by Sam Deaderick

It was one of those occasions that no one present will ever forget.

It was one of those incredible experiences in radical politics when the past graphically illuminates the present, new political ground is broken, and the course of the future becomes visible.

The air was vibrant with excitement at the historic nature of the meeting, for everyone knew it was a giant step forward that might well lead to revolutionary regroupment. The entire evening was a dramatic overture to the coming process of discussion and debate on the strategy for the American revolution, the prime causes of the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party, and the kind of program needed to construct a mass, revolutionary, vanguard party.

The occasion of this thrill-of-a-lifetime event was the recent re-encounter, after 15 years, between the founders of the Freedom Socialist Party and two distinguished guests from New York City—Myra Tanner Weiss and Murry Weiss, veteran figures in the history of American Trotskyism.

The Weisses were nationally prominent leaders of the SWP for over 30 years. They left the SWP in the early '60's, along with hundreds of its most talented organizers, because of irreconcilable differences with the rigid, conservatized and sexist leadership whose bureaucratic modus operandi had brought the internal expression of ideas to a crashing halt.

The Weisses are now associated with the Marxist Education Collective in New York City, where they conduct intensive courses in Marxist economics and history.

Since the Portuguese Revolution in 1975, they have engaged in a deep study of the epochal event and have written extensively on their views, which cogently challenge the SWP's reformist stance.

They charge the SWP with abandoning Trotskyist principle and capitulating to social democracy. The SWP is "neutral" in the struggle between the CIA-funded Socialist Party of Portugal and the Communist Party, which, despite its Stalinist heritage, has hundreds of thousands of workers in its ranks and has furnished revolutionary leadership to the Portuguese masses.

The Weisses evaluate the SWP position as Stalinophobic, and consider themselves adherents of the Mandel-Maitan Fourth International majority position on Portugal. (The SWP is a minority in the International on this issue.)

Enthusiastic Reception

The zenith of the Weiss visit was their appearance at a public forum on "Radical America: Crisis on the Left Today."
Comrade Editors of The Freedom Socialist:

Congratulations on a great issue! I receiue a bopy of the paper and I have there’s a package of them on their way to New York. I want to get a send a copy to lots of people and am not at all eager to give mine up.

Enclosed is a check to contribute to mailing costs. I’m already looking forward to the next issue.

Your Comrade,

Susan Williams

New York City

China!
What is the meaning of the termen in China? Who constitutes the new bureaucracy? Can the CCP be reformed? For an up-to-the-minute analysis of the legacy, the “Gang of Four,” and the “comprehensive crisis of the Chinese economy, turn to Henry Boppard’s appraisal of the vast country that still shakes the world.

pg. 11

You Can Fight City Hall

Electrical trades trainees won sex-discrimination case against the City of Seattle. After 16 months’ political levels, these pioneering women were granted $10,000 in back pay and damages and reinstatement on the job.

pg. 12

Murry Weiss on Portugal

Published for the first time, a no-holds-barred polemic against the SWP’s revisionist stance on the Portuguese revolution. (Quotations from Weiss’ lecture to the FSP on the subject can be found in the cover story.) back pg.

A Tribute to Women Warriors

Janet McCloud, Native American woman, pens a moving testimonial to women warriors, commending their courage, and damagings and reinstating of the Native Nations.”

pg. 14

Radical Women’s Annual Conference Deals With Over-Excited Leftists

Radical Women’s Annual Conference attracts 250 participants, all under cover SWP disguised as a Pandora’s reporter, and a delegation of ultra-space/white terrorists who are apogeeic about RW’s socialist analysis of women workers, minority women and lesbians.

pg. 20

FBI Spies on Feminists

1,377 pages of files released by the FBI in February, 1977 reveal massive spying against the feminist movement since the late 1960’s.

FBI agents infiltrated meetings, disrupted organizations, and methodically amassed information on hundreds of women’s organizations.

One local FBI office complained that its efforts were not paying off, but then-director J. Edgar Hoover insisted on maintaining the harassment. “It is absolutely essential,” he wrote, “that we continue this investigation to clearly establish the subversive ramifications of the Women’s Liberation Movement.”

In the Pacific Northwest, G-men concentrated their spying on Radical Women and the Freedom 55, and the so-called “Feminist Party.

The case of Sa Bundaurant, a member of FSP and RW, has been heating up in recent years. She received a heavily censored copy of her FBI file, which revealed that agents had stalked her for several years. The file included a physical description of her complete with the location of surgical scars, as well as detailed reports of conferences and meetings she had attended (attesting to her use of female informants and bugging). The report zeroed in on Bundaurant’s work for human rights.

At one point, a Seattle FBI agent responsible for Washington, D.C. that information-gathering on Bundaurant be stopped, but Hoover vetoed the idea. Therefore, the FBI’s work was confined to gathering material on Bundaurant’s activities. Release of the FBI file doesn’t mean that it’s over; as socialist feminists, spying will undoubtedly increase.

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To the Staff of The Freedom Socialist:

I have been impacted by all the issues so far but the recent special was so fine that I wanted to convey extra thanks and offer heartfelt congratulations. The reporting and layout, both, were first rate. I’d also like to send everyone best wishes.

In Sisterhood, Moira Ferguson

University of Nebraska

Hello Comrades:

One piece of news—our very fine newspaper (No. 2) has made its way to Moscow with a Native American woman it sold to. Hmmm ...

I look forward to years of good work and many more issues of The Freedom Socialist!

Comradey,

Saucy Durham

San Francisco, CA.

Mailgram: To the Editor of The Freedom Socialist and to all my friends in the Feminist Party: Congratulations on your newspaper. Yes, somebody is listening.

Arthur Felberbaum

Marxist Education Collective

New York City
Desegregation in Seattle

Uproar Over Magnet Schools

by Madlyne Scott and So Bondurant

The school desegregation crisis in Seattle, brought to a head by threats of legal action by the local American Civil Liberties Union and the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has cynically been declared "resolved" by Superintendent David Moberly.

Nevertheless, Seattle still faces an urgent three-fold task.

First, the city must replace the unfair and outdated annual levy on homeowners with a more secure funding system; levies not only fail frequently but perpetuate poor schools in poor neighborhoods, since property values in a neighborhood determine the amount of funding for the schools in that community.

Second, Seattle must provide equitable quality education for all students.

Third, the schools must be integrated to reflect the ethnic and cultural diversity of the area.

After years of acrimonious public debate, Supt. Moberly has discovered the magic cure-all for these deeply rooted problems. He will institute a "magnet" school system wherein a few selected schools, mostly within minority and integrated communities, will house special programs designed to attract whites. He hopes that this scheme will suffice to achieve voluntary integration.

But what about basic funding and equal education? Moberly and the School Board refuse even to address these questions. And their magnet proposal is encountering considerable resistance from minorities.

In the past, magnet schools have failed miserably, locally and nationally because they funnel Blacks into vocational programs and track whites into college prep studies, actually increasing racial tensions by segregating students within a school. But Seattle is blindly trying it again.

Integration: Means or End?

School integration was originally decreed for the South as a means of correcting the grossly underfunded and inferior condition of segregated Black schools. The NAACP, ACLU and federal courts, however, now proclaim that minority children must attend white schools in the North as well, in order to learn "properly." So, school integration in and of itself has become the ostensible solution to an educational system that is fundamentally discriminatory and unequal regardless of the racial patterns in any particular school.

The federal government doesn't even attempt to equalize education for all, but intensifies the problem by imposing mandatory racial quotas and instituting forced busing programs that disregard the needs and desires of the affected neighborhoods. More problems have been created than solved by forcing desegregation almost exclusively on white working-class neighbors already under severe economic strain — and with educational resources almost as limited as those in ghetto schools.

Magnets Repel, Not Attract

In the early 70's, a voluntary busing program was initiated in Seattle.

Glenfield High, Seattle's major Black school, was made into a magnet by pumping in funds and special programs to attract whites. Many Black students were bussed outside the district.

This attempt at voluntary integration was frustrated by the hostility and violence against Black children in the white schools and, during that period, by the rising mood of Black nationalism and separatism which in turn isolated and victimized white students in Black schools.

Since then, Seattle's inner-city schools, aided by federal funds, have raised their standards to the level of the white schools, have registered impressive gains in integrating the various ethnic groups, and have become more responsive to minority needs and culture. The Black, Chicano and Asian communities have good reason to fear the loss of these gains.

And the students, minority and white alike, firmly oppose altering the racial composition of schools that are truly integrated; they oppose making Blacks a numerical minority in schools where they are now a majority or at par with other races.

Yet the School Board insists on the tried and failed magnet fetish and will not consider alternatives.

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La Supresión de la Segregación Racial en Seattle

Alborozo Acerca de las 'Escuelas Atractivas'

La crisis de la supresión de la segregación racial en Seattle, llevada a un punto decisivo por amenazas de acción legal por la ACLU (La Unión de Derechos Civiles Americanos) y el HEW (El Departamento Federal de la Salud, Educación y el Bienestar Público), ha sido declarada "resuelto" con cinismo por el Director, David Moberly.

Se enfrenta a Seattle una tarea con tres aspectos esenciales.

En primer lugar, la ciudad tiene que reemplazar la exacción anual injusta y anticipada exigida de los propietarios de casas con un sistema de acumular fondos más seguro; las exacciones no solamente fracasan en la cabina electoral sino perpetúan escuelas poíperes en los barrios pobres, visto que el valor de los bienes de un barrio determina la cantidad de fondos para las escuelas en esa comunidad.

En segundo, Seattle tiene que suministrar una educación uniforme de calidad a todos los estudiantes.

En tercer lugar, tienen que integrar racialmente las escuelas para que reflejen la diversidad étnica y cultural de la área.

Y ahora, después de años de debate caótico público, el Director Moberly ha descubierto la panacea mágica para estos problemas profundamente arraigados. Anunció con orgullo la creación de un sistema de "escuelas atractivas" en el cual unas cuantas escuelas, la mayor parte en las comunidades minoritarias y integradas racialmente, albergarán programas especiales diseñados a atraer los blancos. Es la esperanza de él que esta idea será suficiente para realizar una integración voluntaria.

Pero, ¿qué de la cuestión de acumular dinero y la educación de calidad para todos? Moberly y la Junta Directiva Escolar se negaron a ponerse a estas cuestiones. Y su propuesta de "escuelas atractivas" está encontrando una resistencia considerable de las minorías.

En el pasado, escuelas atractivas han fallado desgraciadamente local y nacionalmente porque ponen los Negros en programas profesionales al mismo

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Radical Women Conference

"A New Era for Women Workers, Minority Women and Lesbians"

by Joanne Ward

What began ten years ago as a small and diverse group of women radicals has flourished into an important and sophisticated organization of socialist feminist workers whose ideas and actions have a resonating impact on every social movement they touch.

The organization is Radical Women, and its Annual Conference held last October at the University of Washington demonstrated anew its capacity for solid accomplishments and dynamic political development.

Excitement ran high as 130 participants of all ages, sexes, colors, backgrounds, and union affiliations converged in Seattle for a serious examination of the growth of socialist feminism in the past period. RW members from California, Oregon and Washington were present.

The Conference theme, "A New Era for Women Workers, Minority Women and Lesbians," was richly developed for two busy, thought-provoking days as the delegates enthusiastically described the increasing understanding among working women, minority women and lesbians that they must overcome their isolation one from the other and direct their common experiences as second-class citizens toward achieving cooperation in a vast movement for basic social change.

Chairperson Laurie Morton opened the Conference, informing the audience that RW was founded in 1967 as an outgrowth of a Free University class on "Women and Society," making it the oldest socialist feminist group in the United States. She recounted the organization's development from a loose coalition of socialist feminists, independent anarchists and New Leftists into a transitional stage of militant, well-organized activists who were primarily students and socialist feminists, and finally to the present time which finds RW composed almost entirely of women deeply involved in the class struggle and the labor movement, and dedicated to building leadership skills among women revolutionaries.

The proletarian character of RW emerged in the middle 1970's, Morton explained, after the dispersal of the anti-war movement and the disintegration of the New Left. RW students left the campuses and went to work, we discovered that our socialist feminist sensitivity to the needs and problems of working women had the potential of being the core of a political movement.

"At first," said Morton, "we weren't even aware that we were playing leading roles where we worked. But we discovered that our socialist feminist sensitivity to on-the-job issues was making us energetic spokespersons for workers' rights, and we have not only become respected activists in our unions, we also understand why this was inevitable."

Morton called on the Conference to focus on this fundamental class change among Radical Women and the organization's mission of enhancing the class consciousness of the broader feminist movement. In her President's Report, Laura Teague, past RW President, summarized the major Conference themes.

Working women are overcoming years of isolation from and rejection by the chauvinist labor bureaucracy and are entering the labor movement with increasing force.

Minority women are countering the sexism of the male civil rights leadership and confronting the racism of the middle-class women's movement, asserting that feminism is, an integral part of their liberation.

Lesbians are moving beyond the reactionary confines of separatism and cultural mysticism into the hardrock reality of class struggle politics.

