

# FSP Conference Marks Decade of Socialist Feminism

Freedom Socialist Party members and guests from Washington, Oregon and California convened in April for the FSP's historic Tenth Anniversary Conference at the Point Hudson waterfront resort in picturesque Port Townsend, Washington.

The Conference was the product of a long and sometimes stormy revolutionary heritage, the confirmation of ten rich years of pioneer theoretical and programmatic development, impressive growth in numbers and resources, and energetic action in all the key arenas of struggle for radical social change.

The Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) split from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1966, after years of debate over the nature and significance of the Black movement and the woman question. The entire Seattle branch of the SWP left that party and reconstituted itself as the FSP, a small but determined organization.

Shortly after the formation of the new Party, a group of males and one wife angrily split from the FSP when they found themselves in a minority on the issue of women's rights. Their vaunted

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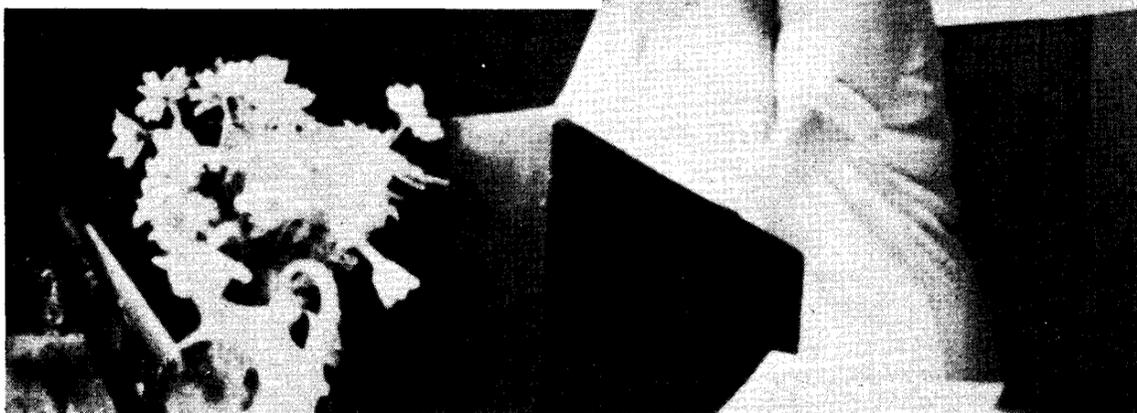
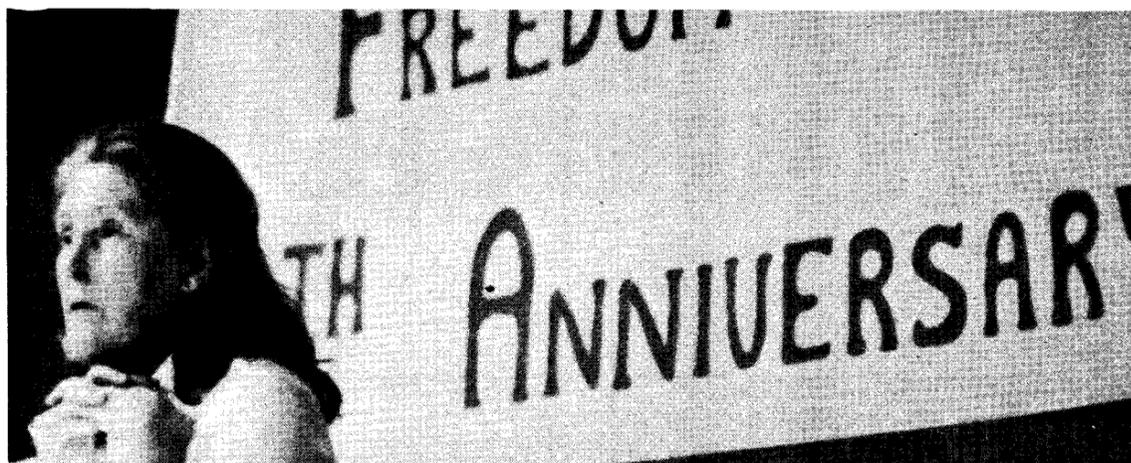
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*"We are here to talk about where we've been and what we've done, to draw the necessary lessons and conclusions from our experiences, analyze our successes and failures, and chart our future course. We are here to prepare for the coming American revolution—to rid this country and the world of the capitalist system and replace it with a government of the working class."*

—Opening remarks by Gloria Martin, Freedom Socialist Party Organizer.



*Theory is the guide to practice—and talk is the precursor to action as well as the tool of evaluation. During the course of the Conference, participants examined the international arena, the national and local scene, and organizational tasks and perspectives. Below are some of the highlights of those discussions, an indication of the range and depth of thought that prevailed.*

## Portugal



As the first social revolution to erupt in Western Europe since the 1930's, the Portuguese struggle represents a major development in the world revolutionary process.

The great significance of revolutionary Portugal was reflected in the intensive analysis that developed around it at the Conference.

Comrade Ed Rader presented the initial report. "The Portuguese revolution," he said, "represents the unfolding of the Permanent Revolution in Europe. It began not in Lisbon, but in the countryside of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. And the ultimate success or failure of the Portuguese revolution

lies not in Portugal itself, but in Spain, Italy, France, and most importantly, in the U.S.

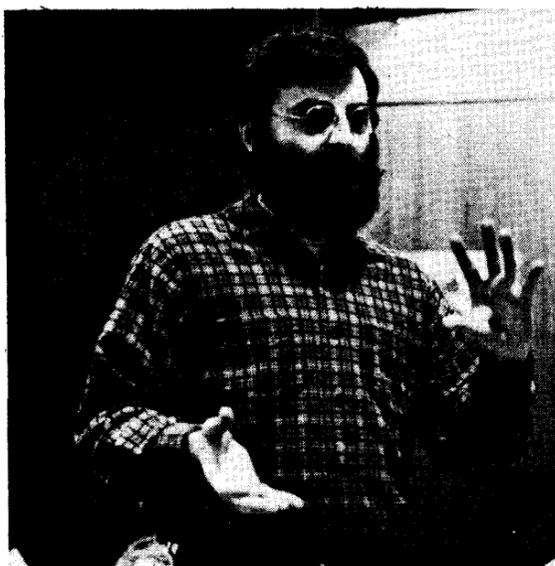
"We must solidarize ourselves with the heroic struggles of the Portuguese workers, soldiers and peasants. World imperialism and all its institutions—the media, the CIA, the trade union bureaucracy, etc.—have conspired to crush the Portuguese revolution. *International working class solidarity is crucial.* A successful revolution would be a blow to imperialism and to the conservative European Socialist and Communist Parties as well, and would open the road to the European revolution.

## Angola

Conference discussion focused on the worldwide debate in the Left sparked by the post-independence civil war in Angola and the victory of the MPLA.

The Conference scrutinized the contradictory nature of the MPLA. "Rising to power in the wake of an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist workers' movement, the petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership is now trying to crush the radicalized sectors of the working class and consolidate bourgeois rule," said Sam Deaderick, the reporter on Angola. "Nevertheless," he added, "we still call for military victory for the MPLA against the continued attacks of the reactionary FNLA/UNITA forces."

Chinese support for the CIA-backed FNLA/UNITA forces, an opportunistic sell-out of a genuinely revolutionary struggle, has



once again clearly exposed the reactionary nature of the Stalinist "socialism in one country" theory.

"The Chinese role in Angola has seriously shaken up the Maoists," said Comrade Cindy Gipple. "The *Guardian* has taken a position in opposition to China, supporting the MPLA, and has openly opposed all the major Maoist tendencies in the country.

"And the SWP, by refusing to give even critical support to the MPLA, has found itself joining the Maoists in the camp of U.S. imperialism."

- No US Involvement in Angola!
- Military Victory for the MPLA!
- Political Freedom and Workers Power in Angola!



# Highlights

## Labor



Val Carlson chaired the session on labor, "Our primary function in the labor movement," she said in her introductory remarks, "is to draw the class lines as clearly as possible. We are overcoming an exclusion of radicals from unions that has existed for 25 years. . . making possible our successful re-entry into the trade union movement."

Conference discussion was highlighted by enthusiastic accounts of the FSP's leadership and participation in labor struggles initiated by low-paid workers, women and minorities.

The feminist leadership of the campaign for protective legislation in Washington State, the demand for decent wages for women and

minority workers in the University of Washington strike, the formation of an independent union composed primarily of women and minorities, the determined fight to win and keep affirmative action regulations and procedures—all these developments have graphically demonstrated the dynamism unleashed by the intersection of feminism and the minority movements with the house of labor.

"Ten years ago, we were looked at by the rest of the radical movement as real weirdos for thinking that it would be women and minorities who would spark the labor movement into a new militancy," said one speaker. "Now we see that prediction becoming a fact."

## Boston

The terrible violence that erupted in Boston over the past year has once again exposed the deepgoing, institutionalized nature of racism in the North. The violence over the busing of children to guarantee school integration was fueled by racist demagogues, including the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan. In the heat of events, the central issue has been obscured as busses carrying Black children were stoned, people were beaten, and white rage and frustration were transformed into hysteria.

"The basic issue is quality education for Blacks," said Comrade Madlyne Scott, a longtime Black activist. "Black children are not receiving a decent education in the poorly funded schools provided for them.

"At the same time, by busing children from poor Black schools to poor white schools, to white working class neighborhoods exclusively, the government has programmed busing for failure. Blacks are divided. Many simply refuse to expose their children to the violence when the white school is as bad as the Black one. No Black person would oppose busing if it would guarantee their children a good education."

The Conference reiterated the FSP's position that busing is a temporary and tenuous response to the basic social evil of racial segregation, a transitional step toward school integration. The *concept* of busing should be supported as a temporary measure to fill in the gap between segregated schools and a future predicated on desegregated housing and equal financial support to all schools.

The Conference opposed the SWP's call for the intervention of federal troops, because troops can easily be turned against the Blacks in Boston. Instead of troops, a United Front is needed, one composed of Blacks, women, advanced workers and freedom fighters who would defend Black children attending integrated schools and educate the white workers on the nature of racism and the need for busing.

In an explanation of the revolutionary nature of the busing crisis, Comrade Clara Fraser said, "This is a problem whose roots are sunk so deep into the basic fabric of American capitalism that it truly will take a revolutionary transformation of society to achieve a total and just solution."



## Native Americans

A life-and-death battle against the extermination tactics of the federal government is being waged by American Indians as they mobilize to resist an unending wave of attacks and political murders. This is a people deprived of their homelands, traditional means of livelihood, communal lifestyle, culture of naturalism and humanism, and basic pride and dignity. They are struggling desperately for their very survival as a people.

Lenore Norrgard, who has been working with Native Americans for two years, told the FSP Conference that "we must thoroughly recognize the Native American struggle as one of national self-determination, and pay par-



ticular attention to the key role of women in their movement."

Said Marcel Hatch, "The American radical movement must prepare for the defense of the Indians from full-scale attack by the government and vigilante groups."

The heroic resistance of the Native American to capitalist genocide is not slackening and the fight for freedom is intensifying all over the country. This land is **their** land, and their right to a secure future in it must be categorically endorsed.

