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The new feminine mystique pg 10
The boat people

The refugee horror show

by Sukey Durham

P utting out to sea in boats stolen from the government, 700,000 Vietnamese have fled their country. Nearly one-quarter have died at sea and 200,000 are in refugee camps. And the boss press, in an orgy of hyperbole, recklessly exploits this flight to proclaim it as proof that the Vietnamese government is worse than the Hitler regime.

In a bizarre, through-the-looking-glass propaganda blitz, the U.S. denounces the government of Vietnam for alleged violations of human rights at sea and finds support from some former antiwar activists. But the critical questions are seldom addressed: Who are the boat people, and why are they fleeing?

Vietnam revisited

Vietnam is in deep crisis. Much of the countryside is denuded of crops or under cultivation by the military for destruction by defoliant chemicals, napalm, and just plain conventional explosives. The population is concentrated in cities which suffer a severe food shortage because of the wartime destruction of agricultural land.

Vietnam’s economy has been shattered further by a trade embargo imposed by the U.S., by costly military maneuvers on both land and sea, and by the refusal of the U.S. to pay promised war reparations. As a result, extremely harsh living conditions prevail and the government is trying to relocate the urban population in New Economic Zones to help increase agricultural production. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the people privileged under the old regime are now agricultural workers. From 50% to 70% of the boat people are ethnic Chinese, who formed the bulk of the old middle class. Many Chinese lost their businesses during the 1978 nationalizations of trade and industry, and hate the regime.

Another sizable portion of the boat people is composed of 400,000 army officers, national police, and intelligence agents under the Thieu regime who were neither evacuated as promised by the U.S., nor granted U.S. sanctuary now.

Debate among the doves

In an “Open Letter to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam” published in five major newspapers on May 30, 1978, pacifist singer Joan Baez and other well-known liberals, intellectuals and activists charge that the cruelty, violence and oppression practiced by foreign powers in your country for many years continues today under the present regime.”

Without making the slightest distinction between the revolutionary government of Vietnam and the superpower of world imperialism, the signers claim that “for many, life is hell and death is prayed for” and call on Vietnam to uphold the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Baez also complained she was “used” by the Left during the Vietnam War.

The letter provoked instant condemnation from former antiwar leaders Jane Fonda, Dave Dellinger, Abbie Hoffman, and Tom Hayden.

In the June 29 issue of Soen Days, Dellinger writes, “By lining up really badly within wildly inflated charges from discredited sources, [Baez] has made it easier for the U.S. to continue its present policies of denying aid to Vietnam.”

He says further that the world bourgeois press used by Baez as sources received their information from Doan Van Toi, a Vietnamese who is reported to have close ties to the CIA.

Now no more Vietnamese!

The U.S. ruling class, aided by Baez and Co., is attempting to use the plight of the boat people to wash its own hands of historic guilt, discredit the Vietnamese revolution, discredit the revolution in Indo-China, justify State Department rejection of diplomatic relations with Vietnam, and win public support for the callous refusal to help rebuild Vietnam and alleviate harsh conditions directly responsible for the suffering of millions.

The cause of the refugee problem is the White House itself. Callous refusal to help rebuild Vietnam and alleviate harsh conditions is directly responsible for the suffering of millions. P aised with the downward spiral of its own economy, plagued by inflation and recession, U.S. capitalism needs a new war to save itself from collapse.

The economic and political war against Vietnam is designed to justify the Vietnamese shooting war in retrospect, and to lay the moral groundwork for another. The cause of the refugee problem is the White House itself. Workers must demand that the government take the immediately task of rebuilding Vietnam and opening the doors of the USA to all immigrants regardless of their origin.

The Vietnamese war is far from finished.

Sexism and the Black woman

by Tom Bool

In writing Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman, Michele Wallace sparked a long overdue reality-check into Black sexual politics. Though fragile male chauvinism undermines the unity of men and women against racism and sexism.

By creating a much-needed public dialogue among Black women, and between Black women and men, Wallace is helping to restructure Black solidarity and the rebuilding of a radicalized Black Power movement.

The struggle for Black liberation is only beginning to re-emerge from the denise of the civil rights era and the Black rebellion of the '60s. And a prime reason for the ebbtide of the movement was the leadership of the reformist movement, who tended to ignore, discount, and discourage the leadership of Black women.

The raised fist of Black Power was an assertion of individualistic and collective Black manhood. Adopting the supremacist model of manhood provided by the dominant white culture, Black men demanded gendered rather than human rights. The white establishment pushed the Moosunyan myth that the source of ghetto poverty was the domineering, “matriarchal” role of Black women, which “destroyed” the Black family.

Black men bought the capitalist experience of sexism at the hands of both white males and Blacks are stigmatized indelibly in the minds and spirit of Black women and sensitive Black men.

It is no wonder that Rosa Parks became the revolutionary catalyst and symbol of the civil rights struggle. Rosa Parks’ double burden pushed her beyond the single-issue reformism of the Black leadership, and all alone, she defined the entrenched racist southern system. Bravery and audacity like hers will resurrect the shattered glory of Black defiance and impel it to leadership of the combined liberation movements.

Those who relegate the struggle of Black women and Black lesbians and gays to second place, who pass off the feminist movement as “divisive” and irrelevant to the struggle against racism—take another look.

The struggle for Black liberation is tied to the defeat of private property, racism, and sexism. All Blacks must carefully examine what Black sexism is all about, how sexism historically has been a divisive element in the struggle, how the elimination of this oppression can reinvigorate the movement.

The Black woman is determined not to be the private property and parven of Black men. She is used as being an object for gratification, exploitation, manipulation, assault. When her burning demand for equality allies with the struggles of all women, gays, workers, and people of color, the stage will be set for the coming revolution.

The callous refusal to help rebuild Vietnam and alleviate harsh conditions is directly responsible for the suffering of millions.

FREEDOM SOCIALIST FALL 1979 1
Glad tidings

Send me a 2-year sub. You'll make a valuable contribution to revolutionary Marxist politics. It is also very well worth the money. We will divide it fairly in our many debates on the relationship between revolutionary organizations and the movements of the oppressed.

R. Mahdou
Revolutionary Workers League
Canadian Section of the Fourth International
Regina, Saskatchewan

We accept tips

The Summer issue is fabulous. Please renew your sub and keep the change. Thanks for printing such a fine socialist feminist paper, full of essential material. Enthusiastically,

Nancy Stolov
Olympia, Washington

Surrogate Proletariat

Malcolm X in Central America led the way to some understanding of sexism after the 1917 Russian Revolution. But sexism and racism wiped out their enormous accomplishments. Stephen Kass reviews the book.

Cinema

Woody Allen's film is a critique of cultural chic, but Annette Bovitch tried to turn his camera on the politics of the world, not only themselves but the world.

Sweating in Sun City

In gross violation of labor law, garment production bosses in southern California perpetrate the superexploitation of women of color, many of them undocumented workers. Stephen Scurll reports from Los Angeles.

FEEDBACK

We strongly need more people like you in our corner! Thank you. Alicea DeZavala, RN, Women's Reproductive Purdy Treatment Center
Gig Harbor, Washington 98633

South seas voyage

On some South Sea islands I recently visited, there is a kind of smile on the faces of the women of the 1970s. They are making the world freer, more diverse, more exciting.

R. Mahdou
Revolutionary Workers League
Canadian Section of the Fourth International
Regina, Saskatchewan

We accept tips

Environmentalist

Revolution. But sexism and racism wiped out their accomplishments. Here are some Asian American women fighting sexism. And the cost of living in the United States and New Zealand is higher, clothing and food reasonable.

The Australian longshoreman's pension is just about enough to keep them going. But a cancer patient will not benefit from it. There was a big medical scandal while I was there, with the politicians trying to make the people pay more into Medicare. I am sending you a check for the Freeway Hall Eviction Fund.

Maurice Vanhegan
Penticton, British Columbia

MISSION

A voice from 4-wing

Please put me down for a subscription. I'm sure the paper will carry what we need. If the people in the captivities at Walla Walla. Every few days the institution takes something away from us. I can do nothing with the silence. The conference is coming to an end, and I think we can end the divisions. We want to create a different future. We are fighting for women's liberation.

