

Diné Elders Resist Eviction from Big Mountain



story, David is a woman, many women, the women of Big Mountain.

Creating a pretext

Congress passed Public Law 93-531—the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act—in 1974, supposedly to settle a “land dispute” between the Hopis and Navajos over a 1.8 million acre Joint Use Area (JUA) set aside in 1930 to be shared by both tribes. This area is in the center of the Navajo reservation which itself encircles the Hopi reservation.

In fact, the land dispute was the creation of Mormon-controlled interests in the energy industry which hoped to cash in on the Navajo reservation by mining coal in the JUA. A Navajo/Hopi range war was faked by a Mormon-run public relations firm and used as the pretext to introduce legislation favorable to mining interests.

The mastermind behind this campaign was John Boyden—a white former archbishop in the Mormon church and attorney for *both* Peabody Coal and the Hopi tribal council.

The Settlement Act mandated the equal division of the JUA between the Navajos and Hopis, and the construction of a 300-mile barbed wire fence marking the boundary. The Act also ordered a 90% reduction of livestock herds, a moratorium on all new construction and improvements in the area, and the removal of Navajos and Hopis on the “wrong side” of the fence by

tional people of both nations and their tribal councils, which have allied with the energy moguls to clear the land for exploitation.

The Navajo and Hopi councils are puppet governments, funded and controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which recognizes them as the only legitimate representatives of their peoples.

The Navajo council was created in 1921. Its members were handpicked by the Department of the Interior and could not meet without a representative of the department present. Their chief function was to sign contracts with Standard Oil.

The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act brought the Hopi council into existence. Since Hopi religion proscribed participating in “foreign” politics, only those who had converted to Mormonism took part in tribal elections. These were 10% of the population.

Disenfranchised, their indigenous, fiercely democratic governments made powerless by a stroke of the pen, the Hopi and Navajo people watched as mining royalties enriched the families who ran the councils, as coal dust polluted the skies over the mesas, and as uranium mines poisoned the once-pristine waters.

In 1964 and 1966, both the Hopi and Navajo councils signed land leases with Peabody Coal in the JUA over the bitter protest of most tribal members. Now the Hopi council hopes to reap millions by securing exclusive control of the land occupied by traditional Diné in the JUA.

Navajo chairman Peterson Zah cooperated with the relocation plan by negotiating to get a rental agreement with the Hopis or land outside the reservation for Navajo resettlement. These efforts have failed, however, and he has vowed to block further relocation.

Rebellion in the ranks

Zah's Johnny-come-lately opposition to resettlement is also the result of rebellion from within the ranks of the Navajo nation.

In 1978, 500 Navajos met at Big Mountain to declare their independence from the misrepresentative Navajo tribal council. They called themselves the Big Mountain Independent Diné Nation.

Organized along the traditional matriarchal form of Navajo leadership, the nation is governed by women elders representing each clan.

These elders have been joined by representatives of the traditional *kikmongwe* Hopi in opposing resettlement and further destruction of the land. Together they form the basis of the resistance movement at Big Mountain.

Dirty deals

The Relocation Commission, the federal agency charged with implementing the Navajo eviction, is a monument to fraud and genocidal cruelty. It has been called an “unprecedented disaster” by a former director, amid mounting evidence of internal corruption, job discrimination, and housing fraud.

It was originally estimated that 3,300 Navajos would be resettled by the commission. That figure was steadily increased over the years to its present total

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Portrait of Diné elder Katherine Smith, by Carolyn Brooks.

Forced relocation. The words bring to mind the Trail of Tears, Nazi concentration camps, and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Past atrocities, not present and future ones.

But on the Black Mesa surrounding Big Mountain in northeastern Arizona, over 11,000 Diné (Navajo) are facing a new holocaust: removal by armed U.S. troops from their ancestral homelands in an area jointly held by the Navajo and Hopi nations.

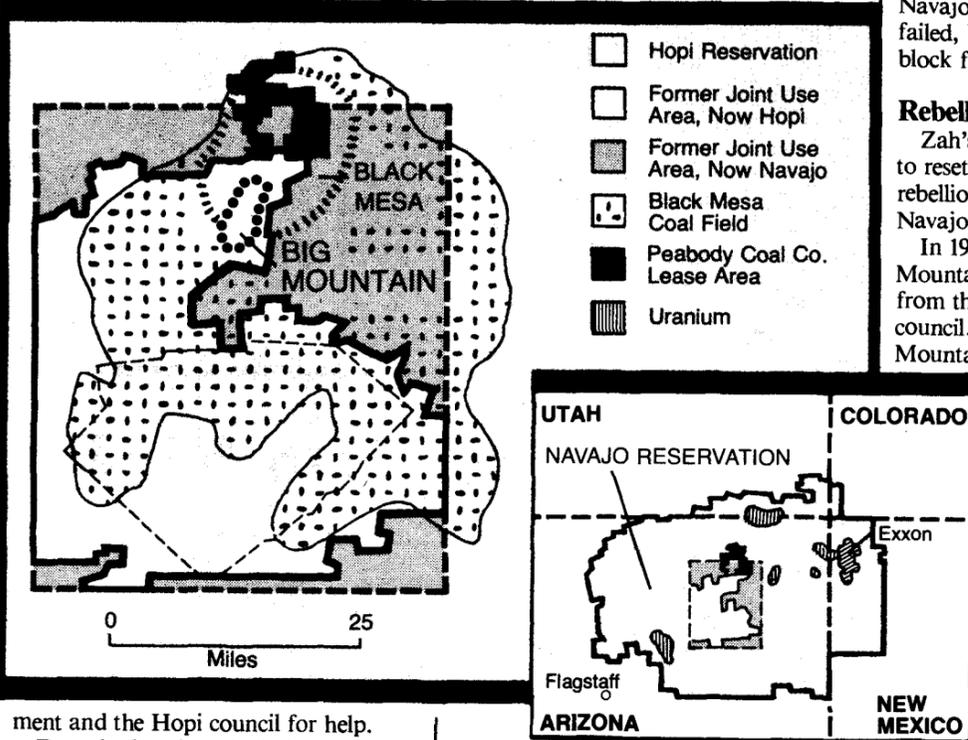
The U.S. media bills the government's role as peacemaker in a Hopi vs. Navajo war. But the reality is very different at Big Mountain.

For over 50 years, mining companies have sought to exploit the rich mineral resources that lie beneath the land now occupied by the Navajos. To do this they first secured the assistance of the federal government, which in the 1920s and '30s unilaterally replaced the traditional forms of government, based on clan elders, with malleable tribal councils. Over the years these councils have been only too willing to negotiate mineral leases, and the elite who run the councils have gotten rich doing it.

Now, giant energy corporations like Peabody Coal, Kerr McGee, and Exxon want unhampered access to the estimated 44 billion tons of highgrade coal and deposits of oil, natural gas, and uranium found on and around Big Mountain.

There's only one problem: the traditional Diné who live on the land will not move voluntarily.

So once again the energy moguls have turned to their servants in the govern-



ment and the Hopi council for help.

Forced relocation, the holocaust hatched in corporate boardrooms, has in fact gathered formidable support: it is endorsed by Congress, covered up by the press, and sanctioned by a phony tribal leadership.

But this Goliath has met its David in the proud and independent traditional leaders of the Hopi and Navajo nations who have joined forces to fight relocation. In the case of the Navajos, a matriarchal society, this leadership comes from women elders whose militant defense of their land, economy, and culture is sparking nationwide support. In this

July 8, 1986. (The 100 Hopi living on the “Navajo side” moved in 1976.) This will leave the Hopi-controlled land virtually unpopulated and ready for strip mining.

Puppet governments

For over a century, the people of Black Mesa have shared the land peacefully. The agricultural Hopis live clustered in villages and the widely dispersed sheepherding Navajos everywhere else. They have no quarrel.

The real dispute is between the tradi-

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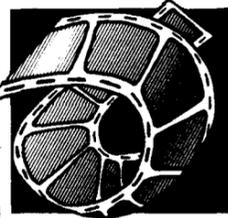
Filipinos rejoice at the overthrow of Reagan's pet dictator, Marcos. But can Aquino's new government bring democracy and prosperity to the Philippines? Or is revolution at hand?

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On the cover: Illustration by Carolyn Brooks.

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The real story

I am a college student at the University of Pennsylvania, and, because of capitalism's educational system, also work as a janitor at a local foundry. Enclosed is an order for your literature; if it is as good as your newspaper I am in for some mighty fine reading.

I have one question. I read in the *Workers Vanguard* about a meeting you had with some other Trotskyist groups. With the WV being as biased as it is, I wanted to ask what you thought about the possibility of regroupment among the different Trotskyists. I believe that if a legitimate effort is made it could be a priceless contribution to the American Trotskyist movement.
R.P., Hamburg, PA

You couldn't be more right on the need for Trotskyist regroupment. And, contrary to Workers Vanguard's sneering report, the November '85 Trotskyist Regroupment Conference in San Francisco was productive. Although there was no programmatic basis for regroupment among those present, the conference was important for being the first national attempt to regroup among Trotskyists since the SWP's abandonment of Permanent Revolution. Democratic discussion over differences on the nature of regroupment and the approach to the American and world revolutions were illuminating and valuable.

We believe that Trotskyists must continue to seek regroupment, on the basis of program. And we will continue our efforts to help bring such a regroupment about.

Pro-Israeli fraud

The U.S.'s military intentions against Arab revolution have been prefaced by a blitz of propaganda to convince Americans that all Arabs are "terrorists"—that is, inhuman and not worthy of concern. This racist rhetoric comes from all quarters and uses deliberate lies that would be laughable were they not so potentially deadly in manipulating public opinion.

In contrast, your position on Middle Eastern questions has been consistently excellent, and I ask you to help expose a link in the anti-Arab campaign.

I refer to the book *From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict Over*

Palestine written by an American, Joan Peters (Harper & Row, 1984).

Peters manufactured "proof" that prior to 1948, there were no Arabs living in what is now Israel, that the Palestinian people are a myth!

In the U.S., this book was reviewed only by pro-Israel supporters who hailed its "findings." But in Britain, and even in Israel, it was denounced for deliberate falsification of statistics and quotations, and its use of publicly discredited Israeli propaganda from the 1950s-60s.

Two American researchers documented fraud in *all* the book's demographic and historical information but their findings were rejected by the entire U.S. media (except *In These Times*). Finally, *The Nation* (Oct. 1985) printed Edward Said's exposé, and *Merip Reports* (Oct.-Dec. 1985) reviewed the entire hoax, the media blackout, and reprinted Said's article.

Despite the evidence, Harper & Row refuses to withdraw the book: it has sold out 8 hardback editions and is now in paperback.

Hoax so that Americans will be too well-informed to be pushed into war by the U.S. government's orchestration of hatred in its own interests.
Khaled Hissam, New York, NY

LETTERS

More on Miskitos

I want to congratulate you on your consistent and uncompromising analysis of issues and events that are important to the revolutionary left. In particular I am glad to see some thoughtful criticism of the ill-advised policies of the Sandinistas toward the Miskitos and other indigenous peoples of the Atlantic Coast in Nicaragua. To lend uncritical support to the Nicaraguan Revolution, as many left groups and their cheerleaders would demand of their readers, demonstrates a lack of integrity and calls into question their position on Native Americans in this country as well as abroad.

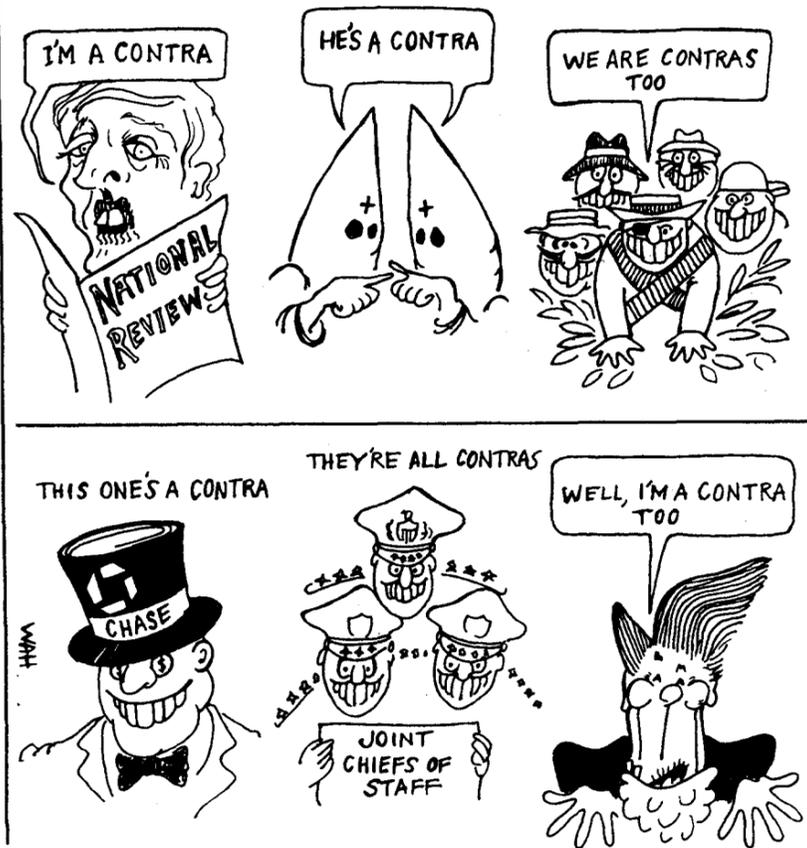
I hope your paper continues to avoid the we'll-talk-about-abuses-later bandwagon that has destroyed the credibility of many other organizations.

Julie Cornell, Seattle, WA

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Tale of Two Strikes



Austin, Minnesota. Watsonville, California. Two towns where fierce strikes are electrifying labor nationwide. Two strikes which are exposing the concessionary and anti-democratic stranglehold of the union bureaucracy and forcing labor to choose sides.

Up against the International

The fifteen hundred members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 in Austin struck the Hormel meatpacking company in August 1985.

The contract offer they rejected by a vote of 1261 to 96 would have frozen wages for three years at a 23% reduction and deprived workers of the most basic benefits and rights. This, when Hormel reported record profits of \$38 million for 1985 and

gave its chief executive a \$200,000 pay boost!

Workers shut the plant down for nearly six months, until the state government called in the Minnesota National Guard to escort scabs inside.

Local P-9's leadership responded with imaginative, hardhitting tactics. They organized a national boycott of Hormel and sent roving pickets to other meatpacking plants in the Midwest. On January 28, five hundred Hormel workers in Ottumwa, Iowa were fired for refusing to cross P-9's picketlines. They are now part of the national fight.

Austin and Ottumwa workers have traveled the country collecting support and money for the strike. Over 1500 unions and organizations have endorsed the strike and hundreds of thousands of dollars have been raised.

Yet on March 14, the UFCW International, fearing the fightback could sour its sweetheart deals with other meatpackers, ordered an end to

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Fired Australian Teacher Stands Fast

WHY I MUST SPEAK OUT

If you don't fight, you lose, goes the old political saying, and my experience has vividly confirmed its truth after two-and-one-half years of battling for free speech against an intransigent Australian State Labor government, some powerful media bigots, and an entrenched union bureaucracy.

In November, 1983, while acting as a spokesperson for the Gay Legal Rights Coalition, I defended the civil liberties of the Pedophile Support Group (PSG) who had been arrested and charged with the archaic "Conspiracy to Corrupt Public Morals": a law against talking! Their meetings had been recorded by a police spy who had infiltrated the group.

The fact of my being a teacher was sensationalized by a rightwing radio commentator, and within five days of my statement, the Ministry of Education unceremoniously removed me from my position at Glenroy Technical School and assigned me administrative duties instead.

My stand opposing the blatantly homophobic witchhunt against the PSG was vindicated when, six months later, all charges against the group were thrown out. But the government refused to reinstate me as a teacher.

Bureaucrats retreat

The leadership of my union, the Technical Teachers Union of Victoria (TTUV), were appalled at the political victimization I faced for simply exercising my democratic rights. Predictably, however, these same bureaucrats wanted a "quiet solution." They launched a series of back-room negotiations with no publicity and no attempt to inform and mobilize the union members—in short, no real action.

The so-called left union bureaucrats had a problem: they had virtually promised to support the Labor government uncritically, so how were they to win when the government refused to budge on this issue? Although having Labor in government has meant many concrete advances for the working class, trade union leaders forget how to fight when they can't easily arrange cosy deals.

Any suggestion that the government be *made* to budge was not thinkable to the union leadership's dealers and compromisers. They told me that patience—and keeping quiet—would somehow solve my victimization.

