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Gay History

Part I of a two-part series chronicles gays in antiquity, the sources of the taboo against homosexuality, and the centuries-long resistance of matrilineal societies against the secularization of their traditions.

Bakke

Is this case of reverse justice acceptable because of the ambivalent, ertzawording of the decision? Hardly. Instead, this masterpiece of judicial duplicity sets the stage for a new level of struggle for minority freedom.

Trouble in Tijuana

Dispirited by the treachery of the Mexican Communist Party, the displaced colonos of Tijuana's riverbed are hard-pressed in their effort to sustain a movement against the government. Jeda Menas reports.

A Warning Message

Native American messenger Janet McCloud concludes her manuscript on the three crises facing American Indians by positing the burning question: adaptation to capitalism or rebirth of the communal, traditional culture?

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Somebody Out There

Likes Us

The labor article in the last issue was very timely and helpful to me in articulating and clarifying my position towards unions. It made a distinction between the role of the bureaucrats and the potential role of the unions as a mechanism for workers to fight for better wages and conditions. It clarified the fact that workers' hostility and apathy towards unions is a well-grounded fact and a reason for discouragement. It will help me avoid the trap of being a booster for the union bureaucracy while trying to be a booster for the workers and our union.

Many lower level union officials start out full of enthusiasm and with some principles; but with no radical theory or leadership they lose heart and either leave the trade or fade into what's in for them. Some do what they can within the limits of their understanding.

A.W.

Portland, Oregon

I consider the Freedom Socialist to be the best game in town for trade unionists, radicals, etc. I was particularly interested in the recent piece on Cuba.

I, too, put out a journal of feminist analysis. The paper has been charged from Hawaii Feminist News-Journal to Ferti. It is not as socialist oriented as I would like because of the extremely low state of interest in the left in Hawaii, though I do try to include some Marxist analysis of issues whenever I can. Therefore, the Freedom Socialist is a useful part of our reference library.

Dorothy K. S.

Editor Honolulu, Hawaii

Open Letter to Ernest Mandel

On May 4, 1978, you spoke in New York City, and you discussed the existence of workers states in Africa, particularly Angola, because of their reluctance to nationalize the Gulf of Capes. It seems that you consider the Freedom Socialist a useful part of our reference library.

This is a strange demand. The USSR sells natural gas to the West and does business with Fiat, and we consider the USSR a workers state. You also complained about the primitive accumulation of capital in Africa and the emergence of a class of millions. But if millionaires negate the existence of a workers state, then we have to strike Poland off our list. Poland not only has millionaires, but also a class of independent agricultural producers who own their land and sell it not to the state, like the collectives in the USSR, but to a middleners. Workers states do exist where the process of primitive accumulation may or may not be effectively controlled.

Hence, what is the criterion of a workers state? There is only one answer: in a workers state, the working class is the ruling class.

I am not going to prove that Angola is a workers state; but Angola could be a workers state and still do what you demand of it. Angola may not wish to nationalize Gulf Oil but the primitive accumulation of capital or withhold their raw material from the world market.

To call the Angolan leadership a bourgeoisie-nationalists—a connotation which fits the bureaucrats of most workers states—and thereby take their actions or omissions to act does not make us any wiser. Instead, let it be stated succinctly: this is capitalism in Angola. Has the counterrevolution been boring, as in Algeria? Has the counterrevolution succeeded or even the leaderships of two workers states? Karl Marx said that the Paris Commune is the dictatorship of the proletariat, and then proceeded to point out its shortcomings. I'd like to see Marx's method of investigation at work in the USSR. Have some bush league Marxists inside and outside the Fourth International discerned. Clearly, more analysis should not be handicapped by yielding to the worst side of some opportunists.

Your friend and comrade,

Fred Brode

Houston, Texas

Estudios Chicanos

The Centro de Estudios Chicanos Research Center was founded in 1978 because of the need to compile a more accurate account of the educational, social, cultural, and political struggles of the Chicano/a community. Our purpose is to allow students, staff and faculty of this campus and colleges throughout San Diego County, and the community, to experience new views through our library materials. We are trying to obtain more books, periodicals, and other materials of value to students. As funds are made available, we will be acquiring books, periodicals, and other materials of value to students.

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San Diego, California

Editor's Response

Three of the five photos in the cover graphic were of women's hands—the bus driver, cashier, and mail carrier. When I came out androgynous, that press problems resulted in a substantial loss of detail. The emphasis on industrial and service occupations was tied to the theme of the organized labor movement, and we didn't have to do any inequality for our creativity outside the workplace.

We have much to learn from Native Americans—the first environmentalists and an inspirational ally to socialists who seek to integrate nature and humanity.

Editor: Reviewer

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We have much to learn from Native Americans—the first environmentalists and an inspirational ally to socialists who seek to integrate nature and humanity.

Blame It on the Printer

I was very upset with your cover picture and caption, "In these hands is placed a power that can free a shackled world." The hands looked male. Are men the leaders to freedom, men "the workers"? I am a woman not included.

It is equally disturbing that the hands were all attuned to managing the labor such as digging the earth, planting a seed, caring for young people, managing a household, and doing service work. To say nothing of the conspicuous absence of workers' hands shown in other advertisements—an embrace with a friend, lifting food to the mouth, hands playing music.

It is a national need to talk about the images of an integrated life. And we must begin to live it now, to project its integration as part and parcel of the whole life.
The handful of fascist hoodlums that outraged the Jews of Skokie, Illinois by a threat to march through town switched their tactic in late June and rallied briefly outside Chicago's Federal Building.

2,000 police and federal agents restrained an infuriated counterdemonstration of 5,000 anti-Nazis-Jews, Blacks, Hispanics, feminists, and radicals.

In July, the neo-Nazi gang held a large rally in racially tense Marquette Park while Chicago police kept antifascists two blocks away.

Almost every leftwing tendency in Chicago demonstrated against the fascists. Each radical group staked out its own piece of sidewalk, with its own picket line and slogans. Some vehemently opposed "free speech for Nazis" while others concentrated on denouncing fascist ideology. Not one group called for a unified antifascist movement.

Myopia plus Amnesia

Efforts at unity were muzzled by sectarianism and wishful thinking as usual.

The liberals are either occupied with defending Nazi free speech or with counseling the apprehensive to ignore the "handful" of fascists. This is reminiscent of the ostrich role of European liberals in the '20s and '30s who allowed Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco to seize power. (Liberals always fear the left more than the right, and collaborate with the reactionaries against the radicals.)

The radicals themselves are retarded today by their own antidemocratic habits and are thumbing their noses at the bitter lesson of history: that a disunified left invites the fascist takeover.

In the '30s the German Social Democrats and Communists had ample time to unite and defeat Hitler. But Stalin declared that the primary enemy was Social Democracy rather than fascism. Hitler, he said, wasn't important; the Communist chance for power would soon appear. Stalin's incorrect analysis enabled fascism to succeed.

The CP refused to join with the Social Democrats in a united electoral front against Hitler. The Nazis, a minority party, were legally elected. They imprisoned the radicals, smashed the labor movement, incinerated Jews, gays and Gypsies, ravaged Europe, and invaded the unsuspecting Soviet Union.

Capitalism's Last Stronghold

Fascism, a mass movement spawned by capitalism in crisis, feeds well in cities like Chicago, where the American Nazi Party, the Klan and other virulent far-right groups elicit broad support among the dispossessed, desperate and demoralized lower middle class and declassed slumdwellers.

Distinct ethnic neighborhoods, perpetuated by a corrupt political machine, breed chauvinism and racism, which fascists exploit to divide the workers. Historically, fascist attacks on the most oppressed pave the way for capital to crush unions and impose virtual slave labor; in this manner, profits are stabilized.

It Needn't Happen Here

In St. Louis recently, a white, workingclass community turned out spontaneously to abort a Nazi march and repelled a carload of Nazis attempting a parade.

And in Seattle, on July 9, the Jewish Liberation Alliance spearheaded an antifascist coalition with feminists, gays, people of color, trade unionists, and radicals, and mounted an impressive rally around the slogan of "Never to Forget." Speakers linked fascism to decaying capitalism and called for militant defense of the civil rights of minorities, women, gays, workers, and radicals—the classic targets of the Nazi scum.

Racism, sexism and heterosexism are the keys to Nazi resurgence. It will take furious struggle on every level by a consolidated battalion of antifascists to send the Nazis slithering back under their slimy rocks.

The united front against re-emergent Nazism flounders as fascist hoods inflame Chicago.
The Belgian Congo has a new name, Zaïre, but the same old imperialists are sowing around trying to prop up dictator Mobutu's tottering regime.

When the well organized, highly disciplined guerrilla forces of the Congo National Liberation Front (FNLC) struck mineral-rich Shaba (Katanga) province last May, international headlines suppressed news of revolution and screamed "Whites massacred!" And French and Belgian overseers concocted a phony "rescue mission" to quell the revolt.

Soon after, foreign investors announced the "Mobutu Plan," which would further garrote Zaïre's virtually bankrupt economy.

Captive Economy

The Mobutu plan, carefully masked as "international cooperation," is an imperialist effort to attract more foreign investment and tighten control of Zaïre's finances. Drafted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the Common Market, and multinational corporations, the plan turns the Bank of Zaïre and the total economy over to the IMF.

The chief beneficiaries are the foreign corporations who own Zaïre's copper, cobalt, uranium and diamond mines. The U.S. receives 90% of its cobalt from Zaïre, and hundreds of millions of dollars owed to U.S. banks would be lost should Shaba win independence.

Invasion by Foreign Troops

To assure their grip on Zaïre, the imperialists recruited troops from Morocco, Senegal, etc., to replenish Mobutu's disintegrating army. And thousands of Belgian and French soldiers are in training for the role of imperialist cops in Zaïre.

These were the forces whose widely touted "rescue" operation crushed the May insurrection. But once the racist bullabaloo receded, the "rescue" was revealed as poorly camouflaged aggression against the Zaïrean masses.

Airlifted Belgian refugees denied that FNLC guerrillas massacred whites; observers placed the blame on the French soldiers who actually triggered the crossfire which killed both Blacks and whites. Atrocities were perpetrated by Mobutu's poorly-paid mercenaries, who robbed, ransomed and slaughtered with impunity.

President Carter exploited the situation by defaming Cuba, but could unearth no evidence that Castro's soldiers participated in the rising. The only international intervention was the sham rescue staged by the "peace-keeping" imperialist troops.

Unfolding Revolution

Surrounded by wealth they do not share, and caught in the vise of starvation and runaway inflation, the Zaïrean masses are prepared to move dramatically against Mobutu and his colonialist cronies.

The people hate Mobutu, chief executioner of Patrice Lumumba, the martyred leader of Congolese independence. And the Lunda Tribe, their territory split by the borders of Zaïre, Angola and Zambia, furnishes the FNLC with strong support. The FNLC is planning a new offensive aimed at wresting government control from the imperialist plunderers and their native henchmen.

Though FNLC poses no political alternative to capitalism, it offers to a desperately exploited colonial people a reform program that has proven dynamic at this stage of the struggle. But only an anticapitalist revolution will decisively throw out the colonialists and give the country to the workers and peasants now forced to turn all the national wealth of Zaïre into foreign millions, while the people sicken and starve.

Repulsing guerrilla efforts to free a starving people, Western powers prop up the corrupt Mobutu and drain the country's vast mineral reserves.
The children are wild with joy as one of them slides home for the winning run in the traditional single-base street ball game. But their laughter contrasts sharply with the silence of the barren colonia San Martín which formerly housed thousands of Tijuana's poorest workers.

In March, the Mexican government terrorized 25,000 people into abandoning their homes in Tijuana's riverbed by claiming that the phenomenal rains would break the dam. But once the people were relocated in a tent city, Campamento de Otay, the army bulldozed the riverbed because the government desperately needed it for a shopping center to service a new industrial zone.

The government, plagued by economic crisis, hopes that Tijuana's cheap labor and Japanese industry will lure U.S. and Japanese industry.

Colono Outrage

The Portillo regime thought the colonos, lacking political and trade union experience, would not resist being savagely uprooted. But the government underestimated colonos consciousness.