Terri Stalwasser
Alexandria, Virginia

The National Council of Negro Women, Inc. will sponsor the first national scholarly research conference on "Black Women: An In-depth Critical Perspective..." The conference will be held November 12-13, 1979 at the Shoreham-American Hotel in Washington, D.C. The conference coincides with the opening of the National Archives for Black Women's History and the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial Museum.

Participating in this conference are many of the nation's most distinguished scholars. NCNW plans to publish a selected number of conference papers in the forthcoming American Women's Journal. Papers, organizations, and institutions are invited.

Shelia Gardner, Conference Coordinator
NCNW Research Conference, 1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20005, (202) 332-9202

From the women's prison

... just like other closet-"Israel has a right to exist!" Zionists. We are fighting for the rights of women. National speakers and a variety of workshops will be featured. Contact the Yakima Self-Help Center for details.

Deborah J. LaJolla
Yakima, Washington

Letters

Feel better now? . . . During the Shah's rule, the Alliance of the Workers of the People's Republic of Iran also strongly supported the community carried on an exemplary struggle, in spite of their precarious position, their lives, their dignity. Even after the framework of the peace agreement between the "progressive" Shah and that racist attitude is still dominant on the left, "wiping out the hostage (press) cartoon in the last issue, the absurd "death or the veil" propa­

Like all the other opportunists, even the CP, you hated the revolution so that its depth can no longer be hidden. But you still distasteful and slandering it in a matriarchal fashion—what about the "centrality of women's leadership." Like any other, the main reason is solidarity—the Indian women are inspiring. But they are not fighting for women's liberation or revolutionary change. You are just like your daddies, carrying the white women's liberation movement of the backward women in colonial countries. This "women's movement" is at the service of the political project, at a call for the maintenance of the status quo, an alliance with the ruling class to improve the time when women can lead. It's a reflection of the "right to exist!" Zionists, whose daddies always let them have their way—and who can't see why they shouldn't be allowed to be dominated on the left which they just recently discovered) in the same manner.

Your irrefutable yellow journalism could only come from a spoiled rich girl bourgeois feminist with no experience in politics.

. . . support Big Nurse or else. If you really do have contempt for proletarian democracy . . . just like other closet—"Israel has a right to exist!" Zionists. We are fighting for the rights of women. National speakers and a variety of workshops will be featured. Contact the Yakima Self-Help Center for details.

Deborah J. LaJolla
Yakima, Washington

We should think about.

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

We can send a few letters which are not published for publication and discuss, provide critique with the reader's name and a picture if the letter is selected. We do not publish letters in which the material that we received will be used by the readers or in which the material that we received will be used. Thank you for your cooperation and understanding.
Save Iranian Trotskyists

A tidal wave of repression launched by the Khomeini/Bazargan government of Iran has resulted in the executions of at least 70 Kurdish leaders and an unknown number of women and gays. Thousands of anti-Shah fighters, including 14 members of the Trotskyist Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HSK), have been imprisoned. Twelve of the 14 HSK leaders face death, and world protest is being mobilized in their defense. The Kurdish leaders were summarily executed during heavy fighting against Islamic troops. Women have been executed for adultery and prostitution; one woman was executed for adultery while her lover was given 100 lashes. Freedom fighters risk jail and censorship of their press under the sweeping crackdown on all dissidence and on the radical Left. Twelve HSK members were condemned to death and two to life imprisonment for advocating socialism in Iran, but an international protest campaign has apparently stayed the executions. A demonstration of 3000 in Paris demanded freedom for the HKS prisoners and all anti-Shah fighters and an immediate halt to the execution of women, gays, and national minority leaders. Protest is growing worldwide. Protest the imprisonment of anti-Shah fighters! Condemn the official murders of Kurdish leaders and women! Demand that the lives of HKS members be spared!

Launch a protest campaign in your area! Show Khomeini that people all over the world identify with the advance of revolution in Iran. Call on the Left, unions, and all human rights organizations to join in picket lines and demonstrations to protect political freedom in Iran!

Send telegrams immediately to:
Avandeh Heidari Khomeini, Qom, Iran; Prime Minister Mebdi Bazargan, Tehran, Iran; Hassan Nasrallah, Director, National Iranian Oil Company, Takht Jamashid Avenue, Tehran, Iran; and the Iranian Consulate, Washington, D.C.

Cuba

In a tepid reply of the 1961 missile crisis, Castro travels about with bluff and bluster over the alleged presence of 3500 Soviet ground troops in Cuba. The Carter administration acknowledged the existence of the troops just before the opening of the conference of nonaligned nations in Havana. What a coincidence! Senators troops just before the opening of the Cuba conference of nonaligned nations in

Ireland

assassinations carried out by the Irish Republican Army have spotlighted Northern Ireland's fight for independence and provoked an inner turmoil. Thatcher, the Tory Prime Minister of Britain, to vow war on the IRA. On the day that the September 27 executions of Lord Louis Mountbatten and two members of his family, Mountbatten, a cousin of Queen Elizabeth, was England's last Viceroy of India and a famous World War II naval commander. In a separate incident, 18 British soldiers near the British border in Northern Ireland were ambushed and killed by IRA guerrillas. On the day of Mountbatten's funeral, Thatcher met with John Lynch, Prime Minister of the Irish Republic, who agreed to share intelligence information on the IRA and to help Britain "stamp out terrorism." The IRA has announced that "many more deaths" will follow if the British do not pull out all troops from occupied Northern Ireland and grant independence to that oppressed land, still a colony under the thumb—and thumbscrews—of British imperialism.

Namibia

amibia, the African nation boundered on the sea by South Africa and on the north by Angola, is the scene of heavy fighting between liberation forces and South African troops. South Africa governs Namibia but is losing political ground and scrambling for a Zimbabwe-style "solution" to the demand for independence.

Afghanistan

former military officers, religious figures, and dispossessed land-owners supported by U.S. imperialism, are spearheading a reactionary movement in Afghanistan which threatens the Kremlin-backed regime of President Hafizullah Amin. Amin took office in mid-September after former President Nur Mohammed Taraki was deposed. Taraki came to power in 1978 through a coup engineered by the Afghan Communist Party. But the serious rebuff evidentely produced an internal split in the party which was resolved by a violent seizure of power by Amin. Since its rise to power, the Afghan Communist Party has directed a program of major reform. Extensive land reform is underway, peasants' debts have been cancelled, women's status is improving, trade unions are legalized, and schools and medical centers have been built. The Communist regime has won widespread support, but the successful reforms infuriated the Right, which organized a counterrevolution, aided by the Khomeini/Bazargan government in Iran and the military junta of General Zia ul-Haq in Pakistan.

The heaviest fighting has taken place along Afghanistan's eastern border with Pakistan, which is the base for the two major rightist groups, the Islamic Party and the Islamic Brotherhood. The Pakistan junta has served to channel military aid from the U.S. to the insurgents. The Iranian Islamic regime condemns the government as anti-Islamic. Khomeini/Bazargan fear the popular social reforms in Afghanistan, which pose a threat to their own regime.

The Communist government has achieved fundamental social and economic advances. Despite its Stalinist origins and support, it is a progressive regime. But it is in danger of defeat, and if toppled, the reversal of social reform would deal a severe blow to Afghan workers and peasants, and adversely affect the advance of revolution in neighboring Iran.

Nicaragua

The reconstruction of a capitalist Nicaragua can only take place through repressing and exploiting the urban working class and the rural peasantry. And the native capitalists, in concert with imperialism, are prepared as always to use the most vicious means at their disposal in order to insure profits. 7,000 National Guard troops, organized in exile, await a chance to return to Nicaragua where the capitalist class will not hesitate to call on them to save privately-owned industry. The army of workers and peasants is presently controlled by the FSLN, and the leftists in the government have powerful positions. But the Nicaraguan capitalists are Somozas in disguise, and the danger of counterrevolution is real.

To save itself, and to promote revolution throughout Latin America. Nicaragua will have to nationalize all industry, institute a monopoly of foreign trade, and establish a workers state.

Forward to a Socialist Nicaragua!
Carter's born-again imperialism

by Monica Hill

"For the first time in the history of our country a majority of our people believe that the next five years will be worse than the last five years. That is why our people do not even vote. The productivity of American workers is actually dropping and the willingness of Americans to support our national welfare has fallen below that of all other people in the Western world. As you know, that poses a major economic specter, a disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the family and other institutions ..."