Rank-and-file in action

Unlike the bureaucrats, the union

membership were not so easily discouraged.

TTUV Comment, a group of active union militants, saw through the sexism, homophobia, and red-baiting that my case had roused in the union's most backward layers. They also knew that to rely on the bureaucrats spelled doom, and they built a successful campaign to pressure union leadership into action.

Nevertheless, nothing has come easily. The production of a video by the union about the case, every letter, every poster, every speaking engagement, and every phone call for support has been the result of bitter struggle. Even the smallest action from the leadership has been the result of unrelenting pressure by the most politically conscious union members.

Outside the union, a defense committee was formed to handle aspects of the campaign that the union wouldn't touch. Publicity at the local, national, and international levels was the most crucial need, and each bit of publicity brought waves of new support.

Getting the word out is building support that will help me win. The Labor government will not reinstate me until it is politically expedient for them to do so.

I will be reinstated when our voices of protest drown out the howls of the rightwing mob and media. I know we can do it.

The good fight

Often I am asked how I keep going. My answer is multi-faceted. First, the Labor government has newly introduced protection for ideology—political discrimination is now unlawful in the state of Victoria. Further, stated government policy protects the right to free speech for teachers and other public employees. Thus, my fight to claim and defend these rights is doubly vital to public employees, and ultimately to all workers—in that a victory will force the Labor government to *obey its own laws* and to halt discrimination against a revolutionary and feminist in their employ: it will set an important precedent upon which radicals can build.

The sweet victories of my comrades, Clara Fraser, Merle Woo, and Henry Noble—who all have fought political victimization with tenacity and won—give me inspiration to fight on to the logical conclusion: my reinstatement as a teacher.

Finally, no shifty Labor government, no rightwing radio commentator or self-serving union bureaucrat is going to get the better of this Trotskyist feminist lesbian. My supporters and I will see to that.

—ALISON THORNE

WHAT NEXT?

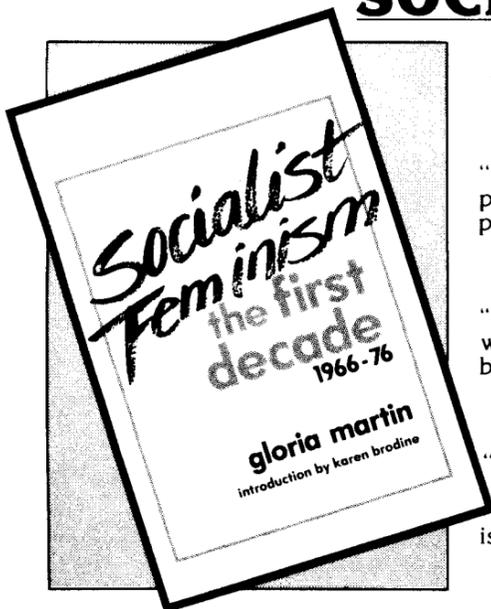
Alison Thorne filed her case of political victimization with Australia's Equal Opportunity Office in 1985. She has continued to work in the school system in an administrative position which includes responsibility for developing curricula.

Despite the campaign by her union, by international supporters, and by the Committee to Reinstatement Alison Thorne, all efforts to restore her to her teaching position have been rejected by the Ministry of Education. In June, 1986, the Equal Opportunity Board will hear her case. The support that she, her defense committee, and her union have built in the months since she was fired will hopefully influence a decision in her favor.

The financial costs of Thorne's defense are heavy, and the Committee to Reinstatement Alison Thorne is raising money to defray expenses. You can help by sending a donation to: CRAT, P.O. Box 108, North Carlton, Victoria 3054, Australia. □

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Political cancer is ravaging the Trotskyist Fourth International (FI).

The disease has advanced very far inside the world organization. It attacks the theory of permanent revolution—the ideological bedrock of Trotskyism—and is beginning to assault the very existence of the International.

A campaign of self-destruction festers throughout the length and breadth of the International. It takes different forms in the various sections and in the central leadership. Two factions, one apparently orthodox, the other avowedly anti-Trotskyist, are in contention.

The "orthodox" faction, presently supported by the majority of the national sections, is headed by the United Secretariat (Usec) of the FI. The anti-Trotskyists are for the most part clustered around the Jack Barnes leadership of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

A split on fundamentals

The SWP, as well as the Australian Socialist Workers Party (which split from the International last August), has openly repudiated the theory of permanent revolution and the strategies and tactics that derive from it. A capsule examination of the theory—and its corollary mandates—provides the clues for understanding why it is being jettisoned.

"Permanent Revolution" maintains in essence that the unresolved bourgeois-democratic tasks of humanity cannot be completed successfully except through proletarian socialist revolution. A revolution in one country becomes international in nature and scope because of the world-embracing character of capitalist economy and politics. The revolution, moreover, cannot stop with the achievement of a workers' state, but must continue through political upheavals against internal bureaucratism created by world capitalist pressures.

Hence, the prospects for *all* liberation struggles are necessarily bound up with the success of workers' revolution in the imperialist strongholds.

In terms of basic political strategy this means two things.

Inside the 4th International

The United Secretariat

First, the working class must lead the world's freedom movements. The demands of this class, and this class only, are thoroughly and irreconcilably opposed to capitalist exploitation; workingclass struggles, moreover, have the potential to encompass, focus, illuminate, and unite the demands of all the democratic movements in a country and in every other country against the ensemble of inequalities imposed worldwide by the profit system.

Second, because U.S. capitalism is the political and military linchpin of world reaction, U.S. workers are key to the struggle for world socialism.

Both the U.S. and Australian SWPs

The mouthings of the two SWPs are crude and hackneyed calumnies against the tenets for Leninism and Trotskyism. But even more insidious is the response to the United Secretariat.

Usec "defends" Trotskyism against the renegades by decrying the SWPs' "systematic challenges" to the "programmatic foundations and role" of the FI—yet Usec has *never* frankly characterized these challenges as the rotten fruit of the SWPs' conversion to latter-day Stalinism, and has never fought them accordingly.

Usec refusal to press the SWP for *programmatic* resolution of the dispute over permanent revolution at the 12th World Congress of the FI last year, while holding fast to "normal" *organizational* ties with that party, was a glaringly unprincipled subordination of policy to organizational expediency. It was a debilitating concession to the renegades.

Usec's "defense" of permanent revolution was marked tellingly by complete absence of any revolutionary perspective for the imperialist countries. This reveals a tailoring of the theory to facilitate an increasingly SWP-like approach to revolution, not only in the West, but in the dependent nations, above all in Central America.

What can this mean but Usec's accommodation to the reformists and Stalinists?

And what can be done to halt and reverse this accommodation before the final price is paid by the beleaguered Fourth International?

Castro, following the Soviets and tailed by the SWPs, subscribes to the notion that revolution today is in essence the struggle of "socialist" and dependent capitalist countries against the imperialist states. But this "good" vs. "bad" nation scenario, which Usec calls "campism," subordinates class struggle—and revolution!—entirely to the capricious needs of Soviet diplomacy.

The Kremlin seeks "stabilization" of relations with the West. It allies with "anti-imperialist" capitalists and western labor bureaucrats to wangle concessions from imperialism and hold the line against its encroachments. The Soviets therefore try to contain national upheavals within "safe" limits in order to placate the militarists—and to forestall workers' revolution in the "anti-imperialist" bloc.

"Campism," subordinating class struggle to Kremlin politics, tries to chain the workers of oppressed nations, and the workers' states, to their own bourgeoisies and bureaucrats. It reduces pro-Soviet camp followers in the imperialist countries to cheerleaders for class collaboration. This suits the SWPs, which have long flinched at the prospect of workers' revolt in their home countries and lost faith in the goals of international socialist democracy.

The godfather

"Campism"—the subordination of world class struggle to the interests of national "socialist" bureaucracies—is purely and simply Stalinism.



James P. Cannon: guiding genius of American Trotskyism.

long ago lost confidence in the ability of workers, especially U.S. workers, to make a revolution. Each party, in consequence, turned away from class struggle and adapted to the class-collaborationist forces that dominate liberation struggles—labor bureaucrats and reformist elements in their home countries, and Stalinist and petty bourgeois leaderships of revolutions abroad. Both SWPs are still enamored of Cuba's increasingly centrist Fidel Castro, whom the U.S. SWP calls the finest exemplar of Bolshevik internationalism since Lenin.

This accommodation to Stalinism and neo-Stalinism exacts a heavy price—the cause of Trotskyism. Thus the two SWPs inevitably arrived at open repudiation of permanent revolution and, in the case of the Australians, departure from the Fourth International. The Australians proclaimed that the founding of the FI was a "sectarian" mistake and that its concern for "rarefied theoretical discussion," and its "misunderstanding" of Stalinism, cut it off from "participating fully" in the international movement.



Although European women exploded into action in the '70s, sexism and deal-cutting with the SWP spurred the FI to ban internal women's caucuses.

Camp followers

The SWPs' rejection of permanent revolution puts those parties in league with the Stalinists on the other side of the barricades from Trotskyism. This is an accomplished fact Usec refuses to acknowledge.

The SWPs' uncritical and unchanging adulation of Castro marks an unlovely cuddling-up to the Soviet bureaucracy.

It was Stalin who, in the 1920s and '30s, first attempted to shackle the workers' movement to serve the narrow interests of the bureaucracy, to achieve peaceful coexistence (*détente*) with the imperialists, and to be left alone to construct "socialism in one country," i.e., a paradise for the bureaucratic caste in the USSR.

Stalin, via the degenerated Third

Footnotes

1. Says Trotsky in *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*: "This formula, 'workers' and farmers' government,' first appeared in the agitation of the Bolsheviks in 1917 and was definitely accepted after the October revolution. In the final instance it represented nothing more than the popular designation for the already established dictatorship of the proletariat. The significance of this

designation comes mainly from the fact that it underscored the idea of an *alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry* upon which the Soviet power rests.

When the Comintern of the epigones tried to revive the formula buried by history, the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry,' it gave to the formula of the 'workers' and peasants' government' a completely different, purely 'democratic,' i.e., bourgeois content, *counterposing* it to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

2. Stalinist class collaboration led to, among other crimes, the butchery of the Chinese revolution by Chiang Kai-Shek in 1925-27; to Hitler's accession to power in Germany in 1933 and Franco's ascendance in Spain in 1939; to the disarming of the revolution in western Europe after World War II; and to the slaughter of the Indonesian, Chilean, and Iranian revolutions in recent times. Stalinist counterrevolutionary politics have shored up the labor bureaucracies and retarded class struggle in the imperialist countries for 60 years.

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FOR INFORMATION

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Re-tailors Trotskyism

International, ordered the Communist Parties in the West to fall in behind the labor bureaucracies as added points of reformist pressure on the imperialists. In the colonial countries, Stalin herded the workers into the camp of the national bourgeoisies. He did this under the slogan of the "workers' and peasants' government," claiming it expressed the first stage of a "two-stage" revolutionary process.¹ According to the two-stage theory, countries that had not yet achieved their bourgeois-democratic upheavals must *limit themselves in advance* to that task and postpone the "separate" socialist stage to a nebulous future. (Stalin lifted the "stages" theory from the Mensheviks, who used it to try to throttle the 1917 socialist revolution in Russia.)

Stalin insisted that workers in colonial countries form unconditional alliances with the peasantry, or rather with the "democratic" capitalists who purported to speak in the peasants' interests. This meant keeping the revolution within bounds acceptable to the capitalists—sandbagging the independent interests of the workers and poor peasants.

This also meant sandbagging the *revolution*, as Trotsky explained. The colonial bourgeoisie is, in the last analysis, tied inextricably by world capitalist economy to imperialism, and will sell out the revolution before it can consolidate against imperialism and become a *socialist* revolution.²

Radical laborism

The U.S. SWP's hosannas to the workers' and farmers' government—as opposed to the proletarian dictatorship—portends a sellout of revolution no less severe than Stalin's.

Witness SWP support for the "anti-imperialist" butcher of workers and demeanor of women in Iran, Khomeini; its implicit disavowal of political revolution in Poland; its consistent attacks on socialist leadership in the U.S. labor, feminist, radical, and antiwar movements; its denial of the need for socialist revolution in South Africa; and its repudiation of Trotskyism everywhere.



Fidel Castro: The SWPs now tail Castro in toeing the Kremlin's international line.

The SWP's Stalinism did not fall out of the sky yesterday. It is rooted in the protracted delay of the U.S. revolution after World War II and in the SWP's concurrent adaptation to the U.S. labor aristocracy.

The fatal slide began during the McCarthyite witchhunts in the 1950s, which drove radicals and militants out of the unions, consolidated the labor bureaucracy, conservatized the white male unionists, and drove the Communist Party underground.

The SWP leadership was mainly derived from and tied to the unions. Once it lost touch with the living dynamics of the labor movement, it became disoriented. The Dobbs/Kerry leadership totally underestimated and devalued all the alternative sources of resistance—the civil rights struggles, women's issues, the fight of civil libertarians against McCarthy—which were forced to develop outside the bureaucratized unions. The SWP fought bitterly over the vast significance of the radical energy generated by Khrushchev's startling revelations about Stalin in 1956.

By the 1960s, fresh stirrings were felt in the civil rights, feminist, gay liberation, antiwar, campus, and farmworker sectors. These brave new movements represented the struggles of

wait-for-a-better-day passivity in its activities. The party began to restrict itself to support for bread-and-butter demands. Raising other political issues in the labor movement stopped. Likewise, labor issues weren't to be raised in the other mass movements; single-issuism prevailed with a vengeance.

In time, the SWP's fixation on the backward aristocrats eroded the party's belief in the revolutionary potential of the working class, in the U.S. and everywhere else. The party began to seek quick popularity in the burgeoning antiwar, Black, and feminist movements (but not the lesbian/gay struggle—that was going too far!). Naturally, the SWP courted the reformists and cultural separatists who often dominated these movements. It was the same desire to get rich in a hurry that later prompted the SWP to fall in behind Stalinism and other brands of reformism abroad.

By the late 1970s, the combined impact of the social movements—and of the people of color, women, and antiwar militants in labor's own ranks—had reopened the unions to radicals. The SWP plunged into the industrial unions in search of their elusive "white male vanguard." This was the infamous "turn to heavy industry" in 1978.



The antiwar movement is a fertile ground for revolutionary ideas, but the FI and SWP opt for popularity at the expense of politics.

the super-oppressed, vanguard majority of U.S. workers. But the SWP dismissed them as mere "allies", if that, of the white male aristocrats of labor, and stalled for years before getting involved in some of these movements.

The SWP fell into a *radical laborite* orientation: radical because of residual Trotskyist habit; laborite because the SWP saw the unions as the exclusive arena for class struggle.³

However, deepening union conservatism caused the SWP to adopt a

The SWP Rip Van Winkles refused to recognize that the real vanguard was largely non-white and non-male, and was now to be found in the swelling service, transport, and communications industries, and in the public sector, which now constituted the fulcrum of U.S. economic and political life. The battles of workers in these sectors—for better wages and conditions, affirmative action, anti-discrimination, comparable worth, union democracy, participation in management decisions, free speech

accepting the anti-Trotskyism of the SWP?

The same broad pressures that helped precipitate the degeneration of this party have certainly affected the FI as a whole: the relative postwar quiescence of the western proletariat and conservatism of its upper layers; the coming to power of neo-Stalinists in Third World revolutions; the comparative and prolonged isolation of Trotskyists in the world revolutionary movement.

Compounding these objective circumstances, the fact that USec is composed primarily of chauvinistic

on and off the job—involve millions in a simultaneous fight against the bosses, the labor bureaucrats, and the government.

But the tunnel-visioned SWP adapted to the racism and sexism of the industrial unions, and the bureaucrats who dominate them. This imposed an even more rigidly conservative and sectarian stance on the SWP, attested to by the party's refusal to join united fronts against the right wing, or even support other radicals in defense of commonly imperiled civil liberties.

The SWP's turn to heavy industry was foolish, bombastic, and inept—a



Leon Trotsky enjoined the FI to orient to the most oppressed of the working class.

march to the political boneyard. Its subsequent slide into Stalinism was a fitting dénouement to the farce.

The emperor's new clothes

USec's reluctance to characterize and fight the SWP's apostasy stems from the fact that its own approach to crucial revolutionary questions dovetails essentially with the SWP's and is equally rooted in a refusal to meet the demands of revolution in the imperialist countries, above all in the U.S.⁴

The SWP at least repudiated Trotskyism openly, but USec's retailoring of the theory of permanent revolution is underhanded. In USec's current interpretation of the theory, expounded in its 12th World Congress resolution, "The Present Stage of Building the Fourth International," the core of permanent revolution—that the question of world socialism will be decided in the imperialist heartland—has utterly disappeared.