All these doubly and triplicly subjugated women are taking significant steps to break down the barriers of hostility, mistrust and competition among the different oppressed groups. They are seeking out an ideology that relates the many forms of discrimination and exploitation they suffer to a coherent, unified program for change.

Applause and lively discussion followed the President's Report, and the Conference voted unanimously to adopt it.

Look to the Woman Worker
Why are socialist feminists emerging as leaders of workers' struggles?

What is the programmatic basis of working class unity?

How do we build unity around our needs?

Answers to these interconnected problems were dealt with next by the speakers on the "Women In The Labor Movement" panel. Guerry Hoddersen made the major presentation. She traced RW's eventful and varied experiences in the labor movement over the past few years. Active in independent, craft and industrial unions, RW members have learned to conduct contract negotiations, strikes, and walk-outs, and have been elected as shop stewards, union officers and delegates to regional labor councils.

Hoddersen said that RW, as a socialist feminist organization, views the class struggle as inextricably connected to movements for ethnic/racial justice, and for economic, political and social equality for women of all races, lifestyles and sexual orientations. RW, she said, believes that the road to American socialism must be sought in the needs of the oppressed workers and their allies among the poor and downtrodden, rather than in the narrow interests of most white male unionists.

"Women are the most oppressed of every oppressed sector of society," Hoddersen concluded. "We have a much wider arena to work in, an expanded opportunity for achieving social change. But we haven't stopped being feminists! We've carried the demands of feminists, civil rights fighters and the gay movement into working class territory. And only our socialist feminist program of social revolution will insure a working class victory over capitalism."

A panel of ten RW unionists then detailed their organizing efforts in various unions.

Radical Women members have fought hard to get in and stay in the non-traditional trades. Several are now apprentice lineworkers, and others are steamers, welders, dockworkers, house-painters, printers, etc. RW members helped to found the historic Coalition for Protective (Labor) Legislation in Washington State (see page 17) and also aided in the birth of United Workers Union-Independence—the militant union of University of Washington staffworkers which grew out of the first campus strike in history and uncompromisingly represents the interests of women, minorities, and low-paid workers.

Following the panel presentations, a wide-ranging discussion was held. Several people commented on the increasing importance of independent unions as an essential vehicle for keeping workers in the labor movement, organizing the unorganized, and credibly advocating the needs of mounting numbers of women and minority workers.

Clara Fraser, an RW founder, predicted that all socialists would have to get used to the thought of a forthcoming mass, independent labor movement opposed to the AFL-CIO. She reminded the Conference that the existing trade union movement is hardly synonymous with labor as a whole or with class struggle in its many forms.

"Who is the labor force?" she asked. "Over 40% of it today is women, mostly unorganized and ignored by the labor aristocracy."

Minority Women and Feminists Join Forces

Madlyne Scott, longtime radical activist, moderated the panel on "Feminism and the Minority Woman," which featured four minority women analyzing their experiences in the Black, Chicano and Native American communities.

Scott recounted her history as a Black woman in the civil rights, Black nationalist, and anti-war movements of the 1960's. Her struggle for leadership in the Black movement was rebuffed by male spokesmen who decided continued on page 20
La Conferencia de las Mujeres Radicales

Lo que empezó hace diez años como un grupo pequeño y diverso de mujeres radicales ha llegado a ser una organización de trabajadoras socialistas feministas cuyas ideas y acciones tienen un impacto resonante en todos los movimientos sociales que tocan.

La organización es RW (Mujeres Radicales), y su conferencia anual de otoño pasada en la Universidad de Washington demostró una vez más su capacidad para lograr firmes y un desarrollo político dinámico.

La excitación corrió por todos los 130 participantes de todas las edades, los sexos, las razas, los orígenes y las afiliaciones sindicales, los cuales se reunieron en Seattle para una revisión serio del crecimiento del socialismo feminista durante los dos últimos años, RW miembros de California, Oregon y Washington asistieron.

Se desarrolló durante dos días ocupados y enérgicos, siendo el tema de la conferencia, "¿Una era nueva para trabajadoras, mujeres minoritarias y lesbianas?" encontrando que los delegados describieron con entusiasmo el entendimiento creciente entre trabajadoras, mujeres minoritarias y lesbianas que tienen que superar el aislamiento entre ellas y dirigir sus experiencias comunes como ciudadanas de segunda clase hacia la realización de la cooperación en un movimiento vasto para un cambio social básico.

La presidenta, Laurie Morton, abrió la conferencia informando el auditorio que fundaron RW en 1967 como el resultado de una clase de la Universidad Libre sobre, "Las mujeres y la sociedad," haciendo al grupo socialista feminista que había viajado en los EE.UU. Relató la evolución de la organización que empezó como una coalición de socialistas feministas, anarquistas, independientes y nuevas izquierdistas la cual pasó por una época de transición cuando se empezó a convertir en activistas militantes bien organizadas que eran principalmente estudiantes y socialistas feministas. Concluyó presentando la RW actual compuesta casi en su totalidad por trabajadoras firmemente enraizadas en la lucha de clases y en el movimiento de los obreros, y dedicadas a crear habilidades de jefatura entre las revolucionarias feministas.

El carácter proletario apareció a mediados de los 70, explicó Morton, con la dispersión del movimiento contra la guerra. Las estudiantes de RW salieron del escritorio universitario y fueron a trabajar, trayendo ideas socialistas feministas a sus trabajos. "Al principio," dijo Morton, "no nos dábamos cuenta que éramos líderes donde estábamos trabajando. Pero descubrimos que nuestra sensibilidad socialista feminista en las cuestiones del trabajo estaba haciendo un punto por los derechos de las trabajadoras.

La lucha de clases hacia la realización de la cooperación en el movimiento obrero con una venanza.

Mujeres minoritarias están oponiéndose al sesgo de la jefatura del movimiento para los derechos civiles y enfrentando el racismo de la jefatura de las mujeres de la clase media, afirmando que feminismo es una parte integral de su liberación. Lesbianas están ultrapasando los límites reaccionarios del separatismo y del misticismo cultural y llegando a la realidad concreta de la política de la lucha de clases.

Todas estas mujeres doble y triplemente oprimidas están empezando a derribar las barreras de hostilidad, desconfianza, y competencia entre los diferentes grupos oprimidos. Ellas están tratando de hallar una ideología que relacione las formas diferentes de discriminación y explotación que sufren en un programa coherente y unido para un cambio social.

Apagado y una discusión viva siguió El Informe de la Presidenta y la conferencia votó unánimemente a adoptarlo.

Diríjase a la Mujer Trabajadora

¿Por qué estamos enojando a las socialistas feministas como las líderes de las luchas obreras?

¿Qué es la base programática de la unidad de la clase obrera?

¿Cómo construimos la unidad alrededor de nuestras necesidades?

Las soluciones a estos problemas están siendo tratados por las oradoras en el siguiente sesión, "La mujer en el movimiento obrero." Guerry Hoddersen hizo la presentación principal. Dichas experiencias variadas y llenas de acontecimientos en el movimiento obrero durante los últimos años. Activas en uniones independientes, gremios, sindicatos industriales y en asociaciones de empleados profesionales y públicos; los miembros de RW han aprendido a conducir negociaciones para contratos y huelgas, y también se les ha elegido a ser "shop stewards," oficiales y delegados a concilios regionales de trabajadores.

Hoddersen dijo que RW, como una organización socialista feminista, considera la lucha de clases inseparablemente relacionada con los movimientos para la justicia étnica/racial y para la igualdad económica, política y social para las mujeres de todas las razas, sexos, orientaciones sexuales. RW, ella dijo, tiene la convicción que es necesario buscar el camino al socialismo americano en las necesidades de los trabajadores más oprimidos y sus aliados entre los pobres y pioletados, en lugar de buscarlo en los intereses estrechos de la mayoría de los hombres sindicalizados de raza blanca.

Continuó que las mujeres son las más oprimidas de cada sector oprimido de la sociedad y, por consiguiente, están emergiendo como la fuerza más seguida en la página 21
A virulent fascist cell called "Alpha Circle" has surfaced in the Portland, Oregon area. Utilizing a 24-hour telephone recording—"the White Power Hotline"—as well as city-wide bulletin board service, they have unleashed a scurrilous attack on homosexuals, Jews, Blacks, Jews and Marxists.

Lauding the white race as "nature's finest creation," Alpha Circle denounces "racial mixing" and demands "race purity" as the only means of preserving white civilization.

"Elimination of all non-whites" from North America is their final solution.

Feigning organizational independence, this belligerent group refers to "dedicated white men and women" to the Ku Klux Klan, the National States Rights Party, and the National Socialist White People's Party—Nazis all.

In a diatribe against the "Kosher Press," they spew the stale lie that Jews control the government and finance, and plot with Bolsheviks and Blacks to mongrelize, terrorize and finally destroy the white race. Alpha Circle incites disaffected whites to organize a violent struggle in "self-defense" against this "conspiracy." Their malevolence towards radicals is typically vicious. "We despise Marxism and we recognize that there is no middle ground with the Marxists... you either kill them or they kill you."

Alpha Circle exploits every possible sexist and racial tendency among workers and the petty bourgeoisie. As the economy falters and white males face deteriorating working and living standards, their frustration focus on the increasing entry of women and minorities into the labor force, and these new workers are singled out as the cause of deteriorating conditions. The key victims of capitalism—racial and sexual minorities and women—are blamed by the fascists for the intrinsic evils of the system in order to divide and conquer the working class.

Alpha Circle is particularly attentive to the alienation of the lower middle class, attributing its smallness to capitalism. It demands "race purity" as the only means of preserving white civilization.

The publication of an article entitled "Permanent Revolution" on the front page of its newspaper, Come Out Fighting, signaled, according to L&RU, "a clear break with the Stalinist notion. We've left our left milieu from which we emerged."

In the three years of its existence, the L&RU has struggled to develop a doctrine capable of linking gay liberation with socialism. Starting from an essentially Marxist approach—"For excluded only the usual Maoist rhapsodizing over the "revolutionary nuclear family," they gradually came to define themselves as "anti-Stalinist," then Trotskyist.

After a process of intensive internal discussion and debate, they have accepted one of the fundamental premises of Trotskyist ideology—the theory of Permanent Revolution. L&RU now flatly rejects the boas of the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies that socialism exists in those countries, and recognizes that the Stalinist notion of "socialism in one country" has been used as an excuse for betraying generations of revolts and revolutions around the world. L&RU now states further that, for right for gay people is as impossible under the top-down rule of a Stalinist bureaucracy as it is under the modern bourgeois states. Our integration into a free society where sexuality is scientifically understood and politically unfiltered is possible only in the context of a world-wide, unceasing, socialist transformation. That is the permanent revolution, and on it is the future of gay people depends."

However, L&RU has been unable to date to apply the theory of Permanent Revolution to U.S. society. Isolated from mass work and from the radical movement, the organization falls unwittingly into the very same traps from which they have struggled to escape. They still echo the Maoist line that class oppression is the "primary" social contradiction while women's oppression (and, inferential­ly, gay oppression) are "secondary" contradictions. But the feminism which elevates the woman question to equal and interlocking status with the class question, is therefore deemed by L&RU to be a denial of Marxism.

This position, coming from gay Marxists, is particularly suicidal because it apes the rigid and mechanical reasoning that serves as a rationale for the reactionary sexist outlook and practices of Stalinists and Maoists, who discriminate callously against both women and gays.

L&RU does not call itself a party, but it sees the necessity for an American revolutionary party and is investigating all the groupings on the left with an eye toward fusion with an existing party or combining with other formations to build one.

L&RU now joins thousands of other radical independents searching for direction. And that quest must encompass sharp debate on the theory, programs, strategy and tactics for the American revolution.

L&RU can clear its own path to theoretical consistency when it comes to grips with its residual sexism and unbridgeable divides to the morass of Marxism. ■
The leadership traditionally switched from one policy to the other under pressure from the masses or from adverse economic conditions. One approach, "Production First," stresses material incentives for workers, rapid industrialization and reliance on imports. Previously associated with Chou En-lai, Liu Shao-chi, and Teng Hsiao-ping, this line was in effect from the start of the First Five Year Plan in 1954 until 1966, except for two periods: during the "Great Leap Forward," and the early years of the Cultural Revolution when economic "self-reliance" and reduction of imports prevailed. "Production First" is the policy currently advanced by the new rulers.

The technical and financial assistance needed by China could be provided by successful revolutions in advanced western countries. But Mao's self-contained, go-it-alone economic policy, a policy geared to long-range isolation from countries on a higher technological level, can lead only to political abstentionism from the class struggle in those developed countries. Maoism long ago abandoned the principle of world revolution and Chinese responsibility to aid and defend it.

Peking's foreign policy echoes the Kremlin in consistent rejection of its mission to support world revolution. Instead, China seeks safety first for itself. Revolutionary upsurges abroad—China's only guarantee for achieving socialism—have been cynically sold out, as witness China's pro-imperialist role in Indonesia, Bangladesh, Angola and Vietnam.

