorganized, the working poor, the working affluent, all the wage, salary and commission earners who are not in business for themselves or serving as managers for the capitalists.

On the other side loom the owners of banks, business, and industry, and the politicians, generals, and administrators who serve them.

Reagan gives carte blanche to the bosses via his union-busting, non-enforcement of affirmative action and OSHA safety and health standards, ignoring of antitrust provisions, slashing of business taxes, and his declaration of open season on the environment for the nuclear, oil, and gas developers.

PATCO: The battle is joined

Piece by piece the Reagan program emerges, and as each portion is unveiled, protest erupts. Like brush fires, separate battles arise over each issue. But the recent strike by the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO), and the administration's double-barreled response, clarified and dramatized the stark fact that all the separate battles are objectively connected—and that what we are witnessing is a full-fledged war against the working class.

The whole thing smelled like a government set-up.

Refusing to bargain in good faith, government negotiators provoked the air controllers into a strike, and Reagan moved quickly. Citing the "illegality" of strikes against the government, he refused to resume bargaining and fired 12,000 controllers.

The nation reeled, and a swift chill swept over the entire labor movement, particularly public service workers. Labor's "friends," the Democrats, did nothing, and top labor bureaucrats were treacherous.

AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland walked a PATCO picket line for the benefit of the TV cameras, but refused to put his strength where his image was. Echoing Reagan, he refused to call for labor solidarity because of the "illegal" nature of the strike—as if the history of the labor movement were not precisely the transformation of once illegal actions into legally protected activities.

And while the government moved in military air traffic controllers and supervisors to keep planes airborne, however unsafely, the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, that top bureaucratic layer in the unions, stopped labor from honoring PATCO's picket lines.

The strike could have been won in a matter of days had machinists, truckers, flight attendants, and pilots refused to cross the picket lines. But despite bureaucratic betrayals, labor's ranks displayed an instinctive solidarity with PATCO, connecting the strikebreaking with the barrage of social attacks by the government. Their sympathy with the PATCO workers swelled into a mass upsurge that rolled right over the purely token response of the union bureaucrats.

In the biggest Labor Day rally since the '30s, 100,000 demonstrators filled New York City streets to protest social service cutbacks and affirm solidarity with PATCO.

A week later, "Solidarity Day" drew almost 500,000 to Washington, D.C. to address the same issues. This was the largest demonstration in Washington, D.C.'s history, and the first nationwide labor mobilization in 40 years.

The message was clear—Reagan's mandate is a sham, and working people will not stand by and see the gains won by generations of struggle shattered.

Helpless giant

But after Washington, what?

Labor is at a terrible disadvantage in the struggle. There is no explicitly political mass organization of the working class. Both the Democrats and Republicans are bourgeois parties through and through—the bosses' parties. Electoral races do not reflect different class interests, so no real choice is involved.

The ideal of an independent government, above and outside labor-management enmity, is a myth. All parties and regimes have a fundamental class basis, class program and class loyalty. The capitalist class owns two parties in this land, but the proletariat doesn't even have one.

A new mass party must be formed—a workingclass party, based on the unions and including all the oppressed and disenfranchised.

A party standing clearly for the interests of the working class would represent the overwhelming majority of the people. Such a party could wage a political battle in the political wars, and the electorate could finally use its vote to choose between bosses and labor.

A labor party would remove labor issues from the level of kneejerk platitudes tossed off by cynical Republican candidates bidding for union support. It would place the grave concerns of working people on the top of the political agenda.

Most importantly, a labor party would concentrate the strength of U.S. workers into a political vehicle capable of contending for and winning political power!

Perhaps the most convincing argument for a labor party is the political climate we face without one.

The administration has already signaled its determination to bury collective

bargaining, deny funds to those who need them the most, roll back civil rights and civil liberties progress, and expand the military—already the world's most ruthless and counterrevolutionary police force. And who is to pay for militarism abroad, soaring profits here, and inflation? Workers and the poor.

Without a mass labor party, workers can't even win bread-and-butter economic gains. What little might be won at the bargaining table, if there is one, is immediately taken away by inflation.

The time could hardly be better to promote a political alternative. Massive sentiment already exists for a powerful vehicle for change. But it can dissipate unless a positive political alternative emerges. And the right wing can only be strengthened by the continuing tragic lack of an uncompromising political challenge from the rank and file of labor.

Anatomy of the party

What are the characteristics of a mass workingclass party?

It would be completely independent of the clone capitalist parties in program, structure, and personnel.

It would field its own candidates,

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

For revolutionary internationalism

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

For union democracy

The working class has the strategic

power, numbers, need, and opportunity to effect a socialist transformation of society. But first the trade unions must be freed from the stranglehold of the class-collaborationist bureaucrats and

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from dependence on the twin political parties of big business. Internal union democracy, class struggle principles, independent political action in the form of a Labor Party, and an end to internal racism, sexism, and heterosexism are on the order of the day.