The strategic mandates of permanent revolution are derived, says this resolution, from the "dialectic interpenetration" of the imperialist, dependent capitalist, and workers' state sectors of world revolution. That is, revolutionary strategy in any one country is conditioned by the interrelations among the three sectors. This is

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Stalinism was instrumental in shaping a world where capitalism, though weakened by global revolt and its own severe contradictions, is still able to exert enormous disfiguring pressure on all liberation struggles. Stalinism has facilitated the isolation, bureaucratization, and degeneration of the Soviet, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Cuban revolutions, in varying degrees. It has imposed itself as the ideology of leaders of the anti-imperialist bloc, and of their camp followers as well.

3. In 1965, the Seattle branch of the SWP (soon to

break away to form the Freedom Socialist Party) produced a resolution for the SWP's 21st National Convention, entitled "Radical Laborism vs. Bolshevik Leadership." The resolution charged the SWP regime with subordinating the party to narrow trade unionistic limitations and with fostering a corollary contempt for Leninist theory and method. The resolution blasted this approach as *economism*, which Lenin had excoriated in the Russian Marxist movement.

4. How is it that USec finds itself increasingly

white male intellectuals has obviously rendered it doubly vulnerable to the blandishments and pressure of European reformism.

That the SWP, in distinction from USec, has made the decisive leap from Trotskyism to de facto Stalinism can perhaps be chalked up to the more intense pressures and isolation faced by socialists in the U.S. Also, who needs yet another social democratic or Stalinist or hybrid formation in the crowded reformist landscape of tired European politics?

National Lawyers Guild—Seattle Chapter, joined by Portland Chapter and the National Organization • Activa Unlimited, San Francisco • Ad Hoc Committee for Fair Employment and Open Housing, Seattle • American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Local 2083 • American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Local 2083-C • Asian Women United, New York • Association of Lesbian and Gay Asians, San Francisco • Ramona Bennett (Puyallup Tribe) • Center for Constitutional Rights, New York • El Centro de la Raza, Seattle • Clinic Defense Committee, Oakland • Committee for Equal Rights at City Light, Seattle • Committee to Defend Immigrant Rights, Seattle • Cougar Mountain Residents Association • Freedom Day Committee, Seattle • Gay and Lesbian Veterans Association, San Francisco • Greater Seattle Business Association, • Guatemalan Solidarity Committee, Seattle • International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers, Local 17 • International Socialist Organization, Seattle Branch • Internationalist Workers Party (Fourth International) • Irish Republican Socialist Committee of North America • *Just Out*, Portland • Kadima/New Jewish Agenda, Seattle • King County Labor Council of Washington, AFL-CIO • Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, International Office • Mayor's Task Force on Lesbians and Gays, Seattle • Janet McCloud (Tulalip Tribe) • Metropolitan Community Church of Seattle • National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Seattle Branch • National Conference of Black Lawyers, Northwest Chapter • National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

Signers of the "Friend-of-the-Court" Brief Submitted by the National Lawyers Guild

• National Organization for Women, Everett Chapter • National Organization for Women, Seattle Chapter • New Alliance Party, USA • New York 8/Grand Jury 8/Defense Committee Against Fascism, New York • Northwest Women's Law Center, Seattle • Organization of Asian Women, New York • Peace and Freedom Party of California • Partisan Defense Committee • Portland Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean • National Radical Women • *Seattle Gay News* • Seattle Nonviolent Action Group • Seattle Women's Commission • Ship Scalpers, Dry Dock and Miscellaneous Boat Yard Workers Union, Local 541 • Socialist Party, USA • Socialist Party of Washington • Socialist Workers Party, USA • Spartacist League, USA • Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights, Seattle • United Food and Commercial Workers, Local 1105 • Washington Federation of State Employees, Local 435 • Washington Federation of State Employees, Local 843 • Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO • A Woman's Place Bookstore, Portland • Workers Socialist League

And many thanks to the
119 other endorsers of the FSP fight
for First Amendment rights!

SEATTLE SOCIALISTS ON TRIAL



Freeway Hall case defendants and legal team. Front row, left to right: defendants Guerry Hoddersen; Eldon Durham; Sam Deaderick; Gloria Martin; Clara Fraser; Yolanda Alaniz.

The Freedom Socialist Party will never turn over to the courts its lists of members and contributors or financial records or minutes of meetings—not one name, not one word, not one figure.

By proclaiming and holding fast to this guiding principle, the FSP has rallied old friends and won admiring new allies in a prolonged fight to defend its First Amendments rights and its very existence as a political party.

Ex-member Richard Snedigar wants to smash and pauperize the FSP, and he is invoking the power of the civil courts, as well as the strategy of the McCarthy era, to bolster his campaign of destruction.

Snedigar filed suit against the FSP and ten well-known radical activists in January 1984, to reclaim a donation he and his housemates made in 1979 to the party's Eviction Fund. The fund was established in 1978 when the party faced eviction from its Freeway Hall headquarters of sixteen years and undertook an exhaustive building search.

That search ended with the purchase of a building in mid-1985 in Seattle's Columbia City district.

Snedigar exited the party in 1980, for unstated reasons, promising everlasting friendship and support. But now he has embroiled the bourgeois courts in the private affairs of the party. He demands a legal decision in a political priorities dispute that he dared not launch in less reactionary times.

In pursuing his case against his former associates and friends, this disgruntled former radical, has demanded financial records, minutes and membership/contributor information in courtroom hearing after hearing, in brief after brief, striking vengefully at the jugular of any political party or social issues organization—their protected, constitutional right to internal privacy and decision making, freedom of association, confidentiality of dona-

tions, and freedom of speech.

Attack and counterattack

The malicious lawsuit charges that the defendants made and broke a "contract" with Snedigar to return the money to him if they did not buy a building immediately; that they committed "fraud" in representing the eviction crisis as an emergency; and that they somehow "unduly advantaged" him to contribute by taking advantage of his "trust" in the party, and by pressuring him in unspecified ways. He also charged the party with violation of the charitable solicitation act, and unjust enrichment.

The FSP responded with extensive evidence that the suit was frivolous, baseless, and absurd—the Eviction Fund was intact and the quest for a new headquarters was continual, because Freeway Hall was becoming daily more uninhabitable and the eviction threat was constant.

Then, in his January 1985 depositions, Snedigar admitted under oath that no oral or written contract existed, that the emergency was real and continued to exist even as he testified, and that he had been absolutely free to give or not give the money as he chose. In short, he admitted his case had no merit!

His case should have been thrown out then and there, but it wasn't. And he and his over-eager lawyers, Thomas Wampold and Michelle Pailthorp, thereupon escalated their attacks on the defendants' First Amendment rights to a plane of venom and hysteria that evoked vivid memories of City Light's frenzied tactics in Clara Fraser's political ideology discrimination case.

They had already launched what has become a colossal, two-year-long fishing expedition for membership lists, contributors' lists, and financial records, all of which are unrelated to Snedigar's gift and to the basic claims of his case. Behind this expedition and the vitriol stands a calculated plan to

terrorize the party into giving back the money or losing the case by default for refusing to disclose privileged information.

Clearly, the Freeway Hall case has become a lawsuit of intimidation—today's prime rightwing weapon. The Wampold/Pailthorp tactics are borrowed from the legislative witch-hunts of the 1950s, and are designed to destroy defendants' civil liberties, sully their credibility and integrity, and strip away their financial resources.

But the FSP is determined that this case not be allowed to provide a handy precedent and formula for pulverizing any radical or social advocacy group.

and the city attorney, the party did not have the resources to try to rehabilitate any of the antiquated warehouses or abandoned factories then available as a headquarters, a number of which Snedigar felt strongly the party should purchase. The party invested the Eviction Fund and continued to seek a suitable and affordable building. Freeway Hall served as office space for the Fraser Defense Committee and in the very midst of the administration hearing on the case, a new eviction order had to be resisted and forestalled!

Fraser's initial victory was overturned 2-1 by a hearing panel in August 1980. In September, at the outset of Fraser's court appeal, Snedigar resigned from the FSP. He wrote that he had "no disagreements," didn't cite any reasons for leaving, and expressed good will.

But in 1983, two years before the FSP succeeded in the Herculean task of finding and refurbishing an affordable hall, Snedigar suddenly demanded, in a deranged letter, that the donation he made with the help of others be returned to him alone. He further demanded that an accounting of the hall search and the eviction fund be sent to all contributors and posted all over the city and that all contributors be reimbursed with interest! The FSP politely but firmly refused.

Then came the lawsuit, the spurious charges, the vilification, the redbaiting, the witchhunt.

For a fistful of dollars

Today Snedigar claims his resignation was due to the party's "refusal" to buy one of several buildings he personally recommended. He is furious with the organization, and most particularly with its female leaders, for accepting his gift yet rejecting his "superior" male judgment in matters of real estate.

He waited three years after his resignation to file the political harassment suit he now admits has no merit. He waited until he could depend on a growing reactionary climate—rather than evidence—to win his case. His moment came in early 1983 after Clara Fraser had won her eight-year battle against City Light and a large award for back wages and attorney fees. Snedigar, who had left the party in the middle of

this fight, decided to profit from the hard-won victory by blackmailing his former comrades; he filed suit, and Fraser and her attorneys were three of the ten named defendants.

Snedigar is abetted in his vendetta and attempt to cash in on Fraser's award by his malignant attorneys, Pailthorp and Wampold. Their law firm, Bovy, Wampold and Munro, includes former Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman's righthand man, Allan Munro. Uhlman presided over Clara Fraser's firing from City Light and was the subject of two recall campaigns by city employees in which the FSP participated.

This firm recently represented a group of white males in a successful "reverse discrimination" case against Seattle's affirmative action program.

Pailthorp/Wampold present themselves as liberals, but one glance at their legal strategy suggests that if they are liberals, so were Joseph McCarthy and the rest of his head-hunters who fomented a civil libertarian's nightmare three decades ago.

They have made blatant appeals to possible judicial prejudice against radical organizations. In his first court appearance, Wampold referred to the FSP as a "small declining cult." Pailthorp concluded her impassioned courtroom plea to force the FSP to name names by expressing sympathy for J. Edgar Hoover (notorious F.B.I. chief and red-hunter).

Pailthorp/Wampold also characterize this "small declining cult" as a Marxist monolith, sinister and destructive in its "tight discipline"; they wail that every detail of poor Snedigar's life, including his housekeeping, had been controlled by the party.

Between these two paragons of virulence and slander weaves Snedigar, anxiously confessing, like his counterparts among the informers and finks of the 1950s, that he was once a dupe of Bolsheviks but has seen the light (now that the price is right).

Snarls, legal & political

The lawsuit proper has yet to be heard, but preliminary courtroom battles over "discovery" and charges have raged for two years.

The FSP successfully fought efforts by Snedigar in June 1984 to block party access to its own Eviction Fund pending outcome of the suit. King County Superior Court Judge Frank Howard refused to tie up the money.

Judge Terrance Carroll then rejected the FSP's March 1985 request for dismissal of the case. But he did throw out Snedigar's charges of abuse of trust and violation of charitable solicitation law.

The war escalated in May 1985 when Judge Arthur Piehler ordered the FSP to turn over "all information previously requested, and requested in the future"—all membership and contributor lists, internal minutes, and other confidential records. When FSP attorney Fred Hyde protested that the order was unconstitutional and the party would not turn over privileged information, Judge Piehler slapped the party with a \$200 fine and declared, "Then give him his money back."

Undaunted, the FSP, with the support of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) went to the state Court of Appeals and won a reversal of this order on September 30, 1985.

Unfortunately the Court of Appeals neglected to specify the standards to be used by the lower court when disclosure of constitutionally protected information is sought. Those exacting standards are contained in a three-step test used by the U.S. Supreme Court and many other courts to determine whether discovery can proceed when First Amendment rights are threatened. The test requires (1) that discovery be limited to matters central to the case and thus highly relevant; (2) that the need for information outweigh both individual and public interests in First Amendment protections; and (3) that even if highly relevant and necessary, discovery proceed only in the least inclusive and the least intrusive manner.

Emboldened by the appeals court's lack of precision, on October 10 Snedigar pushed Superior Court Judge Robert Dixon to interpret the ruling incorrectly to mean that the FSP must turn over its internal minutes, although names could be deleted. The FSP

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Back row: Dan Smith, attorney; Val Carlson and Fred Hyde, attorneys and defendants; Doug Barnes, defendant.

The party has consistently counterattacked, and sought advice and help from a broad spectrum of concerned organizations and individuals.

Through a maze of pre-trial legal motions and responses, the party and its attorneys, Val Carlson, Fred Hyde, and Dan Smith, have tenaciously resisted each and every one of Snedigar's raids and legal sneak attacks.

The FSP has committed its national resources to this pivotal case. The expense in money and time already exceeds the amount of Snedigar's original gift, but the struggle has proven the political value of refusing to retreat from the new McCarthyites.

A matter of priorities

In late 1978, while Snedigar was a member, the FSP received a notice that it was being evicted from Freeway Hall. The party negotiated intensively with the landlord and mobilized to stop or postpone eviction, but it also set up an eviction fund and began a massive search for premises that the party could afford to buy or rent.

Snedigar participated actively in these decisions and efforts, and in 1979 he refinanced his home and gave \$22,500 to the fund. His housemates agreed to pay added rent to help contribute, and one of the people he is now suing co-signed the refinancing and remains liable on the loan. Snedigar placed no conditions on the gift.

The hunt for a new hall became Snedigar's pet project, and he pursued it with energy and diligence. As became clear later, he felt his donation had entitled him to dictate the party's choice of a building. Hall hunt for Snedigar was a matter of prestige and power within the FSP.

Then in January 1980, his ambitions were jolted when the FSP prioritized aid to founder Clara Fraser in her political ideology and sex discrimination case against Seattle City Light. Immersed in fighting City Light, the mayor's office

The new headquarters at 5018 Rainier Ave. S., in Seattle, home of Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party, is the most beautiful I've ever seen. There are many political buildings in the world, some of them palaces, but most of them house powerful parties of governments bent on making war against other countries and the working class everywhere. Our building, in contrast, shelters a socialist feminist organization and a party devoted to other concerns. We struggle against imperialist wars, and we are determined to wipe out the profit system and establish socialist equality, freedom, and justice for all oppressed people.

The road to this new building has been a long and difficult one, taking seven years of hard work by many people. In 1978 we received an eviction notice at Freeway Hall from the owner, Ivar (Keep Clam) Haglund. This was a blow of huge proportions. We had no money to make a move, property values had gone skyward, and we needed a large building. However, in our usual fashion, we went into high gear, putting Ivar off month after month, setting up a Freeway Hall Eviction Fund, and searching for a building.

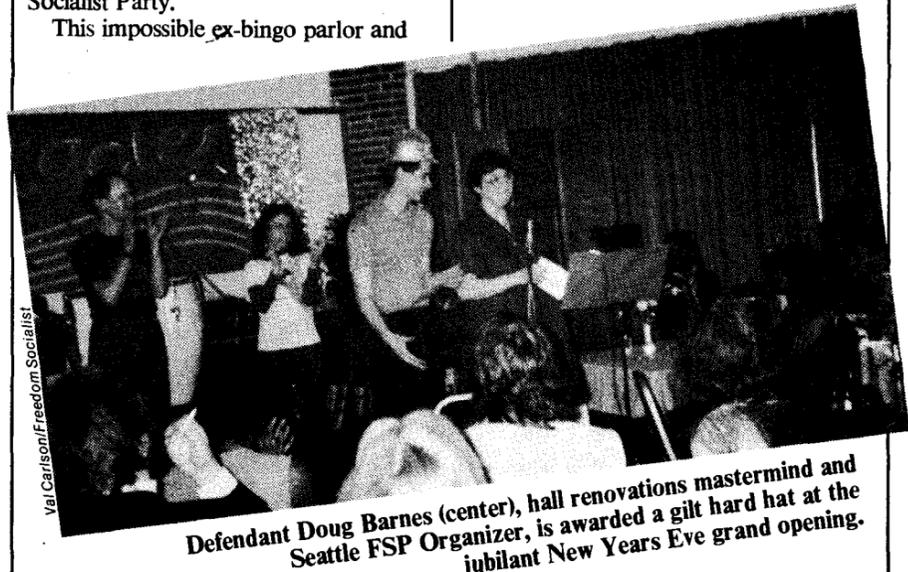
The Hall Fund grew, mostly by small amounts. We received a few gifts of

hundreds and here and there a thousand. One of the largest donors, Dick Snedigar, a former member of the FSP, is presently suing for a return of his gift in an action that has become a bona fide witchhunt (see accompanying article). But the money has been spent, and when you visit us, you can see the result of Hall Fund money and dedicated work from friends, community, and members of Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party.