The Maoist Legacy Engenders Mass Protest

Chinese workers were extremely hard hit by the severe wage freezes decreed by Mao, who offered them fanciful orthodoxy in place of higher living standards. The workers resent the enormous disparity of income between themselves and the caste of managers and bureaucrats. Urban toilers earn more than rural ones and party leaders get astronomical salaries, cussly benefits and great privileges. Massive strikes exploded last summer in the city of Hangchow. In late winter last year, the regime had to dispatch army units to Fukien province to defuse worker and student protests in towns, villages, factories and schools. Large strikes against the wage freeze erupted in Szechwan province. The fervor of the 100,000 demonstrators in Peking's Tien An Men Square in 1976 and early 1977 clearly attests to the vehemence of the masses.

China observers have learned caution in characterizing tech demonstrations because party officials usually write the scenario, fomenting and manipulating demonstrations from above. But it is obvious that little agitation is needed to encourage the Chinese people to manifest their fury over low and unequal wages, and Mao's hatchet job on student enrollment.

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Immigration Coalition

Mexican immigrant workers, blamed by the U.S. government and by labor bureaucrats as the cause of unemployment and low wages in the agriculture industry, are stepping up their resistance to government attempts to deny them legal status.

The U.S. allows Mexican workers to be used as a cheap, migrant farm labor pool, subject to complete control by the big growers. At the same time, these workers are persecuted for their "illegal" alien status.

The Eilberg Bill, effective last January, severely curtails the number of legal immigrant entries from the Western Hemisphere. It would decrease by half the number of Mexican workers applying for entry, and increase the illegals, subjecting migrant labor to direct police control and massive deportation campaigns, already on the rise.

U.S. immigration policy is blatantly political, favoring capital-motivated escapes from Vietnam and other workers states while discriminating against workers of Chilean terror or Mexico's depressed economy.

A Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices has emerged, natioanwide, to fight the Eilberg Bill and win unconditional amnesty for undocumented Mexican-Latino workers.

The Coalition denounced the Eilberg Bill as a ruse to split the working classes along race lines. Mexican workers are rated as a "dangerous" for the economy of capitalism.

The Bill also represents a deliberate, racist attempt to break apart the immigrant Mexican family, says the Coalition. Mexican pan-Ibero American children are forced to apply for labor certificates, virtually impossible for those under 16 years of age.

In Seattle, Recuse Press and the Coalition place top priority on educating the public about U.S. immigration practices and the plight of many Mexican workers and their U.S. sympathizers around the country. The Coalition and Recuse Press are radical organizations, opposed to racism, capitalist upheaval and sexual-chauvinism.

They consider workers to be the "silent column of every movement," and that strength along the unity of the Mexican people can help trump the barrier of racism in the U.S. proletariat.

Recuse Press publishes a bilingual newspaper, La Expressión and assists Mexicans struggling against job and union discrimination.

Funds for this work are urgently needed. Contributions may be sent to the Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices, P.O. Box 24885, Seattle, WA 98124; or to Recuse Press, 5500 16th Ave. So., Seattle, WA 98106.

Our Roving Foreign Correspondent

London, April 11—3,000 women were drawn from all parts of the United Kingdom for the tenth National Women's Liberation Conference held in London's City University on the weekend of April 1-3.

The conference voted overwhelmingly to "condemn the continued violation of human rights in Chile and Argentina" and to demand "the release of all political prisoners and official recognition of all those political prisoners held in secret.

There's the right to safe legal abortion (in opposition to the Benyon anti-abortion bill now in Parliament) and "illegal" alien status.

"The first of its kind in the Western hemisphere, the conference placed special emphasis on the status of lesbians and ethnic minority gays. Two delegates from the "Women and Socialism" group called upon the conference to "recognize the struggle of women against the oppression they experience within capitalism cannot take place outside of a socialist and feminist perspective."

Whereupon a woman "Mary" (unnamed) objected because the resolution "imposes socialist lines on the women's movement." She called on all socialist feminists to vote against the motion "socialist principle" and fight for the right of the autonomous women's movement to define its own direction.

Speakers who addressed this issue were called upon from the floor to identify their allegiances to radical groups. But this red-baiting measure was voted down. The conference decided not to vote on the main motion at that time, but to continue discussion of it within the movement.

The "Working Class Women's Liberation Group" called on middle-class feminists to recognize the existence of working class women in the movement and stop "perpetuating the male structure that oppresses us all." This call is of "classist separatism" peculiar to the London women's movement. The group argues a Marxist class-analysis, defining middle-class women as the main oppressor. The group expresses, however, the uneasiness of working class women who confront the intellectual aloofness of many movement women.

The delegates resolved unanimously to "confront our own racism." after two Black women introduced a resolution on racism—for the first time at any women's conference in England.

The conference seriously dealt with the reasons for the movement's failure to attract minority and working class women. Socialist feminist influence was evident in the turn away from the usual absorption with single issues and the evident desire to build a broader, multi-issue movement that fights for women on all fronts—including class, race and sexuality.

The planning group for the conference included socialist feminists, radical feminists, women aligned with various left parties, and independents all working harmoniously with no "overkill" exercised by any tendency. —Sandy Nelson

La Coalition para la Inmigracion Reclama Derechos para los Trabajadores Sin Documentos

Los trabajadores mexicanos sin documentos, juzgados culpables por el gobierno y por la burocracia obrera por el desempleo y los sueldos bajos en la industria agrícola, están aumentando su resistencia a las tentativas del gobierno a negarles estado legal en los EE.UU.

Los EE.UU. permiten que se mantengan estos trabajadores mexicanos como mano de obra barata que se traslada de un sitio a otro en la industria agrícola completamente sojuzgados al control de los grandes cultivadores. Al mismo tiempo, estos trabajadores son perseguidos por su estado "illegal" de ser extranjeros.

La Ley Eilberg, implementada en enero de este año, severamente reduce el número de personas que puede inmigrar legalmente del hemisferio occidental. Disminuye por mitad el número de trabajadores que puede aplicarse para entrar en los EE.UU. y aumenta el número de ilegales, sometiendo a todos los trabajadores agrícolas al control policiaco y a las campañatas por la expulsión en escala grande, creciendo cada día.

La política de la inmigración de los EE.UU. es desdramatizada capitalista, favoreciendo a los fugitivos de Vietnam y otros estados obreros al mismo tiempo que practica discriminación contra las víctimas del terror chileno de la economía depurada de México. Ha empeorado nacionalesmente la coalición para Leyes y Prácticas Justas de Inmigración para peler contra la Ley Eilberg y ganar la amnistía incondicional para los trabajadores mexicanos-latinos sin documentos.

La coalición denuncia la Ley Eilberg, llamándola de una treta para dividir la clase obrera por línea raciales. Los trabajadores son las víctimas propias-torias para los males del capitalismo.

La Ley representa una tentativa deliberada para romper la familia del inmigrado latino, dice la coalición. Se obligan a los padres de niños nacidos en los EE.UU. a aprobar para la certificación de obra, que casi casi imposible de conseguir.

En Seattle, la Prensa Recuse y la coalición dan la prioridad a la educación de programa sobre las prácticas del departamento de inmigración en los EE.UU. y sobre la necesidad de la unidad de los mexicanos y la lucha unida en los EE.UU. alrededor de la demanda de la inmigración.

La coalición y la Prensa Recuse organizan campañas, definiendo contra el racismo, el xenofobia, la agresión cultural y el racismo cultural. Se desarrollan los trabajos, como "la izquierda, dan unos movimientos" creen que se puede superar la barrera de racismo en el proletariado en los EE.UU. por forzar la unidad de la gente mexicana.

La Prensa Recuse publica un periódico bilingüe, La Expresión, y ayuda a los mexicanos en su lucha contra la discriminación en el trabajo y dentro de las uniones.

Se necesita urgentemente fondos. Se puede mandar contribuciones a la Coalición (Fair Immigration Laws and Practices, P.O. Box 24885, Seattle, WA 98124) o a Recuse Press, 5500 16th Ave. So., Seattle, WA 98106.

([Símbolo del CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónoma), organizado por la Homicidal de Trabajadores de los Estados Unidos, CA.): La Prensa Rec­ use de Seattle representa la angustia de los obreros no documentos.
Anita Praises the Lord and Denounces Gays

“Save Our Children, Inc.—an anti- gay group fronted by singer and orange- juice-pusher Anita Bryant—has stepped up its vicious campaign to resnail a Dade County, Florida ordinance that prohibits job and housing discrimination against gays.

Bryant and her accomplices launched a religious crusade and obtained 10,000 signatures for a June, 1977 referendum on the ordinance.

"God will help me in my fight," Bryant declaims. To spur him on, she has garnered support from the Catholic bureaucracy, which has blocked passage of gay rights legislation in "New York City for five years.

Anti-discrimination legislation intro- duced into the Washington and Oregon legislatures have fomented similar anti- gay hysteria. Gay organizations across the country are launching a counter- campaign to defeat the reactionaryists and preserve hard-won civil rights. ●

Philosophy of Marxism Course is Box Office Success

The liveliest intellectual exchange in Seattle groups every Friday night as eager students jammed into Freeway Hall grapple with "The Marxist Meth- od: An Introduction to Dialectical Ma- ternalism."

The stimulating ten-week course is taught by a Greek philosophy doctor who has garnered support from the Catholic bureaucracy, which has blocked passage of gay rights legislation in "New York City for five years.

The stimulating ten-week course is taught by a Greek philosophy doctor who has garnered support from the Catholic bureaucracy, which has blocked passage of gay rights legislation in "New York City for five years."
Interested Teamsters Caucus just concluded a union election campaign unprecedented in Teamsters Local 174, the largest Teamsters local on the west coast. Fundamental working class issues were actually raised and debated.

"Put a driver in the driver's seat!" shrieked the bureaucrats. "Put the membership in the driver's seat!" countered the militants in the "Interested Teamsters" (I.T.) caucus.

"Our slate was not about just changing the faces at the top," said Anne Hoddersen, U.P.S. driver and Interested Teamsters candidate for Recording Secretary. "Our platform was basically social. Our proposals were for issues of benefit to the members—not, as it is now, for what benefits the Executive Board.

Calling for democratic decision-making and majority rule, the I.T. slate asserted the membership's right to determine union policies. "We will keep our eye on the union the next three years," said Vic Jablonski, I.T. candidate for Secretary-Treasurer. "Our platform was basically social. Our proposals were for issues of benefit to the members—not, as it is now, for what benefits the Executive Board."

In addition to an aggregate 13% wage and benefits increase for the union, the workers won a guarantee of constitutional rights on the job, a model grievance procedure, protection of past practices, an extension of seniority rights, an extension of liberal non-discrimination clause which prohibits job discrimination on the grounds of "sex, sexual orientation, lifestyle, political ideology, past or present union activities, age, marital or family status,..."

The integration of the seniority principle with the need for affirmative action was successfully accomplished and codified in the procedures for layoff and recall: "Layoff of minority personnel will be accomplished at the same percentage rate as the layoff for all other personnel...except that no minority employee shall be laid off by the Union for reasons of an affirmative action ratio is reached and maintained.

This is not only another union in the Pacific Northwest to separate minority seniority ladders is the Washington Education Association, representing teachers in Seattle.

The Staff Association Union has union shop jurisdiction over 100 workers, 85% of them clericals. The remainder are librarians, drivers and maintenance personnel, and nearly the entire union is composed of women. So salaries have been traditionally low for all the workers in this "woman's" field.

The bargaining unit has also been plagued with a backward and autocratic management that possesses absolute power by lack of the political particularities of the county-government system. The Union was formed in 1974 by employees who wanted to change the demoralizing conditions. They knew that decent library service to the public was not possible while workers were being intimidated, speeded up and underpaid. With little more than their anger and a Renewal of the contract to get the help they needed, the Union won its first contract a year later, in 1975.

A new negotiating team was elected and began to clarify and extend this contract as the basis for new proposals to management. The team studied contracts from dozens of unions of all kinds and pooled the membership for ideas. Workers recounted every dirty trick used or potentially usable against them by management, and the negotiating team incorporated protections against these violations into the new proposal. In the hope of a settlement, the union then submitted its proposal to labor relations consultant Clara Fraser for advice, and things never were the same again.

A founding member of the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women, and a longtime union, civil rights and feminist activist, Fraser has valued experience until an unprecedented affirmative action ratio is reached and maintained.

She was especially concerned with expanding seniority rights, affirmative action, and non-discrimination provisions. Her passion for the economic survival of minorities, feminism, gay and political activists, those most often denied the right to earn a living because of their ideas, associations or appearance. Class-conscious and feminist principles and tactics were quickly learned and applied by the union team, and its tenacity and solidarity never faltered during the long months of battle.

The Union won the right to tape record each collective bargaining session and to have open negotiations. This victory allowed the membership to observe and to participate directly in caucuses during negotiations, and it permitted all who team to gain constructive feedback from the rank and file. The level of consciousness and struggle was raised significantly.

The unique contract has attracted praise and interest from unions all over the country which are adapting it for their purposes. The contract offers proof to working people that gains can be achieved through determined efforts against management.
A pivotal sex discrimination case against Seattle City Light has been won by eight pioneering women electricians. Employed by the Seattle Office of Women's Rights, this agency, charged with enforcing Seattle's Fair Employment Practices Ordinance, is the result of successful campaigns by education and civil rights enforcement agency for women.

