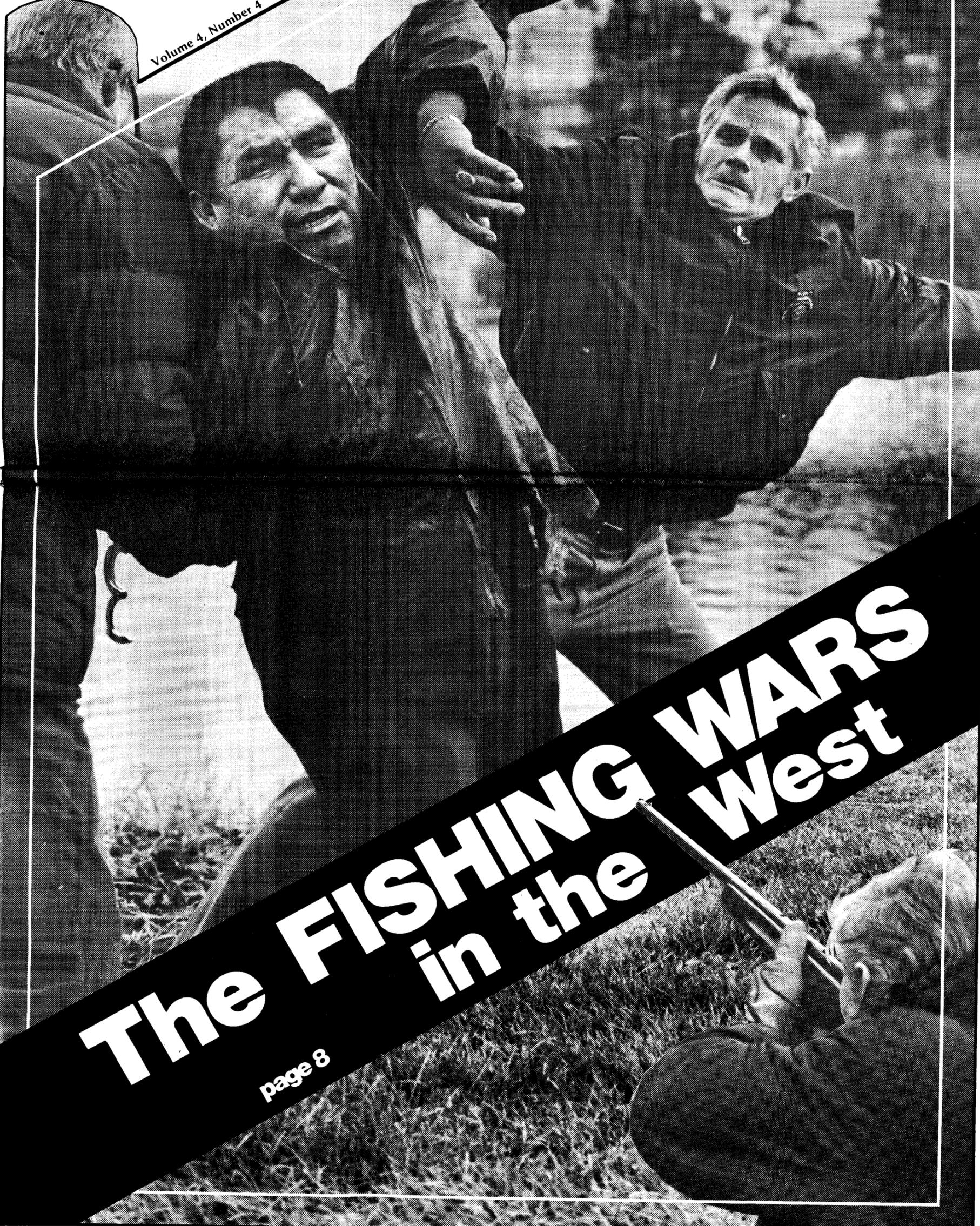


The Longshoremen
Ti-Grace's Odyssey

of freedom socialist

25¢

Volume 4, Number 4 Winter 1978



The FISHING WARS in the West

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Eyewitness accounts from gay activists in California and Washington report that election victories were dangerously limited by the failures to counter racist rightwing measures.



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Tom Boot recounts recent efforts by enraged minority freedom fighters to rout the white-hooded Klans.

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Stirring feminist demands rankled the reformists when social democratic women convened prior to the recent Congress of the Socialist International.



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Amid vigorous debate and enthusiastic participation, the First National Conference of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party hammered out a widely-expanded area of agreement on ways and means of reconstituting American Trotskyism.

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freedom socialist

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LETTERS

Marxist Sexism

I enjoyed the Fall, 1978 issue of the *Freedom Socialist* especially the article on contemporary Cuba by Edith and Milt Zaslow... and the polemic against the Socialist Workers (sic!) Party's "single issue" cretinism in all fields of work...

Freedom Socialist has long found itself among the leaders in the U.S. left in investigating and propagandizing the vast importance of sexual politics as a principle and strategy within the movement and society generally. This is obviously a central question in the formation of a revolutionary Marxist movement here. Having been in or around several "left" groups in this country whose attitudes to such a fundamental question range from lip-service vacuity to disdain to downright hostility, regarding this and related issues as "a diversion from real work," I can attest to their importance.

I am enclosing a copy of... *Chartist International* (#2), the discussion/theoretical journal of the British Socialist Chartist group. I especially want to direct your attention to Martin Cook's article "Trotskyism and Sexual Politics." While it deals predominantly with sexual oppression and related issues in the context of a focus on the *British* far left, the overall implications of what he says obviously hit at attitudes even more prevalent in this country. The analytical axis of comrade Cook's critique is that despite the early promise and enormous theoretical strides of the early Marxist in formulating a scientific analysis of the nature of sexual oppression, the movements claiming internationally to continue the tradition of Marxism have in recent times come to play a conservative and even reactionary role overall in this field.

The same issue also includes Chris Knight's review of Evelyn Reed's *Woman's Evolution*. Comrade Knight's article is by far the finest analysis from the perspective of contemporary and innovative Marxist anthropology of some of the issues mistreated by Reed I have ever seen. **Dave Cunningham**
Berkeley, California

A Friend in Need

Dear Friends:

Quest: a feminist quarterly is in serious financial trouble. Unless we are able to bring about a dramatic change we will go under. If you could run the enclosed notice it would be a tremendous help. Thank you.

FUNDRAISER WANTED

Quest: a feminist quarterly, (a 501 (C) (3) organization), is looking for a fundraiser who can work on a commissioned basis. In its fifth year, *Quest* is an independent journal publishing feminist theory and political analysis. Join us in a unique work experience. Our only requirement is enthusiasm! Alexa Freeman, *Quest*, P.O. Box 8843, Washington, D.C. 20003, (202) 293-1347.

Northern Lights

Your latest issue of the *Freedom Socialist* is simply tremendous! There are so many excellent articles that it is difficult to do anything but reread the entire newspaper over and over, constantly underlining, thinking, critiquing, comparing, and ultimately *learning*.

Native Alaskan people are reading Janet McCloud's *A Warning Message* and hearing her words—our newsletter *Common Ground* also published her article and we have hundreds of Native People on our

mailing list. John Mohawk, a passionate, articulate and moving Native American from the "lower 48" spoke to many people in Anchorage at the recent Conference on Multi-National Corporations and the Future of Alaska. His message was nearly identical to McCloud's.

We are also fighting the conservative, religious backlash against gay people. Last fall a Lesbian schoolteacher was run out of her classroom by homophobic religious conservatives. I recently heard that one conservative candidate for Anchorage City Council in this fall's elections attacked his opponent for supporting gay rights legislation and wants to make it the *key* issue of the campaign (shades of Briggs in California). I have received a letter from conservative gays in Anchorage seeking help for a "low-profile" campaign to push for state legislation against discrimination of gay people. Emily Weiner's article in the *FS* is an excellent response to this sort of "respectable" tactic really aimed at protecting the jobs of gay white males already doing well by the system...
Phil McMurray
Juneau, Alaska

Proof of the Pudding

Enclosed please find a check for a sub to the *Freedom Socialist* as advertised in *Seven Days*.

In the past I have been exposed to the practice of the FSP and I now proudly subscribe to the *Freedom Socialist* based on a test of the Freedom Socialist Party's politics.
Miguel Mora
Ventura, California

We would like to do a subscription exchange. We are bi-weekly and feminist socialist oriented. Thank you,
Tom
Free for All, P.O. Box 962
Madison, Wisconsin 53701

Attack Attacked

Whatever valid criticisms Fred Hyde may have of the SWP, his article hardly clarifies the matter. Indeed there can't be a clearer disregard for the intelligence of women than to expect Rita Shaw—"their leader"—to tell them what to do. It's not surprising that a direct appeal was ineffective. People respond to direct communication. Yet Hyde tells us that women, acting in their own interests, i.e. supporting the anti-Bakke rally, are in fact reacting against the divisive, one-issue-only etc., etc., SWP—"their ex-leader." This is an obvious misrepresentation; the assumption that women are sheep that can be herded into one camp or another infuriates me.

To read such a hysterical personal vendetta against Rita Shaw and the SWP in the *Freedom Socialist* is not perhaps inappropriate. It is disgusting. A paper and Party that advocates a United Front has a lot to learn about working with those who have common oppressions and goals. If Fred Hyde's out-of-context half-truths represent your method of presenting differences between groups, I am disappointed. I am sickened by such hypocrisy.
Beth Matthew
Seattle, Washington

Editor's Response

To lead is to herd? To request solidarity is to insult women? To criticize treachery is to be disgusting? Come on, Matthew, cut the outraged innocence act and study our real differences.

Direct appeals are effective—to all but the SWP. You, for instance, ignore every single point of political

criticism in the article and represent its content as nothing but a personal attack on Shaw. However, as Hyde pointed out, the SWP's single-issue suicide and anti-United Front line cannot build a movement, much less protect the working class from its enemies.

Simplistic on Ethiopia

Please send me the next 4 issues of the *Freedom Socialist*. I have the Summer '78 issue and would like to read the "Report From Cuba." I went for 3 weeks in '75 with a delegation of teachers. I find the Zaslows' report interesting and accurate.

I think your position on Ethiopia simplistic. I feel if every national aspiration is supported and encouraged that the very necessary struggle for a socialist Africa will be indefinitely postponed.

Comradely,
Herbert Lewin
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Editor's Response

The right to self-determination for oppressed nations must be unconditionally supported or socialist revolution is impossible, especially in Africa where the anticolonial struggles objectively attack international capitalism. Leninists view the nationalism of oppressed nations as a stepping stone to internationalism, given the intervention of socialists.

We Like Your Poem

CHIC

I thought she'd be impressed when I told her who I was. I played the leading role in that play you saw two years ago, And I have curly black hair (and a big smile, too). I own a moped, a hammock, and a waterbed. I have a baby, but of course I'm not married. I even swing both ways. I wear an earring. You want to party on Saturday night? Well I know of three different ones. I take a disco dance class, I have a name that is androgynous, And sometimes I even dress in drag. I'm a member of the Cambridge Food Coop. I just finished reading another book by Daughters Inc. I work at Harvard, but that's okay... I'm a man working in day care. I've marched in the Gay Pride Parade for the third year in a row. I'm so non-sexist that I have seventeen women friends, And I even love my mother. I thought she'd be impressed.

—Sandy Ruben
Somerville, Massachusetts

Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphics, photographs, and pertinent information on world and national affairs for publication. All material will be carefully considered by the Editorial Board.

Se comunica a los señores lectores que nos pueden enviar para publicación cartas con sus opiniones, nuevos relatos, comentarios, caricaturas, gráficos, fotografías, y toda clase de información sobre sucesos nacionales o extranjeros. Todo el material que nos sea enviado será cuidadosamente considerado por el Consejo de nuestra Editorial.

IRAN

Striking workers and peasants face a retaliatory bloodbath as an unprincipled combination of Left, Moslem, and business forces try to oust the U.S.-supported Shah

by Monica Hill

police (SAVAK) have spent 25 years systematically disarming revolutionary struggle. Trade unions, strikes, political parties, demonstrations and disagreement are illegal.

U.S. Troops to the Rescue

The U.S. press depicts the Shah's brutality and military rule as simply the necessary actions of a benevolent king struggling to bring his backward people towards "modernization and democratic reforms." But the Shah is actually a well-oiled puppet for Western imperialism, and he has bought U.S. arms exports to the tune of \$19 billion over the past 6 years!

The U.S. will not easily turn against such a lucrative ally.

Secretary of Defense Brown has admitted that "100,000 U.S. troops are being trained for possible intervention in the Gulf." 40,000 "military advisers" are *already* there. If Israel cannot police yet another Middle East front on behalf of Western imperialism, then the introduction of U.S. troops into Iran is a frightening possibility.

Crisis on the Left

Radicals who have survived the terror are unfortunately guided by the politics of Stalinism and Maoism which have historically collaborated with such class enemies as Iran's right-wing Moslem leaders and businessmen. The right wing is far less confused about class lines: its exiled religious leader, Khomeini, has ordered his followers, to collaborate with leftists against the Shah.

The Iranian people are heroic in their uncompromising demand for freedom. They are prepared to sacrifice their lives for a revolution that embraces *all* oppressed people. Principled Marxists could win the leadership of the revolution by waging struggle against all class enemies and by calling on the world—especially the workers states—to help stop the massacres.

Down with the Shah! U.S. Out of Iran! Defend Iranian Women's Rights! Release Iranian Political Prisoners in Iran and the U.S.! For Socialist Revolution in Iran! ■

The absolute monarchy of Iran hangs in the balance as millions of Iranians from the cities, provinces, and oil fields strive desperately to smother the revolt with machinegun massacres, has managed to fan the flames of resistance into the most massive popular uprising in modern Iranian history.

Workers, peasants, small businessmen and rightwing religious leaders are all thundering "*Down with the Shah!*"

At the root of this revolutionary upheaval is Iran's irreparable economic crisis, which hits everybody.

Left, Right and Center

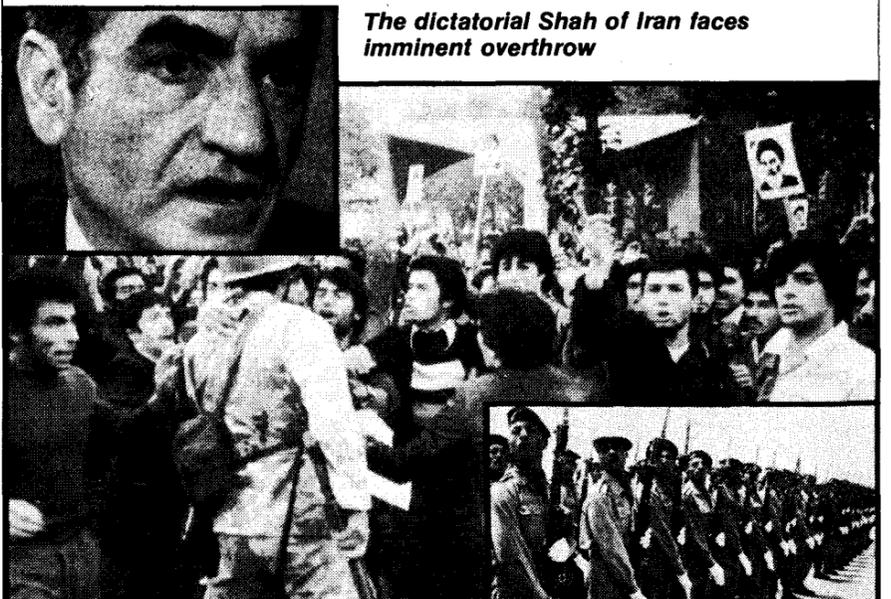
Workers' strikes against soaring unemployment, 30% inflation, critical housing shortages, and poverty wages have swept the nation. The 15-day oil workers' strike in November cost Iran \$1 billion in lost revenues. And the strikers are supported by the uprooted, unemployed peasantry—victims of the Shah's phony land reform which "redistributed" land to his family and foreign investors but did nothing to improve agricultural production.

On the right of Iran's political spectrum are the conservative Moslem religious leaders maneuvering to regain the lands and power they lost in the transition from a feudal to a capitalist economy. The reactionary character of this movement is graphically exposed by its murderous slogan against oppressed Iranian women—"Death or the Veil!"

In the middle are the swollen ranks of the petty bourgeois nationalists who cannot compete with international big business. Politically unpredictable at present, they will characteristically swing to the winning side.

The Shah's pressure of the overpowering mass pressure of these combined forces has been to murder thousands upon thousands of unarmed demonstrators in cold blood.

The Shah of Iran and his secret



The dictatorial Shah of Iran faces imminent overthrow

A vast popular uprising challenges Somoza's dictatorial regime and incurs savage reprisals as the U.S. greedily watches over its investments in

NICARAGUA

by Tamara Turner

Armed with U.S. tanks, helicopters, and rockets, Nicaragua's brutal National Guard reduced four cities nearly to rubble and murdered thousands of civilians during September in an attempt to crush the civil war against hated dictator Anastasio Somoza.

The Catholic Church, businessmen, liberals, and professionals have deserted Somoza and joined an uneasy coalition, the Broad Opposition Front, which includes Marxist revolutionaries (Sandinistas) and pro-Moscow communists (Nicaraguan Socialist Party). Somoza refuses to resign or negotiate.

The U.S. government, eager to salvage its long-term investment in Nicaragua, vacillates between covert military assistance to the regime versus aid to whichever opponent might prove most grateful after Somoza's demise.

Heading the armed struggle is the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), whose Cuban-style guerrillas led attacks on National Guard installations and touched off widespread insurrection in September.

Into the Streets!

Following the January shotgun murder of opposition newspaper editor Pedro Joaquín Chamorro by Somoza supporters, Nicaragua's economy has been crippled by riots and a series of general strikes supported by students and businessmen.

During the September general strike, the FSLN issued a call to arms: "The hour of insurrection has come! Everyone into the streets!"

The rebels were quickly joined by thousands of students, workers, and the general population. But pistols proved inadequate against the National Guard's sophisticated U.S. weapons, and the insurrection was halted after two weeks of merciless fighting.

World protest at the subsequent slaughter of civilians brought an

explanation from Somoza that human rights were being dictated "in the civilized manner dictated by the principles of Christianity."

The Buddy System

Nicaragua has been a client state of the U.S. since the Marines invaded to protect American interests in 1909. Although driven out in 1933 by guerrilla leader Cesar Augusto Sandino (today's rebels are his namesake), the U.S. maneuvered Somoza's father into leadership of the National Guard—the combined Army and police force. He assassinated Sandino in 1934 and consolidated control.

Mutual back-scratching has netted Nicaragua \$300 million in U.S. aid since 1945, including millions for military weapons and training. The Somoza clan owns 5 million acres of land, the 26 largest companies and an immense personal fortune.

The U.S. gained secure investment opportunities and a military vantage point for control of Latin countries—both the Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba in 1961 and the invasion of Guatemala in 1954 were backed by the CIA and launched from friendly Nicaragua.