**Victory to the Native American struggle for liberation and justice!**

# Review and Perspectives

## Excerpts from the Organizer's Report

Conference discussions were structured around the basic pre-Conference document prepared by FSP Organizer, Gloria Martin, and distributed in advance of the Conference to all members. This document, in the form of a Resolution, was entitled **History, Perspectives, and Tasks—Organizer's Draft Report to the Freedom Socialist Party Tenth Anniversary Conference.**

The 79-page **Draft Report** examines the growth and activity of the Party over the last six years and proposes directions and guidelines for future work. All of the Party's activity—work in the various social movements, inner-party development, theoretical refinement, and Party organizational and administrative work—is carefully analyzed in the **Draft Report**. The resulting document provides a cohesive view of the mass of events and processes which make up the life of an energetic socialist party, as well as an important historical record of the beginnings of socialist feminism in the U.S.

Conference response to the vivid and illuminating document was exceptionally serious, rich and insightful. Two full days of intensive discussion and debate culminated in its unanimous adoption, modified by agreement to expand, edit or alter certain sections and include corollary Resolutions.

The **Draft Report** is now being edited and condensed for publication and distribution to the radical public. It is an exciting addition to the growing arsenal of socialist and feminist literature.

### Single-Issue vs. Multi-Issue

Revolutionary leaders must be versatile, and the struggle must be waged on many levels with the linkages between all the movements for justice and equality explicitly cited.

Our years of advocacy and practice of a multi-issue program have fostered considerable opposition from other Left formations. Experience, as usual, has taught them nothing. Once their single-issue demands are won or lost, the organization they created to wage the struggle drops into oblivion and the people mobilized around the issue vanish. Even if the reform is won, the ever-present danger exists that it will be lost again, demanding yet another group around the same issue.

Our multi-issue approach makes it possible to sustain activity on any particular issue because we interrelate the valid demands of all the oppressed, and incorporate this viewpoint in our actions on specific demands.

### Coalitions and United Fronts

A united front is a conglomerate of working class formations "marching separately and striking jointly" in a combined thrust against capitalist reaction.

No contingent is expected to change or sacrifice its basic principles, and each sector of the front is free to raise proposals and debate strategy for the entire movement so long as everybody strikes together against the common enemy.

And though the united front is open to everyone who agrees with its basic program, leadership must be retained by the working class organizations to prevent bourgeois liberals or capitalist politicians from assuming hegemony and defusing the movement, which happens in "popular" or "peoples" fronts—a Stalinist form of revisionism which mobilizes all classes behind the liberals who always proceed to compromise with the ruling class.

Coalitions are generally composed of groupings that unify around particular or related social issues, such as liberation for racial or sexual minorities, women, war resisters, etc. Coalitions are broader in their class composition than the basically proletarian united front.

The FSP strongly advocates the creation of united fronts and coalitions as the only means of rising above programmatic differences and attaining unity in action against the oppressor. And in the course of common action and experiences, many doctrinal differences are resolved or eliminated.

We have initiated and cooperated in many such organs of unity, conducting ourselves in an open, responsible and cooperative fashion in order to maximize joint impact. Years of experience have

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### Simple-Punto de Debate Politico vs. Multi-Punto de Debate Politico

Los líderes revolucionarios tienen que poseer varias habilidades y la lucha tiene que hacerse en muchos niveles, con las correlaciones entre todos los movimientos para justicia e igualdad cuidadosamente explicadas.

Nuestros años de abogar por y practicar un programa multi-punto de debate político que presentaba e interrelacionaba todos los movimientos políticos y sociales ha generado bastante oposición por la parte de los otros agrupamientos izquierdistas. La experiencia, como siempre, no les ha enseñado nada. Una vez ganadas las demandas de su simple-punto de debate político, la organización que sirvió en el proceso de luchar desaparece para siempre y la gente que movilizaron desvanece. Aun cuando se gana la reforma, el peligro siempre existe de que puede perderse en el futuro, necesitando aún otro grupo movilizado para ganar la misma otra vez.

Nuestra orientación de presentar e interrelacionar varias cuestiones políticas hace posible sostener actividad sobre cualquier movimiento político. Somos capaces de hacerlo porque interrelacionamos las demandas válidas de todos los oprimidos y también incorporamos este punto de vista en nuestras acciones en cualquiera demanda específica que apoyamos.

### Las Coaliciones y los Frentes Unidos

Un frente unido es un conglomerado de grupos obreros "que marchan separados y atacan juntos" en una embestida conjunta contra la reacción capitalista. A ningún sector se le pide que sacrifique sus principios básicos, y cada sector tiene la opción de hacer proposiciones y deliberar sobre la estrategia del movimiento entero siempre que todos luchen contra el mismo enemigo.

Aunque el frente unido es para todos los que están de acuerdo con el programa los líderes deben venir de organizaciones de obreros para impedir que la burguesía liberal o los políticos capitalistas se apoderen del poder y debiliten el movimiento, lo que sucede con los frentes "populares" — una forma Estalinista de revisionismo que moviliza todas las clases tras los liberales que siempre terminan por entrar en componendas con las clases dominantes.

Las coaliciones constan generalmente de agrupaciones que se unifican en torno a problemas sociales particulares, tales como la liberación de las minorías raciales o sexuales, la mujer, los opositores a la guerra, etc. Las coaliciones son más amplias en su estructura de clase

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# Repaso y Perspectivas

## Selecciones del Reporte de la Organizadora

que los frentes unidos, básicamente proletarias.

El FSP aboga decididamente por la creación de frentes unidos y coaliciones como medio de elevarse por sobre las diferencias programáticas y alcanzar unidad en la acción contra el opresor. Y en el curso de la acción y experiencias comunes, muchas diferencias doctrinales se resuelven o se eliminan.

Hemos iniciado y cooperado en muchos organismos unidos de este tipo, actuando de manera abierta, responsable y cooperativa con el propósito de aumentar el impacto unido. Muchos años de experiencia nos han enseñado que no hay por qué ceder ni una pulgada en nuestro programa político, y que al mismo tiempo podemos adoptar tácticas flexibles.

Es especialmente importante mantener viva la tradición y la práctica de los frentes unidos y coaliciones en estos tiempos de creciente histeria sectarista proveniente de ciertas tendencias Maoístas y otros grupos desorientados de izquierda.

El terrorismo estalinista contra obreros y radicals es fundamentalmente antagónico al valioso mecanismo de los frentes obreros unidos.

### El Movimiento Contra la Guerra: Los Días de Rabia

La posición del FSP dentro del movimiento contra la guerra en Vietnam, era una di presentar e interrelacionar varios puntos de debate político, siempre secando conclusiones radicales. Esta fue la posición del FSP desde el principio y se distinguió del lema del SWP (El Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores) de "Retire las Tropas Ahora," un lema no malo en sí pero completamente negativo, sin relación a la controversia entre la cuestión del capitalismo vs. el socialismo. El grito del Frente de Liberación de Seattle de "Revolución Ahora" fue puramente retórica sin ninguna estrategia política. Fue el FSP que original y consistentemente reclamó que el movimiento reconociera la lucha de los negros y después la de los chicanos, el movimiento feminista y la necesidad de influenciar los trabajadores. Se obligó al SWP que se adaptara, más o menos, a cada una de las proposiciones del FSP. También fue el FSP, desde su fundación en 1966, que insistió que el movimiento dejara de hacer juegos y profesara y expusiera su propio radicalismo.

### La Libertad para Minorías

Es de suma importancia que movimientos rejuvenecidos, independientes y dedicados, movimientos de minorías unidas, surjan aliados a un programa militante. Movimientos definidos así adiestrarán y producirán líderes y desarrollarán alianzas con radicales blancos, con mujeres, y con trabajadores.

Estos movimientos necesitarán incorporar una perspectiva simpatizante con el movimiento feminista e identificadora con la clase obrera. Para sobrevivir, tienen que reconocer por último las contribuciones prolongadas y centrales de sus propias heroínas dentro del propio movimiento y la raza. Esto promoverá y asegurará la jefatura de las mujeres minoritarias como una prioridad de primera importancia.

Los trabajadores minoritarios tienen la cólera y el ímpetu necesario para asumir la jefatura de un movimiento de las masas en el interés de todos los oprimidos. Este papel de jefatura es su

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taught us that we need not give an inch on our political program, but can still adopt tactics that are fluid and flexible.

It is especially vital to keep alive the tradition and practice of united fronts and coalitions in these times of escalating sectarian hysteria emanating from certain Maoist tendencies and other disoriented Left groups. Stalinist-style terrorism against workers and radicals is fundamentally antagonistic to the valuable mechanism of the workers' united front.

### Anti-War: Days of Rage

The Freedom Socialist Party position within the anti-war movement was multi-issue and radical from the outset. It was in direct contradiction to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) meager "Withdraw the Troops Now" slogan, correct enough as a slogan but purely negative because it was disconnected from the underlying issue of capitalism versus socialism.

The cry of "Revolution Now" from the Seattle Liberation Front was shrill rhetoric devoid of political strategy.

The FSP was consistent, from the very beginning, in demanding recognition by the anti-war movement of the Black struggle and, later, the Chicano upsurge, the women's movement, and the need to reach workers. The SWP was forced to adapt, more or less, to each of these tactical approaches.

And it was the FSP, from its inception in 1966, which urged the movement to stop play-acting and to profess and expound its own radicalism instead.

### Minority Freedom

It is imperative that rejuvenated, independent and unified minority movements emerge around a militant program, movements that will train and produce leaders and deepen alliances with white radicals, women and workers.

These movements will need to adopt a working class perspective and to be pro-feminist. To survive, they must recognize, finally, the long suffering and stellar contributions of their heroines to the movement and the race. Such honest recognition will promote and insure the leadership of minority women as a paramount priority.

Minority workers have the anger and impetus to rise to the leadership of a strong mass movement of the oppressed, and this role is their destiny. This course was envisioned and understood by the founders of the FSP.

It is up to us to win more minority women to Radical Women and more minority workers to the internationalist program of the FSP. Larger numbers of minority people are looking for alternatives to the rote politics of most radical groups. The most feasible alternative is us.

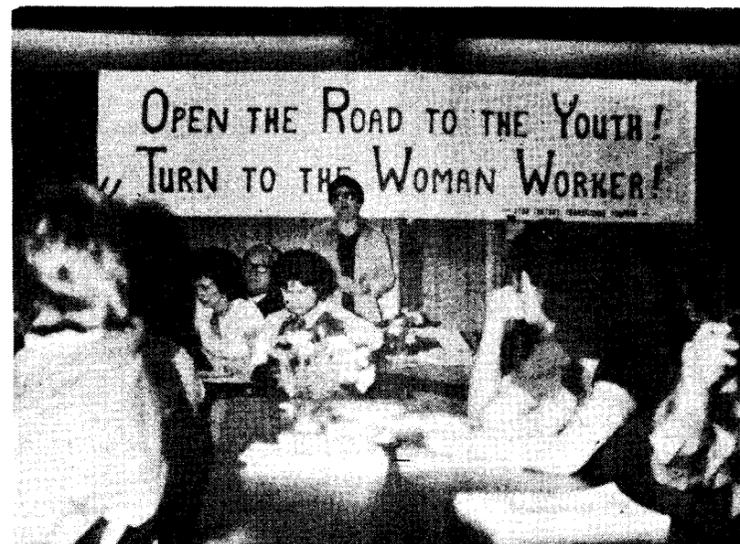
Seize the time! Turn to the minority woman and the minority worker! We can accomplish this breakthrough if we heed the advice and counsel of our minority comrades, who are the vanguard of the new process of truly revolutionary integration.