City Light was instructed to retire the ETTs and place them in apprentice-like programs within months of their return to work. The Hearing Panel also decreed that the Office of Women's Rights undertake a two-year study of any further discriminatory action by the agency. City Light was ordered to pay $24,900 in fees to the ETTs, whose legal aid was provided by the Women's Rights Committee negotiations. The bosses frantically defended themselves by harassing employee leaders and making everyone's life miserable.

"No Reprisal" Pledge?

One of the employee leaders was Clara Fraser, Education Coordinator for City Light, and Chair of the three-person employee team elected to negotiate the settlement of the suit. She was also the person who coordinated the planning and implementation of the ETT program, with primary responsibility for layoff action.

In order to retaliate against Fraser, Vickery decided to sabotage the ETT program. He secretly cancelled the women's Pre-Placement training and summarily eliminated Fraser's responsibilities as ETT coordinator, replacing her with a male administrator who ignored the program.

Three of the trainees, indignant over this violation of contract, filed sex discrimination charges charging the removal of Fraser and the cancellation of promised Pre-Placement training. On the nine formal sex discrimination charges filed by the ETTs against City Light after the strike, the tenth trainee was a "management specialist" approved by the ETTs.

Six of the women who filed charges reported their protest action to an employee mass meeting and passionately joined forces with the employee movement. Vickery reported characteristically by adding the trainees to his enemies list as he pursued his merciless vendetta against worker dissidents.

For the entire year, until they were laid off in September, 1975, the ETTs waged a daily struggle to keep their jobs. Once again they were guaranteed, win employee, city, and community support, and beat back management's threat of harassment and intimidation. There was election, deceit, red-baiting and character assassination.

The women performed their work, but received only trainee-level wages. They were targets for anonymous letters from supposed "trite citizens" who accused them of everything from drinking on the job to "fondling" with a black co-worker (at a crowded intersection in the University district). They were ordered to sign a loyalty oath to the effect that they would not question Vickery's policies upon pain of termination.

Finally, in September, 1975, fifteen months after they were hired with much ado and considerable fanfare, they received a polite letter from Vickery congratulating them on "successful completion of the program." This bureaucratic means they were to be laid off. And so they were, except for two trainees kept on as token Helpers.

Big Trouble at City Light

As in April, 1974, two months before the trainees were hired, a long-simmering feud between City Light electrical workers and management exploded into a sudden walkout of seven hundred workers. The immediate cause of the wildcat strike was the suspension of two crew chiefs for an allegedly unauthorized coffee break, but the underlying issue was the continued heavy-handed and dictatorial management style of Superintendents Gordon Vickery, a political appointee of Mayor Wes Uhlman. Vickery, the former Fire Chief, utilized paramilitary personnel and the proud, free-wheeling electricians were outraged. Still, they might have gone back to work after a few days were if not for the remarkable infusion of support from angry angry white collar workers and professionals who began to join them in the second city.

The collective strength of this amazing combination of 1200 vociferous electricians, engineers, clerical workers, technicians, professionals, and some middle-management administrators forced the mayor and Vickery to concede, and after eleven "elec-\er" days of action, an Agreement was signed.

The Agreement provided for (1) a citizen review board to conduct a public investigation of City Light management practices, (2) a joint labor-management committee which would draw up an "Employee Bill of Rights;" (3) a "No Reprisals" pledge; and (4) an arbitration clause to settle coffee break charge.

The struggle then shifted to another plane. The workers skillfully challenged management at the Public Review Committee hearings and in Bill of Rights Committee negotiations. The bosses frantically defended themselves by harassing employee leaders and making everyone's life miserable.

Winning the Case

The "ETT case" is now in the Pacific Northwest. The precedent setting action may provide for new opportunities for other sexually oppressed groups, for the fight for women's rights has just begun. It was a long haul, the workers skillfully challenged management at the Public Review Committee hearings and in Bill of Rights Committee negotiations. The bosses frantically defended themselves by harassing employee leaders and making everyone's life miserable.

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continued from front page

A huge audience of 150 oldtimers, newly-radicalized youth and independents packed Freeway Hall. Representatives of the Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Workers Party, Trotskyist League of Canada (Spartacists) and International Socialists were audibly present and accounted for.

Good old Freeway Hall was resplendent. The walls were covered with displays of photographs of the Weisses during their many years of organizing, campaign posters from Myra’s three electoral races as the SWP’s Vice-Presidential candidate, and old copies of The Militant featuring articles with their by-lines. Two large red-lettered banners proclaimed “Welcome Myra and Murry!” and “Towards Revolutionary Regroupment!” Bouquets of flowers and hanging plants were everywhere, and a special display featured more of their writings and photographs of them from FSP archives.

“Feminists in the Forties!”

Clara Fraser, who joined the SWP in 1945, left that party with the rest of the Seattle branch in 1966, and helped to found the FSP, introduced the guest speakers.

The Weisses were the organizers of the Los Angeles branch of the SWP which Clara originally joined. She vividly recalled her early admiration of the high quality of their leadership. “They were first and foremost theoreticians of the struggle,” she said, pointing out that Myra has been teaching Marx’s Capital for thirty years and Murry has taught the history of the Russian Revolution for the same length of time. Clara emphasized the fact that they have never wasted time or energy and are energetically involved with the Marxist Education Collective.

But the Weisses are political activists as well as ideologists, Fraser said. She described their innovative mobilization of a united front against the fascists in the mid-forties, their effective strategizing in union work, their activity in the Black struggle, and their astute organizing of students. “Myra and Murry always sought avenues for our intervention,” said Fraser.

“Moreover,” she went on, “they were feminists. So what? Isn’t everybody? Oh, no, not in those days! Myra was constantly bringing to the attention of the party (and usually unsuccessfully) the status, the condition, the thoughts and needs of women in and out of the party. Murry, too, was a feminist, and that’s a fine thing to say about a man in the 1940s. But it was Myra, the leading feminist of the SWP, whose example was so contagious. We respected her so much as a speaker and organizer that scores of young women like me eventually began to look at the woman question seriously.”

Stalinism became the pivotal argument of world capitalism against communism, distorting the issue and demoralizing workers.

Murry Weiss—A Strategist of Revolution

Amidst a fervent burst of applause, Murry noted that the meeting might well turn out to be more than a local discussion, that it could be “something of a national type.” He proposed a further discussion on the crisis of consciousness among workers and union leaders, an issue which relates to the crisis of world revolution, he said, because up-bravals around the globe are “beginning to impinge on and invade the country we live in.”

The American working class is the most powerful in the world, he stressed, capable of any task, yet it has no political organization of its own. “But that,” he said, “can happen in two weeks!”

He described Portugal as “the first place where a socialist revolution is being experienced in an industrial country.”

“Twice in a row something unheard of happen­ed—the population of Portugal voted communist or socialist, giving them a clear majority,” Murry said. “And this occurred after 48 years of fascism had made those parties invisible.”

The U.S., he added, “will also be capable of that kind of leap when the contradictions of the whole world process emerge in our own country.”

He described the U.S. as a “grand-landlord” which has “future Europe, not to speak of the underdeveloped countries, into departments and agencies of U.S. capital.”

The Russian Revolution and Stalinist Betrayal

The Russian Revolution was the “first great product of this over-rulership,” Murry said, causing a “regroupment of all thinking.” He enumerated the ideological convulsions, splits and unifications engendered within American radicalism by the Russian Revolution, and the resulting emergence of American Bolshevikism.

But the encirclement of backward Russia by world imperialism, he said, resulted in the Stalinist bureaucracy, and progress was stepped as hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries were driven into the underground or slaughtered. The disease of Stalinism, he said, “became the tremendous, pivotal argument of world capitalism against communism, distorting the issue.”

Stalinism caused enormous damage to the world revolutionary process by its deals with imperialism and its betrayal of revolutions, he explained, but it was unable to stop the development of world revolution. Instead, “American capitalism and imperialism are taking one another after another.” Revolutionary upsurges have occurred in Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, Vietnam, and elsewhere, and old Stalinist monolith has been smashed.

“Communist parties can be transformed and can follow through with their own momentum,” he said. But the big danger “is to underestimate the revolutionary capability of their working class and overestimate the power the rulership has through its agency, the labor bureaucracy.”

The SWP leaders believed that women will be liberated by the revolution and the revolution will be led by women.

The New Left and Permanent Revolution

The issue of Stalinism affected the radicalism of the 1960s, Murry told the crowd. The New Left, indirectly rejected Stalinism, but also threw out the entire Old Left as a result, “they submitted themselves to Stalinism in the most hilarious way.”

But the welcome rise of radical action and thought in the 60’s as expressed in the Black, feminist, and gay movements is a product of the permanent revolution in the United States, Murry said. He showed how “the extension of the revolution into new areas of cultural and social life, which in a schematic sense was not scheduled until after the revolution, occurred before the revolution and is erupting in our world right now. It is not waiting!” And this demonstrates that “we must be able to create a revolutionary working class and overcome the power the rulership has in this country only if it is able to address itself to these contemporary issues.”

Program is the Key to Victory

According to Weiss, an understanding of the continuity of Marxism is crucial to the current tasks facing the popular mass movements as well as radical sector. Theory is not a collection of recipes, he stressed, and a careful study of philosophy, methodology, doctrine and theoretical structure must be made before our revolution can succeed.

“The revolution itself is inevitable,” he said, “but the question is, will it be carried through to the end? The problem is not the backwardness of the American working class, but the reactionary character of the leadership of the working class, the trade union bureaucracy, and its complicity with the political police, the FBI.”
THE CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP

Thirteen years have elapsed since the fight with the Cochranites.¹

Until 1961, the stewardship of the SWP was nominally held jointly by the current regime and the Weiss group² leaders. With the elimination of the Weiss group, the Dobbs-Kerry group³ entrenched itself and established a political monopoly of the leadership.

What are the principal achievements of the existing leadership since consolidating themselves?

1. The withdrawal from Cuba defense work and from trips to Cuba designed to break the travel ban.⁴
2. The reduction of the once-independent youth to a chateau of the SWP national office, and the prolonged insulation of these youth from the ferment around them in the general student movement.
3. The removal of all political-minority representation on the Political Committee; the avowed intention of destroying all minority formations, pockets and opinions in the Party at large; and the tidal wave of expulsions on ephemeral grounds and in an unprecedentedly compulsive manner.
4. Recurrent disasters in our relations with the northern Black struggle and an absolute self-segregation from the southern struggle that is indefensible, especially on the incredible organizational grounds of "no forces available."
5. Rejection of obvious and principled opportunities to enlarge the Party through serious fusion, regroupment or armed front tactics.
6. Chronic organizational and political intimida­tion of all Party advocates of the emancipation of women.
7. Ignominious default in regaining ideological hegemony over the radical movement, rationalized away by the canard of an absence of qualified personnel to accomplish this.
8. Refusal to assume organizational initiative of any kind in any mass movement, and the corollary of elevating basic organizational tasks of the Party (fund raising, recruitment, paper sales) to the plane of political crusades, thereby reducing Party life to internal maintenance plus election campaigns.

It is time to inquire into the nature of a leadership which has basically undermined the interventionist and democratic traditions of the Party, and yet appears before which has basically undermined the interventionist and democratic traditions of the Party, and yet appears before whatever movement strikes its fancy at a given time. When controversy develops, as it must, within these movements, the word is usually, "Get out!"

The rigidly unisonic framework of the regime's long-range strategy results not only in non-intervention but in a deep-rooted, anti-theoretical habit.

It is Laborite because it believes that socialist politics on an extended scale will develop exclusively through the medium of a Labor Party based on the unions. It is radical because of the powerful residue of the traditions of revolutionary socialism in the Party.

In its social origin, the regime derives from the militant AFL unionism of the thirties, and its vision does not basically project beyond the trade union upsurge of the distant future that will lead to the Labor Party. This myopia lends an anti-political cast to its view of reality.

Not typical syndicalists, nor anti-party in the Cochranite sense, the regime nevertheless does not intervene decisively in the real political life of the time so long as the arenas of struggle and motion remain outside the labor movement and sometimes opposed to it. The regime permits participation in other movements (in a grudging response to pressure from Party branches in the field) but the "participation" proposed by the Center is a follow-the-leader adaptation to the prevailing winds of conjunctural changes.

The regime recognizes struggles other than large union upheavals for general propaganda purposes only. Somewhat like the Socialist Labor Party clinging to its fetish of Socialist Industrial Unionism and riding out a half-century with election campaigns and journalistic commentary, the SWP seems resigned to a pattern of reporting and general socialistic education.

The vital problems and needs of the newly developing vanguard groups in the country are treated superficially; except for correctly urging them to independent political action, The Militant has no more advice for them than the National Guardian, which approves them all, or the Weekly People,³ which is contemptuous of them all.

What should Malcolm X have done? What should the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party do? Students for a Democratic Society? Progressive Labor? What next for the campus teach-ins? What program for women? Doesn't anybody have to do anything before the unions move? Evidently not. Evidently no current development involves urgent political problems, demanding direct intervention, initiative and agitation by the SWP.