This impossible ex-bingo parlor and

ugly duckling has been *transformed*. We are in an integrated workingclass community where we want to live and work. We have made new friends, including neighborhood children who have given their labor. All of us working together have *done* it! That really says it all! Come in and see us—and lend us your skills; there is still work to do. Above all, visit us and see for yourself. □

—GLORIA MARTIN



Defendant Doug Barnes (center), hall renovations mastermind and Seattle FSP Organizer, is awarded a gift hard hat at the jubilant New Years Eve grand opening.

Drawing The Line

By Karen Brodine



1. Firing Line

Dedicated to my grandmother, Harriet Pierce

Notice of Proposed Removal Action
Loyalty Board
Post Office Department, Washington D.C.

In the Matter of the Loyalty
of Harriet M. Pierce
Seattle, Washington
Loyalty Case Number 6

Executive Order 9835, March, 1948
established a Federal Employees Loyalty Program
to see that disloyal civilian officers or employees
are not retained

As the result of a recent investigation
made of you as an employee of the Post Office

information has been received
which indicates you have been
and that you are
affiliated or sympathetic with
an organization, association, movement, group
or combination of persons
designated as subversive

and on the basis of this evidence
grounds exist
for belief
that you are disloyal
to the Government of the United States.

2. Holding the Line

We have lists
of those
who stepped
across that line
to join us.
A piece of paper.
A simple list
of our party
movement
association
group
and combination of persons.
The names are the names
of those who stepped
across that line
to join us.
We stand in lines that stretch
beyond the law.
We march and are arrested.
We do not let the right wing
break our lines.
We say we have the right
to freedom of speech
to freedom of silence.
We say what we know
to be truth for the record.
We refuse to name names.
Subversive, we shove back.
Loyal, we hold in trust
each name given.
It is that difficult
and that simple.

invasion of privacy. It describes how violation of privacy can impair internal decision-making, inhibit contributors, and decimate membership through the fear of public exposure, job loss, reprisals, threats, other personal harassment, and murder.

"New ideas, new solutions to old and seemingly insoluble problems often come from those who run against or ahead of the current of their times," states the brief.

The high court is asked to establish standards for disclosure. The brief concludes:

If courts may review a political association's internal documents merely upon the speculative request of a hostile litigant who asserts—without any substantial basis—that the documents might contain relevant material, the Constitutional protections against state infringement upon associational rights would be chilled.

Despite the impressive support and the seriousness of the civil liberties issue involved, on February 21 the Washington Supreme Court refused to review the case.

FSP's lawyers then scheduled a Court of Appeals hearing for April 11 on a request that the party not be required to turn over minutes. They urged the Court of Appeals to review the order compelling minutes *now* and not force the FSP to face another default attempt, fines or jail in order to obtain review. If constitutional rights are protected after people have been punished for asserting them, attorney Hyde argued, "the First Amendment will only be relied on by the rich and the foolhardy." The April 11 hearing ended with Commissioner Larry Jordan agreeing to take under advisement the party's request for review.

As we go to press, no decision has been issued. If the court does not accept review, the FSP will continue to refuse to hand over internal documents.

McCarthyism is perennial

This lawsuit would not have lasted a day if it had been aimed at a mainstream party. No contributor to Democrats or Republicans would dream of getting their money back if they later disagreed with party platform or priorities—and most contributors, unlike Snedigar in the FSP, stand at a considerable distance from participation in party decision making.

Further, the right to privacy for individuals and political organizations in the U.S. is so fundamental that it is almost taken for granted. Nixon had to resort to *theft* to obtain records from the Democrats, and the resultant Watergate scandal toppled him.

It is a measure of the times, however, that the Freedom Socialist Party must fight for years to defend its constitutional rights, its very right to exist.

The issues of *Snedigar v. Hoddersen, et al.* affect the civil liberties of every person and every organization. As the January 1986 issue of *Seattle NLG Briefs* explains:

Snedigar-type legal harassment must be stopped now. FSP, NLG, what group or individual will be next on the McCarthyism hit list?

Without opposition, the new McCarthyites could produce the same kind of paralysis that silenced so many in the grim '50s, when Senator Joseph McCarthy aimed for national power and the creation of a fascist third party through shameless denunciations of individuals and organizations as traitors. He used spies and informers and manipulated popular fears and

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decided to appeal again.

Snedigar, in the meantime, was facing a motion to compel him to answer FSP's interrogatories requesting that he produce evidence to support his charges.

To divert the court's attention from Snedigar's refusal to provide information, his lawyers tried to persuade Judge Jerome Johnson that Snedigar should win by default since the FSP would not produce the minutes. This tactic almost succeeded.

On November 6, Judge Johnson initially agreed to the default, but delayed entering his decision for 48 hours to allow the FSP to seek emergency relief from the Court of Appeals. Just two hours before the deadline, the Court of Appeals granted an emergency stay which prohibited

enforcement of Judge Dixon's order compelling minutes. At 4:00 p.m. on November 8 Judge Johnson therefore denied default. He also fined Snedigar \$250 for trying at this point to dump into the public court file all of his discovery documents, including what purported to be membership and contributor lists that he had.

No, no, a thousand times no

The FSP next went to Washington Supreme Court, asking that court to require the lower courts to use the three-step test developed by the U.S. Supreme Court. The party also asked that the pending appeals court review of Judge Dixon's order to turn over minutes be transferred to the state Supreme Court and that both issues be

considered at once.

At the time of its appeal to the state's high court, the FSP had over 100 endorsers, and 56 groups co-signed the amicus curiae brief prepared by the NLG, including labor unions and civil rights, women's, lesbian and gay rights, political and community organizations.

The Seattle NAACP was an eager co-signer, explaining that in Alabama, it had "to protect itself against a fine of \$100,000 for refusing to turn over its membership list."

The NLG brief eloquently shows how appeals courts have historically protected such groups as the Socialist Workers Party, the Republican Party of Arkansas, the National Organization for Women, and environmental, labor, religious and community groups from

... 4th Int'l

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indisputable, given the world character of capitalism, its division of labor, and the class struggle that issues therefrom; the economic and political realities that govern the fate of nations and shape the tasks of revolutionaries are inescapably international in scope. Nevertheless, USec's bare formula ignores the *relative weight* of the three sectors in the matrix of international relations.

It is clear that revolution in one or more dependent countries or workers' states can lead, even directly, to global upheaval. However, because the U.S. is the financial, political, and military epicenter of capitalism, as well as the nemesis of liberation struggles on five continents, and the launchpad of fascism and nuclear holocaust, it is equally clear that humanity's survival, not to mention the prospects for socialism, depends on what happens in the U.S.

So what about the urgent need to enunciate a strategy for the American revolution? Isn't it strange that USec pays little specific attention to the U.S., and what it does say is bereft of revolutionary perspective?

USec merely comments, in the manner of armchair Marxists, that "the struggle for a mass labor party, and a Black party independent of the bourgeoisie, is becoming more and more relevant" in the U.S.

Is this *all*? And if so, what is indicated tactically for revolutionaries? USec passes over these questions.

USec has borrowed wholecloth the blinkered assessment of the radical laborites who used to make SWP policy. These savants hold that the labor party, based in the unions, is the sole path to U.S. revolution. At the same time, in deference to Black cultural separatists, they hail uncritically any and every attempt to build an all-Black party.

It is not preordained, however, that the labor party is the only route to U.S. revolution. It is one of many *possibilities*, given the speed and unpredictability and audacity that characterize upsurges in the USA. In any case, no labor party can be built in the U.S. except in struggle against bureaucratism and bigotry, and therefore in defense of the leadership of the non-white, non-male workingclass majority—precisely those strata who are ignored in the laborites' schemas.

Regarding an all-Black party, it is manifest that autonomous Black—and Chicano, and women's, and lesbian/gay—organizing is necessary because of institutionalized racism, sexism, and homophobia. An all-Black party could surely quicken the pace of U.S. revolutionary development—*provided* it embraces an anti-capitalist, pro-labor perspective and actively seeks political integration with other movements of the oppressed. Conversely, a Black party ruled by cultural separatism—pro-capitalist by definition in its elevation of race over class as the unifier of an oppressed group—will flounder and crash in the racist killing ground of bourgeois America.

Any materialist examination of the race and sex dynamics that so decisively shape U.S. class struggle today would have revealed all this. It speaks volumes about USec that it is content to regurgitate shopworn laborite schematism in its "assessment" of struggle in the belly of the imperialist beast.

A bad right turn

If USec casts a blind eye toward the

U.S., it is no more clear-sighted with regard to workers' struggles in Europe, where it continues to uphold the ill-fated "turn to heavy industry" that the SWP rammed through as policy for the FI at the 11th World Congress in 1979.

This turn reaffirmed that white male unionists were indeed labor's shining vanguard.

USec's assessment of the current state of European labor accords with this notion. Workers have been "slow" to respond to the bosses' offensive because "those first hit were the more vulnerable and less organized—immigrant workers, women, youth, older sectors—all of whom were insufficiently defended by an overall class solidarity." Remarkable! USec noticed. And what to do?

Help is on the way! The "big battalions of the workers' movement"—in steel, auto, etc.—are starting to feel the heat. "As the crisis deepens," says USec, mass resistance will gather among these "key sectors."

USec neglects to mention that it was anti-immigrant racism and age-old sexism that was instrumental in preventing the white male hopes of European labor from demonstrating "sufficient" solidarity toward their more vulnerable sisters and brothers. The vanguard "big battalions" are even more vulnerable—to ruling-class bigotries that cripple *all* labor. So what will be the outcome of resistance among the "key sectors" if this bigotry is not expunged? And how can it ever be expunged if the leadership of the most vulnerable workers is not respected even by socialists?⁵

Anti-feminism was codified in the FI when women's caucuses were banned at the 1979 World Congress. The rationale? Sexism is "antithetical" to Trotskyism, so caucuses are unnecessary, mere pretexts for "gripe sessions." Thus were the burning problems of FI women impugned and dismissed by the patriarchs. But if sexism is non-Trotskyist, what provoked those "gripes" from the women?

USec defends the banning of caucuses to this day. Yet they are "concerned" about the woman question, perhaps because women undeniably "are at the forefront" of Europe's mass movements and the FI is embarrassed at its "lack of implantation" among them. This glaring lack has unspecified

"internal roots," though "it can be linked to the decline of the women's liberation movement." And the solution? "Education of women comrades" so they can be readied for "leadership"—that is, to recruit women to the ranks of the FI.

Humbug like this would be laughable were it not tragic. Who will "educate" the terminally sexist patriarchs? Sexism is antithetical to Trotskyism, but it corresponds with USec's refusal to meet the needs of the living revolution, a refusal exemplified by its turn to the vanishing "big battalions" and away from the most oppressed, and potentially most dynamic, new sectors of labor.

Quick fix in Central America

Fixation on labor aristocrats plunged the SWPs headlong into opportunism at home and abroad. So, too, with USec. Its approach to the Central American revolution differs little in essence from the SWPs' course.

USec wants to work with and eventually "unify" with Central American revolutionaries. Meanwhile it insists that FI sections not be "rigid" in applying the lessons of permanent revolution to collaborative practical work. But USec neglects to tell us how flexible one should be in addressing, for example, the class-collaborationist, popular front tactics of the Salvadoran FDR, or Sandinista efforts to consolidate a purely "national" revolution in peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism.

What does this neglect say about the necessity for theory as a guide to practical work? Or for the role of Trotskyism in the revolutionary movement?

The SWPs don't think much of these necessities. Nor does USec, if its refusal to address these questions, or do aught but cheerlead the Central Americans, is any indication.

Regroup!

The SWPs' abandonment of Trotskyism and slide into neo-Stalinism is an obvious danger for the Trotskyist movement. USec's adaptation to revisionism, albeit in the guise of Trotskyist "orthodoxy," is a hidden danger that blurs the distinction between Trotskyism and reformism. Of what significance are Marxist theory,

method, heritage and tactics if their paramount "defenders" act as virtual epigones of the SWP?

We have demanded, in past issues of the *Freedom Socialist* and in documents of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP), that USec initiate a thoroughgoing political struggle against the SWP. We continue to urge all FI sections, cadre and supporters to demand that their leaders take up the fight against Stalinism and reformism in our precious movement. We call upon all Trotskyists who sincerely wish to defend our unsullied program and heritage to examine and discuss with each other the reasons for the present crisis of Trotskyism and what we must do to overcome it.

We invite all uncloseted Trotskyists, and radicals who seek regroupment, to join CRSP, which the FSP helped found in 1977 as a principled Trotskyist alternative to the hopelessly degenerated SWP.

CRSP has carefully studied the world Trotskyist crisis, most profoundly in the works of its former national chairman, the late Murry Weiss, a longtime SWP leader and close associate of James P. Cannon. In such documents as "The Crisis in the Fourth International," and "Permanent Revolution and Women's Emancipation," comrade Weiss brilliantly analyzed the bureaucratic practices and the blind sexism that were swiftly overhauling the FI, and pinpointed the tasks of the FI in today's changed world.

CRSP is a growing pole of attraction for all those who want to preserve and rehabilitate the battered Trotskyist movement.

A regenerated Trotskyism—a *socialist feminist* Trotskyist movement—is the abiding hope of our time. It is the only agenda for workers' revolution in the West, for a clear revolutionary course elsewhere, for the ascendance of humanity to its socialist future. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN

5. USec has little to say about immigrant workers. It disparages feminism, and cringes at homosexuality. It is still waiting for the brawny proletariat of heavy industry to move, as if professional, service, and technical workers weren't the new majority of labor in Europe, and the most strategically placed, as they are in America.



Contribute to the Socialist Feminist Fund Drive!

Help the Freedom Socialist Party make a splash by raising \$25,000 for publications, staff support, the Freeway Hall Case (see story page six), and renovation of our new national headquarters. A tidal wave of donations will help us meet our July 31st deadline. Send to: New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Avenue South, Seattle, WA 98118.

Against great odds, the courageous Black and Latino revolutionaries of the New York 8+ last August smashed a government attempt to redefine political dissent as a crime in the U.S.

The defendants were put on trial after the government charged them under the Racketeer Influence and Corrupt Organization (RICO) Act with conspiring to rob banks and break prisoners out of jail, arguing that the political activities of the group constituted a criminal enterprise. In waging the case, the government ran a legal steamroller over the rights of radicals and people of color to free speech and association.

But the 8+ fought back in the court and the community, charging the government with conspiracy "to criminalize legitimate, constitutionally protected political dissent, as part of a broad attempt to jail political activists and stifle criticism of U.S. policies." The government, they stated, had targeted them because of their anti-capitalist ideas, community organizing, and belief in armed self-defense against government and rightwing attacks. The defendants' principled defense won over both judge and jury, who cleared them of the conspiracy charges in a resounding victory.

Pre-emptive strike on civil rights

For 22 months, the FBI/NYPD Joint Terrorist Task Force (JTTF) conducted round-the-clock surveillance of NY 8+ member Coltrane Chimurenga because he was seen with a woman later charged in the robbery of a Brinks armored car in 1981. The snooping extended to his friends and co-workers, mocking their rights to freedom of association.

Finally on October 18, 1984, 500 JTTF agents launched a pre-dawn raid, terrorizing five Black neighborhoods in their pursuit of the eight activists. They surrounded homes with machine guns and bazookas, even when they knew no suspect was present and children would be forced into lines of crossfire.

After their arrests, the original eight defendants were held without bail under the 1984 Bail Reform Act passed only two weeks earlier, and charged under RICO. The Bail Reform Act, like preventative detention laws in South Africa, Northern Ireland, and the Philippines, gives the state broad powers to deny bail to people they consider a "danger to society." Nevertheless, seven of the accused won release on bail.

Grand jury abuse

The case of the NY 8+ (including one



The New York 8+ (left to right), back row: Coltrane Chimurenga, Robert Taylor, Omowale Clay, Roger Wareham, Jose Rios. Front row: (Ruth) Lateefah Carter, Colette Pean, Viola Plummer, Yvette Kelly.

comrade arrested later) was referred to a grand jury, where friends and relatives of the group were subsequently subjected to abuse as prosecutors tried to break the solidarity of the defense. Since no one can be forced to testify against his/her spouse, the government called separate juries for each defendant and subpoenaed spouses as witnesses against the other co-defendants. Eight of these heroic men and women subpoenaed set a brilliant standard for grand jury resistance and spent many months in jail rather than testify against their friends. Several won their release by convincing a judge they would never violate their political principles and break solidarity, no matter how long they were jailed.