The colonos retaliated, organizing a committee of struggle which stopped the bulldozers. With the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International, actively participating in the leadership of this movement, the Comité de Colonos de la Zona del Río mobilized the masses to aggressively pressure the government for compensation.

And it is noteworthy that women played a key role in the leadership of the new movement.

The colonos understood fully that only mass actions would force the government to meet their demands, yet they also explored every possible legal recourse, including the futile sending of two delegations to meet with President Portillo.

On June 25, the Comité passed a resolution giving the governor 15 days to justly compensate the dispossessed. Should he fail, the Comité vowed that the 1500 colonos living in the tent city would return to the riverbed.

Up to this point, the Mexican Communist Party, though critical of the street demonstrators for "flirting with repression," participated in the struggle. But land seizures were more than their weak reformist hearts could handle. Fearing of losing their newly-acquired legal status as a political party, the CP criminally engineered a split in the colonio movement and formed a countercommittee.

The counterrevolutionary Stalinists informed the press that they were the true colonio representatives and that the original committee was "manipulated by Trotskyite foreign elements." And when a woman leader of the colonio movement denounced the CP publicly for this vicious red-baiting, the Stalinists took her to court for defamation of character. They then unleashed a campaign of intimidation, warning colonos that the land seizure tactic would lead them into a massacre.

The CP countercommittee did not succeed, but the uproar stopped the colonos' momentum. The split and the mudslinging demoralized the masses. With doubt and confusion reigning in Tent City, the mass return to the lands was indefinitely postponed.

Two Steps Forward, One Step Backward

The land-seizure movement was derailed, but its very creation was a giant step forward.

More than 1200 families still have a home because of the militant struggle against the state. The working class has begun to understand its own strength and has gained valuable self-confidence. The dynamic intervention of the PRT has exposed thousands to a class analysis of Mexican society. And, through the support of the Mexican Solidarity Committee organized in Los Angeles (with CRSP in the forefront), the colonos experienced the excitement of international solidarity.

Scores of colonos today, despite the despicable machinations of the Stalinists, have learned to appreciate the need for and benefits of an international movement of worker solidarity.

The saga of Tijuana, Baja California, is one of heroism and tragedy, demonstrating in miniature the worldwide struggle between the virus of Stalinist reformism and the forces of authentic revolution.

The Mexican government bulldozed the colonia San Martin, displacing thousands of Tijuana's poorest workers.
by Edith and Milton Zaslow

Edith and Milton Zaslow, veteran Trotskyists, recently visited Cuba. This is the second and concluding section of their report. The first installment appeared in the Summer issue, Volume 6, Number 2.) included an examination of economic inequality, the status of women and gays, education and housing in the new Cuba.

**Legal System**

The Cuban legal system has made important advances over elitist bourgeois court procedures. Local courts are popular tribunals; a panel of neighbors of the accused combines the functions of interrogator, judge and jury. Only minor offenses are tried in these courts, and sentences, correspondingly limited, are often some form of corrective, useful labor rather than jail. All courts are open to the public, and we attended a provincial court trial in Havana. The accused was charged with embezzling funds from a state enterprise—a serious crime in Cuba. A panel of five judges presided; two were professionals and three corrective, useful labor rather than jail. The defendant faced up to twenty years in prison if convicted and could have been sentenced to death. But the defendant was not kept in jail long, and can transfer to a work project and be released when they are deemed to be rehabilitated. When we asked people about political "crimes" involving revolutionary dissenters, they were genuinely perplexed. No one had ever heard of such a thing. Yet Posada Rias (a group of so-called Trotskyists) were imprisoned many years ago.

A dismaying note on Cuban crime and punishment was Castro's pronouncement at the end of the session of the National People's Power Assembly, held during our visit.

"Yes, measures have been taken—and we're going to wage an all-out battle against crime! The Council of State is already studying a decree-law and stiffening certain types of punishment to help our Ministry of the Interior agencies in their battle against crime."

This tough, law-and-order line sounded all too familiar. We had hoped that a "socialist" government would have more humanitarian methods for dealing with antisocial behavior.

**Foreign Policy**

Cuba's foreign policy is shaped by (1) the socialist character of the revolution, (2) the desperate need for trade and aid, and (3) the pragmatic, opportunist tendencies of the leadership. The internationalist nature of the revolution led Cuba to a rupture with the U.S.A. and the revolutionary internationalist orientation of the first decade brought the country into conflict with the Kremlin and the reformist Communist Parties of Latin America. The Castro regime avoided dependence on either capitalism or socialism or the Soviet bureaucracy, opting instead for spreading the revolution in Latin America.

In 1967, Fidel declared open political war against the Latin American CPs, and in 1968 purged Anabel Escalante and the hard-core Stalinist bureaucrats from the Cuban CP. Unfortunately, the attempt to duplicate throughout Latin America Cuba's guerrilla road to power resulted in devastating defeats culminating in the martyrdom of Che Guevara.

Che's Bolivian adventure collapsed, Moscow tightened the economic screws, and Cuba faced isolation and stagnation. The regime concluded that its only hope lay in a turn to the Soviet Union, even though the price was uncrirical support of Kremlin policies.

Castro's endorsement of the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia signaled the turn. Cuba soon became integrated into COMCON (a Soviet-led economic association of Stalinist countries) and into Moscow's international operations. The reconstructed Cuban CP aligned with the conservative Latin American CPs to support bourgeois reformist governments. Cuban doors were opened wide to Russian influence. Cubans are bombarded today with Russian posters, books, movies, and television programs.

In the early revolutionary years, bookstores carried the works of Trotsky and other independent writers. Today, a depressing uniformity prevails everywhere. Most books, pamphlets and texts on sociological matters are translations from the Russian. The Soviet regime, its ideology, and its foreign policy are promoted as the model for Cuba. No criticism of Soviet policies is seen or heard, and it appears that none would be tolerated. The reason for this blatant Russophilia is easy to locate. By 1974, 66% of Cuba's trade was with COMCON countries, 46% with the Soviet Union itself. The USSR supplies Cuba with wheat, oil, transportation equipment, semi-finished goods, consumer durable and much more, under extraordinary trade terms.

In 1972 Cuba and the USSR concluded a major trade agreement. The key provisions were:

1) Payment of Cuban debts deferred until 1986, with a 25-year payoff at no interest.
2) A new large-scale trade agreement transacted on the same terms.
3) A credit of 300 million rubles granted to Cuba for purchase of Russian capital goods and technology, with a 25-year payoff at very low interest.

To further sweeten the deal, the Soviets concluded a long-term arrangement to buy Cuba's entire sugar crop at double the world market price (11¢ per pound vs. 5¢). The price was also pegged to Cuba's import prices on a sliding scale; by 1976, Russia was paying Cuba 30¢ per pound while the world price was 13¢-14¢. A similar deal covered Cuba's nickel production.

Cuba was thereby protected from wildly fluctuating world market prices and provided with the stability so indispensable to planning. These terms were established "entirely at the initiative of the Soviet Union," said Castro. "Such generous relations have no precedent in the history of mankind." This is no doubt true. A reliable, friendly government in Cuba is very important to the Kremlin in its global conflict with U.S. imperialism. And since Cuba is too distant to be kept in line by military might, like Eastern Europe, once Cuba fell into line, the "generous relations" followed.

Still, Cuba's foreign policy, like everything else about it, is contradictory. We have noted some of the negative aspects. On the other hand, a spirit of internationalism pervades the population, a sentiment consciously generated by the regime. Gigantic signs and posters are displayed everywhere.

Elementary school children who were learning to assemble rifles declared in their rehearsed greetings to us that they were ready to go anywhere in the world to help their oppressed brothers and sisters fight for liberation. More than 100,000 Cubans volunteered to fight in Angola. And we spoke to young returnees from Africa, who were motivated by genuine communist and internationalist sentiments.

Cuba's intervention in Africa was obviously undertaken independently of Moscow and with the enthusiastic support of the Cuban people. One hears no reports of a similar international consciousness in the Soviet Union!

**Political Structure**

After 17 years of arbitrary rule, the Castro leadership institutionalized the new order and consolidated its regime. Cuba is now governed at all levels by elected representatives and officials.

At the base of Cuban society are CDRs (Committees for the Defense of the Revolution), even though they lack legal status in the state structure. These grass roots, neighborhood assemblies were established in 1960 to ferret out saboteurs and counterrevolutionaries. Their functions have since...
for campaigns and emergencies (cane cutting, mass innoculations, paper recycling, political education, been expanded to include mobilization of the masses even though they include only supporters of the constituency nominates a candidate to the municipal tribunals, and discussion of major legislation.

The constitution explicitly provides for multiple assemblies; six or seven of these units combine to elect candidates at all levels. The municipal assemblies are organs of power in their jurisdictions, and also nominate and elect working commissions which oversee and direct the work of these officials. The National Assembly elects the Council of Ministers and Council of State. According to the constitutional provision, all electoral and nominating votes and then abdicating all power to professional Ministers and Council of State. According to the Constitution, the assemblies exercise strict control over the executive committees and administrators through working commissions which oversee and direct the work of these officials.

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Two main principles are emphasized: accountability and recall. Instead of the electorate casting a right that we were told is exercised. Popular discussion precedes decisions of the National Assembly on major legislation (Family Code, Constitution, etc.). These discussions take place in thousands of meetings throughout the country in the CDRs, unions, women's organizations, work places, and schools. (As we previously reported, animated debates raged over the New Family Code.) Amendments are proposed and votes taken; all amendments submitted to the National Assembly are considered and many adopted in the final drafting.

The economy is directed by a central planning board elected by the National Assembly. The newly established provincial and municipal assemblies assume responsibility for production and services within their jurisdiction, and implement the central plan. Factory managers are appointed by government agencies, but are obliged to consult with advisory committees composed of representatives of the workers, the party and the government. We were informed that workers exercise considerable control through these committees and workers assemblies, and have even forced the removal of managers.

**Political System**

How does Cuba's political system measure up to the norms of a workers state as theorized by Marxists? How does it compare with the Paris Commune or the pre-Stalin USSR? Many features of the Cuban state correspond to these norms: popular committees at the base, a pyramided system, accountability and control of all elected officials, the option of instant recall, multiple candidates, and mass discussions on national policy.

And yet the workers do not rule Cuba. One obvious defect is the absence of factory councils; the basic units are solely geographical. Much more serious is the lack of a provision limiting the salaries of officials to that of skilled workers. But the fatal flaw is the institutionalized political monopolism. The Communist Party is the only legal party, and no tendencies are permitted within it. By constitutional provision, all electoral and nominating commissions must be headed by a CP representative. The entire electoral process is thus reduced to a facade with no real democratic content; without the opportunity to choose among alternate policies, the masses are unable to make meaningful decisions.

When we asked whether competing candidates sought votes on the basis of respective ideas or policies, the response was, "Candidates are chosen according to their records and abilities. The party decides questions of policy." But no tendencies are permitted within the party, thus the ranks are presented with a single line from above and deprived of the right to decide. Consequently, the top party leadership makes all the important decisions, and the monolithic single party, single tendency system results in an all-powerful ruler. Castro is President of the Council of Ministers and Council of State, First Secretary of the Party, and Commander in Chief of the armed forces, with veto power in all matters.

**Nature of the Cuban State**

We are convinced that the sociological or class character of the state is that of a transitional society based on a socialized economy, a bureaucratised workers state.

Anyone observing life in Cuba today with an open mind must realize that a profound social revolution has occurred which transformed Cuba into a society that benefits the mass of producers. Production is regulated by conscious planning, not the blind laws of the market. The aim of production is to expand use values, not exchange value. No contradiction between

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**A spirit of internationalism, consciously generated by the regime, pervades the population**

social production and private appropriation exists, no cyclical crises, no built-in reserve army of labor, no overproduction, no extremes of wealth and poverty. Cuba is a collective society, clearly revolutionary and progressive as compared to capitalism. It should be defended unconditionally against any attempt to turn back the clock of history.

But the bureaucratic, repressive nature of the Castro regime is undeniable. Cuba wears an ideological straitjacket, and the workers are politically powerless. All experience teaches that the interests of the masses and their socialist future can only be advanced through the exercise of power by the workers themselves, and even the most benevolent "Jeujeu" is a substitute.