### The Gay Revolt

The search for a comprehensive program for gay liberation is a national as well as local phenomenon. Our comrades are careful students of socialist theory, gay history, and feminist ideology, and they are eloquent in their explanation of the closely interwoven threads comprising the fabric of gay oppression.

Because these members are actively

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# Conference Banquet

## Founders Honored

As Leon Trotsky wrote, "It is not the Party that makes the program (the Idea); it is the program that makes the Party."

A party, on the other hand, is only as strong as the individuals who develop and carry out its program, for in the final analysis, people — individually and collectively — are the critical ingredients of the revolutionary process.

One of the special features of the gala banquet that climaxed the FSP Conference was the official tribute paid to the two founding members of the Party, Clara Fraser and Melba Windoffer.

Executive Committee member Guerry Hoddersen opened the program with a heartfelt speech honoring Clara and Melba, who were both present at the Conference. Said Guerry:

"In an article entitled *Notes on Leadership*, Clara wrote, 'The reason we have leaders is that no one can do everything.' But the other side of that is that some people do do everything.

"Melba and Clara are two such people. They've raised and supported families, they've cooked, they've cleaned, they've worked, organized, written polemics, and given speeches from soap boxes down on First Avenue.

"They fought the sexists on the Left, the reactionaries on the Right, the bosses at work and the bureaucrats in the unions. They fought the witch-hunting McCarthyites and they fought the Stalinists.

"There is another line in *Notes on Leadership*: 'We desperately need strong, rational, logical, persuasive, effective, energetic, rugged female individual leaders, just as we need ranks with the same qualities who love, admire, support and criticize their leaders, as they themselves learn and develop leadership qualities.' I think that pretty much sums up how we feel about Melba and Clara."

Flowers and gifts were then presented to the founders, to the accompaniment of a standing ovation.

The banquet program also featured testimonials of appreciation and thanks to the conference organizer, Laurie Morton, to the presidium, and to the chairpersons of the various sessions for



Clara Fraser (left) and Melba Windoffer (center) talk with Organizer Gloria Martin at Conference banquet.

their outstanding work in helping make the Conference a success.

Special thanks and gifts were presented to the resort staff for their help, hard labor and excellent meals.

Entertainment was provided by hilarious songs and skits about the organizer, Gloria Martin, who was presented with a gift in honor of her mammoth production, the *Organizer's Draft Report*.

The printing and production staff, headed by Tamara Turner, was thanked and given presents.

The program closed with the enthusiastic welcoming of seven new members into the Party.

## New Members Welcomed

The introduction of seven new FSP members provided an appropriate and inspiring climax to the Conference—and a meaningful tribute to the founders of the Party.

Representing a wide cross-section of movements, the new members are a welcome addition to the Party, furnishing fresh insights and talents and bringing unique experience, energy and commitment to the organization.

Three of these seven are minority women; four are from out of state—California and Oregon. Their ages range from 24 to 64.

The new comrades were introduced and described by other members who knew them well. In her welcoming speech for Madlyne Scott, Clara Fraser attested to the historic significance of Madlyne's initiation.

"In all the years when few Black and minority women were with us, our opponents were fond of saying, 'Ha! If you're so smart, where are they?' I said, 'Wait. Minority women will be here because they must be.' And now you are here.

"And you are not here as any other new member, you are not here as any other woman, or any other man. You are here as a representative of an entire group of people

that has the destiny and the mandate, historically derived, to rise to the actual leadership of the American, which means the world, revolution.

"You are the key to the longevity and effectiveness of the Freedom

Socialist Party. You are the key to the unity and eventual solidarity of all the exploited and oppressed, because it is the minority woman who is the connecting link between all the groups.

"You connect the struggles

against racism and sexism, and because you are working class, you connect the class struggle with the battles for minority and women's freedom.

"You are important, Madlyne. You are not only going to be an outstanding Bolshevik activist and leader, you are going to contribute and lead as only a Black woman can."

After their introductions, each new member responded, describing her or his own reasons for joining the Party and committing themselves to its program and activities.

One new member, Chris Billey, said,

"As a gay man I have come to recognize the interconnected oppression of all minorities as a direct product of capitalism. In the FSP I have found a program that truly addresses the needs of all and has the potential to weld all the different struggles into an unbeatable revolutionary force. I am proud to be a socialist feminist and a member of this Party."

Chris, like the other new members, was articulate in affirming the deep convictions and feelings of the entire assemblage. The FSP is not only a serious party, but a proud one!

New recruits Deanna (right, behind the daisies) and Kathy, (below). Both live in the state of Oregon.



# A Family That Fights Together **The Durhams**

Eldon Durham, who told the Conference:  
"My only hope is that I can stay  
around long enough to see this damn  
system fall flat on its face."



## *Homecoming*

*How your three daughters  
thought you were dying this time for sure,  
came home one summer night  
meeting in the airport at 4 a.m.  
to catch another flight up the coast.*

*The airport was nearly deserted and  
devoid of women except for the janitors  
and ticket agents. How the men  
gawked at us and turned around to watch  
the big women striding abreast  
down the empty corridors,  
talking and laughing  
holding ourselves together  
with no use for them.*

*At dawn we boarded a small plane  
and sat in the rear, joking  
that the door would fall off  
at any moment. There was  
no need to hide ourselves, or sit  
humble and diminished  
three unguarded women trying to pass  
through the world unnoticed.*

*The wings dipped and we headed  
out over the ocean and I thought:  
Mama, you would be proud.*

Sukey  
Durham

Remember the generation gap?

Don't trust anyone over 30. Mother against daughter, father against son, mother AND father against daughter and son, ad nauseum.

Well, the FSP has always challenged that particular reactionary doctrine as being one more way capitalism divides the oppressed. And the Durham family exemplifies the FSP's respect for solidarity between the generations.

The Durhams embody a long and rich history of militancy in the civil liberties, feminist, anti-war, civil rights, gay and labor movements. In the course of the last few years they have come to the FSP, one at a time, each for his or her own reasons, each one characterized by intense feelings about justice, commitment, and the necessity of organized struggle.

The four children attribute their social awareness to the parents, Anne and Eldon.

Anne Durham, a woman of strong principles and ideas, has been confined to a nursing home for the last several years because of multiple sclerosis. She has fought this disease courageously and campaigned simultaneously for the rights of patients in a callous medical system that cares more for profits than people. She recently told her daughters that she hoped "the new world you are fighting for has a place for the sick, the old and the disabled."

Eldon Durham, who joined the FSP at the 10th Anniversary Conference, was one of the few who publicly spoke out against McCarthyism and the anti-labor "right-to-work" laws in the 1950's. He vocally opposed the Viet Nam war in the 1960's. Yet he credits his children with bringing him to socialism.

Comrade Eldon's remarks at the Conference banquet eloquently expressed his dialectical concept of a revolutionary family.

"I want to pay special tribute," he said, "to the other member of the family who could not be here today, because she obviously had a lot to do with bringing up some of the members of this Party, not only physically, but intellectually and spiritually as well.

"I like to think that, in our own stumbling sort of way, we thrust them into the world and 'set them up' for you all. Now, their influence has come back the other way. I owe a great deal to them for helping me reach the point where I could make such a decision as joining the FSP.

"My only hope is that I can stay around long enough to see this damn system fall flat on its face. With your help, I'll do my part to push it along."

The FSP is justly proud of the Durham clan, radical activists and beautiful people that they are.

# What is the FSP?

*The Freedom Socialist Party is a socialist feminist organization dedicated to the replacement of capitalist rule by a genuine workers democracy that will guarantee full economic, social and political equality to women, minorities, gays, and all people exploited and oppressed by the profit system and imperialism.*

## Revolutionary Internationalism

The working class, like the capitalist class it seeks to overthrow, is an international class, bound by a common global exploitation and the task of winning liberation through socialism. A truly socialist transformation of society cannot occur in any single country;

only worldwide socialism, the product of revolutions in many single countries, can insure a humane civilization freed of racism, sexism and class oppression. We support the revolution on all its fronts, and seek to transform it into one international socialist society.

## Women's Liberation

We organize for the total emancipation of women on every level of life. The terrible oppression and unique exploitation of women are burning injustices that intersect every other political issue and social movement. The multiple oppression of women as workers, minorities and gays propels them into militancy and

leadership; their daily struggle for survival as the most oppressed of every downtrodden group steels them in their revolutionary fervor. Women, particularly minority women workers because of their double and triple jeopardy, are destined to exercise dynamic leadership in the coming American revolution.

## Minority Freedom

Institutionalized racism and forced racial segregation are fundamental to the capitalist political economy of the U.S. Minority struggles against second-class social status accordingly threaten the entire system and tie in the racial freedom issue with the proletarian struggle for socialism.

Minority workers, because of dual oppression, stand in the forefront of the class struggle. All the ethnic liberation movements spur white workers,

women and other sectors of the class to an advanced political consciousness. Minorities in the U.S. are a cutting edge of the long struggle for revolutionary social change.

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

## Revolutionary Integration

We advocate a revolutionary collaboration of Black militants with the general movement for socialism as the only realistic and historically validated alternative to the dead ends of separatism or reformist integration into the capitalist system. At the same time, we support independent mass organizations

for Blacks and call on them to join the struggle of the working class for a socialist America and to extend their rich experience and political expertise to the general movement. Without massive involvement and leadership by Blacks, there will be no American revolution.

## Gay Equality

The gay revolt is essentially a deep protest against all forms of sexual repression and sex-role stereotyping. It is a key ingredient of the fight for women's equality, and the emancipation of women, in turn, is a prerequisite for the achievement of the gay movement's basic goals. Lesbians, like other minority women, provide a consistent militancy to the gay and feminist movements. Similarly, lesbians represent a significant leadership force in the overall revolutionary struggle as a result of their special oppression.

Too many socialist organizations today, steeped in traditional sexism, are unable to utilize Marxist theory for a radical analysis of the origins of gay oppression and the significance of the long history of bloody resistance to such oppression. The FSP, however, proudly affirms full support of gay liberation and calls upon gay people to join us and help develop a rich and revolutionary socialist ideology and program for sexual minorities as a basic component of the general struggle for human dignity.

## The Children Question

The most hapless and vulnerable victims of capitalist degeneration are the children. Regarded as barely human appendages to adults, they are torn apart by the social, economic and emotional chaos created by a culture that glamorizes acquisitiveness, cynicism,

and brutality, and ignores the right of kids to security, love and unhampered growth.

Children are the responsibility of the total society, and need to become our first, not our last, priority. We demand a world fit for healthy children to live in.

## Union Democracy

Only the working class has the strategic power, numbers, need and opportunity to effect a socialist transformation of society.

But the traditional organs of working class unity, the trade unions, have been reduced by the class collaborationist policies of the union bureaucrats into obstacles of working class solidarity and instruments of the bosses and the government. Only a militant struggle for internal democracy and a return to class struggle principles and tactics can rid the unions of

their corrupt and dictatorial leadership, free them from the stranglehold of the capitalist Democratic Party, and transform them into fighting organs of the working class.