Dirty tricks backfire

The prosecutors' "case" was based on JTTF wiretapping and the self-contradictory and fantastic testimony of defendant-turned-informer Howard Bonds. The wiretaps were unable to establish any evidence of conspiracy. And, according to the *Village Voice*, the

jury was convinced of a government plot "after finding itself downwind from star snitch Bonds" whose "mission impossible scenarios" were thoroughly discredited on the witness stand.

This made it all the easier for the 8+ to use the court as a forum to expose the government's attempt to subvert the Bill of Rights and assault the revolutionary movement. According to the *Voice*, some members of the predominantly workingclass jury told the 8+ after the trial that they expected to be put under surveillance and wiretapped very soon.

Aftermath

One year after their arrests, the NY 8+ were given very light sentences (for illegal possession of weapons and falsifying identification cards, charges the defendants didn't contest) and in mid-January the judge completed sentencing by putting only two defendants on probation. The government's last harassment effort was aimed at defendant Colette Pean. Convicted separately for mail welfare fraud, Pean was sent to a

maximum security prison 900 miles away—to serve a 90-day sentence.

Overall, the sentences represented complete victory over the government's conspiracy railroad and showed the judge and jury's disgust at the prosecution. Five of the jurors joined scores of other supporters in urging the judge to grant the NY 8+ their freedom.

Mayor Koch and newspaper editors—who had refused to report on the trial and the government's misconduct—immediately sent up a wowl of protest at this "light treatment of terrorists." But for all those who have been targets of police abuse and government repression, the NY 8+'s tremendous victory is an inspiring example of how solidarity and a political defense can triumph—in the courtroom and in the community. □

—LISA SUZUKI

Lisa Suzuki works with the Anti-Police Abuse Coalition in New York City and is an instructor at Manhattan's Feminist Art Institute.

Spartacists Sputter Over Miskitos and FSP

A Leninist Reply to Workers Vanguard

In the January 31, 1986 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, the *Spartacist League of the U.S.* ran two articles, "Sandinistas and Miskitos," and "FSP: Contra Socialists," which attacked both the Indians' fight for autonomy in Nicaragua and the FSP's support for that fight. Following is an excerpt from a letter the FSP wrote in reply to *Workers Vanguard*.

It is absurd to accuse the FSP of any degree of support to the *contras*. We have unconditionally defended Nicaragua against imperialist attack. Yet, unlike many other Left groups, we criticize the Sandinistas when we see them act in a fashion that threatens the revolution.

The Sandinistas' racist and chauvinist

policy toward the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians is a tragically unnecessary repetition of the historical disasters caused by revolutionaries who rejected the just demands of oppressed nations and drove them into the arms of counterrevolution.

Spanish revolutionaries, for example, repudiated Moroccan demands for autonomy. When Franco treacherously promised the Moors independence, they joined the fascists and were instrumental in helping them win the civil war.

In Iran, at the height of the revolution, Iranian leftists opposed the Kurds' demand for autonomy. This position, and the Iranian Left's betrayal of women's demands for liberation, isolated the Left and prepared its destruction by Khomeini. (Not inciden-

tally, the Iranian feminists were also labeled agents of imperialism when they opposed Khomeini's imposition of the feudal chador.)

Why is it that counterrevolutionaries can see the importance of the National Question so clearly, while the Left remains mired in national chauvinism and contempt for the democratic demands that are inevitable products of revolution?

Lenin left no doubt that it was up to workers of the oppressor nations to prove their dedication to the principles of liberation, even to the point of allowing the oppressed nations to secede and set up their own state. If the workers of the larger state remained the perpetrators of national oppression after the revolution, the responsibility was theirs for the inevitable reaction against the revolution.

In Nicaragua, the policy question facing the Sandinistas now is whether to recognize the Indians' right to self-determination, in this case autonomy, i.e., control over their own land and resources. The Sandinistas refuse to do so, as they have since 1979. And this sets them up to repeat the Spanish and Iranian tragedies. Their current

"autonomy" plan, unilaterally drawn up by Minister of the Interior Borge's office, in essence denies the right to self-determination. It allows for Indian "control" over the land and resources, but only within the framework of national economic development—dictated out of Managua! Some autonomy! That's why the Indians have withdrawn from negotiations for the present.

In the "Contra Socialists" article, *Workers Vanguard* never states its position on the autonomy issue. Calling

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Whoever does not recognize and champion the equality of nations . . . and does not fight against all national oppression . . . is not a Marxist; he is not even a democrat.

—V.I. Lenin,
"Critical Remarks on the National Question"

Reagan, Libya, and the Politics of Terrorism

Ronald Reagan bombed Libya on April 14 to make the world safe from terrorism. That's what he said.

Of course, Reagan's definition of terrorism is arbitrary and quite broad. It includes within its parameters any action taken against the war-mongering policies emanating out of Washington, Langley, and the Pentagon.

Terrorists, therefore, include Palestinians fighting to regain their homeland, stolen by Israel; Arab revolutionists in general; the I.R.A.; and virtually everyone else in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe struggling against the subjugation of the earth by imperialism.

By Reagan's criteria, terrorists or potential terrorists also fester in the USA: socialists, communists, union militants, feminists, race and lesbian/gay liberationists, civil libertarians, immigrants, and just plain folks who realize that the U.S. war drive is fueled by economic problems and political repression at home, and want no part of it.

The bombing was Reagan's way of sending a message to all the above: step out of line and I'll smash you.

It was also a message to would-be Rambos: walk proud and get loud, America is back. Reagan needs a little

hard-core support.

But he needs more than that against the vast array of his actual and potential enemies. That's why, long before he sent the jets to bomb women and children in Tripoli and Benghazi, he hammered away at the idea that Arabs are baby-killers, madmen, and communist dupes just itching to engulf the decent people—white patriotic Americans.

Enough people, Reagan hopes, are sufficiently frightened and racist to give him carte blanche to fight his version of terrorism.

But plenty of other people are beginning to see that the madmen reside in Washington.

They're also discovering the method that lies behind the madness.

Why Khaddafi?

For the role of prime devil, reasoned Reagan and his Svengalis, why *not* Khaddafi? He was perfect for the role of chief terrorist and U.S. target, a colorful pretext for the continued U.S. presence as policeman of the Middle East.

Khaddafi is an Arab for starters. He is also the most vocally anti-imperialist of Arab leaders, at times quite violent in his rhetoric.

He supports the Palestinians against the Israeli settler state, and other na-

tional liberation struggles around the globe. He is allied with the Soviet Union. He is a threat to U.S. client regimes in the region, such as Egypt, Tunisia, and Jordan, who with Israel are the enemies of Arab revolution.

He is a "socialist" according to Western mythmakers, and what is a socialist, according to myth, but a terrorist by another name?

(Actually, Khaddafi is a bourgeois nationalist who wants a larger share of imperialist power and wealth. What more eloquent testimony exists as to the impossibility of international equality under capitalism than the bombing of Tripoli?)

Khaddafi—flamboyant, defiant, "erratic"—is just what the doctor ordered for the Pentagon generals. In addition, his country, though bigger than Grenada, is small enough that the U.S. could get tough with relative impunity.

And there was an added benefit; the bombing ensured that actual terrorism would increase tenfold in the Mideast, as it has, especially in Lebanon and the Sudan. What better excuse for more bombings, a stepped-up U.S. presence in the region, a crackdown on Arabs and other "terrorists" in the U.S., and a shift to a wartime footing at home?

Somebody has to protect poor Israel and the "moderate" Arab client states.

There's all that oil there, too.

The legacy of despair

Reagan has made propagandistic hay out of actual terrorist hijackings, bombings of airports, and murder in the Mideast.

It doesn't seem to matter much that he hasn't been able to prove that Khaddafi is behind the incidents. It's enough that Arabs are behind them and that Khaddafi has been visibly and loudly supportive of "extremism."

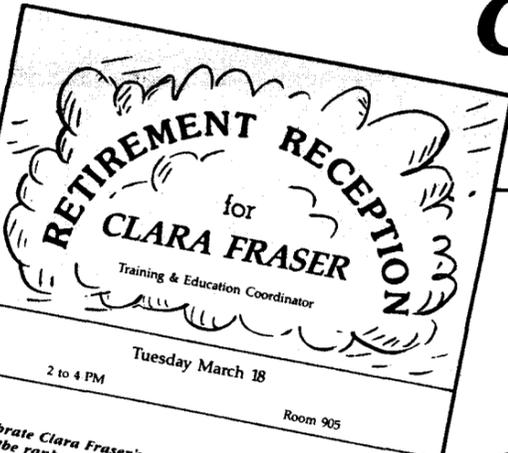
Terrorism *is* frightening. It could strike anyone, anytime. Innocents have been slaughtered—and that is Reagan's ace. Who can support the maiming of innocents?

If terrorism didn't exist, the U.S. would have to invent it. Terrorist acts, moreover, such as the killing of British diplomats in Lebanon, are singularly *ineffective* in toppling the forces of repression. There are always more diplomats. The state remains intact, its propaganda and military apparatus geared more than ever to regressive measures, for which terrorism has provided the pretext.

Terrorism will not remove the U.S. power, the Israeli landgrabbers, or the sellout Arab bourgeoisie from the Mideast. Only a mass, organized, con-

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Congratulations for a Job Well Done!



Celebrate Clara Fraser's entry into the ranks of the leisure class!

A well known (some might say notorious) and respected Training & Education Coordinator, she'll be remembered for her innovative programs and classes, practical supportive career counseling, and concern for employee

Seattle City Light



Gloria Binns presents Clara Fraser with a Purple Heart for "Courage, Tenacity and Chutzpah."

Followers of Clara Fraser's groundbreaking free speech case against Seattle City Light will be glad to know that Clara, a Training and Education Coordinator, retired from the utility on March 20, in her own time and on her own terms. Clara turned 63 on March 12.

City Light management had fired her in 1974 for being a socialist, a feminist, an organizer and advocate for female electrical workers, an activist for workers' rights and a prominent strike leader at the utility. Clara sued City Light for

sex and political ideology discrimination. After a grueling eight-year fight, she won her case, and returned to her job in triumph in November 1982.

Clara's departure *this* time was marked with a retirement party in the 9th floor executive suite which was attended by hundreds of employees. Tables were loaded with edible goodies, and a huge cake bore the inscription: "Clara joins the ranks of the leisure class."

Women and minority workers took center-stage with tributes to Clara's longterm support, encouragement and inspiring example as a fighter and in-

novator. She was presented with a beautiful oak filing cabinet, contributed by the employees, along with scores of cards, other gifts and flowers.

Gloria Binns, chairperson of the Committee for Equal Rights at City Light, and journey-level electrician Angel Arrasmith, on behalf of the female electricians in the landmark Electrical Trades Trainee program administered by Fraser in 1974, gifted her with plaques, historic photos, and a Purple Heart, and thanked her for her enduring contributions to affirmative action and employee rights.

Larry Works of the Seattle chapter of the International Federation of Professional and Technical Workers, Local 17, read a resolution passed unanimously by the local: "... Clara Fraser has exemplified in her life what is best about the labor movement... dedication to principles, perseverance in struggle, and self-sacrifice... Local 17 calls on its members to emulate her dedication in striving for the improvement of the conditions of working people."

Even City Light management put its best foot forward as new Superintendent Randall Hardy praised Fraser's professional achievements and described her as the "conscience of the utility," responsible for its preeminent national role in affirmative action.

The exciting program was expertly chaired by Marilyn Patton, a leader of the stunning 1974 employee walkout.

Surrounded by TV cameras and media reporters, Fraser urged employees to continue the fight. "Struggle! Aot! Demand!" she exhorted amid cheers and applause. "Nobody's going to give you anything to make it easier. You've got to *fight* for it, you've got to *organize* for it, you've got to learn how to get together and *make* things hap-

pen! I'd like to see you all leave here today ready to make significant changes at City Light. And call on me for help. I'll be there."

It is a great tribute to Fraser that as a notorious radical, beset by a vindictive management which did its best to divide and isolate her from the workforce, she unerringly won the respect, trust and love of workers at City Light. She encouraged the best in her coworkers by being *herself*. She demonstrated the power of mutual support against management's divide-and-conquer appeals to Yuppie careerism and competing interest groups. And she never hesitated to speak out against injustice at this bulwark of bureaucratism and entrenched prejudices.

Clara's 20-year career as a public employee demonstrated that socialist feminists are exceptionally sane, caring and responsible people whose interests coincide with the workers'.

The *Seattle Times* graphically described the retirement party scene:

The last woman in what seemed an endless line patted Clara Fraser's hands and wished her a happy retirement from Seattle City Light. "You've earned your retirement—for about 200 of us," she said with tears forming in her eyes. "But I still can't believe you're leaving."

The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* headlined its story, "Champion of causes, full of fight, is bidding farewell at City Light." And the lead read: "Yes, city fathers, your old nemesis Clara Fraser is retiring this week from City Light. But no, she assures, she will not quit fighting you... or any other evil she perceives." □

EDITORIAL

The war against apartheid raged in 1985 as South African freedom fighters stepped up their strikes, demonstrations and assaults against the white police state and utterly defied the government to stop them. With blow upon blow, South African Blacks hammered home their unconditional demands for racial and political equality—demands that can only be won through the revolutionary overthrow and dismantling of the South African state.

Meanwhile, the anti-apartheid struggle has rekindled radicalism in the U.S. Black community as no other issue since the 1960s. Blacks in the U.S. readily identify with the South African people in their own daily confrontations with repressive inequalities and injustice at home.

They see that the distance is not that great between Pretoria and the "democratic" U.S., where Reaganite reaction has just about gutted the civil rights gains of the '60s; where police and vigilante violence against Blacks and other people of color is rampant; where neo-nazi groups such as The Order air their plans for extermination of "non-whites," gays, and Jews in the daily press of the nation; where poverty, unemployment, job and housing segregation, and all the other unsolved ills of U.S. society have produced hopelessness, violence, cynicism, and despair—especially among Black youth—on a scale hauntingly reflective of past eras before the victories of the Civil Rights movement.

The similarities of life for Blacks and other oppressed people in South Africa and the U.S. is no accident. How could it be when the profiteers of apartheid are equally the beneficiaries of U.S. racism and oppression in every form?

The interests of the South African and U.S. regimes are inextricably interlinked: both

Apartheid: bringing the struggle home

countries, cornerstones of world capitalism, depend economically on the super-exploitation of Black labor for profit. Mineral-rich South Africa, moreover, is literally a gold mine for U.S. investors, who have plunked down \$15 billion inside that country, and a strategic spearhead for imperialist repression in the rest of southern Africa. The U.S., in turn, has been "constructively engaged" in the economic, political, and military defense of the Pretoria government via weapons sales and

some \$4.5 billion in loans.

U.S. anti-apartheid activists have done a good job of exposing the cushy relations maintained by Pretoria and Washington. The focus on divestment in particular has shed needed light on the profits reaped from apartheid by business, the government, and hallowed institutions. Fierce pressure by students, staff and faculty has in fact forced universities to divest over \$250 million since 1977.

However, while some movement leaders, especially in the Black community, have pointed out that those who grow fat off apartheid feed equally well off U.S. racism, the movement as a whole has been inconsistent in getting to the root of the problem. Movement liberals and reformists attempt to paint U.S. support for South Africa as merely "misguided" and something that can be legislated away. They say much the same thing about racism in the U.S. "democracy."

Black and other movement radicals must fight these misguided notions, first by making U.S. Black concerns an inseparable priority of the anti-apartheid movement and demanding recognition of Black leadership. The rebuilding of massive and militant Black community protest is key to liberation both at home and abroad.

The anti-apartheid leadership must show why government and corporate investors in South Africa are investing in wholesale attacks on Blacks and all the oppressed in this country; why repression is the government's response to demands for social and economic equality; why racist exploitation is essential to capitalist profits. They must show clearly thereby that socialist revolution is the *only* road to equality, in the U.S. as well as South Africa, and wed this understanding to action.

VOICES OF COLOR

Carolyn Brooks/Freedom Socialist



Year of the Dragon

An Actor's Dilemma

Manchus, or docile domestic workers.

For people of color, ethnic groups, women, lesbians and gay men, and the disabled, the movie industry offers unrealistic portrayals and slanderous stereotypes. And audiences are influenced by what they see.