What is the extent of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Cuban workers state? Has it reached the point of no return short of the revolutionary overthrow of the regime—short of a political revolution, as in the case of the USSR?

We do not think so.

The only response to a perspective of any kind of revolution in Cuba today would come from the counterrevolutionaries. There appears to be no social base among the workers, peasants, or general supporters of the revolution to back such a policy, and this is not due primarily to any political backwardness on their part. The fact is the bureaucracy has not yet crystallized into an aristocratic caste with interests that fundamentally conflict with the working class, as in the USSR. The bureaucracy has not yet converted the state into an instrument for the perpetuation of its own power and privileges. The regime's power does not rest primarily on the army and secret police, but on the firm support of the masses.

Thus, the possibility of the assumption of power by the workers, through struggle but within the framework of the existing state apparatus, cannot be ruled out.

The progressive forms of the political structure of Cuba (non-existent in other noncapitalist states) are highly significant. Under conditions of mass upsurge, it is possible that life could be breathed into the structural forms. Competing candidates could become instruments for conflicting ideas and tendencies, and

A friendly government in Cuba is vital to the Kremlin

the popular committees could be converted into organs of struggle and potential organs of genuine popular power.

We conclude that socialists must combine unconditional support of Cuba against the counterrevolution with vigorous criticism of the bureaucratic regime and its adaptation to Stalinist politics.

Socialists must also expose and condemn the brutal oppression of homosexuals, and criticize the official glorification of the nuclear family and lack of affirmative action for women.

We left Cuba deeply impressed by the overwhelming superiority of its collectivized, planned economy and the dramatic transformation in the lives of the masses. There are serious defects in Cuban life; still, we are reminded of the famous comment of Lincoln Steffens after he returned from the young Soviet Union: "I have seen the future, and it works."
The gist of the theory of Permanent Revolution is that the unfinished, bourgeois democratic tasks of humanity can only be carried through by the proletarian, socialist revolution. First advanced by Marx, this theory has been tested and verified since 1848. Trotsky fought to extend world revolution under this banner. He undertook to advance the continuity of Marxism and Leninism, to apply fresh turn in the mutations and vicissitudes of the theory in an ever new and changing way to each fresh turn in the mutations and vicissitudes of the struggle for democracy.

And there is a more profound or wider ranging democratic struggle than that of women. An inextricable bond links Permanent Revolution and women's liberation. Just as Permanent Revolution was repressed and slaughtered, bursting into clear view only at the highest point of revolution, so the women's movement is suddenly recognized today. It has always existed but all too often slipped below the surface of even the highest Marxist consciousness.

Women everywhere are embroiled in uninter rupted, permanent struggle for equality. More than half the human race is striving to throw off the shackles of universal humiliation, superexploitation, and exclusion from leadership. Women continuously arise to attack the huge edifice of male supremacy. And this battle of the centuries is inseparable from women's liberation, and the great changes among revolutionary women are changing women's status in revolutionary parties—as always.

Russian Revolutionaries
Mensheviks, Social Democrats and Stalinists oppose to Permanent Revolution the schema that unchanging, ineluctable stages must be passed through before socialism can emerge. First the bourgeois revolution, they said, in advanced capitalist countries; backward, agrarian Czarist Russia would come last. But life defied this lifeless recipe. The permanent revolution emerged in February, 1917 in Petrograd. And who led this revolution? Read the chapter, "Five Days," in Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution:

The 23rd of February was International Woman's Day. Not a single organization called for strikes on that day. What is more, even a Bolshevik organization, and a most militant one—the Vyborg bureau-committee, all workers—was suppressing strikes. On February 23, a wave of massed ... was very tense; any strike would threaten to turn into an open fight. But since the committee thought the time unripe for militant action—the party not strong enough and the workers having too few contacts with the soldiers—they decided not to call for strikes but to prepare for revolutionary action at some indefinite time in the future.

History's revolutionary party, the Bolsheviks, lagged behind events, providing no leadership. (Lenin and Trotsky were in exile.) On the following morning, however, in spite of all directives, the women textile workers in several factories went on strike, and sent delegates to the metal workers with an appeal for support...

"With reluctance," writes Kayurov, "the Bolsheviks agreed to this, and they were followed by the workers...

The women textile workers were the conscious factor of the highest order needed to spark the revolt. Undeterred by any hesitancy, they won over the rest of the workers and women from all strata. They gauged the moment and acted; they exercised revolutionary statesmanship.

...A great role is played by women workers in the relation between workers and soldiers. They go up to the cordon more boldly than men, take hold of the rifles, and storm the barricades. And what are the soldiers? Some have callously and indifferently thus..."
by Fred Hyde

I t was an electric moment. The chairwoman of Mujer, a Chicana feminist organization, was speaking to 2,500 ERA demonstrators at a July 8 rally in Seattle—and she was outraged.

"We women of color," said Janie Perez, "feel betrayed."

She turned and stared directly at Rita Shaw, longtime Socialist Workers Party and NOW activist, and a march organizer. Perez' voice rang out over the mike: "When the sisters of the ERA Coalition refused to join the anti-Bakke rally this morning, they betrayed us. Minority women still see the women's movement as a 'white women's movement' because groups like this won't support us on minority issues. This has to be said." Perez had good reason for anger. Several hours earlier, ERA supporters were lounging on the Federal Courthouse lawn waiting for their march to begin. Meanwhile, the anti-Bakke Committee was picketing the Courthouse steps. Rosa Morales and other Mujer members asked Shaw to encourage colleagues to join the Bakke rally—and Shaw flatly refused, telling Morales to "go and organize yourself."

The Chicanas' united front policy struck a responsive chord among throngs of women sick of the divisiveness of a united front to "be responsive to women and minorities, ERAers drifted over to listen. Many did.

The Why and Wherefore

The SWP renunciation of the united front results from various causes:

1. Opportunist adaptation to the moderate wing of the women's rights, gay and racial minority forces.
2. Corresponding adaptation to the labor bureaucracy.
3. Serious underestimation of the political grasp of the most exploited, who are the main bulwark against reaction today and spur labor to fulfill its role.
4. Corollary overestimation of the traditional, privileged trade unionists as the sector which must initiate and staff the united front.

The collective strength of those who care—women and men of color, gays, advanced workers, radicals, feminists, Jews—can be mustered to defeat the burgeoning forces of fascism, right-wing-conservative, and liberal confusion. But the SWP hesitates, waiting for certain unions to move—waiting for the white, male, skilled-labor aristocrats, precisely those who are not in political motion and will be the hardest to move.

Nor does the SWP work within the unions to alert them to the fascists menace; it fears antagonizing the labor officialdom.

SWP efforts to separate related political issues and block collective action are proving bankrupt. Their single-issue recipes have produced a stew so peppery and rancid that soon not even the SWP ranks will be able to digest it.

The SWP condemns the United Front, betrays minority women and gays, and finds itself outflanked on the left by mass activists

Single Issue-ism and the SWP—A Terminal Disorder

The SWP opposes the anti-Bakke rally in Seattle—and she was outraged. What a sad contrast to the early SWP! In 1939, the SWP rallied 50,000 anti-Nazi New Yorkers to protest in Madison Square Garden. In 1945, SWP organizers Myra and Murry Weiss rallied 17,000 in Los Angeles against fascists leader Gerald L. K. Smith. But in 1978, SWP is too busy joining Peoples Front coalitions with liberals to worry about fascists.

What is SWP's party line in these days of growing reaction? Simply that every movement must exist alone, mobilizing "mass action" for particular reforms. And to hell with united self-defense of all the oppressed against the iron heel of the ruling class and its lackey proponents of bigotry.

No matter that the masses are not following liberal and unilateral movements; that every popular movement suffers a leadership crisis; that the times scream out for a radical program inside the civil rights movements. SWP's mind is made up and won't be confused by facts.

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A Case of Reverse Justice

by Ivan King and Madlyne Scott

The Supreme Court's Bakke opinion is already old news. Once the Court delivered its dilemma in the guise of a decision, the loyalists of liberalism made their peace with the verdict, and activist adventurers, after dutifully reading their quota of "in-depth analyses," drifted on to more popular arenas of protest.

It remains for revolutionary socialists and all-weather civil rights warriors to remember what a landmark decree was erected on June 28. The real message of that blurred judicial approving of undefined goals with no legal means of attaining them. Without specified admissions and hiring goals for minorities and women, equal opportunity monitors have no tools to measure progress. Institutional "good faith" efforts will become even more nebulous, and enforcement a cruel hoax.

The Court said, "racial considerations, yes; quotas, no." rejecting the straightforward Davis Medical School plan and applauding Harvard's subtle and convoluted scheme. But affirmative action without specified goals is like a watchdog without teeth, and implementation now depends upon the subjective inclinations of management.

The full reactionary implications of the Court's jerry-built judgment are hardly perceptible as yet; the gigantic apparatus of affirmative action, like a huge, speeding train, whose fuel line has been cut, will be carried by inertia well down the highway before its deceleration becomes obvious.

In Seattle the lily-white police and fire department guilds have already gone to court to try to reverse municipal equal opportunity goals and timetables. Some contractors, previously compliant with the city, are waftling in their commitment to hire women and minorities, and quietavocating contractors have grown hostile.

Affirmative action remains, but vast amounts of energy will now be expended just to hold the line. The tragic heritage of racism and sexism lives on.

The Bakke Committee

The anti-Bakke crusade of 1977-78 furnished some relished nostalgia for movement veterans, and ecstatic hopes for newer militants.

Not since the heyday of the antiwar struggle have there been endorsements by such a wide range of progressive groups — or a better illustration of the United Front.

The Bakke Committee leadership featured unprecedented ethnic diversity, a vibrant commitment to feminism, and a genuine grasp of the key, interconnected, social issues. Politically sophisticated anti-Bakke events were highlighted by imaginative music, poetry and dance. But all these right ingredients couldn't counteract the sluggish, increasingly conservative political climate. Many groups provided only token involvement of members and traditional peripheries, and the most sustained support came from Third World and socialist groups. The impressive sponsorship list never translated into truly massive action.

Pocketbook Politics

Part of the problem is that the Left, rather than expanding its positive demands, has been forced into the position of protecting past gains: ERA, abortion, union security, nuclear reforms, gay rights, Indian treaties, school integration, etc. And Bakke places radicals further on the defensive.

Another handicap is the establishment-twisted legacy of the "Youth Revolution"—neutrality and impatience with mass action as disruptive to individual development and "self-actualization."

Still another problem is the post-Watergate presumption that Nixon's bankruptcy bought redemption from all our national sins.

But the most encompassing feature of the reactionary climate is economic. Panic, confusion, ignorance, and shortsighted selfishness are the root of opposition and resentment among the millions who should be the natural allies of affirmative action.

High prices stalk persistent unemployment. The monarch Capital, showing none of the vital signs of classic capitalism, is ready for the morose. But the public awaits its resurrection, convinced by the media that only anarchy or totalitarian Communism are the alternatives. Americans fearfully cling to the familiar myths and resist what looks like further intrusion into their shaky finances. They tolerate exploitation to avoid the discomfort of a shift in ideas.

But affirmative action advances the welfare and consciousness of the working class, despite the uncertainty and anger it generates. White males particularly are afraid of sacrificing their economic advantage over minorities and women, though even privileged workers receive only a pittance compared to the just rewards awaiting a unified proletariat.

Running Faster to Nowhere

Affirmative action was almost an after-thought of the civil rights movements. Many progressives are ambivalent toward it. Special hiring and admissions, they fear, imply inferiority, lowered "qualifications," or special privileges.

But truly equal access to training and jobs requires compensatory opportunity to offset centuries of headstart and special privilege afforded whites and males. Affirmative action is neither a reward to minorities and women nor punishment for white males. It is a mechanism for allowing the abilities of the lower strata of the proletariat to be recognized, developed, and utilized at prevailing, not depressed, wage rates.

But the millions who endorsed the Black civil rights revolution of the '60s now resist the logic and fairness of affirmative action—for the movement is at their own doorstep and the economic times are a-changing. Fearing technological displacement and further inflationary pain in their wallets, they jealously guard their dwindling portion of crumbs.