Thus spake President Jimmy Carter in July. And then he exhorted the faithful to return to the system and assure the doubters that all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

And his administration, told us the energy crisis was insoluble, and took a tight-money-Federal Reserve Chairman G. William Miller, who by declaring unemployment a "crisis" of that policy is support to tyrants, torturers, tycoons, and border cops for undocumented workers. Plus harassment of Soviet ballerinas, etc.

May be, but the body of that policy is support to tyrants, torturers, tycoons, and border cops for undocumented workers. Plus harassment of Soviet balletes, etc.

He is Big Oil's Little Boy. The White House staff is gargantuan and a great act for Burlesque.

Promises

1. To curb the abuses of big business and government.
2. That human rights will be "the soul of our foreign policy."
3. To cut defense spending.
4. Moral leadership.
5. Full employment.
6. Due recognition to OPEC.
7. A national health program.
8. A national energy policy.
9. Women's rights.
10. A fair shake for labor.
11. Help the people.

Comment

President Carter is trying to make political capital out of the smoldering antagonisms that divide the country. An illustration is the resignation of UN Ambassador Andrew Young.

An articulate, dynamic Southern Black, Young was a token sop to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) who was cynically exposed, and he was dumped by Carter's State Department after the expected Zionist outcry. Now Blacks and Jews are being goaded to leap at each other's throats-to conveniently ease the pressure on the Administration. Carter can sit back and let public opinion's cries adjust his Middle East policy.

Andy Young is probably a conscious scapegoat who knows he will be "vindicated." The Zionist state of Israel can no longer be maintained as imperialism's watchdog over revolution in the Middle East. The human and political rights of the displaced millions of Palestinians have got to be recognized. And Black Americans, who have historically identified with the Jews and all oppressed peoples, were quick to grab the degeneration of Palestine's "crisis" into their own constituencies. Jews who drove the Arabs off their own land.

Blacks also refuse to swallow the canard that all Jews are Zionists (defenders of a unitarily Jewish state in Palestine) or that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism.

Jewish and Black workers need to coalesce once again around their common class interests, not just for a recent respect for the opinions of the Palestinian resistance fighters.

More trouble ahead

The domestic situation is intricately linked to the international arena, where the rickocet value of the dollar dropped sharply after Carter's sham shakeup. As the contagion of world revolution shrinks once-captive U.S. markets, corporate bosses are turning with a vengeance on this administration to recover expan-

Cabinet roulette

All eleven members of the cabinet were forced to consider resignations. Carter axed five of them.

Joseph Califano and Brock Adams, the last vestiges of liberalism. He departed, replaced by pragmatic Patricia Harris of HUD and former Portland Mayor Neil Goldschmied.

Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal's exit enabled Carter to rid himself of an embarrassing advocate of oil deregulation and $1.60 a gallon gasoline, as well as an advocate of tight money-Federal Reserve Chairman G. William Miller, who intends to stem inflation and save the dollar by declaring unemployment a national asset and nourishing it.

The Department of Energy's James Schlesinger was also too publicly linked to Big Oil. His institute in a Coca-Cola executive with a Pentagon past, Charles Duncan, who will tout Carter's new energy-fuel program.

And Attorney General Griffin Bell, noted for his attacks on civil liberties, chased James Civil Rights to follow in his own footsteps.

Georgia boor Hamilton Jordan became chief of White House staff, in position to insure an all-out focus on the Carter renomination.

Salvation by sanctity

Carter's shenanigans aim to salvage capitalism at any cost. After renewing our faltering faith in church, state, the family and the boss, we must tighten our belts and work faster and harder. We are to walk, not ride; to freeze in winter and suffocate in summer; to perish truthfully from nuclear radiation funded by our taxes.

Will Americans jettison their standard of living by scavenging spiritual solutions to material problems?

A Harris poll in August reported Ted Kennedy still leading Carter 2-to-1, and Los Angeles Times reported wryly: "Many Americans, fried by stress, gas lines, and fear of heating oil shortages, may not readily see the connection between morality and petroleum."

To be Young and Black

To be Young and Black is to try making political capital out of the smoldering antagonisms that divide the country. An illustration is the resignation of UN Ambassador Andrew Young.

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Jewish and Black workers need to coalesce once again around their common class interests, not just for a recent respect for the opinions of the Palestinian resistance fighters.
A shining moment in American labor history is being commemorated this year with the 60th anniversary of the great Seattle General Strike. On February 6, 1919, industry struck and Seattle was silenced as organized labor went out in support of the workers this time,” said the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

The first and only general strike in American labor history erupted after World War I when the federal government cut wages. The yardworkers, affiliated with the Metal Trades Council, struck for higher wages. On January 21, 35,000 workers were out, and they appealed to the Central Labor Council for a supportive strike by Seattle labor. When Anna Louise Strong, editorial writer for the militant daily labor, The Union Record, reprinted a speech by Lenin on workers control of the trade union movement, the bourgeoisie promptly fled to the bourgeois press. The Seattle General Strike was given nationwide headlines raged about “anarchy,” efficient workers committees distributed food and maintained all emergency services.

The strike ran by the Committee of Fifteen, delegated by a General Strike Committee. And a noticeable amount of the city’s business was suspended on the city, due to the sure hand of the labor guards who patrolled the streets and law to it that nobody believed Mayor Hanson’s charge that strikers were cutting off water and electricity.

But the pressures against the strikers were very strong. The international offices of the unions threatened to revoke local charters, and the more conservative local executive board members wavered. The Committee of Fifteen capitulated and recommended ending the strike, and the back of the movement was broken. The strike petered out on February 12.

With the strike over, the shipyard owners were ready to reopen the yards to union and non-union labor alike. But the federal shipping board insisted on union labor at low, government fixed wages. The yardworkers refused to return and their lone strike dragged on for five more weeks.

The government withdrew all contracts and stopped the steel supply to the yards, and not until January, 1920 did the yards reopen — with a mere 400 workers.

The demands of the shipyard workers were not won by the general strike. But most unions were elated by the dynamic, six-day demonstration of working class solidarity and control of production and services. The strike had a tremendous impact on national politics, and on the swift growth of unionism and socialism in the ‘20s and ‘30s.

The memory of those explosive days in Seattle is fresh, whether viewed as a unique historic event or as a thrilling dress rehearsal for American labor.

Meg White is an apprentice cabinetmaker and student of labor history.

Sweating in Sun City

Women workers in Southern California’s huge apparel industry are sweating in sweatshops just as their predecessors did in New York City 70 years ago.

Cheap labor and the proliferation of nonunion shops have attracted droves of apparel manufacturers, who, like vultures, descend on Los Angeles to exploit a workforce comprised mainly of Chicano/Mexicano, Black, Asian and undocumented laborers.

Los Angeles has become the country’s second largest and fastest growing center of garment production.

But while Congress and the state legislature set the minimum wage, prohibit child labor, and assert health and safety standards, garment workers are producing quality cloth in hundreds of small shops that operate in blatant violation of every wage, safety and health code on the books.

Skirting the law

Most of Los Angeles’ 98,600 garment workers are women working in shops that average between 15 and 20 employees. A system of contractual labor prevails, which generally attracts undocumented workers, undermines the union, and frees the manufacturers from compliance with labor laws.

The manufacturers of this dubiously labeled system, are responsible only for designing and cutting the garment. Hence, with a labor contractor for the machine-sewing of each article. This middleman operates a sweatshop based on grueling piece-work.

Most of these contractors are middleclass, money hungry immigrants from Latin America and Asia who are fleeing revolution or a dictator’s repression. Armed with their life savings, they become willing stooges for garment bosses and chief marshalls for exploiting the hapless, undocumented women and men from Mexico and Central America.

Pennies for stitches

Garments sewn for 80 cents in wages are sold in stores for over $40.

Women, usually elderly, earn 15 cents per garment; the younger thread trimmers earn 4 to 6 cents. An undocumented Mexican is paid between 12 and 10 cents per item for sewing pockets on men’s pants.

"I have to work 11 hours a day, six days a week, when I can," she says. "I process 500 to 700 garments a day to earn $5,000 a year."

The threat of deportation prevents her from protesting the lack of unemployment compensation when there is no work.

The bosses are the criminals

The International Ladies’ Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) has mounted a battle against the open shop bosses.

After 40 women presented the union with 1500 payroll stub documents showing wages as low as 17 cents per hour, the union pressured the State Division of Labor Standards and Enforcement to investigate violations of labor laws in the garment industry.