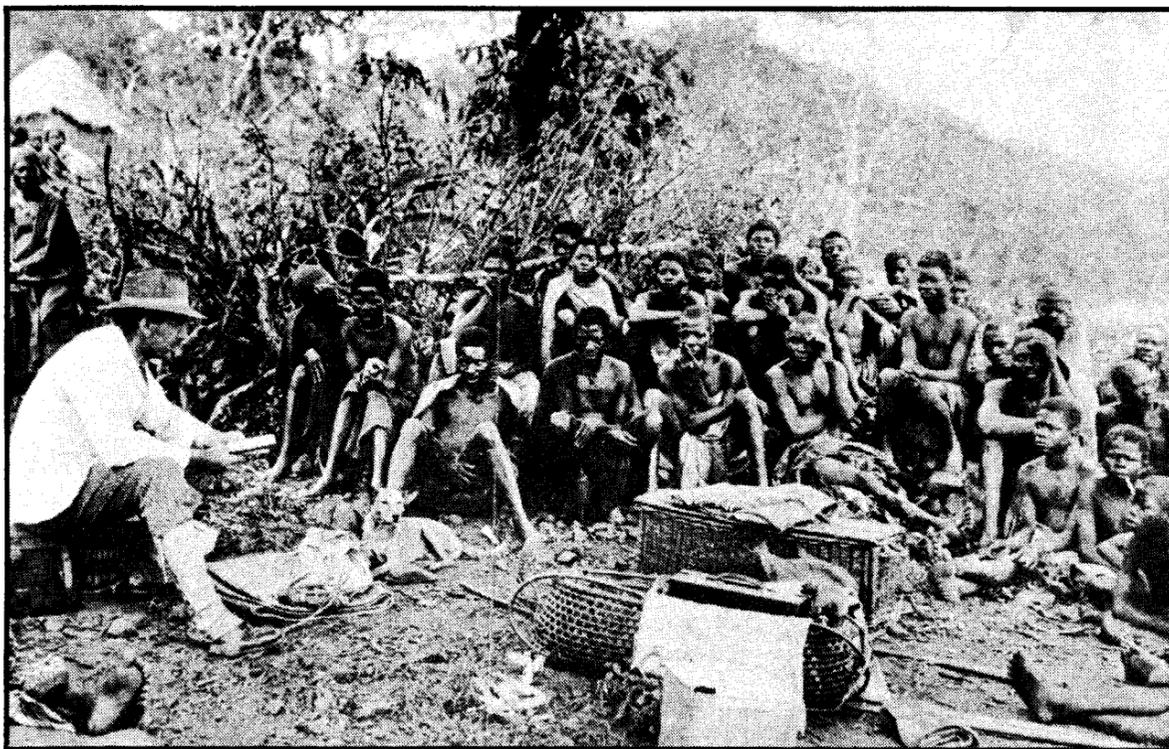
Reform or Revolution

The present three-man negotiating team, sent to Nicaragua from the U.S., Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic, represents interests aligned with the Broad Opposition Front's majority. This majority, including the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, wants to use the popular insurrection to unseat Somoza, set up a democratic bourgeois government, and halt any further radicalization of the masses.

Through their consistent militance, the Sandinistas have won intense respect among the people. However, they remain linked with the bourgeois forces and as yet have not promoted the political and organizational independence of the workers and peasants.

It remains to be seen whether there will emerge a program and leadership that can build socialist revolution, or whether thousands more will fight and die merely to install new capitalist oppressors. ■





Missionaries in Africa

god, glory and gold

by Ivan King

Religion has long been America's most civil servant. Our nationalistic heritage only tolerates objectivity about the political role of religion when the events are untouchably remote in time. Hence, only now do historians, diplomats, journalists, and even ministers feel free to speak of the devilish 3-G's of past Western colonialism: God, Glory, and Gold. And the former is an acknowledged cover for pursuit of the latter.

Our domestic sages, however, are slow to expose similar present-day relationships such as those between modern American missionaries and the new Conquistadores, the multi-national corporations. Church groups are often the witless or unwitting valets for these giants of economic imperialism which continue the rape of human and material resources in countries "softened up" by religion and its support of the status quo.

The role of Pentecostals in Africa is one aspect of such unholy connections.

Pentecostals were initially well tolerated and even welcomed in Africa. Their interracial heritage, generosity in the midst of poverty, and environmental adaptability formed a strong base of empathy among

colonial peoples. The rich Afro-American influence in Pentecostal music, style of preaching, and modes of worship found resonance in many African cultures. Their development of native ministers made them acceptable to emergent nationalist leaders, and their disinterest in secular affairs rendered them innocuous in white rulers' eyes.

But their day is over.

Pie in the Sky

The U.S. Pentecostal movement developed around the turn of the century, in interracial storefront missions and country revival meetings. Its fervent promises—material well-being in the afterlife, and punishment of the wicked rich—at first attracted a predominance of poor people. The cathartic services feature speaking "in other tongues," often accompanied by ecstatic utterances and dancing "in the Spirit." Pentecostals believe they are filled with the literal Holy Ghost, but typical of peripheral ideological groups devoid of power, the movement has spawned an almost unbelievable array of denominations, sects, and cults.

Pentecostals are fundamentalism's most rapidly growing fringe. Their per capita donations to missions far exceed that of mainline churches. And they make extraordinary use of the mass media: their multi-

sensory ministry is a "natural"—never lacking in movement, visual pizzazz, and rhythmic music. But while they have retained many of their esoteric traditions, their largely unreflective political stance has shifted noticeably to the right.

After decades of disregard, disrepute, and even persecution, Pentecostals are now the curious darlings of established press, religious, commercial and foreign policy groups in America. When the World War II economic boom swept many previously poor members into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie or comfortable if uncertain skilled trades, they became prime recruits to the expeditionary forces of the new American imperialism. They accepted hook-line-and-sinker the Cold War mythology: every insurgent force in Africa, and elsewhere, was Communist inspired, and therefore atheist-inspired. Slowly, the changing economic status and political perspectives of home churches in America clouded the originally naive and often positive work of Pentecostal missionaries.

Salvation Sellout

The new, bellicose, pro-American stance found in much Pentecostal literature, media blitzes, and ministerial practices has aroused suspicion and extreme hostility among cultural, political, and economic leaders of the new African nations and the revolutionary forces in remaining colonial or puppet countries.

The destruction of Pentecostal missions by the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) was precipitated by the decision of white Pentecostals to segregate themselves from their fellow Black believers, thus allying themselves visibly with the forces of reaction.

Outright banishment has occurred elsewhere—the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front Constitution specifically calls for the exclusion of Pentecostals along with other "anti-nationalist" religious groups. Because Pentecostals perpetuate the subjugated status of native people and preach otherworldliness, as opposed to grappling realistically with oppressive conditions, they are now regarded as passive if not active supporters of Western exploitation.

Rising cultural consciousness has also caused the emergence of indigenous religious groupings, such as the Nazarites in South Africa. Members regard their deceased founder as the true Biblical messiah and are slowly melding more and more Zulu customs with components of Pentecostalism. Wearing white flowing angel gowns to their revival meetings, they disrobe and reveal traditional, semi-nude attire when the "Holy Ghost" descends and the "saints" sing, play instruments, and dance "in the spirit."

Stripping off the Westernized version of holiness is a highly political statement. The peoples of Africa intend to reassert their own identity, insisting that any ultimate, universally accepted concept of personhood be one to which they've made a recognized and recognizable contribution.

The mandate for American socialists is to expose the stampede of sympathy the American press is generating for Pentecostals rejected or banished by the African peoples. The usual missionary role as emissary for destructive American capitalism cannot be tolerated, however unintentional its effect. ■

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women, gays, ethnic minorities,
youth & the rebels of the earth.*

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- Enclosed is \$50 for a 5-year Sustaining Subscription and a free copy of *A Victory for Socialist Feminism (Organizer's Report to the 1969 Freedom Socialist Party Conference)*.
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by Sandy Nelson

When the Socialist International Women met in Vancouver, B.C., Canada in early November, they were clearly divided into the two classic camps of reform and revolution. But this time a new feature emerged that exacerbated the chronic internal inconsistencies of the Second International, and that feature was feminism. The radicals insisted that universal violence against women persists because of the fusion of capitalism with patriarchy, and their demand that the conference recognize the essential ties between socialism and feminism provided a strong and welcome counterpoint to the predominantly liberalistic tone and format of conference officials.

The theme of this tenth, biennial conference of the SIW was "Violence in Society"—political, economic, cultural and social. In a highlight speech, Rosemary Brown of the Canadian New Democratic Party declared, "Women continue to be beaten and raped because our society is willing to tolerate it in its conspiracy to preserve the 'integrity' of the traditional family."

The two-day meeting preceded the Socialist International Congress, convening for the first time outside Europe.



Maryann Curtis/Freedom Socialist

Rosemary Brown, Canadian New Democratic Party

The North American location symbolized the outreach of the SI and its attempt to solidify and broaden the base of "Third Camp" socialism. The SI poses itself as an alternative to both the Communist bloc and the USA's sphere of influence.

Political Patchwork

The Socialist International, also known as the Second International, dates from 1889. It is an ideological zoo, a conglomerate of some 90 member parties and fraternal groups ranging from small to large, and from frightfully domesticated, like the staid German Social Democratic Party, to fearlessly revolutionary, like the insurgent Patriotic Front of Rhodesia. Collective membership of this all-inclusive umbrella of Marxists and non-Marxists is around 150 million.

The packed agenda of the SIW Conference was designed to prevent audience discussion. Dissatisfied observers and rank-and-file delegates protested that women's issues were being played down and overgeneralized. Some felt the function of the women's conference was placation, to justify the gross under-representation of women in the formal SI Congress. And in this setting of proscribed discussion, the FSP and Radical Women literature table—the only table there—became the focal point for serious political analysis and debate.

Dichotomies

Third World women, prime victims

of capitalism's global decay, aggressively denounced imperialist exploitation and racism. While less vocal about specific feminist issues, delegates from Chile, Senegal, Japan, and other countries eloquently described survival struggles of people ravaged by foreign capital or terrorized by rightist dictatorships.

Gloria Levy, representing Jamaica, condemned the cultural rape of the indigenous people by the colonialist super-powers:

"Here in the Caribbean the exploitation of women has its roots in the semi-slave relations of production as well as in capitalism and imperialism," she said.

A delegate from El Salvador depicted the plight of her people under a military dictatorship. She described the 1977 Law of Defense and Public Order, according to which her speech to the SIW could be interpreted as a criminal act.

A host of dichotomies were at work in the conference. Third World women tended to be more revolutionary on economic and political issues, whereas white delegates tended to focus on personal identity problems and restructuring of art, culture, and lifestyles.

While presiding officers tried to push along prepared speeches, floor delegates rose to exhort the SI to champion feminism, confront the special oppression of women, and acknowledge that even "socialists" can be sexists.

The Dutch delegation's proposal that an intensive seminar be promptly scheduled in Holland to discuss the essential ties between feminism and socialism was eagerly and unanimously passed.

Marieke Wuthrich of the Dutch Labor Party (DLP) explained to *Freedom Socialist* reporters that many European comrades realize feminism must be fought for within their parties. She described the women's organization of the DLP, Red Women, as a strong internal force on the party.

Sexism, Reformism and Doublespeak

The SI Congress, like the women's conference, was largely devoid of incisive debate or discussion, except in the hallways and hotel rooms. The Congress did not deal directly with women's issues and turned down the demand to insure increased leadership of women by extending the concept of proportionate representation now found on the executive committees of some constituent parties.

The historically wishy-washy and class-collaborationist tendencies of the International since WWI were revealed in this year's Congress resolution on disarmament: "The peaceful resolution of conflict demands an acceptance of realistic compromise

and stage-by-stage progress in the face of difficulties."

Predominantly reformist discussion was periodically peppered with revo-



Gloria Levy, People's National Party of Jamaica

lutionary rhetoric. The SI is dominated by the giant parties of West Germany and Britain, which are still beholden

to the USA for bailing out their economies after WWII. Yet, the Congress did not hesitate to pledge unqualified support to the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the Patriotic Front in Rhodesia, and the Chilean exiles. However, Willie Brandt of West Germany and his allies resisted the push of progressives, mainly from the Third World, to transform the SI from a conglomerate of parties into a truly multi-national political force, with structure and mandate to challenge multi-national corporations and international fascism.

To survive, the SI must confront itself ideologically, and take a radical turn to the left. Women and Third World delegates are providing the International with impetus to break with reformism. *Only if the SI incorporates socialist feminism, and eliminates its own European chauvinism in favor of thorough-going internationalism, can it effectively advocate proletarian revolution.* Its past hesitancy and compromise has meant a near abandonment of its workingclass constituency, a failure to recruit women, and an objective facilitation of the rise of worldwide reaction. ■

Feminism Fettered at Second Int'l Congress

At the world conference of Socialist International Women, a minority of angry feminists hurled a strong challenge to the reformists to address the special oppression of women and consider the essential ties between socialism and feminism. Militants demanded support for Third World revolutions and for women's leadership. But the opportunist majority, female and male, spurned them as usual.



NEW FROM THE BOOKSTORE

In the words of author and FSP Organizer Martin, the report seeks to "assess the highlights, identify the errors, and level judgement on an entire decade of revolutionary work." Fascinating reading for those concerned with American radicalism and the how-tos of organizing.

Please send me _____ copies of **Socialist Feminism: The First Decade, 1966-76**. Enclosed is \$ _____. Price \$7.95 each.

Name _____ (please print)

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone(s) _____

Send checks or money orders (no cash, please) to Freedom Socialist Party, Freeway Hall, 3815 Fifth Avenue N.E., Seattle, WA 98105.

Cindy Gipple, a warehouse worker, interviews Art Mink, a Longshoremen's Union activist since 1951 and a knowledgeable interpreter of labor dynamics on the docks

ON THE WATERFRONT

The Longshoremen's Union has long been synonymous with labor radicalism. From its inception in the fiercely-fought dock battles of 1934, the union has been noted for militance, audacity, and labor solidarity.

Originally, "longshoremen" were unemployed seaman looking for work loading ships "along the shore." Working conditions were terrible, wages were paltry, work was carried through around the clock. Jobs were parcelled out as favors from the ship-owners, often in return for previously unpaid work.

Many longshoremen were Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World) who were instrumental in the 1919 Seattle general strike and helped organize longshoremen into a strong force at that time. But the ending of this famous strike broke the union.

In 1934 a bloody West Coast dock strike broke out over classic issues: union recognition, union control of hiring halls, higher wages, and a shorter work week. In San Francisco, three workers were killed by police and a short-lived general strike ensued. In Seattle, enraged strikers battled the police, piled ties on the tracks to stop trains entering the docks, and lobbed cannisters of tear gas back at the police.

The 1934 strike was won and the union was recognized (the Pacific Coast International Longshoremen's Association, which later became the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union).

After the strike, labor baron Dave Beck and other Teamster moguls tried to muscle in on the waterfront and take jurisdiction. But the ILWU held its ground, and Beck and Co. were ignominiously chased off the docks with longshore hooks.

Charismatic Longshore leader and 1934-strategist Harry Bridges followed the tortuous CP line over the years, provoking fierce opposition from Trotskyists and other union militants. At one point, in a jurisdictional dispute, Bridges led Longshoremen through a Sailors Union of the Pacific picket line. The one-time radical was well on his way to becoming the fair-haired favorite of the shipowners and the liberals.

A heavy blow was dealt the ILWU in 1961 with the adoption of the infamous Mechanization and Modernization Agreement, which legitimized containerized cargo. Containerization was invented by the U.S. government, which used containers to ship arms during the Korean War, but it wasn't applied commercially until the M &

M Agreement was signed. The Agreement cut the workforce in half, and returned considerable control of working conditions to the bosses.

The waterfront today has a much smaller and more docile workforce than in '34, and much greater mechanization.

Art Mink, former vice-president of Local 19, has been an ILWU member since 1951 and a social activist all his life. He has worked as a checker for the past three years.

Cindy Gipple: What kind of changes have you seen on the waterfront in 27 years?

Art Mink: The major change since 1959 or '60 has been the steady movement of work *off* the docks. A substantial portion of this work goes to unorganized people who are paid the minimum wage, if that much. They work in unorganized warehouses where the cargo is prepackaged or loaded into containers.

CG: How was the work done before?

AM: When I first started, if somebody had something to be shipped, they put it in a truck or on a railroad car at their place of business

Over the years, militant action brought great benefits and workers are cautious because they have more to lose than in 1934

and trucked it or sent it by rail to a dock. On the dock, the truck or rail car was unloaded by longshoremen piece by piece onto the skin of the dock and the dock warehouse. Then longshoremen picked it up piece by piece and put it on cargo boards—one ton of cargo to each board. Then the cargo boards were forklifted to the ship and hoisted one at a time into the ship's hold. More longshoremen took the cargo off the cargo board piece by piece and stowed it into the ship. They stowed the ship completely full. That was the big thing—don't blow any space, fill it high up into the beams, anyplace there was someplace to go. They had a fit if you didn't! A 5,000 ton ship would work five gangs day and night for 10 days to get loaded.

CG: Where was the intersection between Teamster and Longshoremen work?

AM: The concept of "first place of rest." A Teamster would bring the

cargo into the dock and set it down as close to his truck as he could.

There, the Longshore checker signed for it and that was it. From then on, it was all Longshore. That's the traditional rule, but the concept of "first place of rest" no longer exists. The contractual concept is "care, custody and control." The Longshore district starts where the employer assumes the care, custody and control, which has been generally interpreted to be the point where the Longshore checker signs for the cargo. But we kind of stretch here and there according to work rules and practices.

CG: How is the freight now getting into non-union hands?

AM: Basically it has to do with the changes in the industry, primarily containerization. Containers are loaded in off-the-dock freight stations which are nothing more nor less than creatures of the steamship companies. The same steamship companies have contracts with the Longshoremen to do the very work they're sending out to be done somewhere else. We had a case in court where a certain amount of cargo from one steamship company was first loaded on the dock, then loaded by Teamsters in the railroad yard, then pretty soon it's being done uptown, and neither Teamsters nor Longshoremen are getting the work.

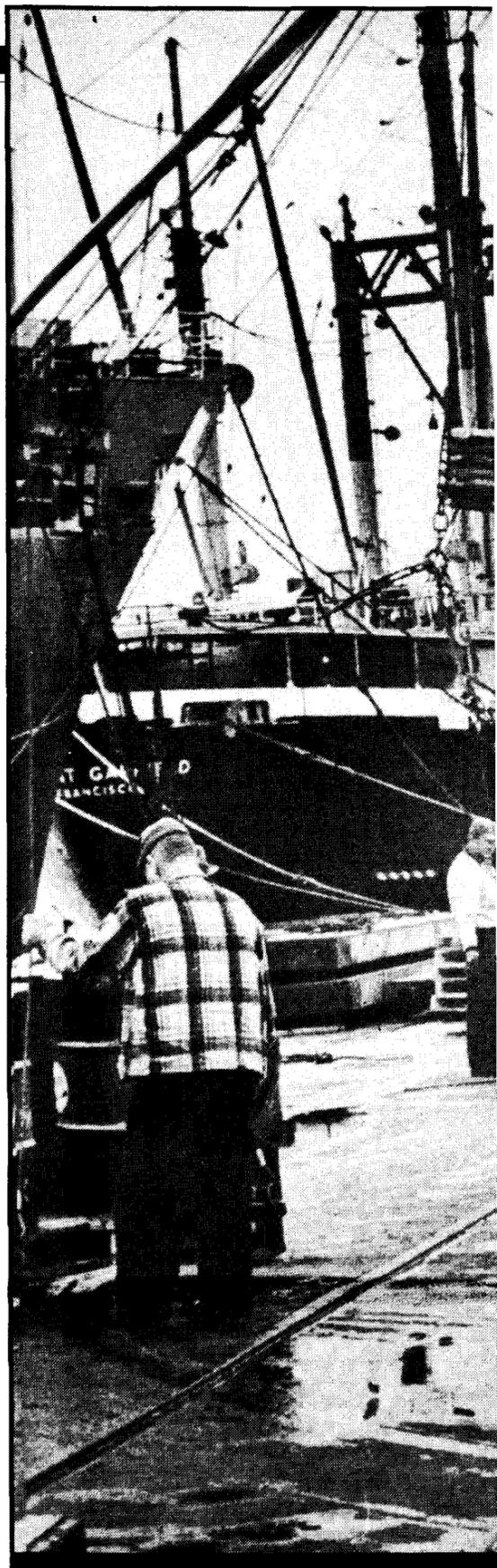
The problem is that neither Longshoremen nor Teamsters have contracts with these employers of so-called "scab labor" who are not scab labor at all, but simply unorganized workers. The International has finally gotten around to hiring and funding an organizer who is trying to organize these people, with some small successes. The unorganized people may have lousy jobs, but they didn't have any job at all before, and they only have the lousy job because they'll do it for next to nothing.