We hail the mounting aggressiveness of labor activists, particularly low-paid workers. We demand the end of discrimination against minorities and women by union officials and ranks. And we call for independent political action by the unions as the only way of attaining class solidarity in the voting booth.

## A Party of the Working Class

History has proved that only a thoroughly democratic and centralized vanguard party can lead the working class and its allies to political victory. The Freedom Socialist Party is such a party, operating in

the living tradition of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, with the aspiration of becoming a mass workers party capable of accomplishing the American revolution. **Join Us Today!**



# ¿Qué es el FSP?

*El Partido de Libertad Socialista es un partido socialista feminista dedicado al reemplazo del mando capitalista por una democracia genuina de trabajadores que en sí garantizará la verdadera igualdad económica, social, y política a las mujeres, a las minorías raciales y étnicas, a los homosexuales, y a todos los explotados y oprimidos por el sistema de ganancias y por el imperialismo.*

## El Internacionalismo Revolucionario

La clase obrera, al igual que la clase capitalista la cual quiere derrocar, es una clase internacional unida por una explotación global y por la tarea mundial de ganar la liberación mediante la realización del socialismo. Una verdadera transformación socialista no puede acontecer en un solo país. Solamente el socialismo mundial, el producto de

varias revoluciones en muchos países individuales, puede asegurar una civilización humana liberada del racismo, del sexismo y de la opresión clasista. Apoyamos la revolución en todos sus frentes y al mismo tiempo buscamos transformar la propia revolución en una sociedad socialista internacional.

## La Liberación de la Mujer

Organizamos para la emancipación completa de la mujer en todos los niveles de la vida. La opresión terrible de la mujer y su explotación única constituyen una injusticia palpitante que se enlaza con todas las otras cuestiones políticas y movimientos sociales. La doble y triple opresión de mujeres como trabajadoras, minorías, y lesbianas les impele a la militancia y a la actuación política. Su lucha cotidiana

para sobrevivir, siendo las más oprimidas de cada grupo oprimido, las acoraza en su fervor revolucionario. Por su doble y triple opresión, se les destina a las mujeres, especialmente a las mujeres obreras de las minorías, a llenar un papel clave de jefatura en la revolución americana venidera.

## La Libertad para las Minorías

El racismo institucionalizado y la segregación forzada son básicos para la economía capitalista y para el sistema político de los Estados Unidos. Por lo tanto, las luchas de las minorías contra su condición social de segunda clase amenazan al sistema entero y enlazan la cuestión de libertad racial con la lucha proletaria hacia el socialismo.

Los obreros minoritarios, a causa de su opresión especial, están a vanguardia de la lucha de las clases. Todos los movimientos de la liberación étnica animan a los trabajadores blancos, a las mujeres, y a los otros sectores de

la clase obrera a una conciencia política más avanzada. Las minorías en los EE. UU. son el filo cortante de la lucha prolongada para un cambio social revolucionario.

Nosotros defendimos la igualdad inmediata e incondicional, tanto económica como política y social de los negros, los chicanos, los asiáticos, los indios norteamericanos, y los puertorriqueños. Aprobamos las demandas de auto-determinación por parte de la nación indígena y de la puertorriqueña.

## La Integración Revolucionaria

Abogamos por una colaboración de los negros militantes con el movimiento general para el socialismo. Esta es la única alternativa realista, validada por la historia, a los sinsalidas del separatismo y del integracionismo reformista dentro del sistema capitalista. Al mismo tiempo, apoyamos a las organizaciones independientes de las masas

negras y les llamamos a unirse a la lucha de la clase obrera para una América socialista y a compartir con el movimiento general su rica experiencia y su sabiduría política. Sin involucrarse los negros en grande escala y sin la asunción de posiciones de jefatura por los mismos, no habrá una revolución americana.

## La Igualdad para los Homosexuales

El auge del movimiento de los homosexuales es esencialmente una profunda protesta contra todas las manifestaciones de la represión sexual y el estereotipar por sexo que define papeles deferentes y distintos para mujeres y hombres. Esto es un aspecto central de la lucha para la igualdad de la mujer, y su emancipación; y, a la vez, constituye un requisito para la realización de las propias metas del movimiento homosexual. Lesbianas representa una porción significativa de la fuerza de la dirección de la lucha revolucionaria resultando de su opresión especial.

Desmasiadas organizaciones socialistas de hoy, asor-

bidan en su sexismo tradicional, hallan imposible utilizar la teoría marxista para hacer un análisis radical de los orígenes de la opresión contra el homosexual y el significado de la larga y sangrienta historia de resistencia contra esta forma de opresión. El FSP, sin embargo, se dedica con mucho orgullo a apoyar completamente la liberación de los homosexuales y llama a todos los homosexuales a que se unan con nosotros y nos ayuden a desarrollar una ideología socialista revolucionaria y un programa de liberación para las minorías sexuales, compatibles con la lucha general en nombre de la dignidad humana.

## La Libertad para los Niños

Son los niños las víctimas más desventuradas y vulnerables de la degeneración capitalista. Considerados como apéndices apenas humanos a los adultos, los niños son destruidos por el caos social, económico, y emocional criado por una cultura que rinde culto a la codicia, al cinismo, y a la brutalidad y que, al mismo tiempo, pasa por alto el derecho de

los niños a la seguridad, al amor, y a un desarrollo libre.

Los niños son la responsabilidad de toda la sociedad y necesitamos hacerlos nuestra primera prioridad, no la última. Reclamamos que haya un mundo apropiado a niños sanos en el cual puedan ellos vivir.

## La Democracia en las Uniones

Solamente la clase obrera tiene el poder estratégico, los números de personas, la necesidad y la oportunidad para efectuar una transformación socialista de la sociedad.

Pero las instituciones tradicionales de la unidad de la clase obrera, las uniones, han sido reducidas por la política colaboracionista con la clase capitalista por parte de los burocratas dentro de las uniones. Se han convertido las uniones en obstáculos a la solidaridad de la clase obrera y en instrumentos de la gerencia y del gobierno. Solamente una lucha militante para una democracia interna de las propias uniones y un regreso a los principios y tácticas de la lucha

clasista pueden deshacer las uniones de su jefatura corrompida dictatorial. Así se liberrarán de sus enlaces con el partido capitalista de los Demócratas, y se transformarán en instituciones luchadoras de la clase obrera.

Saludamos la militancia creciente de los trabajadores activistas, especialmente los trabajadores de bajo sueldo. Reclamamos la terminación de cualquiera forma de discriminación contra mujeres y minorías por parte de los propios miembros de las uniones. Abogamos por la acción política independiente de las uniones como el único medio de conseguir la solidaridad de la clase en la cabina de votar.

## Un Partido de la Clase Obrera

Se nos enseñó la historia que solamente un partido democrático y centralizado de la vanguardia puede dirigir la clase obrera y sus aliados a la victoria política. El FSP es un partido así, operando en la viva tradición de Marx, Engels,

Lenin, y Trotsky, con la plena aspiración de llegar a ser un partido comprensivo de trabajadores capaz de llevar a cabo la revolución americana. ¡Unase a nosotros!



As a socialist feminist organization, the Freedom Socialist Party predicted from its inception that women would be the dynamite in the new explosion of working class radicalism and that women workers and minority women would come to be the shock troops of feminism.

Radical Women, founded in 1967 by women in FSP and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), has been actively translating that prediction into reality for the past nine years.

Radical Women is a colorful and spirited organization of female radicals committed to the fight for the complete and total emancipation of women.

Many RW members also belong to the FSP and have become doers and leaders in the Party. RW and the FSP have had a major impact on the women's liberation and radical movements because together they are the living embodiment of the historic merging of revolutionary socialism and feminism.

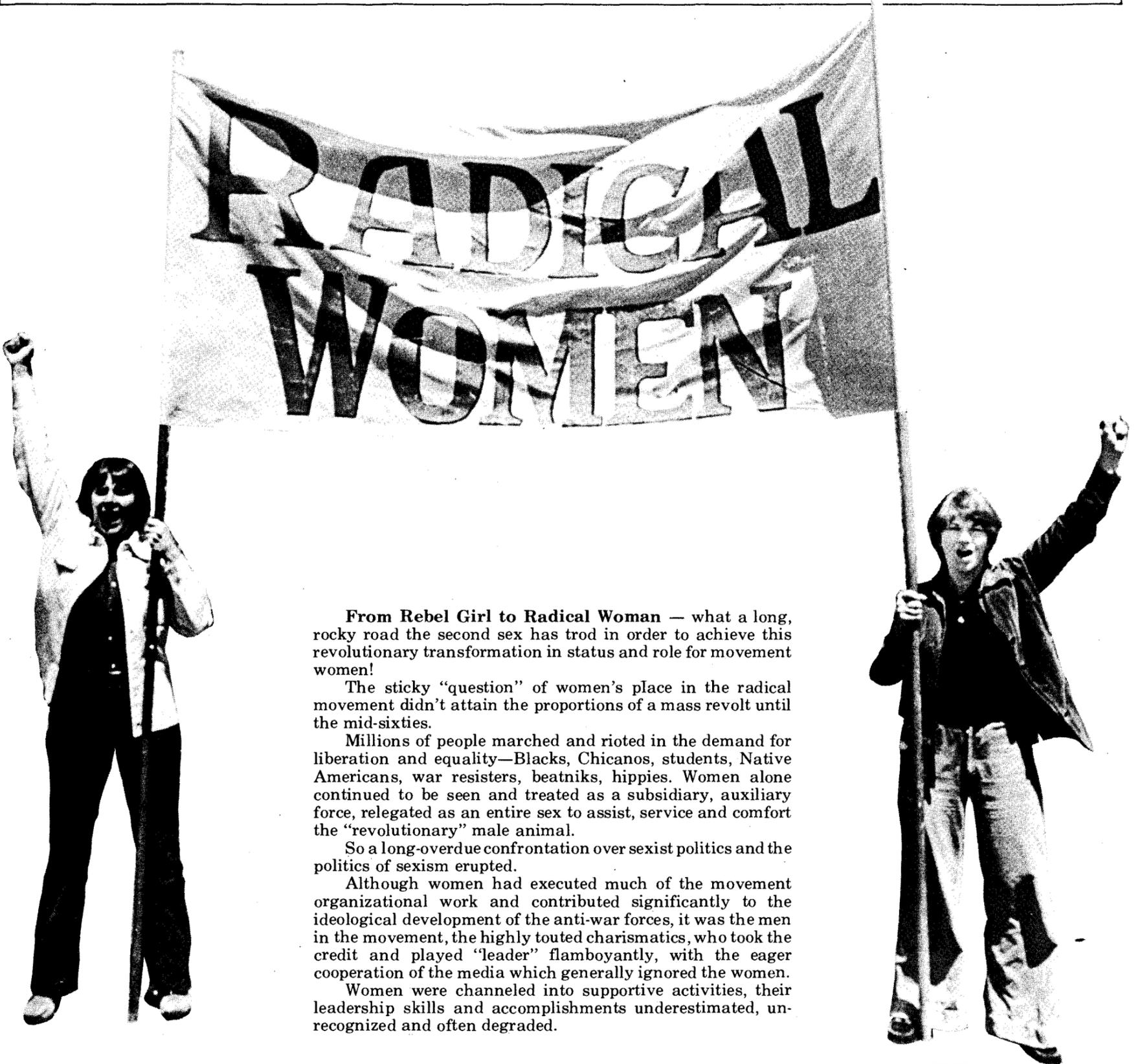
The two organizations have sparked each other's growth, and complemented and aided each other's work. RW, a militant feminist action and education organization, has become a productive base from which talented women develop into FSP leaders.