Today's real and potential mass movements are considered interesting but secondary and subordinate phenomena, and their groping leaders are viewed by the Party with an uncritical bitterness which sometimes borders on adulation, or with excessive political suspicion and competitive organizational mistrust.

Compearding the error, the regime also neglects probes into the unions, preferring to wait until the time is more patently promising. Comrades working in unionized shops are instructed NOT to appear as "union politicians" but to concentrate on recruiting to the Party.

Not only is this a false polarization of interdependent phenomena, and their groping leaders are viewed by the Party with an uncritical bitterness which sometimes borders on adulation, or with excessive political suspicion and competitive organizational mistrust.

As a consequence of the single-minded unisonic-laboristic blueprint for revolution, the Party has become increasingly conservative, rigid, conservative and turned-inward. This produces, in turn, deepening errors of theory, program, strategy and tactics in those areas demanding the greatest familiarity and precision of evaluation: the colonial revolution, youth, the peace movement, in turn, deepening errors of theory, program, strategy and tactics in those areas demanding the greatest familiarity and precision of evaluation: the colonial revolution, youth, the peace movement, the Black struggle, the labor movement, women's emancipation and revolutionary regroupment. The chief characteristics of the Radical Laborites, then, are fourfold: they are non-interventionists, contemptuous of theory, union-bound in strategical orientation, and politically unstable in their reactions to any given juncture.

Non-Interventionists

Exclusively focusing on the strategic variant of the Labor Party, the leadership is generally impervious and oriented toward non-interclass facets of the class struggle, and where it must evaluate the radical developments of any stage, it is inconsistent and ambivalent, appreciably disinterested in fundamental (rather than reportorial) conjunctural analyses and the tactical shifts (other than inspection tours) indicated by conjunctural changes.

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to conduct election campaigns on political labels such as "Establishment Politicians"—an accusation frequently directed against us which we constantly have to explain.

The Dobbs-Kerry leadership is in conflict with the Party leadership wherever we are, we are revolutionary politicians working with stubborn stances in order to either change their policies or overthrow the structures themselves. If it is tactical to work within the framework of the bourgeois state via election campaigns, how do we explain the departure from the party? Because they had a mass milieu and base to lead on and escape into as the witchhunt became general.

Centralist? Of recent years, several opponents of the Dobbs-Kerry leadership both within and outside the Party have characterized the majority as Centrist. The prevalence of this term requires an evaluation of its meaning with respect to a definition of the word. The concept of worker-Bolshevik, Marxist-intellectual, organiser, is tactical to work within the framework of the degenerating labor movement.

The Dobbs-Kerry leadership has altogether changed very much in the past two decades. Vast changes in the objective situation have simply exposed another side of the character.

The strategy of the holding operation

This is a state of suspended animation which free program and cements the cadre in decades-long stifling position until the resurgence of organized labor. The question is not at hand. Then, the Party is supposed to do down to terra firma and move in the present "tightened-up" propagandistic activism is only a program that does not grow, and a petrified long-range plan. A short-term paralysis and self-segregation, marking time and treading water, is constantly being disturbed by the pressure of changes, turns and crises from within and without. It is not the abrupt swings and cycles, social relations itself that destroy politics, but the ridicule—revolutionary consciousness. On the contrary, it may become a means of strengthening reformism at a given stage. In any case, under the undertaking of automation, the 30-40 slogan doesn't catch the surface of the vast unemployment problem.

The very hollowness of the Political Committee's current Political Resolution, void of either conceptual analysis or historical perspective,oboys the door open to further flirtations with reformism.

The anti-theoretical approach, in the struggle against the petty-bourgeois intellectual opposition in 1941, and helping to defeat it, the present Dobbs-Kerry leadership gradually counterposed the middle-class intellectuals into a rejection of all theoreticalists in politics.

The Dobbs-Kerry regime tolerates "theory" on foreign affairs which do not deeply concern Germany, China, the International, and on questions of abstract principle, which are not troublesome to them as they remain abstract. But any encroachment upon its domestic territory by a minority viewpoint is promptly labelled—intellectual! The word has become synonymous with "oppositional" and with "petty-bourgeois" and is used as an insult.

The dialectical interconnections of the Leninist concept of worker-Bolshevik, Marxist-intellectual, organiser-theoretician, etc., have been summarily split up by the regime in the separate parts seeped into new newness and the exclusive function of the regime, while the ranks and the organizers are expected to be wedded to petty-bourgeois fund drives, fund drives, and campus activities. Period. Naturally, this "leave the thinking to us" law results in very little thought by anyone at all.

Minorities are answered not with logical political dialectics, but with muddying, distraction and fabrication of the issues, invective and personal-organizational attacks. Political arguments used to be serious and educational experiences for the entire leadership, today, any consistent or persistent theoretical, strategic or tactical difference provokes a reflex characteristic of the labor officialsid, echoing its intolerance, prejudices and sourer terminology.

Contrast for theory breeds an inability to tolerate criticism, and both trains are expressed in the anti-intellectualism of the radical laborites.

Neo-Economist? The Dobbs-Kerry leadership is the second major negative tendency closely associated with labor unionism to appear in the SWP in the post-war period. Between the present leadership and the Cochranites there was no sharp division, there was some gradual evolution. However, an important difference exists between these two factions.

The Minneapolis Teamsters Union and the Sails Union of the Pacific (and Marine Firemen) were the first major workers' issues for the SWP and the most direct expression of the present leadership of the Party.

The Dobbs-Kerry leadership, as socially and politically advanced in terms of overall program and ideology as the newer CIO unions, were nevertheless extremely militant in their pursuit of job benefits and resistance against government intervention into the unions.

They were therefore among the first objectives of the employer-government alliances which began to break the labor movement. The Teamsters came under fire immediately before World War II, the Sails just after the war. The hierarchies of these unions joined forces with the bosses and the state to drive out the radicals, and the struggles which ensued were a major factor in the decisive split between the SWP and these unions, cutting off the present SWP leadership from its base of mass support.

The years of the Dobbs-Kerry leadership were still more or less firmly entrenched, mainly in the United Auto Workers, in 1951. They were propelled away from the party by a combination of the leadership of the party.

If an innocent, they are to abjure it. Their policies or the structures themselves. If it is tactical to work within the framework of the degenerated class organs of the proletariat—the union movement!

They are no spectra of the internal union processes which emerge from within the unions, wherever our organizational participation in the union provides us a roostum for principled propaganda and agitation, we would be foolish to abjure it.

It is significant that the Political Resolution stresses our "propagandistic" nature and tasks, while the Organizational Resolution mentions the Sidiments areas of participation and intervention supposedly characterized by our advocacy and activism to be maintained. But this is a rhetorical chant only. Business will proceed as usual, and intervention will be cut off and discouraged wherever possible. The present program "intervention" in the youth anti-war movement, for instance, is in effect an admission that the continuity as did our participation in Fair Campaign Committee, Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendents, Freedom Now Party, etc., because the orientation to mass work is either politically wrong or tactically superficial.

Anti-theoretical. Coming forward in the struggle against the petty-bourgeois intellectual opposition in 1941, and helping to defeat it, the present Dobbs-Kerry leadership gradually counterposed the middle-class intellectuals into a rejection of all theoreticalists in politics.

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The present distortion of entry of Trotskyists into the leftward-moving Socialist centralism was to acquire a much needed degree of Zack the Political Committee to intervene directly in the pressure of the mass movement, established the authority of the Commission. to be seen in the recent practices of the Nominating Commission. for proposing this. The Commission perpetrates contemptuously ignores the form, procedure and spirit of rank and file to protect itself against a self-perpetuating irresponsible body, i.e., not responsible to the Party. The Control Commission behaves as a non-report-an unprece­

democracy, that has been endowed by the majority leadership with theประธาน is the Central leadership and has become typical of its close supporters, have ordained the course of the SWP. Nevertheless, the youth in its present form has been molded by the SWP regime and the excesses of the youth—merit, rigidity, conservatism, and arrogance—are clear harbingers of things to come in an SWP finally rid of the last vestige of "dulodoxy." Except for the lies, deceit and manipulation of organizational minutiae involving political minorities, the organizational practices of the leadership do not often appear to be illegal. But a higher criterion than formality exists in dialectic, democracy and centralism in the service of a revolutionary policy, i.e., principled politics. There are no Constitu­
tutional provisions which define or even hint at unprincipled politics, yet this is the fundamental organizational basis upon which a regime must be judged.

UNPRINCIPLED POLITICS

The present organizational document before the Party, purportedly drawing the lessons of the last period, purposely ignores the most serious organizational convulsion of the decade: the destruction of the Weiss group, and how and why it was driven from the Party. The fundamental political-organizational axis of internal Party life since the Cochrane split in 1953 (aside from the Marcysites, who were a party unto themselves) was the reigning conflict between the central leadership and the Weiss group, and their counter-relations with the Wohlfarth-Robertson faction.

Any resolution on Organization which avoids discussion of this conflict is an abstraction. The present Resolution does not scratch the surface of the organizational question in life, except to re-exhibit the SWP group, and how and why it was driven from the Party. The Weiss group comprised virtually an entire generation at that time; a younger generation, in the leadership. They were loyal activists with a deep theoretical interest, particularly in the relations between theory and practice. They stood for principled politics and for interventionist tactics.

The relentless anesthetization of this group and its replacement by the new leadership, in the name of the Party history are the crowning achievement of the present regime and the basis of its colonial impetus. The effective purge of the Weiss group is supposed to be a demonstration of superior political power to resist the socalled "opposition" in a "soft" split. Yet not one word about how this achievement was accomplished appears in the Resolution.

In a revolutionary period, we expect the masses to intervene in their own destiny. We expect a revolutionary party, however, to be doing it all the time.

What are the words? They exist. What they imply is not always immediately clear because of the real purpose of the "strategy" to hide the masses, indeed, to invalidate the Party. It is not often that the Party is forced to explain itself to the masses. The new young activist-leader energetically pursues revenue, presses literature distributions and keeps Branch wheels turning. All of this is highly commendable, necessary and basic. However, they have been endowed by the majority leadership with virtually unlimited authority over all areas of Party operation. The young activist-leader, of course, has their highhanded methods are being unnecessarily opposed by some "old-timers"—another new term of contempt for Party leaders. This is the image of omnipotence projected by the new leader-technicians.

These activists operate in the ideological image of the central leadership and attempt to emulate it in every way. They are largely, nevertheless, petty-bourgeois, stemming from an essentially middle-class social background. Accordingly, the affects of a petty-bourgeois attitude are quite apparent. It is easily possible to elicit a class fraction into Party relations similar to that fomented by Gould, Glotzer, et al.—the hard core of petty-bourgeois activists of the 1940s. But one key difference prevails: the present regime's youth leadership, which is petty-bourgeois in character, leads to be an anti-intellectual petty-bourgeois.
The Weiss group was in the forefront of the struggle against the policies and leadership of the international Trotskyist movement, especially in the United States. They were the leaders of the famous Minneapolis Teamster strikes and the Teamster Unemployment Fund. Dobbs and Kerry were active revolutionary vanguard. This group aligned itself with the Trotskyist approach to strategy and tactics, and commitment to the world socialist revolution. The grouping led by Bert Cochran was a Trotskyist faction within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The Cochranites-Anarchist tendency within the SWP-had a long history of conflict with the party leadership. The Regime Helps... the Right Man was supposed to be a small Trotskyist group. They were not Trotskyists but they were social democrats who advocated pure and simple trade unionism—exclusive attention by the unions to bread-and-butter economic questions. In What To Be Done, Lenin denounced this separation of revolutionary political work from economic issues within the unions, insisting that the struggle against employers be connected with the anti-government struggle. The Dobbs-Kerry policy is similarly non-political in the labor movement, as well as non-proletarian in the other mass movements.

6. The “Third Camp” is composed of those who reject both capitalism and the workers states, thereby abstaining from the class struggle.

7. The Cuban missile crisis was provoked by President Kennedy’s reckless challenge to the Soviet Union over supposed Soviet missiles in Cuba. Khrushchev withdrew from the confrontation in a last-minute concession, preventing nuclear holocaust.

8. “40不小是it do 40 ansperfect” is a traditional slogan advanced by Leon Trotsky in The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution, designed to unify workers in struggle against rising prices and increasing unemployment.

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1. Coercion was a tendency among early Russian “Marxists” who advocated pure and simple trade unionism—exclusive attention by the unions to bread-and-butter economic questions. In What To Be Done, Lenin denounced this separation of revolutionary political work from economic issues within the unions, insisting that the struggle against employers be connected with the anti-government struggle. The Dobbs-Kerry policy is similarly non-political in the labor movement, as well as non-proletarian in the other mass movements.

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This can only be overcome, he emphasized, through the organization of revolutionary political action within the union ranks, from below, to shatter the parasitic bureaucracy.

Murry concluded by saying that he viewed the evening as "the beginning of a discussion, an ongoing, open-ended type of discussion, culminating in a huge national force connected with international forces and geared to its task of making the American revolution." Murry received a warm and prolonged standing ovation for his thought-provoking and sensitive analysis of radicalism yesterday and today, at home and abroad.

