

● *Black Macho* pg. 14

25¢

● *Nicaragua* pg. 7

● *Norma Rae* pg. 15

# the freedom socialist

Volume 5, Number 2

Summer 1979



**San Francisco  
Is No Gay Mecca**

pg. 9

## THE GREAT NUCLEAR REACTION

by Janet Sutherland  
and Cindy Walker

The near-disaster at Three Mile Island on March 28 riveted world attention onto the hornet's nest of nuclear energy production.

As a reactor in the plant spilled 250,000 gallons of radioactive effluent and vented unknown quantities of lethal steam over the surrounding countryside, the world press descended on nearby Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Reversing its 20-year disparagement of antinuclear protest, the media unearthed information that sounded a shrill alarm and oriented the populace to even greater dangers than this technological failure.

In-depth investigative news reporting produced an indictment of the entire nuclear industry as well as the corrupt system that supports it: monopoly-domination by Big Oil; profiteering at public expense; an underdeveloped and unrefined technology; sell-out by government "regulators"; coverup of research evidence that even low-level radiation from nuclear waste increases the cancer risk to workers; planned genocide of Native American uranium miners; the collusion of government and business in discouraging safer modes of energy production; and so on, ad infinitum.

Stirred by the reality, working people are becoming increasingly receptive to the program for change offered by Marxists. It remains only for the internally contradictory antinuclear movement, conceived in the middle class, to take the distinct turn to the left necessary for it to become a broad-based movement tied to the working class and the unions.

to pg. 10

# IN THIS ISSUE

Volume 5, Number 2 Summer 1979

*On the cover:* Chimneys of death, the new symbols of the nuclear age. Graphic by Marcel Hatch.

## Newport News Strike

Led by militant women and Blacks, Newport News shipyard workers fought the company, the NLRB, and their own union (USWA) — and returned to work on their own terms. Ann Manly and Henry Noble assess the struggle.



6

## War between Workers States

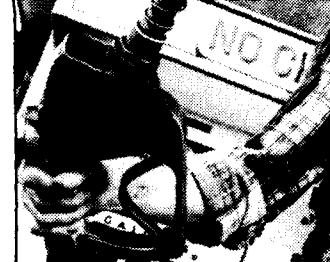


Confusion over Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea is worldwide, and the issue has divided the 4th International. Stephan Kass explains why it is that workers states, corrupted by socialism-in-one-country nationalism, turn on each other.

5

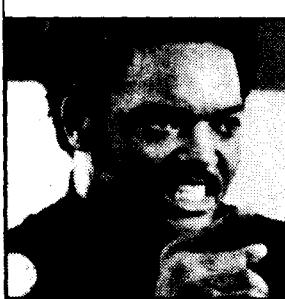
## Gas Crisis

A criminally contrived gas shortage rocks the economy, the government, and the American way of life. Stephen Durham tells how Carter and the energy barons are having a ball while life is disrupted for the rest of us.



4

## Jesse Jackson's Gospel



Madlyne Scott and Tom Boot say that the Black community can do without Rev. Jackson's current sermons on bootstrap-pulling, blaming the victim, and the sins of feminism.

also

12

## INTERNATIONAL

Nicaragua ..... 7  
Iran, England, Africa,  
Mideast, SALT II ... 3

## WOMEN

RW Plenum ..... 13  
Laura Brode ..... 12  
Rebuttal ..... 13  
A Victory for  
Socialist Feminism . 16

## PEOPLE OF COLOR

"Black Macho" ..... 14  
Carter in El Sereno .... 7  
Native Conference .... 9  
Boldt Decision ..... 9

## LABOR

Bank Employees ..... 4  
Cannery Workers ..... 7  
Norma Rae ..... 15

## GAYS

Gays at the Crossroads 9  
Gay Resistance ..... 8

## GENERAL

Great Nuclear Reaction 1  
Murry Weiss Tour .... 20  
On Joining the FSP... 14  
Clara Fraser ..... 15

## ESPAÑOL

El Caso Weber ..... 6

# freedom, socialist

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## Letters

### Never Too Late

I was out of the country when your appeal came for funds for the Freeway Hall Eviction Fund. I hope the enclosed \$50.00 is not too late—I know it is too little!

J. Weizenbaum  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

*Donations are never too little—or too large! Thank you so much for your generosity. It's people like you who keep us afloat.*

### Tell Us Again

Thank you for your Spring 1979 newspaper.

Your coverage of the China-Vietnam-Kampuchea conflict is *very good*.

With more and more information coming out, many friends of Vietnam are putting together an "Evening of Solidarity with Vietnam." Enclosed are copies of material.

I'm with the Peace and Freedom Party (Alameda County).

Shirley Lee  
Oakland, California

### Grazia!

I have sent you an international money order of \$15, as witness of our international solidarity with you. If you have need, I can also give you hospitality if you are visiting Italy.

Braccini Marcello,  
for the "Internationalist Current" of  
the Partito Socialista Italiano  
Torino, Italy

### Frame-Up

Zikisa Seba-Ra, 22, also known as Anita M. Jones, a black woman law student at Morgan State College, Maryland, was arrested by Baltimore police on December 4, and charged with the robbery of two people.

On November 10, a female and two males allegedly robbed James Harrison and Jeanette Holeman, a female guest in his home. The thieves allegedly raped Holeman.

Zikisa was arrested at gun point. Six policemen entered her apartment without a search warrant and ransacked it. No guns or loot from the robbery were found, yet the police forced Zikisa to submit to a "pat" search, running their hands over her body.

Harrison could not and did not identify Zikisa. But after the police showed him her photograph and strongly suggested her as the most likely suspect, he did identify her.

Ms. Holeman, who was blindfolded during the ordeal, also identified Zikisa.

Don't let an innocent person be framed and condemned to life in prison! Please offer assistance to Zikisa Seba-Ra, c/o Rosie M. Jones, Box 1924, Towson State University, Towson, Maryland 21204.

### Doctrinalism

Kadima, a group committed to fighting anti-Semitism and all forms of oppression, and to achieving a just peace in the Middle East, strongly disagrees with the Anti-Defamation League on the Weber case... The ADL opposes affirmative action programs because they

involve "quotas," and quotas have historically been used to discriminate against Jews.

As Jews, we understand these concerns... however, we cannot afford to be doctrinaire.

There are times when stated numbers serve not as a form of exclusion, but rather as insurance of inclusion. The affirmative action program in dispute in the Weber case was necessary to insure the inclusion of Black people as potential members of the notoriously discriminatory skilled trades.

We further believe that angry cries of "reverse discrimination" will not stop until there are sufficient jobs for all.

Nancy Geiger, Robbie Stern,  
Charna Klein  
Seattle, Washington

### Towards Theoretical Clarity

Some constructive criticism on the Spring issue...

In the article "Iran"... you omitted the struggle of the national minorities.

On the role of women, we have no question as to the *potential* of Iranian women to impel the revolution to the left. Our acquaintance with revolutionary Iranian women and our exposure to

cannot reform itself, even in response to left mass opposition. Instead, a political revolution will be necessary to achieve an end to the Stalinist bureaucracy in China.

Fred Brode,  
John Dickerson,  
Roy Simmons  
Houston, Texas

### Editor's Response

The armed struggle of the national minorities is discussed in this issue. We certainly agree on the importance of the question.

We contend that women's rights did propel the left forward in Iran. The first mass demonstrations challenging Khomeini from the left were organized by and for women, and these protests deepened, strengthened and extended the anticapitalist revolution. Every revolutionary tendency had to grapple with the valid demands raised by the women. By putting Khomeini on notice for the first time that reactionary moves would be met with massive opposition, the women showed the way to mass struggle against post-Shah, Islamic capitalism.

We agree that Kampuchea became a workers state—if grotesquely deformed—when private

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CONTINUING THE STRUGGLE IN A  
FEMINIST/SOCIALIST WAY.

B. GVENTHER

property and land were nationalized. At the time the article was written, we were facing an unprecedented and unique social formation which demanded careful analysis, and we had not yet arrived at this position.

We still tend to think that the heroic Chinese masses could force the CCP in a revolutionary, internationalist direction and could replace the present leadership short of a political revolution. The Chinese workers have never been defeated by the bureaucracy, and have not yet tested their enormous power.

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.



## International Roundup

*Binding all countries together with its mode of production and its commerce, capitalism has converted the whole world into a single economic and political organism.* —Leon Trotsky

### Iran

**T**he Iranian revolution continues to gather strength. The Khomeini/Bazargan government, maneuvering to contain the masses who brought down the Shah in February, faces increasingly strong and widespread opposition to its Islamic capitalist regime.

Women were the first sector to organize massive resistance to the despotic rule of the mullahs. Enraged revolutionary women demanded full emancipation and equal rights, and bitterly denounced their subservient status under Islamic law.

Iran's hundreds of thousands of national minorities are waging military warfare against the government in order to win their right to self-determination and an end to oppression by the Persian majority. The Turkmeni, Kurds, and Arab minorities are all demonstrating militant opposition to the new regime; the Arab provinces of Khuzestan in southern Iran—the center of the oil industry—is the scene of particularly heavy fighting. Hundreds of Arab oil workers have been killed or wounded by Khomeini's troops.

May Day found hundreds of thousands in the streets of Tehran. One major demonstration was called by the Marxist guerrilla organization, the Fedayeen, and the other was called by the government. One-to-two hundred thousand people participated in each. The Fedayeen demanded nationalization of industry, while the government raised anticommunist slogans.

On the evening of May 1, a leading ayatollah, Morteza Motahari, was assassinated by the Forghan, an underground, fundamentalist Moslem group opposed to clerical rule. Despite the left's condemnation of the assassination, the government exploited it to justify an anticommunist campaign. Members of the Fedayeen and the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party have been jailed, and press censorship has been imposed throughout the country.

But the masses, conquerors of the bloody Shah, are not about to acquiesce to repression by the Moslem clergy. A Fedayeen-led demonstration of 50,000 called for the release of Fedayeen and the Socialist Workers Party militants. The demand for release of the

prisoners has been taken up by a wide spectrum of Iranians—workers, students, writers, and intellectuals. Protests of the arrests have also come from New Zealand, Denmark, France and the U.S.

Permanent revolution is raging in Iran—the transition from capitalist democracy to the overthrow of the bourgeois clerical regime and the institution of true workers democracy.

### Mideast

**S**igned in late March amid angry Arab protest, the Israeli-Egyptian peace pact is predictably intensifying the conflict in the Middle East.

Although the treaty binds Israel to establishing autonomy for Palestinians in the occupied territories, the Begin government has not stemmed its repression against them. New Israeli settlements are being authorized, and the government imposes strict 22-hour curfews at any hint of protest.

Palestinian students are being terrorized and schools closed down. Bir Zeit University, one of only two Palestinian colleges, was shut down May 2. The Israelis systematically cripple Palestinian leadership by blocking education and forcing emigration.

The treaty ensures the replacement of Palestinian workers by offering Israel access to a cheap labor pool of Egyptians, who are being driven into Israel by Egypt's intolerable working conditions and a faltering economy.

Egypt is already paying a heavy price for Sadat's dream of replacing the Shah of Iran as guardian of U.S. interests in the Mideast. The U.S. provides only enough weapons to equip Egypt to protect continued U.S. access to Mideast oil.

Egypt is suffering heavy economic sanctions from Arab countries as a result of the treaty. Saudi Arabia cancelled orders for Egyptian-manufactured weapons, Kuwait removed its deposits from Egyptian banks, and the Islamic Conference denied Egypt millions of dollars in development monies.

Further isolating itself from most of its neighbors, Egypt furnishes troops to fight the insurgents in North Yemen and Oman. And when resistance to this policy surfaced in

the Egyptian military, Sadat increased army officers' pay by 20 percent.

Business as usual prevails in the Mideast, exposing the treaty as an elaborate screen for a deal with U.S. imperialism, which further exploits Egyptian and Israeli workers and cynically sacrifices the Palestinians.

The peace treaty poured salt in the festering wounds of the tortured Mideast.

### A pair of old salts

Carter and Brezhnev embraced for the cameras after checkmating the worn chessboard pieces of SALT II. Their celebration was akin to a wedding of incompatibles who feign fidelity and cheat every chance they get. For behind the scene of the sugary smiles and handshakes, the mad arms race continues unabated.

### Zimbabwe

**A**pril was election time in Zimbabwe, and the white minority government stage-managed the elections in order to ensure continued white rule. This has sparked a debate in the U.S. ruling class over the issue of lifting economic sanctions against the racist regime.

In May, the U.S. Senate voted 75 to 19 to request Pres. Carter to lift the sanctions. When he refused, the Senate amended a \$40 million defense authorization bill so as to overturn Carter's support of sanctions.

Carter is forced to respect the Case-Javits amendment, passed by Congress in 1978, which allows the lifting of sanctions only if "free" elections are held in Zimbabwe and if the white government negotiates with all parties, including the Patriotic Front (which wants Black majority rule and is waging guerrilla war against the white regime).

Carter's hands are also tied by universal condemnation from U.S. Black organizations of the new puppet regime of Bishop Muzorewa.

The sham elections were based on a March 1978 constitution which guaranteed a disproportionate number of parliamentary seats for whites. Whites could vote twice—for 20 white positions and for 72 Black seats. **Blacks could vote only for Black candidates!**

The Patriotic Front, denied any participation in the election, advocated a boycott of the polls and pledged to disrupt the elections. Whites voted one week before Blacks did, and 100,000 troops were mobilized to protect the polls and to force Blacks into voting.

As soon as the Black compromiser Muzorewa was voted in, he demonstrated his ties to the former Ian Smith regime. He launched a bombing raid against Mozambique, where the Patriotic Front is based.

After the raid, Patriotic Front co-leader Robert Mugabe clearly analyzed Muzorewa. "It is the same regime," he said, "using the same instruments, the same tactics and the same strategy. It is a clear sign that Smith still rules the country."

### Great Britain



**V**iolent antifeminist Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Tories—the voice of the British bourgeoisie—took the helm of government in early May.

Her ascension marked a grave defeat for Great Britain's working class, due in large measure to the betrayal by the officialdom of the Labour Party, led by former Prime Minister James Callaghan.

Thatcher, a stodgy representative of British imperialism, opposes abortion rights, equal pay, and gay rights, knowing full well that sexism and racism are the handiest routes to proletarian disunity. Unfortunately, her goal of smashing labor is objectively aided by the labor bureaucrats themselves.

Upon taking power in 1974, Labour promised "a fundamental shift in the balance of wealth and power in favor of working people." Instead, unemployment doubled, the earnings gap between women and men increased, and real wages decreased.

The winter of 1978-79, popularly dubbed "the winter of discontent," was marked by catapulting inflation, violent clashes between the fascist National Front and radicals, and massive strikes brought on by Callaghan's imposition of a 5% ceiling on wage increases—at a time when inflation stood at 9%!

The Labour government, in power, frantically tried to keep peace with the bourgeoisie by containing working-class militancy. Its congenital inability to advance the workers' movement was glaringly exposed, and the way opened for the Tory victory.

The program of Thatcher's Conservative Party is a textbook in reaction—"law and order" campaigns, implacable opposition to abortion rights, continued subjugation of Northern Ireland and Scotland under British rule, attacks on the closed shop and the right to strike, and so on.

But British workers, after a winter of rank-and-file protest against the ruling labor bureaucracy itself, are girded for struggle.

As Tory attacks on labor, women and racial and national minorities magnify, the strike wave of last winter may well appear as a minor skirmish compared to the class war that British labor and its allies could wage against the rightwing government. A powerful left wing must be built in the trade unions and political organizations to mobilize and lead these embattled masses.





Doug Barnes, Freedom Socialist

## The energy crisis

# Blackmail at the gas pumps

by Stephen Durham

In California, the lines of customers waiting for gasoline stretch for miles. The price of petroleum products rises almost daily. And the giant oil corporations, pretending helplessness over the phony "crude oil shortage," are using American workers as hostages and raking in record profits.

Meanwhile, Jimmy Carter, the willing captive of the energy barons, poses as protector of the public interest, intoning fake conservation sermons as he blithely announces the removal of price controls on domestic oil. He buys a decorative wood-burning stove for the presidential mansion, even as the besieged automobile-dependent public nears panic.

Furious Americans, already falling behind in the race with runaway inflation and blackmailed by the contrived shortage of crude oil and gasoline, are forced to subsidize the oil cartels.

### Sham Shortage

There is no immediate shortage of world reserves of crude oil, and everybody seems to know it.

Underground oil is many years away

from being seriously depleted. The Middle East still has large reserves, and the U.S., which presently produces 50% of its domestic needs, can tap billions of existing and potential barrels of oil, enough to provide energy for decades. The Department of Energy claims a shortage of 500,000 barrels a day, but stocks salt caverns in Louisiana and Texas with 220,000 barrels a day to build up its Strategic Petroleum Reserves!

Since any petroleum held in reserve or left in the ground today will bring higher prices tomorrow, Big Oil and its presidential ally perpetrate the hoax of a worldwide shortage of petroleum to force the consumer to pay more for less. The oil industry stands publicly condemned of outright fraud and arrogant price manipulation for the second time.

### Drilling Pocketbooks

The oil moguls are deliberately refusing to drill oil or refine crude oil imports.

Domestic crude oil production has hit an all-time low, dropping 16% since last November. And the refiners slowed production from 85% of capacity to 83% during the first week of May in spite of unprecedented consumer demand for gasoline and pressure from the government to

stockpile heating oil for next winter.

1979 oil profits have already reached record levels, surpassed only during the 1973 oil embargo. During the first quarter of 1979, Exxon profits increased 37% over first quarter 1978. Texaco registered an 81% gain, and Standard Oil of Ohio reaped a staggering 303% increase.

These bumper-to-bumper profits come from drilling the consumer's pocket dry. During first quarter 1979, American workers suffered an annual rate of inflation of 24.9% for energy costs. And the oil corporations literally have the consumer over the barrel, since one-half of all U.S. energy is produced by using petroleum products.

### Carter Tilts at Windfalls

Promising even higher oil profits, Carter declared April 5th that he would decontrol domestic crude oil prices—exactly what the oil profiteers have long demanded. At the same time, armed with a "windfall profits tax" proposal, Carter tried to shore up his crumbling public-defender image by undertaking a mock battle against excessive oil profits.

Carter claimed this tax would capture 50% of the \$17 billion that the oil companies stand to gain as the domestic price of \$6 a barrel rises to the world market price by 1981. Within days, however, this beneficent vision was replaced by a more moderate proposal: a levy of 21% which would be allocated to an Energy Security Fund. However, the government proposes to use 76% of this fund to finance a search for new energy sources and then give the research results *free* to private interests for their enormously profitable development. Thus, taxpayers' money would be plowed right back into the corrupt energy industry from which it has supposedly been taken.