The question becomes: how high a price do we have to pay to act in films? *Year of the Dragon* is a typical racist, sexist Hollywood film. A white cop goes to New York City's Chinatown to clean up crime which is dominated by the "Chinese mafia" (the "tongs"). This glamorized urban Rambo falls for a Chinese American television reporter who epitomizes the exotic and submissive stereotype of Asian/Pacific American women.

I accepted a part as an extra in *Dragon* because it was an opportunity to act in a major production by a well-known director, Michael Cimino, and producer Dino De Laurentiis. Auditioning was exciting. I was proud to have worked my way up from casting directors to Cimino himself. Opportunities like this are few and far between—especially for Asian American actors. I worked 12-hour days, for meager pay (\$50 a day). Smoke-machine fumes stifled the disco scene I appeared in. I could stand all that. There was even hope that my scene wouldn't end up on the cutting room floor!

Reading between the lines

I never saw the script of *Dragon*. But I had an idea about its premise and recalled some talk about it in the Asian American community.

While waiting to see if I'd gotten a part, I seriously weighed the pros and cons of acting in it.

The book behind the film (written by Robert Daley, who also wrote *Prince of the City*) turned out to be racist and sexist. I called contacts in the Asian American film and theatre community in New York and the Bay Area for information and opinions about the film. Responses ranged from "Go for it—it's an opportunity for experience—you can put it on your résumé" to "It's a racist book—it'll be a racist film—protests against it may be organized when it's released."

An old friend, who plays one of the two redeeming Asian American characters in *Dragon*, said attempts were being made by some actors to effect changes from within, such as changing the content of the Cantonese dialogue to something realistic.

Generally speaking, however, actors have very little power over a film's content. The director, producer, and studio heads call the shots.

The dream shattered

When I decided to take the part as an extra, I also decided to participate in any protest organized against the film if it turned out to be reactionary.

At the press screening, my excitement about being in the movie turned quickly to anger—*Dragon* was far worse than I had ever expected. I felt used and exploited. The film was such a slap in the face to Chinese Americans and women—and Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Italians, Poles, the Irish . . .

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Reel reality

Very few Hollywood vehicles offer us roles except as Suzy Wongs, Dragon Ladies, Charlie Chans, Fu

BOOK REVIEW

The Happy Marriage of Feminism and Socialism

Socialist Feminism: The First Decade, 1966-76, by Gloria Martin. Seattle: Freedom Socialist Publications, 1986. Paperback, \$8.95

At last an antidote is available for those who are weary of treatises preaching the irreconcilability of Marxism and feminism. After years of being bombarded with such dreary defeatism, it is a huge relief to read Gloria Martin's optimistic account of a socialist feminist theory that is not only persuasive on paper, but has been tested in day-to-day organizing and has provided the foundations for building a successful national party.

Socialist Feminism: The First Decade, 1966-76 is the fascinating and inspiring record of the formative years of the first socialist feminist party in history, the Freedom Socialist



Gloria Martin



The United Front for Survival marches against Nixon's social service cuts in 1973.

Party. Its wisdom and the practical lessons it offers can be seized on by all activists looking to build a cohesive movement capable of achieving human liberation. The excellent new introduction by poet Karen Brodine describes the book as "a chronicle, a reference, an analysis, a critique and a guidebook to be savored and used again and again."

As a history, *First Decade* presents a fresh, unglamorized report from the tumultuous '60s and '70s. As a survey of political trends in those years, it topples idols and debunks false theories. As a tonic, it provides a much-needed counter to the cynicism and pessimism of "burnt-out" radicals and feminists turned yuppies.

Decade answers key questions facing today's movements:

Is it possible to create real unity that upholds everyone's interests? Is there an alternative to the treadmill of piecemeal, one-issue-at-a-time organizing? Are men capable of respecting women's leadership and becoming feminist leaders themselves? Can revolution really happen in the heartland of imperialism?

Many would respond to these questions with derision. But Martin answers with a resounding *Yes!* And she proceeds to demonstrate why—in concrete terms, with scores of examples from her tenure as the FSP organizer.

Martin's down-to-earth perceptions flow from her status as a combatant in the campaigns of that era. And her honest, direct, incisive, witty and unpretentious style reflects the energy of her politics.

Martin tells it like it is, scrupulously characterizing the failings and foibles of Left and social change groupings. Fainthearted liberals may be shocked. But Martin's pithy appraisals and indictments of macho male leftists, shrinking-violet feminists, and demagogic careerists will provoke groans of recognition and appreciation from the many who have shared her experiences, whether in the '60s or the '80s.

A central theme of the book, particularly relevant today, is the importance of building connections, coalitions, and united fronts among the different movements of the oppressed.

Martin stresses, after reviewing the successes and failures of various coalition-building efforts, that such unity is possible only if based on the needs and demands of those who suffer most under capitalism's multiple forms of inequity—women and men of color, working women, and lesbians and gays. A multi-issue perspective, clear aims, and uncompromising democracy are the other ingredients Martin identifies as

necessary for coalitions to survive and flourish.

Also invaluable for today's radicals is *First Decade's* meticulously argued condemnation of the terminal opportunism and sexism of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Martin's prediction that the SWP's errors would lead it irreversibly away from revolutionary politics has been amply confirmed in the last few years. Critics and political refugees of the SWP will learn the reasons behind its degeneration, which started not recently but over two long decades ago.

While Martin surveys the period with a critical eye, her point of view is one of unbounded optimism and vigor. With the perspective that the socialist revolution is the only solution to the countless brutalities of capitalism, she makes it clear that everything does not ride on the success or failure of any one specific attempt at reform, but in the continuing struggle to achieve a revolutionary movement. Mistakes are unavoidable; only the refusal to learn from them is criminal.

Martin's faith in the ability of humanity to overcome its divisions and build a socialist future is most heartening and welcome. For all who read it, *Socialist Feminism: The First Decade* will prove a revitalizing influence, prompting a healthy re-evaluation of our past and a new look at our prospects in struggles ahead. Its stimulus could provoke leaps forward in the fight for American and world revolution.

—HELEN GILBERT



Clara Fraser

LaRouche: Sex Maniac & Demagogue

Something salient is missing from the reams of media exposés about Lyndon LaRouche, the ultra-reactionary demonologist, millionaire entrepreneur, and terrorizer of radicals, Jews, and now Democrats.

The pundits are intrigued and puzzled by his amalgam of right and left politics, a tangled web of KKK, Freudian, encounter therapy, Populist, Ayn Rand-like, and Marxist notions. They needn't be.

His is the prototypical face of fascism, which is classically a hodgepodge of psuedo-theories crafted for mass appeal and calculated to bring about the glacial-age law'n'order coveted by imperialists and impoverished super-patriots.

As a middleclass movement designed to make the world safe for giant capital, fascism has no theories of its own. It is by nature an intellectual pillager, derivative and vulgarized, a patchwork of illusion and reality, of myth and madness, of truth and absurdity.

LaRouche is not Mussolini or Hitler or Franco—but he is all of them, in American garb and speaking the jargon of the '80s. Beneath the jargon, the commie- and Black- and Jew-baiting essence is clearly heard.

What caused his turnabout from Marxism? Mainstream analysts are ever fascinated by this phenomenon, and smug in their assumption that his was a logical jump from leftwing to rightwing "extremism." But this kind of wild jump isn't ever logical and it isn't typical. However, it happens.

LaRouche is not the first former Marxist to turn inside out. Mussolini started as a revolutionary socialist. Thousands of ex-Stalinists, of course, have become avid apostles of conservatism and witchhunts. (Whittaker Chambers comes quickly to mind.) What is interesting about LaRouche's metamorphosis is that he is a product of Trotskyism, not Stalinism, and I can think of no similar apostasy of such melodramatic proportions, although Professor James Burnham, who became William F. Buckley's right-hand man on the *National Review*, came damn close.

I know what hit Lyndon LaRouche. I was in the Socialist Workers Party all through his 17 years of membership, from 1949 to the mid-60s. What knocked him off his underpinnings was the good old Woman Question. Feminism undid him, and Radical Women played a role in the bizarre scenario.

He called himself Lynn Marcus back then. He never seemed to belong to any SWP branch; he was a loner. He was never active, never involved in any mass movement or internal organizational work. What he did was write—and write and write and write, until we all wished he'd be stricken by digital rheumatism.

Marcus wrote thick, dull, endless Internal Bulletins, which were dutifully distributed to the membership by the obliging National Office. (It was probably the memory of his super-prolific effusions that eventually helped destroy the vaunted internal democracy of the early SWP!) For years and years his eternal Bulletins appeared, on one of two subjects: the United Front or Economics.

I never understood any of them. Neither did anybody else. Nobody ever responded to any of them, either, but he couldn't care less. He would appear at national conventions every two years, but he wouldn't take the floor. I know he was there because I never recognized him and would ask who he was; he had that kind of non-presence, non-personality.

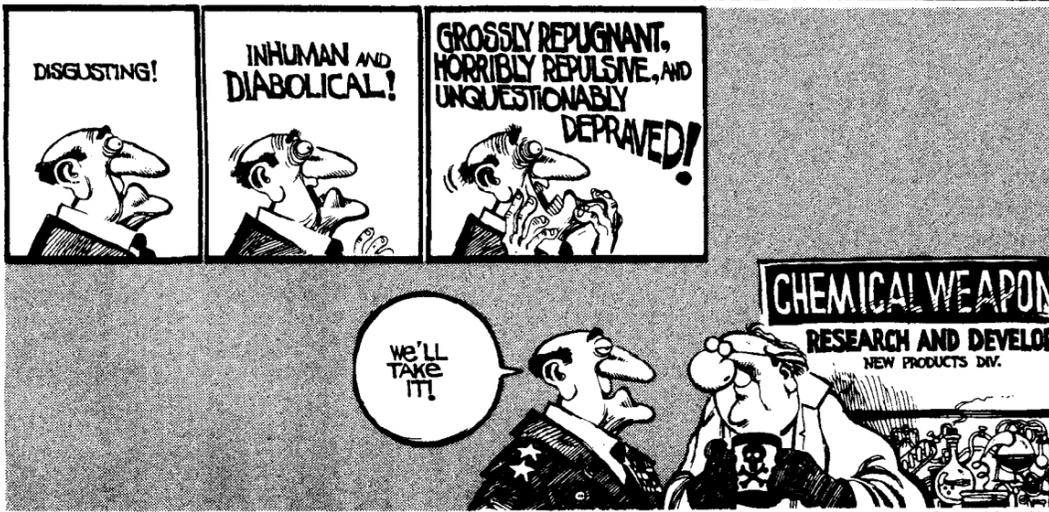
They said he was an economist, but nobody seemed to know where he worked or what he did. Sometimes I would feel sorry for him and go up and say hello; he never replied except in a mumble or a curt rejoinder. Once I mustered the audacity to ask him to explain his latest document. My polite interest evoked nothing but a look of utter contempt.

I gave up on Lynn Marcus. Just one of those fringe eccentrics.

I left the SWP in 1965. He left soon afterwards with Jim Robertson and the Spartacist League, but I heard nothing about him. Then in 1968, Students for a Democratic Society spawned a mammoth strike at Columbia University, and who should turn out to be one of its spokesmen but Lynn Marcus—now Lyndon LaRouche—and his group, the SDS Labor Committee. I couldn't believe it—Lynn Marcus, a popular leader?

Soon there were LaRouche people, known as the National Caucus of Labor Committees, all over the country, including the University of Washington. My older son Marc was a fer-

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Emily Woo Yamasaki: denouncing the *Dragon*

... Actor's Dilemma

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After the screening, members of the National Asian American Telecommunications Association, in concert with other Chinatown community organizations and activists, called a protest meeting. I joined with others to form the Coalition Against *Year of the Dragon*.

The coalition linked itself to past organizing efforts against *Fort Apache*, which had slandered Puerto Ricans, and

the obnoxious Charlie Chan film that sparked a boycott. The *Dragon* coalition gathered support for its exposé of the movie's bigotry. Even film critics understood the movie's reactionary message. They planned it and publicized a national boycott organized by coalitions in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Boston.

The protest succeeded. Box-office sales dropped. Threatened by losses, *Dragon's* distributors negotiated with the coalition. They wouldn't withdraw the film, but agreed to some superficial changes, such as adding a disclaimer that *Dragon* was not intended to be representative of real life in Chinatown.

Dual role for actors

Television and news reporters were fascinated that, as an actor, I condemned

the movie. Along with others, I used my connection with the film as a platform to publicize the boycott and educate about the dilemma facing Asian American actors.

Judging by the box-office failure of *Dragon*, Hollywood filmmakers have been sent a clear message that racism and sexism aren't marketable, and that the community is ready to boycott and protest exploitative films. Our protests showed the potential of the Asian American community and its allies to make Hollywood respect and reflect multi-cultural diversity.

As an actor, I see that my leading role is to work with others to reshape society's image of us and to express who we really are.

—EMILY WOO YAMASAKI

... On Trial

from page 8

prejudices to a fever pitch. Without a shred of evidence, he and dozens of legislative "un-American activities" committees fingered thousands of people who were subjected to slander, job loss, imprisonment, impoverishment and humiliation. Some were hounded into suicide. The Hollywood/Broadway blacklist, and the persecution of writers and artists, was merciless.

McCarthyism dispensed with the Bill of Rights in the name of fighting the "enemy within"—within labor unions, left political groups, and movements for social equality. Activists were denounced as subversives, communists, or fellow-travelers, or as homosexual "security risks." The object was to silence all social agitation for better conditions.

In the 1920s, lies about the IWW, anarchists and communists led to the outrage known as the Palmer raids. A mass deportation of "foreigners" ensued, and Sacco and Vanzetti were



Case supporters meet the press: (left to right) Oscar Eason Jr., Ad Hoc Committee for Fair Employment and Open Housing; George Bakan, Lesbian/Gay Freedom Day Committee; Guerry Hoddersen, FSP National Secretary; Marc Lampson, National Lawyers Guild; Leslie Owen, Northwest Women's Law Center; James K. Bender, Executive Secretary, King County Labor Council; Juan Bocanegra, Committee to Defend Immigrant Rights.

executed.

Lies, distortion and super-patriotism fueled campaigns against organized labor in the '20s and '30s, the railroad-ing of SWP leaders to prison in 1943 and the execution of the Rosenbergs and jailing of CP leaders in the '50s, and ushered in the cold war and the arms race, the Korean War and then Vietnam.

Revival of red-busting

The motivation for the witchhunts in the '50s was to keep the wealthy rolling in profits despite the shutdown of the lucrative war industry in 1945. Alarmed by massive strikes, job demands from returning GIs, and the loss of Eastern Europe and China as markets or sources of cheap labor, big capital demanded political repression as the pathway to union-busting, cheaper labor, and a captive labor movement.

The fruits of the McCarthyite hunt for dissidents were no-strike clauses, wage freezes, and the omnibus anti-labor Taft-Harley Act.

Trembling liberals in the '40s and '50s capitulated like sheep. They rushed to name names, kick ass, and police their own ranks.

The only victories of that terrible "scoundrel time" were won by people of integrity who refused to cooperate with the committees, maintained their principles, exposed the witchhunters, and went to jail proudly if they had to.

Then came the counterbalance—the great civil rights movement of the late '50s and '60s, the anti-war movement, and the feminist movement, which boldly attacked the repression and temporarily thwarted it. But once the rebels gained respectability, all too many became the establishment, and now the capitalist economy coils around labor and the mass movements to crush opposition to its voracious appetite for profit. And while human rights and social services are gutted by Reaganites and Democrats alike, the bourgeoisie demands \$100 million to murder the Nicaraguan revolution, and it drops its bombs on the "commie-terrorists"—the desperate poor—of Libya, Lebanon and Grenada.

Richard Snedigar understands this history. During his FSP days, he wrote and taught about fascism in Germany and police statism in America. He also derived personal and political benefits from the gains of the civil rights movement and the hard work of the FSP on behalf of gay rights, and he remained

in the FSP when it was relatively safe to do so. But when the reaction came, and radicalism became dangerous once again, he ran.

All radical and militant groups have their Richard Snedigars—those who surrender without a fight, even eagerly, to the status quo and seek ease and respectability, and dollars, by accusing former comrades of crimes against their pocketbooks. Ho, hum.

Give a finger and lose a hand

Success in dealing with Snedigarish opportunism never lies in making concessions; any inch given will yield ten more in defeat. Why didn't the party refund his bucks and avoid a legal quagmire? Because he never sought a mere refund. He was after glory, too—the glamour of the contra, the sheen of the born-again anti-communist, the mantle of the financier Santa Claus who would return a lot of money to other dropouts from socialism. Snedigarites and their like abound today, and to refund money to him would have meant eventual decomposition of the fund, not to mention a betrayal of the thousands who contributed and still support it.