Twelve investigations were found that more than 90% of the labor contractors violated the minimum wage law and labor codes, and $42,000 in fines were levied for child labor violations alone.

Such intolerable conditions are placing garment workers once again on the front lines of class struggle. These sorely exploited minority women workers are further oppressed by rightwing hysteria against "illegals," women, gays and unionists; yet their courage and resistance to economic and social brutality will one day vanquish the garment bosses.

In their fight for survival, these women will design, cut and sew the death shroud for the coyotes who now prosper from the cheap labor of the superexploited.

BART lockout

Dear Editor,

The Bay Area Rapid Transit District has shut down, claiming a strike, but the workers call it a lockout. Gates are chained and patrolled by armed company guards.

Union contracts with Service Employees International Union Local 390 and Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555 expired on June 30, whereupon management introduced interim rules mandating forced overtime and no sick pay until the fourth day of illness. 200 SEIU workers were suspended shortly after for "sabotage," refusal to work overtime, and attending union meetings during work hours.

On July 11, workers overwhelmingly rejected a "final offer." BART workers have not had a raise in six years. They have dropped their 10% wage increase demand but insist on the cost-of-living escalator they won in 1973. Management rejects the escalator and offers a 3-5% yearly raise.

Last spring, management doubled the time-in-use between maintenance checkups for transit cars, and breakdowns escalated. Despite driver protests, BART assigned inactive and unqualified supervisors to replace suspended mechanics, and soon only 125 of 450 cars were operational. On August 30, after the BART drivers struck on cars in the Berkeley Hills Tunnel, many drivers called in sick rather than risk death in a possible major tunnel disaster similar to the devastating BART crash of a few years ago. With only ten cars operating, management closed BART and posted guards.

1200 SEIU workers and 400 ATU drivers, claiming an illegal lockout, have applied for unemployment benefits.

Since the shutdown, there has been only one negotiating session. The union officials proposed -- and BART refused -- that they appoint an impartial arbitrator to negotiate a three-year contract.

Suky Durham
San Francisco, California

FREEDOM SOCIALIST Fall 1979
Public study launched on “Natural Superiority of Women” by Sandy Nelson

Are women, by virtue of natural/biological traits or social status, superior to men? And what are the political implications of asserting women’s superiority?

Two conflicting approaches to these thorny questions emerged when 150 women and men assembled in Seattle’s Freeway Hall on August 30 to examine the controversial issue.

Dr. Jennifer James, anthropologist and the nation’s foremost expert on biology at the University of Washington, said that males were always dominant over women because of strength and speed. Only modern technology, by eliminating constant pregnancy and childbirth, can liberate women.

Three other panelists also discussed female superiority. Dr. Sheila Johansson, historian and research associate at the UW Center for Demography; Dr. Daniel Greenblatt, UW instructor in Women Studies; and Janie Pulitzer, master’s degree candidate in human sexuality, maintained that the notion of a superior, unchangeable, and undeterminable and politically divisive, Greenblatt said that objective truth is unknowable because any interpretation of data is subjective. Speakers to the audience, some of whom contended that women were socially superior to men in the past as evidenced by the equality that characterized maternalist communal societies, and are socially superior today by virtue of their drives for radical change; that women enjoy clear biological advantages in terms of health, longevity and resilience; that the question needs to be answered to better understand the social/political status of women and to effect change; that the question can be answered objectively by women's measured scientific evidence.

Said Susan Williams, M.D., of the For Women: “The question is not longevity or strength but the ability to hold the male, socially, and culturally prepared to lead society forward to the next stage of history. Women, because of their universal oppression, are in a position to lead the revolution, just as they were the major force driving the human race out of the primitive horde into the beginnings of real civilization.

Patrick, a researcher into ancient society, said that modern sex roles do not stem from scientific times. ‘When a supposed “mother-child unit” needed males as “protectors and protein providers.”’ He was not women who were dependent on men for the groceries, as he ‘walked the way around,’ he said “Was it the Hunter or the rise of private property that led to women’s enslavement?”

Angelsa Merlino of Portland Radical Women said that Marx and Engels held that the first class division was between women and men. “The essence of our oppression is economic inequality,” she said.

Joana Russ, professor of English literature at the University of Washington and author of feminist science fiction, defended science as a methodology objectively by hearing linguistics in its most modern permutation—that the real world doesn’t exist. But science is not purely subjective—just stick your hand in an electric light socket.

Clare Fraser, Freedom Socialist editor, wondered, “What is so inflammatory and tactless about saying that a specially oppressed group has particular distinctions?”

The forum, sponsored by Seattle Radical Women, was the opening gun of a series of the question.

Malice Aforethought by Ms. Tam

Weared by the difficulties of life on the Potomac, Jimmy Carter recently embarked on a cruise to sample life on the Mississippi. But even there he was assailed by the burdens of office.

Jimmy’s first step in ending discrimination against gays was to travel on a stately old riverboat named the “Delta Queen.” However, few recognized the enormity of this gesture, and a small band of lesbian-separatists living in a collective outside Eugene, Oregon wrote to demand the boat be renamed the “Delta Amazon.” Carter’s rhythmic boggling on the wooden deck didn’t seem to register like a jungle message drum. Bosses, lemming-like, rushed out to order thousands of dollars in repairs to lead the Mississippi and get their hands ready for an old-fashioned presidentialshake down—this time in person.

Afterward, people discovered they’d had a real gift because no gasoline was available, and a city of cars sprang up along the

Mississippi, filled with oil deregulation refugees. Frantic calls to Joan Baez were disappointing; she refused to allow them to relocate on her land near Cornwall.

Jimmy tried to solve this new crisis with a policy that combined austerity with utilization of nature’s most renewable resources. Unfortunately, his new famous “BITE THE BUNNY” speech was largely ignored.

Thanks to a law requiring the President to be guarded constantly by two men from the Weather Bureau, Jimmy was safely back in Washington before hurricanes compounded the disaster. He immediately entered a marathon race but collapsed while attempting to symbolize theiregen inflation.

Presidential aids are now preparing Jimmy for a trip across Newark, New Jersey on stilts—and everyone is waiting to see what the separatist collective in Oregon will make of that.
The SWP and gays
The boys on the bandwagon

It's all been said before. Too many times. "The gay movement is perfectly normal," an old class struggle. It's not even a movement, really, but a collection of people who sleep with their own sex, or do it in public. They are more important because few resources should be allocated to gay rights."

One type of pseudo-radical proponent of this impertinent brand of sexism and homophobia is the Socialist Workers Party. Two years ago they were busily "heavy industry"ing. Now they are pulling out the few members they had blazingly. Priorities, they claim. But the party never admitted its past error; its line's been changed again. In practice, the SWP's fleeting, holier-than-thou brand of sexism and homophobia can only spell defeat for gays and the unions.

Homophobic straight workers or antiganics can improve nothing for today, a revolutionary alliance of all the oppressed represents the only possible road to liberation.

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GAY resistance: the hidden history Part V

Long before the Stonewall riots in 1969, when "Gay Power" resounded in the streets of Greenwich Village, courageous pioneers braved jail, harassment, and scorn to defend homosexuals

Emma Goldman, perennial pioneer
The first known American to publicly champion civil rights for gays was the great Russian-born anarchist and feminist Emma Goldman. When asked in 1900 how she could "dare come out in public for Oscar Wilde in puritan America," she replied, "Nonsense! No daring is required to protest great injustice."

The boys on the bandwagon, it was soon calling loudly for liberation views against her anarchism comrades, who feared that open support of homosexuality would harm their cause. This only made her more determined to speak out.

In 1915, Goldman wrote a major article for the German Yearbook for Sexual Intercourse Types about French anarchist and poet Louise Michel, alleged to be a lesbian. Wrote Goldman, "It is a tragedy... that people of a different sexual type are caught in a world which shows so little understanding for homosexuals, is so vastly different to the various gradations of gender and their great significance in life... The entire sentencing of Wilde struck me as an act of cruel justice and repulsive hypocrisy..."

While exorcising society for its persecution of gays, Goldman also denounced the sexism of those who assumed a woman to be a lesbian simply because she did not fit men's "reasonable requirements of womanhood."

Repressed inverts

She blamed society for "the tragedy of the repressed invert," and said that "the homo-sexual impulse... has been a fully equal right to existence and expression. It is too weak, too low; but not better."