Carter, at the behest of the oil companies, refused to link Congressional approval of the windfall profits tax to his plans to decontrol oil prices. This virtually assured the defeat of the concessionary tax.

U.S. workers are neither impressed with Carter's confusing theatrics nor receptive to his lame explanations of the national energy shortage. 54% of 1600 people polled by Associated Press in April believe the energy crisis is a hoax.

### Iran As Scapegoat

The administration's favorite whipping boy for the energy crisis is the revolutionary upsurge in Iran. But the Iranian revolution never created a critical shortage of oil.

Iran's oil shutdown last December only temporarily disrupted the crude oil market, and oil exporting nations, especially Saudi Arabia, were quick to replace the 5.5 million barrels of oil per day withdrawn from the world market during the anti-Shah strikes and demonstrations. U.S. imports of crude oil have actually risen by 1.5 million barrels between December and March of this year, as reported by the International Energy Agency.

Carter also blames OPEC nations for the crisis, and they obligingly meet periodically to raise the price of oil on the world market, as happened in June. But foreign capitalist interests coincide with those at home—profit for the investor.

The scare campaign was engineered to convince the people that the day of energy reckoning had arrived. The myth that revolution abroad causes hardship at home is strenuously peddled to avoid the danger of revolt abroad spurring revolt at home.

### Methodical Madness

Carter's deceitful energy policies have enabled the oil companies to extort huge sums in consumer dollars to finance the development of *future* energy resources, while ignoring present needs.

"Decontrolled" domestic oil means more expensive energy, the failure of transportation-connected business such as tourism, loss of jobs, and staggering inflation as consumers plunge more deeply into debt. The energy capitalists prosper, and the people at the bottom—the poor, the old who live on fixed incomes, minorities, women and young people—face the spectre of slow starvation. The people are expected to underwrite the flailing capitalists by drastically reducing their own standard of living.

The labor movement must not surrender to the lies and manipulations of the energy imperialists and the government. Oil and all natural resources must be nationalized and managed by workers' control and the union movement must start planning now to provide for human needs by organizing a Labor Party that can break the energy barons' iron grip on the government.

Labor, united against Carter and his big business cohorts, could turn the tables on all of them and guarantee low-cost gas for our cars and buses, low-cost energy for our furnaces and lights, and safe, clean energy alternatives to our current petroleum-based technology.

A simple reordering of priorities from military to civilian consumption would also work miracles in restoring the energy equilibrium. ■

## Bank workers strike back

A two-year contest over union recognition seethes unabated in Seattle as Financial Institution Employees of America, chartered by the Retail Clerks Union, squares off against the union-busting Seattle First National Bank by using a weapon bankers understand all too well—the withdrawal of funds.

SeaFirst's contract with FIEA (formerly First-bank Independent Employees Association) expired in November 1977. Negotiations for a new contract were abruptly ended when management implemented a small wage increase which they called their "final offer," and announced their refusal to recognize FIEA's recently concluded affiliation with the Retail Clerks.

SeaFirst has completely refused to bargain, hoping to smash the union. When the National Labor Relations Board ordered SeaFirst to recognize the affiliation and resume bargaining in good

faith, management flatly refused and appealed the NLRB ruling to federal court, a procedure that could take two years.

To retaliate, the union struck a sharp blow right where it hurts—in the bank's coffers, denouncing SeaFirst's illegal antilaborism as well as its vast investments in South Africa and Chile.

FIEA, in a well-publicized campaign, called upon unions, organizations and individuals to withdraw their funds from SeaFirst. To date, more than \$76 million has been withdrawn in union funds by approximately 90 unions. It is not known how many other accounts were moved; requests to withdraw were sent to 13,000 FIEA supporters.

The bank's refusal to bargain has prompted rising anger among the employees, and the union is growing significantly. Emboldened by widespread community support, the workers are intensifying their fight, and that is something that SeaFirst can definitely bank on. ■

### Gas Lines Getting You Down?

Read the *Freedom Socialist* while you wait. And Subscribe Now to a paper that knows the alternative to this capitalist mess!

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# WARS between workers states



Life

## The bitter fruits of "socialism" in one country

by Stephan Kass

**I**ndochina is once again in flames. In December 1978, Vietnamese troops poured across the border into Kampuchea, ousted the despotic Khmer Rouge regime, and have since supplied military backup for the National United Front for National Salvation (KNUFNS) which rules the country.

In swift retaliation, to "teach Vietnam a lesson," Chinese troops attacked north Vietnamese border provinces.

The long shadow cast by the Soviet Union, meanwhile, fell on all three countries, and the bourgeois press gleefully announced that communism couldn't end war any more than capitalism.

Indeed, great damage has been wreaked by this war among workers states. The unhappy spectacle of the revolutionary masses of China, Vietnam, and Kampuchea turning their fire against each other could disorient world revolution and open up dangerous avenues for imperialist intervention.

Nevertheless, liberation struggles rage unabated, and they reflect, even if unconsciously, the *internationalist alternative to Stalinist degeneration—Trotskyism, the continuation of genuine Marxism*.

As perplexing as are the developments in Southeast Asia, the tragedy can be understood and combated through the use of Marxist theory and, in particular, the Trotskyist explanation of Stalinism, which rests on a scientific analysis of the bureaucratically deformed workers states that mark the political landscape.

### Socialism-in-No-Country

Stalinist and semi-Stalinist regimes rationalize war against other workers states on the basis of the long discredited notion of "socialism in one country"—the belief that a total system of socialism can be established in a single country, based on *internal* forces of production alone.

If such a nationalistic and utopian "socialism" is actually possible, then war is obviously justified to protect socialism at home against socialism abroad.

The question is, can socialism itself exist in geographical isolation?

The answer—according to Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and life—is no.

Proletarian revolutions can collectivize the means of production and can institute rudimentary planning, but they are still at the mercy of restricted productive forces that are inadequate to abolish want and hardship—and a plentitude of goods and services is the material basis for socialism.

Socialism is the organization of a planned and harmonious social production for the satisfaction of human wants. Collective ownership of the means of production is not yet socialism, but only its legal premise. The problem of a socialist society cannot be abstracted from the problem of the productive forces, which at the present stage of human development are world wide in their very essence. The separate state having become too

narrow for capitalism, is so much the less capable of becoming the arena for a finished socialist society.

—Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*

Workers states, by overthrowing capitalism and collectivizing the means of production, have advanced living and cultural standards well beyond those of neo-colonial, underdeveloped, capitalist states. This is why Marxists unconditionally defend workers states, which are historically progressive, against retrogressive imperialism. Yet, to this day, all workers states remain dependent on the international market, which is capitalist.

And this economic dependency fuels the flames of internecine conflicts among competing workers state bureaucracies, who wage war, often in concert with their imperialist allies, to protect their own narrow, ethnocentric, nationalist interests.

"Socialist" nationalism is anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, and counterrevolutionary. Socialism does *not* mean the *dependence* of a revolutionary society on the international division of labor under capitalism. Socialism *does* mean the destruction and transformation of the capitalist economy on a *global* basis, so that a truly new communal culture can arise out of an economy of plenty.

Socialism in one country is the negation and death-knell of true socialism.

### Origins of Stalinist Dogma

The appalling theory of socialism in one country originally evolved from the reformist outlook of the Second International.

The conception of the building of socialism in one country is a social-patriotic conception. The patriotism of the German social democrats began as a legitimate patriotism to their own party, the most powerful party of the Second International. On the basis of the highly developed German technology and the superior organizational qualities of the German people, the German social democracy prepared to build its 'own' socialist society.

—Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin*

Under this jingoistic banner, the corrupted Second International acquiesced as hundreds of thousands of proletarians of many lands slaughtered each other in the First World War.

The fallen banner of proletarian internationalism was rescued by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

The Third International, a great achievement of the victorious Russian Revolution, proceeded to formulate strategy and coordinate tactics for extending proletarian revolution throughout the world. The new International was democratic centralist instead of nationalist in order to consolidate the revolutionary movement against the highly centralized bourgeois counterrevolution.

Lenin regarded as anathema the idea that the Russian Revolution was a local phenomenon that could result in a socialist society sufficient unto itself.

At the Third Congress of Soviets in January

1918, Lenin said, "Of course the final victory of socialism in one country is impossible, but something else is possible: a living example, a getting to work—somewhere in one country—that is what will set fire to the toiling masses of all countries."

So foreign was one-nation socialism to the Bolsheviks that even Stalin wrote in 1924 that "for the organization of socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially a peasant country like Russia, are not enough—for this we must have the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries."

From the destitution of Russia in the wake of World War I and the decimation of the most advanced sections of the proletariat in the Civil War that followed the October Revolution, a

to page 18

**The entire course of the revolution in Indochina has been marked by Soviet and Chinese attempts to bargain with U.S. imperialism over the fate of the Vietnamese revolution.**



# Blacks, women lead the way

## Southern labor hangs tough at Newport News

by Ann Manly and Henry Noble

**A**fter a four-month-long strike marked by unprecedented solidarity and militance on the part of steelworkers and their nationwide supporters—and by viciousness and violence on the part of the cops and the company—members of USWA Local 8888 went back to work at the world's largest private-sector shipyard at Newport News, Virginia on April 21.

The strike was called to force Tenneco, the multi-national oil conglomerate that owns the yard, to recognize the union, which was legally certified in January 1978. And though the issue is still tied up in the courts, the Steelworkers went back to work "on our own terms," to organize inside the yards.

The shipyard employs 15,000 workers, of whom 60% are Black and 2,000 are women, many of them veterans of the civil rights and affirmative action wars. And the fighting power of the women and Blacks has been spectacular, given the backdrop of the open shop stronghold that is the South today.

### Sticking to the Union

Since 1940, the workers had been represented by Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA), a company union formed to head off a CIO organizing drive. Black workers were disgusted by PSA's racism, and women had to fight unceasingly for hire, promotion and equal wages.

In January 1978, the PSA was replaced by the Steelworkers in a representation election. By October, 13,000 workers had joined. Tenneco went to court, charging fraudulence, and the union was stalled until January 30, 1979, when the workers walked out in protest over the year-long legal delay.

Hundreds of picketers chanted, "We're fighting for our union; we cannot be moved," and "What time is it? Steelworkers time!" 70% struck, despite intimidation by city and state cops in full riot gear.

Twenty-four strikers were arrested under Virginia's "right-to-work" picketing constraints, but food, money, telegrams of support and picketers

continued to arrive.

Strikers' wives initiated an auxiliary that involved entire families. Said a woman crane operator, "Seeing women steelworkers picketing and chanting puts hesitant wives at ease."

Virginia's public employees, themselves under legislative attack, hailed the strike. The president of a teachers' local called it a "battle for every worker in Virginia...in the South and in the country."

### The Chips Are Down

On March 2, the court sent Tenneco's election challenge to the NLRB. Tenneco announced that scabs would remain at work, but strikers would be "considered" if they reappeared and signed "unconditional agreements to return."

Undaunted, 80% of the workforce respected the picket lines and morale remained high.

In April, the NLRB postponed decision for "probably" 7 months. More than 50% of the workers were still out, but the USWA International recommended suspending the strike. The International had wanted workers to return from the outset. Said USWA President McBride at that time, "Perhaps we made a blunder saying this strike went beyond Newport News... We don't want our strikers involved in a struggle beyond the contract covering them." This means that the International is *not* prepared to take on the open-shop South.

In a split vote in April, the local's negotiating committee agreed. Dissenters demanded a vote by the membership at the April 13 meeting, and when this was refused, they organized to force a vote.

### Democracy by Demand

Thousands debated at the membership meeting, the *first* since the strike began. A Black man proposed returning only "on our own terms"—to their regular jobs and without the "unconditional" statements. His motion was adopted overwhelmingly.

Picket lines grew large again, but two days later, police and troopers attacked picketers and supporters, clubbing and chasing them over a 15-block area. The cops stormed the lobby of strike

headquarters, tossing two people through plate-glass and severely beating twelve others, but were prevented from entering the union offices by furious workers.

Thirty persons were hospitalized and 63 arrested, but the picket line grew.

Five days later, Tenneco dropped its demands and all but 124 strikers returned to their jobs and previous pay rates, intent on regrouping and following through.

### Look Ahead, Dixieland

Newport News rank and filers, who risked their lives to save their new union, had won an inspiring strike victory in a right-to-work state. And they did it in spite of the compromisers—their own International leadership and the legalistic NLRB, which steadily counseled surrender.

The fight is not over.

The issue of affirmative action can be raised more pointedly to win the support of the Black community, which has been split by USWA's past racism. Alliances with other Tenneco workers nationwide can expose Tenneco's role in the energy ripoff and activate more support. Frequent membership meetings and defense work for the 124 fired strikers can rebuild union strength.

And the International can be pressured by an aroused labor movement to acknowledge the significance of the Newport News shipyard to labor organizing in the South.

The low-paid workers of Newport News have shown that proletarian solidarity between the races and sexes is essential in order to strike a blow against the discriminatory and antilabor Southern system.

The heroism of angry women and Black strikers is leading the way to a new dawn for downtrodden Southern labor. ■

Ann Manly is production coordinator for the *Freedom Socialist*. She grew up in the South and is a longtime feminist with a keen interest in economics and labor.

## Weber: el caso Bakke de los trabajadores

por Valerie Carlson

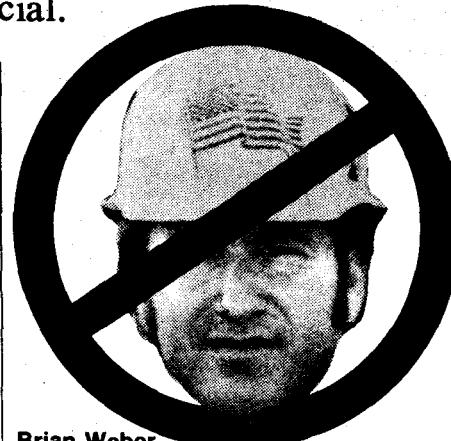
**E**l pleito de Brian Weber, "discriminación al revés", recién decidido ante la Corte Suprema estadounidense, fue una gigantesca ofensiva dirigida al corazón de la acción afirmativa. Si la decisión de la Corte no hubiera dismantleado esta arma formidable, fallando en contra de Weber, habría resultado la destrucción completa de las oportunidades de trabajo para los que están en desventaja social.

Desde el caso Bakke al de Weber, la devastación de la acción afirmativa amenazó transladarse moverse del campo educacional al económico y del sector público al privado.

En la Corte Suprema la acción en favor de Bakke, el acceso a las profesiones por parte de las minorías fue limitado; pero fallando en contra de Weber, la corte al menos ofreció alguna esperanza de promoción en el trabajo.

En 1974, Weber era un asistente de laboratorio con un sueldo de \$21,000 al año, en la planta de Gramercy de la Kaiser, en Louisiana, cuando fue rechazado en un nuevo programa de entrenamiento técnico en el trabajo. Este programa era un requisito del contrato sindical. El propósito del programa era aumentar la movilidad de todos los trabajadores y compensar las desigualdades raciales del pasado.

Siete negros y seis blancos fueron aceptados, dos de los negros tenían menos antigüedad que Weber.



Brian Weber

Acusándolos de violación al acta de los derechos civiles, Weber entabló juicio a la Kaiser y U.S.W.A. (El Sindicato de Trabajadores de Acero) en nombre de todos los trabajadores elegibles blancos de la planta.

### Carrera sin ascenso

Hasta 1974, la Kaiser exigía experiencia previa a los trabajadores con preparación técnica y contrató a los

de afuera en vez de promover a sus propios trabajadores. Por consiguiente, Weber ni siquiera habría podido ser *candidato* a un puesto de mayor experiencia antes de la iniciación del mismo programa que ahora está poniendo en duda.

El plan de la Kaiser y el USWA fue aumentar la representación de las minorías y mujeres hasta que el gremio de los trabajadores contuviera un 5% de mujeres y un porcentaje de minorías igual al de la población del área alrededor de cada planta. La población minoritaria de Gramercy era de un 39%, pero sólo un 2% de trabajadores con experiencia técnica en la Kaiser era minorías. Para lograr esto, un 50% de las minorías y mujeres, más un 50% de blancos debieron ser admitidos al programa de entrenamiento.

### Kaiser la Grande

Las primeras dos decisiones de la corte local determinó que el objetivo de un 50% era "una preferencia ilegal", porque la Kaiser no admitía ninguna discriminación anterior. Ni tampoco la corte escuchó el testimonio documentado acerca de la historia de la Kaiser sobre los bajos salarios, limitación de empleo y segregación de facilidades para las minorías. Los negros estaban forzados a comer en medio de los gases de la fábrica, mientras los blancos gozaban de comedor con aire acondicionado.

La administración de la Kaiser sólo testificó acerca de su política de igualdad de oportunidades (por escrito), sus fracasadas tentativas de reclutar negros, y su adopción al "sistema de cuotas" para cumplir con los requisitos federales y evitar "los litigios vejatorios". Si la administración hubiera admitido las dispari-

dades que justificaron el selectivo programa de entrenamiento, habrían provisto una base para pleitos caros y seguros de las minorías contra ellos.

### La Justicia al Revés: Otro Giro

La habilidad de los sindicatos para defender las especiales necesidades históricas tanto de los trabajadores minoritarios como de las mujeres fue seriamente puesta en peligro por el caso Weber. Una resolución reciente de la junta local del USWA en Nueva Orleans, llamó al caso Weber "un ataque contra los sindicatos en la peor tradición del acta Taft-Hartley," "derecho al trabajo" sin pertenecer a un sindicato y la prohibición al derecho legal de huelga.

Los líderes de los derechos civiles proclaman legítimamente que el problema envuelto es simplemente una justa e imparcial reparación para las minorías, y no la vengativa discriminación contra los blancos proclamada por Bakke y Weber.

Los programas voluntarios de la acción afirmativa ya están tambaleándose ante la herida paralizadora infringida por Bakke, la cual construyó las oportunidades para ser empleados de "cuello blanco". Si Weber hubiera bloqueado el acceso de los operarios para la preparación técnica, las minorías habrían vuelto a los trabajos de barrenderos, las mujeres a las oficinas como secretarias y el movimiento laboral al período de afiliación voluntaria al sindicato.

Pero el rechazo de la corte a la demanda de Weber, puso al movimiento sindical en una posición fuerte para la batalla a enfrentar y obtener una verdadera acción afirmativa para las minorías y las mujeres.