CG: Have you seen any change in the number of women and minorities on the dock?

AM: Whenever the union has been in control of hiring, there hasn't been discrimination against minorities. And there has been a substantial change in the number of women; ten years ago there weren't any. With the men I know, the general response to women on the docks has been positive. To the best of my knowledge, no one has ever hassled the women. However, there are no women in Seattle who are members of the union. There haven't been *any* new members since women started working on the docks.

CG: Is the ILWU a closed union?

AM: Yes, essentially. I understand the last union meeting voted not to



take in a B-list—getting on the B-list is the first step in becoming a member—because there just isn't the work to support a new list.

CG: Has there been any effort to open up the list to women because of past discrimination?

AM: No. If they can open up the list, the women will not be excluded. In 1972 or '73, when the checkers were very short-handed, five women went down to the checkers' hall to seek jobs, but the male business agent ran them out of the hall! The union and the employers got sued, and lost. I don't think the business agent expressed the will of the membership. That was his last term in office, but not just because the membership thought women should be working as longshoremen. The membership felt there was no point in him sticking them with a large cash settlement plus court costs and his attorney's fees.

CG: Has the political character of the union changed over the years?

AM: The Longshore union wasn't really more militant than a number of unions during the rise of the CIO. However, we were lucky in terms of geography and leadership. Being on the West Coast gave us a lot of independence and we found honest leadership in 1934 willing to reflect the militancy of the rank and file. The union is still on the left end of the American trade union move-



Otto Hagel

ment—but the entire movement has become more conservative. The union has maintained many of its traditions and principles. It never fails to give aid and support to striking workers.

CG: Why did militancy decline?

AM: There is no simple answer. In 1934 there was no place to go but up. Over the years, militant actions brought greater benefits and today people are more cautious because they have much more to lose. They're less willing to take risks.

CG: Where is the union headed?

AM: I don't think the movement of work into unorganized hands is irreversible, but the longshoremen can't do much about it except dig their heels in and try not to slide too far back. Today, all our energy is taken up defending our own little piece of the action, which happens to be a pretty good piece. I'd like to see the union take more leadership, but I just don't think it's going to happen.

The only way the working class is going to get anywhere in the next stage of the struggle has got to be the organization of the unorganized, like in the 1930s. The AFL-CIO and other large unions have become just like the old AFL. We need a new CIO, which was the organization of the unorganized and the radicals—those with no security to lose and everything to win. ■

Labor and Environmentalists

A Significant Dialogue

by Lois Harris

A powerful fight can be waged to insure the safety of all life when labor and environmentalists work together to make big business clean up the workplace and the world outside of it.

This was the conclusion of a promising dialogue between labor and environmentalists initiated at an October 30th forum at the Seattle Labor Temple. The enthusiastic audience answered the question "Jobs or the Environment: Must We Choose?" with a resounding "NO—we must have BOTH!"

Dennis Bader, speaking for the antinuclear Crabshell Alliance, described the history of nuclear power development and the serious hazards it creates for the populace. He presented the case for cheaper, safer, alternative energy sources and detailed the insidious collusion between government and business in developing nuclear power for military purposes and high commercial profits.

Tom Burkholder, International Representative for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, demonstrated why his union is in the forefront of battles for safe jobs. Pointing to jobs in other industries that are equally as deadly as nuclear plants, Burkholder said that environmentalists must seriously consider the effect on the lives of nuclear workers if their plants were shut down but the murderous working conditions of American industry were not changed.

An exciting and wide-ranging discussion between speakers and audience concluded with agreement that the labor and environmental movements share a common enemy—big corporations—which hold the threat of job loss and plant closures over the heads of workers who want safety measures. Big Business was denounced for slandering environmentalists as "back-to-Nature nostalgics who stand in the way of progress."

The forum was presented by the Coalition for Protective Legislation, an organization of rank-and-file unionists and community activists campaigning for job safety protections and against mandatory overtime. ■

Coors

Joseph Coors has met the enemy, and it is his customers—thousands of angry gays, minorities, women, and union activists who are drying up Coors with a nationwide beer boycott

by Robert Crisman

Coors Brewing Company, of Golden, Colorado, financier to the right wing and champion of race and sex discrimination, is out to bust the unions. Coors' effort to decertify its own union, Brewery Workers Local #366, succeeded this December. But a nationwide boycott drawn up by labor, feminists, minorities, and gays may stop Coors cold.

The boycott grew out of a strike called in April, 1977 by Local #366 to protect seniority and workers' rights. Company threats and false contract offers pressured half the original 1,400 strikers back to work. Demanding an open shop, Coors locked out the remaining strikers and replaced them with scabs from unemployment-ridden Denver. The determined strikers called the boycott to gain allies for the long fight ahead, a wise move since they weren't allowed to cast ballots when strikebreakers inside the plant voted the union out.

Third Reich in the Rockies

Life on the job is hell for most Coors employees. Arbitrary workshifts prevail, regardless of seniority, health, or domestic considerations. Workers are routinely made to strip naked and be searched. Racist and sexist harassment is standard.

Coors has used lie detector tests to search out gays, radicals, and other "undesirables," extending fascist-like control over workers' lives.

The company's antilabor and discrimination record is extensive. Since a bitter 1957 strike when union leadership capitulated to lockout threats, Coors has eliminated nearly all unions and run the plant as a fiefdom. Management sees "little appropriate role for unions in this day and age."

Company president Joseph Coors is Father Christmas to many rightwing forces, generously funding the National Right to Work Committee, the John Birch Society, Stop ERA, and arch-segregationist Senator Strom Thurmond.

Chicanos, Gays, Women Join Forces

Chicanos in Colorado have boycotted Coors for nine years because of its discriminatory hiring practices. The federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission finally forced the company to hire a few women and minorities in 1972—but only for the lowest level jobs.

The Chicano organizing efforts provided the groundwork of support that kept the 1977 strike alive during the first weeks. Texas farmworkers, Chicanos in other states, feminist and gay activists have all worked with the Coors Boycott and

Strike Support Committee to aid the union.

They have rallied the community behind the strikers, showing the connections between union-busting and race/sex discrimination. Union literature subsequently raised these issues as central to the boycott.

Although sanctioning the boycott, the AFL-CIO gave little material support until pressured into it by united community demands. But nudging organized labor into action is nothing new for minority and gay militants. Five years ago they had to push the Teamster leadership to maintain a boycott against Coors' anti-affirmative action and non-union distributorship policies in California.

Crying in Their Beer

With sales plummeting in the wake of the current boycott, Coors has begun a slick media campaign to cosmeticize its image. Television ads hypocritically croon, "Coors—our people make the difference." More women and minorities have been hired, and Coors masks its homophobia these days, hoping to regain gay customers.

The company is seeking new markets in the Pacific Northwest, where it openly continues its union-busting policy by aggressively promoting non-union distributorships. However, resistance is building among the Teamster rank and file, radicals, and a militant contingent of gay and feminist activists. Gay bars energetically promote the boycott and publicize their refusal to sell the beer.

Coors' open bigotry must be recognized as the cutting edge of the rightwing reaction which foreshadows all-out class war. Labor is stirring under the shackles of its bureaucrats and the helplessness bred of isolation is turning into strength as the workers seek allies among women, minorities, and gays.

The role of the specially oppressed as the vanguard of the national anti-Coors forces is shoring up labor's determination to defend its own interests, and points the way to victory.

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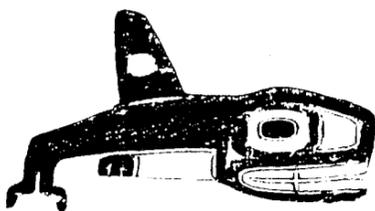
Fishing Wars:



BLOOD ON THE RIVER BANKS

Doug Barnes/Freedom Socialist

From the beginning, Indian culture of the Pacific Northwest derived from a fishing-centered way of life. This culture is being systematically relegated to oblivion. Greedy corporations, assisted by the government, steal the fish and Indian lands, and terrorize fisher families, while a vicious anti-Indian campaign is propagated to justify the genocide. The courts and Congress make insidious inroads upon the original treaties signed with sovereign Indian nations, and Native American communalism faces destruction as Indians are lured into "assimilation." The war for survival reaches new levels of violence as grossly brutal attacks against Native Americans escalate in number and severity. Desperate Indians are fighting back and seeking sympathetic understanding and practical support from fair-minded citizens of the world, for American Indians are an endangered people whose lives and tribal integrity are at stake. The alarm must be sounded!



The white man won't stop until he has pushed us into the ocean." The speaker is a Muckleshoot Indian, a tribal fisherman since

the 1930s and a veteran of the long, bitter war between the Indians and white capitalist society. He is a grim observer of the doom threatening his people as they are brutally expelled from the Duwamish, the Nisqually, the Klamath, the mighty Columbia, and all the rest of the great rivers that nourish the life-giving salmon and steelhead.

But the Indian nations will not be pushed easily; they are fighting with indomitable will for the survival of their historic culture. And the battle is a terrible one, for Native Americans must combat well-financed legal assaults by the State; harassment from local police, state troopers, and federal marshals; and

increasingly violent attacks by racist gangs.

Indian treaty lands, game, and rivers face the most serious threat since the West was invaded by white settlers. This is the Indians' last stand, and they know it.

Night Vermin

Indians throughout the Northwest have been victimized by bullets. "My father was shot at just last week from that bridge," says a woman, pointing to the First Avenue South bridge spanning the Duwamish River in Seattle. Another Native told the *Freedom Socialist*, "The Indian approach for years has been to avoid these attacks, but some tribal members are now carrying guns to defend themselves and their rights."

Almost every day, Indians discover their nets deliberately slashed, tangled, or stolen, and their boats smashed, stolen or sabotaged. Damage to expensive equipment can cause fishermen to be out of work for weeks, resulting in tremendous hardship to their families.

In true Ku Klux Klan fashion, white hoodlums generally do their work at night, or from hiding places. Gangs of white "nightriders" attack isolated Indians guarding their nets. They shatter car windows and boats, and beat up Indian guards.

Terror on the Columbia

The Tarabochias, a Chinook Indian family, have suffered an unremitting barrage of bullying and intimidation as they attempt to fish in the lower Columbia River between Washington and Oregon.

The Chinook treaties, drawn in the mid-1800s, were never ratified, leaving the Chinooks nonpersons in the eyes of the federal government. As a result, they have no land, and no U.S.-recognized legal right to fish in the Columbia. But they continue to fish, as they have for generations, in order to survive.

Homer Settler, a Yakima/Nez Perce Indian attorney who has specialized in treaty law for 22 years, described the Tarabochias' situation to the *Freedom Socialist*: "Cops will run into them with a vehicle or a boat and the Indians will be charged. People gather in groups and shoot at them."

According to Settler, various members of the Tarabochia family have been charged repeatedly with illegal fishing. And since fishing without a license is a felony in Oregon, one member of the family is now facing charges as an habitual felon.

Says Joe Tarabochia, "I've been arrested 5 or 6 times but convicted on 28 counts. They come up with as many charges as possible.

"I was out fishing legally with my Mom," he continues, "when a Fisheries boat came up. The Fisheries Department has nothing to do with us; the BIA and the tribe regulate our fishing. But the Fisheries agents asked for our license. I turned around to get it from my Mom, and when I turned back they had boarded our boat. They beat me up, knocked me out with their flashlights, sprayed me with Mace, called me names, and threatened to kill me."

Joe Tarabochia is a frequent target. "I've been hassled and choked and intimidated, and with no warrant," he says. "State officials broke into my home with no warrant last year. They said they lost it in the back seat of the car. They gave me one story after another why they didn't

have it. Stuff like that goes on all the time."

"Legally these Indians are not human beings," says attorney Settler. "Indians are in the same position as animals. What the hell kind of power is that? The status of these people must be publicized—the status of aboriginal people all over the world."

The Case of Ellery Choke

In the small towns near fishing sites, Native Americans are subjected to a chronic but hidden war of police badgering by means of traffic tickets, arrests for minor violations, and more serious provocations designed to interfere with Indian fishing.

Ellery Choke, a Yakima fisherman, was almost killed by racist thugs, yet the authorities have done nothing to help him.

Two white men attacked him in the men's room of an Oakville, Washington tavern one evening, and the fight was so furious that the sink was ripped from the wall. Choke escaped and sat down at the bar, whereupon his attackers taunted and insulted him, and then grabbed him and threw him out of the tavern. Choke landed on his head on the concrete sidewalk.

One and one-half hours later, the town marshal, Al Brandt, picked him up, asked him if he was all right, and, rather than obtain medical help, simply dropped him off at his house, where Choke collapsed in a coma.

Three days later, when Choke's family discovered his comatose body, they attempted to get the local aid car to take him to a hospital. They were refused. Finally, they secured an ambulance from Centralia, 17 miles away, and Choke was taken to the Centralia Hospital. But his injuries were too serious to be treated there, so he was removed to Olympia where, after a 5-hour operation, surgeons removed a blood clot the size of an orange from his head.

Although Choke is still alive, he will never fish again. One of his hands is partially paralyzed and he has difficulty using his arms.



Commercial fishing trawlers grab off millions of fish and dollars, meanwhile blaming the Indians for depleted fish runs

Nothing has been done to his assailants. Although his sister-in-law and others reported the incident, the Grays Harbor sheriff (in whose jurisdiction the assault occurred) claims he was never contacted.

The Grays Harbor prosecutor will do nothing without a police report, so he turned the case over to the Oakville town marshal to investigate. But the marshal has a longstanding reputation for harassment of Indians. And he is the same man who callously returned Choke home the night he was beaten.

Choke is suing the City of Oakville.

Nuts to Boldt

The federal court decision by Judge Boldt, reserving 50% of the salmon for treaty tribes, is looked upon with a jaundiced eye by Indians. "Judge Boldt gave away 50% of our fish," they say.

And the licenses of non-treaty Indians have been revoked as a result of the judge's ruling.

But Indians do support the sections of the Boldt decision which, belatedly, have begun to regulate fishing—something the state has refused to do in the past.

Though white fishermen are barely regulated by the government, Indian fishermen are regulated by both the government and their tribes. Contrary to the propaganda of the white fishing interests, tribes have their own fish commissions and hatcheries, and have always controlled their catches according to the species of fish. Natives were the first environmentalists.

The Boldt decision is under challenge in the U.S. Supreme Court, an extremely conservative body, and there is great danger that the treaties will be abrogated.

Congressional bills threatening to destroy treaty rights have been submitted by phony liberals and by Jack Cunningham, an arch-conservative from Washington State who was not re-elected this year.

Clash on the Klamath

Fullscale war erupted on the Klamath River in Northern California this summer. Federal agents in full riot gear, armed with M-16 rifles, attacked Native American men, women and children, who bravely defended themselves with rocks, oars, and their fists. Indian boats were rammed and swamped, and fishing nets, costing up to

\$500 apiece, were destroyed or confiscated.

The Indians were fishing in defiance of a moratorium imposed by the U.S. Department of the Interior because of a 30% decline in the salmon run. Before the moratorium expired at the end of the salmon run in October, at least 12 Indians had been injured by the Feds, 26 arrested, and more than 100 given citations for illegal fishing.

Blame the Victim

A special Court of Indian Offenses was set up by the federal government to enforce the moratorium, and special local deputies were sworn in. In the regulations issued on July 1, the Department of the Interior alleged that Indian mismanagement and failure to "establish a uniform system of self-regulation" were responsible for the decreased number of salmon swimming upstream to spawn.

But Mark Waukchen, a Yurok Indian from the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation in Northern California, places the responsibility elsewhere. Waukchen blames non-Indian commercial interests for the depletion of the salmon.

Dams built upriver to divert water to Sacramento have raised the water temperature, making it difficult for salmon to survive in the river. Logging companies have stripped the hillsides, causing erosion to clog the river with silt. The U.S. Forestry Service has sprayed herbicides in the area to kill off the underbrush and encourage the growth of redwood trees, further contributing to erosion and siltation problems which destroy the spawning beds. And the U.S. government regularly allows Russian and Japanese trawlers to penetrate the 200-mile limit and fish at the mouth of the Klamath River.

The military assaults against Native Americans are an attempt by the U.S. government to gain control of the precious natural resources of the region, says Waukchen. The Yurok, the Hoopa, and the Karok, the three tribes affected by the ban, have lived and fished along the Klamath and Trinity Rivers for centuries. Salmon is their main food staple and the core of their subsistence economy. But their reservation is also rich in timber, minerals, and water.

The escalating attack on Native people nationwide is directly tied to the economic situation, says Waukchen. The economic squeeze puts a squeeze on profits, too, and the big corporations are anxious to get their hands on the timber, water, coal, uranium, and other minerals on Indian land. The salmon crisis is just a dry run for the government in their conspiracy to rob the Indians of all their natural resources.

Survival Means Self-Defense

The Indians have no qualms about fighting back. Faith Mayhew, a Klamath member of United Indian Women and the Urban Indian Council in Portland, Oregon, told the *Freedom Socialist*:

"When FBI agents are attacking Indians, people must realize that we cannot put up with it forever. Indians are not pushing. We are simply trying to exercise our rights and continue to survive. Americans have been brainwashed into thinking that a handful of Indians are depleting the nation's fish. The same thing is happening to the Eskimos who are being rationed one whale per tribe per year and then blamed for the depletion of whales."

meeting to discuss the problem. "We'll have to organize ourselves fast in the period of the next two years," he said. With recession just around the corner, it is clear that the U.S. government will not give in without more terrible warfare.

In the past, the Department of the Interior has tried to play the Yurok against the Hoopa. Mark Waukchen believes that some kind of confederation will emerge to protect common fishing rights and insure the survival of all the tribes.

Unity against federal provocation will strengthen the Native American's battle for the complete withdrawal of armed federal agents, Indian-controlled fishery regulations, and the free exercise of sovereign fishing rights.

Fish or Die

Indians say the violence seems to run in cycles, and today, with the total extinction of the salmon only a few years away, the Natives are backed against the wall.

Fishing has always meant cultural and economic survival for Northwest Coast Indians. When the fish are gone, their economic base and lifestyle will disappear, and Native fishermen will be hard-pressed to survive. Says one Indian fisherman, "They are trying to drive us out of existence by depriving us of a living."

The future for the communal culture of indigenous peoples is grim indeed, suffocated as it is by a private profit system and threatened by a government determined to exterminate the Indian.

The sovereign Indian nations throughout the Western Hemisphere are victims of vicious white invaders: government agents, bureaucrats, and politicians; land speculators and developers; energy-hungry power company honchos; mineral and timber exploiters; owners of the floating factories of the commercial fishing fleet; raiders, spoilers, buccaneers, and mobs of racist goons eager to do the dirty work for America's ruling class.