The political relationship

between the two groups has developed and changed over the years.

By 1973, it became extremely clear that the close programmatic alliance between RW and FSP should be expressed in an appropriate organizational format. RW voted unanimously to formalize its structural relationship to the FSP and become affiliated with it as an independent, mass organization of Marxist feminists.

Today the two groupings work together in a political and administrative harmony that facilitates a practical division of political labor and provides a constant source of enriching interaction.



**From Rebel Girl to Radical Woman** — what a long, rocky road the second sex has trod in order to achieve this revolutionary transformation in status and role for movement women!

The sticky "question" of women's place in the radical movement didn't attain the proportions of a mass revolt until the mid-sixties.

Millions of people marched and rioted in the demand for liberation and equality—Blacks, Chicanos, students, Native Americans, war resisters, beatniks, hippies. Women alone continued to be seen and treated as a subsidiary, auxiliary force, relegated as an entire sex to assist, service and comfort the "revolutionary" male animal.

So a long-overdue confrontation over sexist politics and the politics of sexism erupted.

Although women had executed much of the movement organizational work and contributed significantly to the ideological development of the anti-war forces, it was the men in the movement, the highly touted charismatics, who took the credit and played "leader" flamboyantly, with the eager cooperation of the media which generally ignored the women.

Women were channeled into supportive activities, their leadership skills and accomplishments underestimated, unrecognized and often degraded.

The Old and New Left alike, *without exception*, prattled on and on about **primary** goals and needs of the movement. Any desperate attempt to advocate equal rights for women was sneered at as "divisive," or horror of horrors, "subjective"!

Some women capitulated to the terror and became an intrinsic part of the New Left's descent into irrelevancy.

Other women left the movement altogether,

demoralized and confused; they clearly saw the need for radical struggle but wanted no part of the insufferable machismo of the literally male-dominated Left.

Some women, however, stayed to fight it out, insisting that feminism had to be part of radical politics just as radical politics was necessary for the success of feminism.

In Seattle, in 1967, a spunky and far-seeing group of female radicals formed Radical

Women—the first socialist feminist women's organization in American history.

Their goals were 1) to convince the radical movement of the legitimacy of feminist principles and practices, 2) to build a strong, serious organization of well-trained and skilled women leaders, and 3) to encourage the creation of a broad, national feminist movement.

That was nine years ago. Radical Women leapt into prominence on the local and national

*continued on next page*

## The Rising of the Women

Como organización socialista feminista, el Partido Socialista Libre mejido desde el principio que la mujer sería la dinamita en la nueva explosión de radicalismo de la clase obrera, y que las obreras y mujeres minoritarias llegarían a ser la tropa de choque del feminismo.

Radical Women, fundado en 1967 por mujeres de FSP y Students for a Democratic Society (Estudiantes para una Sociedad Democrática) han estado traduciendo activamente esa predicción en realidad durante los últimos años.

Radical Women es una organización muy dinámica y vivida de mujeres

radicales comprometidas a la lucha por la completa emancipación de la mujer. Muchas integrantes de RW pertenecen también a FSP y se han transformado en líderes del Partido. RW y la FSP tienen mucha influencia en la liberación de la mujer porque juntos constituyen la encarnación del socialismo y feminismo revolucionario.

Las dos organizaciones han contribuido al crecimiento mutuo y se han complementado y ayudado mutuamente. RW, una organización feminista militante se ha transformado en un fundamento productivo para que

mujeres con talento se transformen en líderes del FSP.

La relación política entre los dos grupos se ha desarrollado y cambiado con los años. En 1973 se hizo claramente evidente que una alianza entre RW y FSP debería expresarse en una forma organizacional apropiada. RW votó unánimamente formalizar esta relación estructural con la FSP como una organización independiente de feministas radicales. Hoy los dos grupos trabajan juntos en armonía política y administrativa que facilita una división práctica del trabajo político y una fuente constante de interacción enriquecedora.

## La Elevación de la Mujeres es la Elevación de la Raza

De niña rebelde a mujer radical — ¡qué camino más largo y escabroso ha tenido que recorrer el segundo sexo para alcanzar esta transformación revolucionaria en la condición y el papel del movimiento feminista!

La difícil cuestión del lugar de la mujer no alcanzó las proporciones de una revolución masiva hasta la mitad de la década del sesenta. Millones de personas marcharon y participaron en revueltas en demanda de liberación e igualdad — negros, chicanos, estudiantes, americanos aborígenes, opositores a la guerra, "beatniks", "hippies". Sólo la mujer seguía siendo tratada como fuerza secundaria, auxiliar, relegada a ayudar, servir y animar al hombre.

De este modo surgió la confrontación de la política sexista y de la política del sexismo.

Aunque la mujer había realizado gran parte del trabajo organizativo y contribuido grandemente al desarrollo ideológico de las fuerzas anti-bélicas, eran los hombres del movimiento, los líderes carismáticos, quienes cosechaban los laureles, con la cooperación entusiasta de los medios de difusión que generalmente ignoraban a la mujer. A la mujer se le asignaban actividades secundarias, y se subestimaban sus cualidades de líderes.

La izquierda, nueva y vieja, sin excepción, insistía en los objetivos primarios y necesidades del partido. Cualquier esfuerzo desesperado de abogar por igualdad de derechos era considerado como "divisionario" o peor, subjetivo!

Algunas mujeres capitularon al terror y llegaron a ser una parte intrínseca de la caída de la Nueva Izquierda a la irrelevancia y desintegración. Las mujeres de Radical Women organizaron las primeras demostraciones en la legislatura por la legislación del aborto, empezaron una campaña en todo el estado para establecer guarderías de infantes, ayudaron en la defensa del Black Panther Party contra la hostigación de la policía, hicieron conocer la lucha de los indios de Norte América, por sus derechos históricos de pesca, introdujeron un proyecto de ley de Reforma del Divorcio en la Legislatura, hicieron demostraciones y campañas por el ERA (Reforma de Igualdad de Derechos), dirigieron clases en la Universidad de Washington y en Freeway Hall, dieron conferencias en otras universidades, escuelas

secundarias en todo el estado, y enfocaron la atención en todos los temas principales que afectan a la mujer, las minorías y los obreros.

Otras mujeres abandonaron completamente el movimiento, desmoralizadas y confundidas; veían claramente la necesidad de una lucha radical pero no querían ser parte del insufrible machismo de la derección del movimiento.

Pero otras se quedaron a luchar, insistiendo en que el feminismo tenía que ser parte de la política radical tanto como la política radical era necesaria para el éxito del feminismo.



International Women's Day in 1975

En Seattle, en 1967, un grupo de mujeres radicales formaron la organización Radical Women — la primera organización en la historia de América de socialistas feministas. Sus objetivos eran: 1) convencer al movimiento radical de la legitimidad de los principios y la práctica del feminismo; 2) construir una organización seria y fuerte de mujeres dirigentes, hábiles y bien entrenadas; 3) la creación de un amplio movimiento feminista nacional.

Eso fue hace nueve años. Radical Women es ahora prominente en los niveles local y nacional, y no ha abandonado su papel de vanguardia entre las feministas y en el

movimiento radical en general. RW ha crecido continuamente, ha iniciado y perfeccionado un cuerpo impresionante de teoría socialista feminista y ha proporcionado líderes enérgicos y de confianza al movimiento de la mujer en el Noroeste Pacífico, al movimiento antiguerra, y al movimiento feminista socialista nacional. RW introdujo la cuestión racial en la política feminista desde el principio, y RW enlazó la lucha de clases y el unionismo a las necesidades de sobrevivencia de la mujer en una sociedad chauvinista. RW es una organización viva ligada a una lucha por un programa lógico y claro que una a las mujeres de todas las edades, razas, estilos de vida y experiencias en torno a un fin común. El programa expone la inevitabilidad de la opresión de la mujer en el capitalismo y reclama el liderazgo de mujeres obreras y de las razas minoritarias en la lucha para derrocar el sistema. El documento básico de la RW, **Radical Women Manifesto: Theory, Program and Structure**, fue el primer tratado teórico en los Estados Unidos que mostró las interconexiones de raza, clase, sexo y sexualidad. Por eso la organización sobrevivió y creció. RW es eficaz porque empezó con un programa definido, afirmando la validez de la estructura organizacional y no apartándose de su colaboración con el frente unido, es decir, ayudando con la acción a las exigencias de todos los grupos oprimidos por los problemas reales que afectan la vida de la mujer.

RW ha sido una organización muy innovadora y firme, atrayendo por esto a las mejores militantes a sus filas.

Las integrantes de Radical Women son activistas laborales, luchadoras por la liberación de los homosexuales, y por la liberación de las minorías, que han rehusado dejarse sofocar y aplastar por la mística de la delecadeza femenina.

Las integrantes de RW son choferes de camiones, soldadoras, doctoras, pintoras de casas, impresoras, poetas, bibliotecarias, enfermeras, electricistas, estudiantes, obreras de fábricas, secretarias, abogadas, profesoras, camareras, bomberas, administradoras, todas trabajando juntas por un fin común — la emancipación de la mujer, igualdad de oportunidades de empleo, lo que se puede lograr con una transformación socialista.

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level and has never relinquished its vanguard role among feminists and socialists.

Radical Women activists organized the first demonstrations at the Legislature for legalization of abortion, launched a statewide campaign for 24-hour quality childcare, aided in the defense of the Black Panther Party against police harassment, publicized the struggle of Native Americans for their historic fishing rights, introduced a model Divorce Reform Bill in the Legislature, lobbied and demonstrated for ERA and Protective Legislation, conducted

classes at the University of Washington and Freeway Hall, spoke at colleges, high schools and workshops all over the state and generally focused attention on all the main issues affecting women, minorities and workers.

Radical Women has steadily grown, initiated and refined an impressive body of socialist feminist theory, and consistently furnished energetic and dependable leadership to the women's movement in the Pacific Northwest, the antiwar movement, and the

socialist feminist movement nationwide.

RW introduced the race question into feminist politics from the outset, and RW, from its inception, linked class struggle and unionism to the survival needs of females in a chauvinist society.

RW is a living organization connected to a living struggle by a clear and logical program which unites women of all ages, races, lifestyles and backgrounds around a common goal. The program exposes the inevitability

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## Means the Rising of the Race

## Opinion

# Toward Revolutionary Regroupment

Epochs of intense revolutionary upheavals, sparked by dramatic shifts in the world balance of class forces, inevitably produce turmoil within the radical movement. All the prevalent ideas, programs and precepts are called into question and challenged in the wake of a new, rapidly changing and stormy reality.