*Los sindicatos pueden y deben intensificar ahora su lucha para la acción afirmativa.* ■

## Insurrection in NICARAGUA

**B**eseiged by a brilliant offensive launched by the Sandinista guerrillas on May 29, and opposed by virtually every sector of the population, the Nicaraguan dictatorship of General Anastasio Somoza Debayle is swiftly collapsing. Even his longtime imperialist allies are deserting the doomed regime.

In a successful attempt to paralyze the government, the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) led a general strike on June 4 which shut down most businesses and transportation facilities.

The FSLN's drive for power is relentless. All key cities have either been taken by the guerrilla forces or are about to be.

And fighting is reportedly taking place within blocks of Somoza's fortified bunker in Managua, the capital.

### Somoza the Butcher

Educated at West Point, with close political and financial ties to Congress and U.S. capitalists, Somoza has responded to the Sandinista offensive with desperate barbarity. His dwindling National Guard has bombed, strafed, napalmed, and gassed the civilian population.

Somoza refuses to accept the Geneva code on prisoners. Said an officer of the National Guard, "We don't take prisoners, they have all died."

The opposition press has been smashed and martial law declared.

### The U.S. Wheels and Deals

Although the U.S. claims neutrality, the FSLN reports covert shipment of American arms, and the U.S.-backed dictatorships of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador are providing military aid to Somoza, aid that is evidently coordinated by the Panama-based U.S. Southern Command.



Fully aware that Somoza cannot retain power, the White House is maneuvering for an anti-Marxist government friendly to the U.S. But the FSLN refuses to compromise with the U.S. or the Organization of American States, suggested as a possible "mediator" by Washington.

### For a Socialist Nicaragua

In August 1978, the FSLN seized the National Palace in Managua. Holding 500 people captive, they demanded the release of 150 political prisoners, \$10 million in ransom, and safe passage to Panama, Venezuela or Mexico.

On September 9, 1978, a full-scale uprising was defeated by the National Guard, supplied with U.S. weapons.

Since May, however, the FSLN appears certain of military victory. Their forces are growing tremendously, with massive participation of armed women, and of children as young as 10 years old.

The FSLN has not called for a socialist government. All the different factions within the FSLN advocate revolution-in-stages—first a bourgeois democratic revolution, and later a socialist revolution. In the midst of a fiery civil war, such a Menshevik-Stalinist theoretical error invites reactionary forces to strangle the revolution.

State repression of national minorities, feminists, and revolutionary workers in Iran under Khomeini's pro-capitalist rule is proof enough of the bloody results of any compromise with capitalism, even if the terrible lessons of Chile hadn't already made this clear enough.

It is only a matter of time before a Leninist wing emerges among the revolutionary forces. ■

## Carter anoints Chicano serenity in El Sereno



by Monica Hill

**L**os Angeles - Jimmy Carter's slickly publicized May visit to the Chicanos of El Sereno, California was a callous sham, a bungled attempt to mask the severe oppression of Chicanos and Latinos in the U.S.

The family he chose to visit, according to the *L.A. Times*, "opened a restaurant as a takeout taco stand a year ago. In true Horatio Alger fashion, the industrious couple expanded the operation." They now live in a neighborhood which talks proudly of its "neat homes with an affection born of hard work, scraped paint and mowed lawns."

Ah, bliss . . . all-American serenity in El Sereno. But the ploy fooled no one, even though Carter's drop-in was carefully staged to inspire lagging public confidence in the "melting pot" and in rugged individualism. Said one Chicana, "I don't know why he came. I think he's a fake. That's what all the people I talk to think."

### The Bitter Truth

Actual living conditions of most Chicano and Mexicano workers in Southern California are a far cry from the rags-to-riches myth. Hundreds of thousands of Mexican refugees and Chicano U.S. citizens are an economic mainstay of the U.S., but these Hispanics—a majority of the population in metropolitan Los Angeles—

receive the least education and labor at the lowest paying jobs. They are largely the gardeners of the rich, the bus boys, the food workers, the janitors, the car washers and the gas station attendants. Mexicanos are the primary producers in the massive Southwestern agricultural industry, and the women are bulwarks of L.A.'s vast garment industry (which outstrips New York's). *Mexicano/Chicano workers clothe and feed us all.*

But to the U.S. government, they are "illegal aliens" and second-class citizens slated to be imported and exported, hired and fired at will—a permanent and highly vulnerable reserve of cheap labor. They are more highly exploitable than most victims of racism and sexism because so many are not U.S. citizens. Even their right to poverty-level wages is flagrantly violated, and they pay social security taxes they will never see, plus sales, state and federal taxes.

An abysmal lack of health care takes a relentless toll, especially among garment workers toiling under sweatshop conditions worse than those suffered by New York's early immigrant laborers, and among agricultural workers felled by back injuries, tuberculosis and pesticide-induced respiratory diseases. Mothers, lacking childcare, fight desperately to raise children, who are not provided with bilingual education in the schools, and the women are unrelieved victims of forced sterilization and minimal access to birth control and abortion.

### For a United Self-Defense

Unrelenting oppression creates a potential volcano of defiance, and the power elite knows it. Police arrests, brutality and murder of Chicanos and Mexicanos, supplemented by KKK attacks, proliferate here.

*Down with discriminatory immigration laws! Down with Congressional slow-death policies toward Chicano/Mexicano workers! Down with police brutality and sweatshops! For a united resistance against oppression of Chicanos!*

The producers of life's necessities must be the first to benefit from their grueling labor. ■

## Justice stalled for Alaska cannery workers

by Tamara Turner

**T**hree grueling seasons in Alaska's salmon canneries have gone by without change, despite a momentous legal victory won by the Alaska Cannery Workers Association that should have ended the appalling discrimination against the predominantly Filipino and Native Alaskan workforce.

Even though a federal judge ruled for the plaintiffs in April, 1977, no back pay or punitive damages have been levied against the giant New England Fish Company, nor has an injunction been issued to halt white-skin privilege in jobs, training, and housing.

The original lawsuit, filed in 1973 by Nemesio Domingo, Jr., was broadened into a class action representing 700 Filipinos, other Asians, Native Americans and Native Alaskans. And because it is a Title VII case, each member of the class must *individually* prove claims against an employer found guilty. Individual hearings have finally begun—*2 years after* the discrimination ruling—because the judge wanted to watch the "national scene" (the Bakke and Weber cases) before scheduling individual hearings.

Domingo and his brother—who also has a cannery lawsuit pending—were ousted and then reinstated by their union, Local 37, ILWU, because it initially saw their suits as an attack on the union's integrity. The militants were also blacklisted by cannery owners, but this was halted by an appeal to the NLRB.

The community-activist ACWA, a Seattle-based group concerned with cannery conditions in Alaska, aided the plaintiffs throughout their long struggle.

### Sealed-in Racism

Every can of salmon processed in Alaska represents a century of stolen labor and ruthless racism.

Each successive group of Asian immigrants has labored in the canneries, earned lower wages than other workers, demanded equal pay, and been replaced by other desperate workers.

Only whites get supervisory, longshore, cooking, and machinist jobs, while the lowest-paid "wet" jobs—direct contact with the fish—fall to nonwhites. Though most machine work can be learned in 4 weeks, cannery management insists that these jobs require special training and skills that people of color do not have.

### Home Away from Home

Nepotism and segregated housing prevent news of better jobs from filtering down to nonwhites.

Whites live in heated bunkhouses in a private room or one shared with another person. The rooms contain beds, dressers, and storage. Nonwhites live 8 to a room in unheated bunkhouses furnished with bunkbeds and crates nailed to the walls for dressers. The only light is from a bare ceiling bulb, and the air reeks of fish-slimed gear hung on the walls for lack of outdoor storage.

This housing violates health and safety laws on the number of persons allowed per square foot, as well as the Alaska Fire Code, yet the court will not halt its use.

Cannery mess halls and menus are segregated. "White food" consists of meat, potatoes, vegetables, and fruit; everyone else gets fish and rice. When the ethnics demanded fruit and vegetables, they were told that "those don't grow in Alaska!"

ACWA members participated in food strikes in 1972, and the strikes, coupled with the law suits, have helped better the workers' diet.

### Equality Now!

Decent jobs, training, living conditions, and wages still lie cruelly beyond the grasp of the cannery workers. Their struggle can be aided by bringing pressure on Judge Gus Solomon of the U.S. District Court in Portland, Ore. to carry through *his own* findings against the cannery corporations and obliterate the racist patterns of the past. ■

## Arthur Felberbaum dies

Arthur Felberbaum, 44, died of a heart attack on May 24. He was a founding member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a Socialist Workers Party member until the mid-sixties, and Education Director of the School for Marxist Education from 1975 until 1978.

by Sam Deaderick and Tamara Turner

**T**he pioneering work of Renee Vivien and Colette opened long-bolted doors for lesbian novelists and lesbian literary heroines in the early 1900s. By 1928, other European writers were adding their works to a growing list of impressive books on the subject.

Radclyffe Hall publicly challenged the obscenity charge against her work, and Virginia Woolf published a sly satire on sex roles in a book capturing the personality of her friend, novelist Vita Sackville-West. Mary Renault created lesbian characters of wit and audacity, as well as a series of acclaimed historical novels about famous homosexuals of antiquity.

#### The Well

**The Well of Loneliness** by Radclyffe Hall, a wealthy English novelist, caused a furor unparalleled since the infamous trial of Oscar Wilde.

Issued by a major publisher in 1928, the book was promptly banned by an English court as destructive to the morals of young people. Its crime? A sympathetic account of lesbian life and a plea for an end to the misery caused by homophobia and ignorance. The author became the center of an international storm.

In America, the book's publishers were subjected to sensational obscenity trials in Boston and New York, and won the right to publish the **Well** in 1929. But in England, the book was declared obscene and banned until 1959. Radclyffe Hall took a public stand in her book's defense and appeared in court every day, despite urging from her friends to avoid the notoriety. During summary remarks from the judge that were particularly offensive and inaccurate, the author leapt to her feet and shouted angrily at him, and the judge threatened to have her ejected.

Forty-five leading British authors, including Arnold Bennett and Virginia and Leonard Woolf, signed protests against the censorship of the book, but their testimony, like that of distinguished lawyers and physicians, was not permitted in the trial.

Despite the many valid literary and political criticisms of the **Well**, Hall's decision to publish, and her staunch defense of the rights of lesbians, sparked an international forum for discussion of the subject and encouraged many prominent women authors to deal with the theme.

#### Woolf and Sackville-West

Most women writers did not center their novels around lesbianism, preferring to include a lesbian character or lesbian episode, or, as in the past, only hint obliquely at lesbianism. Virginia Woolf opted for this course in the musings of **Mrs. Dalloway**.

But **Orlando**, published in 1928, complete with photographs of the leading character as a man *and* as a woman, posed by Woolf's friend and sister writer Vita Sackville-West, was a *tour de force* on the subject of sex roles.

Sackville-West wrote a number of novels. **The Dark Island**, a melodrama, has a lesbian subtheme. **Challenge**, published in 1924 in the U.S. only, is a novelized version of Vita's elopement with her woman lover in 1919. Both women eventually were persuaded by their husbands to return home and keep up appearances. After Vita's death, her son, Nigel Nicolson, published portions of her personal

## Gay resistance: The hidden history

### part IV



Left to right:  
Vita Sackville-West,  
Virginia Woolf,  
Radclyffe Hall

record of this romance in his book **Portrait of a Marriage** (1974). This unique volume is a vivid and understanding account of his mother's lesbianism and his father's homosexuality.

#### Symbol of Evil

Publishers still tend to surrender to possible public or legal hostility by insisting that authors use a formula plot wherein gay characters are left dead or dying, preferably by violent means.

English, Continental and American novels, moreover, tend to use homosexuals as standard symbols of evil, and lesbians as examples of decadence and insanity. The small number of early novels that escape this vicious formula are exceptionally good.

Anna Elisabet Weirauch's trilogy, **The Scorpion**, published in German in 1919-1921 and translated into English in the 1930s by Whittaker Chambers (before he turned coat and helped the witchhunters pillory Alger Hiss), accurately reflects the powerlessness of women to provide for their own economic needs. The author implicitly condemns a society that decrees passive roles for females and absolute power for fathers. Her novels contain a large portion of despair and suicide, yet the lesbian protagonist still develops into an independent woman who decides on her own terms how she will live.

#### Mary Renault

The best-written novel of lesbianism until 1946 was **The Middle Mist**, written by Mary Renault in that year and originally published in England as **The Friendly Young Ladies**.

Famed for her brilliant historical novels of ancient society such as **The King Must Die** and **The Persian Boy**, her beautiful and accurate treatment of male homosexuality as an integral part of her characters' lives is remarkable. Yet **The Middle Mist** is conspicuous by its absence on any list of her literary output.

However, publishers are now beginning to release

many out-of-print or unpublished works because the women's movement has created a large—and lucrative—demand for information about women and by women. Thus, **The Middle Mist**, long out-of-print, was republished in paperback in 1972.

It is an outstanding portrayal of two English lesbians living on a houseboat on the Thames. The women are healthy, intelligent, self-supporting, creative, independent, and respectful of each other's need to grow. Both have a superb sense of humor.

Their solutions to the problems created by the different paths they are taking are direct and mature. And the macho male who attempts to seduce one of them in order to bolster his sexual ego is outflanked in one of the funniest scenes in English literature.

Renault also draws an unforgettable picture of the feminine mystique, as exemplified by the younger sister of one of the lesbians.

#### Looking Forward

The rich storehouse of lesbian literature now available is having a monumental impact on other writers, young lesbians, and independent women everywhere. For the truth is out—it has been **women** writers who have had the courage to write about gay relationships and depict them as valid expressions of human love and sexuality. The great male writers, even when gay, have consistently **avoided** direct and central use of characters who happened to be gay.

The woman artist-as-revolutionary has furnished the courage, honesty, and disdain of compromise that are crucial to resistance. Hence, these great writers and great human beings set the stage for the next wave of gay upsurge—the post-World War II cry for equality.

The rise of fascism in the 1920s and '30s, the defeat of the Russian working class by Stalinism, and the social chaos that plagued Europe during and after World War II, all but served to wipe out the memory of the early gay rights movement. Not until the late forties and early 1950s did the movement reemerge—and this time on American soil. ■

To be continued next issue.



Six months after the eviction notice, with miles to go before we sleep, Seattle FSP, Radical Women, and CRSP still have not found a new home.

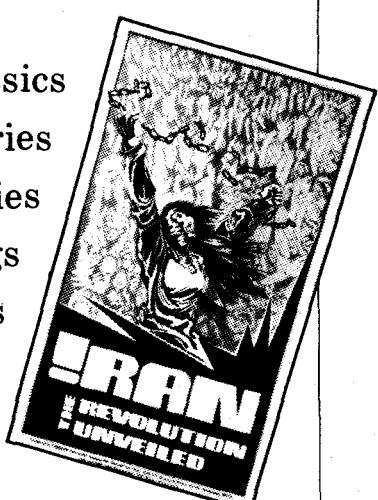
With the resilience (and audacity!) of the potentially homeless, we are hanging onto threatened Freeway Hall until we can find a suitable substitute.

We have racked up hundreds of miles on our collective odometer in the exhaustive process of inspecting old morgues, desolate warehouses, 19th-Century brothels, and rubble-strewn storefronts. But even these relics are too expensive given today's obscenely inflated real estate market!

Funds are desperately needed to secure a new headquarters **now**. Please, please, please send contributions to Freeway Hall Eviction Fund, 3815 Fifth Avenue N.E., Seattle, WA 98105.

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by Helen Gilbert

# N

ative Americans, indomitable survivors of generations of genocide, have conferred upon the International Year of the Child an especially profound meaning.

1000 Native people evinced their deep concern for their children—"the foundation of our future"—at a conference to examine the life-and-death issues confronting them and to plan for their very survival.

Representatives of 82 tribes and nations from the U.S. and Canada formed an encampment of tents and teepees in the woods surrounding the Daybreak Star Center in Seattle on June 7-11. The spectacularly beautiful Center was an auspicious setting, for the land was wrested from the U.S. Army as a result of a militant occupation by Northwest Indians in 1970.

### Unity Amidst Diversity

The conference took many important steps toward unifying and revitalizing the Indian movement. Four diverse elements from four different generations were brought together: traditional leaders, AIM militants, grassroots community organizers, and government employees, professionals, and other more privileged Indians.

And all worked together in a climate of openness, candor, mutual criticism and mutual respect, reflecting the traditional cultural patterns of group interaction.

Discussion centered on three major issues: sovereignty, the destruction of the environment, and the need to strengthen the traditional extended family. Speakers at the plenary session described antinuclear organizing in South Dakota, the



## Native American women host national conference

importance of political awareness, and the strong contributions of Native women.

### Women Organizers

Women originated, organized, and raised the funds for the conference. The Northwest Indian Women's Council was the primary mover, assisted by Women of All Red Nations (W.A.R.N.). Their leadership created a welcome atmosphere of cooperation, pride and celebration of Indian culture, in marked contrast to the conferences sponsored and financed by the government.

"The conference was a beginning," said Janet McCloud, a nationally known Indian spokeswoman and a key member of the Conference Planning

Committee. "The only way to bring about social change is to roll up our sleeves, sweat and struggle. The conference provided a foundation for carrying on the work we have to do to survive."

Representatives of the FSP and Radical Women assisted in conference planning, logistics, publicity, athletic events, meal preparation and childcare, and were grateful for the privilege of participating in the historic meeting. Their efforts were warmly acknowledged, and the close collaboration between Native people and non-Native supporters was a unique feature of the event. ■

## Fishing rights victory

# I

n upholding the Boldt decision 6 to 3, the U.S. Supreme Court correctly honored the treaties made 120 years ago entitling Indian fishers to one-half the salmon caught in Washington State.

The decision is a great victory for Native Americans against what a federal appeals court called the most concerted efforts "to frustrate a decree of a federal court witnessed in this century."

The state of Washington, however, will resume management and control of fishing as a result of the decision, and the state is already looking for a way to defy the decision in life. Non-Native fishers are again seeking congressional legislation to break the treaties, and Washington's congressmen are kowtowing to the racism of these whites.