For racial/ethnic freedom

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

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

We advocate the collaboration of

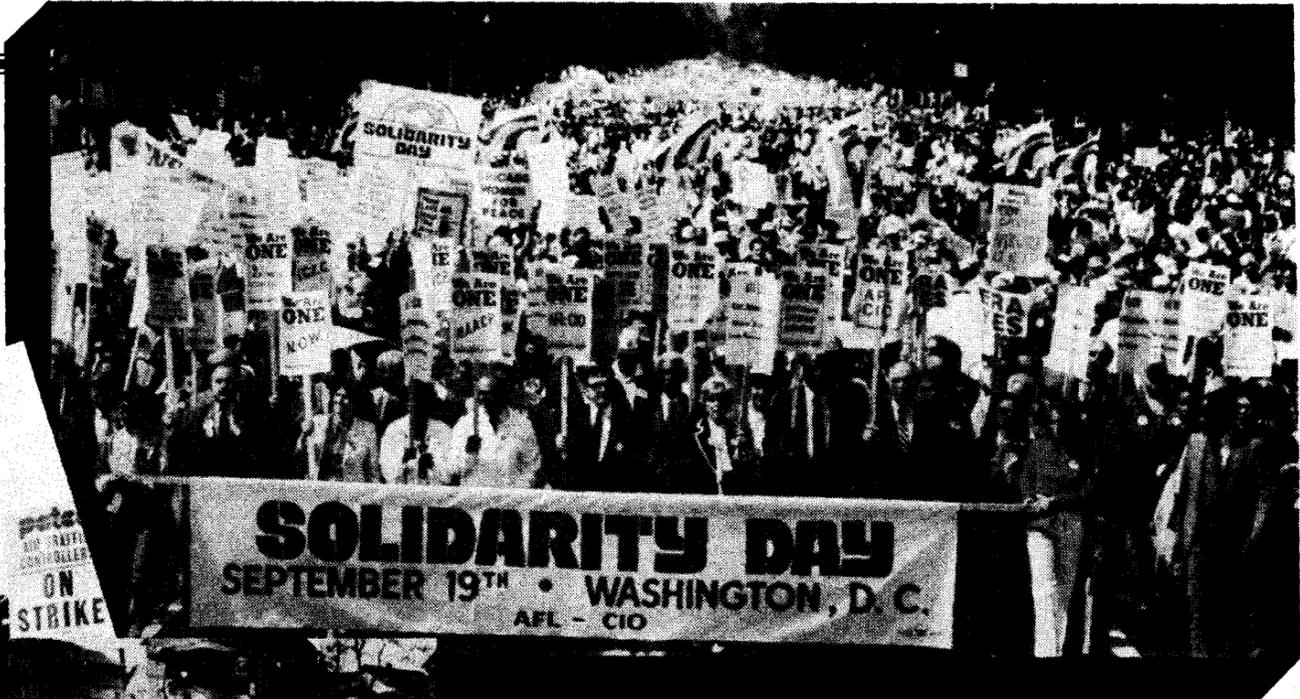
What is the F

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

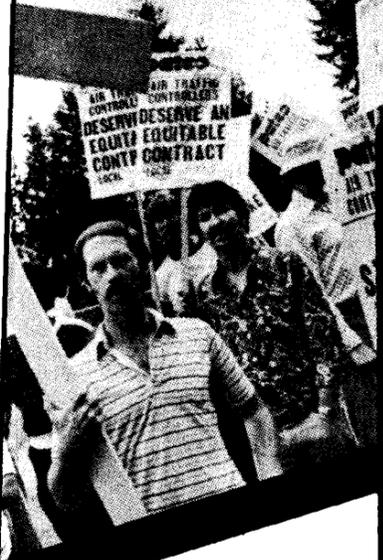
For women's liberation

We organize for the total emancipation of women on every level of life. multiple afflictions of women—as members of an oppressed sex, women of color, lesbians—propel them into militancy within every social movement, thereby laying the basis for using all the mass movements. Women, particularly workingclass women c





Larry Downing/Newsweek



Bryce Flynn

clear programmatic opposition to the candidates of big business.

Its program would express *the interests and needs of workers and their allies*, and only that program.

It would provide an effective *alternative and challenge* to the boss-party politics dominating the electoral arena.

It would be *democratic*. Anyone would join who agreed with the program, and it would be ruled by the will of the majority, not the labor bureaucrats.

The *composition* of the party would reflect the makeup of the working class—people of color, women, gays, students, white men, older workers, youth, the handicapped, political radicals, artists, intellectuals, etc. And all would need to be represented on the leading bodies of the labor party.

In composition and in program, the party should stand by and for *the lowest paid, most discriminated-against, and longest suffering* of labor's ranks.

Caucuses would be formed by any group with special concerns to deal with the racism, sexism, homophobia, ageism, political persecution, etc., that exist outside and within the party. These caucuses would choose their own represen-

tatives to the party's leadership bodies to guarantee that the rights of all minorities would be represented.

A workingclass program

All platform issues would be open to democratic debate, and unlike Democrats and Republicans, *all candidates would be pledged to uphold the agreed-upon program of the party.*

The platform, of course, would be the product of intense ideological struggle. Hopefully, the initial program would include the following planks:

1. *For a government representing the working class and its allies.*
2. *For vastly expanded social services.* Health care, social security, welfare payments, human services, housing, and education for all.
3. *Tax the rich, not the poor.*
4. *For a healthy environment.* Heavy fines for polluters and safety violators. A moratorium on all new nuclear plants until safety has been established

and waste-disposal problems solved. Nationalize the energy industry under workers' control.

5. *For a sliding scale of wages and hours with no cut in pay. For full employment.* Public service jobs and a decent minimum wage.

6. *Organize the unorganized.*

7. *Open management's books during all labor negotiations.*

8. *For full equality for women, people of color, lesbians/gays, elders, youth, handicapped.* Affirmative action programs and anti-discrimination laws enforced. Free childcare centers. Free abortion on demand. Effective training programs.

9. *Slash the military budget.* Union wages for the ranks and no discrimination within the military.

10. *No draft.* Universal military training under union control.

Sounds great, but how?

Already hundreds of local unions across the country are on record in support of independent political action by labor. Union activists need to introduce many more such resolutions, organize to get them passed, and press for conferences to plan strategy.

Then, drawing on this support, great pressure should be exerted on the national labor leadership. Calls should be issued by local, state, or national labor councils for regional conferences to elect delegates to a national founding conference.

If the call is for a truly democratic and independent party, massive support from the ranks of labor and friends of labor is assured.

Party poopers

Inevitably, the call for a labor party will spark frenzied arguments.

Liberals will protest that the new party will split the progressive vote and

strengthen the conservatives.

But the conservatives already control the country, and the liberals have long since proved their bankruptcy.

There is no danger in dividing the vote for candidates who are no alternative at all. Many workers and Blacks already vote Republican as an alternative to continued betrayal by the Democrats. The vote is already divided. *And lesser-evil politics have proved to be the greatest evil of this century.*

The ultra-lefts, on the other side of the spectrum, will cry that a labor party is dangerously reformist because it doesn't espouse immediate revolution and operates within the bourgeois legislative and political arenas.

But the majority of U.S. workers are not yet prepared to join a revolutionary party; indeed, for them to form an independent labor party is a revolutionary step to take, in terms of expanding class consciousness.

And as regards the bourgeois electoral arena, that's the only one there is in a capitalist country, and it does furnish a magnificent rostrum for massive public education.

Radicals always provide decisive political education within a labor party, and radicals who don't see this are sectarian and mechanical.

The capitalist class, through its twin-party agents, is intensifying the class war. An independent labor party can send the bosses reeling, and start to turn this country around.

The labor party is a highly likely development here, and a transitional stage on the highroad to socialism.

Every revolutionary, every radical, every militant, every independent, every worker and every friend of humanity should press for its birth in a land that desperately needs a bold new course. □

FSP?

color, are playing an increasingly vanguard role in the American and world revolution, thanks to the rise of the autonomous women's movement and women's caucuses within unions and all political parties.

For gay equality

The revolt of lesbians and gay men against sexual repression and sex-role stereotyping is a key ingredient of the fight for women's equality and is equally revolutionary. Revolutionary socialism is the logical road for sexual minorities who stand apart from the bourgeois nuclear family and who wish to end the long, bloody centuries of persecution and terror.

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

For universal human rights

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

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

For environmental sanity

The world's natural riches must be used and safeguarded by the people, not by the corporations who exhaust resources for profit and destroy worker safety and health. Nuclear energy threatens to maim or annihilate future generations. Technology must be used wisely and humanely to preserve the earth and its creatures.

For a mass party of the working class

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

Through independent growth, revolutionary regroupment, and other forms of fusion, we are confident of our eventual merger with the dynamic masses who will sweep every obstacle out of their path and ascend to the socialist future. □

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EDITORIAL



Iran: The march of revolution

Right on the heels of Khomeini's triumphant return from exile in 1979 and the establishment of his republic, the women of Iran thronged to the streets to proclaim the **beginning**, not the end, of the revolution.

When the Ayatollah unleashed his quick-triggered feudalistic decrees against them, they demonstrated again. "At the dawn of freedom," they shouted, "we have no freedom! We will not be slaves!"

But Khomeini's sexist fusillade broadened into wholesale repression against women, and this attack coincided with and symbolized the consolidation of power by the bourgeois state.

In the name of the "revolution," revolutionary guards were transformed into reactionary goon squads. Barbarous criminal and civil laws were reinstated. Workers committees were infiltrated and controlled. National and religious minorities were trampled upon. Leftists and gays were tortured and murdered. Free speech and press were throttled. And the economy was almost totally devastated.