But the Indians are striking back, fighting as always for survival. With sturdy support from enlarged sectors of all the other oppressed and exploited and endangered legions of this continent, the Native peoples can come to taste victory in the centuries-long war to keep what has been theirs since the dawn of human culture. ■

Information and interviews for this article were compiled by Sukey Durham and Karen Brodine in San Francisco, Kathy Saadat and Adrienne Weller in Portland, and Su Bondurant and Doug Barnes in Seattle.



And Joseph Quiones, a Native American living in Portland, was a gill-netter in 1969-70 and an activist in the Nisqually River fishing rights struggle in Washington State. Quiones says that the odds are uneven and the provocations intense. "But the Indians should continue to fish and protect themselves as best they are able. We can and should protect ourselves from illegal assault. We are within our rights even according to the laws of this country."

Indian Solidarity

There is a sense of urgency on the river. Waukchen recently called a family

by Tom Boot

H ydra-like, the resurgent Ku Klux Klan has sprouted tentacles that reach across the country, and its hate list has expanded. But the Klan is on a collision course, rushing headlong into enraged resistance from antiracists.

On October 15, at a Klan-sponsored, anti-busing rally in Boston, the Imperial Wizard's goons donned their robes in full view of passive police and shouted racist diatribes. Counter-demonstrators promptly hurled rocks and bricks at the Klansmen, shouting "Smash the Klan."

Earlier in October, in Cullman, Alabama, state troopers carrying riot gear and shotguns helped the Klan in a confrontation with demonstrators protesting against the racist courts. A mentally retarded Black man, Tommy Hines, 26, was convicted by an all-white jury and given a 30-year sentence for supposedly raping a white woman—despite undeniable evidence that he is incapable of rape. The Black community fought the Klan forces throughout Hines' arrest and trial.

Tension is on the upswing in three Mississippi towns where Blacks protested police brutality and racist hiring practices. When 70 Klan members and 200 supporters staged a counter-rally in Tupelo, three Klansmen who unveiled themselves were identified as local policemen.

This collusion between civil authorities and the Klan has created nationwide protest. In Atlantic City, N.J., Black leaders criticized officials for condoning such Klan activities as the hanging in effigy of a local Black activist.

A Century of Struggle

These and similar clashes elsewhere duplicate the experience of the 1960s, when Freedom Riders were beaten, churches were bombed in Birmingham, Ala., and civil rights workers were murdered as a result of plots hatched by FBI informants operating within the Klan.

The Klan's links with federal and local governments go all the way back to the Civil War and Reconstruction. Blacks today are continuing the bitter struggle launched during Reconstruction, when the emergence of the KKK foreshadowed the death of that amazing era of revolutionary promise and immense progress.

Black revolutionist Frederick Douglass explained that the "lawlessness which in 1865-1868 was still spasmodic and episodic... became organized and its real underlying industrial causes [were] obscured by political excesses and race



Shouts of "Smash the Klan" ring out nationwide as Blacks and other targets of the right wing press the struggle against the Klan begun during Reconstruction

hatred... The race element was emphasized in order that property holders could get the support... of white laborers and make it more possible to exploit the Negro lot... to make labor unity or labor class-consciousness impossible."

Race and Class

Racism continues to isolate Blacks from those who should be their allies. Wherever the Klan surfaces—burning crosses in California suburbs, patrolling the U.S.-Mexican border against undocumented workers, or sponsoring pro-nuclear rallies—it must be unmasked as a white-male-supremacist, pro-fascist, para-military, anti-Semitic force that works with the capitalist government to destroy not only Blacks but the rights of women, other minorities, and all working people.

Every possible exposure of the Klan's ugly history, identity, and sinister motives helps unite and bind workers and people of color as they struggle for full economic, social and political equality—for a Second Reconstruction.

Resistance to the Klan shows the ruling capitalist class that the clenched fist of antiracism today will deliver the knockout punch to the entire system tomorrow. ■



Thomas Neel/National Geographic

REBEL PEASANTS

Brutality against peasants engaged in collective farming is escalating as agribusiness devours the land and shatters the economy of Oaxaca

by Jesús Mena

A military jeep pulls up behind the bus making a stop in the rural backcountry of the state of Oaxaca, Mexico. The young peasant alighting from the bus senses imminent danger and races for the safety of his communal farm, the Ejido La Reforma. The police fire machine-gun bullets at his feet, corner him, beat him up, and arrest him.

Juan Cortes becomes the 14th member of his ejido to be victimized by police violence since May of this year.

This communal farm, one of many, has been under a virtual state of siege, marked by daily police patrols and unceasing physical harassment. The power behind the terror lies with the local landlords who are intent on making life in the ejidos so miserable that the peasants will be forced to abandon their own land and join the work force so essential to the new, large-scale, agricultural factories in the fields.

The Yankee Dollar

The primitive latifundios (large estates) of Mexico are rapidly being transformed into giant agricultural enterprises producing goods for imperialist countries. And as U.S. agribusiness attempts to consolidate the agricultural production of southern Mexico, it provokes the social upheavals typical of imperialist penetration throughout the world.

The modernization trauma engineered for the benefit of the U.S. market is most evident in the northwestern states of Sinaloa and Sonora. Here, the valleys have been transformed to the point that they now provide 60% of the winter vegetables used in the U.S. This technological revolution has created a super-exploited, rural migrant proletariat, the vast majority of whom earns less than subsistence wages.

While small, unproductive landholdings continue to enslave the bulk of the peasantry, large sectors of the peasantry have been driven off their lands either through force or denial of bank credit needed to buy materials for planting.

A gross distortion of the agricultural economy has resulted from these practices and has reduced the production of staples for the Mexican people themselves. Although the land's productivity has been greatly increased through modernization and irrigation, Mexico now imports more staples than it exports.

The Legacy of Zapata

The savage brutality against the peasantry has not gone unanswered; armed land seizures by peasants have become a common occurrence in rural Mexico in recent times.

On October 12th of this year, over 1500 Indians from the Self-Defense Indigenous Organization seized 88,000 acres of land in Oaxaca which they claim belonged to their ancestors.

Though the people are armed only with machetes, handguns, and hunting rifles, the massive character of these movements has forced the Mexican government to adopt a cautious attitude in dealing with them. Obviously, the government's military superiority could easily crush the people. But naked repression might rekindle the militant tradition of the Mexican peasantry which, under the leadership of Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa, successfully overthrew the Porfirio Díaz regime during the Mexican Revolution.

The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT) has played a vital role in the contemporary peasant movement. It has been in the leadership of some armed land seizures, attempting to establish a base in the peasant sector, which suffers the most severe repression in Mexico today.

The PRT helped found the Revolutionary Independent Peasant Coordinating Committee which is actively intervening in support of the beleaguered Ejido La Reforma. The PRT is also beginning to forge an alliance between the peasantry and the proletariat—a prerequisite for successful socialist revolution in any underdeveloped country.

* * *

Mexican communal peasants are being forcibly driven off their own land to become wage laborers for Yankee imperialism. And this is something the world should know about. ■

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8 PHU	24 SADE	12 LUXEMBOURG
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**ANSWERS TO
COMMIE
CROSSWORD**



First National CRSP Conference

TRIUMPH

FOR

TROTSKYISM

by Murry Weiss

Two mutually interdependent opposites—full-bodied democracy and unified decision-making—were demonstrated in the tone, style, depth and outcome of the First National Conference of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party held at

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Trotskyist veterans Murry Weiss and Milt Zaslow at the speakers' table

Alderbrook Inn in Union, Washington from October 6 through 9.

The austere majesty of the Olympic mountains and the serenity of Hood Canal, an inlet of the Pacific, furnished a matchless natural setting for the conference. Delegates were housed in comfortable rustic cottages and ate in a spacious dining hall overlooking the sandy beach. The main conference hall was decorated with beautiful posters, banners, and fresh flowers.

Conference rooms, a hospitality center, a well-stocked Marxist bookstore, the efficient registration desk and convenient office facilities featuring a round-the-clock clerical staff all attested to the professional character of the planning and preparations undertaken by the Seattle Conference Committee. The apparently effortless smoothness of operations facilitated an enormously high level of alertness and intensity that prevailed in all the formal debates, informal discussions, caucuses, workshops, cultural presentations, and the entertainment spectaculars.

An optimum environment was created for the freest and most animated expression of political thought and comradeship, and the conference results bore witness to the painstaking organizational efforts involved. Comrade Heidi Durham, the conference coordinator who personifies Bolshevik tenacity and the will to overcome adversity, was awarded a standing ovation by the delegates for her great contribution to the success of the event.

Representation

One hundred people attended, 78 of them CRSP members. Cities represented were Eugene and Portland, Oregon; Houston, Texas; New York; San Francisco and Los Angeles, California; Tacoma and Seattle, Washington. Visitors from the Trotskyist Organizing Committee (TOC), the Socialist League (Democratic Centralist), and the Socialist Labor Party participated in the deliberations.

Telegrams of greetings were read from United Workers Union; Socialist Labor Party, Seattle Section; Janet McCloud; Radical Women; C. Crothers, New York; and P. McMurray and S. Haley, Juneau, Alaska.

The Pacific Northwest Indian movement was represented by guest speakers Janet McCloud, and Rocque and David Duenas. McCloud described the historic first meeting of Women of All Red Nations (WARN) and the ascending militancy of Native women. She urged CRSP to step up its nationwide support work to beleaguered Indians.

Rocque Duenas spoke on the similarities and differences of Native American and socialist philosophy, and explained the significance of The Longest Walk, when Indians of all nations in the U.S. converged on Washington, D.C. to confront Congress over treaty rights.

Crisis in the Fourth International

The agenda was divided into five discussion topics: The Fourth International and the SWP; Socialist Feminism; Nationalism; The American Question; and CRSP Tasks and Perspectives. The conference was opened by Madlyne Scott, Gloria Martin, and outgoing National Coordinator Milt Zaslow. Session chairpersons were Emily Weiner, Edith Zaslow, Adrienne Weller, Tom Boot, and Henry Noble. A spontaneously organized, late-

evening discussion session on matriarchy led by Patrick Haggerty proved very popular and rewarding.

The richness of the debate culminated dramatically in the enthusiastic adoption of two crucial resolutions on the last day: the **Theses on the Crisis of the Fourth International**, and **National Tasks and Perspectives for CRSP**.

The **Theses** is a contribution from CRSP to the current pre-World Congress discussion of the Fourth International. The **Theses** urges the Congress to address four fundamental issues:

1. The feminist revolt in England and Europe against the sexist, politically conservative bureaucracies of the Communist and Socialist parties, and the trade unions.

"The widespread mood against the class collaborationist policies of the...CP and SP," says the Theses, "has raised a common demand for party and trade union democracy. The independent movement of women is becoming a leader and a catalyst in this process...women's liberation now intertwines with the crises of these parties throughout Europe."

2. The Stalinophobia, male chauvinism and centrist course of the Socialist Workers Party.

3. The SWP's objectively racist and sexist orientation to the "young, white male leadership" of the labor movement.

4. The unprincipled accommodation of the Secretariat of the International to the monolithic regime and practices of the SWP.

The **Theses** summons world Trotskyism to focus major attention on the pivotal relationship of rising feminism to the proletarian struggle against the labor bureaucracy. The dazzling new social and political reality of our time, is that the new vanguard of the U.S. working class is composed of women, racial-ethnic minorities, and gay people. The **Theses** urges Trotskyists to relentlessly rearm themselves in order to become as one with this bold new proletarian vanguard.

The **Theses** sharply condemns the SWP for its conciliation with the labor and liberal bureaucracy which dominates the unions and mass organizations, and its refusal to conduct a struggle against this bureaucracy's eager support to U.S. imperialism. The SWP instead scuttled its internationalist position on the Portuguese Revolution, and its neutralist, "third camp" position on Angola was particularly alarming since the SWP is duty-bound to support anti-imperialist revolutions everywhere.

The SWP is criticized in the **Theses** for its "implacable hostility" to the burgeoning women's caucuses within the Fourth International, and the International is asked to *"struggle against two fatal afflictions of the SWP-USA: Stalinophobia and Sexophobia,"* which, along with bureaucratism, have occasioned a catastrophic shift to the right within the organization. The International is further warned that its "sweetheart agreement with the SWP on the 'turn' to the proletariat" is fraught with danger for world Trotskyism.

Reply to Claudio Letter

Another historic conference action was appended to the adoption of the **Theses**. Last May, CRSP had



Rocque Duenas and Janet McCloud, eloquent Native spokespeople, addressed the conference



Two memorable scenes from the comedy sketches presented to a delighted audience





Insets: Presiding Committee members Clara Fraser, Edith Zaslow and Myra Tanner Weiss

written to the International, expressing eagerness to "receive whatever international discussion bulletins are published, to contribute to them, and to send observers to the 11th Congress..." "Claudio," of the United Secretariat, swiftly rejected this request on the ground that the "building of...CRSP...seeks to destroy the SWP (and) places you in opposition to the International..."

The Conference adopted a reply to Claudio protesting his "high-handed ukase" and contending that "you have deepened your policy of pursuing an unprincipled bloc with the SWP at the expense of the...principles of Trotskyism. As Leninists, we have no intention whatever of being silenced. We will conduct an ideological struggle for our ideas, as Trotskyists always have, in every section of the Fourth International and with all revolutionary Marxists..."

Tasks and Perspectives

The final action of the conference was the most ambitious endeavor of all. After three days and evenings of hot debate on important theoretical and strategic differences, and the adoption by acclamation of the **Theses** and reply to Claudio, the enormously enlarged area of agreement reached was crystallized in the unanimous adoption of the **Tasks and Perspectives** document, a concise guide for CRSP's forward motion, intensified involvement in mass struggles, and organizational expansion.

The **Tasks** opens by reaffirming commitment to the liberation struggles of workers, women, racial-ethnic minorities, and gay people, and to the promotion of workers democracy in every sector of social and political struggle. And it hails the upsurge of socialist feminism throughout the world as a thunderous component of global revolution.

Tasks proclaims that the proletariat is the central force in the overthrow of capitalism and that "*we anticipate that in the U.S. the vanguard of the proletariat will be composed in its majority of women, oppressed racial and national minorities, and gay people.*"

CRSP unionists are called upon for implacable struggle against the elitist and supercautious labor bureaucracy, and for urging labor to break sharply with capitalist parties and launch its own political instrument—an independent Labor Party. And every CRSP unionist is expected to support "the most oppressed layers of the working class—women, minorities, gays, radicals, undocumented workers, etc."

Tasks points out that the "*privileged layers within the working class, and...skilled-trades insularity (breed) reactionary habits and practices that deepen the gulf between the privileged and the more oppressed workers, and thereby dissipate class independence and worker solidarity against management.*"

The document goes on to elucidate the relevance of the Transitional Program for

Conference administrators. Left: Heidi Durham, coordinator, and Madlyne Scott, convener. Below: Gloria Martin. Bottom row: Su Bondurant, recorder; Ann Manly, and Constance Scott registrars; Melba Windoffer.

today's unionists, and to reiterate CRSP conviction that "the historic struggle of Blacks and other racial minorities against segregation, super-exploitation and institutionalized oppression is central to the American revolution." The comrades are enjoined to "sharpen their awareness and become involved more deeply" in Native American defense work, for the "demands for sovereignty, national self-determination, honoring of historic, treaty-protected, aboriginal rights, and the preservation of Native American communal culture, are critical..."

The **Tasks** includes a resolution prepared by gay activists present at the Conference, and introduced by Emily Weiner, which calls for a West Coast Conference of CRSP and others to plan the formation of a movement to resist rightwing attacks on gays. And the **Tasks** urges the building of "a radical, multi-issue, independent and working class United Front to resist the current rightwing attack on all human and labor rights."

The centrist and opportunist practices of the SWP in the mass movements are documented by the citing of recent pertinent examples from life, which confirm the fact that "the regeneration of revolutionary Marxism in the United States must proceed outside and apart from" the SWP.

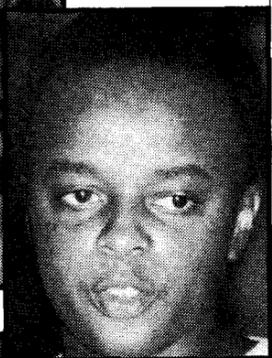
Organizational questions are addressed in detail in the **Tasks** as publications policy, financial procedures, and the nature of decision-making in CRSP are described. The power of CRSP resides in its membership, and policy is arrived at "hopefully by consensus, and if not, by majority vote."

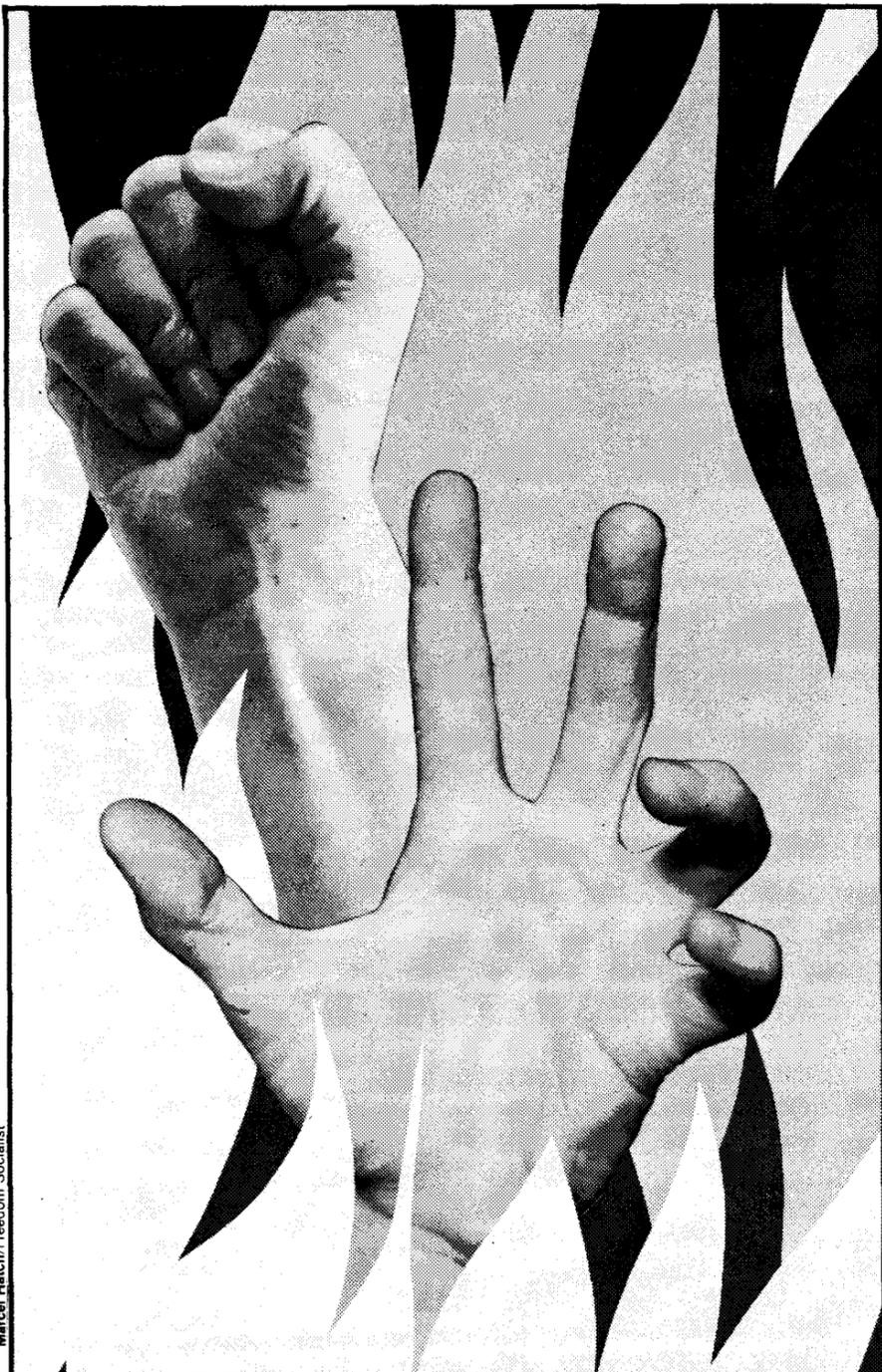
The document concludes with an invitation to other radical groupings and individuals to join CRSP and participate in the construction of the world party of socialist revolution and "victorious worker internationalism!"