The Indians have been vindicated legally, but the court made some concessions to the anti-Indian forces and provided some serious loopholes. Continued vigilance by Native Americans and their friends is mandatory. ■

## Gay rights at the crossroads

by Robert Crisman

**G**ay rights election victories in Seattle and California last fall were spearheaded by militant feminists and radicals who mobilized gays, women, minorities, and labor against the bigots. And these triumphs provided an impetus for gay progress reminiscent of the early civil rights movement. But almost immediately, homophobic legislators,

thugs, cops, nazis, the Klan, Coors, and the fundamentalists revved up their offensive.

### Hoodlums Ride Again

- Early this year, the New Jersey legislature introduced a bill to punish homosexual acts with ten years in prison.
- Public outrage reversed an Oklahoma bill to castrate gay men.
- A Baptist minister urged vigilantes to run gays out of Key West, Florida.
- Police in Queens, N.Y. watched as thugs attacked a gay rally.
- The January murder of two gay men by Los Angeles cops perpetuated a reign of terror against minorities that consumed more than 30 Black and Chicano lives in 18 months.
- In San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle, police and media provoked a "morality" uproar linking gays to drugs, street violence, child prostitution, and "pornography."

### Outrage in Gay Mecca

The concept of San Francisco as a liberal city with a politically influential gay population was shattered in May when gays rioted against terrorism.

Ex-cop Dan White gunned down the mayor and gay city supervisor Harvey Milk last November. Gays have since been knifed on the street, and gangs of

cops twice beat up lesbians in bars. "Kill Queers" graffiti deface walls, and police sport "Free Dan White" T-shirts.

The press and politicians have long scapegoated gays for the scandals created by real estate speculators and the Housing Authority; "homosexual invasion" is blamed for raised rents and forced evictions in workingclass and minority neighborhoods. Moderate gay leaders do little to counter this propaganda; they cooperate with the press in extolling the attainment of the American Dream for gays with \$50,000 incomes.

But on May 12, the round-the-clock nightmare of intimidation provoked a battle between police and 1500 gays. One week later, murderer White was slapped on the wrist with a manslaughter conviction, and gays rampaged at City Hall, causing \$1,000,000 damage and national shock waves. That same night, while new mayor Diane Feinstein complained that gay trashing had ruined San Francisco's "image," 200 cops brutalized gays in Castro St. bars.

A peaceful march of 5000 occurred the next night. The riot, however, signalled gay refusal to be destroyed without a fight and revealed the bankruptcy of a passive, reformist strategy. The question of how to

organize for self-defense was sharply posed.

### What Next?

Tenuous legislative victories ring increasingly hollow in the face of extermination.

A liberal, white male elite tied to the Democratic party maintains a stranglehold of the gay movement in San Francisco and elsewhere. The National Gay Task Force primarily benefits privileged professionals, and much of the gay press, notably David Goodstein's *Advocate*, is moving rightward politically.

The reformists reject any open liaison with militant feminists, minorities, or workers, thereby bolstering rightwing divide-and-conquer tactics. And these isolationist politics force many gay activists to scramble for a mythical gay "unity" that ignores class differences and produces a class-collaborationist instead of class-struggle policy. The proposed October March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay

Rights, for example, will voice important demands such as gay parents' rights, but will focus exclusively on gay issues.

The left generally downplays gays. Stalinist and Maoist homophobia profanes Marxism and human decency. And the Socialist Workers Party urges gays to ignore their own movement and to make no waves in unions which ignore gay issues and the sexism that triggers gay oppression. Many gays turn to personal-lifestyle solutions because of the lack of a clear political alternative from radicals.

Many other gays, however, are ready to fight, as San Francisco demonstrated. And they need not go it alone. As the attacks accelerate, the illusory promise of single-issue reforms will be increasingly exposed, and gays will seek out a common front with other oppressed groups.

Hard times loom for all workers, and gay survival and progress depend on uniting with all the afflicted in mutual defense against the capitalist-fostered, rightwing enemy. ■

*When his defense claimed junk foods drove him to kill, double-murderer Dan White got off with a mild manslaughter conviction.*



from front page

### Who Profits?

Unshaken by the Three Mile Island meltdown emergency, the nuclear industry callously proposed that the ratepayers assume the cleanup cost. With the price of building plants now in the billions, cost overruns are absorbed by raising electricity bills and increasing taxes which the government uses to subsidize and cushion industry errors (\$18 billion to date has been handed over to the nuclear capitalists by the government).

The 50 giant companies that dominate the building, equipment, fueling, and operation of nuclear reactors, for either energy or weapons use, are reaping astronomical profits. The 10 biggest companies hold more than half the nation's uranium resources and own 40% of the milling capacity.

Major oil companies—Kerr-McGee, Atlantic Richfield, Exxon, Mobil, and Gulf—are big investors in nukes, as are General Electric, Anaconda, and Rockwell International. Moguls sitting on each other's Boards of Directors arrange unlimited benefits for themselves, including price-fixing at every step of the production process. These financial maneuverings extend to private or public utilities, the rate-collectors who usually contract out the building and operating of plants.

And the government, the supposed watchdog, expedites this extortion of the public.

### Consumer Ripoff

The public pays dearly for nuclear energy because electric utilities are regulated monopolies.

State commissions set rates at a level designed to cover operating costs and provide a profit on the investment. But the profits are determined by the size of the investment, not by the ratio of costs and sales; hence, the more capital invested, the larger the profit! Utilities are encouraged by the cost-plus, rate-fixing system to adopt expensive, capital-intensive technologies like nuclear reactors.

Utilities are also allowed to raise rates for money to invest in new plants and equipment, generating more profit for private companies.

Since 1957, the federal Price-Anderson Act limits company liability to \$560 million, yet Three Mile Island lawsuits already exceed that figure, and the companies running the plant will pay little of the cost. One provision of the act diffuses the impact over the rest of the industry and *their* ratepayers, and government subsidy picks up the rest.

The ratepayer pays extra when reactors fail and when construction and production are delayed.

Companies cut corners on equipment or design, then can't meet safety regulations. But since profits, not safety, rule the industry, plants such as Three Mile Island are rushed prematurely into production to qualify for \$40 million in tax write-offs and a rate increase worth \$49 million.

### Technology Fiasco

The whole rush to produce nuclear energy is far ahead of the invention of a safe and workable technology.

According to the Union of Concerned Scientists, the industry has never adequately tested the emergency equipment that failed at Three Mile Island—a circulating water system that must continually cool the fissionable reactor core to prevent a meltdown and an explosion of huge quantities of radioactive steam into the atmosphere.

The industry has been plagued with the results of bad planning.

Five of the 72 U.S. nuclear plants are closed because their engineering did not compensate for earthquake stresses.

Other plants are shut down for repairs about 40% of the time.

A fire nearly destroyed the plant at Brown's Ferry, Alabama, and the partial

meltdown of the Enrico Fermi reactor almost wiped out Detroit.

The Three Mile Island failure revealed that the technical underpinnings of nuclear energy production are a matter of guesswork.

### Unsafe at Any Site

Additional hazards occur as large quantities of deadly radioactive material are transported without proper safety precautions.

Between 1971 and 1977, lethal radioactivity was released in 36 of 144 accidents.

The victims are often unwary baggage handlers, truckers, or dockworkers involved in the shipment of components or waste. Construction workers, welders, or pipefitters may be unwittingly exposed to radiation from leaks and spills.

Longshoremen in Spain recently refused to handle cargo for a nuclear plant being built at Lemoniz.

Plutonium, the deadliest radioactive substance—one pound could poison the world—has been carried in vest pockets and suitcases onto planes, cars, trains, and buses. And 1½ tons of this essential ingredient for nuclear weapons are unaccounted for!!!

### Let 'Em Eat Strontium 90

Tons of radioactive tailings, sludge and spent fuel rods are piling up, with no

solution to the waste storage problem in sight.

Concurrently, 75 million gallons of high-level nuclear waste has accumulated in the U.S., and 90,000 tons of used reactor fuel will collect by 2000.

Nobody wants the waste in their territory and nobody knows what to do with it. Energy Czar James Schlesinger proposes we rocket the waste into the sun. Washington State Governor Dixy Lee Ray, former Atomic Energy Commission czar, suggests we redefine it as a resource for sterilizing sewage and making fertilizer, and then we could eat it.

Waste is stored in temporary containers. At Hanford, Washington, low-level waste is kept in open trenches, more lethal materials in ceramic tanks. One such tank leaked unnoticed for 49 days and spilled 115,000 gallons of waste into the ground, where it will emit radioactivity for tens of thousands of years.

The government is now making expensive test drills in the natural basalt of the Hanford area, hoping to build permanent storage vaults five thousand feet or more below the earth's surface. But no one can say that earthquake or ground water flow will not dislodge the deadly substances before a quarter of a million years pass, and the waste's radioactivity is spent and its capacity to kill, maim, and deform is exhausted.

Doug Barnes/Freedom Socialist

## *Is this the way the world will end—with a mammoth bang and a radioactive wasteland?*

All earthlings must now confront the horror of uncontrolled radioactive waste, a malignant force that eats away at workers, and leaves a lethal and radioactive legacy for living things—while disproportionate profits are spawned at the expense of the public.

With mounting militance, the workers are shouting, "Shut the reactors down!" What stands mercilessly condemned is not just the multinationals and their government henchmen, but the capitalist system itself which continues to manufacture profitable poisons irrespective of the danger to the workers or to the system's own progeny.

Life on earth can be saved, but only if the people's health and safety are no longer held hostage by the nuclear militarists and energy entrepreneurs. The energy system must be nationalized, under workers' control, and decisions about the production and use of energy must be made by the people themselves.

## Nuclear Family Incest

The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) openly promoted nuclear energy development and altered, misrepresented, or concealed the facts. The AEC convinced the public that nuclear power was safe and clean, and expedited legislation limiting industry liability.

In 1974, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) replaced the old AEC (in response to charges of conflict-of-interest). But 85% of NRC employees had worked for AEC. According to a 1976 Common Cause study, 65% of 429 top-level NRC employees came from companies that held licenses from or contracted with NRC.

With only 250 inspectors for the entire industry, NRC regulators rarely check safety conditions. But last year, 3000 safety inspections were made and a 40% violation rate was discovered. Only 6

thyroid, fears about radiation were dubbed "Communist-inspired scare stories."

*In the heyday of atomic testing, in the early '50s, 200,000 soldiers were marched into test areas and exposed to lethal radiation. Today, they contract cancer at a rate of 2 to 4 times that of the general population.*

The AEC promoted nuclear energy with the same disregard for public safety it showed in weapons development, repeatedly suppressing studies of the effects of radiation.

As a result of the plot to silence public fears of radiation danger, exact data on radiation-linked cancer is unclear. But cancer deaths increase dramatically—as much as 400%—in direct relation to infinitesimal increases of radioactivity in the environment.

resistance to the Black Hills mining operation is growing. The struggle there this summer is crucial for Native American survival and for the defeat of the corporations.

## The Voice of Unionism

Last fall, nuclear corporations gave major support to "right-to-work," anti-union legislation and candidates. Unionists are increasingly speaking out about company abuses that endanger both the public and employees.

After a Willow Island, West Virginia cooling tower accident killed 51 workers at Research-Cottrell, a union steward on another company project protested the pouring of concrete onto steel reinforcing rods caked with mud. It took a wildcat walkout by 90 workers to save his job.

Workers have charged that contractors

are beginning to join what promises to become a vast movement.

This upsurge gained spectacular credibility May 6 when a Washington, D.C. antinuclear demonstration attracted 110,000 people.

Although Ralph Nader's reformists and the Socialist Workers Party tried to narrow the focus of the demonstration to the one-note, one-issue of nuclear energy, a wide spectrum of ideologies was represented by the crowd. Thousands were ready for a more incisive critique of the system than was provided. The SWP, as usual, will try to dampen the revolutionary potential and education of the vast, loose network of antinuke fighters, but the movement will see the same inevitable radicalization that suffused the antiwar movement.

The Left has to learn the bitter lessons

# The Great Nuclear Reaction

minimal fines were assessed as penalties. On January 8, 1979, an NRC safety inspector questioned the safety of Three Mile Island and seven similar plants. NRC higher-ups ignored him. Tapes of NRC proceedings revealed that when the accident happened, NRC knew nothing and relied on self-serving company officials for information.

The NRC has a gentleman's agreement on self-regulation with the energy profiteers.

None of this is strange, given the fact that most politicians are owned outright by the energy interests.

Public pressure has produced some action in the NRC. They shut down five plants near geological faults and repudiated the Rasmussen Report, which greatly underestimated the dangers from nuclear accidents.

But the complicity of government in the nuclear nightmare cannot be hidden.

## Coverup

The NRC's shabby attempt to make the world think everything was under control at Three Mile Island was a typical reflex by typical nuclear liars.

In the early 1950s, when the AEC knew full well (after Hiroshima and Nagasaki) that nuclear weapon test sites were unsafe, it deliberately stifled protest against testing. The AEC called the coverup "judicious handling of the public information system," or, in Eisenhower's words, "keepin' 'em confused about fusion and fission."

When sheep near test sites in Utah and Nevada started to die and people began contracting leukemia and cancer of the

aiming to have depleted re capitalizing on nuclear energy still in its cradle, they to come.

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Nuclear waste escapes into the air, leaks into the water, lodges in the beef and milk of cattle drinking from streams, and enters humans to appear as cancer 10 to 40 years later, to cause birth defects in fetuses, and to engender genetic mutations.

## Low Energy Level?

Allied with the coverup of nuclear power's inherent dangers is the bald-faced lie that all other energy sources are exhausted or impractical. There are alternatives, and a rational, humane, workers government would instantly explore them. Investigations into solar power must be bolstered, and geothermal and wind energy research and production expedited. Currently, the money spent on solar energy development is less than the price of one nuclear plant.

Moreover, the 12% of electricity now produced in nuclear reactors could easily be replaced by reconstructing the coal-fueled power plants on the basis of a technology oriented toward worker-safety and pollution control.

And extensive reserves of oil and natural gas still exist.

Alternative energy would furnish cleaner air, reasonable safety, and reusable and renewable resources.

Basic changes in energy priorities are necessary and possible.

## Nuclear Genocide

Before Harrisburg, the industry's disregard for human life was best known to a few antinuclear activists and a growing group of direct victims, the workers who faced daily exposure to dangerous radiation levels.

It was not well known that Native American uranium miners are among the most abused.

Impoverished, they provide cheap labor for the 55% of U.S. uranium mining located on Indian lands, and their mortality rate is astounding.

Among 100 Navajos who haul uranium ore in Shiprock, New Mexico, 18 have died of cancer, and more are dying. Mine operators are supporting research to prove the high cancer rate is due to cigarettes!

Uranium mines are surrounded by heaps of refuse which emit low-level radiation. The dust blows into the lungs of Navajos living perilously close by, and children playing in the tailings develop burning sores.

Union Carbide and other companies plan large scale strip and solution mining on Lakota lands in the Black Hills. The company claims were filed while the Lakotas' attention was absorbed by the savage FBI attack at Wounded Knee and the aftermath of frameups and imprisonments.

Lorelei Means, Native American activist speaking at a Seattle antinuclear rally on June 3, said that nationwide

allow serious construction defects, inflate costs by rebuilding certain components, and then blame the resulting rate-base increase on worker incompetence.

(The NRC ignores such complaints, and shoddy construction projects and worker accidents proliferate.)

The death of Karen Silkwood was no accident. An activist in the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, she worked in a Kerr-McGee plutonium production plant in Cimarron, Oklahoma. When she started collecting evidence that company negligence was endangering workers and the public, plutonium was planted in her home refrigerator. She was contaminated with deadly radiation.

Frightened and ill, Silkwood took her evidence and drove to a meeting with a union official and a *New York Times* reporter. Her car was forced off the road and she was killed.

The papers scattered in her car documented Kerr-McGee's safety violations, its falsification of safety check records and illegal arrangement with the AEC to be alerted prior to inspections. The papers were removed from the car and destroyed—by agreement between state police and Kerr-McGee officials.

In a civil suit on behalf of her survivors, a federal jury found Kerr-McGee negligent in handling the plutonium that contaminated Silkwood, and awarded her estate \$10.5 million in damages.

Feminists, as well as the union, rallied to the Silkwood case, which dramatized the heroism and struggle of working women in energy production jobs. Management refuses to make the workplace safe and clean, and forces women of childbearing age to quit or move to traditional, lower-paid work once they've reached the "minimum acceptable" level of exposure. Men are "spared" this sex discrimination and are privileged to die sooner. Men are also subject to sterility from radiation, or to passing on genetic defects to their offspring.

But now the voice of those for whom human life is a preeminent value is rising to counter the commitments of money and ego that have poured into the nuclear rathe for 30 years. Women who have everything to gain and little to lose are risking their very lives, like Silkwood, to defy the pleading of nuclear apologists who cite the size of the public investment as cause for "not pulling out now."

Silkwood's martyrdom must be avenged.

## Sane Energy for a Sane Society

Although the face of the antinuclear movement has been predominantly white and middleclass, its complexion is changing.

Radicalized by the urgency and enormity of their task, activists have begun to find common ground with workers. And many labor unions which were pro-nuclear

of the past, and accept the historical mandate to address all the issues linked by the thread of the heinous crimes of the nuclear establishment. Without determined radical leadership, the anti-Nuke people, like the New Left, will fade into reformist unreality and deserved obscurity.

Serious environmentalists, nuclear opponents, afflicted workers, and concerned trade unionists, minorities, women, gays, and radicals must not only promote the immediate demand to halt the imminent nuclear holocaust but educate the movement and the working class by raising all the connected transitional and long-range demands. ■

## A Graduated Program for Today

- Shut down nuclear plants.
- Eliminate health and safety hazards that maim and kill energy workers, from coal miners to electrical lineworkers.
- Stop uranium mining on Native American lands.
- Halt the construction of nuclear weapons, which will be used to enforce imperialism.
- Health care for all nuclear victims, and close monitoring of the health of succeeding generations.
- Emergency research, at industry expense, into safe disposal of existing nuclear wastes.
- Safe energy AND full protection of the environment—no compromises.
- Conduct the necessary research to develop safe energy production; step up the study of solar energy feasibility.
- Empower the workers involved to determine, maintain and inspect all energy production and distribution systems.
- For nationwide, federally funded retraining and vocational training of all displaced workers in energy-related industries.
- Affirmative action training programs for minorities, women, the handicapped, and other specially afflicted workers to prepare them for jobs in the energy field.
- Open the books and records of the energy moguls and government energy agencies.
- Take the vast profits of the energy business. Nationalize the industry. Energy for people, not for super-profits.
- For the building of a Labor Party. Only a workers government can insure economic and human rights for all.
- Replace capitalism, and its imperialist adventures, with a socialist democracy that will end the exploitation of life and the rape of the earth. Install a new revolutionary society fit for human habitation.