New organizations and tendencies proliferate. And while dynamic periods like the 1970's intensify the fragmentation, sectarianism, and isolation of the Left, they also offer a rich opportunity for serious radicals to undertake the kind of comradely dialogue and probing discussion that can lead to a structural regroupment of uncompromising Marxists in a new and powerful vanguard party of socialist revolution.

History provides many illustrative precedents.

In 1919, new Communist parties, inspired and galvanized by the Russian Revolution, emerged out of the conservative cocoon of the Socialist Party, leaving the Second International far behind and creating the Third International.

Likewise, in the 1930's, Trotsky's Fourth International arose from the ash heap of the degenerated Third International to carry on the heroic struggle for working class internationalism and Soviet democracy that Stalin had so murderously violated.

The Fourth International is now embroiled in a far-flung faction fight over the nature of the Portuguese revolution, and it should come as a surprise to no one that the Socialist Workers Party adopted a crassly Menshevik, anti-revolutionary position from the outset.

The Maoist front is currently convulsed by savage disputes over China's increasingly nationalistic and counter-revolutionary foreign policy, exemplified by the Chinese government's mindless anti-Sovietism, support for imperialist-backed UNITA/FNLA forces in Angola, and shameless love affair with the discredited Richard Nixon.

Stalinist forces, as well, are confused and cantankerous, warring among themselves over Israel-Palestine, Lebanon, Portugal, and the Italian Communist Party's declaration of "independence" from Kremlin rule.

Back home in the good old USA, there are literally thousands of radicals disgusted by the reformism and respectable single-issuism of the SWP, scornful of the Maoist hand-draisers and reciters of proverbs, disenchanted by the latest populist or terrorist fashions of the New Left, and perplexed by the dozens of alleged Trotskyist spin-offs from the SWP, which run the gamut from the super-duper "workerism" of International Socialists (I.S.) to the arrogant grandiosity of the Spartacist League and the U.S. Labor Party's (NCLC) confusion of politics with paranoia.

It is high time for thinking socialists to overcome any lingering sectarianism and recognize that none of the main national contenders for radical leadership today has an exclusive franchise for the coming revolution. On the contrary, a bold and principled realignment of forces is on the order of the day.

Let's open up the channels of communication among us! The interaction would clarify principles, program, strategy and tactics, thereby creating a solid foundation for the formation of a new and truly revolutionary party that would live up to the demands posed by today's world.

Radical regroupment around a unified and concrete program for basic social change in the U.S. is objectively necessary if capitalism and imperialism are to be tackled at their source—Wall Street, the Pentagon and the White House.

A nationwide conference of all radicals willing to openly debate differences and hammer out a principled program for a socialist America and a socialist world would be a giant step forward for the U.S. working class and for revolutionary internationalism.

Hello, out there! Is anybody listening?

### The Freedom Socialist

Volume 2, No. 1 Summer, 1976

Cover photo: Yolanda Alaniz and Stephen Durham open the FSP Conference session on International Developments with spirited chants in Portuguese and Spanish: "Long live the Portuguese Revolution!", "All Power to the Workers!", "Long live the International Socialist Revolution!", "Long live the FSP!"

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# Have Manifesto, Will Travel

If you live outside the Seattle area and have received this newspaper by mail, it is probably because you signed our mailing list at one of the many national or regional conferences we have attended in the past few years.

You may even be one of the curious who asked us, "What is a Seattle group doing here?" Good question!

Our own comrades, after too many sleepless nights on busses, planes and cars, or too many days on the road traveling to places like Yellow Springs,

ERA, welfare and social services, abortion, childcare, divorce reform, legal and criminal justice reform, affirmative action, trade union democracy and worker militancy, anti-war, gay liberation, ethnic minority rights, rape legislation, prostitution legalization, independent political action, civil liberties, etc.!

We have worked for all these causes, initiating many of them, bringing our own unique Marxist contribution to the analysis and resolution of such problems.



FSP and RW delegates en route to the Socialist Feminist Conference at Antioch College, Ohio in 1975.

Ohio for the Socialist Feminist Conference, have undoubtedly asked themselves that same question. And if our answer, "Why, we're building a national party," sounded a bit quixotic or pretentious, don't worry, we're not nuts—tenacious perhaps, but not crazy.

We are in the process of taking this giant step because we feel that our long years of struggle as the only socialist feminist organization in the Pacific Northwest have prepared us well for the debates and problems that confront the movement across the country.

#### Strange Ideas

Frequently, during the last ten years, we have been denounced by the Left for being feminists and by the middle-class feminists for being radicals. Undaunted, we continued on our course and built our Party around these "strange" ideas. Our efforts have been richly rewarded by the rapid growth and expansion of the Party and ever-widening acceptance of many of our ideas. More and more radicals are learning to respect feminism, and many feminists are embracing socialist theory and revolutionary politics.

Our ideas are no longer regarded as bizarre. Radicals, gay liberationists, feminists, minority freedom fighters, and labor activists are recognizing as never before the urgency of unified action by all the oppressed.

Given these developments, it is only natural that we should escalate our role in the nationwide flowering of socialist feminism. We have a lot to offer those who are starting out on this path.

We have a tried and tested program and a strong cadre, trained in years of local struggle on numerous issues—

#### On the Road

Our decision to enter the national arena was not made frivolously.

In the last few years, we have travelled widely, attending such events as the Los Angeles Lesbian Feminist Conference, the Coalition of Labor Union Women Convention in Chicago, the Socialist Feminist Conference in Yellow Springs, the Bi-centennial Conference on Gays and the Federal Government in Washington, D.C., the Union W.A.G.E. Conference in San Francisco and the Hard Times Conference in Chicago.

We have gained many friends and allies and won respect for our serious, practical and principled approach. We have discovered happily that many activists have come to political conclusions similar to ours.

#### Meet Me in St. Louis

Our experiences have convinced us that the time has come to build a national party—and the process has begun. We have members in Portland, Oregon, and in San Francisco and Santa Barbara, California. We are growing on the West Coast and have started to move eastward. If you are interested in our ideas, want more information, wish to talk to us, or would like to organize a meeting for us, please let us know.

We also provide articulate speakers, consultants and workshop leaders on all relevant social issues of the day, so feel free to inquire about these services. We may be traveling your way in the near future, or we can make special arrangements to visit you when feasible.

Our program and personnel are yours for the asking!

# THEY CALL THIS UNITY?



## Invest In A Socialist Future

200 years ago, America made its first Revolution. We believe we can do nothing more appropriate in celebration than to prepare for the next one, the coming Socialist Revolution.

In this bicentennial year we hope to reach out across the country, presenting our program nationwide through our publications and speaking tours.

These are extensive—and expensive—plans. It takes money to effectively combat the richest capitalist class in the world.

Comrade Henry, our necessarily cautious financial coordinator who keeps a close eye on the collective purse strings, tells us we don't have enough funds to match our plans. So, at the Conference, Henry announced the beginning of a Travel and Publication Fund Drive. **Our goal is \$10,000 by the end of this year.**

We have already raised \$6,000, but we still have a long way to go. We need your help! Please invest in a socialist tomorrow. It's likely to be the most socially profitable investment you'll ever make, with the highest rate of return for humanity.

Buy FSP today—for freedom tomorrow!



To: Freedom Socialist Party  
3815 5th Ave. N.E.  
Seattle, WA 98105

### FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY Tenth Anniversary Fund Drive

I Pledge \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to the FSP Publication and Travel Fund.

This pledge will be paid in monthly installments of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

This pledge will be paid in full on \_\_\_\_\_.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

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## clara's corner



"We're going to have a double editorial page," said Our Editor, "and we need a column. Who can write one?"

"Oh, I can," I said airily.

Omigawd.

The beginning is the hardest, as Marx told us; it actually follows from the conclusion. So perhaps if I start from the end, I'll wind up at the beginning. I trust this is all perfectly clear.

So — the end. Well, like, the end was that I wrote a poem. Yes, that's exactly what I said — a poem. The editor doesn't know it yet, but I am already anticipating his respectful and self-restrained reflex when he discovers the awful truth.

"You wrote WHAT?! We already have a poem, a real one, by a real, recognized poet, and you were supposed to do a column! Something political, about the historic significance and meaty theoretical juices and aura of excitement and high purpose of the FSP Conference! Why didn't you?"

Because it's too hard, that's why. God, she knows I tried. I sat at the picnic table in the backyard, pen in hand and typewriter adjacent, and thought and thought and thought. How to telescope into 500 words (500? It takes me 1000 to order something from the Sears catalog) an experience that was the absolute pinnacle, the political arch of triumph of my entire life?

The more I mused over the beautiful Tenth Anniversary Conference and the often not-so-beautiful ten incredible years of infighting and outfighting, joy and fury, and sheer high-powered momentum of feminist rebellion and class struggle — the more I remembered, the more verbose I became in my mind. And I decided (copout?) that this was the stuff that books are made on, not columns.

The sun was hot, colorful flowers and shrubs were vividly etched against the white houses around me, planes were droning overhead. Analysis blended into reverie. I basked in the sunshine, staring straight ahead. And then something happened, something spontaneous and impulsive.

This poem happened.

### centro de la raza

*silhouetted in the vista from my patio  
third-dimensional against a grey-blue sky streaked with silver  
almost obscured by the soaring trees, the luxuriant branches  
in three gradations of green*

*the building roots there, high wide solid firm — entrenched  
half-encased in shadow, mysterious and commanding  
a palace? a resort perhaps, a very important government  
edifice, a hospital?*

*white walls red roof stark chimneys and windows, windows,  
windows  
like a mediterranean chateau clinging to the misty hillside  
the haze envelops it in twilight,  
unutterable romance*

*jesus christ, clara, are you kidding? that dump?  
sigh. i know what it really looks like, up front and inside. . .  
an old dilapidated ex-schoolhouse*

*but i view it from a distance  
and as everybody knows that lends charm  
and distortion too*

*still it has a living history, born of pain and defiance  
and the sheer imagination to DEMAND it  
chicanas and chicanos won it, spoils of war,  
wrenched from the scared aghast gringo city council  
the huge structure is a triumph, a beacon, a souvenir of struggle  
a harbinger of things to come  
today el centro — tomorrow el Municipal Building  
why not?*

*there are many planes of reality  
i look at it and what i see  
is good and true and beautiful, like the man said  
el centro de la raza  
throbbing with the radiance of the revolution*

\*\*\*\*\*

And that's the way it was, Comrade Editor, one soft summer afternoon in the life of a willing, if neophyte, columnist. Together, we have no place to go but up.

# FSP Conference Marks Decade

continued from front page

"feminism" had long been largely limited to theoretical contemplation alone, and when feminist practice in life was suddenly demanded by events, these male supremacists proved pathetically unequal to the task.

This disgraceful episode was echoed over the next few years by individual defections of the few remaining male members who chafed at life in a party characterized by women's leadership.

For a time, the FSP was composed entirely of women. This strong cadre of women leaders kept the Party intact and developed its program of socialist feminism. The women comrades were confident that the FSP's expression of the essence of the new wave of radicalism and feminism would provide growth to the Party, and this confidence was rewarded.

The FSP attracted militants from the anti-war, feminist, youth, ethnic minority and gay movements. Today the Party's expanded ranks include tempered radicals of all ages and both sexes. FSPers are Black, white, and Chicano, some gay and some straight.