Police harassment
The first homosexual rights organization in the U.S. was apparently the Society for Individual Rights, chartered in Chicago in 1924. It published two issues of a newspaper, Friendship and Freedom. The seven members of the Society planned to recruit other gays, and, through a process of education, change the sexual conduct laws. But in less than a year, the wife of one member discovered the existence of the group and told a social worker, who called the police. Four members were arrested without warrant and jailed. The organization disbanded, and ten years elapsed before another gay political organization appeared in the homophobic U.S. of A.

The next installment of "Gay Resistance: The Hidden History" will complete the examination of American gay activism up to the birth of the "homophile" movement in the late 1940s.

In practice, the SWP's fleeting, holier-than-thou patronage of gay politics was an attempt to strengthen the liberal gay opportunists and tainted the word "radical." Now, with the SWP disintegrating, genuine radicalism stands to gain a far stronger voice in the gay movement, enabling the mass of lesbians and gay male activists to learn that opportunist reformism is only a SWP's passing from the gay movement to defend supporting or raising the demands of women, people of color, or workers, and to limit itself to legal reform.

Back in the closet
Today, as the conservative reaction mounts in the gay milieu understand well that raising the demands of women, people of color, or workers, and to limit itself to legal reform.

American gay activism up to the birth of the "homophile" movement in the late 1940s.

Before the Second World War, American gay activism up to the birth of the "homophile" movement in the late 1940s.
Abortion rights imperilled

by Lynda Schraufnagel

E
n slaves now will rally during Abortion Rights Action Week on October 21 to launch a counter-offensive against the anti-abortion campaign that resorts to fire-bombing, break-ins, and assaults. The anti-abortion forces are the same familiar conglomerate of well-financed, right-wing Bible-beaters who hate gays, the Revolution, feminists, radicals, welfare mothers, and people of color. Many oppose contraception.

Since the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, Right-to-Life forces have used hysteria-producing computerized mailings to swell their ranks. 60,000 marched in Washington, D.C. last January 22, the anniversary of the Court's decision. Their most damaging victory to date is the 1973 Hyde Amendment which prevents use of federal money for abortions, thereby ending abortion rights for poor women in all but 8 states. And their latest campaign is for "fetus rights," outlawing abortion through a constitutional amendment already ratified by 14 states.

Popular support for abortion rights increased from 53% to 60% last year, but the minority makes the noise.

Dining with the enemy forced by the Right to the surrender of abortionists, NOW's president Eleanor Smeal invited the Right to a "peace meal" in February. She and other conciliators discussed reproductive rights with the anti-abortion "peace" movement. She never mentioned abortion. The meeting was disrupted by extremists displaying picket fetuses.

Smeal's treachery in accommod­ating the anti-life forces against the anti-abortionists brought sharp criticism from the Radical Women.

Peltier recaptured by Angelica Merlino

N
ative American political prisoner Leonard Peltier is in jail again following an escape attempt. Peltier's supporters suspect he was set up as a trap to kill him. The escape was planned by murdering two FBI agents at Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975, fled the prison at Lompoc, California on July 22 and was captured five days later. Fellow escapee John Trudell was also captured during the break, while a third escapee, Dallas Thundershield, was murdered during the escape.

The safety of Peltier, Duenas, and other Indians who have sought to make their voices heard is threatened by the continued harassment of Native American freedom fighters. Peltier had been transported from the Marion, Illinois penitentiary to the federal prison in a move which many Indian activists feel was another FBI conspiracy to isolate and kill him.

Only a few months ago, AIM leader Trudell's wife and children were burned to death by arsonists in retaliation for his organizing a major demonstration to protest FBI harassment of Native Americans. Thousands of Indian and international supporters have rallied to Peltier's defense, and his case has been considered by the United Nations, D-Calif., and the Black Congressional Caucus to investigate illegal FBI activities against Indian militants. The CRSP mailbox

CRSP mailbox engages in free-wheeling discussion and meaningful action. For information, contact Muriy Weiss, National Coordinator, P.O. Box 475, Village St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (212) 789-4156.

Women's Health Network and the formation of Reproductive Rights National Network (RRNN) in Chicago and the Abortion Rights Movement (ARM) in Washington, D.C.

This in turn spurred International Women's Day demonstrations in March centered on the abortion issue. The largest was organized in Olympia, Washington by a coalition representing gays, feminists, labor, radicals, and women of color.

RRNN brought 1500 women to demonstrate against the National Right-to-Life Convention in Cincinnati on June 23, and on June 26 they delivered 32,000 signatures to Congress petiong for no Medicaid restrictions on abortions. The answer of the House of Representatives was to forbid Medicaid abortions even in cases of rape, incest, or potential health damage.

Rosie Jimenez, martyr

The Hyde Amendment in effect denies abortions only to impoverished women, many of them people of color. The only options left are sterilization or back-alley butcherhood.

Last year, the Right to Life Caucus in the House called Rosie Jimenez, 27, who was trying to rear a child and attend school on $86 a month, to a "peace meal" job. The response of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) was the creation of a Jimenez fund to replace Medicaid money for abortion. However, the House of Representatives, by a 245-150 vote, cut the fund.

Jimenez's death demands an angry world outcry and the routing of the death-dealing logging/life-damaging industry. Millions of women and girls may control their own bodies and their children.

Lynda Schraufnagel is a waitress, a union activist and an activist with the Radical Women.
ince that terrible day at Attica, New York, when twenty-eight prisoners perished and twenty more were injured, the suffering of those sent to Walla Walla in a prison case in point. It has been exploding for months, with no relief in sight for its beleaguered inmates.

In Walla Walla, inmates are race-baited, beaten, raped, condemned for personal belongings, and locked up. As inmates are race-baited, beaten, raped, condemned for personal belongings, and locked up. Some are raped; others are marked for rape. And work release. Unsegregated, they become the property of aggressive convicts or are marked for rape. And work release. Unsegregated, they become the property of aggressive convicts or are marked for rape.

The administration imposed another lockdown, and guards admonished prisoners to "get the featherheads...the lockdown is the Indians'." Inmates were then forced to lie spread-eagled and were clubbed in the groin. Guards on the wall urinated on the injured in the yard below.

230 men were forced to remain outside until late August, devoid of sanitation. Their rebelliousness provided the active union, Local 621 of the International Longshoremen's Association, with much more prisoner property and for reconstructing Eight-wing as a maximum security unit.

On July 8, twelve guards brutalized six segregated prisoners. One guard repeatedly slammed inmate Carl Harp with a nightstick. Confirmation of this brutal treatment caused the suspension of twelve guards. Members of the legislature, officials from the Department of Social Services, and even Governor Ray, whose neglect and unconcern are notorious, blamed his press secretary, and made all political noises—and did nothing.

Policy crisis A team of outside, expert investigators blamed the guards for the uproar at Walla Walla, and the guards promptly declared a retaliatory wildcat strike on July 29 to protest unsafe working conditions.

The 42 guards who struck were summarily fired. The prison was placed under the control of Warden James Spalding, whose tactless comment began the suspension of twelve guards. Members of the legislature, officials from the Department of Social Services, and even Governor Ray, whose neglect and unconcern are notorious, blamed his press secretary, and made all political noises—and did nothing.

On May 9, three Walla Walla lieutenants—Robert Green, Carl Harp and Robert Robinson—were stationed to prevent the guards from attacking the Native American council representatives from the Northwest Indian Women's Council and the Native American press in a 12-hour meeting with terrified Indian prisoners in a dilapidated visiting room at Walla Walla penitentiary.

One by one, third inmate Carl Harp was clubbed in the groin, and the suspension of twelve guards.

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230 men were forced to remain outside until late August, devoid of sanitation. Their rebelliousness provided the active union, Local 621 of the International Longshoremen's Association, with much more prisoner property and for reconstructing Eight-wing as a maximum security unit.
The new face of the feminine mystique

The word is out, ladies: feminism is passe and the book is in.

According to Madison Avenue, feminism is only the shrill, strident echo of a distant past before women liberated themselves from and assumed glamorous careers in corporate suites and government. The "new woman" has "no need of a movement to defend her rights"—she already has them.

Yes, today's woman should be a devoted mother, glamorous wife, high-powered careerist, charming hostess and expert homemaker, international gourmet, long-distance jigger, body-builder, exerciser, seductress, community activist, cultural sophisticate, and purveyor of the "meaningful" relationship.