Val Carlson/Freedom Socialist

## Deep in the heart of Texas lives an indomitable woman radical— *Laura Brode*

**Barbara Brown:** What kind of a childhood did you have in New York City? **Laura Brode:** A daily struggle to live. We were on welfare or on charity. I was sick a lot, and at the hospital I saw how the social workers talked down to us poor people. Then, when I was about 17, there was the bank failure, in 1929 or '30. I had a job assembling jigsaw puzzle pieces in a factory and we couldn't get our pay. All the workers were struggling—most of us were unemployed and all were immigrants.

**BB:** When did you first get interested in politics?

**LB:** People were organizing into Unemployed Councils. I was naive, didn't know much about Marxism, but I had studied European history. My friends or family didn't influence me, but some teachers did. I knew there had to be some changes, and I found the Young Communist League in 1931 and joined.

The group I first joined was mostly women. We were organizing unemployed women office workers. We would leaflet the employment offices where there were always long lines of women.

**BB:** Was the Woman Question ever discussed?

**LB:** Well, we believed women would be liberated after the revolution, and that the struggle would go on after the revolution. We read Marx and Engels about the family. But it was nothing like today—no women's groups. And the YCL leaders were all men.

**BB:** When did you leave the YCL?

**LB:** After 1934, and the treachery of the French and German Stalinists. They didn't oppose Hitler, that was the basic problem. And their line was

changing all the time, so you couldn't trust what they would do. I heard about the Trotskyists, and had to go all the way up past 14th St. from the Lower East Side to find them. I initiated that on my own.

They weren't the Socialist Workers Party yet, but they had a kind of headquarters, I think on 20th St., where they had meetings and dances. I'd go in, but I couldn't get my Stalinist friends to go in with me. It turned out they had just followed me there to report on me. And when the YCL heard I was talking Trotskyism, I was expelled, but I was never officially informed about it!

*In her teens, this stalwart socialist joined the Young Communist League and later left it to become a Trotskyist activist. In the 1930s, she lived in a New York City tenement and was a clerical worker for the federal WPA. Then she hitchhiked to Texas.*

*Interviewer Barbara Brown probes the origins of Brode's radicalism and the scope of her feminism—and elicits some poignant responses.*

Those were exciting times. The Socialist Party, Norman Thomas's group, was falling apart, and the Trotskyists were invited to join them in 1936. Then we were expelled in 1937 and we took a good many Socialist Party comrades with us. And in 1938 the Socialist Workers Party was started.

**BB:** Why did you move to Texas?

**LB:** Fred and I lived in tenement buildings, and even there the rents were sky-high. My job was low-paid filing for WPA. And at the 1938

Socialist Workers Party convention, comrades from Texas said we could find better jobs there. So we gave away our warm clothes, and hitchhiked. It took 8 days. And in our first winter in Texas, there was a blizzard!

**BB:** Were there jobs?

**LB:** Oh, it was terrible! I could never get a job because I was too dark; I had very black hair. They said I looked like a Cajun. It was my first experience with discrimination.

**BB:** Where did you live?

**LB:** Outside Houston in a Hooverville shanty—just some boards and no foundation and like a fisherman's tent on the sides. I was on low land that would flood. The water got thigh-deep. We lived there over two years, and then we chopped down some dead trees, took them to the sawmill, and built the little house where my son was born in 1942.

**BB:** What was that like, living in an isolated area with a new baby?

**LB:** It was so hot all those months before I had him. We had the first Norther when I came home, and we had no windows. Someone helped us board up the hole where a window should have been. I had to carry water from the pump and get the formula ready on a kerosene plate with two burners. We washed on a board with a pot of boiling water. I never thought I'd live like that.

**BB:** What jobs did you have?

**LB:** I worked for WPA again in '41 as a proofreader on a writer's project. I was

worked for the railroad and was gone for long periods. I was mostly alone.

Then, with the civil rights upsurge, we had lots of activity. When Malcolm X was still in jail, his book came out, and I went house to house in the Black neighborhoods talking to the grandmothers who were babysitting the children. They understood Malcolm—that we must all fight to free ourselves. Some people say we won't have to struggle—can you imagine? Life's a struggle!

Then came the sit-ins at Woolworth's. The lunch counter in the basement was for Blacks—whites sat upstairs. The Blacks picketed outside and would sit in upstairs. Some whites would go and sit in with them, and I would go every day. Finally, the other whites ignored us.

**BB:** What was it like during the antiwar years?

**LB:** A lot of violence. Someone who didn't like our antiwar beliefs would drive by after dark and shoot at the house. One night I was standing at the sink washing dishes, and was almost hit. It went on for years. One time I was sick, just out of the hospital and a shot went through. Fred, of course, was away. This is the life of a revolutionary—you're sick, the husband is off, and you take care of yourself!

**BB:** Did you ever consider moving?

**LB:** Of course not! This is our home.

Why should we leave?

**BB:** How did you like the CRSP Conference, where feminism was a main topic of debate?

**LB:** Oh! It was the first time for me! It was so exciting. I was like Rip Van Winkle—waking up and seeing all those women radicals! All those women speakers and organizers. I don't think all the men think it's that important—but for me it was thrilling. I just loved it. Naturally, I'm a woman!

**BB:** How do you feel about the way women on the Left are demanding their rights today?

**LB:** This should have happened in Left political parties a long time ago! We would have been much further ahead. I would have loved for it to happen before. But of course, as revolutionaries, we women did what we could. Even then! ■

**Barbara Brown** formerly lived in Houston and is now a Seattleite. She works as a school counselor and is a member of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP).

## The gospel according to Rev. Jackson

by Tom Boot and Madlyne Scott

**T**he Black community faces a double dilemma of enormous dimensions as unemployment, poverty, and affirmative action cutbacks coincide with a severe leadership vacuum. And the man on horseback who has charged forward, like a chivalrous knight, to fill the leadership void, is the charismatic Reverend Jesse Jackson, media star and national spokesperson for Black "self-help" and self-blame.

Jackson's reputation as an orator and militant grew out of his role as a disciple and later heir-apparent of Martin Luther King. But his emergence as a singular leader is a product of the temporary demise of the civil rights movement.

The dynamic Black upheaval of the 1960s subsided after Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, and King were killed and jailed, and the reformist leadership was bought off, scared off, or hoaxed. And Jackson, instead of rising to meet the new challenges of the '70s, moved swiftly backward.

Jackson voiced disapproval of the Vietnam war, but resisted taking the genuine anticapitalist position which flowed obviously from a strategic combining of the civil rights and peace issues. He refused then and now to advocate societal change that would begin at

the base and eliminate the economic system of capitalism. He chose to call for everyone to get a piece of the diminishing pie. And when that proved impossible, he became a biting critic of ghetto culture as the cause rather than the product of poverty.

In Seattle, recently, he attracted one of the biggest assemblages in a decade. He got "right-ons" for denouncing "excess" profits and arms sales to dictatorships, and then he unfurled his formula for "Black success," which stresses individual bootstrap-pulling far more than cohesive struggle.

He encouraged entry into the Republican party.

He exhorted Blacks to assume individual responsibility for their plight. He preached the absolute merits of personal excellence and the "efficacy of religious morality," as if achievement were a moral instead of a social question.

He was especially concerned about a return to the "solid old virtues of family discipline," and his capitalist stance was exemplified by his venom on the woman question.

Women like Rosa Parks, initiator of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and Fannie Lou Hamer were inspirations to the civil rights era. But the male leaders, including Jackson, denigrated them. Stokely Carmichael announced that the most appropriate position for Black women was prone, so they could "make revolutionary babies." And Jackson flays

Black feminists as "sell-outs."

"Such women only divide and dis-

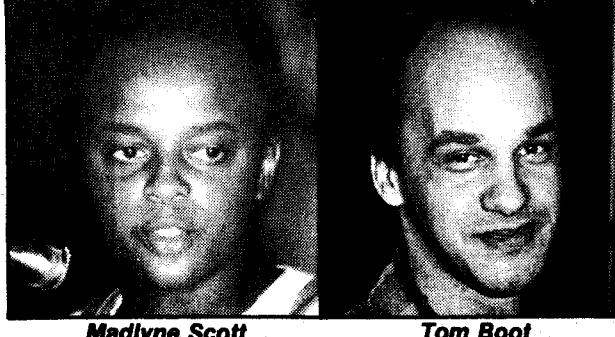
unify the movement," he says.

Under the usual guise of a call for unity and a putdown of "extraneous," "divisive," and "strategically wrong" concern about women's rights, he seriously disunifies the struggle and stifles the creative leadership of Black women.

The Black community does not need these tired and reactionary propositions.

The Black community must go forward. And to do so, it needs a fighting and *liberated* movement to combat this racist and sexist capitalist system.

Black women are acutely conscious of their dual oppression as women and as Blacks, and Jackson's macho slanders against women's equality will prove to be his undoing. Black women together with non-sexist Black men will solve the crisis of leadership, despite the demoralizing Jesse Jacksons. ■



Madlyne Scott

Tom Boot

by Monica Hill and Yolanda Alaniz

# R

adical Women, the voice of revolutionary socialist feminism in the United States, resoundingly extended the content, force and reach of its program at its Second National Executive Committee

Plenum held in New York City in May at Columbia University.

Exciting additions to the organization's basic document, the **Radical Women Manifesto**, expanded on the international character of women's struggle, on the significance and vitality of feminism among women of color, and on the identity of RW as a decisive sector of the Left.

The plenum adopted a strong resolution on ecology and energy, written by Marcia Cutler, Portland, Oregon, and Sharman Haley, Juneau, Alaska. The NEC demanded closure of nuclear plants and called for a socialist development of technology in harmony with human and environmental needs. A resolution on the mounting threat of the right wing and feminist responses to it, written by Constance Scott, Seattle, was also endorsed.

A public debate on the question of the "natural superiority of women" was kicked off by the adoption of an introductory discussion article by Dr. Susan Williams, New York, which will be published and disseminated.

"Marxist feminists have an enormous contribution to make on women's biologic, social, and political role in primitive as well as modern society," states the article. "This is the theory which shapes our aspirations and strategies."

### Women in Iran

Most significant to the participants was the approval of a resolution on the Iranian revolution, written by Monica Hill, Los Angeles, which documented the centrality of women's leadership in the world revolutionary struggle.

The plenum evaluated the Iranian revolution as a stunning vindication of revolutionary feminism—and of permanent revolution—and enthusiastically endorsed the demand of Iranian women for full economic, social and political freedom **now**.

The delegates condemned the majority of the Left for ignoring, downplaying, distorting or slandering the vanguard stance of women in Iran, and attributed this grave underestimation to a sexist blindness so entrenched that it may well retard the revolutionary momentum in Iran and elsewhere.

### Women of Color

The NEC applauded reports of the augmented recruitment of women of color to RW, and gave a stamp of approval to the right of representatives of specially-oppressed groups to form caucuses within RW. In response to a written proposal by Regina Jean-Joseph of N.Y., the **Manifesto** is being enlarged to include a section on the long-hidden history of women of color in the civil rights, labor, feminist and radical movements, where they have been a vital if unrecognized force.

Approving the written proposal of Karen Brodine



Radical Women National Executive Committee delegates (l to r): Yolanda Alaniz, Seattle; Karen Brodine, San Francisco; Melba Windoffer, Seattle; Monica Hill, Los Angeles; Mary Reeves, Seattle; Sukey Durham, San Francisco; Sharman Haley, Juneau; Deanna Cecotti, Portland; Constance Scott, Seattle; Dr. Susan Williams, New York; Marcia Cutler, Portland.

## Radical Women plenum—a giant step forward for revolutionary feminism

from San Francisco, the new **Manifesto** will also describe the varieties of contemporary feminism so as to clearly distinguish RW from the conservatives of NOW, the antipolitical cultural-lifestylists, the social democratic feminists who support the capitalist Democratic party, the Matriarchists, the separatists, etc. And RW's political opposition to the Stalinists and Maoists will also be spelled out.

The delegates felt that such a precise differentiation of key tendencies in feminism and radical politics would aid in the recruitment of women of color, and of all women.

Said one Black delegate, "The question has never been 'When are minority women going to become feminists?' It's when are white feminists going to confront their racism?"

At a public forum presented by New York RW during the plenum, Constance Scott, National RW Organizer, hailed the contributions of women of color to the struggle. As an integral part of their own communities and civil rights organizations, she said, "they do not sever their femaleness from their subjugation as people of color and workers." Instead, they lead the way in showing the "real life connections between all the strands of oppression used to divide us from each other."

The **Manifesto** will reemphasize RW's support of cultural pluralism, but will simultaneously explain how negative aspects of a culture, such as the church and the institutionalized nuclear family, sorely oppress women of color.

The Stalinist line on the "revolutionary fighting family," a shabby variation of women's subordination, will also be addressed.

### FSP Affiliation

The influence of Trotskyism and the theory of

permanent revolution, which have shaped the program and style of RW, will be more explicitly spelled out in the revised **Manifesto**.

And the historical development of the relationship between RW and the Freedom Socialist Party, which culminated in RW's affiliation with the FSP in 1974, will be described in detail in the new edition of the **Manifesto**, for the record and for the benefit of new readers.

### Past and Future Linked

The plenum was treated to an inspiring speech by RW co-founder Melba Windoffer, who recounted, with humor and profundity, RW's rich history of programmatic self-delineation, accomplishments in action, and the problems, the pain and the glory of building the organization. The strong sense she imparted of RW's role in the movement for human rights was influential in shaping some key decisions of the meeting.

New York RW, which hosted the plenum, generously furnished housing, superb meals, and even some sightseeing and theatre-going for the out-of-towners.

After 3 days and evenings of intensive and wide-ranging political analysis—and a welcome interlude featuring feminist poets and musicians—the NEC members from New York; Juneau, Alaska; Los Angeles; San Francisco; Portland; and Seattle left for home after a tremendous political experience. Their horizons were expanded, future tasks were well-outlined, and a new **RW Organizer's Handbook** was in their grasp.

Their message to serious feminists was clear: "Create a militant and radical leadership, or the right wing will take over and ravage the future that is really ours to build." ■

## Rebuttal

# A fairy tale for Marxist realists



nce upon a time, Marxists actually debated the question of whether a workers revolution would mean the swift liberation of women, people of color, and gays.

The international left was actually deeply divided on this issue, which was generally considered to be a "divisive," "secondary" and "petty bourgeois" issue.

Milt and Edith Zaslow argued that no socialist revolution had ever led to complete equality for women, so it was condescending to motivate specially oppressed groups with "fairy tales about miracles of instant, total liberation."

Instead, they thundered that backward attitudes, morals, psychology and institutions would at best "wither away" in time—lots of time.

But to prove their mild interest in the question, they assured people that an enlightened socialist government would try to hasten the elimination of prejudice. It would grant immediate civil rights to the super-oppressed and guarantee them the right to organize independently of the state in order to

try to stamp out sexism-racism on their own.

A very, very difficult task, according to these experts on human nature, the Zaslows.

However, children, a few salient facts had been overlooked.

Since women, people of color, and gays comprised a solid majority of the working class, who was going to be running this socialist state if not *them*?

And how was this diverse majority to unite and overthrow the capitalist class *in the first place* unless the old prejudices and discriminatory behavior were overcome *BEFORE* the revolution???

It was patently obvious that the privileged, white male minority who had union cards did not have the power, much less the inclination, to seize the state for the purpose of guaranteeing to the rest of us the right to organize against hatefulness *after* the revolution!

It was obvious because society was *already* undergoing a revolution in social relations which preceded socialism!

Women and gays were abandoning the old forms of personal and family relations by the drove.

Blacks, Asians, Chicanos, and Native Americans were mounting an all-out assault on racist ideology and culture.

And even the holy fathers of the church were forced to reexamine their eternal truths in the wake of angry denunciations of their doctrine from feminists and gay militants.

So while the Zaslows kvetched over the agonies of changing discriminatory attitudes and habits, the specially-oppressed people were already confronting and confounding every stereotypical image and changing the way people thought all over the world.

What the poor Zaslows had failed to see was that the revolution had started without them.

But that didn't matter to the revolution, as you know. Many one-time revolutionists flipped and joined the leagues of irrelevant radicals—and all because they worshipped at the shrine of white-skin privilege, penis politics, and heterosexism.

We called them the "refracted" voice of the capitalist oppressor. But we were wrong. Their voice wasn't a distorted image, it was the real thing.

Anyway, the super-subjugated masses got together, and most of the white male workers had to join them, and the liberated revolution lived happily ever after.

It really did.

—Guerry Hoddersen

# Uproar over Black Macho

Hurrah to Michele Wallace for writing **Black Macho and the Myth of the Super-woman**. She yanked the closet door open on a topic black women know well and have talked about privately for years—the sexism of black men.

Her description of the ramifications of sexism during the Civil Rights Movement of the '60s has put the issue of black sexual politics on the table and forced another chink in the armor of male supremacy. The book is a catalyst for exploring the politics of black male/female relationships and for learning to respect the leadership role black women must take in any struggle for liberation.

Highly principled in her refusal to excuse the sexist behavior of black men, Wallace's writing constitutes a demand that they take responsible action towards women and the movement for social change.

But the response to her is generally obnoxious.

Robert Staples, in the March/April *Black Scholar* rambles, whines and pleads for an "understanding" of sexism. He then rants at black women for daring to raise the issue!

Staples missed the boat. He might have

written about the problems of black feminists, and how the problems differ from those of black men and white feminists. He might have offered something intelligent on what black men must do to "get right," to support black sisters' struggles. Instead, in Moynihan-like fashion, he explains that the problem with black men is black women.

If we black women just weren't so assertive and decisive, black men wouldn't be driven to desert us as a form of "masculine protest."

Of course, Staples denies that he supports Moynihan's black matriarchy theory. And he agrees with Wallace's contention that for many black men, identity is located in their penis. He then calls on black women for our sympathy and support. How absurd—unless black women believe that the males afflicted with this dread social disease cannot relocate their identity.

Come on, fellas...we are tired of sympathizing and understanding *at our own expense*, which doesn't help *you* and certainly isn't in *our* best interest.

Staples writes that black men experience "feelings of nobodiness, fear of vulnerability." What he fails to say is: SO DO BLACK WOMEN. Add to those problems the fear of rape, the consequences of illegal abortion and inadequate birth control, poverty, abandonment, etc., and the brothers could begin to get the *female* picture.

Broaden it to include our vulnerability to woman-beating, then add the fears of some of



us who are lesbians. Got the picture, fellas, or is your sexism in the way?

