

# Antinuclear politics shift leftward

by Sukey Durham

**T**housands of antinuke demonstrators made a dramatic attempt on October 29 to close down the New York Stock Exchange.

Staged on the 50th anniversary of the 1929 stock market crash and great Depression, the massive protest on Wall Street against huge investments in nuclear weapons and power was a milestone for the antinuke movement.

The movement as a whole has long been shortsighted and its impact blunted; it concentrated on shutting down nuclear power plants without analyzing the economic system that keeps plants operating despite terrifying safety and health risks. But in October, antinuke ire was finally directed against the real enemy—finance capital and the profit system.

Targeted were giant nuclear power investors such as General Electric, Westinghouse, and Dupont. Demonstrators demanded a cut-off of nuclear industry financing, shutting down nuclear power plants, halting the manufacture of nuclear weapons, full employment in a peacetime economy, public ownership and democratic control of the energy industry, an end

to nuclear exports, and stopping the exploitation of Native Americans and Black South Africans.

Manhattan Project spokesperson Laurie Lowell characterized the action as an "incredible step forward for the antinuclear power and weapons movement." And antinuclear protest flashed across the country during the weekend of the Wall St. uproar.

In Bangor, Washington, in Sunnyvale, California, and in Groton, Connecticut, nuclear foes massed to condemn the government's Trident submarine program. In Washington, D.C., 200 sat in at the Department of Energy.

The national actions revealed a fragmented movement.

A too loosely-knit structure, a lack of stable leadership, no coordinated national perspective, and an unrealistic reliance on consensus politics have hamstrung the movement. National organizing is limited to information sharing, and any nationwide structure is resisted at local levels. Racism, insensitivity to feminism and women's role in the movement, and a non-class analysis are typical.

In Portland, Oregon, when Black and Native American women raised the issue of racism in October, the

Trojan Decommission Alliance accused them of "divisiveness" and obstructed their fundraising efforts for the movement!

The Manhattan Project did address racist exploitation by nuclear industrialists. Already, the Northern Plains and the Black Hills of the Lakota tribe in South Dakota have been targeted by the government as a "National Sacrifice Area"—where more than one million acres will be converted to barren wasteland by strip mining of uranium and coal.

Clearly, nuclear capitalists are prepared to sacrifice entire nations to their insatiable quest for profits. And those who are the first to suffer—Native Americans, people of color, Third World countries, women, nuclear workers—are the movement's natural allies. Nukes are *not* an isolated, single issue. And the Manhattan Project, in its bid for an alliance of the oppressed, signals

awareness of the need for broader participation.

While few antinuke groups demand the relocation or retraining of nuclear workers, Project leaders prioritized the issue of full employment, acknowledging the economic core of the struggle and the need to win workers to it.

For the workers alone have the power to shut down the nuclear industry; nonviolent resistance will not do it.

As the content and thrust of the movement deepen, it must become prepared for self-defense. Pacifism as a principle cannot defeat U.S. capitalism, whose survival depends on warfare and genetic mayhem. Nothing less than a militant program for revolutionary change can turn around the wild race to ecological disaster.

The antinuclear movement will grow increasingly radical—or will drift inevitably to the right. It cannot escape the iron laws governing all political phenomena. ■



Manhattan Project demonstrators confront finance capital at the New York Stock Exchange in October.

## AIM prisoners: the trail of martyrdom

by Angelica Merlino

**R**esurrecting a three-year-old frame-up of AIM activists, the Ninth Circuit Federal Court of Appeals has reinstated indictments against Kamook and Dennis Banks, Kenneth Loud Hawk, and Russell Redner, who once again face a charge of illegal possession of firearms and explosives—even though the original charge was dismissed three years ago.

Kamook Banks, Loud Hawk, and Redner were first arrested in Oregon in November, 1975 in the course of a police search for AIM fugitives Leonard Peltier and Dennis Banks, wanted on federal warrants—Peltier for a false murder rap in the aftermath

of the FBI attack on Wounded Knee and Banks with being a fugitive from justice.

Oregon state police, acting on FBI information that Peltier and Banks were traveling "in convoy" in a motorhome and a stationwagon, spotted two such vehicles, arrested Kamook Banks, Loud Hawk and Redner, and charged them with harboring Dennis Banks. But the police were unable to find Dennis Banks or prove any contact between him and the vehicles' occupants. They found an empty box labeled "Dupont" in the stationwagon and changed their charge to possession of explosives, claiming the box had once contained dynamite.

In May, 1976, U.S. District Judge Robert C. Belloni needed only 18 minutes and 55 seconds to dismiss

these trumped-up charges "with prejudice." Belloni ruled that most of the government's evidence was inadmissible, which prohibited the government from re-filing the charges.

Nevertheless, the FBI pursued and found Dennis Banks in California, and wants to extradite him to South Dakota to be tried for the Wounded Knee charges. Governor William J. Janklow of that state, who was convicted of statutory rape in 1974 by the Rosebud Tribal Court, is a vicious enemy of Banks and all Indians.