This ten-year heritage of struggle and growth, embodied in a dedicated cadre of revolutionaries, took dramatic form at the Tenth Anniversary Conference.



## Keynoters

The Conference convened amidst a background of colorful banners and posters decorating an oak-paneled pavilion that overlooked a marina which housed dozens of small craft.

Comrade Heidi, on behalf of the FSP Executive Committee, welcomed the participants and set the tone for the entire event in her rousing opening speech.

"It is the purpose and goal of this Conference," she said, "to step back and take a hard and serious look at the past period of Party growth and development, and to provide a firm grasp of the nature and general course of our future work. There is a very exciting and important task ahead of us in the next two days."

The delegates took Heidi at her word, and Conference sessions were extraordinary for their "hard and serious" tone. Spirited debate and honest controversy marked a number of discussions, lending an atmosphere of openness and mutual respect rarely seen at political conventions.

The first item on the agenda was the election of a presidium (presiding committee) composed of FSP Executive Committee representatives. Selected for their ability and performance as Party and movement leaders, Laurie Morton, Guerry Hoddersen, Dick Snedigar and Monica Hill were responsible for the political direction and organizational structuring of Conference discussion. This accessible and responsible presidium insured a high level of attentiveness, efficiency, and cohesiveness during the proceedings.

FSP Organizer Gloria Martin then addressed the delegates. Comrade Gloria pointed out the historic significance of the Conference and presented an overview of **History, Perspectives, and Tasks** from the text of her **Organizer's Draft Report** to the Conference. She confirmed how the Party's program had been vindicated by the growing influence of socialist feminism in the radical and feminist movements, and analyzed the major events and activities that shaped and molded the Party. Comrade Gloria concluded by thanking the members for giving her so much to write about!

The **Organizer's Draft Report**, an



The Presiding Committee:  
Monica Hill, Guerry Hoddersen,  
Dick Snedigar and Laurie Morton.

evaluation of the past six years of Party activity and a delineation of proposals for future direction, provided the structural outline for the Conference discussion sessions.

Discussion was divided into three major sections: International Arena, the National and Local Scenes, and Organizational Tasks and Perspectives.

## International Affairs

Henry Noble, Executive Committee member, opened the session on international developments. "We begin with this because, as internationalists in the tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, we see the many struggles throughout the world not as isolated incidents but as inseparable and integral parts of a continuous process—the international, permanent socialist revolution."

A thorough and probing discussion of international politics centered around recent developments in Portugal and Angola, events which have forced factional struggles within the Fourth (Trotskyist) International into public view. Special stress was laid on the significance of the Portuguese uprising, which, in the words of Comrade Ed Rader, "marked the shift of the center of gravity of world revolution from the colonial countries to the advanced, industrial sector."

The Conference agreed that the world situation as a whole could be characterized as one of increasing revolutionary opportunities accompanied by a mounting counter-revolutionary offensive by the major imperialist powers. The Conference affirmed its unqualified support to all revolutionary and progressive tendencies that are resisting colonialism and capitalism.

It was further resolved to continue a careful study of the developing world crisis and to inform and educate the public about the significance of world revolution to American workers and their allies.

## The American Scene

Discussion of the national and local picture covered nearly every aspect of FSP activity over six years: the struggle for Black, Chicano and Native American freedom; feminism; gay liberation; and most significantly, the Party's new and increasing impact on the labor movement.

The delegates reaffirmed the FSP orientation toward building solidarity among all oppressed and exploited groups, and attested to the central role that women leaders are playing in the process of bringing together the various movements for social change.

## Toward a National FSP

The last session, Organizational Tasks and Perspectives, focused on plans for national expansion of the FSP. Top priority was assigned to such enterprises as publishing basic documents, producing positioning papers, launching a newspaper and expanding internal and public education.

## Conference Climax

The Conference ended with a banquet honoring the steadfastness and courage of Party founders Clara Fraser and Melba Windoffer, followed by the introduction of seven new members and a comic skit about the trials and tribulations of Organizer Gloria Martin.

After glowing tributes to the founders and enthusiastic introductions of the new members, the founders, new recruits and Organizer received a standing ovation.

The festivities concluded with a stirring rendition of **The Internationale**, traditional anthem of international working class solidarity.

## Behind the Scenes

The FSP Conference was a model of free-flowing discussion and an animated, often humorous exchange of ideas. But the ambience of the event could not have crystallized so impressively were it not for the careful planning and expertise of the technical crews of comrades who organized and serviced the Conference.

A complete printshop and office-supply center was set up for quick production of resolutions, proposals, etc. A well-stocked literature display filled the rear of the Auditorium. An attractive barroom adjacent to the main meeting hall was convenient for dispensing snacks and refreshments, and proved to be a comfortable site for social hours and small-group confabs. Music for all occasions was provided by records and tapes brought from Seattle.

Eager-beaver photographers snapped pictures constantly (their excellent product graces all of these pages!) Conference sessions were tape-recorded and extensive minutes were taken of the entire proceedings.

FSPers coordinated housing and food arrangements with the resort staff, insuring high quality meals and relaxing rooms with windows opened to the shell-strewn beaches of Puget Sound and the nearby Straits of Juan de Fuca.

Free child-care was furnished, and the children had a wonderful time hiking, playing ping-pong, beachcombing and heavily engaged in a frenzied Easter egg hunt!

In every respect, the Conference was carefully planned and executed, the results bearing witness to the proficiency of the Conference staff headed by Comrade Laurie Morton.

## Red Sails in the Sunset

Late Sunday night, everyone began the long journey home, inspired with expanded ideas and fresh insights, renewed commitment, and soaring confidence in the FSP and the coming American revolution. Tired but stimulated delegates and guests departed from scenic Point Hudson assured that the next decade would provide even greater opportunities and achievements for socialism than the first pioneering ten years.



Avid listeners Judith and Chris.

# Review and Perspectives

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enriching the gay movement with meaningful answers to a multitude of problems, we have earned a national reputation as radical theorists and committed gay activists. Our principled multi-issue approach to the gay movement is known to an increasingly receptive number of gay activists.

The gay movement has proven to be a dynamic source of growth for us, contributing significantly to the development of Party program and the expansion of our cadre. We are all 100% gay liberators!

## Campus, Youth, and Class Struggle

The work of FSP and Radical Women on campus for the past few

years was clearly anchored in the needs of women and minority staff workers. The affirmative action struggle, the demand for childcare, and the beginning of organizing efforts among low-paid staff women were all one interrelated class-struggle process.

The campus scene has shifted dramatically from one kind of struggle to another, and from the middle class to the working class. Now, the campus is relatively quiet as students worry about jobs in the future, and staff worry about jobs today. Wages, working conditions, job benefits, and human rights are the focal point for both student and staff worker today—together they could create a powerful alliance. It is exciting to envision what the political future holds on all the lush Pacific Northwest campuses.

Where the youth is, there we must be, for tomorrow belongs to them. Youth and socialism are synonymous.

## Turn to the Woman Worker

The women's movement has touched every woman in this country. Women are increasingly willing to stand up and fight for what is theirs, and the movement is leaving an indelible imprint on American society and on the entire world.

Throughout the chaotic years of the rise of the women's movement, we maintained a firmly principled political stance. Our commitment to

feminism has always been total and uncompromising. Because of this, we have attracted the best militant feminists to our ranks, including a growing number of women workers.

The current re-entry of women into trade unions is a national trend. This profound change in the women's movement toward emphasis on the working class and union activity, however murky in character, is a vital step toward the consolidation of the movements of all exploited working people. Women working-class leaders are springing up all over, heralds of the coming revolution.

But women's work is still not done and will not be until transformation of a key sector of the feminist movement into a radical vanguard is accomplished. Our work is cut out for us.

# Repaso y Perspectivas

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destino. Tal es el curso que predijeron las fundadoras del FSP.

Es nuestra tarea ganar más mujeres minoritarias a RW (La Organización de Mujeres Radicales) y convencer a más trabajadores minoritarios del programa internacionalista del FSP. Siempre más grandes números de gente minoritaria están buscando alternativas a la política rutinaria de la mayoría de los grupos radicales. La alternativa más viable para esta gente es nosotros.

¡Aprovechése de la hora! ¡Diríjanse a la mujer minoritaria y al trabajador minoritario! Podemos realizar esta brecha si hacemos caso a los consejos de nuestros propios camaradas minoritarios—ellos que son la vanguardia de este proceso de integración verdaderamente revolucionaria.

## El Levantamiento del Movimiento Homosexual

La busca para un programa comprensivo de la liberación homosexual es tanto un fenómeno nacional como local. Los activistas homosexuales están cada vez más receptivos a nuestra orientación de interrelacionar el movimiento homosexual con todos los

movimientos de los oprimidos.

Nuestros camaradas homosexuales son estudiantes esmerados de la teoría socialista, de la historia del movimiento homosexual y de la ideología feminista. Además, hablan con elocuencia cuando explican los varios aspectos de la opresión homosexual. Están activamente enriqueciendo el movimiento homosexual con sus soluciones a una multitud de problemas. Por esto hemos ganado una reputación nacional de teóricos radicales y de activistas serios del movimiento homosexual.

Este movimiento ha sido una fuerza dinámica de crecimiento para nosotros, contribuyendo mucho al desarrollo del partido y a la expansión de nuestro cuadro.

¡Estamos todos cien por ciento para la liberación homosexual!

## El Recinto de Colegio, La Juventud, y la Lucha de Clases

Se ancoró nitidamente el trabajo de FSP y RW al recinto en las necesidades de las mujeres y los trabajadores minoritarios. Se hicieron un solo

proceso interrelacionado de la lucha clasista a la pelea para acción afirmativa en el emplear de mujeres y minorías, la demanda de cura para los niños, y los comienzos de organizar entre las mujeres ocupando las posiciones menos pagadas al recinto.

La escena al recinto cambia dramáticamente de un tipo de lucha a otro y también con el cambio de año a año de estudiantes. El recinto está relativamente quieto ahora en cuanto que los estudiantes se preocupan con los trabajos en el futuro, y los trabajadores quieren guardar sus trabajos que tienen. El estudiante y el trabajador de hoy fijan en salarios, en condiciones de trabajo, y en derechos humanos. Juntos podrían crear una alianza poderosa. Nos anima pensar en el porvenir político de todos los recintos del pacífico occidental.

Donde esté la juventud, allí tenemos que estar, porque mañana les pertenece a ellos. La juventud y el socialismo son sinónimos.

## Diríjanse a la Mujer Trabajadora

El movimiento de la mujer ha influido todas las mujeres de este país. La

mujeres cada vez más están dispuestas a levantarse y a luchar para lo que es suyo. El movimiento está dejando para siempre una impresión en la sociedad y en el mundo entero.

Durante todos los primeros años caóticos del desarrollo del movimiento feminista manteníamos una posición fundada en principios políticos. Nuestra dedicación al feminismo siempre ha sido completa y firme. Por causa de esto, hemos atraído las mejores feministas a nuestra organización y continuamos haciendo lo mismo.

El reingreso actual de mujeres en las uniones es una tendencia nacional. Este cambio profundo en el movimiento de las mujeres hacia un énfasis en la clase obrera y hacia la actividad en las uniones, por indefinido que sea, es un paso necesario en el camino a la unificación de los movimientos de todos los trabajadores explotados. El nacimiento de mujeres en todas las partes como líderes de la clase obrera es el precursor de la revolución venidera.