Myra Tanner Weiss—An Electrifying Orator

Myra Tanner Weiss began by recalling the 1946 decision made by her and Murry, as organizers of the Los Angeles SWP, to send Clara Kaye (Fraser's name at that time) to Seattle. "I always regarded it as one of the best decisions we ever made. We sent you one of our most qualified and talented and able young leaders. But we paid the price for doing that! One of the bases for the charge of "cliquism" against Myra and Murry Weiss was that we were trying to take over the organization by sending comrades all over the country."

The audience laughed and she continued. "The truth was that whenever we got some talented young people, we thought of all the cities where few or no Trotskyists existed and we sent them there to help our movement grow. In the case of Seattle, our decision bore fruit."

She expressed gratitude to the FSP for organizing the forum. "This is the largest and most beautiful meeting I've ever had in Seattle. And the tribute for organizing it, I'm delighted to say, goes to one of our young women comrades." (Maxine Regel was the proud recipient of these kind words.)

Women—A Revolutionary Vanguard

This generous praise for another woman's work introduced an inspiring portion of Myra's leadership. "Women had to break loose and conduct a struggle against the sexism of the left, Myra explained, and in doing so they had an enormous impact on the entire American culture—and on the shape of the future. "The fact that women today," she said, "are struggling for their own political expression as leaders and organizers on a par with their male brothers, establishes the extent to which the revolution in its making will embody the characteristics of the society we are going to build."

Trotskyism—The Long Haul

Myra joined the Trotskyist movement in 1935 and worked day and night, she said, with the hope of preventing World War II. The war came "despite all our efforts, our struggles, our street meetings—despite the arrests and despite going to jail." The Trotskyists hoped that after the war a proletarian revolution would erupt in America. "Instead," she said, "we entered a prolonged period of reaction—the monstrous period of McCarthyism. Our few forces were hounded out of the labor movement and we were further isolated."

But on the international level, the Trotskyists proved correct. She said. World War II resulted in gigantic revolutionary upsurges around the world, which had the effect of shattering the Stalinist monolith that previously had held the workers' movement in an iron grip.

The American Vanguard

The continuation of this world revolutionary process and its extension to America, said Myra, is the task of a revolutionary vanguard party in this country. "Some small group characterizes Murry and me as liquidationists—but we are not. We believe more than anything else that the crying need of the working class is to organize a revolutionary party that will bring it to power—not after 10 years of dying, after decades of living under Nazism, after years of misery, but at the least cost. We need a Bolshevik party based on the working class—being the working class—that can bring us to victory without tragic errors."

What party will serve as the revolutionary instrument of the American workers? "For many years I believed it was the SWP," she said, "but the SWP suffered irreversible retreats. It lost its proletarian base, and that is apparent in its political policy and program, especially as it was manifested in the SWP's reflex to the Portuguese revolution and Angola. The SWP is not a proletarian party."

It is clear, she said, that the SWP's neutrality between the Communists and Socialists in Portugal indicates a move to social democracy.

You have started what must be started—a movement that will base itself on the defense of the interest of the most oppressed.

"I don't know what the political party of the American revolution will look like," she went on. "But I am sure it will look a lot like you here tonight. You have started what must be started—a movement that will base itself on the defense of the interest of the most oppressed."

When you unite with them and become a part of their struggle and engage the enemy as you have done here in Seattle, you are continued on page 16
Homage to Public Workers

The public sector of Labor is the political sector. Millions of public workers, new to unionism, are directly challenging corrupt politicians and officeholders. Having adopted "labor-management relations" rather than rebellion, but the fact remains that when public employees fight their bosses, they are taking on the government. And this is a highly political act—with breathtaking potential!

Which explains why public worker insurgency sends shock waves through the ruling class. Underpaid, Overworked and Outraged

The dramatic increase of public sector unions since 1962 (when they were legitimized) is paralleled by their growing militance. More than half of 9.2 million state, county and municipal workers are organized, and half of these workers are female. Traditionally underpaid in public service just as in private industry, these workers—many living below the poverty level—are learning the repert of class struggle with admirable swiftness.

Teachers, librarians, nurses, social workers, aides and domestics are energetically violating the tradition that "Professionalism" means never having to say you need a raise, a grievance procedure, a reasonable workload or the right to express opinion on policy matters affecting public welfare. Their strikes focus media and voter attention on misfeasance and malfeasance in high offices, leaving public officials sorely embarrassed and infuriated by the employee exposés of dirty tricks at the top. This is the typical and predictable response of government bigwigs to a bunch of high-powered scare-and-slander campaigns aimed at destroying rapport between the government and public workers. But the latter also pay taxes, which is precisely why they are so indignant at the spectacle of grift, chicanery and neglect for which they have worked so hard.

The coldblooded attacks on public workers are designed to mask the high crimes of the politicians. Decades of collusion between officials and capitalists have allowed malignant taxation systems to foster for the benefit of big business. And when taxpayer revolt threatens, mayors and governors and county commissioners usually rush to sell bonds to cover their debts. But later, when they begin detailing on interest payments on those debts, they loudly proclaim that the caliphs are—public workers!

The employees are to blame for the crisis in our cities, it turns out, because of their "exorbitant" wages and welfare provisions. Layoffs ensue, services are cut back, and wages, benefits and pensions are driven downward—and the impetus to unionism is accelerated.

Fertile Soil for Independent Unions

Government workers belong either to large traditional unions or to independent unions, which are relatively common to this sector. For many women and minorities in government service, the problems of taking on two sexist and racist bureaucracies at once—management and large unions—is so formidable that independent unions offer a meaningful alternative—unions under democratic and local control that seriously challenge the grossly discriminatory wages and conditions that characterize most jobs for women and minorities.

Regardless of which kind of union is chosen, the potential for organizing is vast, since only 11,000 employees.

An Injury to One Is an Injury to All

It is vital for the private sector of labor to join hands with government and public workers—to reinforce them with moral and material support in the face of the avalanche of abuse and terror roaring down to consume them. Public workers need help, and at that moment in time when private employees merge their power with the momentum of the government servants, together they will become public masters of their own social fate.

The Crazy Operator at the Switchboard

This must be a bee hive. And we are all busy bees Filling the little black holes in the comb. Buzzing, buzzing.

These cords extend from our backbones. Current runs through our mouths. Our fingers, open to the tips for information, Operate, operate, touching a humming in the lines After all the words have been cut off, Have vibrated out of the ears, Bye-bye, bye-bye . . .

Fluorescence shines down like gray, Like the coming of a storm. We plug the Centrex day after day With numbers, numbers.

Headsets are burning out my ears In this rarified air. I'm eccentric at twenty-eight, Buzz, buzz.

I want to sing a pure note over our heads, To pull out all the cords And whip them into a fine wind, Into a flashing chorus of brass. I want to answer the phone like a door And say, "Come in. come in!"

The Freedom Socialist, Spring 1977

Editorial

Janet McCloud

A Tribute to Native Women Warriors

Page 14

Native values and customs. And there are the many beautiful spiritual sisters walking the path of life in dignified silence, striving to win the PEACE. Their actions are motivated by love for their people, the land and all of life. There is no room in their hearts for hatred; they simply seek to secure a decent life for those who are coming towards us from the future.

In our spiritual rebirth movement no rivalry between the sisters or between the sexes exists, as in so many other political movements. A true Native Warrior respects and loves the women leaders and women warriors, and he in turn is respected and loved by them.

Oppressed people of the world, including the indigenous peoples of the Americas, are rising as one Nation today to throw off the yoke of tyranny. In our Native Nations, Women Warriors by the thousands are keeping our movement alive and strong. I am proud to pay tribute to the thousands of Native women warriors who have served as so many of us have been indoctrinated to do.

Many unsung heroines struggle for justice daily. The Clan Mothers of the Iroquois Nations, and the Hopi and Sioux Spiritual Women Leaders, have opened their homes and hearts to depressed Native Sisters, travelling long distances to share their wisdom and uplift the fallen, gently guiding them with kindness and inspiring them with the renewed will to live.

Our grandmothers protect and guide the young, instructing and molding the character of the new generations by clinging steadfastly to the values and way of life of our ancestors—so that we might never forget what freedom really is, so that we will not mistake freedom for thralldom, as so many of us have been indoctrinated to do.

Our Native Mothers strive to keep the extended family unit together in defiance of all who would destroy the unity of the Native Nations, a unity rooted in the family and the tribe. Native Mothers today demand that the education of their children be meaningful and relevant to the world of today, that they learn to think critically, that they be trained as leaders.

And so we stand in defiance of all who would destroy the unity of the Native Nations, that we might never forget the values and way of life of our ancestors. For this reason, we call upon all Native Sisters and brothers and allies to join with us in this struggle for survival."
1976: Retorno del Índio

Antes de publicar el encartado ordenando que los Payunpe salieran de Cascadia, el juez Morell Sharp había hablado con la tribu con una indignación clásica de la pequeña burguesía acerca de la agresión de los indios contra el estado de Washington.

"Es igual a llevarse a casa su vecino y después decirle al vecino que quería a sus propios pantalones" reprendió este dignatario.

¿Estará un minuto, juez? ¿Quién se lo robó a quien? ¿Quiénes son los verdaderos asesinos? ¿De quién es la casa en realidad?

Se nos hace recordar de la declaración del Sr. Hayakawa, el senador-electo de ocupar tierra que fue propuesta por una irracionalidad espiritual de la conquista y las tribus, de las que debemos decir que existe una transformación que toma un efecto contagioso sobre la tierra natal de los habitantes originales de la nación y a la libertad sino una transformación de millones.

...un efecto contagioso sobre la tierra natal de los habitantes originales de la nación y a la libertad sino una transformación de millones.

...y a la libertad sino una transformación de millones.

El indio que quería y en seguida quería algo más. Quería lo que equivalía a una transformación socialista de sus tierras, la cual es propensa a tener un efecto contagioso sobre los indígenas el cual originalmente robó la tierra, la cual es propensa a tener un efecto contagioso sobre los indígenas.

Estas nacionalidades se niegan a ser juzgadas por la clase obrera de los EE.UU. contra los vendedores de armas.

Comparaciones muy falsas existen entre la pelea para la liberación de la nación y la lucha de las naciones indígenas por su propia tierra.

La fuerza empleada para la liberación del indio es bádicamente una auto-determinación nacional, y no para hacer lo que equivale a una transformación socialista de sus tierras, lo cual es propensa a tener un efecto contagioso sobre los trabajadores indígenas.

La clase obrera no tiene ganas de parar y ayudar a la liberación de los indígenas. Los Payunpe ocuparon Cascadia y prometieron el mañana que: "Esta tierra es de los indios y no saldrán de ella!" Esta fue un acto revolucionario. En un acto sencillo pero profundo de la auto-defensa elemental social, ellos expropiaron a los expropiadores. Si esto constituye "agresión", que todos los revolucionarios que expropiaron una "patria" de gala para honorarlo.

Los Estados Unidos ES tierra indígena. No podemos decir que el pasado o miseria con lo que profesan una injusticia en la justicia. Y en el juego limpio puede levantar a la defensa del derecho histórico de los indígenas a un porvenir libre y seguro.

El derecho humano insustituible de las naciones indígenas que determinen su propia suelo y que se mantengan su propio destino, impunemente y justo.

Esta lucha es un ejemplo real y poderoso de que la lucha de los trabajadores indígenas es una lucha revolucionaria.

La pelea para la liberación de los indígenas es una lucha revolucionaria. La fuerza empleada para la liberación del indio es bádicamente una auto-determinación nacional, y no para hacer lo que equivale a una transformación socialista de sus tierras, lo cual es propensa a tener un efecto contagioso sobre los trabajadores indígenas.

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continued from page 13

showing the way to making a revolution in America. And that revolution will be composed of all those who are the most oppressed, all those who understand most clearly why capitalism must be combated and destroyed.”

Regroupment, Myra continued, can only consist of drawing together “the most militant, most radical workers into a united struggle against the enemy.” But this does not contradict the necessity for women, minorities and all oppressed groupings to organize independently, for “we move apart conjuncturally in order that we may move together on the basis of equality.”

“To Live Well is to Struggle”

Myra closed by paraphrasing Olive Schreiner, a famous writer and founder of the Communist International and the Communist Party of South Africa. Schreiner dedicated her work to the future generations who will live under socialism:

You will never know how good it was to think of you, work for you, and to imagine the beauty and warmth of your life in the future. The creativity that will erupt in your world is like the warming sun spreading across the land. That is the joy I have known and the knowledge of you has been well worth the living.

And Myra added, “There is no way to live well in society today except through struggle against all that is rotten in the world around us. And if we struggle against this we liberate ourselves from the warped personalities and miserable lives that the capitalists would impose on us. And we, like Olive Schreiner, become part of the beauty that we are fighting to win for the whole world.”

The prolonged and tumultuous standing ovation which greeted Myra’s presentation was a testament to the commitment, wisdom and integrity of this experienced Marxist from an audience composed largely of young revolutionaries.