Women and minorities are losing economic status at a more alarming rate than white men, yet the bosses easily manipulate white males to stand pat and offer no help. The ruling class generates and feeds white male fright and provokes race and sex prejudice, never defining the historical justification for affirmative action.

White Males: Assembling a Consciousness

White men workers, the secondary beneficiaries of racism and sexism, have an inkling that endless bargaining over a swiftly shrinking pie is no answer. A unified and compassionate working class could take over the kitchen and bake a bigger, juicier pie. But unity is a mirage while bigotry exists among workers of different races, sexes, and skill levels. Affirmative action creates integration on the job and in training, hence opens communication and fosters solidarity.

Sociologists know that equality of opportunity cannot exist without equality of condition. Cruel and destructive competition prevails when there is no parity of income, status, and power among workers, and when few people are permitted to live creative, self-motivated lives. Though minorities and women now throng the lower decks of this leaking American boat, they are isolated and pitiable beings. Is this to be our legacy?

To page 18
La opinión de la Corte Suprema en el caso Bakke ya es una noticia vieja. Una vez que la Corte entregó su dilema con la apariencia de ser una decisión, los leales al liberalismo hicieron la paz con el veredicto, y los aventurerosactivistas, después de leer obedientemente su cuota de "análisis profundo," derivaron hacia más populares campos de protesta.

Queda para los socialistas revolucionarios y los luchadores por los derechos civiles en todas las circunstancias, fundamente cincelado, y las enredaderas queientamente su cuota de voluntad "mas norteamericano definitivamente desviado hacia la derecha-y podadas, para todos los que se preocupan por el camino igualdad de oportunidades no tienen instrumentos con medir el progreso. Los esfuerzos de la institucional real mensaje de ese borroso monumento jurídico debe ser pro-acci6n afirmativa.

La Corte Suprema ha suplantado la fundación legal de la acción afirmativa con la hipocresía y la futilidad de perseguir objetivos indefinidos-sin ningún método legal para obtenerlos. Sin fines específicos para la admisión y la otorgación de objetivos indefinidos-sin ningun metodo legal para obtener-los. Sin fines específicos para la admisión y la otorgación de objetivos indefinidos-sin ningun metodo legal para obtener-los. Sin fines específicos para la admisión y la otorgación de objetivos indefinidos-sin ningun metodo legal para obtener-los. Sin fines específicos para la admisión y la otorgación de

La máxima implicaciones reaccionarias del juicio mal construido por la Corte apenas aún son perceptibles; el gigantesco aparato de la acción afirmativa como un inmenso camino a toda velocidad cuyo tubo de combustible ha sido cortado, será llevado por su propia inercia bastante lejos en el camino antes de que su cambio de velocidad sea notado.

Pero en Seattle, los gremios de pura raza blanca de los departamentos de la policía y bomberos ya han ido a la corte, para tratar de poner en marcha atrás los objetivos y los itinerarios municipales de la igualdad de oportunidades. Algunas fuerzas anterioresamente condescendientes con la ciudad están vacilando en su compromiso de emplear mujeres y minorías, mientras los ya vacilantes desde el principio se han vuelto francamente hostiles.

La acción afirmativa queda, pero una vasta suma de energía será gastada para mantener lo ganado. La trágica herencia del racismo y del sexismo compe "buena voluntad" llegarán a ser aún más nebulosos, y su ejecución una cruelt urda.

La cruzada anti-Bakke de 1977-78 les proporcionó algún gocenostalgico a los nuevos militantes. Ni desde el apogeo de la lucha contra la guerra han habido apoyos de tan amplia variedad de grupos progresivos, ni ha habido mejor muestra de un frente unido.

El liderato del comité Bakke destaca una diversidad etnica sin precedente, un vibrante compromiso con el feminismo, y una genuina comprensión de los problemas claves, conectados entre sí. Los acontecimientos anti-Bakke, politica-mente sofisticados, han hecho resaltar la música, la poesía y la danza. Pero aún así, todos estos adecuados ingredientes no pudieron contrarrestar el pesado clima político cada vez más conservador. Muchos grupos sólo proporcionaron una muesstra del compromiso de sus miembros y de sus periferias tradicionales, mientras la ayuda más nutrida vino de grupos socialistas y del tercer mundo. La lista impresionante del patrici cinco nunca se tradajo en una acción verdaderamente masiva.

La Política de Billete de Hombre Trabajador Blanco
Parte del problema es que la izquierda, en vez de expandir sus demandas positivas, ha sido forzada hacia una posición de protección de los adelantos del pasado: ERA, aborto, seguru-
Theoretical Cornerstones of Freedom

Charles Fourier  Social advances and changes of periods are brought about by virtue of the progress of women towards liberty, and the decadences of the social order are brought about by virtue of the decrease of liberty of women. There is no cause which so rapidly produces social progress or decline as a change in the condition of women. I have already said that the adoption of closed harems would of itself soon transform us into barbarians, and the opening of the harems would of itself cause a people to pass from barbarism to civilisation. To sum up, the extension of privileges to women is the general principle of all social progress.

Karl Marx  Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Socialists. On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its complete development this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution. The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital. Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty...

The bourgeois couple trap about the family and education, about the hallowed correlation of parent and child, before all other forms of social injustice, the more, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor...

The bourgeoisie sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young men, and of the relations between the sexes.

Frederick Engels  The overthrow of mother-right was the world historical defeat of the female sex. The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude, she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children. This degraded position of the woman has gradually been palliated and glossed over, and sometimes clothed in a milder form, in no sense has it been abolished.

... Familius means domestic slave, and familia is the total number of slaves belonging to one man. The term was invented by the Romans to denote a new social organism whose head ruled over wife and children and a number of slaves, and was invested under Roman paternal power with rights of life and death over them all.

... Monogamous marriage comes on the scene as the subjugation of the one sex by the other; it announces a struggle between the sexes unknown throughout the whole previous prehistoric period. In an old unpublished manuscript, written by Marx and myself in 1846*, I find the words: 'The first division of labor is that between man and woman for the propagation of children.' And today I can add: 'The first class opposition that appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression coincides with that of the female sex by the male.'

... The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules.

... the husband is obliged to earn a living and support his family, and that in itself gives him a position of supremacy, without any need for special titles and privileges. Within the family he is the bourgeois and the wife represents the proletariat.

... the peculiar character of the supremacy of the husband over the wife in the modern family, the necessity of creating real social equality between them, and the way to do it, will only be seen in the clear light of day when both possess legally complete equality of rights. Then it will be plain that the first condition for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry, and that this in turn demands the abolition of the monogamous family as the economic unit of society.

... the modern family contains in germ not only slavery but also servitude, from the beginning it is related to agricultural services. It contains in miniature all the contradictions that later extend throughout society and its state.

... when a new generation has grown up... a generation of women who have never known what it is to give themselves to their lover from fear of the economic consequences... When these people are in the world, they will care precious little what anybody today thinks they ought to do, they will make their own practices and their corresponding public opinion about the practice of each individual—and that will be the end of it.

... The origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, 1897

* The German Ideology

Daniel De Leon  Woman. The shot that rips the world open touches a nerve that ache­vives the whole world. There is no woman who does not feel in one way or other a suffrage of women.

... While upon the woman of the capitalist society rests her duty to serve the male sex, in every way, and to bear children to the point that they are a form of the 'Rights of Women,' the heaviest sufferers under the traditional form of society, one way or another is a suffrage of women.

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Lewis Henry Morgan  The dissolution of society had far to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient genese.

August Bebel  The reign of the money equal for all; the rise of private property, and the enslavement of woman.

... With the rule of money in the community; they would assume and all leading influence from her, but claims exist that she is guilty of a crime which can affect the new citizen, the stranger's children among all ancient nationalities are punished with death or.
Leon Trotsky... during a more or less protracted epoch prior to the revolution, within the male section of the working class, especially among its more privileged layers, there accumulates excessive caution, excessive conservatism, too much opportunism and overmuch adaptivity. And the reaction to their own backwardness and degradation which is evinced by women... can play a colonial role in the revolutionary movement as a whole.

In the progress of the world labor movement, women proletarians play a colonial role. I say this not because I am addressing a women's conference but because the numbers indicate what an important part the woman worker plays in the mechanism of the capitalist world... in France, in Germany, in America, in Japan, in every capitalist country. Statistics inform me that in Japan there are more women than men workers; and consequently, if the data at my disposal is credible, in the labor movement of Japan the working women, destined to play the decisive role and to occupy the decisive place. And generally speaking, in the world labor movement the woman worker not only by her attitude to the capitalist but also by her attitude to the peasantry... the section of labor which is the most backward, the most oppressed, the lowest of the lowly. And just because of this, in the years of the colossal world revolution this section of the proletariat can and must become the most active, the most revolutionary and the most initiative section of the working class.

The First Five Years of the Communist International, Vol. I, 1921

The strength and meaning of Bolshevism consists in the fact that it appeals to the oppressed masses and not to the upper strata of the working class... They feel in their innermost hearts that it is a teaching for the oppressed and exploited, for hundreds of millions to whom it is the only possible salvation. That is why Leninism meets with a passionate response among working women, who are the most oppressed section of society.

Prospects and Tasks in the Far East, 1924

...The depth of the question of the mother is expressed in the fact that she is, in essence, a point where all the decisive strands of economic and cultural work intersect.

Just as it was impossible to approach the construction of the Soviet state without freeing the peasantry from the sordidness of serfdom, so it is impossible to move to socialism without freeing the peasant woman and the woman worker from the bondage of family and household. And if we used to determine the maturity of a revolutionary worker not only by his attitude to the capitalist but also by his attitude to the peasant... now we can and must measure the socialist maturity of the worker and the progressive peasant by their attitude to woman and child, by their understanding of the necessity of freeing from the ruthless woman worker and domestic service the mother in penal servitude, of giving her the possibility of straightening her back and involving herself as she should in social and cultural life.

Women and the Family, 1925

Opportunist organizations by their very nature consider that the working class and therefore ignore both the youth and the woman worker. The decay of capitalism, however, deals its heaviest blows to the woman as wage-earner and as a housewife. The sections of the Fourth International should seek bases of support among the most exploited layers of the working class, consequently among the women workers. Here they will find inexhaustible stores of devotion, selflessness and readiness to sacrifice.

Down with the bureaucracy and careerism! Open the road to the Youth! Turn to the woman worker!

The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International, 1938
Suddenly, in the past two years, the gay liberation movement has catapulted into an unprecedented visibility. Anybody who reads the newspapers or newsmagazines, watches TV, or listens to the radio, cannot fail to realize that a showdown fight for gay survival is raging.

As soon as Anita Bryant began her melodramatic mission to save all that Christendom holds pure in America from the specter of rampaging degeneracy, the media leaped to popularize her Cotton Mather-like denunciations of gays. The responses of gay activists were quoted, and television screens were filled with the sensationalized images of hundreds of thousands of gays marching in the streets in angry protest against Bryant and her ilk.

For the vast majority of heterosexuals, and for many gays as well, the furor over homosexual civil rights is their only acquaintance with the gay liberation movement. But the war for gay dignity isn’t new.

For long centuries human beings who engaged in homosexual behavior have been violently persecuted—burned at the stake, lobotomized, castrated, subjected to shock treatment, raped, dosed with psychoactive drugs, banished and ostracized from the countries they helped to build.

But persecution sparks revolt, and gay resistance began early in history. The gay activists of today are the daughters and sons of those heroic figures who hurled defiance against heterosexism and the subjugation of women ever since the overthrow of the ancient, communist, matriarchal gens.

I. GAYS IN ANTIQUITY

Homosexual behavior was an accepted part of every ancient culture. Art and literature from every area of the world bear testament to the celebration of homoeroticism. In Egypt, Persia, the Orient, Asia, Africa, Western Europe, the Mediterranean, and pre-Columbian America, homosexual behavior was common, and there is no evidence that any ancient society ever punished anyone for same-sex love.

Individuals in antiquity were not classified according to their sexual behavior. Homosexual practice was widespread, but nobody was set apart as a homosexual. Such behavior was viewed as entirely natural, and sexual relations between individuals of the same sex were institutionalized as part of the ritual of many different religions.

Gay resistance was an inseparable component of the fight against Catholicism

The ancient matriarchal cultures allowed free expression of sexuality. Not until the rise of patriarchy and the institution of the monogamous nuclear family were strict standards of heterosexual “morality” invented and enforced.