The FSP is conducting a political struggle in the courts as an opportunity to learn and to educate and to demonstrate that firm refusal to betray itself and the trust of its friends is the pathway to honor—and hence to legal victory.

This case has brought together many threads of workingclass solidarity. This case vindicates the FSP's birth in the movements with which it has common cause: labor, lesbians/gay men, women, people of color, civil libertarians and the Left.

This heartwarming combination of forces, magnified nationwide, will win the Freeway Hall case and ultimately deliver a shattering defeat to the reactionary legions of the 1980s. □

—JANET SUTHERLAND,
TAMARA TURNER
AND MUFFY SUNDE

Write for Abortion Rights!

This summer the U.S. Supreme Court is expected to rule on a rightwing anti-abortion law, the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act.

A Reagan administration amicus brief supporting this law goes even further and asks the Court to reverse the landmark 1973

Roe v. Wade decision, which legalized abortion nationwide.

MAKE YOUR VOICE HEARD!

Join Radical Women's national postcard campaign urging the Court to uphold women's right to control their own bodies.

**For postcards call or write: Radical Women,
5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA
98118. (206) 722-6057. Personal letters are also
important and should be addressed to:
U.S. Supreme Court, 1 First Street N.E.,
Washington, D.C. 20543.**

...LaRouche

from page 27

vent SDSer, editor of its paper, and an editor of the *UW Daily*, and he was buddies with some local NCLCers. I was in Radical Women and the FSP, and the NCLC worked harmoniously with us, because we, alone on the Left, connected our labor background and workingclass orientation with what was fresh and valid in New Left and campus politics.

And NCLC, virtually alone among New Lefties, respected trade unionists. They also enjoyed observing traditional socialist holidays like May Day and the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, so we jointly sponsored commemorations, as well as forums, fundraisers, and mass actions against the war and racism.

And NCLC didn't oppose our feminism. They didn't support it either—they were neutrals.

• • •

By 1970 the women's movement was in full sail. And the male Left, new and old, didn't like it. We were demanding that they change their ways and learn to share power with the second sex. They didn't want to change.

We were denounced: we were divisive, subjective, petty-bourgeois, off-balance, off-side, unable to differentiate between "primary" and "secondary" questions, etc. and ad infinitum. The campus male charismatics were particularly affronted; they secretly agreed with Stokely Carmichael that the "proper position for women in the struggle is prone" (except for secretarial and organizing duties).

Some of the men got pretty hot under the collar as our movement burgeoned and theirs trembled or decomposed.

LaRouche got hot all over. Feminist radicals were competing with *him*. LaRouche developed such an acute case of political sunburn that all his Marxist skin peeled off and his quivering Napoleonic nerves were painfully exposed to an incredulous world. LaRouche went ape.

Feminism is shit, roared *New Solidarity* one day. Mothers are fuckers, the enemy, witches. Women are the Achilles heels of revolutionaries, the cause of IMPOTENCE. Women turn men into deviants, queers, and schlemiels.

And then in an explosion of Nietzscheism that made Wagner look like a matriarchist, Lynn uncorked his *pièce de résistance*: the Leader must be Superman, Siegfried incarnate, and the Superman must be served by good girls who appreciate the honor and know how to bow and scrape. Superman is the hope and salvation of the revolution; woman must cast off her intrinsic sinfulness and restore VIRILITY to her Master. And on and on like that.

A young Radical Women leader ran into the office waving this issue of *New Solidarity* and crying. She had never read anything like it, and she was frightened. "What are we going to do?"

I tried to explain. He's gone off his rocker. He's on a new road, to Naziism. He's a misogynist, a sex-role egomaniac. You don't dump on women and gays like *that* unless you've

jumped the socialist ship and clambered aboard with the pirates to preserve your puerile penile prerogatives. The man is a menace, I said. In a few years he'll have storm troopers to beat up on workers.

She didn't quite get it and promised to study up on fascism.

• • •

Within a year, LaRouche's old guard members were gone and his newly recruited troopers were in the streets. We got some telephone threats to our headquarters, Freeway Hall. Just try it, we said, out-machoing them. They beat up Communists, and SWPers, but left us alone. Nevertheless, they caused a casualty in our ranks; one of our leading female comrades was married to an NCLC admirer (famous John Chambless of the UW Philosophy Department, who organized the first Sky River Rock Festival and became a theatrical producer for the city of Seattle Parks Department), and she was so disoriented by his growing hostility to us that she faded away from politics.

In 1973, LaRouche provided the following advice to the ladies: "Be a rat! Be a sadist! If you are a woman, find a susceptible man for your female sadism. You feel better; you are one of the rats; the rats, therefore, may not attack you, especially the gigantic, awful rat of a mother-image inside you!" And this man was still calling himself a socialist.

What better illustration of the centrality of feminism to socialism: you simply can't have one without the other.

• • •

Newsweek speculates that "a romantic setback triggered a change in LaRouche's personality and a shift to a more authoritarian leadership style." Come on. Let's don't Hollywoodize, let's not trivialize and obscure a simple law of politics: once someone starts unravelling one key thread in the complex of programmatic embroidery, the whole pattern falls apart. Romantic, roshmantic—it was feminist rage and dynamic organizing that triggered Lyndon LaRouche's counter-rage and sent him hurtling pellmell into an ideology more compatible with his comfort zone. (You'll notice I didn't say his glands or genes; some of my best friends and comrades and kids are men!)

LaRouche was sorely challenged by the anti-sexist revolution and he reacted not only wrongly, but paranoiacally. His own history and character determined that reflex, and that obsession with stereotypical gender behavior and with male sexual power as synonym for the driving force of history. The fullest expression of male-power dominance, of course, is fascism. LaRouche, like all sex maniacs, is a clear and present political danger.

Lyndon, we hardly knew you, but we learned about you and know you now, while others thrash about in the effort to decipher your "mystery" and clout. For every man whose evil fantasies you express, another man, and almost every woman is revolted by your fascism à la mode. When push comes to shove, the women and the workers, the ethnics and the gays, the anti-fascists and the Jews, and folks with a decent respect for humankind will return you to your origins—as a loner.

...Strikes

from page 2

the strike, halted strike benefits, and ordered strikers to cross their own picketlines!

P-9ers voted overwhelmingly to carry on the strike nevertheless.

The Hormel strike is currently sending large tremors through the national labor movement, and could provoke a major split between the strikebreaking bureaucrats and the rank and file, who've had it up to here with givebacks.

Watsonville

Seventeen hundred predominantly Chicana and Mexicana frozen food workers went out in September 1985 in Watsonville, California against Richard Shaw, Inc. and Watsonville Canning Co. They're fighting wage cuts of up to 40%, a two-tier wage system, virtual elimination of vacations and benefits, mutilation of seniority lists, and dismantling of union shop protections.

Receiving no leadership from their union, Teamsters Local 912, the workers elected a Strikers Committee to represent them and coordinate strike activities. AFL-CIO labor councils and Chicano students in surrounding counties have provided major support, and the strikers have held two rallies that attracted over 3000 demonstrators. This solidarity has finally pushed Local 912 to defend the strikers, albeit weakly.

It's been difficult for the Teamsters to realize that the strike is a test of strength that will dramatically affect the 100,000 Teamsters in California's canning and packing industry. Nevertheless, Local 912 has finally asked Teamsters Joint Council 7 to come to the aid of the strike. The Teamsters organized a support rally, committed money to the strike, and are organizing food drives. They have been forced to recognize the Strikers Committee as the authentic representative of the workers.

The white power structure of Watsonville, meanwhile, is reacting to the strike with police harassment, tear gas, and unprovoked arrests. Most strikers have been denied unemployment benefits and over 70 families have been evicted from their homes.

On February 14, the 700 workers at Shaw signed a separate agreement which was only marginally better than the original offer. They were pressured into settlement by a "fact-finding" team made up of the Growers Association, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and a Catholic diocese representative, which examined the company's books and "determined" that concessions were necessary.

The thousand remaining strikers have not been deterred in the least, despite the Teamsters' hailing of the Shaw settlement as a victory.

A new framework for labor

The Watsonville and Hormel strikes show that labor is learning how to fight unionbusting by organizing together—across union lines and state lines and by organizing community support.

At a March 13 San Francisco support rally for the Hormel strike, a Watsonville strike leader, Esperanza Torres, stated, "In this struggle, we are learning that the different groups, persons, and races are all one. We all want justice."

Donations to the Hormel strikers can be sent to: P-9 Emergency and Hardship Fund, 316 NE 4th Ave., Austin, MN 55912, and Ottumwa Support Group, P.O. Box 1355, Ottumwa, IA 52501.

Donations to the Watsonville strikers can be sent to: Strikers Committee, P.O. Box 1132, Castroville, CA 95012. □

—HELEN GILBERT

with Nancy Reiko Kato, Oakland

...Big Mtn.

from page 1

of 13,500—one out of every 10 Navajos.

Fewer than 2,000 have been moved, "voluntarily" or otherwise. Of those who relocated with the commission's assistance, almost one-third have lost their homes to creditors or real estate swindlers. Others wait in limbo for housing to become available. The commission has neither funds nor plans to help these families. The relocatees have been abandoned like refugees—penniless, landless, jobless—in hostile towns.

Genocide

Genocide takes many forms and every one of them has been practiced on American Indians: physical annihilation, forced assimilation, violent relocation, and capitalist economic encroachment which destroys the cultural life based on traditional economy. The looming confrontation at Big Mountain encompasses them all. International relocation experts say that in similar displacements, 25% of adults die within a few years.

The land is the basis of Navajo life, their shepherding economy, their religion, their culture. The enforced Diaspora of the Diné into cities and towns—there is no room for them on the existing Navajo reservation—can only result in their destruction as a distinct cultural group. Genocide.

The women of Big Mountain, who are responsible for the land, and through whom the homes and livestock of the Navajo are passed from generation to generation, know this only too well.

Roberta Blackgoat, Diné grandmother and leader, responded to a compromise government offer to allow those over 55 years of age to stay on the land while moving everyone else: "If they leave me here but take away my community, it is still genocide. If they wait until I die and then mine the land, the land will be destroyed. I will die fighting this law."

Women lead the way

Blackgoat is one of the many Diné women, mostly grandmothers and mothers, who are leading the resistance to relocation. On a recent visit to Seattle, Blackgoat recounted the first militant act of the resistance, in the fall of 1977, when Pauline Whitesinger confronted the crew building the government-ordered fence across her land. Whitesinger told the workers to leave, and when they refused, Whitesinger knocked the foreman down and drove the rest away with sticks and handfuls of rocks.

In September 1979, the fencing crews returned to Big Mountain. This time they were met by Katherine Smith and her loaded rifle. Smith was arrested and later tried. "They told me I had broken the laws of the white man. We, the Diné people, have our sacred laws and I don't recognize their laws. That's why I would shoot them again." Smith was acquitted in a courtroom filled with supporters. The fence across Big Mountain remains unfinished.

Wounded Knee with a difference

The battle lines are drawn at Big Mountain in the war to defend the land and sovereignty of the Diné and Hopi peoples.

As July 8 draws closer, efforts to stop the relocation are intensifying. The American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee have launched a massive public education campaign to pressure Congress to repeal the murderous Settlement Act. They are also soliciting "pledges of resistance," in which signers commit themselves to non-violent defense of Big Mountain in the event of U.S. intervention. Pledges are pouring into the committee's Flagstaff, Arizona headquarters.

Big Mountain may be the next Wounded Knee. But this time there will be thousands of Indians and their supporters to stand against the firepower of the U.S. The threat alone may be enough to win this round in the battle for Native American sovereignty.

Workers everywhere, who are also victims of death-dealing corporate greed, have a huge stake in the Indians' fight. To sign a pledge, write: Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee, 124 San Francisco St., Suite B, Flagstaff, Arizona 86001.

**Stop the genocide!
Native American Sovereignty rights now!**

Repeal PL 93-531! □

—DEBRA O'GARA AND
GUERRY HODDERSEN

Alaskan Native Debra O'Gara is a feminist activist on campus at the University of Washington and in the Seattle community. Guerry Hoddersen is a Marxist analyst and veteran participant in Native American struggles.

...Philippines

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 the Soviet Union. Finally, U.S. military personnel stationed there will be tapped as a last resort to suppress Filipino rebellion if the Philippines armed forces prove unable or unwilling to do so.

Economic rape and imperialist domination of Asia via the bases are the substance of U.S. policy in the Philippines. Success of this policy is predicated on the subjugation and "docility" of the Filipino people. For 20 years Marcos performed this inestimable service.

Now the U.S. must hunt up another dictator. The Filipino elite—economically and militarily dependent on the imperialists—are eager to provide one.

This confluence of interest of the national elite and American imperialism means that Filipino liberation entails a simultaneous struggle against the oligarchy and its U.S. sponsors—a struggle against *capitalism* in the Philippines. That is to say, the only road to democracy for the Philippines is socialist revolution.

Democracy and the new regime

How can Aquino's government—an unwieldy coalition of "democratic" capitalists and the oligarchy—bring liberation to the Philippines?

The regime rests undisputably on the support and goodwill of the masses who put Aquino in office. Yet most government higher-ups are hardly apostles of democracy.

Vice President Salvador Laurel, unabashedly pro-American, is a former Marcos crony and champion of the landed aristocracy. Minister of Defense General Juan Ponce Enrile held the same post under Marcos and was the architect of martial law. Jaime Ongpin, the Finance Minister, is in thick with Central Bank governor Jose Fernandez, who put the Philippines in hock to the World Bank. General Fidel Ramos, Chief of the General Staff, retains close ties with the Pentagon and is considered an expert in "counterinsurgency" against communist rebels.

Another aspiring Marcos may well emerge from this crew, most likely the head of the army, Enrile.

The fact that these predators emerged as major figures in the government put in place by the anti-Marcos uprising is broadly explained by the fact that the Filipino people have not—yet—fully settled accounts with capitalism. Enriles and Ongpins have similarly gained footholds in the opening stages of other popular revolutions in this century, such as the February 1917 revolution in Russia and the Iranian overthrow in 1979. The Russian Revolution triumphed with the socialist upheaval in October; the Iranian revolution was slaughtered by the pro-capitalist butcher Khomeini.

Meanwhile, there is a wild card in the Philippine government's deck—Aquino. She, for the moment, is perceived with hope by the Filipino masses. She is in fact all that stands between the government and a renewed revolutionary onslaught. Everyone, herself and the oligarchy included, is aware of this.

Though from the landed aristocracy, Aquino is a bourgeois democrat and longtime political foe of the Marcos clique that ravaged the Philippines. She is thus a walking contradiction in a land where capitalism demands a Marcos, where democracy cannot be won this side of socialism.

As a pro-capitalist head of government, she provides a certain measure of cover for the rightwingers currently attempting to pose as democrats in her cabinet. Yet as a shrewd, tough, tremendously popular political foe of the oligarchy, she limits at present their ability to reimpose another Marcos on the nation.

As a strong, independent woman, Aquino is an inspiration to pro-democratic forces. This has especially important ramifications in a land where feminism is flexing its muscles, where women are concentrated as super-exploited workers in the critical export industries, and where they are recognized as militant unionists, strike leaders, and political activists.

Still, Aquino is an unlikely leader of a socialist revolution. And her government cannot possibly reconcile

democratic hopes with capitalist reality.

As class polarization deepens, as it must, Aquino could conceivably attempt to extend her rule by decree, and use her popularity to hold both the oligarchy and the Left in check so that capitalist democracy someday may flourish. But in a country where monopoly has ravaged the already weak middle classes and where imperialism has structured the profit system to serve its ends, any attempt by Aquino to midwife bourgeois democracy is clearly foredoomed.

A more likely scenario, already beginning to emerge, is that Aquino will bow to class imperatives and reconcile with the oligarchy to crush the people's upsurge.

Civil war looms

The government so far has engaged in a holding action, while it looks for the means to defuse the revolution.

It has promised transition to parliamentary rule, but has as yet refused to announce a date for free elections.

Aquino has also promised land reform, the most explosive of questions, but has proposed no concrete measures for eliminating the big estates or distributing land to the landless peasant masses. Undealt with as well is the demand of the Muslim minority on the island of Mindanao for regional autonomy, or the demand of indigenous peoples throughout the islands to keep and control their traditional lands.

In the meantime, Aquino has assured the U.S. that it may keep its bases until 1991, per the agreement reached under Marcos. Beyond that date she refuses to "commit" herself.

The government believes it can tame the revolution. But the combusive forces of Filipino politics are even now readying to explode the sanguine hopes of the office-holders.