Khomeini's legacy has nothing in common with workers revolution and the aspirations of the Iranian people, despite his fulminations against U.S. imperialism.

The enraged masses who toppled the Shah in February 1979 fought not for fundamentalist repression but for socialist goals: worker and peasant control of factories and land, the liberation of women, democratic government, autonomy for national minorities, the ousting of U.S. imperialism.

But the Ayatollah and the mullahs shared only one point of identity with the people—anti-imperialism. For the rest, they were and

are solidly pro-capitalist.

Had the revolutionary Iranian Left hearkened to the Islamic republic's first victims—the women—the initial stage of the revolt would have long since passed over into workers power and Iran spared the agony of the clerical clampdown. A workers revolution would have completed the socialist tasks posed by the February insurrection.

Today, the Islamic republic is instead being shredded by bloody street fights, assassinations of rightwing leaders, sadistic government reprisals, and the rapid-fire executions of radicals.

Reactionary mob violence alone shores up the increasingly desperate Khomeini regime. Dual power continues to prevail as the tug-of-war between the teetering bourgeois state and the white-hot revolutionary insurgence reaches the stage of violent civil war, especially since the June ouster and exile of former president Bani-Sadr (the bourgeois liberal who masqueraded unsuccessfully as the "democratic" bulwark against the mullahs).

Spearheading the urban guerrilla resistance that is decimating the Islamic Republic Party is the Mujahadeen Khalq, which combines Islamic rhetoric with Marxist principles.

Two other Marxist parties, the Fedayeen minority and the Peykar, are allied with the Mujahadeen in the streets.

We note with disgust that even as the middle class and part of the army turn against the regime, Iranian Trotskyists who are allied with the Mandeliste/U.S.-SWP faction of the Fourth International oppose the anti-mullah warfare. Armed resistance, they say, "strengthens the

hand of U.S. imperialism against the revolution." With the same logic, Kerenskyists evoked the shadow of Imperial Germany to declaim against the Bolshevik completion of the Russian Revolution.

But how in the world does across-the-board repression in the interest of bourgeois property relations defend the revolution against imperialism?

While condemning the Mujahadeen-led anti-Khomeini battle, the two Trotskyist parties—the Revolutionary Workers Party and the Workers Unity Party—have jointly run candidates for electoral positions in a government that has vowed to destroy them. In this, they ape the Stalinist Tudeh Party, with its coat-tailing of Khomeini, and its suicidal aloofness from the growing vortex of popular resistance.

Civil war is the inevitable outcome of delayed revolution, and the only road open for its completion. We call on the valiant Mujahadeen, the Fedayeen minority, Peykar, the entire Left, and the outraged women, workers, and national minorities to **unite** against government violence.

A revolutionary-led front that brooks no compromise with the bourgeoisie, whether cloaked in Bani-Sadr liberalism or Islamic fundamentalism, will overthrow Khomeini and install the foundations of the socialist future that lies ahead of the present convulsions.

The people of Iran have already proved their determination to triumph over injustice. History is on their side.

—MONICA HILL

MOVIE REVIEW

Tell me a Riddle



An old woman dying of cancer. An elderly man too frail to climb a ladder. Hardly the kind of characters devised by corporate Hollywood to guarantee long lines at your local movie theatre.

Indeed, this first film from Godmother Productions might provoke some uneasy feminists to ask why they should be interested in a film about a woman whose most obvious strength is a sort of Zen-like detachment from the abuses of an ageist, sexist, capitalist society.

But "Tell Me A Riddle," adapted from Tillie Olsen's book, is a powerful experience. It does not embody the usual perspective of most films about women, where the point of view or "eye" is that of an outsider, a voyeur.

Almost everyone involved with this production is a woman, and director Lee Grant attempts to heed Olsen's intent: a glimpse of a woman's life as seen through her own eyes.

Eva (Lila Kedrova) is Mrs. Word Miser, Mrs. Miserable, Mrs. Enlightened. We relive her past and see her family argue and fuss intrusively about her stubbornness, her health, her eccentricity.

Grandchildren demand that she tell them riddles. A daughter begs advice on childrearing. Babies are thrust at her for cuddling.

But Eva has no riddles, no advice, no longing to hold more children. What she does have is the strength to say no to reliving her years as a mother, dealing with creditors, and her family's plan to send her to a retirement home.

As Eva nears death, the life she chooses to remember is the life inside. Flashbacks focus on her girlhood as a Jewish freedom fighter against the Czar in Russia—political struggle, clandestine meetings, executions. She recalls her idealism, her activism, and the craving for knowledge that always infused her life with meaning, long after the arid role prescribed by her marriage, and her immigration to America, limited her scope.

She savors passages from Mandelstam and Gorky, memorized through years of self-education in hours stolen from sleep and interrupted by her husband—her husband reaching for her, imploring, "Don't read, don't read."

Eva's outer life is compressed into the pain and half-wakefulness of her last few months, spent in traveling and living in spare rooms. She longs to go home to familiar rooms that resonate with the music and books she treasures, but her husband David (Melvyn Douglas)

carries her across the country for final visits with their children.

David has withheld from her the truth about her cancer and has sold their home without her knowledge or permission. Discovering this loss, she angrily, tersely sums up their life. Says David, "I was shut out of your world." Eva retorts, "You ridiculed me. You lied to me."

A later scene of sexual passion between the two is a refreshing and beautiful refutation of the stereotypes about older people that ageist Hollywood promulgates.

It is unfortunate that the film's deliberate political ambiguity pares Eva's life of clear meaning. Fragmented glimpses of her past obscure her place in time and frustrate our understanding of her role in Russia's massive revolutionary upheavals.

Nor is Eva's right to independence rather than submission to traditional sex-roles clearly supported by the film. The audience is left to conclude that women's only option is to repeat Eva's bitter choices. The role of Eva's granddaughter, a character which might have provided an alternative, is poorly developed and poorly acted.

But we see more through Eva's eyes than did *The Nation's* film critic who complained that "Feminism, like most militant causes, narrows one's view." He missed the point. Capitalism and sexism, not feminism, constricted Eva.

Eva shows us a rich universe, and a human potential that is only a revolution away.

—PEGGY SHAFER

Margaret Shafer is the author of a collection of poems, *Sleeping in Damascus* (New Rivers Press, 1980). She belongs to CRSP.

BOOK REVIEW



special feminism of women of color

This Bridge Called My Back. Edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. Watertown, Mass.: Persephone Press, 1981. \$8.95.

Powerful, dynamic, intense, soul-searching, and historically right-on!

This Bridge Called My Back should be read by all people who call themselves feminists and/or radicals, because it definitively shows the way out of the dungheap of unacknowledged racism that many of these folks have gotten themselves into.

The book is a collection of essays and poetry, of personal narrative, of analysis. All six powerful sections were written by women of color, and not just for women of color but—guess what!—for everyone.

The revolutionary sisters have finally come out to the feminist movement and told it like it is. They explain, complain, and protest to white feminists, and everybody else, about the way women of color get the shaft time after time.

The 30 writers expose white women's failure to listen to women of color, failure to try to understand other cultures, and general treatment of women of color as pariahs in the women's movement.

Everyone should listen. The message is clear: "Move on over or we'll move on over you!" In a comradely way, of course.