From its inception, monogamy in practice meant monogamy for women only; women had become the property of men. (Sexual fidelity has never been as strictly enforced for men as for women.) The institution of monogamous marriage marks the world historic loss of women’s equality and self-determination, and the taboo against free sexual expression in general and homosexuality in particular is rooted in the institution of monogamy.

The Judeo-Christian Taboo

Ancient Judaism was the expression of both monotheism and male supremacy. It produced the first taboo against homosexuality—punishment by death. Hebrew law (Leviticus 20) states:

If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination; they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them.

The Jews enforced strict prohibitions against male and female homosexuality, cross-dressing, and sexual freedom of any kind. They associated free sexuality with the Great Mother cults of the ancient matrilineal (descent in the female line) world, and used sexual prohibitions as a weapon against the lingering, em-
bedded influence of matriarchal customs among the people. The Christians borrowed the Judaic taboo against sexual freedom and homoerotic behavior, and proceeded to extend the taboo against virtually all sexual enjoyment to a scope undesanned by even the Hebrew patriarchs. St. Paul’s desperate eroporphobia and shilll denunciation of sexual pleasure were the patterns for weaving the veil of Christian morality, and Biblical passages are still used by the right wing to justify their bigotry.

God gave them up unto vile affections; for even their womans did change the natural use into that which is against nature. And likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of woman, burned in their lust one another; with men working that which is unseemly, and reposing in them that recompense of the error which was meet. Romans 1:26, 27

Paul hardly limited his condemnations to homosexuality. He despised heterosexuality as well, even though formal marriage was necessary.

But if they cannot contain, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn. 1 Corinthians 7:9

Armed with these holy edicts, the early Christians set out to save the world from the sin of freedom, and to force upon their victims the most horrifically repressive standards of sexual conduct ever conceived by the human mind.

The Middle Ages were marked by horrific resistance, often led by women, to the Church.

The beginning of gay resistance was the struggle against the Catholic Church. It is impossible to separate out specifically those who were the general anti-Catholic resistance to the Church, since all anti-Catholic opposition is subsumed in history as the “heretical” opposition. But the heretics were waging war for the salvation of their entire culture, which included free love, and gay liberation was an inseparable component of the general fight against Catholicism. And fight they did. The medieval masses contended for their freedom with the ingenuity and courage of freedom fighters everywhere. The deaths of the heretics were, and still are, the inspiration to a small number of Catholic lives. Secret societies flourished in opposition to the orthodox; sects hostile to the Roman Church thrived all over Europe.

The battle raged for centuries, sometimes overt and sometimes underground. Medieval history is filled with examples of heroic resistance to the Church, often led by women who were the special victims of that warped, twisted morality which was to cramp Western history right up to the present day.

For through a political victory, the Roman Church consolidated the hold of patriarchal institutions on the masses of Europe. The vis-like moral structures of Roman Catholic doctrine were injected into the secular law throughout the continent.

The conclusion of “Gay Resistance: The Hidden History” will appear in the Winter 1978 Freedom Socialist. The article examines homosexuality in classic Greece and Rome and among pre-Columbian Native Americans, and describes the gay rights movement from 19th century Germany until today.

A Lesbian Worker Looks at Civil Rights and Class

by Emily Weiner

Lesbians and gay men are predominantly workers, and predominantly people who own little or no property, just most of the people. Their women and gay movements ignore these basic situations of our lives.

The fact that we must work for a living, rather than live off investments, affects our whole political outlook, including the issues of what gay rights legislation means to us, and who we consider our political allies to be.

Intro. 384 – A Mixed Blessing

In New York City, the lesbian and gay movements have been fighting for seven years for a bill (now called Intro. 384) which would “bar discrimination in jobs and housing based on sexual orientation.” But the wording of Intro. 384 hides the fundamental distinctions of class.

Like other civil rights legislation, this bill would have no real impact on the lives of the working class, and the same is true for the movement as a whole. The fact that the left’s legal strategy is to ignore the fundamental issues of class is a reflection of the fact that the movement is not a revolutionary movement to end the capitalist system.

The vulnerability of lesbian and gay male workers is based on two things: we are gay, and therefore the victims of the owners of businesses and the governments they control.

Virtually all lesbians and gay men support the fight for our civil rights legislation because these bills help us survive by offering some discrimination against us, giving us legal tools for fighting particular cases of discrimination, standing as cultural symbols which help break the pressure on straight people to rethink their assumptions about what is “normal” (to take “dyke” and “fag” out of their vocabulary and the vocabularies of their children), and spurring us to become active in our resistance to reactionary attacks.

Lesbian and gay male workers are potentially the most ardent supporters of gay rights legislation, because we are the gay people who need those jobs that the legislation refers to, and who don’t have the large amounts of money it takes to shield us from homophobia. But when gay leaders fight for legislation as a single issue, and act as if legal protections for gays would make all our other problems and vulnerabilities go away, they obscure the other basic needs of lesbian and gay male workers and unemployed.

Is this the conscious or unconscious reason that the great majority of lesbians and gay men in North America remain distant from the gay movement?

Opportunist Politicians

Only those lesbians and gay men who are so well off that discrimination against them as gays is their only social oppression will have their needs fulfilled by single-issue civil rights organizations. They are the only New Yorkers with good reason to hail Mayor Koch for his Executive Order.

The Executive Order, which bars New York City government from discriminating against lesbians and gay men, is welcome, but it is a long-overdue right—not a gift entitling Koch to speak at, and be praised at, our rallies.

Most gays can’t forget that the mayor is the same man presiding over cutbacks in hospitals, fire protection, welfare, schools, and mass transportation. On behalf of the banks, he is waging a militant battle to take back the hard-earned money of our sisters and brothers in the municipal unions.

Mayor Koch, and the other Democratic and Republican politicians who throw us crumbs, are no friends of working-class gay people—because we can’t divide our lives up into little pieces and be happy our jobs are “secure” as gays, and ignore how economically insecure we really are. We don’t have that luxury.

Beyond Civil Rights

Like all legislation in bourgeois-democratic societies like the U.S., gay civil rights laws have untouched the highly undemocratic rights of a small minority of humanity—the capitalist class—to make the critical decisions about our lives—whether we live in North America, or in South Africa.

Until we, the working people of the world, take away this minority class’ control, they have power over our lives, we will remain vulnerable to their whims, their prejudices, and most basically to their need to do whatever is most profitable regardless of its effect on the rest of humanity.

Lesbians and gay men who push other liberation fights to reject heterosexism are laying the basis for a revolutionary movement to end the capitalist system once and for all.

Emily Rubin Weiner is a member of the Committee of Lesbian and Gay Male Socialists, and of the New York City branch of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party.
Attention, all radicals concerned with revitalizing the American Left!

The Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party is holding its first national conference on October 6-9 near Seattle, Washington. And this event can prove to be immensely auspicious.

CRSP was originally inaugurated in July, 1977 as the climax of a gathering of three separate groups who had all left the Socialist Workers Party—at different times and for different, but related, reasons.

The SWP, itself a spinoff from the Communist Party, began as a component part of the worldwide Left Opposition to the growing Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and the Communist International in the late 1920s. The roots of CRSP are therefore deeply embedded in the most honorable and principled chapters of revolutionary history.

CRSP emerged from the Old Left but it is also a totally new political phenomenon—so new that even its adherents find it difficult to appreciate fully what is happening. Because only the top of the iceberg is apparent.

What is this startling new feature that stamps CRSP with a unique emblem?

CRSP represents the convergence of the Old Left and the new feminist movement which is transforming all human relations everywhere in the world. The thoroughly democratic character of CRSP is a product of its feminism—and its deepgoing democracy is new to the left.

The entire Old Left was, and is, male dominated. To these men, endorsement of equal pay, abortion rights, etc., was analytically sound and incontrovertible. But that was all.

The overwhelming majority of Old Left men used women’s rights as a means of recruiting women to provide flesh and muscle for the organizational apparatus—but equality was to be realized only under socialism. For the present, women were expected to keep their secondary place.

Of course, this was never openly stated; it was a secret theory, even an unconscious one, and it emanated from the entrenched chauvinism to which everyone living in capitalist society is acculturated.

When Old Left women dared, on occasion, to rebel—dared to seek a little breathing space from the heavy, extra oppression they were subjected to daily—a hue and cry inevitably arose. “Women are dividing the class,” we were told. (Today, some even more ridiculous splinter groups give full voice to this absurdity.)

Old Left women were put down by men with bureaucratic mentalities. No wonder. Bureaucracy and feminism are antithetical. To the extent that women join the struggle for the new socialist society they will all special privilege, prejudice, elitism, and exclusivism be undermined.

The division of women and men, the separation of people of color and whites, and the gay-straight antithesis are facts of capitalist life, like the class struggle. And the unification of the oppressed is possible only on the basis of our complete political equality with each other, not the submission of one to the other.

When women refuse to accept second-class status and refuse to be “trashed” by men, can men themselves long remain subject to the systemic bureaucratic oppression they suffer?!

In CRSP a deliberate climate is fostered to insure that all may speak and feel totally free to dissent. Unlike the Old Left, CRSP does not regard differences as a threat to unity in action but as a necessary prelude to unity, a time for swift and complete correction of errors.

CRSP welcomes differences. Debates enrich the discussions. But CRSP, again unlike the Old Left, never forgets, indeed emphasizes, the vast area of its agreement—the revolutionary hope for the future of the world.

—Myra Tanner Weiss

**Westward Ho—To the October CRSP Conference**

Leon Uris’s new bestseller, *Trinity*, can best be described as a politically important potboiler.

*Trinity* recounts the bitter struggle for Irish independence from 1885 to 1915. It is the first popular novel to dispel the myth that the Catholic-Protestant conflict is a Holy War; Uris categorically locates the source of Ireland’s misery in the unholy alliance between English imperialism and Irish capitalism.

For over 700 years after England conquered Ireland, the hapless Irish were tenants on their own stolen land, close to starvation and stripped of all rights and dignity.

England devised a foolproof method of controlling the rebellious natives: colonies of Protestant peasants and workers were established and granted better conditions. To preserve their privileges, they acted as a garrison against Irish uprisings. A tiny minority, they were brainwashed into the fear that the Irish Catholic majority would reclaim their lands and jobs.

Catholic and Protestant peasants were thus prevented from uniting against landlords, and the working class was stunted by religious bigotry that unites and strikes were rarities.

In 1916, the Irish won independence, but the victory was marred when the province of Ulster in Northern Ireland seceded from Ulster, with a slim majority of Protestants, and the bulk of Irish industry, maintained close ties to England.

Uris dramatically evokes the murderous economic exploitation and political oppression of the Irish people, portraying with contagious empathy their centuries-long struggle for national liberation and human freedom. He mercilessly condemns the reactionary role of the Catholic church and exposes the Protestant church as the main bulwark of Irish reaction.

The author shows a deep—and surprising—class-consciousness in his grasp of the lives of the people. His scenes of sweatshop conditions and appalling loss of life because of inadequate safety measures are memorable.

Uris even demonstrates the impossibility of change via legislative reform. He admires (and glamorizes) the heroic Irish radicals who led mass uprisings and created illegal organizations for guerrilla warfare.

Yet the book ends on a note of defeatism and cynicism. Conor Larkin, the existential hero, fights without hope of success for himself or the movement. “...in Ireland there is no future,” writes Uris, “only the past happening over and over.” Lacking a revolutionary, socialist perspective, or afraid to project one, Uris finds the Irish question insoluble.

Trinity, like all Uris novels, obeys the best-seller formula: one part history, one part violence and suspense, one part romance and one part sex, and all of it poorly written. The hero is total superman: handsome, brawny, brilliant, daring, charismatic, earthy, poetic, athletic, artistic, and passionately committed to justice. He is also a skilled craftsman, a great individualist, and a sensual lover.

But the trauma of Irish working and peasant women is depicted with sympathetic insight.

*Trinity* should encourage the reading public to delve more deeply into the fascinating history of the Irish revolt, which is replete with inspiring testimony to the indomitable quest for human freedom.