Staples at least admits that women got a raw deal in the Sixties. But the *Guardian* (May 30) dares to ask if sexism ever existed at all in the Black Movement! Please. No more. Of course it did! The calls for our "prone" position and the making of "more babies for the revolution" still echo through the now-abandoned meeting halls of the Black Liberation Movement. We need no more racist, sexist garbage from the *Guardian*.

Ms. Wallace is right on target when she writes that black women are isolated because we aren't talking to one another, and that we should. Her book is an excellent starting point for a necessary discussion that has been waiting for years to happen. Thank you, Michele.

—Kathy Saadat

## Statement by Murry Weiss and Stephan Kass on joining the FSP

Our decision to join the Freedom Socialist Party constitutes a high point of our lives as revolutionaries.

Our decision arose out of two years of close association with the FSP in the building of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP). Our decision is a meaningful continuation of our lifetime struggle for a truly Leninist party.

As socialist feminist men, we welcome the opportunity to work in a party with a leadership predominantly composed of women. The FSP has placed socialist feminism as a pivotal issue in building a vanguard party, and has merged Leninism with the fullest revolutionary power of women, while other radical organizations are still crippled by sexism and racism.

### Alternative to the New Left

The FSP was originally the Seattle Branch of the SWP, conducting a deep struggle against the sexism, opportunism, bureaucracy, and centrist tendencies of the Socialist Workers Party.

After the formation of the FSP in 1966, a new split developed between women and men, when the women insisted that feminist deeds, not merely words, be carried out in life.

During this same period, the New Left experienced a severe split between men and women, centered in New York, over sexism. This split extended to a male-female division in the gay movement and erupted in the Black and other ethnic and racial minority movements.

These splits were never resolved or even faced up to in the radical movement, and this staggering fact underlies the fragmentation and stagnation of the revolutionary left.

The New Left also failed to ground itself in a coherent, theoretical Marxism, and fell into the hands of the right wing of its leadership, which led the movement into social democracy and the labor bureaucracy. It is an irony of history that the impetus and radicalism of the New Left was soon harnessed to the male supremacist party of American imperialism, the Democratic party.

The FSP is the revolutionary alternative to the dangerous Democratic party trap. The

leadership of Trotskyist women is the strongest possible variant to the betrayal of the New Left and feminist movement by their conservative leaderships. The FSP alone combines the unremitting, permanent struggle of revolutionary feminism with the continuity of Bolshevik Leninism. This powerful combination, embodying the struggle against bureaucracy, sexism, racism and bigotry, opens the door to a vital link with all the oppressed.

### Leninist Spirit and Practice

The essence of FSP and Radical Women is personified in the fresh, inspired and devoted cadre of primarily young revolutionary women, gays, blacks and chicanas assembled in the course of twelve years of rich struggle.

In its documents and self-understanding, the FSP has laid a foundation pointing to the future. The party developed in fierce struggle with the bourgeois and petty bourgeois environment that dominates U.S. society and has created a "moral medium" climate of its own that withstands the pressures of the imperialist culture we live in.

The cadre conducts its struggles in all the main arenas of political life. The party is overwhelmingly proletarian and trade unionist, an assertive force that has gained notable enemies, sturdy allies and sympathetic admirers in all sectors of the population.

The FSP had the unbelievable audacity to launch the *Freedom Socialist*, which expresses a unique viewpoint in the milieu of world Trotskyism, and faithfully reports the immediate and transitional struggles of the world's masses. The paper has extended its influence worldwide.

The party headquarters, Freeway Hall in Seattle, Washington, is a traditional center for radical activity. Today, threatened with eviction, old and new supporters have joined the campaign to secure a new headquarters.

A crucial characteristic of the FSP is its professional revolutionary conception. Members center their lives around the needs of the revolution, continuing the great tradition of the historical panoply of fulltime revolutionaries—from the fighters of the First International on the

barricades of the Paris Commune to the Bolsheviks of October, 1917 and the women and men of the Fedayeen and Socialist Workers Party of the Iranian Revolution.

### Builder of CRSP

The FSP, from the beginning, has played a leading role in the building of CRSP. CRSP's founding Statement of Purpose declared: "Revolutionary Socialist Feminism . . . the movement for the total emancipation of women in every sphere of life . . . must be vigorously embraced, promoted and demonstrated in practice by any movement that calls itself Marxist."

In the course of intensive discussion within CRSP, we discovered increasingly close agreement with the FSP and its core thesis: that the struggle for women's emancipation is a central generating force of the revolutionary process and an expression of the law of permanent revolution, a key theory of Trotskyism.

Indeed, the theoretical focus on socialist feminism in the program and action of CRSP was in fact drawn from the history, thought and experiences of the FSP, whose formation signified the most fundamental breakthrough of the revolutionary movement: the fusion in concept and action of American Trotskyism with the new and unique dynamism of women, gays and people of color which shapes the working class today.

The links between our political trajectory and that of the FSP, therefore, were forged at the moment CRSP was formed.

And when N.Y. CRSP found itself plunged into a fundamental struggle inside the Marxist Education Collective, a struggle that epitomized the 13-year travail of the FSP to launch itself, the links tightened for both of us.

### Microcosm of FSP History

Within the MEC, the Trotskyist/socialist feminist program of CRSP met with implacable hostility. Stephan, who was coordinator of the MEC, was attacked for a "conflict of interest" in joining CRSP.

The MEC majority formed an unprincipled combination with Stalinists, the ultra-left Spartacists, and the state-capitalist contingent of International Socialists to combat "vanguardism" and "premature and divisive" Trotskyism.

In the course of this bitter strife, CRSP members led in the formation of a women's

to page 19

## Movie Review

### Norma Rae

### The flick that failed

Because *Norma Rae* is a film inspired by a real-life, courageous Southern woman, Crystal Lee Jordan, and her organizing work in the hellish J.P. Stevens textile mill, it has seduced some people into hailing it as a pro-labor and feminist classic. But it is neither. It is untrue to both the woman and the struggle.

The setting is authentic: an enormous, windowless mill with high brick walls like a penitentiary and air thick with lethal cotton dust and the ear-shattering shrieking of the looms which batter the senses of the workers. Isolated from each other by management's divisive strategies and ground down by starvation wages and lethal speedup, the workers are obviously long overdue for organizing.

The problem is that the screenplay and director Martin Ritt falsify, trivialize, and vulgarize the title character, and the true chemistry of solidarity between the heroine and the other workers never comes across.

The dedicated effort of Norma Rae to build a union is portrayed as stemming less from conviction than from her fascination with Reuben, the New York intellectual who is the organizer for the Textile Workers Union. Minimizing her unwavering involvement in the long months of trial, error, argument, and danger that surround the formation of a union, the movie focuses voyeuristically on Norma Rae's relationships with her father, her husband, Reuben, and assorted other men. The decisive rapport with women workers is strikingly absent.

Dynamic actress Sally Field brilliantly captures the flavor of Norma's sardonic, twangy humor, her untutored intelligence, her quick sensitivity, and her earthy and honest approach to life. But the whole person, growing and learning, never appears, so her acts of courage and her developing emancipation remain erratic, incomprehensible, unmotivated. Norma's refusal to be bought off with the bribe of a better job, her defiance of the bosses, her lack of race prejudice, etc., seem to come out of nowhere.

Just as Norma Rae comes packaged as a stereotypical romantic female, so Reuben is an instant organizer. He simply arrives in town, shrugs off a few snarls from the townsfolk, jauntily passes out leaflets to the workers, and sets up shop in his motel room (very realistically furnished!). He is not confronted by any of the real menace of a small, North Carolina milltown. Reuben never tangles with anything more alarming than cow manure.

As Norma Rae's mentor, Reuben lectures her on how to talk to Southern men: don't bruise the male ego, he warns. What should she read? He offers nothing on unionism or the history of ideas, but does introduce her to poet Dylan Thomas, whose disrespect for women is monumental. He has her typing and phoning and

information-gathering, but we never hear Norma Rae making a speech or see her writing a leaflet or planning strategy. She is a passive object in relation to him, responding to and serving him rather than her own economic and human needs.

And since a comradely partnership between Norma and Reuben is apparently impossible for Hollywood to conceive, he can only maintain this necessarily platonic relationship by dashing out the door to seek prostitutes for relief. The basic theme of the picture, then, is the tension and suspense of their thwarted, sublimated sex-love. Boy never gets girl or vice-versa, and the motives for all this nobility are never revealed, but the juxtaposition of unionism and sexual frustration is a peculiarly puritanical approach to class struggle.

The nitty-gritty of daily organizing is subordinated to the non-love motif. Reuben demands the right to display union notices inside the mill, and wins handily. He speaks eloquently of union solidarity, but we never learn how these Blacks and whites came together in the Black church, where his first meeting is held. Norma and others are apparently charmed into joining the union, and the members have incredibly little to say at any time!

When Norma gets Reuben proof that the company is inciting racial conflict, she is fired, arrested and jailed. She is so humiliated by this disgrace that she apologizes to her kids for her unorthodox life! Very shortly thereafter, the union is inexplicably certified.

Now, in life, this is when a very hard part of any union struggle really begins, but Reuben drives breezily away, back to New York, mission accomplished! Norma Rae is left standing forlornly near the mill walls. Sigh . . . her Pygmalion is gone and all she has left is her union.

Since the producers took no risk of teaching the audience how to build a union, the film makes the organizing of J.P. Stevens look like a pushover. In reality, Crystal Lee Jordan was blacklisted and never regained a mill job. Her union never managed to negotiate a contract. And despite a national boycott, J.P. Stevens' profits are increasing.

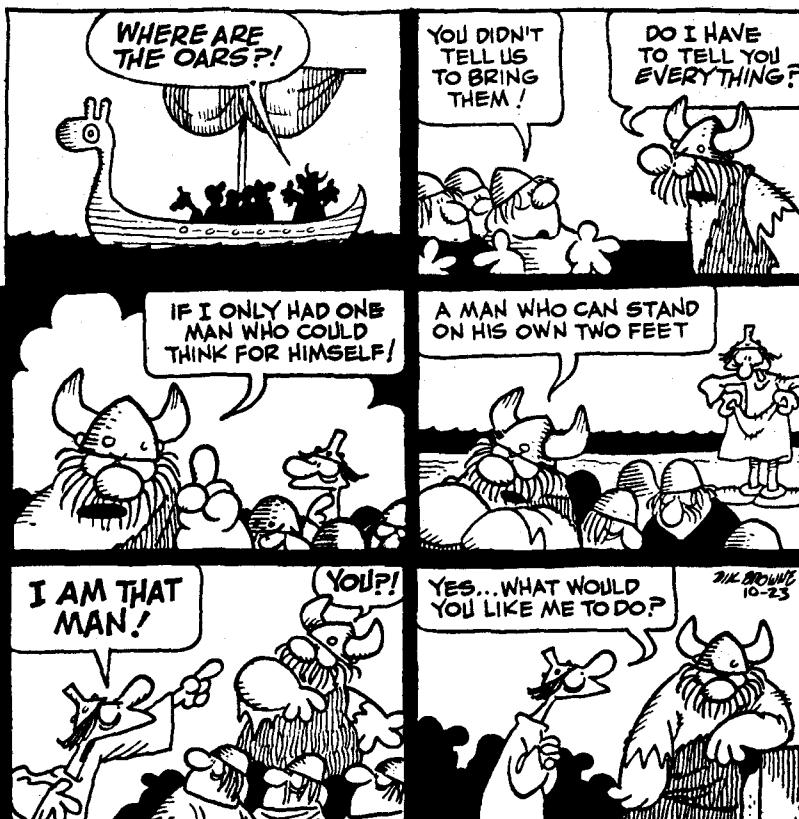
Fortunately, Barbara Kopple, Academy Award-winning producer of *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, has arranged with Crystal Lee Jordan to film the real story. And Jordan may sue director Ritt, a former victim of the Hollywood blacklist who refused Jordan's demand that the union campaign be emphasized over her personal problems.

Too bad Ritt learned nothing from his fellow victims of the witchhunt who left us that superb legacy, *Salt of the Earth*, the truly classic saga of the class, race and sex wars of our epoch.

—Janet Sutherland

### The organization question

from Hagar the horrible



**Clara Fraser**

### Shadows and substances

An icepick slammed into the brain slew Leon Trotsky. Everybody knows that.

What everybody doesn't know is that an identical weapon was viciously used in the same way to slaughter a talented and beautiful woman radical of the Thirties—Frances Farmer, once-acclaimed star of Broadway and Hollywood.

The perpetrator of the first crime was a depraved Stalinist henchman whose heinous act was a front-page sensation. But the coldblooded murderers of the outspoken and rebellious actress were never brought to justice because they were the political establishment.

The usual cabal of FBI and CIA agents, rightwing vigilantes, police, film studio moguls, Tory judges, and the power structure of the city of Seattle (Farmer's hometown) joined forces in this case with the psychiatric witch doctors, and conspired to harness the unconventional politics of a brave and brilliant feminist-before-her-time.

For the crime of dissidence, Farmer was arrested, confined to the loony bin (Western State Hospital in Steilacoom, Washington) and subjected to a snakepit regimen of torture and degradation previously reserved for recalcitrant Wobblies and Asian immigrants. She was administered incredible doses of untested drugs, electroshock and hydrotherapy, and was mass-raped by orderlies.

Yet they couldn't break her mind, her will or her indomitable revolutionary spirit. So in 1948—national witchhunt time—they plunged the "therapeutic" pick into her magnificent brain. Farmer disintegrated into passivity and died at 56, a burned-out, disoriented recluse.

This terrible tale of psychiatric abuse, of totalitarian mind control to enforce conformity, is cautiously but indignantly told by William Arnold in his stunning book *Shadowland*, a biography of Farmer—and of America.

• • •

Anticommunist hysteria is endemic to the Pacific Northwest.

Its lurid history is replete with the corpses of IWW labor martyrs; the radical Congressman Marion Zioncheck, hounded to death by J. Edgar Hoover and his cronies; Anna Louise Strong, revolutionary journalist without honor in her Seattle hometown; and innumerable other rebels who dared challenge the status quo and proclaim their partisanship of a better way to live and to arrange social interactions.

Of course, lots of us hellraisers and muckrakers and social critics do manage, most of the time, to fly over the cuckoo's nest, evade the cops, outflank the neo-nazi terrorists, and escape the prefrontal lobotomies.

Where we do get it is squarely in the pocketbook.

The ruling class simply exerts economic and legal sanctions against us so that we are excluded from gainful employment. *Job discrimination is the shadowy shape of organized brainwashing and political reprisal in our era.*

• • •

I ought to know. From the World War II loyalty oaths through the dismal days of the McCarthy purges and up until this very moment, I have been afflicted by economic harassment.

For five long, insolvent years, I have struggled to regain my job with City Light, whose management fired me because of their political and sex bias. And now, after incredible legal adventures involving the top levels of city government, my Hearing is slated for September.

And it wouldn't surprise me at all if a pompous practitioner from the psychiatric establishment materializes on the witness stand to speak to my sanity and competence.

As author Arnold says, "It can happen to anyone." And it mostly happens to women. But experience has prepared us for these mental health medievalists, and we know how to prove that traditional psychiatry is as obsolete as the power structure that wields it against us, as absurd as the FBI informants lurking in the shadows of political cases.

We will not forget or forsake Frances Farmer. Amidst our troubles we will pay tribute to her fierce strength of character. And we will avenge her sacrifice in all our victories to come, in this new age of Aquarius.

# A victory for socialist feminism

## Organizer's report to the 1969 FSP conference

A Victory for Socialist Feminism describes the birth-pangs of a political party. When, in 1967, the Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party separated from the parent body and became the Freedom Socialist Party, one of the unresolvable differences that had precipitated the split was the Woman Question. And in the new party's first two years of life, its feminist principles were tested even further in the crucible of experience and all but the most determined champions of women's equality ended up out of the party. Those comrades who stuck to their feminist battle stations emerged tempered enough to go on to build a unique kind of revolutionary party.

The issue that triggered the split in the young FSP was a divorce between two leading members, Clara and Richard Fraser (Clara Kaye and Richard Kirk). Washington State divorce law at that time put the wife at a terrible disadvantage, and when Richard Fraser forced the issue and contested Clara's divorce and custody suit, the party had to face the then-disputed question of whether a political principle or a private matter was at stake. Fortunately for its survival, the party made the correct decision—an historic decision.

Clara Fraser, considerably ahead of her time, refused to be intimidated by male chauvinist "radicals" who scornfully accused her of confusing the personal and the political. Nor would she be shamed into secrecy and submission by any individualistic fear of public "disgrace" over the exposure of her domestic battles for equal rights. She saw clearly that the physical abuse, the husband's alcoholism, her economic burdens, and the reactionary political and moral slander against her character, wielded as blackmail in the child custody dispute, were not just the center of *her* case, but the heart of women's oppression everywhere. And these outrages were no more to be tolerated in a radical party than anywhere else; on the contrary, in a Marxist organization energetically espousing the great principles of women's emancipation, Richard Fraser's conduct was particularly reprehensible.

The ensuing intra-party conflict categorically separated the socialist feminists from the hypocrites, and the Victory transpired when the conflict deepened into rift and the rift into outright split. Because the women and their few male defenders won out, this chapter of feminist history warrants close attention today, when the women's movement is scrutinizing the Left in search of a basis for a principled alliance.

And the book speaks just as tellingly to male-dominated radical groups who are still wondering just what it *is* that women revolutionaries want!

### III. The Woman Question Emerges

**W**hat does a party do when its most prominent spokesman and ideologist falls apart politically and personally, and is transformed into a detriment to the party and a danger to its integrity?

This difficult question was thrust upon the FSP less than a year after its formation, and the struggle for an answer occupied a great portion of the party's time and energies during 1967.

In the course of this turmoil, all the internal differences were greatly sharpened and relations grew increasingly embittered. Furthermore, a new issue was added to the list of disputed questions that symptomized the deepening internal crisis. It was *this* issue, and the differences that emerged over how to deal with it, that gave decisive impetus to the clarification of the internecine conflict.

The leader in question was Comrade Dick Kirk. The new and fundamental issue raised, in a highly peculiar fashion, was the Woman Question.

#### The Crisis of a Leader

As the principal architect of our tendency's position on the Black question, Comrade Kirk was for years our most prominent political representative and spokesman within the milieus of radical politics and the ghetto. Nevertheless, long before the January, 1967 conference, he was experiencing a singular political and personal degeneration, which accelerated with time.