In March, peasants, the Muslim minority, and indigenous peoples pressed their demands for land and autonomy, petitioning the government and clashing with local pro-Marcos landlords and governors. The NPA is fighting on the side of the peasants and has defeated Philippine armed forces and police in battles on Mindanao.

That same month, workers at Subic

and Clark, in the government, and in banks, hotels, and railway, transit, and telephone companies poured out on strike. Their demands were insistent: Removal of the Marcos clique from management, an end to wage restrictions, reinstatement of union activists fired and blacklisted under Marcos.

At Subic and Clark, the government at first stood by, then readied troops to break the strike before it exploded into further social upheaval. The strike was settled before the troops moved in.

As the workers and peasants press forward, landlords and warlords are preparing a showdown. Pro-Marcos mayors have challenged the government to remove them. Warlord armies are hunting down peasants and engaging the NPA in the countryside. At the same time, Marcos' party loyalists are regrouping in the cities, demanding the government step down, claiming their man won the February election.

Civil war is imminent in the Philippines. General Enrile is straining to unleash the Philippine army against the NPA. Aquino, on April 23, said it was essential that the U.S. grant a "substantial increase" in assistance. That same day Reagan requested a \$150 million aid package for the Philippines, including \$50 million for Enrile's army. Marcos meanwhile is in touch with his forces in Manila. Reagan, covering all bets, remains in contact with Marcos.

What next for the CPP?

Only one organized power in the Philippines can at present lead the forces to save the fledgling revolution from holocaust—the Philippine Communist Party. But will it take the bold steps needed to do so, and in time?

The CPP, though outlawed, retains mass influence in the cities and the countryside. It is pre-eminent in numerous democratic rights coalitions, such as the National Democratic Front and Bayan, both of which claim an estimated million members, and is strong in the traditionally militant Filipino labor movement. The NPA operates throughout the Philippines.

Both the CPP and NPA grew enormously in Marcos' last years. Aquino has called for "negotiations" with the NPA—on condition that it lay down its arms. To its credit, the NPA has refused.

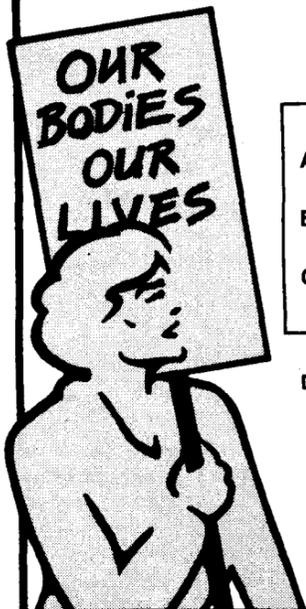
The CPP is strong—but would no doubt have been far stronger had it not abstained from the February elections, which it boycotted, saying that Marcos would steal them, that Aquino would not address critical democratic demands, and that to participate was to lend credence to imperialist fraud.

Under conditions in which the party was banned by law from running its own candidates, boycott was justified. Abstention, however, was a mistake. The party never once made an issue of its *right* to run candidates or demanded that the law denying that right be struck down. Nor, in its press, at rallies, and so forth, did it challenge the Aquino campaign to address the critical democratic questions. And it failed to systematically expose the reasons behind Aquino's failure to do so. In this way it lost the opportunity to influence the campaign, and to educate the masses as to the *class* nature of the struggle for democracy. It left the huge anti-Marcos movement that grew up around the elections to Aquino. Many of the leaders of coalitions such as Bayan went over to work for Aquino as a result of the CPP's abdication of educational responsibility.

What will the party do to counter the mass disillusionment that is sure to arise when Aquino fails to justify the people's hopes?

The CPP is now focusing on calling for closure of the U.S. bases, legaliza-

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tion of all parties, the right of workers to strike, and land reform. We have been unable to obtain the details of its land reform program, but historically the party has aimed mainly at the expropriation of foreign-owned plantations.

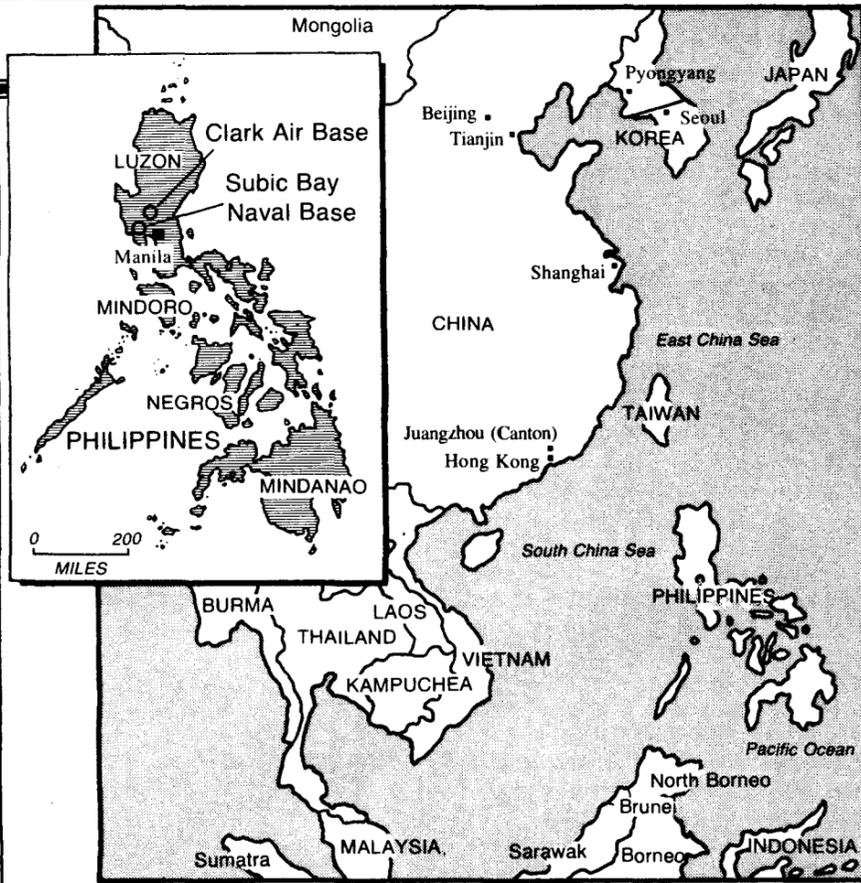
The CPP has yet to elaborate an *all-sided* democratic, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist program for the liberation of the Philippines. The party espouses the Stalinist "two stage" theory of revolution: anti-imperialist overthrow now; socialist upheaval later. They stress the need to liberate the "entrepreneurial spirit" of the Filipino people from imperialism. This paves the way for collaborating with "democratic" capitalists to implement this chimerical "first" stage of revolution.

The "entrepreneurs" in the Philippines have already lined up with the imperialists, however, as world commerce and finance demand. And the stage is set now for socialist revolution.

The CPP may yet rise to fulfill this revolutionary mandate. The Filipino people are traditionally militant in pursuit of democratic aims. Labor especially is well organized and strong in opposition to dictatorship. Aroused now, the workers and peasants can push the party past Stalinism and onto the road of permanent revolution.

Forward!

Revolutionary strategy demands the welding of democratic and anti-imperialist struggle to the conscious struggle for socialism. By raising the immediate demands of the Philippine masses, in conjunction with transitional measures, the CPP can expose the bourgeois democratic frauds and draw the Filipino people together in a united



front led by the workers, to struggle against the profit system.

Workers' struggle for wages, jobs, and the right to unionize can be broadened immediately into a political assault on the foreign and home-grown monopolists and their decimation of the economy. This should be linked to the call for nationalization of industry under workers' control. The demand that the monopolists open their books should also be raised.

The demands of women workers in the export industries, the banks, and the public sector will strike in especially explosive fashion against the

monopolists and their allies in government. In tandem with this, the struggle of women generally, above all against the poverty that has forced untold numbers of women into sexual servitude to the U.S. military, will mobilize masses against both the system that impoverishes and the U.S. presence.

A call for closure of the bases, most hated symbols of U.S. domination, will galvanize the people, as will the demand for cancellation of the national debt. In this connection, a demand that the U.S. hand over Marcos for trial, and return the billions he stole, should be raised immediately.

Demand for the breakup of the large estates and distribution of the land—and arms!—to the poor peasants, together with the demand for autonomy for national minorities and the return of traditional lands to the indigenous peoples, will draw the workers and peasants closer together against the oligarchy, which strangles the cities and countryside alike.

The government will stall in the face of these demands and expose itself, all the more swiftly under pressure of the insistence that a *date* be set for national elections and convocation of the parliament.

A call for immediate housing and medical and food relief for the urban and rural poor will further embarrass the capitalists, and condemn them in the eyes of the Filipino people.

This ensemble of demands will not only deepen the inevitable class polarization but will *clarify* the issues at stake in this revolution. They will isolate the common capitalist enemy, and unite the Filipino people in struggle for real democracy, liberation from imperialism, and the socialist reconstruction of their society.

More: they will impact the *world*. Liberation of the Philippines means the unraveling of U.S. designs in the eastern hemisphere—a qualitative weakening of its ability to dominate the earth. Already Filipino revolt has inspired an upsurge against the U.S. puppet dictator in South Korea. The Mideast and Southern Asia are powder kegs waiting to explode. Filipino liberation will detonate the East.

Long live the permanent revolution in the Pacific! □

—MUFFY SUNDE

... Reply

from page 24

Brooklyn Rivera a CIA agent is not an answer, it is diversionary slander. However, in a companion piece in the same issue entitled "Sandinistas and Miskitos," you deny that the Miskitos are a nation and insist that "nationalism" in any case is reactionary in this era of imperialist decay. You are wrong on both counts.

First, the Nicaraguan Indians are nations by Leninist criteria. They are an "historically evolved, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological makeup manifested in a common culture." They have survived as small nations through

some 500 years of Spanish, English, U.S., and Nicaraguan encroachment.

Workers Vanguard asserts that Nicaraguan Indians are not nations because 100,000 Mestizos (people of Indian and Spanish ancestry) have immigrated to the Atlantic Coast from the Pacific region and are now the majority in the Indians' homelands. By that logic, the Palestinians are no longer a nation because the Jews are now the majority in the Israeli settler state! Or U.S. Indians are no longer nations because they are outnumbered by whites. Indian territory is not economically viable, according to *Workers Vanguard*. But by all accounts, the Indians carry on their traditional economic activity as best they can under pressure of Sandinista relocations and war. The Miskitos get "little sympathy" from other ethnic groups on the Atlantic

Coast, you say. Aside from the fact that this is untrue, what has "sympathy" to do with nationhood? Nothing!

Workers Vanguard's blanket condemnation of nationalism in general is also wrong. There are democratic national demands—prime among them the right to self-determination—that must be supported even in this era of capitalist decay. This is because imperialist hegemony is based on the denial of the right to self-determination, just as it was in Lenin's day. That's why he supported this nationalist demand *unconditionally*.

Clearly, it's Sandinista policy, not Indian demands, which threaten the future of socialism in this hemisphere. The Sandinistas have created an armed enemy; given Reagan and Co. a propaganda windfall; and threaten to discredit Marxism entirely among the 80 million

indigenous people of the Americas. Had the Sandinistas listened to and respected the Indians, they could have won friends and allies against imperialism.

All this serves to illustrate why vanguard organizations must listen to the most oppressed, whose demands strike directly at the ensemble of inequalities which divide all workers and keep the capitalist system intact. Only those can lead who first get in step with the march of the most oppressed toward liberation and wed it to the conscious struggle for socialism.

Workers Vanguard has cleverly made up new words—polyvanguardism and sectoralism—to describe this program. The FSP calls it by its right name: Leninism. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN

... Libya

from page 25

sciously anti-capitalist movement of Palestinians, the oppressed Arab millions, and anti-Zionist Israelis, collaborating with anti-imperialist fighters around the globe—above all in the U.S.—can ultimately excise these evils.

Such a movement, with socialist leadership, is precisely what's lacking at present. The Palestinian struggle—spearhead of Arab revolution—is in disarray. Since the Palestinian Liberation Organization was driven out of Lebanon by the 1982 Israeli invasion, PLO leader Arafat has sought a "solution" to the Palestinian struggle in the creation of a bantustan-style Palestinian "homeland" outside Israel.

This is no solution at all; Israel was founded and is maintained on the dispossession and subjugation of the Palestinians. Its *existence*, as an ar-

tificially created, exclusively Jewish settler state and imperialist outpost, is the problem. Resolution of the Mideast conflict can only come through the dismantling of this state and creation of a socialist, bilateral Arab/Jewish state in its stead.

With Arafat's capitulation to the moderates, and in the absence of radical leadership arising to unite the PLO, the entire Mideast struggle has been derailed from its revolutionary trajectory. The movement is engulfed by factionalism, fratricide, nationalist and religious rivalries and hatreds. Chaos, destruction, futility, and despair reign supreme.

Terrorism is a reflex

Terrorism is the inevitable fruit of despair, of helplessness, isolation and terminal bitterness. It is a desperate substitute for long-term, long-range organizing: a premature resort to militaristic measures; and an unwarranted rejection of political action. It is not the same thing as the necessary guerrilla

warfare of an *army*.

It is not necessary to overlook, excuse, or condone terrorism in the name of the anti-imperialist struggle, even as we explain it as a reaction to intolerable injustice.

And it must be *weighed against the far greater, genocidal terror of the U.S. and Israel, from Sabra and Chatilla to Benghazi and Tripoli. This terror, and the capitalist system it serves to protect, is the original sin.* □



The world stood by breathlessly in February as a mighty "people's power" movement swept out the dictator Marcos and lifted Corazon Aquino to the presidency of the Philippines. This upheaval capped the mass anti-Marcos uprising that had taken to the streets with increasing force since the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino in August 1983.

Though Marcos' ouster, following his blatantly rigged election "victory," was not unexpected, the betting had been that it would take civil war to dislodge him. But the unparalleled corruption, brutality, and incompetence that characterized his rule had finally isolated him from all but his most diehard support in the Philippines and in Washington. Fifty-six million Filipinos stood virtually as one against the dictator. The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the CPP-led New Peoples Army (NPA) had grown tremendously since Benigno Aquino's murder. And in the last days before his flight, Marcos' cronies in the government and army, and in the Reagan administration, deserted his sinking ship in droves. The transfer of governmental power was nearly bloodless. And after blustering, Marcos slunk out of the country like the thief that he is.

Woman of the hour was Cory Aquino, symbol of opposition to Marcos and thus of the democratic aspirations of the Filipino people. Many leftists and progressives waxed ecstatic over her victory. The U.S. bourgeoisie, scrambling to

regain control over events, hailed the accession of "freedom" in the Philippines as Aquino took office, despite their sexism and misgivings over her liberalism. At her swearing-in, Aquino pledged "a government dedicated to . . . truth and justice . . . freedom and democracy."

But will she deliver?

The problem and the solution

It is widely understood that removal of Marcos is only the first step toward democracy for the Philippines. The state/military apparatus bequeathed by the dictatorship is still intact. The capitalist oligarchy and foreign monopolists retain their stranglehold on the economy. Behind them looms the U.S. imperialist power, still a gigantic military presence in the Philippines.



Permanent Revolution in the Philippines

CORY AQUINO FACES A CLASSIC CROSSROAD

Marcos would not have lasted a week without the backing of Washington, which entailed the continued subjugation of the Philippines by the U.S.

In exchange for U.S. financial and military bolstering of his regime, Marcos threw open the national economy to untrammled rape by the multinationals, with Marcos and his rat pack in junior partnership. Through loans from the World Bank, engineered with the complicity of the Central Bank of the Philippines, the oligarchs and foreign monopolists grabbed control of the economy and geared it to high-tech export production. In return they finessed favored status for imports. In thus gobbling up capital and resources for export production, and allowing the Philippines to be flooded with cheap imported goods, the monopolists devas-

tated the national economy: middle and small business interests, never strong, were decimated; unemployment jumped sky-high as did the national debt; the nation was locked ever more heavily into dependence on the World Bank, the transnationals, and U.S. imperialism.

As important to the imperialists as economic plunder was the fact that Marcos provided the political "tranquility"—read repression—desired by the strategists who maintain the U.S. military presence.

The Subic and Clark bases are the U.S.'s largest overseas military installations, and are absolutely key to U.S. domination of Asia and the Mideast oil lanes. They are the supply point for the Rapid Deployment forces that will be called on to intervene in the event of revolution in the Mideast, Southern and Southeast Asia, Korea. They are a nuclear weapons depot and the base of preparations for first-strike war against

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