The **Tasks and Perspectives** also reaffirmed the policy adopted by the May, 1978 CRSP Steering Committee to endorse the organization of Radical Women chapters, and, where indicated, to build broad socialist feminist groups as an organized expression of the new turn of feminists toward socialism. The latter was conceived as both a stage in the development of a Radical Women chapter, and a base for women not as yet prepared to adopt the major RW principles. The majority of CRSP women believes that an RW chapter in any locality in the country provides CRSP and other women with a dynamic mechanism for relating to the general women's movement, and for collaborating with those socialist feminists striving to attain a coherent ideology, a viable structure, and a radical program of action.

Lastly, the national executive offices of Coordi-

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Gay Resistance: The Hidden History

This is the second installment of an historic analysis tracing the gay rights movements from antiquity to the present day. The first installment appeared in the *Freedom Socialist*, Vol. 4, No. 3. The conclusion will appear in the Spring 1979 issue.

by Sam Deaderick

On the western side of the Atlantic, homosexuality and transgenderism (the acting out of the social role, dress, and customs of the opposite gender, accompanied by strong feelings of *being* the anatomically opposite sex) were common in North and South American tribes.

Young men of an early age could adopt the dress and labor tasks of women, be accepted by the tribe as women, and marry tribesmen. Such individuals, called *berdaches* by French explorers, were often considered to have unusual mystical powers, and they frequently attained the position of spiritual leader of the tribe.

There are fewer accounts of women

adopting male dress and acting the part of a brave, but the evidence is clear that some of them married women and distinguished themselves in hunting and warfare.

Unfortunately, the documentation about *berdaches* comes from European colonialists who viewed them through the distorted prism of Christianity. The invaders focused upon individuals who accomplished sex role changes, and for the most part ignored homosexual behavior in its more general expression. Hence it is difficult to thoroughly reconstruct the prevalence of homosexuality among pre-Columbian Native Americans.

The antihomosexual taboo traveled quickly across the American continent in the wake of the Christian missionaries, and fear and guilt soon replaced the Native's easy and joyous sexuality. And the matrilineal native culture was decimated by the genocidal extermination of Indians by the European settlers.

Greece and Rome

The glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome were almost entirely reserved for the male citizens of the first "civilized" patriarchy. Greek and Roman celebration of the joy and beauty of homosexual love

refers almost exclusively to male homosexuality. Plato and Socrates are only the most well-known of the openly homosexual Greek illuminati. The list goes on and on, including artists, poets, playwrights, etc.

For Greek and Roman male citizens, gay affairs were an accepted and expected aspect of civilized life. But homosexuality—a relation between youths and adults, or between boys too young to marry—was *an adjunct to* heterosexual marriage.

Many Greek philosophers extolled male love on the ground that it was nobler, purer, and closer to the gods than relations with women, the weaker and less clean vessels.

Women, children and slaves were the property of the man in the patriarchal Mediterranean cultures. In *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Frederick Engels notes:

Famulus 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.

Still, Greek and Roman women retained some rights. Legal residues of the earlier matrilineal system allowed women to secure divorces and abortion, and the general status of women was not as restrictive as that of European women under the future yoke of medieval Christianity.

Lesbianism apparently flourished in ancient Greece, though few records remain. The most famous chronicles of lesbian love are the surviving fragments of poetry written by the teacher Sappho, who lived with women on the Isle of Lesbos. Her paeons to love between women are believed by many scholars to be the most perfect poetry created in classical Greece.

The worship of beauty and the celebration of sensual pleasure in Greece and Rome were remnants of the culture of early matriarchal Mediterranean tribes. But with the advent of repressive Christianity, sexual attitudes did an about-face, and the taboo against homosexuality extended its way along the shores of the blue Mediterranean.

The Non-Christian East

Ancient Eastern cultures—Arabia, India, China, Southeast Asia, Japan—remained largely uninfected by the perverted virtue of Christian continence.

Most of these cultures eventually developed into patriarchal social systems whose violent subjugation of women surpassed even Western Europe, but homosexual behavior was never punished with the zeal and severity pursued by the maniacal Christians. On the contrary, Eastern attitudes were similar to the Greek ideal.

Male homosexuality, particularly between older men and adolescent boys, was considered the pleasurable right of males, while lesbian behavior was beneath the notice of the patriarchs. And the samurai tradition of Japan expressed the notion that love between men was nobler than the intrusion of lesser, "congenitally" weaker women into the male domain.

As Western culture pervaded the East, sexual attitudes began to change and the homosexual taboo began to take root. It grew in direct proportion to the degree of social intercourse with the West.

One Near Eastern exception to the

norm of tolerance for homosexuality was the Zoroastrian religion of Persia, a monotheistic, patriarchal theology like Judaism. According to the Zoroastrian *Venidad*,

There is no worse sin than this in the good religion, and it is proper to call those who commit it worthy of death in reality. If anyone comes forth to them, and shall see them in the act, and is working with an axe, it is requisite for him to cut off the heads or to rip up the bellies of both, and it is no sin for him. But it is not proper to kill any person without the authority of high-priests and kings, except on account of committing or permitting unnatural intercourse.

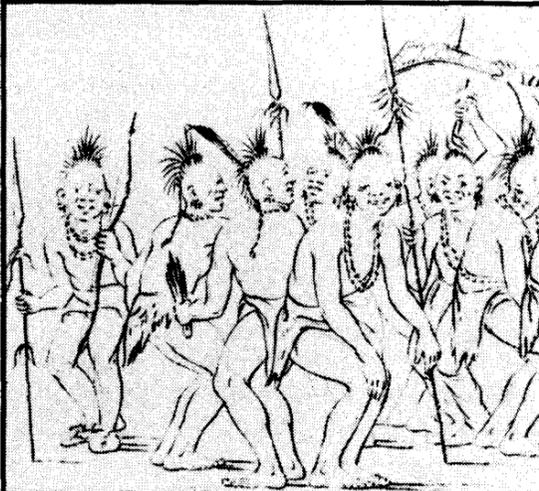
The Taboo Serves Private Property

Throughout the complex patterns of sexual practice, social custom, and, ultimately, legislation, one developmental theme clearly emerges. The rise of the taboo against homosexuality has always interconnected and coincided with the fall in the status of women.

The Judeo-Christian injunction was not merely the result of the erotic hysteria of the Hebrew patriarchs, or St. Paul, or St. Augustine. It was a weapon foisted against the very concept of women's liberation and free sexuality. Eve came second, Eve disobeyed, Eve seduced poor Adam, and all Eves must suffer.

The Catholic Church is essentially and consciously an instrument of patriarchy. The Church installed it and the Vatican bolsters it. The taboo against homosexuality is rooted in the function of the Church to prop up the nuclear, monogamous, male-headed family—that economic structure for the orderly movement and inheritance of private property.

Careful study of the economic and social history of the ancient world



reveals graphically that patriarchy and the oppressive, class society it serves are the fundamental enemies of sexual freedom for the human race.

II: THE MODERN GAY MOVEMENT

Simultaneous with the institutionalization of patriarchal family forms throughout Christian Europe, the ideology of antihomosexuality gripped society with a force that still has not been substantially shaken.

Antihomosexual criminal laws were not politically challenged until the late 19th century. By that time, large urban industrial centers had been established, populated by a massive working class. Here, people's lives were fragmented into separate components of work, domesticity, and play, and this, combined with the oppression of women promoted by the new ruling class and its religious supporters, resulted in the sexual

alienation which still plagues humankind.

Networks of covert gathering places for gay people appeared, and underground gay subcultures were formed. The large population centers attracted rural gay people seeking others like themselves, and for the first time, a mass political base existed for a distinct gay civil rights movement.

The Movement in Germany

In 1897, the Scientific Humanitarian Committee—the first homosexual rights organization in the world—emerged in Germany and flourished for more than thirty years during a period of deep social upheaval.

Concurrently, a Social Democratic workers' movement was swiftly growing. The German women's movement was actively fighting for equal civil rights, abortion rights, marriage and divorce law reform, and equal educational opportunity. A natural health movement appeared, protesting the unhealthy living conditions in the large German cities. A youth movement attracted thousands.

Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld was the founder and first chairperson of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee. An internationally recognized expert on sexuality, he was an active gay liberationist until the Nazis drove him out of Germany in the 1930s.

The primary focus of the SHC's work was the repeal of Paragraph 175, the German Penal Code's anti-homosexual statute. An international campaign was launched in 1897, and before the campaign was halted by the Nazis, over 6,000 signatures were gathered from prominent medical experts, cultural leaders, writers, and philosophers.

During the thirty-five years of its existence, the gay movement thrived. It involved thousands of people, gained wide public exposure, and be-

maintained limited to a strategy of single-issue reform. Strong ideological and organizational ties were never cemented between the gay movement and the feminist or labor movements. August Bebel, a social democratic leader, defended gay rights in the German parliament, but neither the social democrats nor the German communists ever raised defense of gay rights as a central issue within the radical workers' movement. Socially vulnerable and relatively isolated, gays were easy prey for the Nazis.

British Gays and the Victorian Reaction

In 1861, the death penalty for sodomy in Britain was replaced by imprisonment, and this moderation of legal penalty liberated a vast semi-underground of English gay literary work.

Interest in homosexuality blossomed and London became a center of gay night life and culture. This relative freedom came to an abrupt halt in the late 1880s and 1890s after several scandals were created and sensationalized by the British press. The ensuing public hysteria culminated in the famous trial and imprisonment of Oscar Wilde in 1895.

Edward Carpenter, a British writer and early supporter of gay rights and feminism, wrote that after Wilde was arrested "a sheer panic prevailed over all questions of sex, and especially of course questions of the Intermediate Sex."

In 1914, after a modicum of liberalization of British attitudes toward sex was re-established, Edward Carpenter joined with Havelock Ellis, another early supporter of gay rights, to form the British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology. The organization concentrated on education and propaganda and had a special gay subcommittee. But imprisonment for gay behavior was not finally abolished in Britain until 1967—over 50 years later.

The Russian Experience

In Russia, the 1917 Bolshevik revolution swept away centuries-old standards of sexual conduct.

Only two months after the October revolution, the Bolsheviks struck down all laws governing sexual conduct except where force was involved.

These pro-gay reforms were part of a wide-ranging legal reform to improve the status of women. Abortion was legalized and made readily available; divorce and marriage laws were liberalized; and the concept of illegitimacy was removed from law.

For several years after the revolution, delegates from the USSR played a leading role in the World Congress of Sexual Reform, an international organization working for sexual freedom and committed to gay rights.

But the movement for equality for women and gays in the USSR was halted during the rise of Stalinism, when, due to economic and social crisis, the spurious doctrine of the "revolutionary family" was invented. The devastation of agriculture, industry, and transportation by World War I, followed by the civil war, created widespread scarcity and chaos. The Stalinist demagogues rediscovered the "moral purity" of heterosexuality, sex for reproduction only, and state-imposed duties of housewifery and motherhood to justify the lack of social services needed for true equality. This burdened women with two jobs—one in the workforce, the other, unpaid, at home. Strict laws against abortion were passed, homosexuality became a crime punishable by up to eight years in prison, and thousands of gays were arrested. ■

Another Defeat in Dade County

A gay-sponsored anti-discrimination ordinance was defeated in Florida's Dade County on November 7th. It would have replaced a similar ordinance voted out last year by the proponents of Anita Bryant's hate crusade.

The 1978 ballot measure read: "To provide all persons full and equal receipt of health, mental health and social services, and equal opportunity for employment, public accommodations and housing without discrimination or segregation on grounds of: race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, age, sex, physical handicaps, place of birth, creed, affectional and sexual preferences, matriculation, political affiliation, native or familial language, source of income, past or present state of pregnancy, past or present military service or membership in trade unions, organizations, or associations."

Anita Bryant called the proposal a "can of worms" and declared that it would bring "nazis, communists, perverts, draft dodgers and the Ku Klux Klan" to Miami.

Ordinance sponsors, the Full Equality Committee, had little money and did not organize any mass support in the community. Instead of linking the numerous issues represented by the ordinance, they called for votes under the slogan: "There's something in the ordinance for everyone." This opportunistic pitch to the disaffected even played on anti-communist fears by lumping Anita Bryant and Fidel Castro together! The right wing was referred to only as a repressive sexual/emotional force.

The campaign was disjointed and isolated, doomed to failure because it lacked the kind of principled, multi-issue counteroffensive necessary to expose and combat bigotry. Dade County has provided another sad lesson in political reality. ■

...gay victory

from page 24

The Second Sex Leads Again

The strongest opposition to Initiative 13 was highly visible and feminist-led. A decade of work by socialist feminists in Seattle had built the foundations for the ideological strength of the multi-issue forces in the campaign.

Women Against Thirteen (W.A.T.) was the driving force behind the massive vote-getting that stopped the homophobes. W.A.T. called Initiative 13 a rightwing measure and exposed the racism and sexism of the enemy camp, calling on gays and all the oppressed to defeat 13, 15, and 350. W.A.T., along with the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women, netted the support of 20 unions.

Seattle Committee Against Thirteen (S.C.A.T.), composed predominantly of white, gay men, began as a militant multi-issue group, but moved quickly into emphasis upon moderation. As the campaign progressed, S.C.A.T. pushed a generally single-issue line of "war on homophobia," but pressure from W.A.T. forced it into occasional opposition to Initiative 15 and into addressing the issue of the right wing.

Citizens to Retain Fair Employment, led by Seattle's gay business and professional respectables, first promoted the slogan "Who's Next?" But, unwilling to implement the alliances implied by this concept, they opted for a diluted "right to privacy" plea in keeping with support from liberal community leaders.

Mujer, a Chicana organization, prevailed upon activists in every sector of the human rights movement to stand up against all three ballot measures, and led the Chicano community in opposing 13 and 15.

Infantile Disorders

When S.O.M.E. leader, policeman Falk, killed John Rodney, a young Black whom police called a burglary suspect, a united front effort to defeat 13, 15, and 350 loomed as an immediate possibility. A Justice for John Com-

mittee was immediately formed. But the ultra-left Revolutionary Communist Party leaped into the picture, soon found itself embroiled in a street battle with the cops, and lost its leadership of the committee as quickly as it gained it. The ensuing red-baiting prevented the committee from building broad support based on taking a stand on all the ballot issues.

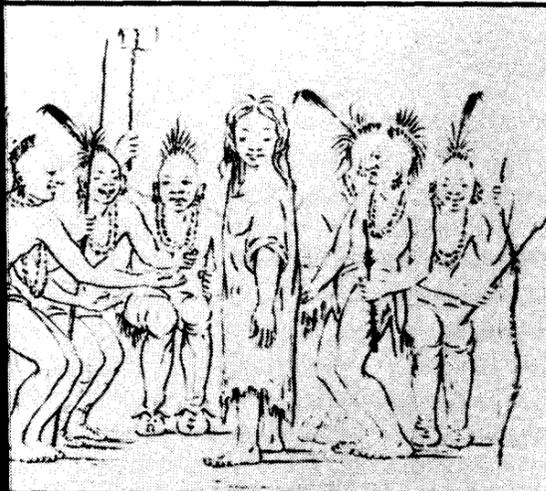
Meanwhile, Seattle's liberals were forced to publicly oppose Initiative 13 to avoid being eclipsed politically by a possible feminist-led united front. But they were generally silent about its connections to Initiative 15. Their callous abandonment of minorities resulted in the passage of 15, which threatens all civil rights.

1 Step Forward, 2 Steps Backward

Despite the exciting gay rights victory, the right wing made huge gains in the elections. Initiatives 15 and 350 give racism a surer foothold. In a segregated city where the police can arrest, try, convict, and execute in the split second of a gunshot, the freedoms of all the oppressed are jeopardized. A sign in a bigot's window on election night stated the situation clearly: "15 will take care of 13."

The rollback of the antigay forces in California and Seattle are only the first round against the demagogues, who are now consolidating their forces and carefully weighing strategies for renewed offensives. They will be back with even more deadly attacks against minorities, women and gays. The role of feminists in the recent campaigns indicates the kind of defense that must be organized against the right wing. A united front of gays, women, people of color, and labor can turn these offensives into their opposite—a total, smashing political defeat of the right wing and the frightened liberals nationwide. ■

Robert Crisman, a militant spokesman in the gay community, is an active opponent of rightwing attacks on human rights.



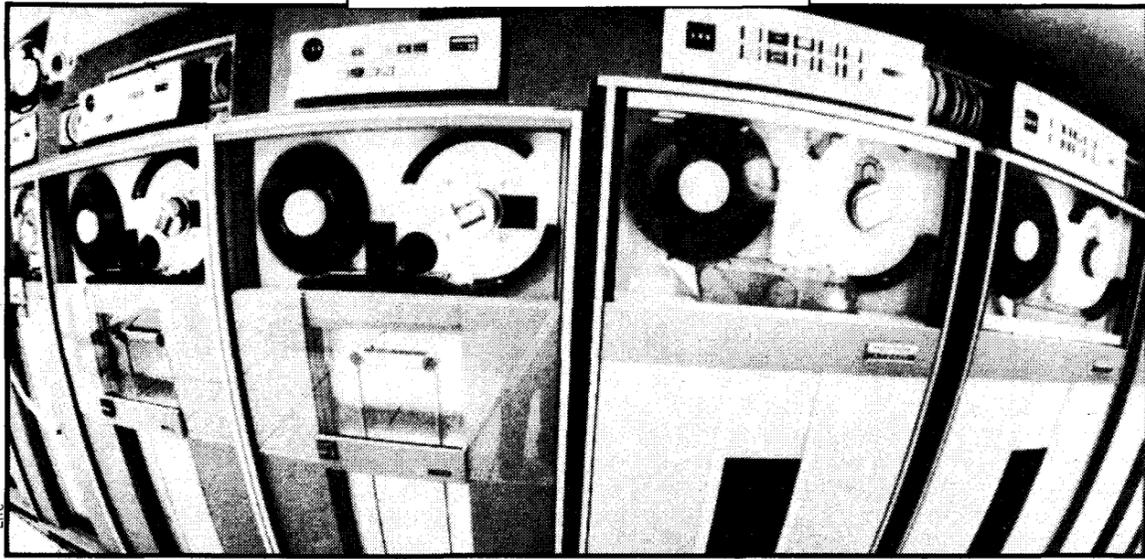
George Catlin's famous drawing, "Dance to the Berdashe," portrays homage to a transgendered tribal member

came a focus for a continent-wide struggle for sexual reform.

But antihomosexuality was central to the Nazi ideology of white male supremacy, and when the fascists rose to power, the German gay movement was entirely destroyed. Many of its leaders fled, and many of the activists who remained were arrested and sent to Hitler's death camps.