Say the editors in the Introduction,

We want to express to all women—especially white middleclass women—the experiences which divide us as feminists; we want to examine incidents of intolerance, prejudice and denial of differences within the feminist movement.

In "When I Was Growing Up," poet Nellie Wong explains with moving clarity how the white culture teaches young women of color to "elevate" their female characteristics and blot out their race. This experience makes the struggle against both oppressions inextricable from each other.

All the writers, in nearly 50 selections, eloquently assert this theme—their refusal to split themselves up into multi-pieces, like schizocarps, in response to their multiple oppression. Especially when they are so powerful as whole people!

They summon the feminist and Left movements to expand their demands to include the rights of race, sex, class, and sexual orientation. And to acknowledge that one oppression is inseparable from the others.

Merle Woo, in "Letter to Ma," poignantly depicts how her demand for respect as a woman, a worker, and an Asian American grew out of her own family's experience with racism and sexism.

To the "sensitive" question of who is going to lead the struggle, the writers boldly propose themselves:

Third world women are forming the leadership in the feminist movement because we are not one-dimensional, one-issued in our political understanding. Just by virtue of our identities we certainly define race and usually define class as being fundamental issues that we have to address. The more wide-ranged your politics, the more potentially profound and transformative they are.

—"A Sister-to-Sister Dialogue"
Barbara and Beverly Smith

These brave sisters also tell their own communities that **they refuse to turn their backs on the feminist movement and betray feminism. They will not be guilt-tripped into just fighting racism. And they most definitely will not sit silently and be relegated to "womanly" duties inside the race movement.**

What began as a reaction to the racism of white feminists soon became a positive affirmation of the commitment of women of color to our own feminism.

—"Introduction"

The last paragraph of Doris Davenport's essay, "The Pathology of Racism: A Conversation With Third World Wimmin," comes through especially loud and clear:

It is time we stopped letting the rest of this oppressive society dictate our behavior, devour our energies, and control us, body and soul. It is time we dealt with our energies, and our own revolutionary potential, like the constructive and powerful forces that they are. When we do act on our power and potential, there will be a real feminist movement in this country, one that will finally include all wimmin.

I want to thank the women of color who wrote this book for their bold and revolutionary contribution to the movement, and for the substantial boost they gave me in further understanding my own frustrations and strengths.

While I did not always agree with each writer, each one had a message.

I will use this book not only as a reference, but as a testimonial written directly for me.

—MADLYNE F. SCOTT

Madlyne Scott, determined fighter for Blacks, women, and social justice since her high school years, is on the Freedom Socialist Editorial Board.



Clara
Fraser

On His Majesty's Secret Service

My first encounter with the federal spy boys was during the Boeing strike of 1948.

I was down on my hands and knees scrubbing the living room linoleum. We lived in a housing project graced by the architectural style of Early Chicken Coop, and the front door was wide open because closing it was a near impossibility.

A stranger appeared in the doorway. "Hello, Clara," he said. "Hi."

"I'm from the Federal Bureau of Investigation," he announced. "I'd like to talk to you about the strike. We thought that you, a strike leader, might know about the violence."

I sat back on my haunches. "Go away," I said.

"Now, Clara," he said. I glared. He turned and left.

About 20 years later, when I worked for the anti-poverty program and was deeply involved with the Black community, two FBI agents appeared on my doorstep. This time I was cooking dinner and had a pot in one hand as I opened the door.

"Good evening, Mrs. Fraser." Not so chummy this time. "We are Federal Bureau of Investigation agents. We want to talk to you about the recent bombings."

"I don't talk to the FBI," I said, and closed the door.

Yes, I've had quite a few strange encounters with the political police. So I know how my colleague Su Bondurant felt when she was besieged on the night of October 17 by two pompous minions of King Ronnie's palace guard.

Su was part of a national delegation of Radical Women and FSPers at the All People's Congress in Detroit's Cobo Hall. Su was the assigned note-taker for the delegation. Her notes were written on a tablet which she carried in a jeanbag.

On Saturday evening, she left her jeanbag in her hotel room and went out to dinner. She and three other delegates returned to her room after 1 a.m.

The phone rang twice. Mary answered and the party hung up. Within minutes, there came a knock on the door and a voice said, "Susan!"

She opened the door. Two men in navy blue jackets stood in the dark hallway.

"We're from the Secret Service," they said, flashing some kind of identification. "Are you Susan?"

"Yes." Mary and Laurie were now at the door, too.

"Didn't you lose something, Susan?" Su said no.

"Can we come in and talk to you?" Su said no.

"Will you come to the lobby and talk?" Su closed the door.

"Don't you want to see what we've got, Susan? We just want you to identify it."

Su opened the door. The agent was holding up her notes.

"Are these yours? They were in the lobby."

"Yes, they are mine!"

"Now will you come and talk to us, Susan?"

Again Su said no. Replied one agent, "Toodles!"—which is a word used by nobody except Laurie and which means Goodbye! And the estimable gents left—with Su's notes.

It took a little while for the shock to subside. Then an angry Su called the Secret Service at 2 a.m. and demanded the return of her notes. Agent Ball said he'd find out about it.

Su called Ball again early Sunday morning. He said agent Brush would call her. "I want my stuff back now," Su said. "You've stolen it."

"You've been watching too much TV," said Ball.

Agent Brush finally called. He wouldn't return the papers because Su had "slammed the door" in his face. The poor misunderstood gumshoe was shocked by such an unladylike breach of etiquette. Su would have to come down on Monday and talk to them to get her papers back.

"But I'll be out of town on Monday," she protested.

"Then get a lawyer when you return to Seattle." Su had never mentioned Seattle as her hometown.

Attorney William Sacks, representing the Steering Committee of the All People's Congress, called the SS and spoke with Agent Brush later that afternoon. Brush now claimed the papers were found in a restaurant. Asked how he had identified and located the owner of the tablet, since Su's name was not on it, he replied that he was a "good investigator." He agreed to return the papers, but only to a lawyer, and not before Monday.

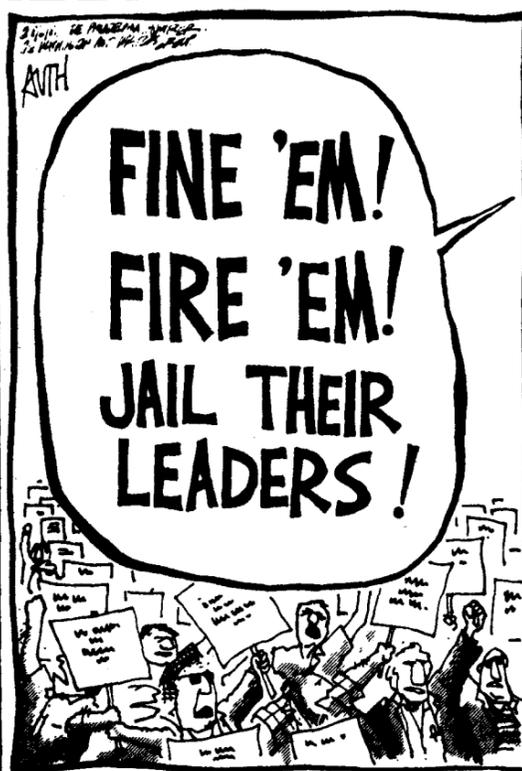
On Monday, attorney and friend George Washington of Detroit retrieved the papers and mailed them to Su.