Never mind that we're still doing most of the household chores, that those challenging new careers look suspiciously like the same dead-end, underpaid jobs we've always had, that childcare is a luxury item and independent, confident and sophisticated, AND house and home, health care, autos—and those expensive new-cook looks.

And whatever you do, don't turn adversity to our own advantage, think positively, behave assertively, and get out there and make it happen.

Retrograde culture

Retro (for retrogressive) is the key "in" word for women's apparel.

Commercial nostalgia for the fatal '50s has produced atelie heels, super-tight peg-legend pants, and sick mothers who will assertiveness, come-business dressers.

Women's magazines advise us on the finer points of hating men, withholding love and capturing men.

And childless writers harangue us on the joys of motherhood and monogamous commitment.

Women-as-victim is the latest in chic.

Dark, sexist, compelling Draculas do a brisk business in vampirizing and slaughtering entranced women on the stage and silver screen.

Record jackets display semi-clad women in the establishment of women's liberation and the corporate suites and creating some revolution by Mosle-

One of the great travesties against the international movement for the emancipation of women is the systemic repression of its history and the lessons it teaches.

All feminists, radicals and historians, therefore, should hail Gregory Massell's fascinating work, Moslem Women and Revolutionary Economic Realities of Central Asia, 1919-1920.

His book documents the heretofore unheralded revolution by Moslem women in the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union who, under the leadership of Bolshevik women cadres, broke the chains of the pre-revolutionary gender pelvic and age-old Islamic patriarchy.

This book restores a key missing link in the unbroken, twinved story of the struggle of the women and men of the Revolution—and it illuminates the central role of women's struggle in the current world revolution.

But there is a basic flaw in the author's politics and methodology. He wishes to demonstrate how "sexist" the Islamic social order is. He related the power in Central Asia by "manipulating" women to "crucify" the Islamic tradition of women. So he twists the whole sense of history that has unwarried all the man's pet notions and to think his adherence to the tradition of bourgeois sociology, which views all human activity as programmed and passive.

To reap the real fruits of his research, therefore, the very different standpoint of historical materialist must be employed.

No stronger confirmation exists in modern history than the fact that at the time of the san-d misogyny in the Islamic order coincides with that of the female sex by the male." The Islamic woman, he states, the time of the second revolution in 1919.

By common law, women were the chattel slaves of the men of society.

No woman's labor in the fields and on household looms produced the bulk of the economic product in Central Asia, but this was appropriated in its entirety by the men.

Through the mechanism of the price of labor, women were sold as commodities in the market place. And the bride price, which fluctuated in direct relation to the market price for the products of women's labor.

Women had no rights over their own bodies and no rights to property. They were slaughtered or beheaded at will by fathers or husbands. Through the customs of levirate, a widow was forced to marry and serve the closest surviving male relation of her husband, and runaway daughters and wives were hunted down and mutilated like slaves in the U.S. South.

As the ultimate symbol of their bondage, women of the traditional agricultural societies were forced from the age of eight to ten to heavy clothing and black horsehair veils which covered them from head to toe, blocking them forever from the sunlight.

Concomitant with female bondage, women who rebelled against the traditional role of mother, wife and lover, were mutilated. This violent woman-as-victim image is employed to convince us that female.”

One of the central themes of the Islamic migration to the market price for the products of women’s labor. Women had no rights over their own bodies and no rights to property. They were slaughtered or beheaded at will by fathers or husbands. Through the customs of levirate, a widow was forced to marry and serve the closest surviving male relation of her husband, and runaway daughters and wives were hunted down and mutilated like slaves in the U.S. South.

The tremendous historical experience of this women’s revolt and rise to leadership were directly related to their acutely oppressed status, and the legacy of their heroic lives lives on today in the international revolutionary alliance of the Iranian communist and women’s movements.

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Art & Politics

WHEN WE succeed in adjusting our social structure in such a way as to enable us to solve social questions as fast as they become really pressing, they will no longer put up much resistance, having been most stereotyped—the women, particularly the lesbians. I saw the film in a theatre in San Francisco's whorish Union Street district, and the bulk of the laughter came from men. The laughs filled the theatre as loudly as when men characters in the movie belittled themselves, or when the subject arose of Isaac's ex-wife, a lesbian. The audience roared at lines such as "My wife left me for another woman," "Very few people survive even one mother," "I thought your penis substitute would be a Great Dane," "Your vibes were so great you changed her from bisexual to a homossexual," and "I'm not really too concerned about my mother, the estranging Zionist.

One of the movie's most disturbing scenes takes place in a house and Jill, ex-female lover. The two lesbians are predictably portrayed as bitchy, cold, and heartless. Jill is exploiting the details of her failed marriage to Isaac by writing a soon-to-be-published book. She also sends their son to ballet lessons, which Isaac, typically homophobe, construes to mean she is trying to make him into a "queer." So she plays football with his boy.

The film managers to end on a relatively strong note provided by Tracy, the young woman with whom Isaac is involved. Calmly resisting his despotism, cynical creed of "no-one is honest when he wants something," Tracy holds her own and emerges with integrity, self-respect and hope for people. But Tracy, too, lives in affluence and ease, and represents nobody but herself.

Warmed-over Woody Allen just doesn't work.

The moment an artist rests or repeats or relies on what he has worked before, the product suffers. Manhood doesn't move much beyond Annie Hall and the same lovable, bombiring, searching, sexist male loser, bliss his little heart.

I wonder if Woody Allen will move beyond his almost complete portrayal of a sensitive champagne-drinking, struggling, feminist man using his talents to do more than endlessly work through the details of his 20-year-long psychoanalysis. I hope that his fascination with women will reorient him from this hip, existential theatre of the absurd and the futile, and lead him to the rich humor and drama of people who struggle to change the world as well as themselves.

—Karen Brodine

Karen Brodine is a poet, typesetter, teacher and socialist feminist organizer.

I KNOW not if I deserve that a laurel-wreath should one day be laid on my head. "I have loved it, has always been to me but a divine

—George Bernard Shaw, English playwright

I'm going to give up trying to get ahead in my work, so I can concentrate on slowing down the rate at which I'm falling behind.

The organization question

Of hermits, hedonists and related narcissists

In the melting pot ghetto of East Los Angeles where I grew up during the Great Depression, everybody seemed to know that the only way to keep things from getting worse was to organize to make them better. Everyone was involved in some facet of social arrangements. What ouftill you belonged to was your badge of distinction, the badge—the brand. Daddies were periodically unequipped and the others were unequipped with others. And the kind of life that gravitated around causes was full of meaning and stimulation. Social activists found themselves drawn to the political companionship as the fringe benefits of commitment, and it was an exciting way to rise to the call of human beings. The political was the personal.

That's right, back in those older times working people cared about each other. The idea was to pool resources, and that was invigorating. And that was invigorating. And that was invigorating.

So what is it to be young and alive and turned on and tuned in and doing something that mattered? Well, it's to keep creating, and it's to keep creating, and it's to keep creating, and it's to keep creating. We needed help to see in need, to fed the beggars who came to the door if they asked nicely, and to the mass meetings against the mass of injustices. We had a wonderful time applauding the speakers, booing the bad guys, and laughing around with the buddies we ran into. We were young and we were free.

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The me generation is the inexorable outcome of the official, and that was invigorating. And that was invigorating. And that was invigorating.

—Heinrich Heine, German poet

The political was the personal.
The Freedom Socialist Party is a revolutionary, socialist feminist organization, dedicated to the replacement of capitalist rule by a genuine workers socialist feminist organization, dedicated to the social, political and legal equality to women, people of color, gays, and all who are exploited, oppressed and repelled by the ruthless profit system and its offshoots.

For revolutionary internationalism
The working class is international, bound by global abuse and the common task of winning liberation through socialism. We support the revolution on all its fronts and seek to transform it into worldwide socialism, which alone can insure the final defeat of capitalism and all forms of subjugation.

For union democracy
The working class has the strategic power, numbers, need and opportunity to effect better lives for all. But first the trade unions must be freed from the stranglehold of the class-collaborative bureaucracies and free themselves to be the voice of the working class. Internal union democracy, class struggle principles, independent socialist political integration. The revolution depends upon massive black involvement and leadership.