Gays were among the first people to be sent to the camps. The pink triangle that the gay victims of German fascism were forced to wear in the death mills has since become an international symbol of defiance to gay oppression.

Throughout its long rise and swift fall, the German gay movement re-



Proletarian Power: Who's Got It?

Steel. . .Auto. . .Coal. . .Heavy Industry! The vulnerable heart of capitalism. When production in these economic sectors is stopped, American capitalism will screech to a chaotic halt. Hence, workers in basic industry have their hands poised over a powerful social button.

Countless radicals carefully explain that these skilled workers, almost entirely male and largely white, occupy the most strategically critical position for revolutionary action. Sexism and racism are deplorable, we are told, but deplorable injustices do not a revolution make.

Power makes revolution, and the power to

stop production is wielded by the hands that operate the assembly lines of heavy industry.

Is it really?

Perhaps not. Or perhaps not entirely.

Vast technological changes have transfigured the production process. We have entered a new age of speed-of-light communication. Instantaneous information transfer through electronic conveyance has transformed the way the capitalist class conducts business, transfers funds, paces production lines, funnels raw materials onto the shop floor, and distributes its products.

The lowly keyboard has become an un-

expected button of power, controlling the vast complexes of computer terminals, money transfer machines, word processors, telephone switching centers, electrical substations, and much more. Every area where information is received, transferred, and stored is a focal point of workers power that needs to be examined in any serious consideration of revolutionary strategy.

Especially since the fingers tapping out the codes and instructions are usually female fingers, of all colors.

73.6% of the clerical and kindred workers in banks, communications, and data processing—where information and money move—are women. Because these low-paying jobs are always held by women and minorities. *And now an ironical quirk of fate has consigned women and minorities to precisely those strategic locations that radical theorists must analyze.*

Centuries of accumulated racism and sexism have assigned precisely those workers capable of the swiftest attainment of revolutionary consciousness to a position of enormous strategic power. And power ignited by accumulated special exploitation *does* a revolution make.

Can anyone today predict decisively *which* strata of labor will push the button that sparks the overthrow of this outdated and brutal economic system? Isn't it high time for socialists to sweep the cobwebs from 1930s-style scenarios and scrupulously examine the contemporary model-form of *key* industry?

If we are to be the mistresses and masters of our future, we must come to grips with the revolution in technology and what it means in terms of identifying the "decisive" sections of the working class.

—Sam Deaderick

Lament for Mina Lansa Chief, Hopi Independent Nation

AH — EEEEEEEEEEEEE!

*A great light has gone out
in a world already filled with darkness!*

*Our beloved Mother
Our beautiful Grandmother
our guiding light
our teacher
has left us!*

*A true Mother of humanity
so gracious, so gentle,
strong, yet kind,
an indomitable will, a steadfast mind
a replacement for her impossible to find!*

*Our people are traveling the easy
smooth paved
way of the whiteman
who follows the westward road
to the setting sun,
the path that leads to darkness,
to death,
whose final destination is a pit of desolation
from which none can escape!*

*Already darkness covers humanity like a shroud
death openly stalks the darkened streets
there is no light to keep him back
fear paralyzes the human will
the spider's web grows tighter still
leading humanity where it will!*

*Humanity rushes westward at a rapid pace
in a frenzied materialistic race!*

*The path of the enlightened ones
flows to the East
to the rising sun
safe in the pure river of life
ever bright with the light of love!*

*Now the darkness is darker still
how shall the lost ones see the way to escape
before it is too late
now that the Great Light
Mina Lansa
has gone out*

AH — EEEEEEEEEEEEE!

—Yet Si Blue (Janet McCloud)

COMING HOME

Even Lassie would have gone elsewhere if "Coming Home" proved as empty as this movie. Shabby on politics, contemptuous of women, and superficial toward the disabled, the film drenches the audience with a nostalgic rush of '60s music and administers an overdose of syrup-thick emotionalism—tawdry substitutes for historical accuracy.

"Coming Home" reduces the antiwar movement to a one-man show starring Jon Voight as a paraplegic involved in a personal struggle against the abuse and inadequate care suffered by wounded veterans of America's war machine. Except for one act of camaraderie in which he chains himself to the army-base gate to protest the tragic suicide of a fellow patient, Voight is alone in speaking out against the war's nightmarish aftermath.

Jane Fonda, well-remembered for dazzling thousands of protesters with her impassioned antiwar speeches ten years ago, plays a Marine officer's wife. Nice, and socially-conscious, she becomes a hospital volunteer after literally tripping over Voight and other war relics in the local VA hospital. To improve the wounded vets' lot, she fights the Establishment as personified by the Officers' Wives Club!

Fonda's cheerleader role as a passive convenience for her husband, whose real wife is the Marine Corps, is presented uncritically in the film. The woman from whom Fonda bought the script for "Coming Home" has publicly denounced the sexist rewrite used by the producers, which conveys the message that men get ideas and women get the men.

The film ventures onto a little realism in its depiction of wounded veterans, but even this foray goes Hollywood. The massive physical and psychological changes demanded of individuals suffering a disability are barely noted. And there is no real hint of the years of lonely, painful, and boring inactivity ahead for those maimed by war and then warehoused as defectives in the nation's VA hospitals and nursing homes.

On the contrary, we are led to believe that a paraplegic's woes can be solved with a specially equipped fast car and an occasional call girl. And if things get too bad, there's always suicide.

"Coming Home", with its treacherous theme of sorrow and pity and social work, just recreates the confusion of the '60s when many people had to learn that wars don't stop simply because critics deplore them. Wars and shocking neglect of the wounded will continue so long as they are politically necessary for private profit.

The war was stopped by a vast radicalization and mass protest that forced the U.S. troops into coming home. And the atrocities of chronic war and terrible victimizations will be stopped for all time by socialist revolution alone. But you'd never even guess at anything of this nature by viewing the film, which is neither antiwar nor anti-establishment nor anti-male-chauvinist. Stay home on this one.

—Heidi Durham

Heidi Durham is an I.B.E.W. activist and female pioneer in the electrical trades. She has become an advocate of the physically disabled since she was injured in an industrial accident.



Clara Fraser

Bread, Roses, and Heresy

Dateline: Lincoln, Nebraska. A small airport, its contours softened by snowfall and moonlight. The car skids on the exit road. My older son, Marc Krasnowsky, drives blithely through the icy slush; his friend Moira Ferguson hands me a leaflet.

"We expect about 30 people," she says excitedly, "but with this snow, it's hard to tell."

The leaflet is straightforward. "Socialist Feminism: The New Wave," it announces. "A discussion by . . . Clara Fraser, a founder of Radical Women." And in quotes: "We are *feminists* in the socialist movement and *radicals* in the women's movement." The sponsors are listed—the University of Nebraska Women Studies Program and the Women's Resource Center.

We arrive on campus, and poor Marc has to shlep my suitcase of heavy literature up the stairs. The beautiful meeting hall slowly fills with about sixty young women and men. Marc is an energetic literature salesman. "The more I sell, the less I'll have to carry out," he explains.

Moira introduces me. An associate professor of English literature and head of the Women Studies department, she offers a warm welcome and succinct account of my labor and radical activities. I speak, and then the audience takes over. The questions are fantastic!

Here on the prairie, in the middle-American conservative farmbelt, lies a rich pocket of feminism and commitment to the left. These students, faculty, staff and young workers are intellectually alive and hungry for a reasonable theory that will fuse the scattered skeins of their interests. They want to be attached to all the anti-imperialist, pro-people mobilizations for freedom, but each contingent in the fray seems to exclude the others. The audience seeks a de-fragmenting, a synthesized programmatic focus for their energy that can validate a many-sided activism.

They speak with intensity, discussing Trotsky, Stalin, Mao, Fidel, the New Left, capitalism, Carter, the neo-Nazis. Afterward, many of us pursue the discussion at Lincoln's most chic tavern. We meet a few nights later for more talk, and we luxuriate in the ever-novel thrill of encountering kindred spirits. We part with the understanding that they will study the **Radical Women Manifesto** and orient toward the constitution of an RW chapter.

I loved them in Lincoln. And to Moira and Marc and my new friends there, I say thank you from the bottom of my organizer's heart. You were an inspiration.

• • •

Dateline: New York City. Would you believe another unexpectedly early blizzard and another exciting meeting of radicals seeking a cohesive ideology? More dynamic women suffused with urgency to get on with the building of a socialist feminist counterpole to the far right?

Believe it. This was a fine meeting called by a Manhattan group which includes CRSP members, a meeting which once again clearly demonstrated that the new wave of socialist feminism is a living, pulsing phenomenon. Its New York adherents are highly competent technical and professional workers well-seasoned by the political wars of the last decade, and avid for theory and practice that respect history, are firmly grounded in class struggle, and can inspire women to political leadership.

Enclaves of such talented women abound here. And many women are already studying the Radical Women program and history in the course of their search for a political home that will be a viable base of operations.

• • •

The day of feminism as pure-and-simple legal reform is over. It hasn't worked, nor could it, in the very heart of Profitsland. In Nebraska, in New York, around this country, women are addressing economic issues and union problems side by side with the historic questions of family and human relations, and evaluating these subjects within the context of achieving fundamental societal change for the benefit of the exploited of every shape and hue.

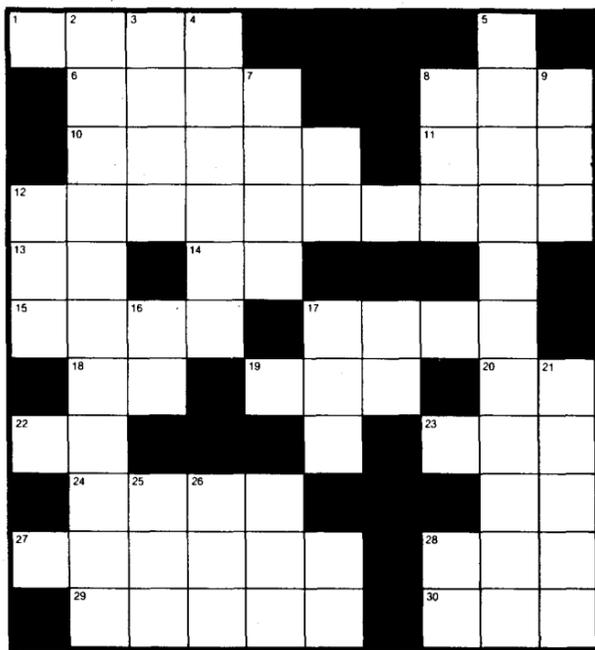
Respectability and liberalism are out; heresy is in. A new army of women is a-borning. Give us bread, they cry, and give us roses—and give us revolution!

Commie Word Cross

by Su Bondurant

ACROSS

- 1 Apex
- 6 First human tool
- 8 The Patriarch
- 10 Polemicize
- 11 Vietnamese city
- 12 German revolutionary
- 13 Avenue (abbr.)
- 14 Site of founding CRSP Conference
- 15 Intelligence
- 17 U.S. concentration camp: _____ Lake
- 18 iCuba Sf, Yanqui _____!
- 19 Conservative youth group (abbr.)
- 20 Preposition
- 22 Author of **Amazon Odyssey**
- 23 Aunt (Spanish)
- 24 French radical aristocrat
- 27 Rockefeller massacre (1971)
- 28 Labor organization
- 29 Chicago 8 defendant
- 30 Lenin's nickname for Trotsky



DOWN

- 2 MCPs
- 3 With 4 Down, originator of dialectical materialism
- 4 See 3, above
- 5 Capitalist class
- 7 Czarist parliament
- 8 Dien Bien _____
- 9 Wooden pin
- 12 Labor _____ of Value
- 16 Preposition
- 17 Mao _____ Tung
- 21 Algerian revolutionary and psychologist
- 25 Ingested
- 26 Day (Spanish)
- 28 Stalinist party (abbr.)

Answers on page 10

by Edith Zaslow

Corporations and large property owners have hit the jackpot in California. The passage of Proposition 13 reduced property taxes to only 1% of assessed value, and the poor will now pay the bill for public services while the millions of dollars saved are siphoned into the pockets of the wealthy. California, like the rest of the nation, has turned its corporate back on those least able to defend themselves.

24,000 jobs have already been eliminated, pushing unemployment to 7.8%—and to 13.5% for white youth and 37% for minority youth. Senior citizen centers and summer schools have closed (California is one of the few states where all public education funds come from property taxes), and personnel for playgrounds, libraries, and other basic services were cut back.

Women denied public funds for abortion are once again forced to risk their lives in back-alley butchery or bear children they cannot support. Many of these helpless women are teenagers, ill-equipped to raise children. The anti-abortion forces claim that "life is sacred," yet these same property owners take no responsibility for society's children. They object to financing schools and they forbid families with children to rent quarters in their apartment complexes.

These wealthy defenders of "family life" deliberately tighten the economic screws against single mothers and their children. More than one-third of minority families, and more than one-tenth of white families, are headed by single women, who earn appreciably less than men. One-half to one-third of these families were already living below the poverty level in 1972; hardest hit by spiraling inflation, they suffer widespread malnutrition. And even the woefully inadequate Aid to Dependent Children program is threatened by the loss of tax revenue.

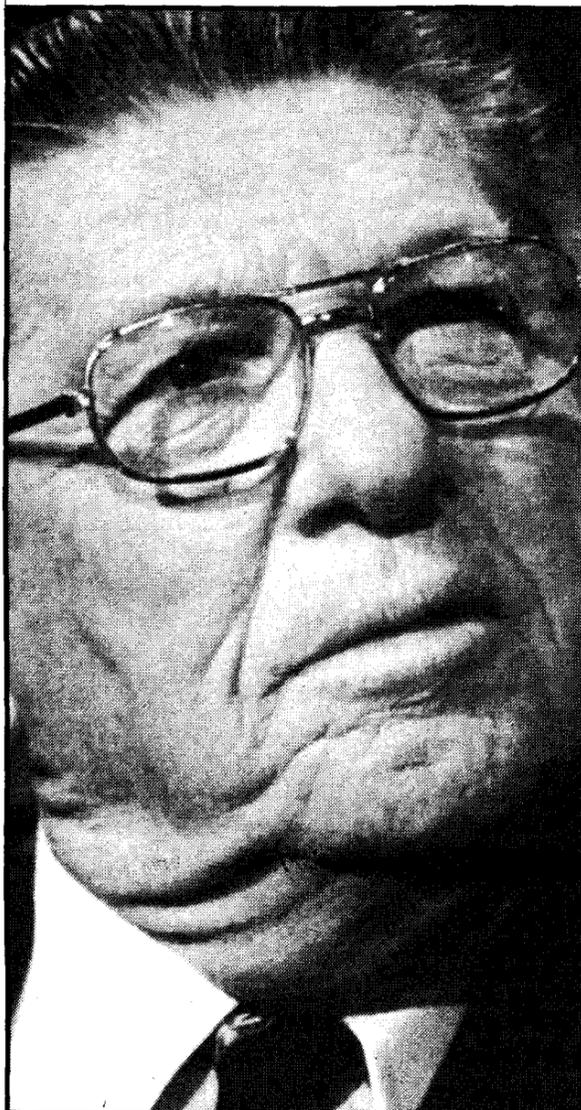
Youth are also being victimized. The shrinking job market and curtailment of social programs present them with a bleak future; trapped in the ghettos and barrios, with few escape routes, they fall prey to the alienation and brutality bred in this environment, and all too often they dead-end in archaic prisons.

The degrading experiences of young people are the bitter fruit of a big-business controlled social order which puts tax savings and profits before human needs.

In the 1960s and early '70s, an angry antiwar movement virtually brought the war home, and stimulated a massive fight against racism, sexism, and poverty. But the victories wrested in that struggle are being whittled away as acquisitive, narrow-minded bigots wage an all-out offensive against the rights and needs of women, racial and sexual minorities, and the poor.

But a new generation of rebels is rising to the challenge. Women and gays are marching by the tens of thousands, spearheading the counterattack. National and racial minorities are on the move once again; and tenants and public workers are striking. When workers and the unemployed join in struggle against the common enemy, a united effort will be mounted that will find the American people determining new priorities and preparing to turn the entire country around. ■

Prop. 13 REVOLT or REACTION?



Howard Jarvis, demagogic proponent of tax reform at the expense of the poor

Las corporaciones y los dueños de grandes propiedades se han sacado el premio gordo en California. La aprobación de la Proposición 13 redujo el impuesto a la propiedad solamente a 1% sobre el evalúo; mientras los pobres pagan ahora la cuenta por los servicios públicos, los millones de dólares ahorrados van a caer a los bolsillos de los ricos. California, como el resto de la nación, les ha dado

la espalda a los que menos pueden defenderse.

Recién han sido eliminados 24,000 trabajos, empujando la cesantía a un 7.8%—a un 13.5% entre los jóvenes blancos y a un 37% entre los jóvenes pertenecientes a las minorías raciales. Los centros para jubilados y las escuelas de verano se han cerrado (California es uno de los pocos estados donde todos los fondos monetarios de la educación pública vienen de los impuestos a la propiedad); también se ha cortado personal de los parques de juegos, librerías, y otros servicios básicos.

Las mujeres, a las que se les ha negado fondos para el aborto, están otra vez obligadas a arriesgar sus vidas en lugares que parecen carnicerías o cargar con niños que no pueden alimentar. Muchas de estas mujeres desamparadas son adolescentes; no están preparadas para criar niños. El grupo contra el aborto clama que "la vida es sagrada," sin embargo estos mismos propietarios no se responsabilizan por los niños de su sociedad. Ellos objetan el financiamiento de las escuelas y no permiten que familias con niños arrienden apartamentos en sus edificios.

Estos ricos defensores de "la vida familiar" presionan económicamente en forma deliberada a las madres solteras y a sus hijos. Más de una tercera parte de las familias minoritarias, y más de una décima parte de las familias blancas están encabezadas por mujeres solteras, las que ganan considerablemente menos que los hombres. Desde un tercio hasta la mitad de estas familias ya vivían bajo el nivel de pobreza en 1972; fuertemente golpeados por la alta inflación, sufren una vasta desnutrición. Incluso el miserable e inadecuado programa de Ayuda a las Cargas Familiares (Aid to Dependent Children) está amenazado por la pérdida de las contribuciones.

La juventud también es otra víctima. La disminución de los ofrecimientos de trabajo y el cercenamiento de los programas sociales les presentan un triste futuro; atrapados en los "ghettos" y los barrios, con muy pocas posibilidades de salir, caen presa de la alienación y de la brutalidad creadas en este ambiente, terminando muy a menudo en las viejas prisiones. Esta degradante experiencia es el amargo fruto de un orden social controlado por los grandes negocios, el cual coloca la ganancia y los ahorros de impuestos antes de las necesidades humanas.

En los años 60, y al principio de los 70, un violento movimiento en contra de la guerra trajo virtualmente la guerra a nuestra propia casa, y estimuló luchas masivas en contra del racismo, el sexismo y la pobreza. Pero las victorias ganadas en esa lucha han sido reducidas poco a poco, mientras los avariciosos fanáticos hacen una ofensiva total en contra de los derechos y las necesidades de las mujeres, de las minorías raciales y sexuales, y en contra de los pobres.

Pero una nueva generación de rebeldes está levantándose para el desafío. Las mujeres y los homosexuales están marchando por miles, como una punta de lanza del contraataque. Las minorías nacionales y raciales están en movimiento nuevamente; también los arrendatarios y los trabajadores públicos están yendo a la huelga. Cuando se junten otros trabajadores y los cesantes, en contra del enemigo común, habrá un esfuerzo unido que permitirá que el pueblo americano determine sus nuevas prioridades nacionales y se prepare para un cambio radical del país entero. ■

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by John Dickerson

Texas lawmen never tire of remembering the Alamo; it still serves as an excuse for brutality against Chicanos, such as the May 1977 killing of José Torres.