Why had Brush commandeered the papers? Because, he said, Su had written down the words, "Tell Pharaoh Reagan to let our people go or face the consequences of the Red Sea"—a direct quote from a conference speaker!

Would you believe this political parable, to the witchhunting mind of the SS, constituted a "threat against the President" which had to be investigated? That's what Brush said.

Violations of privacy and free speech. Illegal surveillance. Unwarranted search, seizure and theft of personal property. Deceit, secrecy, harassment and intimidation. Add it all up and you've got government crime—plus the added sin of rank idiocy.

I don't know about the Red Sea, but I'm curious about the Potomac... Now who could that be knocking on my door?



ESPAÑOL

Derechos reproductivos

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3. Asegurando que todavía no hayan sido esterilizadas como piezas procreadoras indeseables, mujeres sin fondos para tener abortos están siendo forzadas al embarazo en contra de su voluntad. Y

suponiendo el sexismo del establecimiento médico, esto significa décadas de criar niños sin importar *los terribles riesgos a la salud de la madre y el niño*.

4. Si los anti-aborto ganan, mujeres van a ser otra vez forzadas al carnicería y daños *abortos en callejones*.

La "moral" de los reaccionarios demanda que las mujeres seán desvestidas de todos sus derechos, dignidad, el poder de escoger, su misma persona. Y los histéricos "pro-familia" no son por ninguna vida humana o relación sino por los prerrogativos patriarcas de hombres heterosexuales, blancos y casados. Reclaman más altos índices de natalidad para la raza blanca encuancto que obligan a la gente de color que se someta a la esterilización.

La retórica pro-vida es una tapa cínica para los ataques viciosos sobre mujeres y niños, reduciéndolos a cosas—cuerpo y alma perteneciendo al masculino Cabeza del Hogar. Esta subyugación de los indefensibles es la llave a la propaganda derechista para sostener el casco decadente del Capitalismo.

La familia nuclear heterosexual, con la mujer como esclavo doméstico, es la fundación económica del capitalismo, vital a su existencia. Dentro la unidad de la familia, el trabajo doméstico es hecho por las mujeres sin ningún pago. Y teniéndolas descalzas, embarazadas, cuidando a los niños, y *fuera del mercado de trabajo* es, simplemente, muy bueno para el comercio.

La moral de los de la derecha, desvestida de su halo, expresa nada menos que los intereses sociales y económicos de la clase gobernante.

Izquierdistas en retirada

La Union Soviética, en su pico revolucionario bajo Lenin y Trotsky, reconoció que la igualdad real para las mujeres significaba libertad sin condición de aborto y divorcio, como también la provisión de guarderías de niños y la socialización del trabajo casero.

Péro la degeneración Estalinista negó algunas ganancias básicas de la revolu-



DB/FS

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Haciendo campo para y pacificando contra-aborcionistas, *The Progressive* hace un llamado para una "resuelta común para construir un mundo en el cual libertad de elección y el derecho de vida puedan co-existir." Que mundo.

Después de todo, agrega John Judis de *In These Times*, "[Aborto] es un punto tanto moral o religioso como también político." Péro así lo son el matrimonio legal, suicidio, heterosexualidad, etc. ¿Pesa el Papa ahora más que el humanismo?

El ataque contra derechos reproductivos es fusionado filosóficamente, programáticamente y organizacionalmente con la política reaccionista. Ni siquiera los liberales perennamente cobardes tienen algún negocio publicando propaganda derechista o suplicando con sus proveedores por la coexistencia pacífica (como lo hizo N.O.W. hace dos años).

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De otra manera

Hechos materiales y médicos indican que el feto, con una potencia no convertible en vida, es nada más una aglomeración de cédulas *incapaz de una existencia independiente* aparte de la mujer cuyo cuerpo lo está construyendo.

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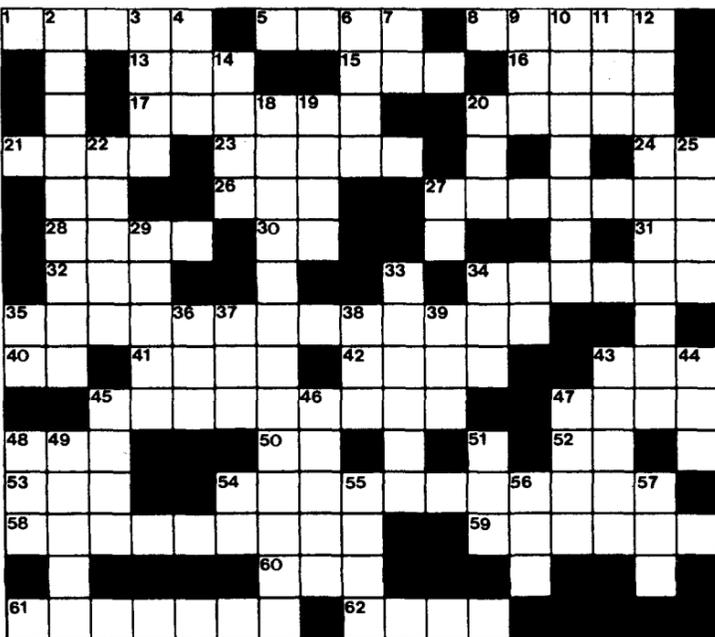
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CRSSWORD



by Helen Gilbert

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 - 41. _____ (movie)
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 - 43. Farm tool
 - 45. "It was the _____ of _____" (Dickens)
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 - 59. Less hirsute
 - 60. Consumed
 - 61. IWW poet
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 - 11. Old Tokyo
 - 12. What do we want?

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- 22. Advice to the oppressed
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Answers on page 15

ESPAÑOL

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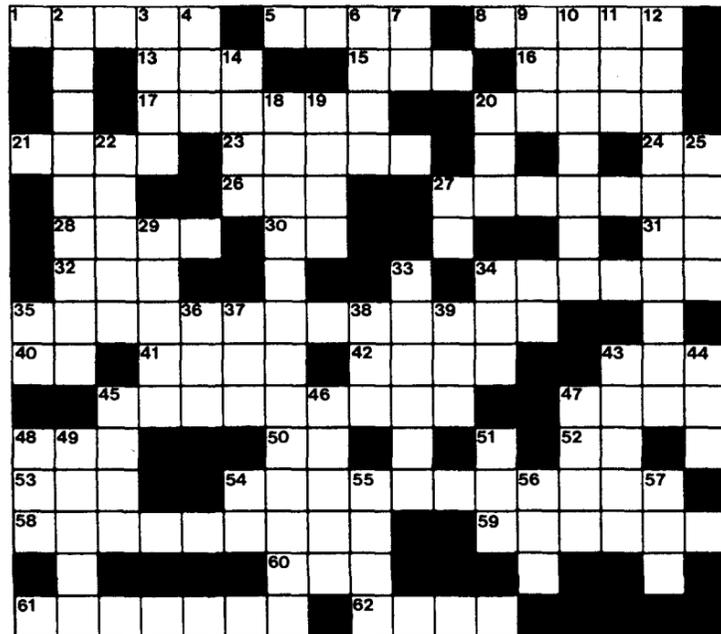
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by Helen Gilbert

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Answers on page 15

... El Salvador

from page 3

unemployment, and still rake in super-profits. The death squads are their most effective weapon against the revolutionary groupings which are rapidly gaining adherents through their call for an end to poverty and terror.