—Helen Gilbert

Helen Gilbert, a lithographer, is paste-up coordinator for the Freedom Socialist.
The jazz titles of two films about trade unionism are currently gracing the marquees. Hollywoodian experts on the proletariat are now instructing movie fans—mostly youth—that if you fight the bosses, you'll get killed, bought off, or in hook to the only force that can beat the system—gangsters!

F.I.S.T. is based on an outrageous lie. Here is this enormous strike, with a field kitchen and hospital, flying picket squads in dispatched trucks, and massive street battles between armed workers and armed employers. And who provides the brilliant organization, the bold lines, the muscle? An indigenous worker-leader core? No. Experienced radicals?

The women here are dull stereotypes or shadowy figures, and a quick ear will catch the anachronisms. Blue Collar has a saving grace. It presents the bosses as the basic enemy and the union bureaucracy as the single most-powerful force. But the individual worker is viewed as powerless against this double enemy, and no alternative is hinted at but patience-and-fortitude turns from virtue into vice.

The leadership refused to be flattered or threatened into concessions; they negotiated with government mediators, bourgeois politicians, and the bosses and held their ground, never giving anything away—unlike the sellout artists in F.I.S.T.

Adrienne Weller, a secretary and member of the Oregon State Employees Association, actively works for abortion rights, gay liberation, and women's equality.

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The film's depiction of minorities and women rivals its psychodrama of labor history. The leading woman is "Johnny's girl" period. Instead of organizing, she marries the union organizer. And the one Black in the film is a man whom Johnny tries to help when the foreman bullies him. The historic militance of Black labor is soundly insulted in F.I.S.T.

Blue Collar deals more realistically with race relations among workers. Three male auto workers, two of them Black and one white, are buddies. Their closeness defies the racism surrounding them until the day they rob the union hall and discover evidence of illegal chicanery. Union officials murder the Black who understands capitalism best, the other Black is bought off by union-company collusion, and the deserted white man capitulates to the FBI.

The film is very roughly based, the worker is viewed as powerless against this double enemy, and no alternative is hinted at but patience-and-fortitude turns from virtue into vice.

The mafiana-mouthers should have a little faith in human nature. Millions of people are learning to shed regressive biases and ideals. Surely, hard-core pessimists can bother to learn something about the techniques of de-programming worker bigots and undertake educational campaigns to advance this process today.

The "Marxist realist" who thinks the attainment of elementary civil rights is out-of-sight even under socialism speaks for nobody but the white male minority—and he will soon speak for a minority of them. And shortly thereafter he won't be speaking at all, for his voice—the last voice you heard before leaving the leagues of irrelevant radicals—was the re-fracted voice of the oppressor.

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How Long, oh Lords, How Long??

My favorite candidate for the downder-of-the-week award is the patronizing radical who tells us that "you people are too impatient—Rome wasn't built in a day."

Well, we people have a lot to be impatient about, and rebuilding imperial Rome isn't exactly what we had in mind.

Patience is undoubtedly a virtue for radicals. Our grasp of the long view, of the contradictions in the historical process, lends us buoyancy in a sea of troubled waters. But when a socialist coolly informs some of the most wretched of the earth that they must wait until the revolution. throughout the revolution, and long after the revolution before their oppression is significantly relieved—at that point, patience-and-fortitude turns from virtue into vice.

Why do men tell women to wait for civil rights? Why do whites say it to gays, oldsters to youth, the non-handicapped to the walking wounded?

We've heard a million times how the remnants of bourgeois culture and discrimination will linger on and on. How the evils rooted in class society will not disappear immediately... how anyone oppressed in any other way than on-the-job and by-the-boss will have to cool their heels and prepare for virtual centuries of degenerate, chaunistic workers states instead to guarantee full legal, political, economic and lifestyle equality to those most subjugated under capitalism.

How inspiring. How sensitive. What creative use of the vast power of workers democracy for a shining new culture. So we tourist-class folks don't rate first-class accommodations on the ship of socialism!

---

Are we supposed to forget the impossible dream? No way. These prophets of the theory of increasing misery under socialism don't know their dialectics from the hole in the ground they are digging for themselves.

The patience-mongers have a blueprint for structural change that ignores modern times. Their schema for socialist development, after bourgeois state power and capitalist property relations are abolished, is a utopian dream. Their fixed notion about the sequence of revolutionary stages is a theoretical error of the gravest magnitude, betraying a mechanistic, Meneheimist ignorance of the anatomy of a revolution and the psychology of a revolutionary.

All "you people" born to jeopardy as workers and compounded jeopardy on account of minor characteristics—take heart. You are the locomotive of the revolutionary train. You will decide the priorities of reconstructing the economy and the ideological superstructure. You will see to it that no worker-wallflowers are left waiting and miserable at the socialist ball.

You, the multi-vanguard of the proletariat, are the real "new mass vanguard," and you have already taken to the drawing boards to design a socialist future that will insure the fact that you and your kind are never again consigned to the back burners of the political agenda. This prospect is no misty utopia, but the living, growing future under construction today.

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from page 18
flagship, it is still the same ship for everyone. And the exclusionary, elite workers of the class will come to realize that few of them can rise much above the most exploited workers.

Substantial support for affirmative action has been won from white male workers in some sectors and can be extended by making common cause with them on strike actions, contract demands, union security, full employment, consumer protection, job safety. Support can also come by conclusively exposing the mendacity of reformist economics.

Training Act, impressively illustrates the duplicity of reformist economics. The funding, ostensibly allocated to workers in some sectors and merely subsidizes training and salary, can liberate the minds and nerve and strength to extend by making common cause and conclusively exposing the mendacity of reformist economics.

... bakke

The worker who understands the fallacy of "unemployment programs" that only benefit the wealthy is on the road toward understanding the double-buried betrayal of the Bakke decision.

Now It's Our Turn

The Supreme Court delivered a bag of snakes, not just a can of worms. While the judgment did not turn the struggle around, it certainly turned it aside, and precious momentum was lost when many minority spokespersons said they could "live with" the decision. But militants can mobilize people power and build awareness by continuing to analyze, explain and agitate for affirmative action. This contemporary transitional demand is a companion to the call for jobs for all.

Neither demand can be adequately met under capitalism, but the struggle itself can liberate the minds and nerve and strength of the working class.

Preferential admissions and hiring of previously excluded groups are consistent with traditional socialist concepts such as sharing available resources. It also means, necessarily, a sharing of shortages and disabilities by the proletariat—until what is rightly theirs is wrested from the capitalist oligarchy.

In another time, in another country, where the system was on the rise, a revolutionary fighter commented, "The poetry is over, the prose has begun." The task of radicals at such a time is not to bask in pessimism but to create the poetry of an ascendant mass movement.

The worker who understands the fallacy of "unemployment programs" that only benefit the wealthy is on the road toward understanding the double-buried betrayal of the Bakke decision.

Los Tiempos Están Cambiando

La acción afirmativa fue casi una idea tardía de los movimientos minoritarios y feministas. Muchos progresistas tenían una actitud ambivalente ante ella, puesto que el concepto parece contradecir la equidad que ellos están buscando.

Empleos y admisiones específicas, afirman, implican inferioridad, rebajadas "calificaciones," o injustos privilegios especiales.

Un verdadero acceso igualitario a la educación y a los empleos, requiere una oportunidad compensatoria para desplazar sigilos de ventaja y de privilegio especial proporcionados a los blancos y a los hombres.

La acción afirmativa no es un premio para las minorías o las mujeres, ni es un castigo para los hombres blancos. Es un mecanismo para permitir que las capacidades de los estratos bajos del proletariado sean reconocidas, desarrolladas, y utilizadas según las proporciones de sus habilidades, no según la etnia o el género.

Los millones que repasaron los populares derechos civiles de los negros, en la revolución de los sesenta, ahora persisten la lógica y la justicia de la acción afirmativa—porque el movimiento está frente a su propia puerta y los tiempos económicos están cambiando ante un desplazamiento tecnológico, y consciente del dolor inflacionario en sus bodegas, ellos guardan celosamente su disminuida porción de migajas.

Las mujeres y las minorías están perdiendo sus posiciones económicas de una manera más alarmante que los hombres blancos; no obstante, los patrones mantienen a los hombres blancos fácilmente, usan sus estrategias y no ofrecen ayuda. La clase gobernante genera y alimenta el suelo del prejuicio en sus bodegas, se defienden, pero no crean una imagen de sí mismos. Los trabajadores blancos, los segundos beneficiarios del racism and the sexism, también tienen fuerza para resistir.

Los trabajadores blancos, los segundos beneficiarios del racism and the sexism, tienen una vaga noción de que el regreso interinable de un pastel velozmente achicado no es ninguna respuesta. Una clase trabajadora unificada y compasiva podría tomar la cocina y cocer un enorme y jugoso pastel. Pero, la unidad será un espejismo mientras exista el fanatismo entre trabajadores de diferentes razas, los blancos y los negros. La acción afirmativa crea la integración en el trabajo y la instrucción, abre así las líneas de comunicación y fomenta la solidaridad.

Los sociólogos saben que la igualdad de oportunidad no existe sin la igualdad de condición. Donde no hay equidad de ingreso, posición y poder entre los trabajadores, la competencia cruel y destructiva prevalece, pudiendo vivir vidas creativas, sólo unos pocos, motivados por su propio egoísmo. Aunque ahora las minorías y las mujeres se agolpan en las bodegas de este barco del estandarte norteamericano, que está inundándose, todavía sigue siendo el mismo barco para todos. Y los trabajadores blancos y el grupo blanco de clase seguirán arrastrando su culebra a borde de este barco.

In la decisión Bakke, la Corte dijo, "consideraciones raciales, si cuotas, no," rechazando el recto proyecto de la Escuela de Medicina Davis (Davis Medical School) y aplaudiendo el sujeto cuando los votos de las minorías en la acción afirmativa sin objetivos específicos es como un perro guardián desendidado y su efectuación depende ahora de las inclinaciones subjetivas de la administración.

La Corte Suprema soltó un canasto de cabras, que no es justamente un tarrito de guisos. Aunque el juicio no dio vuelta la lucha hacia el otro lado, sin embargo, vivió con la justicia de la acción afirmativa.

La acción afirmativa será transportada por su propia inercia antes de que su pérdida de velocidad sea obvia.

We're Off And Running

Frederick Douglass Fund Drive

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A los lectores de habla hispana: dejemos saber sus opiniones acerca de la eficacia de nuestras traducciones.
Always the Ideas Carry Themselves Forward

my parents floated somewhere on the left.
I visualized the left as a wide mysterious plain drifting beyond my left cheekbone. I knew I was left-handed but what else did I inherit?

hints and whispers of 'commie' over the phone.

my grandmother stubbornly mute in some kind of 'hearing'

so when Mr. Bant, my 7th grade teacher decided to spend a special week on the 'red menace,' I was anxious.

Mr. Bant had a birthmark that mapped out a red scar on his cheek and neck. he twisted his mouth and talked at us. I sat and sneered to myself in the tone of my father

"liar, capitalist, son of a gun".
I held still, my bones in tight, elbows close to body.

one day Mr. Bant shouted at me, 'if you don't wipe that look off your face, you can leave!'

I wish I'd had the courage to walk out, instead.

my face flushed with misery, and his scar reddened, spread to a mist in my eyes.

when you put the two together, socialist and feminist, divided only by a hyphen, people often turn away, for one word or the other.

revolution has always meant capes in winter and the chill breath of wind and shouts in a country far away, and fur hats blown off... it is hard to imagine it, to really picture it here.

considering what it means,
to call myself a socialist, a feminist.

a collection of ideas, tiny steel shavings that stream toward one pole or another, the dream of my grandmother speaking, her words coming up clearer and stronger until the walls ripple into flames

and we rush her along on our shoulders, always the ideas carry themselves forward in my understanding on the shoulders of images.

images that thud against my forehead at work, on the bus.
when I look at identical rows of flimsy houses, at headlines slumped over men asleep on market st.
being a marxist means you have to believe things won't always be the same, that streets flow into rivers.

that the bank of america is turning to sand.
that women walk out of the shadows into themselves.