The Freedom Socialist, Spring 1977

Page 16
Obreros y Feministas se Unen
La Batalla Intensa para la Legislación de Protección

CPL (la Coalición para la Legislación de Protección) ha prosperado en conducir amenazas serias a las leyes de protección para los trabajadores. Comuesta de unionistas, feministas, radicales políticos, y organizaciones homossexuales, CPL ha conseguido durante dos lustros acumular apoyo para la legislación de protección entre trabajadores, oficiales de uniones, grupos minoritarios y organizaciones de la comunidad.

La coalición ha fomentado a la prensa que se enfrentara y que los sindicatos del estado de Washington se pusieron en contra de la protección para los trabajadores. Comienza declaraciones sobre lo que se enfrentara a la legislatura.

"El IWC rápidamente acordó. Propuso que se la batalla se llevara a cabo en los sindicatos y que se haga de forma masiva. La coalición se organizing.

La legislación propuesta al principio iba a aplicar a todos los trabajadores, pero la legislatura limita la ley a mujeres y hombres. Se quedaron las mujeres en gran parte a la periferia de la mano de obra, condenadas a los trabajos de sueldo mínimo, con largas horas de trabajo, con largas horas de trabajo y con largas horas de trabajo. La coalición ha conseguido durante dos lustros acumular apoyo para la legislación de protección entre trabajadores, oficiales de uniones, grupos minoritarios y organizaciones de la comunidad.

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...escuelas atractivas

continuación de la página 3
tiempo que dirigen los blancos a los estudios pre­
paratorios para la universidad, en realidad aumentan­
tando las tensiones raciales in­
dermies de sus estudiantes.

La integración: ¿Medio o Objetivo?
Se declaró, al principio, la supresión de la segrega­
dación en las escuelas, con la condición de gran inferioridad y pocos fondos en las escuelas de los barrios Negros.
La NAACP (la Asociación para el Mejoramiento de Gente de Color), la ACLU y los tribunales federales, no obstante, ahora proclaman que los niños mino­
tarios tienen que frecuentar las escuelas de los blancos en el Norte también, para que aprendan "bien." Así, la integración de las escuelas que el Estatuto en la instrucción de los niños de la clase obrera, ya bajo una tensión económica severa, que supriman la segregación racial en sus escuelas—y todo esto con fondos educa­
cionales casi tan limitados.

Escuelas Atractivas No Atraen
Se inició un programa voluntario de transporte de niños en Seattle en el principio de los 70. Se hizo Garfield, la escuela Negra principal de Seattle, a una escuela atractiva para darle fondos y programas especiales para atraer los blancos. Se llevaron muchos estudiantes Negros a escuelas alejadas del distrito.
Esta tentativa a la integración voluntaria fue fruta­
trada por la hostilidad y la violencia contra los niños

Negros en las escuelas de blancos y, durante esta época, por el sentimiento creciente entre los Negros del nacionalismo y del separatismo, los cuales, en su vez, animaron y tomaron como víctimas los niños blancos en las escuelas Negras.

Desde entonces, las escuelas del centro de Seattle, ayudadas con fondo federal, han levantado la calidad de sus escuelas al nivel de las escuelas de blancos. También, han hecho buenos avances en el sentido de integrar a la interpretación de varios grupos étnicos y en llegar a ser más sensibles a las necesidades y a la cultura de las minorías. La educación de los Negros, la Chicanía, y la Asiaci­
ón tienen bastante razón de tener la pérdida de estos beneficios.

Y los estudiantes, tanto los minoritarios como los blancos, firmemente se ponen en contra del cambio de la composición racial de las escuelas que son verdadera­mente integrados; ellos no quieren que se haga una minoría numérica de los Negros en las escuelas donde ya son una mayoría o a la par con las otras razas.

Sin embargo la Junta Directiva Escolar inexcusable­mente insistió en implementar el concepto probado y avalado de crear escuelas atractivas y se niega a con­
siderar otras alternativas.

¿Existen Maneras Mejores?
La ciudad podía eliminar las líneas de los distritos escolares y juzgar un sistema libre de matriculación.
Se podría extender el transporte obligatorio de niños a incluir los subúrbios.
Se puede implementar un sistema de transporte de "acción afirmativa," es decir, un sistema voluntario para los Negros, quienes siempre han participado de buena gana, y obligatorio para los blancos.
Las escuelas integradas podrían recibir fondos para implementar programas interraciales para integrar.
Otra opción es un programa por toda la ciudad de escuelas atractivas que ofrecerían no solamente la educación básica sino también las actividades extracur­
	
Ellos, en la instrucción profesional, cursos prepara­
torios a la universidad etc. El ingreso sería abierto a los estudiantes de todos los grupos.

Lo Que Es Bueno para los Negocios

No Es Bueno para las Escuelas
La mofa de la Junta Directiva Escolar viene de su deseo de desafiar a los de la etnia en Seattle y a la legislatura que cambian la estructura regresiva de impuestos por el estatuto. La cuestión de la supresión de la segregación distrae la atención, de una manera muy cómoda, de la necesidad que el Estado tenga que imponer sobre las corporaciones que fácilmente proveerían bastante ingreso para una educa­
ción de calidad para todos.
No es bueno para el Estado, ni para ninguno de los negocios la educación de calidad. Las corporaciones hacen ga­

nancias de una mano de obra de diez, trece y de poca educación. La clase media y la alta pueden producir más que bastante de profesionales y técnicos; todos los otros, gritan los patrones, pueden "Volver a los Básicos"—las minorías, las mujeres y los pobres pueden ser necesariamente ajustarse a una vida como trabajadores no calificados de sueldo bajo.

Yaya la hora de ejercer presión popular en una gran escala sobre la legislatura para forzarla a dar un impuesto a los negocios para el beneficio del pueblo en lugar de perpetuar el contrario. Y va es la hora de que los trabajadores reclamen la responsa­

bilidad federal para la educación por todo el país.

La Educación Debe Ser Una Prioridad Federal

Los millones de dólares gastados para armas podrían proveer una educación magnífica para todos los niños y niñas de la clase obrera. Los fracos federales deeducar niños pobres y de la clase obrera son un escándalo y un ultraje.

Encuentro que el capitalismo posee el gobierno y manda nuestras vidas, la pobreza y su sombra—la discriminación racial y el racismo. El socialismo puede ofrecer un sistema docente que provee selecciones y opciones para todos, que permite que los niños asciendan en la escala social sin ser cocolo­
ducional o no, integrada racionalmente o no, con un plan de educación integral y que se les asegure un estudio de alto nivel.
When electioneering started in 1976, Washington State Republicans and Democrats geared up and started to spend their millions on advertising and corralling media attention. But media concentration on the twin parties of Big Business was sidetracked by the Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party and Bicentennial Reality of Big Business was sidetracked by the Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party (affiliate of the People's Party), and the Coalition waged a high-pressure campaign to attain media exposure for minor party candidates and its efforts paid off handsomely. Minor party candidates received more press and television coverage than ever before, and five radical parties ultimately gained ballot status in Washington State.

An Effective United Front
The Coalition, formed in August, 1976, is a cooperative effort to pool resources and talents for the attainment of electoral rights. In September, the Coalition held a news conference to demand more media attention to minor parties. The unusual publicity sparked wide public interest, resulting in media visibility for minor parties throughout the campaign period.

"Seattle Tonight, Tonight!" featured two Coalition representatives on T.V. The Seattle dailies both printed interviews with the major candidates of the socialist parties, and the Nominating Convention sites for all the minor parties were publicized in the press.

"A Meet the Socialist Parties Night," organized by the Coalition and candidates presented their programs to a large audience.

As a result of the Coalition's work, all the socialist parties with candidates obtained the necessary 100 Nominating Petition signatures on Primary Day and won the right to appear on the general election ballot.

The Coalition Fights for Minor Party Electoral Rights
The Coalition decided not to run its own candidates in this election but to endorse the People's Party, which offered a clear socialist platform and was the first party in history to run a black woman, a socialist feminist, for President—Margaret Wright.

Sectarians By Any Other Name
In addition to unprecedented publicity and ballot access, the Coalition is significant for achieving a high level of cooperation among radicals. Working together on issues of common concern is crucial to building popular support for socialism and providing invaluable opportunity for theory and strategy to be debated and clarified.

But several parties didn't see it that way. Though it benefited considerably from the Coalition's work, the SWP refused to join and vanity hoped to dissociate itself from other radicals so as to appear to be the only socialist alternative. The Communist Party also refused to cooperate—although they ran a presidential ticket, the bulk of their efforts went into campaigning for liberal Democrats. And the "L.A. Left Party," FSP's fictitious electoral front—ignored the Coalition (to everyone's vast relief).

The Reaction Strikes Back
The Coalition is now in the thick of yet another battle to guarantee minor party access to the ballot. A law is pending before the Washington State legislature which would make it virtually impossible for any minor party to win ballot status. The Coalition has thus far succeeded in processing amendments that would require minor parties to gather approximately 160 signatures at a Primary Day Nominating Convention. This amount nearly doubles the number previously required but is far less than the unrealistic number originally proposed.

The Coalition asks Washington residents to call their legislators on the free Hot Line (1-800-562-6000) and urge them to support Senate Bill 2032 as amended by the House.

...magnet schools

Shaw complained that she was "disappointed" in what the three Trotskyist leaders had to say. She accused them of "rewriting history," but neglected to offer any alternative data. "I'm not here as a formal representative," she said, "and cannot accept any offer of debates. And I'm not here to try to debate, or take issue or continue into a more deploring discussion..." However—she went on for about 5 minutes, to the effect that the meeting was a "deep personal hurt" for her.

Shaw's comparison was that the three Trotskyist leaders had to say. She accused them of "rewriting history," but neglected to offer any alternative data. "I'm not here as a formal representative," she said, "and cannot accept any offer of debates. And I'm not here to try to debate, or take issue or continue into a more deploring discussion..." However—she went on for about 5 minutes, to the effect that the meeting was a "deep personal hurt" for her.

FSP and the Weisses' trip was devoted to an elaboration of many of the issues defining and clarifying program and tactics within the significant tour. "We try to offer any alternative data. And I'm not here to try to debate, or take issue or continue into a more deploring discussion..." However—she went on for about 5 minutes, to the effect that the meeting was a "deep personal hurt" for her.

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The positive reverberations of the Weisses' trip to Seattle are still being felt. The rich process of defining and clarifying program and tactics within the Left—the process of reorganization—has been accelerated by the impact upon it of two commanding figures in radical politics.
that the main job of Black women was to bear
their relegation to second-class status in the movement,
accompanied by denunciations against them as their
abolition and suffragist movements of the 19th Century
labelled as divisive and destructive to the freedom fight.
It did not require that fragmentation, but expected me to
carry on the total struggle as a whole person.

continued from page 4

that the main job of Black women was to bear
"revolutionary" babies for the movement. She attested to the
current level of sexism faced by all the panelists:
their relegation to second-class status in the movement,
accompanied by denunciations against them as their
exposure of race and gender was a sin in capitalism.
The stripping dead weight of their theme: feminism is bourgeois, affirmative action destroys the
house of labor, and socialist feminism is capitulation to
capitalism. The last panelist, Dave Goldman, summed up
the (open) RW credentials, formalized in 1974, has been open and
responsive to the needs of the most exploited workers, is,
in contrast to the RW of the 1930s, a workers' organization that
includes both white and Black women.

The Cape Cod of the SWP:

Thunder from the ultra-left as the socialist Spartacist League expose their ultra-leftist bankruptcy with blunt
rhetoric and a completely uncritical acceptance of every strand of the capitalist system: a completely unnecessary
tactic for which they are internationally scorned.

Women and lesbians were repelled
by the overt male chauvinism and implicit racism of the
Spartacist League. So SL was its usual insufferable self. Its
mechanical equates "labor" with white males and airily dismisses the special job problems
of Black and Third World workers. It refuses to meet her
credentials, and exposed by Conference participants, who recounted
their experiences as members of the American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

The Conference-pre<:isely

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need for independent unions, as a means of organizing
the organized worker who refuses to trade with the entrenched, insensitive labor bureaucracy.

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The SWP undercover agent

Lindy Laub's self-serving report of the Conference was
meant to be "revised" in 1974, and it was.

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Mujeres Radicales

continuación de la página 5

combativa del país. El número más grande de mujeres dentro de la mano de obra y en las uniones ha sido la resistencia y la solidaridad a las organizaciones obreras que ahora tienen que enfrentar cuestiones sociales y políticas de las cuales no hicieron caso antes las uniones dominadas por los hombres blancos.

"Ahora que juntos una parte del movimiento obrero," concluyó Hoddersen, "tenemos un campo mucho más amplio y una oportunidad más ensalzadora para el desarrollo del campo social. Pero no hemos dejado de ser feministas! Hemos llevado las demandas de feministas, de luchadores para los derechos civiles, y del movimiento homosexual al territorio de la clase obrera. Y nada sino nuestro programa para la revolución social asegurará una victoria para la clase obrera sobre el capitalismo." 

Un grupo de diez unionistas de RW continuó la presentación, destacando sus esfuerzos dentro de varias uniones.