To maintain capitalism in El Salvador is to maintain the military blood-bath. The only way to defeat the terror in El Salvador is to overthrow the bourgeoisie, *not* follow its lead.

The PST and the united front

Salvadoran Trotskyists, organized in the Partido Socialista Trabajadores (PST or Socialist Workers Party), oppose the popular front and correctly call for a united front.

A united front is the opposite of a popular front. Instead of being controlled by the bourgeoisie, it is led by worker and peasant organizations. It is fundamentally proletarian, but open to all, even middleclass and business representatives, so long as they recognize and follow the leadership of the

workers and peasants, and unite on a radical program.

As opposed to the anti-democratic bureaucratism of the popular front, a united front is democratically organized. It promotes open debate among all tendencies within its ranks and demands discipline in action.

Because of the PST's consistent call for socialist revolution and a united front defense against rightwing terror, the PST is barred from membership in either the FDR or the FMLN. But PST militants have nevertheless taken up arms alongside the worker and peasant ranks of the FMLN, because military victory against the troops and the junta is vital to the struggle.

Revolutionists cannot abstain from revolutionary war; they must be its best fighters, educators, and leaders. The PST agitates energetically among the guerrilla fighters of the FMLN, explaining that the defeat of the ruling junta must only be *a prelude to the destruction of capitalism*. And the PST backs up its words with action.

The FMLN freedom fighters know that the destruction of the military death squads and the defeat of the puppet junta are their only guarantees against continued wholesale carnage in

El Salvador. But they must come to recognize the necessity to defeat the bourgeoisie as well. Otherwise—inevitably—the terror will begin anew and the civil war will remain as monstrous and corpse-strewn as it is now.

CISPES, a 2-edged sword

The opportunism of the FDR is sadly echoed in the U.S.

When substantial protest arose against U.S. military aid to the junta, North American Stalinists in chapters of the Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador (CISPES) immediately allied with liberals and social democrats.

CISPES quickly moved to organize protest rallies against Reagan's policies and in support of the Salvadoran revolution. However, CISPES gives uncritical support to the FDR. Radicals who support the revolution but dare to criticize the FDR have been excluded from coalitions, have had their opinions, banners and leaflets banned at demonstrations, and have been threatened with violence.

These hoodlum-style tactics are a vicious threat against the movement's own goals. Anti-democracy blocks the building of a strong, antiwar, anti-

rightwing movement in the U.S., and makes it easier for the Reaganites to continue unhampered intervention.

The revolutionary alternative

Armed, organized resistance is spreading in El Salvador despite increased U.S. military aid, deepening terror, and sellouts by the reformists.

The radicalized freedom fighters, moreover, are pushing the reformists to the left. In June, the FDR was forced to flatly reject a U.S.-concocted electoral plan for 1982. The junta had proposed that the FDR participate in the election if a qualifying list of 3000 signatures was turned over to the government. The FDR refused, saying, "If we give them such a list, it will be a death list."

Bold international support to the Salvadoran rebels is critical. They are up against the military might of the Pentagon and sorely need arms and money from the workers states. And they need even more the powerful political support of a strong movement in the U.S. against Yankee intervention.

**U.S. out of Central America!
For a Salvadoran united front!
Military victory to the FMLN!
For socialist democracy in El Salvador!**

... Poland

from page 16

Polish men and women fought for union democracy and decent working conditions in 1956, in 1970, and in 1976.

Each time they were defeated—framed as spies and traitors to socialism, hounded, jailed, and even massacred by the bureaucrats.

Always there was the threat of the Soviet Union being called upon to crush the uprising, as had happened in East Germany, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

But in 1980 the indomitable Poles were on the march again.

Rising food prices sparked sudden strikes across Poland and demands for more and better food, and higher wages. But *this* time the workers also insisted on their right to form independent unions, strike, be provided economic information, freedom of expression and publication, restraints on police power, and the release of dissidents!

Women militants

Starting in the factories, the strikes spread to railroads, the communication

networks, shipyards, and coal mines. And in all the factory committees, the planning of demands and demonstrations, and the street mobilizations, women have stood in the forefront.

When Anna Walentinowicz, a crane operator and union leader, was fired from Gdansk's Lenin Shipyards, her coworkers seized the shipyards (August 14, 1980) and organized a strike center.

Despite appeals from Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Communist Party, known as the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), the strikes escalated, threatening to paralyze Poland's already flagging economy.

The workers consolidated their issues into 21 key demands, established Solidarity, and won a settlement, the Gdansk Charter, on August 31, 1980.

When Lech Walesa signed the agreement prematurely, it was a Gdansk nurse, Alina Pienkowska, who stood at the shipyard gate and kept enough workers inside for the strike to continue.

The rising crescendo of strikes and strike threats muscled the government into respecting many of the Charter rights. And Poland's highest court authorized Solidarity to have an identity independent from the PUWP.

On October 13, nearly 12,000 women workers occupied 12 textile mills near Warsaw—in shifts—to protest food shortages.

Such is the impact of women workers in Poland, and it is only the beginning. Their influence will be felt far, wide, and deep in the USSR itself and in all the Eastern European workers states.

Crisis for the Kremlin

The government is in a severe crisis. Gierek fell in September 1980, and managerial heads rolled as high-living officials were confronted about food shortages, wage cuts, corruption, swindling, and brutal treatment of workers—abuses which severely discredited PUWP.

Solidarity now has 10 million members—90% of Poland's workers—including millions of PUWP members.

In July 1981, 2000 delegates to the party Congress re-elected Stanislaw Kania, Gierek's successor, as First Secretary. But many newcomers were elected to the 200-member Central Committee, and four workers were appointed to the 15-person Politburo. One is shoe factory supervisor Zofia Gryzb, the first woman and the only Solidarity member on the Politburo.

At Solidarity's 18-day 2-part conference, which ended in October, delegates passed resolutions for a referendum proposing workers' right to manage industry and a freely-elected government. And if this weren't revolutionary enough to

send Stalinists everywhere reeling, the delegates called for Solidarity-type unions throughout the Eastern bloc. Soon after the Solidarity Conference, the PUWP held a congress and on October 18 ousted Kania and elected yet another First Secretary, Wojciech Jaruzelski, an army general who is also the Defense Minister.

Strenuous efforts by the Polish government and church to control the workers and co-opt leaders like Lenin Shipyards worker Lech Walesa have failed abysmally, although Walesa leads the more cautious, compromising faction. Solidarity includes everybody from anarchists to Social Democrats to Trotskyists in its membership, and the Left is increasingly vociferous. The objective thrust of its demands is toward the *socialist democracy promised by the Russian revolution in 1917*.

When workers rule

The *Christian Science Monitor* is close to the mark in describing Poland:

Power in the street in Poland has passed from party to workers. This is probably the first time in any communist country when it could be said that a genuine dictatorship of the proletariat had come into existence.

"Dictatorship" of the proletariat means the rule of the popular masses over the unproductive, parasitic few. It is the opposite of the dictatorship of the capitalist bureaucracies or of the workers state bureaucracies, and it has not yet been installed in Poland.