For gay/economic freedom
The struggle of oppressed minorities against racism objectively challenge the basic core of the American political system. Women, people of color, lesbians—gender roles, class roles, the whole social movement, thereby laying the basis for uniting all the mass movements. Women, particularly working-class women of color, are playing an increasingly vanguard role in the American and world revolution, thanks to the rise of the autonomous women’s movement and women’s caucuses within unions and all political parties.

For women’s liberation
We organize for the total emancipation of women on every level. As we see the struggle in the relations of women—as members of an oppressed sex, workers, people of color, lesbians—gender roles, class roles, the whole social movement, thereby laying the basis for unifying all the mass movements.

We support the revolution on all its fronts and seek to transform it into worldwide socialism, which alone can insure the final defeat of capitalism and all forms of subjugation.

We work for the total emancipation of women on every level. The multiple afflictions of women—as members of an oppressed sex, workers, people of color, lesbians—gender roles, class roles, the whole social movement, thereby laying the basis for unifying all the mass movements.

For racial/ethnic freedom
We advocate the collaboration of Black organizations with the Freedom Socialist Party as the most realistic and historically validated alternative to the dead ends of separatism or reformist integration. The revolution depends upon massive Black involvement and leadership.

For human rights
Among the most helpless and vulnerable victims of capitalism are children, elders, the disabled, prisoners—anyone who is not a profitable worker. We demand a world where all people have the inalienable right to security, care, love, and unhampered opportunity and growth.

For a mass party of the working class
History has proved that only a thoroughly democratic and centralist vanguard party can lead the proletariat and its many allies to power. The Freedom Socialist Party, as the most realistic and historically validated alternative to the dead ends of separatism or reformist integration, is a revolutionary, class-struggle party.

The working class is international, and the working class is composed of more than workers. It is composed of everyone who is oppressed by the profit system. The working class is composed of all those who are not rich. It is not only made up of people who work for wages; it is also made up of all those who are not rich: college professors, doctors, lawyers, scientists, writers, artists, poets, and everyone else who is not rich. It is composed of all those who are not rich, who are not landlords, who are not rich, who are not capitalists, who are not owners of the means of production. It is composed of all those who are not rich and who are not landlords, who are not rich, who are not owners of the means of production. It is composed of all those who are not rich and who are not landlords, who are not rich, who are not owners of the means of production.

Capitalism, the prison outside
Prisoners are not constricted to be humane places.

Despotism and cruelty are the normal mode.

A dictatorial hierarchy, racism against and among people of color, rigidly drawn class lines, sexism to the point of mania, and machismo-worship are the prevailing strait of prison culture—the telling caricature of life inside.

Prison simply intensifies and normalizes the bourgeois nuclear family and all the lawless, violent, destructive, unbridled, and fascist social relations and institutions.

Prison is the degrading end-product of an outside system of neglect which fails to provide decent housing, health care, schooling, social consciousness, employment or cultural enrichment to millions of people. Capitalism has chosen not to fight these rebellious of our society, to deprive and deprived back on their own people, in the form of crime, and jails the criminal—double jeopardy for the victims.

The theft who burglarizes the corner gas station must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life. He must be able to turn himself over to the law and make an honest living to start a new life.
A Victory for Socialist Feminism
Organizer’s Report to the 1969 FSP Conference

V. The Nature of the Split

The split in the FSP did not happen clearly and neatly. There was no clear-cut opposition of views, no intensive internal discussion. If our analysis went no further than this, we would have to say that the split in the FSP derived from organizational differences, which the majority asserting organizational standards and standards that the minority was simply unable to live up to. Finally, the majority's internal disciplinary unbendability constricting, they walked out and established a club of their own in which they could operate more comfortably.

This is part of the truth, but it does not go far enough. It is an axiom of Leninism that any serious, long-term organizational conflict, especially one culminating in a split along factional lines, generally expresses a deep, underlying political polarization. It is the task of analysis to identify and reveal this basis.

The Character of the Opposition

The oppositionists in the FSP, even at the point of split, never revealed the personal nature of their grouping, because they were unable to explain the political basis of their factional cohesion. They had never thought through the implications of their policies. They remained to the end an unprincipled bloc, other than a reflexive hostility to the standards, methods and personnel of the party majority.

What lay behind this hostility? Obviously, most (but not all) of the oppositionists felt an instinctive repugnance to the practice of bolshevik organization. This in itself reflects a certain political attitude.

At the basis of Leninist organizational norms lies the concept of the vanguard party, standing in an advanced position, ahead of the mass movement, constantly striving to bring the movement up to its level while maintaining its own principles and program intact.

An attack on organizational norms and procedures, therefore, is generally an implicit attack on the concept of the vanguard party and of defining program that characterizes such a party.

It is important to realize that an assault on the party's program need not take the form of an open, direct ideological assault. It can express itself through an attempt to interpret the program in an opportunistic fashion by softening its distinctive features to make it more palatable to more backward elements, and even to opponent tendencies within the movement.

Party members who display such opportunistic leanings will also manifest dissatisfaction with the "undiplomatic" behavior of comrades who are too "good," too "intolerant," too "inflexible." They insist on a precise and uncompromising political differentiation of the party's own political action and also from the lower political levels of the mass movements in which the party intervenes.

The oppositionists in the FSP instinctively shielded away from any attempt of the majority to push the party's program as its determining feature, and to insist on principles as the guideline to tactics in the mass movement.

Seen in this light, the major clashes that preceded the split revealed the party’s inner divisions in the formation of its program, and also from the lower political levels of the mass movements in which the party intervenes.

The February priorities crisis involved something more than a publication scheme. The real priority involved was the priority of the party program as defined in the basic documents containing our distinctive positions on the Black Question and the Woman Question.

The program should have been the key to determining the party's public image and its course in the mass movement.

The minority's sudden preoccupation with China, their tortuous attempt to make it a central point of dispute with the majority, and their urging the party to enter the reorganization arena before clearly and publicly presenting its own program, were aspects of their general tendency to push the FSP's own distinctive contributions to revolutionary tradition into the background.

The same trend was evident in the internal discussion that the party's public image and its course of intervention in the mass movement.

1. In citing the China question as the "key to the international situation" and to the reorganization process in the U.S., Frank pushed the FSP program on the to. As the question of the liberation of Blacks and women—are into the background, thereby minimizing our differences with the Workers World Party, with whom he was then carrying on a flirtation.

2. The entire dispute over reorganization and the nature of the party leadership, "the split," was revealed an oppositional current that only because fully explicit much later. After our former comrades had launched an attack on Kirk and me, they were looking for a "regroupment" in which they could find a certain accepted image as long as a larger, broader organization; we saw the whole nature of the party—principle required solidarity with Clara in the face of Kirk's open scabbery on the Woman Question. This is the preliminary statement of the case, and made clear to all concerned that the FSP regarded it as a fundamental, first-class political issue.

The minority could not pass the test. Not only were they unwilling to stand by their
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principles on this question, they were unable to live a

oppositionists followed a political course that led them

and the problem was similar.

The question of a living practice. The Russian Social-Democracy was a party still in

issues that divided bolshevik from menshevik.

The crisis came out into the open, it is forced to define itself,

and programmatic. We refused to borrow a leaf from

We did not, however, use the hall as a political

the two drafts was hardly trivial, for it concerned two

Our

The 1968 record is characterized by some

Nevertheless, we forced every local radical
grouping into some sort of an organization and a
general consideration of their role and import,

We were not, however, use the hall as a political

and programmatic differentiations that

And we had to strengthen the party, tempering and

In February and March 1968 featured an impressive

the party's name.

of Black and white youth.

the future leader of the mensheviks, proposed that it be

and programmatic. We refused to borrow a leaf from

the book of our opponents' style and label the

sentiment."

The future of the party, while Martov,

and programmatic. We refused to borrow a leaf from

And we had to strengthen the party, tempering and

And we had to strengthen the party, tempering and

and qualitatively.

of a local party
demands and charges, we opened a political debate on

Was it difficult for us to convince many people, in

period of the validity of our course, given the
the New Left, was less popular from the standpoint of

We did not, however, use the hall as a political

the hall as a political

In 1967 was to maintain its integrity

the new momentum, as well as continued contact with and

violent action and

the party. And the Russian revolutionists, like

This was their first definite, organized break with

But, to quote Deutscher (The

The Russian Social-Democracy was a party still in

although the Russian party was a great, mass

 organization. Lenin was looking toward a
each member free from regular control and supervision by

This dispute ultimately threw into relief the

"minor" differences in the drafts of the membership

this means first and foremost defining its

Our

Our

performance analysis

2. We were highly successful in keeping the party

publicly visible through forums and socials.