The Torres murder ignited outrage in the Chicano community, captured national attention, and forced the authorities to prosecute the policemen who killed him. The outcome, however, was not justice, but more racism.

Torres was executed by six of Houston's "finest." Officer Elliot, a rookie, confessed the crime after Torres' broken body was found floating in Buffalo Bayou. Arrested after a tavern scuffle, Torres was driven to a warehouse district, beaten, and thrown from a 20-foot ledge into the dark bayou. During the trial, Elliot testified that Officer Denson said, "Let's see if this wetback can swim," before pushing the battered prisoner into the water.

The murder was one of several outrages exposed that spring. After Demas Benoit, a Black, ran a red light, twenty police cars and one helicopter converged on him at his home. The handcuffed Benoit was beaten and kicked in front of his terrified parents. An internal police investigation cleared the officers, but recommended that rookie Alan Nichols, who reported the incident, be fired for "leaving his post."

Another unavenged victim was Milton Glover, a disabled Black veteran. Two officers patrolling a Houston street thought Glover looked "wild-eyed." In confronting him, they mistook a Bible he was holding for a handgun and pumped eight bullets into him. When the case went to the grand jury, a Black couple who witnessed the shooting at close range were not called to testify.



Los "hombres de leyes" de Texas no se cansan de recordar El Alamo; sirviendo aún como excusa para desarrollar brutalidad en contra de los Chicanos. En mayo de 1977, la muerte de José Torres ultrajó a la comunidad Chicana, acaparó la atención nacional y obligó a las autoridades a juzgar a los policías que lo asesinaron. El resultado, sin embargo, no fue justicia, sino que más racismo.

José Torres fue ejecutado por seis de "los mejores hombres" de Houston. El oficial Elliot, un novato, confesó el crimen después que el cuerpo destrozado de Torres fue encontrado flotando en el pantano Buffalo. Arrestado después de una riña de taberna, Torres había sido conducido a un distrito comercial, golpeado y lanzado desde un arrecife de 20 pies de altura al oscuro y tranquilo pantano. Durante el juicio, el policía novato declaró que el oficial Denson había dicho: "Veamos si este mexicano mojado puede nadar" antes de empujar al golpeado prisionero dentro del agua.

El asesinato fue solo uno de los muchos casos de brutalidad manifestado esta primavera. En marzo, otro novato quebrantó el código de "No chivatear". Después que Demas Benoit, un hombre negro, burló una luz roja, veinte carros de la policía y un helicóptero vinieron por él a su casa. El esposado Benoit fue golpeado y pateado en presencia de sus aterrorizados padres. Una investigación policial interna absolvió a los oficiales, pero recomendó que el novato Alan Nichols, que reportó el incidente, fuera despedido por "dejar su puesto".

En los tres años y medio anteriores al asesinato de Torres, solamente hubo un juicio de los 25 casos en que la policía disparó contra ciudadanos. La excepción fue el caso en que un policía hirió a un negociante blanco.

Una de las víctimas que no encontró venganza fue Milton Glover, un hombre negro, ex-militar incapacitado. Dos oficiales que patrullaban una calle de Houston, pensaron que Glover los miraba "siniestramente". Al confrontarlo, ellos confundieron una Biblia, que Glover sostenía, por un revólver y le metieron ocho balas. Cuando el caso fue llevado a la corte, una pareja de negros que presenció el hecho desde muy cerca, no fue llamada a declarar.

Tribunal de Justicia Dirigido por Racistas
En el caso de Torres, el público ofendido

In the three and one-half years before the Torres murder, only one indictment was obtained out of 25 cases where police shot citizens. The exception was meted out to a cop who wounded a white businessman.

Justice Benched by Racist Ruling

In the Torres case, an outraged public demanded prosecution. But only 3 of the 6 "gun-slingers" were indicted. An all-white jury acquitted them on felony murder charges, but gave two of them one year's probation on misdemeanors. At an anti-brutality rally, Torres' mother said, "You can bet if it had been six Chicanos who killed one cop, they would all get the death penalty."

Chicanos demanded that the U.S. Justice Department step in. But the federal court staged an instant-replay of the state proceedings. A new all-white jury found the defendants guilty of both felony and misdemeanor civil rights charges—and decreed 10 years' probation for the felony charges and one-year sentences for the misdemeanors.

This was a slap in the face to the Chicano community, whose discontent erupted during a 1978

Cinco de Mayo celebration at Moody Park. When police appeared, two of their cars were overturned and burned. The next night, disturbances again broke out, and close to 100 area residents were arrested.

City officials scapegoated the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) which had been leafleting the area. Though only one of many groups fighting police brutality, they presented themselves as the leaders. Three RCP members were jailed on \$500,000 bond each. The ensuing red-baiting and media blitz on RCP involvement focused attention away from seven Chicano defendants awaiting trial and obscured the riot's real causes: the anger and frustration of Chicanos over abuse by the police and judicial system.

A lull now prevails in community defense against the Gestapo-like tactics of the HPD. While the Torres case did not provide immediate legal justice, it signaled an important elevation of community consciousness. For the first time in Houston's history, Chicanos, Blacks, and white progressives came together to demand that police be tried for their crimes. ■

Chicanos Combat Police Terror



demandó justicia, pero sólo tres de los seis "pistoleros" fueron procesados. El jurado, en su totalidad anglos, absolvió a los tres del delito de felonía y cargos de asesinato, pero le dio a dos de ellos un año de libertad condicional por mala conducta. En una manifestación popular en contra de la brutalidad, la madre de Torres declaró: "Puedo apostar que si hubieran sido seis Chicanos los que hubieran matado a un policía, ellos habrían recibido la pena de muerte".

Los Chicanos exigen que intervenga el Departamento de Justicia de los Estados Unidos.

La corte federal preparó una respuesta inmediata de acuerdo al procedimiento estatal. Un nuevo jurado, integrado sólo por anglos, los encontró a los tres culpables de felonía y delitos de mala conducta en contra de los derechos civiles y los castigó con 10 años de libertad condicional y un año de condena por mala conducta.

Este castigo fue una bofetada en pleno rostro de la comunidad Chicana, cuyo descontento explotó en 1978, durante la celebración del Cinco de Mayo en el parque Moody. Cuando la policía se presentó allí, dos de los carros policiales fueron volcados y quemados. A la noche siguiente, los disturbios surgieron de nuevo y cerca de 100 residentes del sector fueron arrestados.

Los oficiales de la ciudad encontraron una

víctima propiciatoria en el Partido Comunista Revolucionario (RCP), un grupo maoísta, el cual había estado repartiendo panfletos en el sector, y aunque recién llegados al movimiento, se presentaban a sí mismos como los líderes. Tres miembros del RCP fueron encarcelados con un depósito de fianza de \$500,000 por cada uno. El resultado de la batida roja y el golpe en el medio del RCP apartó la atención de otros siete acusados que esperaban ser juzgados y oscureció las causas reales del alboroto: la cólera y la frustración ante los abusos ejercidos en contra de la comunidad Chicana por la policía y el sistema judicial.

Hay un momento de silencio ahora en la defensa la comunidad en contra de las tácticas al estilo de la Gestapo nazi, del Departamento Policiaco de Houston. Mientras el caso de Torres no proporcionó una justicia legal inmediata, señaló una importante superación de la conciencia comunitaria. Por primera vez en la historia de Houston, Chicanos, Negros y Blancos se unieron para exigir que la policía sea juzgada por sus crímenes. ■

A los lectores de habla hispana: déjennos saber sus opiniones acerca de la eficacia de nuestras traducciones.

Detail from Justice for José Campos Torres poster

TI-GRACE ATKINSON'S Journey to Socialist Feminism



Tom Sawyer

Stop the drift towards oblivion and reaction, and gain collective strength by learning traditional Left discipline and organizing tools, urges Atkinson in an historic turn to socialist feminism

elves to repeat the past," she warns, and "in disregarding the Left, we attempt to reinvent the wheel."

Common Ground

Atkinson chose to dramatize her statement of affiliation with socialist feminism in a Women's Rights Day farewell address to Pacific Northwest feminists held at Freeway Hall in Seattle on August 27. She considered the location most appropriate because it is the headquarters of Radical Women, a political organization of female revolutionaries that has been a target for the very type of anti-Left antagonism that permeates the moderate-liberal wing of the feminist community nationwide.

She commended Radical Women for setting the example of political analysis, discipline, and determined coalition work that the feminist movement as a whole needs to adopt to survive.

During her two years of teaching Women Studies and Philosophy in Washington state, she enabled many women to deepen their understanding of history and give clearer expression to their ideas.

Her willingness to engage in discussion with Radical Women led to a reduction of the polarization in the feminist community and contributed to the formation of the United Feminist Front in Seattle.

Back home in New York, Atkinson and a number of other nationally known feminists spoke to 1,300 women in September on a panel sponsored by the Foundation for Matriarchy. Atkinson made the clearest call for socialist theory and practice, while many other speakers made surprisingly strong anti-capitalist statements as well.

Feminist Disorientation

In the Seattle speech, Atkinson traced her studies in philosophy, history and politics which helped her discover the causes of social change—and of women's alienation from the Left.

She found that the witchhunts of the McCarthyist period had destroyed the continuity of the Left; the denial of political freedom deprived an entire generation of the benefits of radicalism—the rigorous tradition of study, individual discipline and organizational structure, the tools of committed fighters.

When the New Left arose, it was assumed to be following in the tradition of all revolutionary movements for change. However, she said, its anti-intellectual, anti-historical and anti-organizational posture provided the awakening women's movement

of the '60s with little ideology and structure, and with much disappointment.

Instead of accepting the work and responsibility of coalition politics, of organizing for a united front, the New Left sought instant—but limited—reforms. After the Viet Nam War ended, the antiwar activists and so-called leftists joined the establishment or floundered in liberalism. The feminist movement was left to confront the system alone, without the support of all the other movements that could have stood by them if long-range coalition organizing had been undertaken while millions were marching together against the war.

As a substitute for political analysis, said Atkinson, feminists sought a scapegoat to mask their lack of direction, and mistakenly denounced the entire Left.

The Fallacy of Fantasy

Ironically, the women's movement then proceeded to absorb wholesale the New Left women: "*We welcomed with open arms the pacifists, the anarchists, those anti-ideology and anti-organization people because of whose politics we had seen our allies melting away before our very eyes.*"

Angry with the New Left, yet infected by its theoretical blindness, the women's movement has failed to define the natural connections between feminism and socialism, Atkinson said—and it has failed to form alliances with socialists, minority women, and working women that could save it from separatist stagnation and recharge itself with strength, bold new direction and crucial allies.

Atkinson explained that feminists who become mired in myths rather than informed by concrete data and scientific analysis let themselves be waltzed into the rightwing camp where they promptly denounced the Left in the name of feminism and thereby cripple feminism itself.

New Directions

Ti-Grace Atkinson was drawn to feminist activism by her powerful sense of the injustice done to women in the capitalist social order. She has gone on to study Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky—and to embrace socialism with conviction. If her past ability to articulate what large masses of women are thinking and feeling is any indication, a world of women are now on the highroad to discovering along with her the revolutionary socialist solution to the crimes of patriarchal capitalism. ■

by Janet Sutherland

Early this fall, capacity crowds in Seattle and New York City heard feminist author, philosopher, and activist Ti-Grace Atkinson announce her decisive turn to socialist feminism and call for a united front of feminists and all oppressed groups against the growing threat of rightwing reaction.

A founder of N.O.W. who later adopted tactical separatism, Atkinson has been a leading voice of radical feminism. She describes her move to the left as neither abrupt nor surprising, but as a natural process of theoretical growth and development related to the living currents within the women's movement and the global struggle for human justice.

Since 1971, Atkinson has been distressed with the drift of the women's movement into cultural nationalism, inventing women's history from myths rather than analyzing history in order to fashion strategy from the plane of reality.

"In reaction to the male world, we condemn our-

Which Side Are You On?

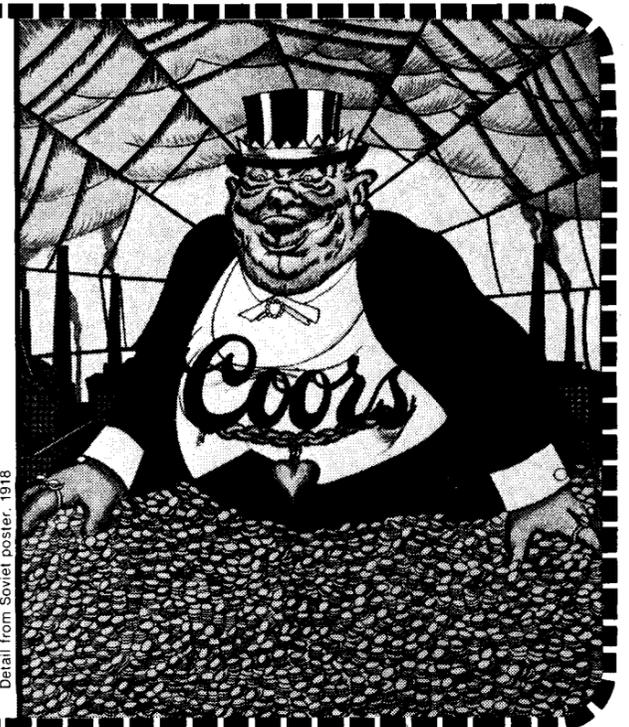
People who buy Coors Beer are financing the right wing, buying nooses for their own necks.

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Detail from Soviet poster, 1918

by Cindy Gipple

Debate in the SWP? Strange, but true. In the February edition of the *International Socialist Review*, two prominent writer-theoreticians of the Socialist Workers Party slug it out in a style almost reminiscent of bolshevism.

Almost, but not quite. The two theoreticians in question are women, and the debate addresses a topic of piddling significance to the SWP leadership—merely the role of women in the origins and development of human society. On such a “secondary” issue, the SWP can tolerate dissent.

Or could it be that the SWP’s bureaucratic monolith is disintegrating? Hardly. After fifteen solid years of arbitrary expulsions of dissidents, such a juncture is highly unlikely. And the debate illuminates the sad

contradicted by the theoretical implications of Reed’s own work.

Women’s Work

Reed’s book is an imaginative, feminist and materialist attempt to explain women’s central role in the transition from ape to socialized *Homo sapiens*.

Her thesis is that emerging humanity passed through a critical period during which its very survival as a species was threatened by a dual problem—sexual competition among males, and their meat-eating proclivities which often were directed towards unrecognized members of their own species. Women, with an already developed role as mothers in social organization and production, led the males out of the cannibalistic stage and forced them into social cooperation by creating the totem as a symbol of group identity, and instituting the taboo against sexual relations among men and women

Oblivious to this distinction, Coontz offers an alternative sketch of human evolution which itself depends heavily on biological determinism. Not kinship but the sharing of food was the critical factor in human development, she says, and men and women were equally responsible for it. Food-sharing prolonged infant dependence, increased social learning, and deepened social relationships by helping humans develop larger brains.

Coontz sees kinship systems as an outgrowth of this process, not its instrument. She accuses Reed of reversing the relation between labor relations and social customs, making the relationship between the sexes the primary dynamic in early society.

What Coontz doesn’t notice is that Reed is not trying to repeat Marx and Engels’ explanation of the rise of class society, but to explain “the maternal clan system, which preceded class society and was its opposite.”

The Great SWP Debate:

Coontz vs. Reed on Engels and Matriarchy

fact that little of scientific socialism has managed to survive the vulgarisms of the SWP regime.

The debate serves the regime by contributing to the destruction of the very theoretical underpinnings which would force the SWP to maintain consistent and principled support to the women’s movement. By publicly displaying an ideological split between two women leaders, the SWP bureaucracy can proceed to move in any direction it likes. Its hands are untied.

The Hidden Agenda

The debate begins with an attempted hatchet job by Stephanie Coontz, an academic, on Evelyn Reed’s feminist milestone, *Woman’s Evolution*. According to Coontz, women as a special category in history are irrelevant and the matriarchy never existed.

From the outset, it is evident that Coontz’s assignment is to discredit Reed and her attempted extension of Marxist anthropological theory in the area of ancient matriarchal (matrilineal) forms of social organization. But Reed, toughened by snickers, sneers, and superficial critiques by male defenders of establishment anthropology, defends her views strongly and articulately.

The theory of the matriarchy, drawn from Morgan and Engels, is a pillar of Marxist social science. It is fundamental to modern socialist feminism, illuminating the origin of women’s oppression in the institution of private property. Engels’ great work, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, is an ideological antecedent to the modern feminist movement, as well as a powerful political analysis of the link between feminism and capitalism.

Staged to undermine Reed’s position by a sneak, unacknowledged attack on Engels, the debate ironically leaves Reed looking like a strong feminist and classic Marxist, as compared to Coontz’s professorial pragmatism. Yet Reed remains a loyal adherent of the SWP regime and its politics, including its opportunist, single-issue approach to feminism—a position starkly

of the same totem.

Through her examination of the origins and social dynamics of the ancient maternal clan system, Reed concludes that women were the main strategists in the shaping of the very beginnings of human society.

Biological Determinism

Coontz’s criticism of Reed would be difficult to distinguish from the typical bourgeois anthropologist’s criticism of Engels, except that Coontz sprinkles her commentary with Marxist terms—especially when she complains that the concept of matrilineal descent and women’s social leadership are “unproven” and offensive to men. She substitutes nit-picking for serious challenge, using minute and often irrelevant examples to refute Reed’s broad generalizations. She misrepresents Reed’s theory and ignores the crucial illustrations supporting it.

For example, Coontz criticizes Reed for using particular kinds of evidence and then proceeds to use precisely the same kind! Claiming Reed draws false inferences from the behavior of baboons, Coontz counters that male aggression was not necessarily a problem in primeval society—and draws false inferences from the behavior of chimpanzees. But unlike Coontz, Reed makes a qualitative distinction between human and animal behavior.

Coontz agrees that the primitive mode of production was communal and social relations egalitarian. But in rejecting Engels’ theory of the maternal clan (which she attributes to Reed), she offers no alternative theory of how social production originated, how it was organized, why it was communal, or what the basic social unit was.

Coontz accuses Reed of biological determinism because Reed thinks women’s minds developed differently from men’s. Coontz fails to see that in analyzing the mental development that established totem and taboo, Reed is making a *social*, not a biological distinction. Women’s and men’s work has differed, and with it their intellectual processes.

Coontz fails anywhere to engage Reed’s work on its own ground.

Motherhood and Brotherhood

Reed answers with a brilliant defense of the existence of the matriarchy, characterized by descent in the female line and by total democracy. And she boldly affirms the soundness of her own methodology in attempting to apply historical materialism carefully and dialectically.

Reed draws the political conclusion that women once played the key role in saving humanity from annihilation. “The motherhood created the brotherhood,” she writes, “and thereafter it was the sisters and brothers together who built the communal society that carried humankind forward to the threshold of civilization.” And she expects women to repeat that role in the contemporary nuclear age.

No wonder the SWP leadership wants to bring such “heresy” into question and disrepute! SWP feminists just might take Reed seriously and expect the male SWP leadership to recognize the importance of women’s leadership in the coming American revolution. And then the SWP will be in bigger trouble than it already is.