A victorious dictatorship of the proletariat occurred in Russia in October 1917, led by the Bolshevik party and supported by the masses organized into soviets (councils). But this early Soviet democracy was defeated by Stalin's tyranny.

Poland is experiencing a political revolution and its workers have achieved *dual power*. Poland shows how a political revolution in the Soviet sphere can overthrow the bureaucratic caste and reinstate the proletarian dictatorship.

There are many precedents for such a move. In East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956, and Czechoslovakia in 1968, the workers achieved a temporary dual power with the regime. Poland currently has the dynamic to carry the political revolution to its conclusion—the *forging of a revolutionary party, the attainment of full state power, and the destruction of bureaucratic rule at its very roots*.

Solidarity as the engine

Solidarity is much more than an independent union. It is a mass revolutionary

movement for workers' power and democracy that has catapulted itself into serious contention with the regime.

It controls factories. It directs its delegates' negotiations with the bosses and government officials. It has its own press and great influence over the media. It is supported by every social sector and is a vast network of factory-elected representatives, farmers, women, students, artists, writers, and revolutionary leaders.

Solidarity embodies the living substance and focused energy for a new Bolshevik party that can lead the way.

Breathtaking vistas

Once the workers take full power in Poland, can the USSR be far behind?

Imagine a group of workers states all re-built from the ground up—the bureaucracy shattered, free new societies created on the basis of worker control of production, and a flourishing cultural expression!

The Kremlin once had the power to order any communist party to lose its revolution if this could help Moscow negotiate diplomatic deals with imperialism. But each revolution that succeeds despite the Kremlin, as in China, Vietnam, or Cuba, weakens the disintegrating Stalinist monolith and its command over world communism.

Each uprising strikes a blow at the Kremlin and unleashes a chain reaction.

Imperialism's high card has always been the claim that the "menace of communism" necessitates a vast military budget, inflation, unemployment, etc. But when U.S. workers come to see socialism as *democracy* instead of dictatorship, that high card will be topped and trumped. The prospect of socialist revolt against Stalinism—of a *Trotskyist* world movement—makes the arms race and nuclear war irrelevant.

Political revolution in the Soviet bloc means the breakup of the thick-as-thieves relationship between Stalinism and world imperialism. The rise of the workers against their own bureaucracies opens up a new world socialist vista. □



In Memoriam Leon Trotsky

October 26, 1879 - August 21, 1940

"For 43 years of my conscious life I have been a revolutionary; and for 42 I have fought under the banner of Marxism. My faith in the communist future of mankind is not less ardent, indeed it is firmer today than it was in the days of my youth."

"Life is beautiful. Let the future generations cleanse it of all evil, oppression, and violence, and enjoy it to the full."

—from Trotsky's Last Will and Testament, February 27, 1940

In our next issue—

**Memoirs of a
Communist
Childhood:
The Passion of
Sacco and
Vanzetti**

by Murry Weiss

Hyping the *Race and class in the ring* Great White Hope

BY ROBERT CRISMAN



Johnson vs. Jeffries, 1910

When Jack Johnson flattened Tommy Burns to win the heavyweight championship of the world, he knocked the boxing fraternity on its ear and kicked off the most turbulent era in modern sports history.

Johnson was Black, the year was 1908, and the referee had barely started his 10-count over Burns when an international search for the Great White Hope was launched.

Previous heavyweight champions had always been British or U.S. whites, widely touted as the embodiment of that "manliness" through which Britain and America claimed the right to rule the world's people of color. When Johnson captured the prized symbol of white supremacy in sports, the proprietors of imperialism were horrified.

The promoters, ward heelers, and press magnates of the early 1900s who ran the fight game picked their contenders from an enormous pool of white immigrants, to whom boxing seemed a way out of the dungeons of cheap labor.

The chance to become a wealthy, red-blooded American hero held a hypnotic lure for hungry whites.

Promoters cynically boosted prize-fighting as an arena for ethnic rivalries, American chauvinism, and racism. Pro boxing helped divide the working class along race lines. The energy of the proletariat was channelled into dog-eat-dog competition, as the profits of the fixers behind the scenes fattened.

Little wonder that on the night Johnson smashed Jim Crow in the ring, the U.S. press began an outpouring of racist

savagery that fanned white riots and lynchings nationwide. The press lords launched an intensive search for a white man "worthy" of bringing Johnson's crown "back to the white race."

Jim Crow hysteria

Johnson toyed with every contender they sent against him.

So the race-baiters hounded him from the country on a trumped-up white slavery charge.

Not until 1915, when the demoralized and destitute champ threw a fight in Havana (a 26th-round "knockout" by second-rater Jess Willard) and lost the championship, was he allowed to come home.

No Black man was permitted a shot at the heavyweight crown for the next 22 years. Then the Brown Bomber, Joe Louis, won the chance and wrested the title from Jimmy Braddock in 1937.

Era of Black champions

This time the racist chorus stayed relatively quiet. These were the depression years, and labor was on the move. Blacks were restive, and Joe Louis epitomized the hopes and aspirations

of Black America. And when he destroyed Max Schmeling, the Nazi favorite, in a return bout on the eve of World War II, the U.S. propaganda machine clasped Louis to its bosom as a symbol of victorious "democracy."

Except for Rocky Marciano and Ingemar Johansson, Black men have held the championship since 1937. And without white heroes, U.S. boxing's popularity took a nosedive.

But in the '60s, Cassius Clay, later Muhammad Ali, electrified the world with his ring exploits, audacious Black pride, and anti-imperialist statements. Then Ali refused induction into the army—and was stripped of his title.

Only after a 4-year legal battle could he enter the ring to fight once again and re-claim the crown.

Rocky, raging bulls

The legendary Ali and the colorful '60s have now been replaced by Reagan and reaction. Macho in all colors is in fashion and white macho is the model.

In March, "Gentleman" Gerry Cooney, the strongest white contender, is slated to take on Larry Holmes, a Black, for the championship.

Cooney arrives at a time when three major films, "Rocky," "Rocky II," and "Raging Bull" glorify white fighters pounding Black foes and enjoy tremendous boxoffice success.

These films are major components of a wider cultural barrage programmed for American workers.

CIA shoot-em-ups; the Iranian hostage circus and its televised flag-waving orgies; sensational films about bestial, women-killing psychos; and the insidious glorification of white chauvinist "urban cowboy" swagger are the building blocks of a new lifestyle edifice marked by maniacal male supremacy and a neo-fascist temperament.

And the heavyweight championship is marked for restoration as an image of white male imperialism.

Body and soul

Boxing's 9,000-year history has always disclosed the social, cultural, and political assumptions of the societies where it has flourished.

Equal participation in the sport by Spartan women and men reflects the matriarchal foundations of Sparta, just as the spiked gloves of the fistic gladiators mirrored the barbarity of slaveholding Rome.

In our day, the colonialism and racism of Western capitalism run rampant in the world of sports, especially in the 70-year search for a champ Aryan boxer. Don't look for the beauty and excitement of well-developed bodies and minds in comradely competition for excellence and the sheer pleasure of sport!