Pero no se termina el trabajo de las mujeres y no se los terminará hasta que se realice la transformación de un sector central del movimiento feminista a una vanguardia radical. Es evidente que esto es nuestro trabajo.

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# Radical Women

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Las integrantes de RW se han convertido en organizadoras y militantes laborales formidables, campeonas en el arte de conseguir acción afirmativa y elevar la conciencia de los miembros de sindicatos obreros.

Es triste que haya todavía personas que dudan de RW, y que son hostiles a este grupo de mujeres que no temen argumentar y luchar por lo justo, que son senceras y claras en sus opiniones. Pero RW ha impresionado a todos por igual, y es así como debe ser, ya que RW representa el rostro de la mujer del futuro.

La construcción de una organización como la RW, con voceras tan capaces requirió experiencia, estudio, deliberación, paciencia y tiempo. Las integrantes de RW — mujeres socialistas y radicales que son también feministas — han aceptado los desafíos y responsabilidades de ciudadanas de primera clase y nunca han dejado de aprender y crecer. Las mujeres de RW representan un modelo de luchadora por la libertad de las feministas, apóstoles infatigables de ellas mismas, de todas las mujeres y de todos los explotados y oprimidos.

of women's oppression under capitalism and calls for the leadership of minority and working women in the mass struggle to topple the system.

RW's famed basic document, **Radical Women Manifesto: Theory, Program and Structure**, carefully developed as the first theoretical treatment in the U.S. to show the interconnections of class, race, sex and sexuality, is the prime reason for the organization's survival, longevity and growth. RW is effective because it started with a *program*, affirmed the validity of an organizational *structure*, and never wavered from its commitment to the united front, i.e. unity in action around the demands of all sectors of the oppressed.

In struggles over the real issues affecting women's lives, RW has proved to be enormously innovative and unshakable, thereby attracting the best militants to its ranks.

Radical Women members are labor activists, gay liberationists, and minority freedom fighters who refuse to be suffocated and upstaged by the gentility of the feminine mystique.

RW members are truck drivers, welders, doctors, house-painters, printers, poets, librarians, nurses, electricians, students, factory workers, secretaries, lawyers, teachers, waitresses, fire-fighters, administrators, etc., working together for the emancipation of all women through equal employment opportunity, which can be universally attained only through a socialist transformation.

Radical Women have become formidable labor militants and organizers, champions in achieving affirmative action gains and raising the awareness of unionists.

Sad to relate, there are still people who are nervous and apprehensive over RW, hostile to a group of women who are not afraid to debate and fight for what is right, who mean what they say, and say it well and often. But everyone is invariably impressed by RW, and well they should be, for RW is the face of women's future.

To build such an organization with such capable spokespersons demanded experience, study, debate, patience and time. RW members—women who are socialists and radicals who are

feminists—have accepted the challenges and responsibilities of first-class citizenship and have never stopped learning and doing and growing.

Radical Women stands forth as a model for feminist freedom fighters — incorruptible apostles for themselves, for all women, and for all the exploited and oppressed.



# the freedom socialist

## Freeway Hall

### Headquarters and Second Home

A house may not be a home, but the headquarters of a thriving revolutionary party is a real home-away-from-home for all the people who go there to work, meet, plan, buy books, see films, eat, dance, relax, or simply drop in to see what's happening, man.

Freeway Hall is not just a building—it has flowered into an institution. But it is also a process, constantly changing in its functions and appearance as new types of activities and mod decors supplant the discarded fashions of yesterday. The Hall is a living, expanding, dynamic place, bursting at the seams and under constant attack from beautification experts who are dedicated to enhancing its efficiency, comfort and style.

Freeway Hall clearly boasts a unique and fascinating history...

When a childcare center, established in a "liberated" ROTC building at the University of Washington, was forcibly evicted by campus police in 1970, the center was relocated in Freeway Hall. The struggle for childcare gained a new lease on life...

When a Freeway Hall benefit for the "Seattle 8" conspiracy trial defendants was raided by Seattle police in 1972, FSP founder Clara Fraser told them to leave. For this "crime" she was arrested, handcuffed, jailed, and eventually charged with "resisting arrest" and "contributing to the delinquency of minors". She successfully defended herself in court, using cross-examination to grill the cops about unwarranted harassment and persecution of radicals. The honor of Clara, the FSP, and Freeway Hall was publicly and soundly vindicated...

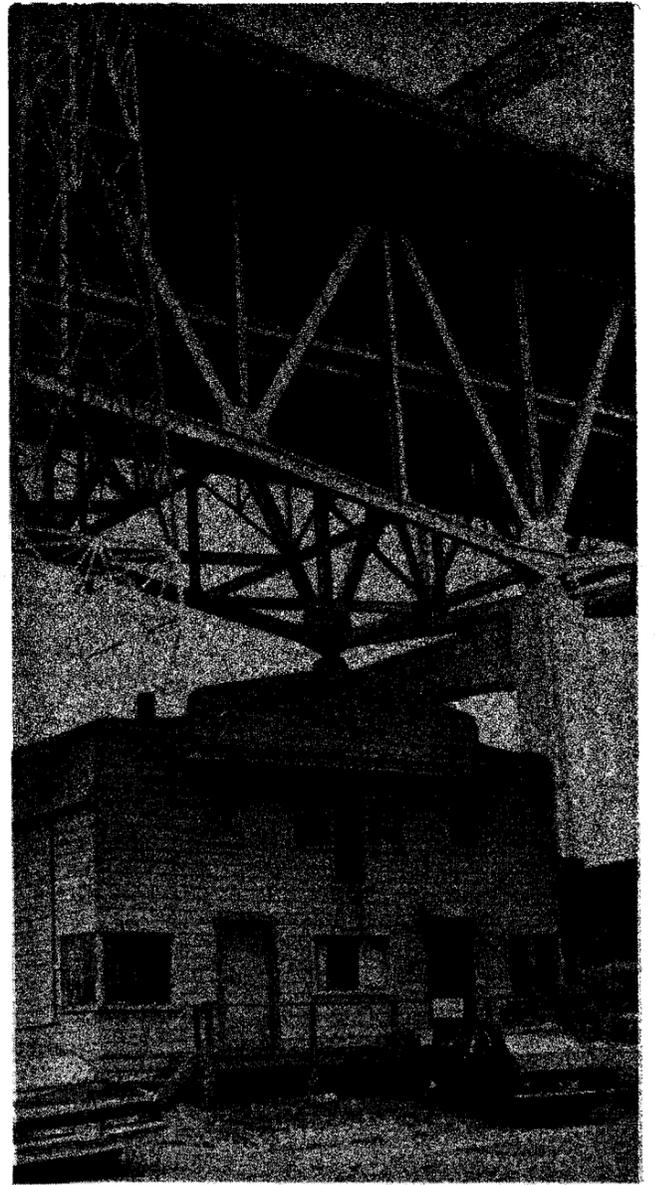
In 1973, the Staff Rights Organizing Committee went on strike against the University of Washington. Freeway Hall was transformed into a union headquarters and strike kitchen that served meals to workers and their families. The strike gave birth to an independent union, United Workers Union-Independent, which continues to lead the labor struggle on campus...

For the past 15 years Freeway Hall has served as a center of radical social and political action in the Pacific Northwest. As a popular meeting hall for numerous community, minority, student, feminist, labor and social welfare organizations, it has housed forums, debates, lectures and classes on nearly every subject—as well as parties, dances, dinners, concerts, and theatrical productions.

"The Hall" is the home of both the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women, containing a well-stocked bookstore and an extensive library of the radical press comprising almost every tendency on the American Left.

If you live in Seattle, or are planning a visit, you are most cordially invited to stop by Freeway Hall. Browse through the bookstore, library, and offices, and relax in the lounge areas. The staff is always happy to talk with visitors.

Hours are 9:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. Monday through Friday, and meetings, classes or socials are usually in progress during the evening. The address is 3815 5th Avenue N.E., and the phones are (206) 632-7449 and (206) 632-1815.



Freeway Hall, headquarters for the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women. For 15 years, the Hall has served as a center of radical political and social activity in the Pacific Northwest.

## Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women Literature



### FSP Bookstore Literature

Item Number	Title	Price
1.	Trotsky: A Documentary by Francis Wyndham and David King	\$5.95
2.	The Gay Militants by Donn Teal	\$7.95
3.	The Other Israel: The Radical Case Against Zionism	\$2.50
4.	South Africa Interviews	\$ .25
5.	Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel - Struggles of a Native Canadian Woman	\$1.95
6.	Woman + Woman: Attitudes Towards Lesbians by Dolores Klaich	\$3.50
7.	The Chicanos: Life and Struggles of the Mexican Minority in the U.S. by Gilberto Lopez Rivas	\$3.25
8.	Tomorrow's Tomorrows - The Black Woman by Joyce A. Ladner	\$2.95
9.	Capital (three-volume set) by Karl Marx	\$13.50

### FSP Publications

10.	Introducing the Freedom Socialist Party	\$ .50
11.	A Victory for Socialist Feminism: Organizer's Report to the 1969 FSP Conference	\$3.00
12.	History, Perspectives and Tasks: Organizer's Report to the 1976 FSP Conference by Gloria Martin	\$3.00
13.	Crisis and Leadership: Theoretical Basis of the FSP Program	\$2.00
14.	Revolutionary Integration	\$2.00
15.	Leaflet Assortment	\$ .75
16.	Brochure listing books and original posters available at Bookstore	Free
17.	All above items enclosed in a packet	\$9.95

### RW Publications

18.	Radical Women Manifesto: Theory, Program and Structure	\$ .50
19.	Which Road Toward Women's Liberation: A Radical Vanguard or A Single-Issue Coalition? by Clara Fraser	\$ .35
20.	Lesbianism: A Socialist Feminist Perspective by Susan Williams	\$ .30

21.	Woman As Leader: Double Jeopardy on Account of Sex by Clara Fraser	\$ .30
22.	Women Who Work, by Melba Windoffer	\$ .30
23.	The Women's Movement and the Class Struggle by Cindy Gipple	\$ .25
24.	Sexual Politics A selection of articles from the Radical Women column in the University of Washington "Daily"	\$ .50
25.	Women's Psychology: Mental Illness as a Social Disease by Susan Williams	\$ .25
26.	The Feminist Movement and the Gay Movement by Laurie Morton	\$ .25
27.	It's Alright Doc, I'm Only Dying by Susan Bondurant	\$ .15
28.	Why Independent Unions? by Monica Hill	\$ .25
29.	Seattle Women Speak Out! Reprint of a series in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 1970	\$ .25
29.	All of the above items enclosed in a packet: Foundations of Socialist Feminism	\$5.00
31.	Courtroom Self-Defense for Women—Course materials from a workshop at the University of Wash. Instructor: Clara Fraser	\$3.00
32.	Radical Women at the Socialist Feminist Conference, Antioch College, Ohio, 1975 Write for brochure on this collection of papers.	Free

Freedom Socialist Party Presents:



Original FSP posters



### Order Form

To: Freedom Socialist Party Publications  
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 Please add my name to your mailing list.

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