His theoretical work was reduced to zero, and

he showed an increasing propensity toward opportunistic maneuvering in the mass movement and the national political arena. His behavior inside the party was increasingly factious, arrogant and disruptive. His characteristic response to criticism was sullen withdrawal, punctuated by outbursts of violent rage.

His irrational and outrageous behavior was rendered virtually uncontrollable by his growing alcoholism, an advanced condition which he alternately denied or used as an excuse for his actions.

By the January conference, Comrade Kirk's irresponsibility was so flagrant that he had been relieved of most of his duties. Only national correspondence, which he worked at sporadically, remained. The decision to place him on the Literary and Correspondence Committee was largely motivated by the desire of the entire party, including the coalescing opposition, to be free of his disruptive scenes. It was hoped that by confinement to literary work he could still be induced to make a positive contribution to the party. But he couldn't.

The new executive was hardly installed in office

**One faction in the party viewed women, and the party, in mystical, stereotyped and subjective terms . . . the other faction made clear that it aimed to fight for translating abstract ideological norms into practical standards of comradely, non-chauvinist conduct to be used as firm guidelines in real life.**

before Kirk unleashed a virulent campaign of innuendo and slander against it, which paralleled the attacks of the minority. In the following months, his antics became more and more intolerable. Explosive, undisciplined behavior in party meetings, veiled organizational charges and vitriolic personal attacks against comrades, drunken and violent scenes at internal meetings and public functions—all became part of his regular modus operandi.

#### Rampant Male Supremacy

Finally, his political degeneration and rapid personal disintegration became linked to an increasingly overt and vicious male chauvinism.

Our tendency has always been characterized by its advanced position on the Woman Question. Kirk had never voiced any political disagreement on this position; in fact, he fancied himself one of its foremost proponents. In practice, however, his actions belied his political pretensions.

His male supremacist attitude expressed itself most openly and clearly in his intense personal vendetta against Comrade Clara, to whom he was legally married, although they had been separated for more than a year. He made repeated demands on her for money. She was the target of his con-



Bill Cumming/Detail from portrait

tinual, personal harassment to the point of public physical violence. In effect, he denied her right to a life of her own. He unilaterally assumed custody of their son and possession of their jointly-owned house, and refused to discuss either child custody or a financial-property agreement with her.

Thus he condemned the child to an upbringing by a raging drunk, despite the danger to the child. And he blackmailed Clara into continuing to give him money by threatening to provoke a legal-political scandal if she refused.

In her struggle to free herself and her child from this unrelieved oppression, Comrade Clara was completely alone. The party maintained an Olympian detachment from such a "personal" matter, and Clara never raised it, not wishing to burden the party with the problem.

Given the party's indulgence of his organizational disturbances and rampant chauvinism, Kirk made no effort to curb his behavior. Instead, he repeatedly raised the charge that he was being slandered and maligned, and demanded an investigation of "corridor gossip" against him—a demand which he conveniently refused to put in the form of a motion requiring action.

#### Kirk Is Finally Challenged

In May, 1967 the executive decided that something had to be done about Kirk's repeated charges. They named a sub-committee to investigate these vague charges, but Kirk refused to meet with it, claiming he hadn't requested it! A second sub-committee was named, and Kirk's shabby performance was repeated. The matter dragged into July, with Kirk still demanding "vindication" of something or other.

The second sub-committee submitted a report to the executive detailing its lack of success, and charging Kirk with a serious violation of party discipline for his refusal to meet with an authoritative body mandated to investigate the charges he was flinging. The sub-committee recommended that since he was incapable of functioning in a rational manner, he be either suspended or expelled from the party.

The executive substantially agreed with the report and formed a Control Commission with powers to investigate, bring charges, conduct a trial and decide on the necessity and nature of any disciplinary action.

Also, at the request of Clara, the executive directed the Control Commission to assign an arbiter to mediate an out-of-court divorce and custody settlement between herself and Kirk, adjudicating the disputed issues in the light of the party's principles rather than those of the bourgeois court. Kirk was constantly threatening legal action and Clara had come to believe that the party had to take steps now to avoid an unprecedented and scandalous confrontation between two leading party members in a public divorce court.

Kirk's provocations were of the sort that no

serious organization can afford to tolerate. His disruptiveness and chronic, uncontrollable violations of the basic rules of comradely behavior, along with his chauvinistic persecution of Comrade Clara, posed a threat to the political and organizational integrity of the party. His growing tendency to create public uprisings threatened the party with imminent scandal.

Virtually every comrade felt that Kirk represented *at least* a serious problem that should be dealt with in *some* fashion. At this time (before the election campaign had generated any serious frictions), there still appeared to be grounds for believing that the Kirk problem could be separated from other internal problems, and that the party could unite to bring him into line.

With this view in mind, the Control Commission was set up. To make sure it would not be an instrument of any faction or grouping, the Commission was made large enough (five members) to accommodate representatives of every current of opinion in the party. It included Comrade Lee, even though she (and Comrade Frank) had bitterly opposed the formation of a Control Commission. It was hoped that this broadly-based body, backed by the overwhelming majority of the party, could resolve the "Kirk problem" without resorting to expulsion.

#### Debacle of the Control Commission

The Control Commission, unfortunately, did not live up to expectations, partly because its proceedings were interrupted for several weeks in the late summer by the election campaign, but more fundamentally because of its own internal paralysis.

From its inception, the Control Commission was bogged down with legalistic pitting over its "proper jurisdiction," and endless disputes over procedural questions—usually raised and pushed to the limit by Comrade Lee. These were countered by the "hards" on the commission (Comrades Melba Windoffer and John Severn) who were able to convince the wavering "center" (Al and Skip) of the need for decisive action, pulling them along step by step.

Finding her efforts at procedural obstruction and obfuscation frustrated, Lee adopted another strategy. She raised a barrage of counter-charges against Comrade Clara, to the effect that:

(1) Clara was *responsible* for Kirk's misbehavior, since she had failed in her *proper domestic role of keeping him happy, productive and under control*.

(2) By insisting that the Control Commission use its authority to force Kirk into an equitable divorce settlement, Clara was lending unwarranted political weight to what was essentially a "*personal*" dispute, outside the jurisdiction of party disciplinary bodies.

(3) Clara was using the divorce and custody dispute issue as a cover-up maneuver to conceal her attempt, along with the "Stalinist" organizer, Comrade Bob, to wrest control of the party from the "established leadership." The Control Commission was part of a devious conspiracy, Lee warned, to "get Kirk," and Clara had even gone so far as to "*maneuver* Kirk into acting badly" so he could be dealt with as a disciplinary problem, rather than in political debate.

This reactionary, soap opera attribution of Kirk's weaknesses to Clara's lack of wifely devotion had long been Kirk's main line of defense, and now it was being accorded *political sanction*.

Lee's new strategy was effective. After months of wavering and reluctant assent to the arguments of the "hards," the male center (Al and Skip) collapsed and stumbled gracelessly into the opposition camp. A new theory was proclaimed: Comrade Clara was now and had always been a *WITCH*.

By October, *the original case against Kirk had been completely submerged and replaced by an inquisition against Clara and every other comrade who had demanded enforcement of women's rights and equal standards of party discipline*. The oppositional nucleus (Frank and Lee) had gained effective control of the Control Commission by dint of discovering the *one* issue around which they could regroup all the vague and disparate oppositional currents into a single faction.

This faction, which never openly admitted its own factional character, had one "principle" and one rallying cry: "Stop Clara and her clique!"

So there now existed a **faction** in the party that viewed women, and the nature of the party, in mystical, stereotyped and subjective terms. And there could be no resolution of the inner-party conflict until the basic issues could be brought before the membership in a programmatic and materialist manner.

#### Counter-Faction

At Comrade Clara's initiative, a counter-faction was formed, openly organized to defend our official position and historical tradition of *women's emancipation and the Leninist nature of the party*. Comrade Clara simply announced at a party meeting that she was calling for the formation of a counter-faction and invited the membership to join it. Characterizing her faction as bolshevik, and the opposition as menshevik, she candidly declared a political contest for leadership of the party.

This faction made clear from the beginning that it aimed to fight for translating abstract ideological norms into practical standards of comradely, non-chauvinist conduct to be used as firm guidelines in real-life situations. The pro-woman, pro-party faction aimed to win a majority and gain the authority to enforce these standards, and end the previous pattern of arbitrary, capricious, eclectic and male chauvinist practices.

Now, at last, ideological lines were drawn and issues defined. The field was clear for a decisive contest. The party was geared to fight out and settle the political issues, including the question of leadership.

The contest was to take place at the forthcoming party convention, scheduled for December, 1967. For a short time, it appeared that the FSP would settle its internal crisis by a principled confrontation of opposing views, in accordance with the Leninist tradition.

#### *She simply announced at a meeting that she was calling for the formation of a women's emancipation faction and invited the membership to join it.*

But Clara's flat and unambiguous declaration of program and purpose completely unnerved the opposition. Their pandemonium telegraphed split, and split did occur, determined, however, not by the results of a convention, but by the desperation of Kirk and his faction.

#### IV. Split

**S**ince the Control Commission, now exalted by fear and morbid hysteria, proved powerless to render justice and enforce sanity, Clara had appealed to the party membership directly. The non-controlling Control Commission was finished.

Virtually the last official act of the Control Commission chairman, Comrade Al, was to confess once again the commission's complete inability to control or modify Kirk's actions.

Kirk had refused to meet with a party-assigned mediator to discuss terms of divorce and child custody, declaring his intention to carry the contest into court. And even though he was employed, he informed Clara that he was filing bankruptcy, a malicious action which, under Washington State's community property laws, would result in garnishment of Clara's pay check to pay his personal debts—and in loss of her job.

Under these circumstances, Comrade Al announced, Clara should "just go to court" to protect herself, because "there is nothing the Control Commission can do with Kirk."

Given this ultimatum from the Control Commission chairman, representing the Control Commission *majority*, Clara had no option but to proceed with filing for divorce in order to protect herself from garnishment.

Kirk responded immediately with a counter-suit!

Now the party was confronted with the actuality of an impending court fight between two of its leading members. It had two choices: it could abstain from the situation, letting the principals slug it out in court, or it could intervene directly, using its authority to bring about a settlement out of court and an uncontested divorce, precisely what Clara had asked it to do.

In order to implement the latter course, the FSP would have to do something it had never done before—enforce party tradition and discipline in a case it had always preferred to treat as a purely *personal* matter. But this abstentionist course

created grave dangers for the party.

In the first place, the very fact of a bitter legal contest between two leading comrades over a woman's right to a divorce, and over child custody, threatened a very damaging political scandal. Even more important was the *nature of the contest*.

In any divorce case, the issues upheld by a bolshevik party, particularly one noted for its strong stance on women, are different and often opposite to the capitalist marriage norms of the bourgeois courts.

In this particular case, these *ideological* issues would appear in an especially explosive form. Kirk was obviously out for blood, and was using any and all bourgeois weapons at hand to gain victory.

#### Scarlet Letter Stuff

He clearly revealed his political treachery in the content of his counter-divorce suit. He accused Clara, among other crimes, of being an "unfit mother" because of "frequent absences from the home," "staying out all night," failure "to make a real home" for him, "insistence on working outside the home," and conversely "refusing" to work during certain periods because she "preferred doing other things," i.e., a very few full-time party assignments.

The incredibly medieval essence of these charges should be apparent to any socialist or feminist. Kirk was standing four-square on the ground of the injured male done wrong by his little woman, who, rejecting all the proper duties of wifery, had frustrated his efforts to build a conventional home. And implicit in his charges was the accusation of adultery. The FSP oppositionists pretended not to see this implication, but it was clearly understood by the lawyers on both sides, and Kirk's lawyer soon made it explicit in the courtroom by *naming the party organizer as the other man!*

This scandalmongering, from the standpoint of FSP policy on women's rights, not to mention simple decency, constituted an absolutely impermissible act of Babble and *open scaberry*—an outright denial of the fundamental right of sexual freedom of choice, which socialist and humanist tradition have always regarded as a fundamental liberty.

Even more important, the whole thrust of Kirk's legal case was designed to deny Comrade Clara her right to live as a professional revolutionary devoting her life to the *movement* rather than to his care and feeding. By flinging Clara's intensely political lifestyle (how else could she explain her "frequent absences from the home") into court for public scrutiny and evaluation by a bourgeois judge, Kirk was endangering the party, feminism, and socialist humanism.

*Kirk was publicly finking on the Woman Question and on the party.* That was the reality of the matter. The question before the party was very simple: did it in fact take its own politics—its own position on women's equality—seriously enough to intervene and stop overt scabbing? Yes or no?

It was this "yes or no" that determined the final polarization within the party and provoked a split.

The executive finally said yes. Kirk's legal line was politically and ethically impermissible. Recognizing the grave danger for the party's integrity and morale posed by Kirk's counter-suit, the executive resolved to take the matter directly to the party ranks.

#### Control or Expel

There were two executive proposals:

(1) That the Control Commission be dissolved as an utterly ineffective body.

(2) That Kirk either withdraw his lawsuit against Clara immediately and submit the issues to arbitration within the party, or be expelled as an *open fink*.

The first proposal was agreed to by all.

The second precipitated a division along majority-minority lines, though there was still some hesitancy about taking decisive action within the majority (bolshevik) faction. The point of the second proposal, however, was not to press for an immediate vote for expulsion, but to present the alternatives posed by Kirk's actions squarely before the party ranks: he must be either *controlled* or *expelled*.

Two long meetings were devoted to a discussion of the proposal, long enough for the full implications of Kirk's legal strategy to become clear to the party majority. Finally, the alternatives were embodied in the following motion:

(1) That Kirk be enjoined from pursuing a contested divorce in a public courtroom;

to next page

from page 17

(2) That a mediator, mandated to determine the actual terms of a divorce settlement on the basis of socialist ethical norms, be appointed;

(3) That if Kirk failed to comply with these conditions, he be summarily expelled.

The measure passed by one vote, over the strenuous objections of the opposition to the effect that the party was *exceeding its authority* by intervening in such a "personal" matter, that it was a maneuver to get rid of Kirk, etc. "You can't DO that!" was the outcry from the ranks of the minority.

Nevertheless, the decision held. Two days after the measure was passed, Kirk walked into a meeting with Clara and the mediator, and two minutes later he walked out, bellowing, "I'll see you in court." He was expelled at the next party meeting.

#### Desertion

At the following membership meeting, the opposition raised a barrage of procedural objections to the expulsion, declaring that the decision was based on an "artificial majority" that didn't reflect the real relationship of forces in the party.

The entire meeting (which included all party members in Seattle) was devoted to a discussion of the expulsion, and the expulsion decision was ratified—again by one vote.

And now the opposition took an unprecedented step. Rather than stay and fight for a political decision at the party convention scheduled for a few weeks away, *they walked out*—over a procedural question on which, if their claims to represent a majority were to be taken seriously, they could have won an easy victory.

"I resign! I've had enough!" Frank roared dramatically, and with this rallying cry, he stalked from the hall, his troops stumbling after him, out of the headquarters and out of the party.

This desertion took place toward the end of November, 1967. The behavior of these former members in the succeeding months showed the split to be permanent and indelible.

#### Goodby, Already

At first, the deserters tried to open phony "unity" negotiations, proposing a "parity" conference in which they would represent not only themselves but the proxies of some of the party's national supporters they had won over to their side *after* they left the party.

Moreover, Kirk, as one of their leaders, was to be involved in the proposed negotiations. In reply, the FSP invited them to reapply individually for membership. Kirk was informed that as an expelled member, he had the right to appeal his expulsion at a party convention, but no right to "parity."

The party also demanded the return of its Publication Fund, hundreds of dollars with which the deserters had absconded.

This ended negotiations.

But the former oppositionists suddenly discovered that instead of being a group that had quit the party, *they were* the party.

Again claiming the "majority," they demanded that we recognize their right to the name of Freedom Socialist Party, the headquarters, Freeway Hall, and the assets of the organization.

We said no, don't be absurd. And the split was complete.

The third installment of A Victory for Socialist Feminism will appear in the Fall, 1979 issue of the *Freedom Socialist*.

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**where to  
find the  
FSP**

# Malice Aforethought

by Ms. Tami



**News Item:** The Shah of Iran wades in the sea.

**Comment:** Jaws!  
Where are you now that we need you???

#### Cup-Cakes in Court

Throughout history, sugar has been the morbid cause of distorted reason and emotion in all who partook of it.

Marie Antoinette was only one of many who was forced into a profligate life of wealth and misuse of absolute power because of the enormously high sugar-content of her diet.

The people of France, however, were less sophisticated than the modern-day jury in Dan White's double murder trial in San Francisco.

France sentenced Marie to death, despite her junk-food hang ups. A last-hour advocate of better nutrition, Marie faced her insensitive detractors with the ringing cry, "Let THEM eat cake!"

But Dan White's "Twinkie" defense—"emotional unbalance caused by junk food"—got him off. Too bad; it certainly lacked the directness of his first plea. He claimed he was attacked by the Sugar Plum Fairy.

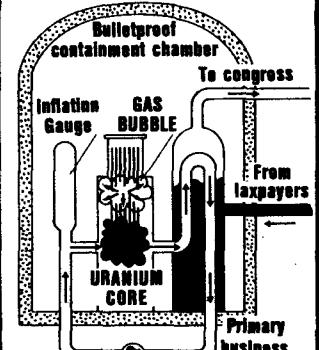
#### "My Man" Department

Swinger Margaret Trudeau says her estranged husband, Canada's ex-prime minister Pierre Trudeau, punched her in the face when she left him.

"Actually, I was quite pleased," she bubbled to a *Ladies Home Journal* reporter. "It was the first time in a very long while that I'd been able to really get a response from Pierre. It showed that he really loved me. In a strange way, it made us closer."

In a strange way, this is the end between us, Peggy.

#### All Heart



Carter's hand covers painful troublespot.

## • • • workers states

from page 5

parasitic, bureaucratic stratum arose. It wormed its way into the Communist Party in order to exploit the party's power and prestige toward the end of acquiring privileges. Stalin was to become the reflection and expression of this bureaucratic caste.

Deathly afraid of the discontent of the peasantry, and demoralized by the defeats of the revolutions in Western Europe in the early 1920s and the continued threat of imperialist intervention, this privileged caste was intent on consolidating *itself*.

As long as Soviet power rested on the revolutionary workers of the world, imperialism was its mortal enemy. So the regime began to bargain for peace at the cost of betrayal of the international proletariat.