A forum series on Afro-American History in

February and March 1968 featured an impressive

political contact.

Our winter series, which evaluated the politics of

of the New Left, was less popular from the standpoint of

nurture and

enactment, jointed with Radical

Women, was so successful that it contributed to this

the hall as a political

of Black and white youth.

our right to the party's name once and for

we forced every local radical

grouping into some sort of an organization and a
general consideration of their role and import,

we forced every local radical grouping into some sort of an organization and a
general consideration of their role and import,

Our

The 1968 record is characterized by some

and trouble out of the problem of the party, but it was the

barometer of the opposition's political
degeneration, the weather vane pointing out the
direction of their political drift. In exposing their
incapacity to deal honestly with this fundamental
issue, the desertsers signalled their growing inability
to deal with any question in the bolshevik manner—
clearly, incisively, and forthrightly, on the grounds of

principles on this question, they were unable to live a

oppositionists followed a political course that led them

and the internal condition of the party.

party that in the past several years has been the increasing radicalism

of the party. And the Russian revolutionists, like

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The future of the party, while Martov,
Early in the year, the student movement, with SDS in the lead, proclaimed a shift from "protest to rebellion" that transformed it into a class issue all over the country. A piecemeal eruption of local draft resistance groups around the country, initiated by Black youth but soon taken up by whites, led to the liberalization of the draft over the summer were followed by a massive influx of Black Youth United for Freedom nationwide, and the first thrust of the Black Panther Party toward national prominence.

The new Left Convolutions. At the beginning of the year, the FSP was apparently in a very good position with respect to the national context that contradicted trends in SDS, good relations with young Black militant leaders, and a fraction of two exerting considerable influence on the party.

When a group of young women from SDS became interested in forming a radical women's organization, the opposition from the technocrats was based on technical and organizational issues. The era of good relations that we expected did not last long. In a short time, our friendly and cooperative relations were transformed into a massive clash of views, leading to an estrangement from one another.

By the end of 1968, our contacts in Radical Women formed itself into a loose association in this party, largely due to our own organizational juices and self-concerns.

The Women's Movement. Our sojourn with the New Left in Radical Women had taken a different course.

From its inception, we were very favorably disposed toward this fledgling organization we had been asked to initiate. Its very formation was historic and dramatic, an exciting validation of our long
proclaimed but lonely stance on the women question.

Here seemed to be the best field for close collaboration with a key section of the New Left—its young women.

Even before it was really off the ground, Radical Women acquired a separate identity within its own actions and agendas. Nevertheless, it was not able to clearly position itself in matters of program, organization or tactics.

We attempted to organize the women in a pro-socialist, working-class framework based on a socialist organizational foundation were met with discomfort, outrage, clandestine maneuvering, chronic attempts in ignore or violate democratic processes, growing hostility, the withdrawal of some members and finally division in the organization.

Our comrades, together with a few sympathizers, were left in possession of the organization, while the right and single-issue forms turned new groups.

One of these, the "Women's Majority Union," undertook the task of crystallizing into a conscious counter-left wing.

In their urgency to build a mass movement, they cast endless clique maneuvering as the pathway for their actions. We made no opportunistic adaptations and compromising to the needs of the party and utilizing the party as a platform for ourselves in the role of leadership of a potential opportunity for membership.

When the moment of decision for the left wing came, the New Left was confronted with groupings of various hues coalesced into a loose association in this party, without a programmatic basis nor a consistent programmatic position. This campaign was the decisive action in Seattle, creating the Black Freedom Party and thereby the Black freedom movement, which would be the template of virtually every radical group in town.

To achieve this huge impact and effective organizational strength against the nightmare of our own organizational weaknesses, we had not only a Herculean task, in which we succeeded, but a politically expensive one. By virtue of our own massive effort, the advantage we achieved over SDS and others to support the mass meeting, we incurred resentment and annoyance.

Nevertheless, we would be happy to do it again for the Black freedom movement, which would be the template for virtually every radical group in town.

Performance Evaluation. By the end of 1968, the FSP stood out as a distinctly independent, unique and determined organization amid the many factions and groupings within the radical movement.

We ended up organizationally alone and politically isolated, a rather remarkable achievement for a small cadre of hardheads addressed consistently and sometimes hysterically by all sides, because of our intransigence combined with flexibility—a dialectical approach to strategy still unachieved by old and new alike, who rejected our creativity.

By refusing to sacrifice principle in exchange for popularity, we had earned some outright hatred from those who detested our participatory and collaborative work in their projects on their terms.

The disempowerment of our alliances was dictated by the limits of our organizational capacity and resources. We had not only a herculean task, but a politically expensive one. By virtue of our own massive effort, the advantage we achieved over SDS and others in supporting the mass meeting, we incurred resentment and annoyance.

Nevertheless, we would be happy to do it again for the Black freedom movement, which would be the template for virtually every radical group in town.

The next installment, to appear in the Winter Freedom Socialist, assesses the state of the FSP in 1969 and considers some of the factional issues and organizational problems.
The streets ran red with blood before U.S.-backed butcher Somoza could be run out of Nicaragua by the insurrectionary population. Today, red banners wave in Managua to proclaim the first overthrow of a Latin American dictator since Batista fled Cuba. But the collaboration of the Sandinistas with the capitalist class spells danger for the future of a free Nicaragua.

by Sam Deaderick

It is July 21, 1979. 100,000 cheering celebrants throng the newly renamed Plaza of the Revolution in Managua to welcome the new Government of National Reconstruction. Hated dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle has fled to Miami, along with the top command of his National Guard, and 46 years of bloody rule by the U.S.-supported Somoza family is at an end.

Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) banners flutter in the breeze. The streets that were so recently filled with gunfire and the groans of the dying explode with laughter, song, and tears of happiness as the members of the new government arrive and are inaugurated.

For the first time since Fidel Castro's victorious rebel army marched into Havana 20 years ago, a popular uprising has toppled a Latin American rightwing dictatorship and seriously weakened—and threatened—the economic and political stranglehold of imperialism over Latin America.

But the political future of Nicaragua is uncertain. Participation in the new government ranges from Sandinista guerrillas to major industrialists, and the tentative, uneasy alliance of irreconcilable classes makes any long-term stability impossible.

The tyrant Somoza

Virtually the entire population of the country—poor peasants, urban workers, small shopkeepers, magnates of big business—united in opposition to the tyrant Somoza.

Through an interlocking network of family ties, the Somoza dynasty, installed by Yankee armed forces in the 1930s, owned up to 60% of all arable land. The family completely controlled all major industry and the political, military, and judicial apparatus.

Educated at West Point, Somoza exercised power through a highly-trained National Guard, who, in return for special privileges, demonstrated fierce loyalty to the regime and brutalized, tortured, and murdered the citizenry on command.

Civil war

The FSLN uprising against Somoza in September 1978, was defeated by the National Guard with U.S. and Israeli-supplied weapons. The FSLN regrouped and launched the final offensive in May which brought down the government.

The National Guard demonstrated unprecedented barbarity during the fighting. Civilians were routinely shot as suspected FSLN sympathizers and residential areas were bombed and napalmed.

The population fought heroically. FSLN forces were strengthened by the full-scale participation of armed women, and young children took up arms.

40,000 were killed in the fighting and 600,000 left homeless. Factories were destroyed, crops ruined, and millions of dollars funneled out of the country by Somoza, his henchmen, and major capitalists who feared both Somoza and the revolutionaries.

The new government faces an enormous task of reconstruction; it must increase agricultural production and patch together the shattered economy.

What next?

The program of the new government calls for "democratic rule, justice, and social progress." "Organization and operation of political parties without ideological discrimination" is guaranteed, except for the "Somocistas."

One of the major leaders of the "Prolonged People's War" tendency of the FSLN has said that "private property must be respected. The only thing the revolutionary state has taken over to administer is the property of Somoza and his henchmen. The industrialists can keep calm."

But industrialists never keep calm in revolutionary situations. Nicaraguan workers and peasants will soon realize that Somoza was only the most brutal of their oppressors and that the revolution has only just begun.