When California Governor Jerry Brown refused to extradite Banks, the U.S. Attorney for Oregon, Sid Lezak, appealed Belloni's decision and won. Hence, Banks could be forced to trial in Oregon, and then be shipped to South Dakota for another trial.

The government-FBI plot to finish

off AIM and smash the Native American nations of South Dakota serves the interests of Union Carbide and similar giant corporations bent on large-scale strip and solution mining of uranium on Lakota lands in the Black Hills of South Dakota. While Lakota attention was focused on Wounded Knee and its aftermath, the mining bosses stole reservation lands rich in uranium, coal and oil.

The AIM for Freedom Defense Committee urges that mailgrams demanding the dropping of all charges against the four defendants be sent to Sid Lezak, P.O. Box 71, Portland, OR 97207, and to Benjamin R. Civiletti, Room 5111, Main Justice Building, 10th and Constitution Avenue, Washington, DC 20530, with copies to AIM for Freedom, 636 NE Beech, Portland, OR 97212. ■

## Woodworkers strike over company sexism

by Janet Sutherland

**S**exual harassment was the issue behind a strike by Local 3-38, International Woodworkers of America, against the Simpson Timber Company at Shelton, Washington. A November 30 ruling by U.S. District Court Judge Jack E. Tanner vindicated the union's position and ended the 55-day strike.

Tanner ordered Simpson to rehire Toni Gilbertson, a woman worker fired on June 21.

1400 workers struck on Oct. 8 over a grievance filed in Gilbertson's behalf to defend the right of workers to return to previous assignments if they perform "poorly" after a promotion.

Gilbertson had filed a sex discrimination suit with the State Human Rights Commission based on the abusive and illegal questions asked in her hiring interview. She was hired

after her complaint was served on the company—and she was under constant surveillance by supervisors thereafter.

When she was promoted from the graveyard shift to a better job on the swing shift, her work was rated incompetent and she was fired outright instead of returning to her old job.

Though the company underplayed the sex discrimination involved at the heart of the matter, Gilbertson's fellow workers were strongly opposed to the sexually offensive and suggestive

interviews endured by her and three other women workers who came forward during the hearing.

Workers at other Simpson plants honored a two-day informational picketline by the IWA, interrupting Simpson operations on the West Coast.

The IWA proved the potential for worker solidarity and action over women's rights. The strike is an illustration of the pivotal place of feminism in the labor movement. ■

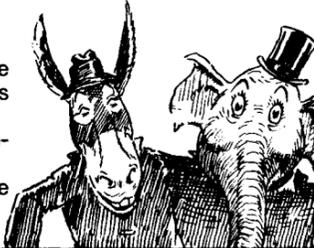
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**YOU ARE NOW ENTERING FREE DERRY**

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Lane Kirkland

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A retired steelworker who visited China expresses an equal measure of concern over working conditions there and respect for revolutionary advances.



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## Letters

### Society without prison

Your article on "Prisons" presents facets of violence and injustice, probably to provoke indignation, which is probably useless because people are already indignant about so many different things and their indignation manipulated in so many ways that they will just prefer to ignore all these facts (which they knew about anyway). The real question is, "What else is possible? How is a just society possible? How do we conceive of a society without prisons?"

Condemning the system alone is not an effective strategy; the resources of those who want its perpetuation far exceed the resources of those who are indignant over the injustice. Condemning only gets us involved in a kind of political struggle for which we are generally ill-equipped. Understanding and demystifying is the real goal.

Y. Dandurand  
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

Your prison article states that "smaller prisons and an alternative to solitary cells must be built or adapted immediately." This is very shortsighted and does not reflect the intelligence and sensitivity of the rest of the article. Smaller prisons will not address racism and brutality, so clearly laid out in Sutherland's article. Unless we alter the broader social and economic conditions, building smaller prisons will only mean expansion of cell space, not replacement . . .

Washington State is preparing to build a mini-prison at \$50,000 per bed space. But it will not replace Walla Walla. It will use up the money, time and energy which could have been used to release many prisoners to supportive situations in the community (jobs, halfway houses, vocational training, etc.), to renovate portions of the prison, and to train guards or replace them . . .

The only answer is to halt construction of more prisons and find humane alternatives.

Naneen Karraker,  
Unitarian Universalist Service  
Committee  
San Francisco, California

I was greatly impressed with your article on Prison . . .

As a prisoner, I have a lot of views on improvements. Under the present system, the seeds of bitterness and hatred are bred. When the guards are cruel and treat the inmates like dogs, their attitude is seen as reflective of

all society, which put us here to begin with. Guards should be better educated, better trained, and psychologically screened for suitability.

Criminals are being made in prison, and only temporarily deterred. The nonviolent and violent and those with severe drug, alcohol, and mental problems, are all housed together, instead of separately with appropriate programs for each.