Los miembros de RW han luchado mucho para entrar en programas en los gremios donde usualmente no había mujeres. Varias de ellas son electristas de aprendiz y otras son camioneras, soldadoras, trabajadoras en el campo, pintoras de brocha gorda, impresoras, etc. Los miembros de RW ayudaron a fundar la histórica CPL (La Coalición para La Legislación de Protección) en Washington (vea página 17) y también ayudó en la organización de la Unión de Trabajadores Independientes—la unión combativa de la Universidad de Washington que se derivó de la primera huelga en la historia del recinto y representa con intransigencia los intereses de las mujeres, las minorías, y los trabajadores de sueldo bajo.

Tomó lugar una discusión extensa después de las presentaciones individuales. Varias personas comen- tomaron sobre la importancia creciente de las uniones independientes en mantener trabajadores en el movi- miento obrero, en organizar los trabajadores no organizados, y en abogar por las necesidades de los números crecientes de trabajadores minoritarios y femininos. Clara Fraser, una fundadora de RW, presidió que todos los socialistas tendrán que acostumbrarse a la idea del movimiento obrero veni- dero independiente del AFL-CIO y muchas veces puesta en contra del mismo. Recordó la conferencia que el movimiento obrero actual es ni siquiera siniestro decir que la obra en su totalidad o de la lucha de clases en sus formas diversas. ¿Qué es la mano de obra?" preguntó ella. "Más que el 40% hoy en día son mujeres, en su mayoría no organizadas y abandonadas por la aristocracia obrera.

Mujeres Minoritarias y Feministas

Unas Fuerzas

Madeline Scott, activista de muchos años, presidió la presentación titulada "Feminismo y las mujeres minoritarias" en la cual cuatro mujeres min- oritarias analizaron sus experiencias en las comunidades negras, chicanas, e indígenas. Scott, la historia de una mujer negra en los movimientos para los derechos civiles, del nacionalismo negro, y contra la guerra durante los años 60. Fue reclutada su lucha por la jefatura en el movimiento negro por voceros machos que decidieron que la mujer negra era dar a luz a "niños "revolucionarios," para el movimiento. Atesti- gió a la fibra común del sexismo enfrentado por todas las mujeres en la presentación; se les rechazó a una posición de segunda clase en los movimientos y al mismo tiempo se les calumnio y clasificaron las esperanzas de igualdad para su sexo de perjudicial a ellos, mientras se les calumnió y clasificado a los negros, chicanos, e indígenas.

"Yo entro en RW porque no requirieron esa fragmentación sino que contamos conmigo para hacer la lucha total de una persona completa." (Diane Didrickson y Sally Fisico, voceras indígenas, y Yealidade Alane, la presidenta chica de la Unión de Trabajadores Unidos—independiente, detallaron la historia de la explotación brutal de sus pueblos, señalada por el robo de su tierra, idioma, cultura, dignidad y sus propias vidas por el gobierno del ELIU.

La conferencia se suspendió después para un descanso, una cena y una fiesta al Freeway Hall donde delegados, niños e invitados se relajaron. Conversa- ciones animadas sobre los asuntos de la conferencia se fusionaron con diversas por El Corte de Picos y Rosas que cantó canciones favoritas del movimiento obrero.

La Liberación del Homosexual y la Clase Obrera

La sesión del domingo se dirigió al tema de "Los homosexuales y la lucha de clases." Laurie Morton presentó un panorama del movimiento para los derechos civiles de homosexual- es. Criticó al sexismo simple punto de muchos de los líderes machos de homosexuales y a la postura anti-política de las separatistas lesbianas.

Hizo una discusión activa de RW en la lucha para los derechos homosexuales y la evolución que ha llevado la organización al punto que es una fuerza importante en la lucha homosexual. Cité El Informe de la Presidenta:

Los feministas se han liberado de la trampa ideológica del separatismo y ahora están tray- endo la política de la lucha de clases al movimi- ento homosexual.

Llamando los homosexuales machos y las lesbianas que se unan alrededor de un pro- grama firme de feminismo, estas mujeres están encabezando el movimiento homosexual, reconstruyéndolo de los vestigios rotos de los últimos años de los 60 y los primeros de los 70.

RW ha llenado un papel de jefatura activa en este proceso, o el socialismo y la liberación homosexual, la política de la lucha de clases y el feminismo, son componentes íntimamente relacio- nados en todas las luchas de la humanidad para la libe ratad:...

¿Adonde Vamos de Aquí?

Encabezó que concluyó la conferencia, la presi- denta de RW, Constance Scott, recapituló los años de poeta y preguntó, "¿Adonde vamos de aquí? Hemos empezado algo verdaderamente importante en el movimiento obrero y tenemos que seguir el camino exacto, tratando hacia una alianza firme entre actividades feministas, obreros minoritarios y homosexuales. La lucha de clases es donde estén unidos todos estos problemas.

Scott exhortó a RW que continuara a dar una alternativa socialista a los homosexuales, a educar las mujeres jóvenes de los colegios y del recinto univer- sitario sobre el origen de su oposición, a prestar apoyo firme a los esfuerzos organizadores de los miembros por el país, y, como una prioridad de primera conside- ración, a fomentar el desarrollo de la jefatura de mujeres minoritarias. "Solamente trabajadoras minori- tarías pueden firmemente unificar los movimien- tos raciales y los del sexo femenino en la lucha de clases," dijo. "Vamos a esperar que el tema de nuestra próxima conferencia sea la realización de la jefa- tura de las mujeres minoritarias en el movimiento re- volucionario a una escala más grande.

La conferencia respondió esto con un entus- iasmo notable, y todos aplaudieron calurosamente a estas luchadoras, las que fueron tan importantes en el nuevo movimiento.

The Freedom Socialists, Spring 1977
continued from page 30

The Freedom Socialist Party has long proclaimed solidarity with the revolutionary movements. We hold, that the Chinese experience differed sharply from the Soviet Union model—no immense secret police force, concentration camps, blood purges, etc. —the Stalinist heritage and outlook of the Chinese government directly contradicted its progressive tendencies and practices. These contradictions persist, but it is still premature to paste the ineradicable label of "degenerated" on the regime, which will hover on the verge of qualitative retrogression or rejuvenation until major events decisively determine and reveal its basic character—and fate.

The Regime's Response to Protest

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Where Do We Go from Here?

As the Conference drew to a close, Radical Women President Constance Scott summed up the years of achievement and asked, "Where do we go from here?" We've started something really big in the labor movement, and we must stay on course. Building toward a strong alliance between feminist, labor, minority and gay activists. The class struggle is where it all comes together.

Scott urged RW to continue to provide a socialist alternative to gays, to educate young high school and campus women on political options, to provide strong support to the organizing efforts of members around the country, and, as a top priority, to nourish the development of minority women's leadership.

"Only minority women workers can firmly unify the race and sex movements in the class struggle," she said. "Let's hope that the theme for our next conference will be the actuality of minority women's leadership in the revolutionary movement on a vastly expanded scale."

The Rout of the Spartacists

From beginning to end, the RW Conference was alive and inspiring, and all the participants departed with new invigoration and commitment. All participants, that is, with the nauseous exception of the sour and vitriolic Spartacist contingent, which came to conquer but soon dribbled away (not with a bang but a whimper) when it became crystal clear that their ultra-left idealism was being roundly repudiated by the adult audience. But that is another story, so please see the article on pg. 20 for a ringside report of the historic and hilarious encounter.

The Conference appreciated the verbal forays of the chronically upright and grandiosely SJL folks, who provided the delegates with an unexpected bonus in the form of political comic relief. No finer contrast could have been drawn than the contrast between the high principles and revolutionary integrity of RW and the denigrated ravings of the SJL chauvinistic blobs whose history and class struggle have long since passed by.

The next RW Conference will celebrate ten years of revolutionary work for women's emancipation. From 1967 to 1977, RW has served as a milestone on the road to international socialism.
Point Three is the injunction to American radicals to stop speculating and start intervening into the Portuguese Revolution.

The SWP has been historically delayed in informing the public about the odds on prizefighters or rackets and provides you with a guide for gambling. But revolutionaries, like good bookers, do not depend on gambling odds. I can just visualize a friend asking Muhammad Ali, in the middle of a fight, "Are you going to win or lose?" The candid answer would be, "Please don't bother me. I'm busy. The fight itself will decide."

Yes, the same thing on the outcome, and authentic revolutionary are not sideline spectators placing bets, but political interventionists. We ourselves are not a revolutionary party on the Portuguese scene. We are people with a group and a doctrine who try to influence the situation through others, by entry into it, by writing or speaking, etc. But you cannot intervene by announcing at the outset that the whole situation is impossible because the PCC has the hegemony! That kind of abstentionism ties can project a revolutionary orientation and move all. And if these parties break out of the Stalinist and despair was never the response of Marxists, nor in a revolutionary direction. This is not impossible at all.

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The first task of revolutionaries in the United States is to be internationalists. This means that our prime responsibility as regards world events is to open an attack on the class enemies of the Portuguese and Angolan workers—on the enemies of our friends. We must expose and resist our own country's machinery for repressing these revolutions.

The social democracy in the U.S. is one of the foremost enemies of the Portuguese workers. By "social democracy" I mean the entire trade union bureaucracy and all their intellectual servants and sub-groups like the Socialist Party. But these worthies are only doing what they're supposed to do. What about the SWP?

The position of the Socialist Workers Party on the unfolding revolution in Portugal is cause for extreme alarm. Their dictums smack of a Stalinophobia of the highest order. In order to understand the unfolding events in Portugal, we must become deeply acquainted with the one in Portugal. (That's how we became communists—out of the Russian Revolution.)

We can observe manifestations of this phenomenon in the inner momentum of the Portuguese Communist Party, which assumes various forms that demonstrate the loosening of its connection with the Kremlin, the breakaway from the privileged ruling class in the U.S.S.R., that would direct it into class-collaboration with Portuguese capitalism and world imperialism, if it could.

The world monolith of Stalinism contains many irreconcilable contradictions, and the PCP is one of them. This is evident not just in PCP verbiage, but in its split with the powerful Communist Parties surrounding and pressuring it from all over Europe. The PCP is saying "no, no, a thousand times no!" to the Italian Communist Party, the most numerically powerful in Europe, to the French Communist Party and to the Spanish Communist Party.

The PCP has clearly and publically explained its position. "So sorry," it has said, "but we just can't do it your way. We would have no hope of furthering your reformist and revisionist and Stalinist way—that is actually the policy that we believed in. We truly planned to have some kind of a People's Front. But unfortunately it didn't happen that way and now we don't even have a choice anymore. The only options open to us now are fascism and socialist revolution! Please do try to understand, comrades."

When the Stalinist monolith begins to shatter, space is created for workers' parties previously dominated by the Kremlin, space in which to move on their own and develop their own point of view. This is the reality of what happened in Portugal.

And how does the SWP relate to this latest rent in the Stalinist monolith? "Well," the SWP sneers, in a jargon invented by them, an awkward blend of Time-style and Newsweek journalies, "they obviously say that in an effort to serve their own interests, as if anybody in politics is there for somebody else's interests! As if PCP interests differ from the interests of the working class when the PCP itself is working class and that class is revolutionary!

"Superficial," continues the SWP, "because they are only moving leftward under pressure." So what? Don't knock it, don't discount PCP yielding to workers' pressure; this should be grounds for approval, not disdain.

"But they are only conceding to the workers in order to gain power," complains SWP. That deplorable point of view, which vaporizes everything into nothingness, is just one more shabby manifestation of support for the reformist social democracy,

![Image of Freedom Socialist](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

"Murry Weiss on PORTUGAL"

We said more to the SWP. This U.S.A., we said, is the center of world capitalism, and its chief agent against the workers—the labor bureaucracy—is bearing down on the revolutions in Angola and Portugal. Why don't you turn your literary guns on them sometimes? But the SWP never did, not once. All they can see is the "Stalinist" menace to "democracy"—democracy as defined by the elitist Socialist Party.

But let's direct ourselves to the main question, which is this: a revolution is taking place in Portugal. 60% of the country has been nationalized, workers' control has been installed, and the proletariat is arming itself. In order for us to become prepared for our own revolution, we must become deeply acquainted with the one in Portugal. (That's how we became communists—out of the Russian Revolution.)

To summarize our position on the PCP, we have professed a three-point thesis.

**Point One: The Communist Party is the spine of the industrial working class in Portugal.**

The Communist Party is the traditional party of the European working class, and the PCP has been freely chosen by the Portuguese industrial workers to represent them. The PCP managed to survive under the very shadow of fascism for forty-eight years, and then emerged dramatically in the course of two years of revolution.

The PCP's social composition is indisputably proletarian. It has grown from 15,000 to over 100,000 members since the revolution began, and hundreds of thousands of workers are interacting with this party.

"70% of the Portuguese people are workers class, including agricultural workers, and 50% of the people are in the industrial sector of the class—and this overwhelming segment of the total population is trying to express itself politically through the medium of the PCP. This is a fact.

**Point Two: The Stalinist monolith has been shattered.**

We can observe manifestations of this phenomenon in the inner momentum of the Portuguese Communist Party, which assumes various forms that demonstrate the loosening of its connection with the Kremlin, the breakaway from the privileged ruling class in the U.S.S.R. that would direct it into class-collaboration with Portuguese capitalism and world imperialism, if it could.