'it's like being sick all the time,' I think, coming home from work, 'sick in that low-grade continuous way that makes you forget what it's like to feel well, we have never known in our lives what it is to be well. what if I were coming home,' I think, 'from doing work that I loved and that was for us all, what if I looked at the houses and the air and the streets, knowing they were in accord, not set against us, what if we knew the powers of this country moved to provide for us and for all people—how would that be—how would we feel and think and what would we create?'

—Karen Brodine

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This is the second and last segment of a powerful manifesto that names and describes the crucial facets of the crisis afflicting Indian nations. The author is Janet McCloud, a Tulalip and a national spokeswoman for the cause of Native American sovereignty. Part I appeared in the Summer 1978 Freedom Socialist.

In August, the McCloud family carried their message to Washington, D.C., where they joined The Longest Walk, a symbolic re-creation of the brutal forced marches in the Native American past. The Walk focused national attention on the spate of treaty-breaking bills flooding Congress.

The encounter of the Native Americans with deceitful congressmen was so explosive that it broke the virtual blackout on the Walk in the U.S. press. Janet McCloud made headlines when she furiously tore up Washington State Rep. Cunningham's bill right in front of his face!

The marchers on The Longest Walk camped outside the capital, living, as much as possible, in the manner of their traditional ways and culture—a culture that the white ruling class is determined to obliterate.

Janet and Don McCloud were deeply impressed by the indomitable, democratic spirit and political understanding of the footsore young marchers who trudged all the way from San Francisco. They were pleased when a group of these militant youth visited the McClouds at their home in Yelm, Wash.

Janet McCloud spent most of her time in Washington, D.C., discussing with her people the problems of leadership and program raised in A Warning Message. And the long range impact of The Longest Walk will soon be manifest in the deeds of the Native American protesters who directly confronted a hostile government, demanded an end to the suffering of their people, and enhanced their own radicalization. A new wave of leadership is being engendered that will repossess a proud, cooperative culture and reestablish the autonomy of an entire people.

by Yet Si Blue
(Janet McCloud)
Part III

Our Cultural Crisis

Traditional Philosophy

Indian people view themselves as the children of Mother Earth, the entrusted caretakers and guardians of a precious and limited earth body. The meaning behind life's mysteries is the natural evolution of human beings.

The Indian people use, not abuse or waste, the natural resources, taking care not to disturb the path of life that future generations will walk.

The political structure of Indian Nations is equalitarian and democratic; all people, young and old, men and women, have an equal voice and share in all decision-making. All have the right of equal participation in all decision-making in order to achieve peaceful co-existence. The authority system descends from elders to youth, and even the cries of babies are immediately responded to.

The economic system of Indian Nations was originally communally based. Indians shunned the concept of land ownership and had no need for money, for all human beings had a secure right to the basic necessities of life; all natural resources were free and available to all.

To earn the right to live, yet all members labored together to build adequate shelter and gather food supplies for the entire community by hunting, fishing, or farming. Work, shelter and food were equally distributed.

There was no class system of rich and poor. If one family worked industriously to gather a surplus, it was for a ceremonial give-away; the wealth was equitably distributed.

The political structure of Indian Nations is peaceful co-existence. The authority system descends from elders to youth, and even the cries of babies are immediately responded to.

The social life of the Indian was peaceful and happy because there was no oppression of people or exploitation of resources. The laughter of playful children was the sign of a healthy community. People had leisure time for recreation; socializing with friends, children and elders; creative arts; ceremonies; and solitude.

The peacemakers of the Indian communes used several effective methods for correcting deviant behavior—acts that caused disturbance or disunity within the Nation. Malicious gossips, shirkers, and demagogues were first quietly counselled, then subjected to public ridicule, and then given the silent treatment (they became invisible ones who did not receive a food share and had to fight with the dogs for scraps). They were exiled or condemned to death only in very rare cases, in order to save the community.

The natural, peaceful, and non-exploitative culture of the Indian people guaranteed them a long life free of disease and mental disorders. There was no need for hospitals, insane asylums, prisons, orphanages, poorhouses, or policemen. Indians willingly obeyed the natural laws that governed their bodies and the outer environment, realizing that human beings have only a brief time to live, to discover the secrets and meanings of existence, and to pursue the natural evolutionary path.

First Contacts with European Outcasts

When the Indian people discovered the first frightened and pathetic European outcasts upon their shores, they had trouble communicating with them. But the Indians proved that they meant the immigrants no harm. Indians compassionately fed, sheltered and befriended the immigrants, sympathizing in horror at their tales of oppressive tyrants who had cast them out of their homeland.

Indians taught the newcomers about democracy and the natural way of life; the colonists were slow learners, but finally got the drift and learned to be free. The Indian people took the colonists under their protective wing, encouraging them and helping them fight for freedom.

The first treaties, signed under the sacred bonds and oaths of the Indian Nations, offered aid to the oppressed colonists. Treaties of peace and friendship! So America was born. But America grew rich and forgot its promises of eternal friendship, peaceful coexistence, equality, truth and honor. The population grew rapidly; when word spread that the Indians were peaceful and vast riches were free for the taking, America used the wealth stolen from Indian lands and favored classes in Europe to turn against their allies, the Indian Nations.

Treaties, Genocide and Congressional Treachery

With guns and armies, America ruthlessly marched westward, greedily evicting Indians from their homeland and forcing them to sign treaties placing themselves in protective custody in concentration camps.

The once sovereign Indian Nations were now prisoners held in their own lands. And the forced treaties legalized America's thefts.

If Indian leaders refused to sign, genocide and germ warfare wiped out entire, peaceful villages. If hungry Indians rose to defend their lands, the propaganda campaigns were devised, and the press published lies about Indian atrocities against peaceful white settlers; the savage were accused of committing depredations against private property and sick tales of devil worship and lusty rites were concocted.

These lies were intended to engender the populace against Indians, so it would demand our complete extermination. A good Indian is a dead Indian.

In the interests of those greedy few who are now the ruling class families of America, a terror was unleashed against Indians. The forked-tongue politicos, gophers of the predators, served their masters well, and the Indians, alarmed and shattered. Death was a constant companion. Starving babies cried and died; children, women and men sat dumbly, unable to feel anything; thousands were slaughtered. All were victims of America's last far.

Indian Nations still have not recovered. Old scars have not healed, yet new wounds are being inflicted. Washington State Congressman Lloyd Meech, Jack Cuthbertson and Warren Magnuson promote racist bills and propaganda to support the state's war against Indian Nations. Meeds will resign from Congress to seek a federal judgment, but Indian people are still being manipulated, maligned, mistreated, cheated, and insulted.

Judge George Boldt, who upheld our fishing rights, seems to stand alone in protecting the letter and spirit of the U.S. Constitution and treaty commitments. He tries to correct the injustices, but how staunch will he be under the relentless pressure?

How staunchly can we sustain our own courage and convictions against the even worse pressures confronting us?

The Trap of Social Services

International law required the U.S. to have legal proof of ownership of lands purchased from the Indians. The gentle, blunt Indian people fell for the lie that everything on the earth was the property of the state, and that they were, therefore, trespassers on the land. But the Indians were never told the real purpose of the so-called aid we receive.

The U.S. is obliged to furnish education to us. And Indian people attended schools, training programs, and workshops to gain the knowledge that will be of use and benefit to our people. We do not go to school in order to become bureaucrats, demilitarized, mechanized, or assimilated. But that is the aim of the schools.

If the parents send their physically and mentally ill to hospitals or physicians to be healed, not to be used for experiments, secret sterilizations, hypnosis, or brainwashing. But that is what happens to us.

Many Indian people have used aid grasp at the extended hand which dangles the golden carrot, and they are gradually pulled into the perverted American mainline. Many are unaware of the dangerous undertow they are being sucked into.

Technology and Behavior Modification

Humanity's production of goods and services should be used for the benefit of the living and uplift of life, not for the advancement and exploitation of the oppressors. But technology has been taken over by the predator ruling class that produces only for profit. This class must continually produce and consume Commodities to keep itself in power. They are seeking cheap labor and raw materials and profitable markets.

The ruling class uses behavior modification techniques and the mass media to subliminally brainwash the American public to buy and consume consumer goods that are cheaply made, expensive, and often dangerous to health. Madison Avenue gimmicks totally change our natural desires and stifle our natural evolutionary process.

The advertising sorcerers hired by the predator profiteers bewitch the public into a frenzy of buying and consuming, on the easy credit plan, tons of non-nutritious junk food and other technological products all guaranteed to miraculously transform life.

The natural desires of the public have been radically changed; they no longer desire freedom, equality, natural evolution, the inherited rights of humanity. Instead, they desire materialistic things and are contaminated by the "greedy bug"; they are the programmed consumers and exploited workers for the predator ruling class.

Our wise elders say that you are what you desire; what you desire is what you think about, your thoughts stimulate your will to act, and a person is the result of their behavior.

The behaviorist psychologists and biologists, who serve the power structure, study and control animals to find more effective ways of providing a more cruel, unhealthy, and sick society, claim to know the "laws of human nature." But they do not know the behaviors of the public, are they are not the wise elders who have lived a long, healthy, and happy life in their homeland.
and controlling human behavior. The captured animals are caged, starved, and constantly watched; nothing is hidden from the eyes of their captors, not eating habits, sex or interaction with other animals. The animal must learn a maze system to receive any food. A cage door opens to a bewildering maze, and the smell of food sets the starving animal to running frantically up and down the maze in search of the food. It finally locates the food, only to find access blocked by a wall. It jumps, claws the wall, and accidentally presses the red button with its tail while standing on its head. The food magically appears.

After many accidental successes, the animal finally learns to stand on its head and push the red button with its tail, and begins to feel confident of survival. Then the scientists change the system. The harried animal must continually adapt or die, and many die—by starvation or mental or physical breakdowns that lead to suicide.

Most of the world's wealth, resources, technology and production—all the necessities to sustain life—is owned and controlled by a few. The rest of humanity must labor for their daily bread, and, like mice, learn the maze system or die.

The control is absolute. If workers strike for decent wages or less hazardous and demeaning working conditions, the predator ruling class raises the cost of living and moves production to other countries where they super-exploit other peoples. Machines replace human muscles and minds, and eliminate millions of jobs. The operators of machines become dehumanized, components of the machine, i.e., typewriter operators, computer operators, etc.

Humans displaced by machines are stereotyped as lazy, shiftless slackers by the idle rich. Yet fifty million Americans, their jobs taken over by machines, live in poverty, unable to find employment. These millions are the harried victims of the technological society.

The War Against Our Humanity

Government bureaucracies exploit workers just as intensively as industrial bosses. Underpaid public workers must take orders from upper-echelon bureaucrats, not from the taxpayers who foot the bills.

NEW, the Department of Labor and the Social Security Administration are giant bureaucracies ripping off the taxpayers. Over three-fourths of all tax dollars are used for administration or to determine client eligibility, leaving very little, sometimes nothing, for grudging distribution to the needy, sick and handicapped.

The majority of tax dollars subsidize the rich, the profiteers, who must continually expand their empires. They are not required to pay any taxes, but they demand and get the lion's share of tax dollars with no strings attached and no bureaucratic red tape.

Together, the profiteer ruling class and its government puppets systematically dehumanize the workers. But human beings are not machines: they need air, water, food, shelter, clothing, transportation, recreation, companionship and solitude. They are not like the bionic man, the predator's concept of a superman who needs no air or food, obeys unquestioningly the commands of his master, never tires, works night and day for nothing, and never complains about hazardous working conditions.

Human beings are forced into a dog-eat-dog competitive system by the ruling class. They try to climb the non-existent ladder of success, and it is futile. The stress of this unnatural way of life results in deterioration, in physical and mental breakdowns for which there are no cures. Physicians tranquilize or operate; psychiatrists hypnotize or behavior modify in an attempt to readjust the natural into the unnatural; and church leaders dish out platitudes, give pep talks, ask for donations, and push the flock back into the economic jungle.

The pressures of trying to "make it," of struggling to avoid the octopus clutches of the predator's bill collectors, result in epidemic stress diseases that plague most Americans. The break-up of families is widespread, and children are mistreated and neglected by quarrelling parents. Some people totally withdraw and find safety in mental institutes. Others turn into mini-predators and steal the hard-earned fruits of the working class, to the Robin Hood who stole from the rich to give to the poor. Some completely freak out and become alcoholics, drug addicts, murderers or rapists. Women and children are the usual victims.