Shabby Treatment

Woman’s Evolution deserves more than the anti-Marxist treatment accorded it by Coontz. Some of Reed’s hypotheses are definitely open to question, further exploration, and appraisal in the light of all extant data. But such debate must be respectful, serious, and knowledgeable, and must rest on firmly scientific and materialist foundations—characteristics conspicuous in their absence in Coontz’s reactionary, male-oriented attack. Such debate is bound to occur, especially outside the SWP, and it will be welcomed by all serious scholars.

But the SWP, nervously poised to “enter” the labor movement, and anxious to shed its belatedly acquired feminist image, seeks to attain popularity with the boys on the assembly line. Hence Evelyn Reed is sacrificed to the change in party line.

And what else is new in the SWP?



Trotskyist Organizing Committee Affiliates with CRSP

Close on the heels of the CRSP Conference, a major new unification has been effected. The Trotskyist Organizing Committee (TOC) announced in a November 16 letter to the Socialist Workers Party that TOC had joined CRSP as a "step toward a more inclusive unity of organizations and individuals identifying with Trotskyism in the United States."

Appended to the letter was a three-page statement on the political basis for the fusion. The statement poses the question, "Is it possible to unite Trotskyists in one vanguard party given the sharp strategic and tactical differences among all formations?" TOC affirms that "unity can and must be achieved!... [otherwise] the revolutionary opportunities will again be missed and the working class will suffer new defeats without its vanguard party and international."

"We in the TOC," the statement reports, "have focused on our strategic and tactical differences (with CRSP), particularly those on women's liberation. But our polemics should not obscure the areas of agreement which unite us. The TOC and CRSP as a whole have reached general programmatic agreement on the counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinism, on the need to build the Fourth International, on the validity of the Transitional Program,

on constructing a rank-and-file movement in the unions, and on a labor party based on the unions independent of the capitalist parties. We also share the understanding that the movements for women's liberation and of the especially oppressed in general have enormous revolutionary significance under revolutionary Marxist leadership for the working class movement as a whole, as well as the understanding that working class gains, including that of protective legislation for women, must be defended."

The statement declares that TOC "will constitute a tendency within CRSP... will seek to convince the organization of the validity of our strategic and tactical positions while working together loyally to build it... divergent views will be and are now being tested in the new objective conditions, in the crucible of the sharpening class struggle, and those... in consonance with material reality, with the objective tasks facing the working class, will prevail."

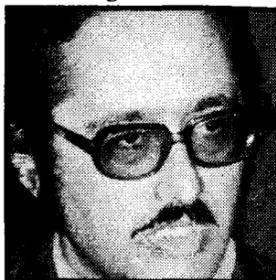
"We ask all revolutionaries," the statement

continues, "...who want to 'overthrow the world' of capitalist-imperialist and all other forms of oppression... do you want an organization in which you will be given every appropriate opportunity to convince your comrades of the validity of your ideas, a thoroughly democratic organization... of serious, devoted and hard-working comrades with whom you can share the responsibility and honor of building the party of the socialist revolution in the United States? Then your place is with us! Join us!"

TOC spokesman Harry Turner, of New York City, regards CRSP as the vehicle for a broad in-gathering of Trotskyists, both those with a history in other organizations and previously unaffiliated people attracted to revolutionary politics.

CRSP and TOC representatives have been engaging in talks, with a view towards merger, for several months, and a TOC observer attended the National CRSP Conference in October. TOC has ceased publication of its organ, *Socialist Appeal*, and will send the *Freedom Socialist* to its subscribers for the unexpired term of their subs.

Comrade Turner may be contacted by writing P.O. Box 831, New York City, NY 10008.



TOC representative Earl Owens at conference

from page 13

nator and Treasurer were moved to New York for the next period.

Crescendo of Literary Discussion

The conference was the apex of a tremendous outpouring of literary analyses in the pre-conference discussion period. More than a dozen thick Discussion Bulletins were issued, each containing a variety of articles and papers. The crescendo of literary production persisted throughout the conference as well.

CRSP, at its inception, was sharply divided on the Portuguese Revolution, encompassed broad differences on the appraisal and role of socialist feminism, and featured three approaches to Black liberation. But these divergences were never concealed or muddied over—they were vigorously debated. And this process of directly working through key theoretical and methodological questions in dispute, in an organized fashion, resounded through the conference and created a rich climate of democratic give-and-take, and respectful attention to oppositional views. The important—and exciting—agreements eventually achieved can only be understood against the backdrop of the intense literary and oral debate.

The first topic on the conference agenda was **The Fourth International and the SWP**. The re-



Some members of the New York City delegation. From left to right: Stephan Kass, Susan Williams, Elaine Keyes, Emily Weiner.



porters were Gene Warren of Los Angeles, Jamie Bevson of Portland, Fred Hyde of Seattle, and Murry Weiss of New York. The pre-conference articles relating to this discussion were "Close Encounters with the SWP Prove It Necessary to Rebuild American Trotskyism," by Fred Hyde; "The Political Space Wars Over Single/Multi Vanguardism and Issues," by Jamie Bevson; and "Critical Notes on Cannon's Conception of the Revolutionary Party," author unknown. Weiss' article was the basis for the modified **Theses on the Crisis of the Fourth International** adopted later in the conference.

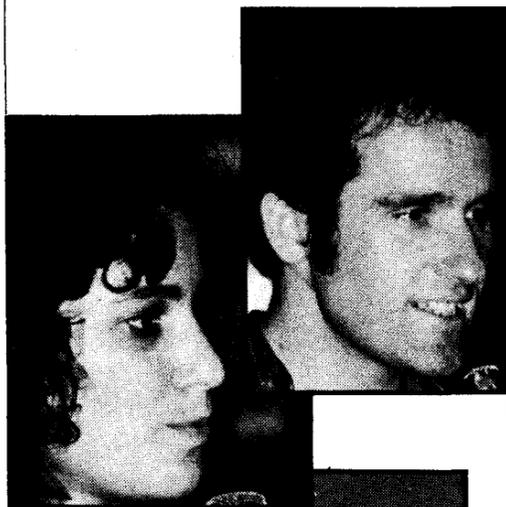
The examination of **Socialist Feminism** was opened by reporters Susan Williams of New York and Milt Zaslow of Los Angeles.

Relevant pre-conference articles were "Socialist Feminism and the Travail of the Typical White Male," by Ivan King, Seattle; "Where Matters Stand," by Edith Zaslow, Los Angeles; "The Relationship of the Women's Struggle to the Class Struggle," by Milt Zaslow; "The Matriarchy in Gentile Society," by Patrick Haggerty, Seattle; "Socialist Feminism: Where the Battle of the Sexes Resolves Itself," by Susan Williams and Clara Fraser, Seattle; a resolution on "Permanent Revolution and Women's Liberation," by Murry Weiss; "Where Matters Stand With Me," by Gloria Martin, Seattle; and "What is CRSP? What is FSP?" by Clyde Frick, Iowa City.

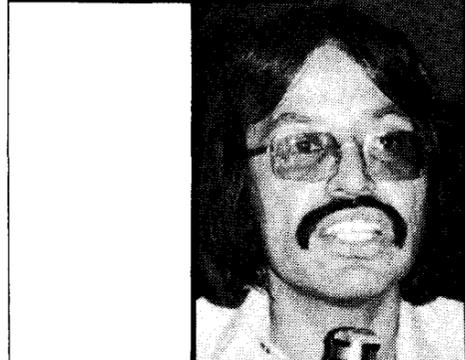
An article by Connie Crothers of New York, "The Struggle with the Marxist Education Collective (MEC)," was reported on by Stephan Kass, New York, former Coordinator of the MEC, who recounted the struggle for Trotskyism and socialist feminism at the New York School for Marxist Education and the ensuing split in the MEC. These articles were published in the public *CRSP Discussion Bulletin*, No. 2, September 1978.

Reporters on the **Nationalism** question were Jesús Mena, Los Angeles; Megan Cornish, Seattle; and Myra Tanner Weiss, New York.

The previous articles relevant to this discussion were "Revolutionary Integration: The Dialectics of Black Liberation," published in the *Freedom Socialist*, and originally submitted by the then Seattle Branch of the SWP to the 1963 national convention; "The Black Struggle for Liberation," by Myra Tanner Weiss; "The National Question in the United States," by Megan Cornish; "The National Question," reprint of an article published in the SWP *Internal Bulletin*, July 1973 by a grouping that included Edith and Milt Zaslow; and "The Impact



Active participants from the Los Angeles contingent. Above: Dale Ernest, Stephen Durham, Monica Hill. Below: Jesús Mena, Gene Warren, Melody Roberts.



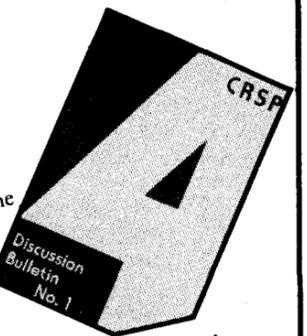
CRSP Publications

Pre-Conference Discussion Bulletins

1. **Where Matters Stand**, by Edith and Milt Zaslow
Critical Notes on Cannon's Conception of the Revolutionary Party, (author unknown)
Ernest Mandel on the Relation of Women and Minorities to the Class Struggle in the U.S. Transcript of a tape made in Seattle, and submitted by Los Angeles CRSP
The National Question. Reprinted from an SWP Discussion Bulletin, 1973 **90c**
2. **The Matriarchy in Gentile Society**, by Patrick Haggerty
What Role for CRSP in the American Revolution? by Robert Crisman **70c**
3. **Socialist Feminism and the Travail of the Typical White Male**, by Ivan King
What Is CRSP? What Is FSP? by Clyde Frick **45c**
4. **The Black Struggle for Liberation**, by Myra Tanner Weiss
Letter from the Trotskyist Organizing Committee Why I Am Not a Member of CRSP, by Bill Callison
Reply to Bill Callison, by Manny Sunshine and Sukey Durham **65c**
5. September, 1978 **65c**
Nazi Echoes: The New Right-Wing and Its Choice of Targets, by Sukey Durham
6. September, 1978 **40c**
Draft Resolution on the Permanent Revolution and Women's Liberation, by Murry Weiss
7. September 25, 1978 **75c**
Close Encounters with the SWP Prove It Necessary to Rebuild American Trotskyism, by Fred Hyde
Socialist Feminism: Where the Battle of the Sexes Resolves Itself, by Susan Williams and Clara Fraser
8. October 1, 1978 **70c**
Where Matters Stand with Me, by Gloria Martin
The Political Space Wars over Single/Multi Vanguardism and Issues, by Jamie Bevson
Letter Exchange between Seymour Kramer and the Freedom Socialist
9. October 3, 1978 **75c**
The National Question, by Megan Cornish

A. CRSP Statement of Purpose
 A concise overview of the CRSP program for the reinvigoration and regrouping of U.S. Trotskyism. Includes a critical analysis of the decline of the SWP. **40c**

B. Discussion Bulletin No. 1
 Contains the Statement of Purpose, several critiques of CRSP, an analysis of the Portuguese Revolution by Murry Weiss, and an overview by Myra Tanner Weiss. **\$1.25**



C. Discussion Bulletin No. 2
 Key documents emanating from the struggle of New York CRSP with the Marxist Education Collective. **\$1.25**

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- NEW YORK**
 New York City: P.O. Box 475, Village Stn., New York, NY 10014. (212) 789-4156.



Laura Brode, Barbara Brown and John Dickerson came to the conference from Houston, Texas



A cluster of Portland, Oregonians. Above: Jamie Bevson, Diana Lobo, Adrienne Weller, Kathy Saadat. Below: Deanna Cecotti and Muffy Sunde.



of the Latin American Revolutions on the U.S." by Jesús Mena.

On the **American Question**, the reporters were Clara Fraser and Robert Crisman, Seattle; Milt Zaslow; and Stephan Kass.

Related articles were **The American Theses**, adopted by the SWP in 1946, with an Introduction by Murry Weiss, published in the *Freedom Socialist*; the "House of Labor," a study of the U.S. working class and the labor bureaucracy by Tamara Turner and Sam Deaderick, published in the *Freedom Socialist*; "What Role for CRSP in the American Revolution?" by Robert Crisman; and "Is the Transitional Program Still Valid?" by Fred Brode, Houston.

Sukey Durham of San Francisco reported on her paper, "The New Right Wing," which analyzed the gay struggle in the context of the attack on it by "pro-family" and pro-capital forces.

Role of Editorial Committee

As a body of people, the conference participants proved to be a decisive affirmation of the fact that CRSP is an inextricable part of today's new working class, representing and connecting to the most exploited, most oppressed, and most militant sectors of the class. And CRSP members are ingenious in applying the Transitional Program within the unions and mass organizations in which they work.

That this sterling cadre of relatively diverse but commonly committed revolutionists could reach significant unity on a broad variety of issues was due in no small measure to the guidance rendered by the CRSP Editorial Committee. The composition of this Committee—Edith Zaslow and Milt Zaslow of the former Socialist Union in Los Angeles; Clara Fraser of the Freedom Socialist Party; and Myra Tanner Weiss and Murry Weiss of New York, longtime national leaders of the SWP until the 1960s—expresses some of the major historical trends, political ideas and organizational approaches that characterize CRSP. And the Committee has been indefatigable in its joint striving for a constantly enlarged area of principled consensus.

The Editorial Committee played an extremely active role at the conference. Comrade Edith Zaslow presented the **Theses** to the delegates on behalf of the Editorial Committee, and Comrade Milt Zaslow did the same with the draft of **Tasks and Perspectives**. Comrades Edith, Myra Tanner Weiss and Clara Fraser served as the Presiding Committee, and Comrade Murry Weiss contributed his oral or written thinking on every agenda issue.

(The CRSP Editorial Committee acts as the executive "political committee" for the national Steering Committee, which is composed of chapter organizers and designated individuals.)

A Book of Verses, Etc.

No account of the magnificent CRSP conference can be complete without rendering homage wherever it is due—and it is eminently due to the poets, musicians, singers, dramatic performers, dancers, scriptwriters and directors who conceived and produced four memorable evenings of radical literature, entertainment, and pure enjoyment.

The talent of the skilled Bread and Roses Chorus, Portland's "Wry Crsp" musical comedy ensemble, New York's stunning thespian and vocalist contingent, and Seattle's "Kwispie Follies" had to be seen to be believed.

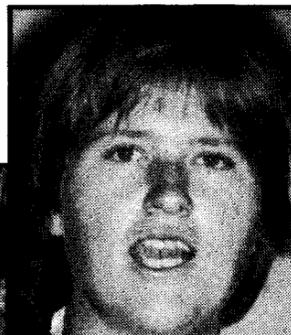
The audiences loved the group singing, with selections from the "Weiss Kwispie Songbook," and reveled at the Saturday night banquet for the *Freedom Socialist* newspaper, where Business Manager Mary Ann Curtis spoke on the history of the Bolshevik press, followed by a five-act spoof of subscription-selling techniques that was the most hilarious self-satire most of us had ever seen in the movement.

The CRSP Conference was a triumph of serious theoretical work, delineation of practical tasks, political and organizational pre-planning, and creativity of comrades engendering a revolutionary culture.

In the final words of the **Tasks and Perspectives**, "VIVA CRSP!" ■



More California types from San Francisco. Karen Brodine, Manny Sunshine, Meryl Sunshine, Sukey Durham.





Seattle pro-gays celebrate their stunning win over Initiative 13

Giant Ballot Victories for Gays

Radical and feminist forces won a resounding victory on November 7 when voters in California and Seattle, Washington defeated Proposition 6 and Initiative 13, respectively, successfully routing the right wing's antigay flank by connecting gay rights to the vital concerns of people of color, women, and labor.

The right wing, however, surged ahead on other fronts. Racism, not homophobia, proved the most powerful weapon in the arsenal of political reaction. The hard-won gay rights battles mark an important political turning point, but represent only partial victory over the right wing. Repressive legislation, primarily affecting racial minorities, was passed in both California and Washington. Nobody's rights are secure while the right-wing dragon annihilates any sector of freedom fighters.

Voters rose magnificently to the defense of gay rights and delivered a 3-2 knockout punch to California's homophobic Proposition 6. The measure, sponsored by rightwing State Senator John Briggs, provided a "system for determining fitness of school employees engaged in activities related to homosexuality." Gays or nongays advocating homosexual rights would have been barred from interacting with students in the California public schools.

The Investment That Failed
Briggs, the conservatives' favored shock trooper, has played a key role in

the reactionary movement seeping across the U.S. Financed to the tune of \$1.2 million by banks and insurance companies, his campaign became a testing ground for the right wing—a political arena in which to flex its muscle and gauge how far right the people would go. Emboldened by the repeal of ordinances banning discrimination against gays in many cities, Briggs and Co. thought they could mandate discrimination in California. It didn't work.

Seeking to oppose Briggs, conservative and wealthy gays hired big-name campaign managers who advised that prominent heterosexuals be featured in the campaign against Proposition 6, while gay spokespeople were to play a backseat role. The SWP joined with liberals to wage a campaign neatly packaged in single-issue politics. But feminists and radicals countered these conservative influences by working in coalitions and persuading them to educate the public on the connections between Proposition 6 and other rightwing assaults on human rights.

The Militant Strategy

Militant gays, feminists, and some radicals remained in the forefront of the campaign up to election day. Alert to the ramifications of the Briggs attack on uncloseted gays, they began building a united front while many others were still hovering on the sidelines, calculating which way the public would move. The militants laid the groundwork for an impressive

alliance of gays, labor, minorities, liberals, radicals, and religious figures. The militants stood alone, however, in characterizing the antigay forces as the *right wing* and calling for the defeat of Proposition 7, another Briggs-sponsored measure which expanded California's death penalty.

The Tide Turns

Just weeks before election day, public sentiment turned against Proposition 6. Democratic party politicians climbed on the anti-6 bandwagon. Even Ronald Reagan and homophobic former L.A. police chief Ed Davis joined the growing opposition. Proposition 6 went down to defeat.

But the right wing was not decisively vanquished, for the passage of Proposition 7 gives it a new political lease on life.

—Stephen Durham

The election returns in Seattle produced elation and a public celebration by gays, feminists, and radicals who engineered a stunning 2-1 defeat of antigay Initiative 13. But pro-police gun policy Initiative 15 and statewide antibusing measure 350 passed overwhelmingly. As gay rights became the most visible issue of the campaign, rights crucial to other minorities got lost in the fray.

Sex, Guns, and Buses

Initiative 13 was a frontal attack on gay and women's rights. "Should Seattle's Fair Employment and Open Housing ordinances be changed to remove their prohibitions against discrimination based on sexual orientation?" the initiative asked. It would also have removed all enforcement powers from Seattle's Office of Women's Rights and dumped their sex and marital status cases on the already overburdened Department of Human Rights, which handles race, national origin, religion and political ideology cases.

S.O.M.E. (Save Our Moral Ethics), sponsor of Initiative 13, was led by two policemen: David Estes, a Mormon, and Dennis Falk, a John Birch Society spokesman. S.O.M.E. evoked the usual "Save Our Children" and "Perverted Sex at the Workplace" hysteria. They appealed to across-the-board bigotry, arguing that "bosses and landlords have the right to hire, fire, and rent to whom they choose."

Initiative 15, sponsored by the police guild, gives police unrestricted authority to shoot to kill any fleeing felony "suspect," and will surely step up police murders in Seattle, especially in the minority communities.

Initiative 350, sponsored by the racist CIVIC (Citizens for Voluntary Integration) eliminates busing as a means to end school segregation and paves the way for a national attack on the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision.

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