That will come about only after the socialist revolution, the Great Human Hope we all seek. □

... Fraser

from page 5

On April 9, 1974, electricians erupted at totalitarian measures imposed by Vickery's new Disciplinary Code and walked off the job. Fraser, a lifelong socialist feminist, was asked to join them and recruit white-collar workers to their cause. She did, the walkout expanded to the total workforce, and Fraser became one of their spokespersons.

Eleven days later, the employees ostensibly won. An agreement promised arbitration of outstanding disputes, no reprisals, formulation of a new grievance procedure—a Bill of Rights and Responsibilities—and a public investigation of Vickery's practices.

Fraser was elected by the employees to serve on their delegation to the Bill of Rights negotiating committee. She was selected chairperson of the worker delegation and co-chair of the overall committee.

She also participated in an employee campaign to recall Mayor Wes Uhlman (Vickery's boss) because Uhlman, politically indebted to Vickery, refused to fire him.

What Fraser made public

When the workers disputed the divine rights of their managers, Fraser articulately voiced their grievances about management atrocities and blew the whistle on Vickery's abuse of power and the public. She called management unfair, arbitrary, deceitful, manipulative, and unresponsive to the core.

She testified extensively before the Public Review Committee, and what she said infuriated the bosses.

City Light's affirmative action program was a sham, she said:

Management produces charts, graphs, and documents purporting to prove one process, while we workers in the crews and shops and offices know very well that a completely opposite process has been decreed, because we were ordered to implement it.

Fraser read a current ad in a Black community newspaper, wherein City Light boasted of developing a "fully integrated" organization with free on-the-job training. Neither condition existed!

She also related how top management maligned the workers to justify its own prejudices and inaction. Bosses demagogically called the workers "political reactionaries, stodgy and conventional drones . . . racists, male chauvinists . . ." But "a complete layer of top management has never met the workers," she said; they "do not care about the conditions" and ignore "terrible safety hazards and defective equipment."

Fraser indicted the bureaucrats who had usurped power over a public utility founded on socialist principles but who now acted without regard for workers or taxpayers:

City Light top management, through bad planning, failure to communicate, and refusal to broaden the base for decision-making, squanders all the resources available to it—squanders its money and the abilities and the talents of its staff, and wastes the good will of its citizen-customers.

Management's reprisals against her were instantaneous, and lasted a year.

Fraser's clear voice still threatens exposure to the mis-managers of City

Light, their political pals who appoint them, and their corporate cronies who buy the politicians to authorize ever higher electric rates, nuclear adventures, and enormous interest rates for investors in public bonds.

Dirty tricks

Vickery tried to red bait Fraser out of the workers' good regard.

Just before the Public Review Committee hearings began, all City Light buildings around the county were flooded with copies of a hoax leaflet which presented a distorted picture of Fraser's affiliations, and invited employees to hear her speak at a fake "Trotskyite Communist" meeting at Freeway Hall.

It was very strange how the leaflet managed to slip by Vickery's henchwoman, Carole Coe, the person in charge of tight building security.

The hoax leaflet provocation boomeranged. Fraser had never claimed to be anything but a radical. And at a mass employee meeting on June 26, 1974, she presented a candid explanation of her politics, relating her ideology to her actions, and she offered to resign her posts on employee committees. Her speech was applauded, her offer unanimously rejected, and full confidence expressed in her work.

The red scare had failed, so Vickery abruptly cancelled the preplacement program Fraser had planned for the women electrical trainees. He removed her as coordinator of their program, and limited her other responsibilities. **He then circulated her FBI file among his top aides!**

Along with nine of the ten trainees, Fraser filed sex-discrimination charges with the city in August 1974, under Seattle's Fair Employment Practices Ordinance. She also claimed political ideology discrimination.

In July 1975, after failing in a naked

plot to rig a special civil service exam designed to exclude Fraser, City Light declared a budget cut and suddenly fired Fraser—the only layoff of permanent administrative or white collar staff.

For workplace democracy

City Light took minor reprisals against some leadership, but reserved its harshest punishment for Fraser—who didn't initiate the walkout but was compelled by her workingclass principles to join and assist it.

The city authorities are compulsive about squelching dissent and teaching public employees a lesson. They need to intimidate the workers by defeating Clara Fraser in court. **And they depend heavily on red baiting to deflect city workers and the public from sympathizing with a radical.**

But the truth and the class struggle cannot be squelched. When a highly skilled worker in a colossal public enterprise criticizes management for abusing the public interest, management cannot just shout "abrasive, incompetent radical," fire the worker, and ignore the criticism.

The growing ranks of Fraser case supporters illuminate the fact that it isn't only workers' free speech rights that hang on the outcome of this case—it is the very shape of our society. □



Answer to Commie Crossword (page 12)

POLAND

Nemesis of the Stalinist monolith

BY MURRY WEISS

The hearts of American workers warm with sympathy at the drama of Polish labor in its titanic struggle against the state bureaucracy.

Workers here were quick to note that virtually all AFL-CIO bureaucrats call themselves friends of the Polish workers. But how many American labor leaders would champion such demands of Solidarity as better access to childcare, a voice in managing the media, and control of production?

Poland is a beacon. It teaches U.S. workers how to regain the unity and dynamism that labor achieved in the '30s. And it proves that socialism doesn't equal Stalinism, and that democracy and workers' control can and will be fought for under a socialist banner.

Miles ahead of U.S. labor

In a letter to the *New York Times* of August 31, 1980, Michael Fox presented some devastating comparisons:

... the heroic non-violent tactics of the [Polish] strikers would be illegal under present labor laws in the United States.

As government employees the Polish workers would be prohibited from participating in strikes or work stoppages by Section 7116 (b) (7) of the Federal Service Labor-Management and Employee Relations Law... A federal employee union cannot call for, engage in or condone a strike, work stoppage or slowdown, for any reason...

The Lenin Shipyards takeover would similarly be illegal. This tactic,

... also known as the 'sit-down strike,' is one of the most powerful weapons in labor's arsenal and



Open Road

was necessary to force recalcitrant employers to accept the new policy of the National Labor Relations Act of 1936... few of the 21 demands made by the Polish strikers would legally justify a strike under American labor law.

While U.S. federal law recognizes the right to strike and bargain collectively with private industry, strikes are permitted only on the few issues that employers, by law, must bargain over.

Fox hopes "the Polish workers will have retaught their American counterparts a lesson in tactics and determination which they may have forgotten."

Another important article, from the August 7, 1981 *Christian Science Monitor*, displayed this headline:

Communist Warsaw treats Solidarity protest with kid gloves while democratic Washington reacts with a strong hand to air controllers' defiant walkout.

The author, Joseph C. Harsch, contrasted the firing of air traffic controllers with the situation wherein members of Solidarity jammed traffic at Warsaw's busiest intersection while "leaders of the once omnipotent Communist Party had to look out of the

Anna Walentinowicz, Polish labor leader, addresses striking shipyard workers.

windows and watch burly protesters gently manhandle police out of the way."

Any such discomfiture of the cowardly Stalinist bureaucracy is, of course, a source of capitalist glee. But how would the U.S. press react if *all* airport workers occupied *all* the airports, *all* air traffic ceased, and the workers decreed new air safety standards and an increased workforce?

It would scream more loudly than *Pravda* rants at the Poles today.

As the world turns

What a turn of history this struggle represents for the Polish proletariat.

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the freedom socialist

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Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

Now is the time for a



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