Human beings, like the mouse in the maze, must continually adapt to the changing demands of the predator ruling class or die. Many are dying of heart disease, diabetes, cancers, and suicide. And many more are doomed.

Only the very foolish or insane violate the natural law that governs all life, for this court's disaster. One does not have to be a prophet or scientist to see the catastrophe wrought by the master class. Time is not an unending linear line into the future, but is circular, like the moon's path in the sky, and returns to the same spot. Everything that happens in the past will happen again, in the future, with all changes tending to repeat. The most that can be hoped for is that the changes will tend to bring about a better future. And the future will be the mirror of the past, plus any progress that happens in the meantime.

We, the whites, may think that we are the top dogs, on top of the pyramid, but we are not. Like Humpty Dumpty, who took a great fall, all the king's scientists and technologists will not be able to put humanity together again.

Abuse of the Natural World

The wasteful, voracious abuse of the land and its limited resources in the interest of profits is leading all life into an empty void where no life can exist and no escape exits are provided. All life depends upon the natural world for its existence, especially life in the artificially created worlds—the cities. Headquarters of the predator ruling class and living quarters for the exploited workers, who consume enormous quantities of the earth's limited resources, cities hasten the pace of the war against the environment.

Giant food chain and farm monopolies—agribusiness—use pesticides and chemical fertilizers that destroy the natural micro-organisms. Agribusiness feeds hormones and other drugs to animals and poultry to promote unnaturally rapid growth. Timber barons and building developers cut down the forests and destroy plant life, which cause soil erosion, depletion of oxygen supplies, and large-scale destruction of bird and animal life.

Industrial and human wastes pollute the water, killing the fish and contaminating drinking water with cancer-producing carcinogens.

And all the energy resources—oil, gas, coal, water—are rapidly depleting. America, once the land of the free and home of the brave, a beautiful land with natural wealth vast enough to sustain a sane society for millions of years, is now crowded with millions of hypnotized serfs and a handful of rulers who have denuded it in a few short years what it took nature millions of years to produce. The only remaining resources in America are on the reserved land base of the Indian Nations.

Annihilation or Change

The predator ruling class believes in elimination without discrimination. They pit the haves against the have-nots and use everybody to squeeze the middle. They set the whites to fight the blacks and set both against the reds. They pit the men against the women, and the men against the women. They pit the have-nots and use everybody to squeeze the middle.

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disease. Another government experiment?

Weather control experiments cause a freak rain storm in South Dakota; thousands are flooded and many die in Rapid City. Many of the victims are Sioux!

Floods, droughts, earthquakes, killer winds, forest fires—are they results of more experiments or a backlash from Mother Nature?

American cities rapidly deteriorate. Millions of poor and unemployed are not eligible to receive welfare aid because of bureaucratic red-tape, the destitute are forced into a life of crime; jails and mental institutions are over-crowded; helpless children are tortured and murdered by psychotic parents.

Thousands of Amazonian Indians are massacred by giant U.S. corporations who are destroying the Amazon jungle at the rate of ten miles per day, crossing the jungle with roads to get at the oil, bauxite, and its destruction will be disastrous for oxygen-breathing beings.

History teaches that when conditions reached the same critical stage in England, millions of enslaved, displaced, or dispossessed serfs were killed off or shipped out.

When Germany reached economic crisis, the Nazis ruthlessly exterminated millions of Europeans, Jews, Gypsies, political radicals and liberals, trade unionists, the handicapped, non-conformists, and representatives of all religions.

What next? Humanity had better wake up and make a stand for social, economic and cultural change, while it still has a chance. The choice is up to the people!

We Do Have A Choice

The sixth article of the Omaha Treaty was secretly incorporated into almost all the treaties west of the Mississippi. This is a self-termination clause. When Indian Nations or people abandon their traditional and distinct ways of life and adopt the ways and behavior of civilized society, the treaties will become null and void!

Abandonment is not moving out of the tee pees and longhouses and reservations into houses, apartments, and cities. It is not wearing store-bought clothes instead of buckskins, or traveling in cars rather than canoes or horses. It is not buying meat with your paycheck as a union worker rather than hunting buffalo. These are merely outer changes, forced upon Indians.

Abandonment means a radical change in the Indian's psychology and behavior.

When Indian Nations change their democratic, equilibrating governments into dictatorial bureaucracies...when Indians exchange their communal economic system for competitive, dog-eat-dog, private enterprise...when Indians adopt a class structure, where the rich get richer and the poor get poorer...when Indian leaders become predator profiteers committing depredations against their own people...when Indian people no longer care enough to share with one another...when Indian people become abusers and exploiters of the Mother Earth and abandon their caretaker and guardian duties...when Indian people become violators of the governing laws of the natural world—then Indians have abandoned and deserted their natural culture!

Being Indian is more than skin color or legal, racial definition; it is a total philosophy and way of life!

We have a choice; we are free people with minds of our own, capable of making decisions. If some of our Indian leaders and people want to abandon their traditional, distinct way of life and assimilate into the American mainstream, they are free to do so, and no one has the right to stop them. But we have reached the point of no return; once the choice has been made, it is irrevocable.

Indians who erred or were unknowingly and deceptively dragged into the mainstream without their consent or knowledge have a chance to get out of it, to correct, redeem, and save themselves. Time is short; if they don't want to follow America's polluted mainstream to destruction and death, they better get out now, while the getting is good!

And non-Indian Americans who wish to save themselves better wake up also. The inspiration that gave birth to America came from the Indian Nations who fed, nourished and protected America from its oppressors until it became strong enough to stand on its own. America's first hope and last chance lie with the Indian Nations and the treaties of peace, friendship and protection. These treaties are still America's protection. If America destroys these treaties, it will no longer be under the protective wing of the Indian Nations, and there are no weapons powerful enough to protect and save the U.S. from total destruction!

Soon our trails will divide, for we have come to a fork in the road. A separation of humanity will take place.

One trail will be trod by those who follow the man-made paved road, who blindly march to "progress," competitively striving to climb the ladder of success to their predator-ruler's castle in the sky! They will fall into the emptiness they have created, to death and destruction.

The other path, a smaller one, is for those who have struggled to remain free and sovereign Nations and human beings, the caretakers and guardians of life who are equalitarian, democratic, communal, and non-exploitative. This trail will spiral upwards on the natural evolutionary path of life onto a higher level of existence!

Which path will you be on? The choice is yours!

Responsibility and Freedom

Each individual must take a personal responsibility in the struggle for human freedom. Each person is accountable for struggling for their own humanity. No one else can substitute for you, nobody will hand freedom over to you while you are looking the other way. To win liberation, each and every unjust person must stand up to the oppressors.

And each individual can clear their mind of the cobwebs put there by this sickening society we live in. Every person can and must clean out the neglected attics of their minds, sweep out the dogma and drilled implanted by our enemies to confuse and paralyze and frighten us. Every single human being can open the closed windows of their mind and let in the fresh air and the light.

When every victim of injustice, and every person who is sensitive and opposed to injustice, regardless of their race or religion or political affiliation, makes the commitment to live with integrity and resist with honor, then together we can create a much better world.

We can build a society that eliminates greed and viciousness and tyranny, but preserves all that was true and good in the Indian past. Once again, we can rise to meet the challenges and we can emerge victorious—we can aim high and attain the realization of our long-lost harmony, our ages-old wisdom that rests on the unbreakable unity of nature, the people, social organization, and all living things. That unity is now rent asunder by the pillagers—but we can mend the sacred hoop that unites all living things and build a better world for children to grow up in. Together we can model a stronger, more vivid, more humane pattern of personal and intercommunal life for everyone.

Personal Footnote

For twenty years, I have spoken for the just cause of our Indian Nations and people. I have seen signs creep up, signs that indicate that we want to believe what I was seeing! I hoped that crisis and corruption were just temporary and would nicely fade away! But they have not.

My warning message and my analysis of our present dangers come from what I have seen in my travels upon Mother Earth; what I have learned from my elders; what I have heard from the voices of Indian people, and the world's exploited humanity; what I have read and studied; what I and my family have personally witnessed, suffered and experienced!

I am human, so prone to err. It is not my intent to confuse, frighten or injure any innocent human being just to expose the evil predators who are exploiting humanity and the earth. Therefore, if I have erred, I ask for correction! And if I am right, then I ask you to act, so we can work together for a better world for children to grow up in and for reestablishing the path of beauty, truth, freedom and plenty for all the earth's inhabitants.

Yet Si Blue

(Yanet McClock)

Yelm, Washington

January, 1978
by Connie Crothers

The women's rights movement in Europe exploded onto the political scene in the late sixties. Initiated largely by student movement activists, it mushroomed into a mass movement with the outbreak of prerevolutionary and revolutionary crises. Linked from the start with workers' struggles, it boasts a large working class composition and an irrepressible sector of socialist feminists.

Thousands of women in England, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy and Germany have demonstrated for abortion and birth control. They have marched in protest against their double workday and disproportionate unemployment rate. Traditionally militant, they have occupied factories during strikes in industries where women predominate.

They have formed unified caucuses in the unions and confronted the labor bureaucracy and fellow workers with demands for equal wages, paid maternity leave, and alleviation of harmful working conditions.

Their pervasive sense of internationalism has engendered many continental conferences, all marked by a sharp awareness of the common enemy—a male supremacist, exploitative society.

Reverberations on the Left

The coincident rise of European feminism with the outbreak of workers' struggles, and their intrinsic interaction, is striking sparks in radical politics and building up a revolutionary charge that could set Europe aflame.

Within the traditional workers' organizations and parties of the left, women have organized commissions and factions to confront the dominant males and expose masculine reluctance to recognize the validity and political significance of the women's demands.

Women, moreover, have challenged the party leadership on an unprecedented scale. The Socialist Party in France, for instance, has initiated a feminist struggle within the party, and it mushroomed into an autonomous women's movement.

The Spanish CP has proclaimed itself "the party of women's liberation." After it held a party conference on the woman question, an opposition caucus of women CPers pressured the party to hold a general assembly of women comrades. The party's orientation to the autonomous women's movement was examined there, plus the matter of internal party democracy.

The British section of the Fourth International, the International Marxist Group (IMG), has adopted this principle, and another British Trotskyist group, the Socialist Workers Party, has formed a separate sister organization around its magazine, Women's Voice.

The resolution on women's liberation was one of two major documents at the IMG conference, and it passed with a 94% majority. The women's caucus issue received 61% of the vote. 43% of the delegates were women, and 32% of the new Central Committee are female.

Active participation of women on all levels of party work and leadership is a priority.

The IMG publishes a quarterly feminist journal, Socialists Women.

The French section of the Fourth International, the League Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR), adopted a policy to work out a political line and a theoretical question of women's caucuses. Feminism, which attacks the basic institutions of class oppression, is intrinsically antibureaucratic. Thus, the fusion of feminism with the central core of class struggle forms the leading edge of the dynamic process that reconstitutes the integrity of the class.

By organizing independently outside the class, as women had to do, they became the most revolutionary current within the class.

The Inalienable Right to a Women's Caucus

Any movement calling itself Marxist must demonstrate women's equality in practice. And without caucuses, specially oppressed strata have no organizational lever of self-defense against sexism.

The right to caucuses in the sections of the Fourth International will be opposed by every rightward tendency, especially the Socialist Workers Party of the U.S., which labels them unnecessary and immature.

SWPer Mary Alice Waters, in Feminism and the Marxist Movement, unleashes a blizzard of words to intimate women Trotskyists from requesting caucuses. Waters speaks with the rasp of the petty bureaucrats she represents.

Women's caucuses are a contradiction to the formalist, violating categorical concepts of the norms of democratic centralism. But these norms must ever be forged anew in the furnace of current reality.

In April, 1917 Lenin exhorted the party in a manner that true communists will heed today: "Don't hang on to the old word which is rotten through and through," he said. "Have the will to build a new party... and all the oppressed will come to you."

The new catalyst for the building of a modern Bolshevik party is the revolutionary dynamic of free and fully developed women's caucuses. And Trotskyists should proffer thanks for the new blast of political energy conferred upon radicalism by the satiric effects of the autonomous women's movement.