By 1928 the doctrine of a self-sufficient Russian socialism was proclaimed by the Stalinist regime and imposed on the Communist International, for socialist isolationism was a theoretical formula that aptly expressed the cynicism and hostility of Stalin and his cohorts toward the prospects for world revolution.

And for thirty long years, the workers of the world were criminally disarmed by the confusion of the great achievements of the Russian Revolution with the parasitic interests and scandalous policies

of the ruling caste in the USSR.

Not until the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 did the mass of communists realize that they could both defend the revolutionary conquests and resist dictatorship. The specious umbilical cord had finally been cut.

#### The Chickens Come Home to Roost

With masterful foresight, Trotsky predicted in *The Third International After Lenin* precisely where the policy of socialism in one country would lead.

The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state if only there is not intervention. From this there can and must follow...a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism, that is to say, will solve the main historical question. The task of the parties in the Communist International assumes, therefore, an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power. It is, of course, not a question of the subjective intentions but of the objective logic of political thought.

Trotsky captures here the total dynamics of Stalinism.

In the British general strike of 1926, Stalin sold out to the capitalists.

In 1933, he paved the way for Hitler.

In the Spanish Revolution of 1936, Stalin sought an alliance with the bourgeoisie instead of the workers.

He helped restore Western European capitalism and its colonial empires out of the ashes of World War II, with the avid cooperation of the Communist parties of France, Italy and Greece.

Finally, dropping all pretenses, the Stalinists formally dissolved the Comintern.

Since 1925, the Chinese Revolution was betrayed by Soviet deference to the Chinese bourgeoisie and to world imperialism. Is it any wonder, then, that soon after the Chinese neo-Stalinists attained power, they quickly made their own accommodation with U.S. imperialism at the expense of the treacherous Russian bureaucracy?

From the Yalta Conference in 1945, to the

to next page

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from page 18

Geneva Conference in 1954 and the Paris peace accords in 1973, the entire course of the revolution in Indochina was marked by Soviet and Chinese attempts to bargain with U.S. imperialism over the fate of the Vietnamese revolution. At the same time, the Vietnamese Communists bargained over the Kampuchean revolution in order to maintain supply bases there.

Yet no primary economic impulse thrusts workers states into military conflict with each other in Southeast Asia. The current war is merely the product of the pathetic and doomed attempts of the contending bureaucracies to widen the sphere of their own political control and acquire more bargaining chips in their quixotic quest for 'peaceful coexistence' with U.S. imperialism.

Hence, *the quest for territorial control is the primary motivation behind the current conflict in S.E. Asia.*

Vietnam is allied with the USSR against China because Vietnam cannot risk having its entire border encircled by nations sympathetic to Beijing. And China cannot accept defeat of its political ally in Kampuchea, the Khmer Rouge, which opposes the Soviet Union and its ally, the Vietnamese.

### Proletarian Internationalism

The Communist League and the First International were founded by Marx and Engels on the principle of proletarian internationalism.

This was not a moral precept but a profoundly *materialist* prerequisite for the construction of socialist society, given the social dynamic of the capitalist mode of production.

Marx showed how capitalism, in the course of establishing itself as a worldwide mode of production, smashes through all tribal, national and religious obstacles to the expropriation of the mass of independent producers, and creates uniform conditions for their exploitation as a proletariat. *But in so doing, capital also creates the conditions for the worldwide unification of the proletariat, hence creating the agency for its own destruction.*

Lenin, in his thesis on the national and colonial questions at the Second Congress of the Comintern, defined the general task of socialism, rising above the national stage of struggle, as "the creation of a united world economy, regulated according to a general plan by the proletariat of all nations, the tendency toward which is already revealed with complete clarity under capitalism and undoubtedly will receive further development and full achievement under socialism."

From such ideas was the law of the permanent revolution laid out by Marx in 1850 and applied by Trotsky to the epoch of imperialism.

This law explains the necessity for every democratic struggle and every anticolonial and national struggle to go over to the struggle for socialist revolution under the independent banner of the proletariat, and for every victorious socialist revolution to either extend itself internationally or perish.

Armed with this understanding of the critical task of unifying the international struggle against the world bourgeoisie, Trotskyists have always battled against the reactionary nationalism of socialism in one country, whether promoted by Stalinists, Maoists, or hybrid bureaucracies.

Trotsky had brilliantly predicted that the social-

ism in one country theory was "the beginning of the disintegration of the International along the lines of social patriotism," wherein various ruling Communist parties would chauvinistically betray each other.

The alternative to workers state cannibalism is the *permanent revolution*, which permits workers to see a clear road toward unity and victory for the international proletariat. Among Trotskyists, however, there are political differences over the Indo-Chinese events which call into question some of the fundamental precepts of Trotskyism. An ideological debate of great magnitude is underway.

### Debate in the 4th International

Two major viewpoints are currently contending within the 4th International, whose function is the programmatic rearmament of world Trotskyism.

The civil war in Kampuchea has raised critical questions concerning the nature of the respective states involved and the nature of a correct approach to conflicts among ruling bureaucracies of deformed workers states.

The U.S. Socialist Workers Party, leading a minority faction in the 4th International, supports Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. Ernest Mandel, leader of the majority faction, opposes Vietnamese troops crossing the border. Both factions roundly condemn the Chinese invasion of Vietnam.

The SWP calls the Kampuchean state under Pol Pot a *capitalist* aggressor, which justifies Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea. But the SWP offers no explanation, aside from Pol Pot's brutality, of how capitalism could have existed in Kampuchea given the collectivized means of production and the abolition of trade and the means of exchange.

Although there was no class of domestic capitalists in Kampuchea, the SWP says that Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime, the apparatus of the state, controlled a capitalist economy. Kampuchea, then was a *state capitalist* society.

Mandel contested this view in the April 9 *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* (English-language voice of the 4th International):

Once one accepts the utterly revisionist idea that one can have a capitalist state without capitalists, without a ruling capitalist class, without capitalist property and production relations, and without the economy obeying the laws of motion of capitalism, then 99% of the traditional Marxist case against the various theories of state capitalism... collapses.

(Comrade Mandel might have noted that the SWP, which expelled Mandel's now defunct International Majority Tendency, recently recruited the Revolutionary Marxist Committee—which holds a state capitalist position on China and the USSR.)

Mandel is correct as against the SWP on this question. He goes on to say that the war among workers states in S.E. Asia can in no way be justified because it is a product of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Chinese, Russian, Vietnamese, and Kampuchean revolutions.

The principles of proletarian internationalism, he says, have been overthrown by all the competing Stalinist parties, all attempting to secure areas of influence to bolster their own national interests.

Mandel says that the presence of Vietnamese

troops on Kampuchean soil, supporting the pro-Vietnam wing of the Kampuchean Stalinists, will retard and not advance the Kampuchean revolution.

It does appear certain that the primary motivation behind the Vietnamese entrance into Kampuchea was not international proletarian solidarity, but the need to defend the long border between Kampuchea and Vietnam. Massive military assistance was given to the KNUFNS in order to oust the Khmer Rouge, which is allied with China, and to install a pro-Vietnam regime.

But Vietnamese motives notwithstanding, no support whatever can be given to the truly monstrous Khmer Rouge regime, which perpetrated a forced collectivization at an inconceivable cost in human lives. The regime caused a disastrous setback in the self-organization and advance toward socialism of the Kampuchean masses. And a Khmer Rouge victory in the present armed conflict would further retard the revolution in Indochina.

An abstentionist stance by world Trotskyism, in the face of a bitter civil war, could well be a serious political error. In fact, the majority faction of the 4th International has begun to move away from such a course, and now calls for the Vietnamese to facilitate the self-organization and arming of the Kampuchean masses.

### Let the Kampucheans Decide!

The Kampuchean civil war is distorted by the struggle between contending Stalinist and neo-Stalinist factions.

Currently, the KNUFNS holds political power, resting on the military strength of the occupying Vietnamese troops. The Khmer Rouge is either underground, in the mountains and forests, or in Thailand, militarily allied with supporters of the U.S. puppet regime which ruled Kampuchea until 1975. The Khmer Rouge also receives aid from the Thai military dictatorship.

Certain elements of the KNUFNS program merit support: rebuilding the educational and health care systems, freedom of travel, repopulation of the cities, shortened hours of work, and reinstitution of a system of wages for hours worked.

But the Stalinist leadership of the KNUFNS has never demonstrated any willingness to link itself with the working masses and to mobilize and arm them. Hence, it cannot be regarded as a *revolutionary* leadership.

The Vietnamese troops at present appear to be acting as an army of occupation to insure that the Beijing-backed Khmer Rouge does not regain power. World revolutionists should call on Vietnam to demonstrate real internationalism by supplying and training an army of indigenous Kampuchean workers capable of resisting U.S. imperialism, the Khmer Rouge Stalinists, and Chinese pressures.

Then the Kampucheans could raise their own demands and seize control of their own country.

Such a development would be a first gigantic step toward democratic socialism in Kampuchea, a step whose reverberations would be felt throughout Indochina, Asia, and the whole world.

For as the permanent, continuous revolution arrives at ever-higher stages, the death-knell is sounded for the disintegrating Stalinist monolith, and the end to the century of moribund capitalism is in sight.

Humanity never sets itself a task it cannot fulfill.

## CRSP mailbox

Dedicated to the regroupment of U.S. Trotskyists, the workingclass women, gays, people of color, and white male radicals who compose the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party engage in free-wheeling discussion and social actions on a widespread front.

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## ... joining FSP

from page 14

caucus which was challenged and then defeated by one vote.

Throughout this experience, the two of us drew ever closer to the FSP and to Radical Women, for we had telescoped, in this concentrated struggle, the history of the FSP effort to make feminism a living reality instead of a token hypocrisy in the radical milieu. Together we had fought under the same banner of Leninism expressed so boldly by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*:

It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the spectre of Communism with a manifesto of the party itself... The Communists... are... practically the most advanced and resolute sector of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others;... they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly

understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement... The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims.

### Revolutionary Integrity

We firmly believe in the need to build a principled vanguard party to salvage Trotskyism from the depredations of the SWP, which has sacrificed revolutionary audacity on the flimsy altar of popularity-at-any-price.

In the FSP we have discovered a surging and inspiring revolutionary force that challenges the politically moribund SWP.

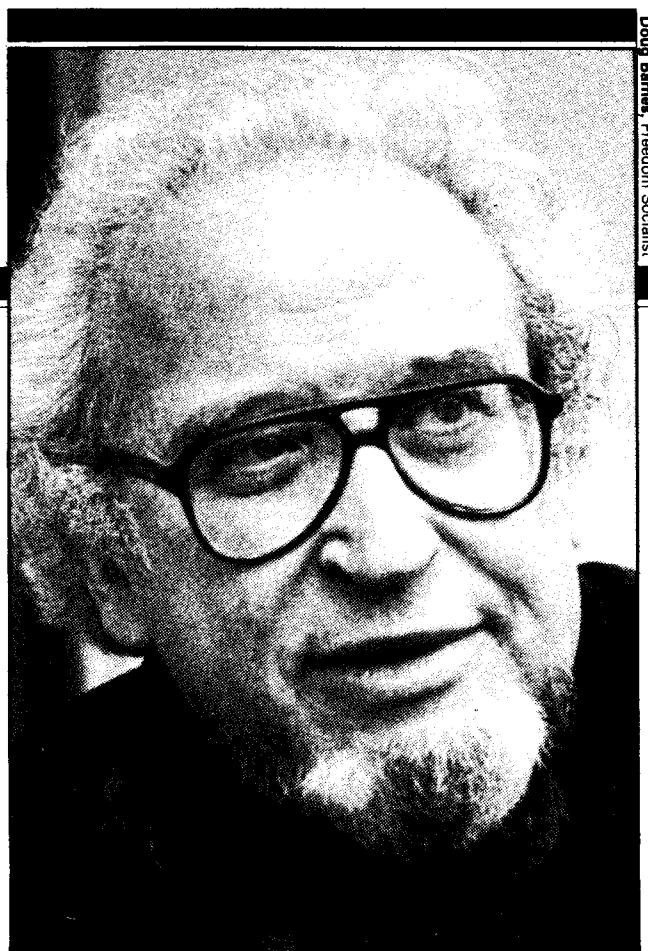
We are proud to take our place in the ranks of the Freedom Socialist Party.

June, 1979  
New York City

Comrade Weiss, a veteran Trotskyist and former SWP leader, is National CRSP Coordinator. Comrade Kass, a teacher of Marxism, is chairman of New York CRSP. The above article is excerpted from a longer statement obtainable from New York or Seattle FSP.

**Murry Weiss reports**

# My incomparable national tour on Iran



Doug Barnes, Freedom Socialist

**T**he first national tour organized by the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP) provided me with an incomparably thrilling experience.

Back in 1954, I toured for the Socialist Workers Party to encourage the struggle against McCarthyism. In my second tour in 1957, I campaigned for united socialist electoral slates and helped to form the Young Socialist Alliance.

But the April-May, 1979 tour was unique.

First, the backdrop was the tumultuous Iranian revolution—the staggering blow it was delivering to U.S. imperialism, and the central role being played by Iranian women.

Second, every audience I addressed was somewhat different politically, and that was challenging.

Third, I had the welcome chance to develop close relations with comrades in very different locales.

## A Taste of Revolution

Iranian students flocked to my meetings, and this was like a personal contact with the great revolution itself.

The entire spectrum of Iranian politics was represented—Khomeiniists, Fedayeen, Mojahedeen, Iranian Trotskyists.

The Iranians were articulate and intense, reflecting the continuous, feverish debates at Tehran University and throughout Iran.

My audiences also included radicals from virtually every U.S. tendency, exhibiting sharp differences on the Iranian revolution.

Socialist Workers Party members attended, and generally said absolutely nothing.

The Spartacists appeared, pedantic ultra-lefts who denied the existence of any revolution in Iran.

A third category was composed of feminists and others new to socialism, who joined in the debates. Surprised by the intensity of discussion in radical politics, they displayed astonishment, or recoil, or fascination—and great interest!

## Whirlwind Tour

The month-long tour was kicked off in New York on April 6. Myra Tanner Weiss, editor of the *CRSP Discussion Bulletin*, and I were the speakers.

In the remarkable Houston meeting, half of the 30 Iranians present were women whose eloquence bore witness to the forceful emergence of their sex in the Middle East. We talked for hours.

And the comrades who organized the meeting, publishers of the periodical bulletin *What Is to Be Done*, decided to join CRSP—most heartening!

The Los Angeles meeting was also well-attended, and was followed by a reception where I met old and new friends and contacts, and held some wonderful discussions.

San Francisco organized another fine public meeting as well as a special meeting with Radical Women that culminated in new applications for membership in Radical Women. (I love to report news of recruitment to CRSP and any of its component parts and allies.)

## Pace Setting, Northwest Style

My Pacific Northwest experience can only be described as a kaleidoscopic blur or small tornado. I felt like someone in an escape-and-pursuit movie, shifting non-stop from one auto and driver to

another, meeting deadlines with only seconds to spare.

I was greeted at the airport by a welcoming delegation bearing the astonishing banner, "Welcome Murry!" And I was handed a huge basket of goodies which featured a Northwest Indian-style smoked salmon, which I eyed nervously.

I was interviewed by the *Seattle Times*, the *University of Washington Daily*, KUOW Radio, Radio KZAM, and on KING Radio, complete with phone calls from listeners.

I spoke at a thronged May Day meeting at Freeway

Hall, and at campus meetings at Seattle Central Community College and the University, the latter attended by 60 people.

I traveled south for an excellent meeting organized by Portland CRSP, and then journeyed to the University of Oregon in Eugene for an exciting campus appearance.

En route back to Seattle, we had a vigorous meeting at The Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington.

And I was royally wined, dined, lunched, and brunches by everybody.

## Regroupment Prospects

I lodged with comrades instead of hotel-keepers, and this lent a warm and wonderful dimension to the trip. Living together enabled me to get to know people and enjoy their fun-filled hospitality.

Every section of CRSP—Socialist Union, Trotskyist Organizing Committee, Radical Women and Freedom Socialist Party—worked to build the tour. And internal meetings featured full-scale discussion and expressions of political and organizational differences, perpetuating the internal democracy of CRSP that provides a model for regroupment on the left.

To fight for revolution with comrades, to share, disagree, resolve, and unite for new ventures and fresh explorations, to create a Leninist party within the heartland of imperialism—*this* is my idea of the good life, the fulfilled life, the life of challenge and meaning. The tour gave me a rich taste of this and staunchly reinforced all my hopes and plans for the great revolutionary struggle ahead of us. ■

## What I said about Iran

In my speeches, I characterized the Iranian revolution as the manifestation in life of the Marxist theory of permanent revolution, a theory whose relevancy is immensely heightened by the pivotal role of revolutionary women in Iran.

In Tehran last March, women surged into the streets for five days to challenge the male supremacism of Khomeini's Revolutionary Council. These women, escorted by armed Fedayeen and Mojahedeen, initiated the demand for freedom now for *all* the oppressed—women, workers, national minorities, peasants.

The struggles of any one of these sectors propel all the others, and all collide with the Revolutionary Council and the bourgeois Provisional Government. That is why the masses will keep their arms until the aims of all are realized.

I described the central feature of the present stage of the Revolution as one of *dual power*.

On one hand is the power of the masses, expressed in the form of an armed people replacing the imperialist military establishment and the police dictatorship.

Workers control factories, and capitalism and imperialism are in flight.

And the ruling body of this process is Khomeini's Revolutionary Council.

At the other pole is Bazargan's Provisional Government, organizer of a comeback for capitalist rule, its thinly-disguised purpose recognized by the masses.

The Revolutionary Council and the Provisional Government are in a relationship of dual sovereignty—"two-mindedness, two-heartedness, and every possible kind of duplicity," as Trotsky described it.

*But the Revolutionary Council, while it temporarily heads the revolution, severely contradicts the profound aspirations of the working class and the oppressed masses.*

The theoretical explanation for this conservative Islamic regime lies in Trotsky's concept of the "middle caste," which is a universal phenomenon of our epoch: a bureaucratic formation superimposed on trade unions and soviets and epitomized by the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries in Russia in 1917, by the rightwing socialist leaders of the German soviets in 1918, and by the labor bureaucracy in the Western world.

*The burning task is to forge a Leninist Party in Iran, because only a socialist revolution can complete the struggle there.*

The Fedayeen are playing a tremendous role; their leadership during the armed insurrection of Feb. 9-11 was decisive. And the revolution, to unfold and expand, must achieve a common experience and a common program with the revolutionary leadership of the Fedayeen and Mojahedeen. The Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party of Iran correctly advocates such a course. ■