Too many "crimes" don't belong in the criminal code. And instead of sending someone to jail, wherever possible a chance to make retribution should be offered.

Nicoli Thoward  
Kingston Prison for Women  
Ontario, Canada

A Native American inmate has accepted the help that International Support for Indian Prisoners has offered Indian brothers incarcerated at Walla Walla . . .

I must gather as much factual material as possible on prison atrocities to help the brothers in this Iron house of Walla Walla. International Support will then inform people of Europe and America and ask for letters and petitions to the Warden, Governor, President, etc.

So maybe we will be able to achieve something good.

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse, Peace.  
Wolakota Woniya  
North Attleboro, Massachusetts

### Fan mail

This is a fan letter. I want to compliment Guerry Hoddersen on her (Fall 1979) editorial on the feminine mystique. I really like the clear, concise way that you put the ideas, very easy to read and entertaining. Women students at the university could use your perspective.

In solidarity,  
Karen Rudolph  
Women Studies  
University of Washington  
Seattle, Washington

### We stand corrected

Meg White's very interesting article on the Seattle General Strike calls it the first and only general strike in the United States. But many of us remember another and later general strike, that of the San Francisco dock workers in 1934.

Art Preis writes on page 32 of **Labor's Giant Step:**  
*The murder and wounding of strikers did not crush the workers. Instead, San Francisco labor answered with a*

*tremendous counter-attack—a general strike. For two days the working class paralyzed the city. The workers took over many city functions, directing traffic and assuming other municipal tasks. On the third and fourth days, the general strike petered out when the AFL leaders . . . ordered an end to the stoppage.*

Dave Heatlie  
Portland, Oregon

### Indian women organize

We wish to announce the formation of the Northwest Indian Women's Circle . . .

We are deeply concerned about sterilization abuses and the great need for more effective social service programs to help Indian women develop our inner being, improve our outer environment, and insure the survival of Indian People . . .

Northwest Indian Women's Circle  
P.O. Box 8051  
Tacoma, WA 98408

### We're honored

Enclosed is \$4.00 to cover a new subscription and back issues of "Gay Resistance: the Hidden History."

Del Martin  
San Francisco

### Nix on nukes

"The Great Nuclear Reaction" article was really good. One criticism might be that the strong political overtones of the front page could turn away people who might otherwise have read the article. Our stance is No Nukes in Idaho. Period.

The ruthless greed and corruption of big corporations and the government, although the main cause of nuke proliferation, is not in itself our target. Our direction is to educate. We need credibility in a conservative and rural state . . .

On the other hand, reaching all people is important. Finding this vital issue covered in your magazine is encouraging. Thanks for a chance to read a strong political statement . . .

Charlene Dorella  
Snake River Alliance  
Boise, Idaho 83701

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.

## Walla Walla update

by Guerry Hoddersen

For terrorized prisoners at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla, the longest lockdown in American history is over. But the nightmare continues as prison administrators, determined to provoke another confrontation with inmates, keep the pot boiling.

As the summer-long lockdown neared its end, authorities ordered prisoners to wear bright orange "target" jackets in the yard, but they backed down after the furious men set fire to two hundred jackets.

Prisoner club rooms, dismantled during the lockdown, have been converted into staff offices instead of cells, despite intense crowding.

Guards who beat Indian prisoners have been promoted. One prisoner told the *Freedom Socialist*, "It is a

real live, deadly hell here, and the State is saying 'all is calm.'"

Prisoners have filed a class action suit in federal court charging the governor, top prison officials, the parole board, and guards with cruel and unusual punishment. The suit seeks reform of the entire prison system as well as monetary damages for the beatings and destruction of personal property during the lockdown.

In December, U.S. District Court Judge Jack E. Tanner ordered Walla Walla administrators to insure that guards stop their brutality against prisoners. The state of Washington appealed, and appellate Judge Eugene A. Wright struck the word "insure" and substituted "oblige" and "compel."

The prison is still in an uproar. After prisoners were fed bologna and bread for four consecutive days, they became infuriated when officials invited the press in to witness

the issuance of a hot meal. The food was thrown back at the staff so the media could record *that*.

Lawyers have won a temporary restraining order guaranteeing inmates access to legal counsel, and a federal judge has ordered the Justice Department to join the suit as a "friend of the court." In similar suits, the Justice Department has obtained court orders mandating prison reforms or closures.

Native American prisoners have filed a separate suit challenging both the unconstitutional denial of their right to practice their native religion and the singularly vicious treatment they suffered at the hands of racist guards.

Indian inmate Jimmie Simmons, facing a death penalty charge for allegedly killing a guard, is in desperate need of funds to fight his case. Donations can be sent to Northwest Indian Women's Circle, Box 8051, Tacoma, WA 98408. ■



# 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*

## Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)

**T**he Patriotic Front, which demands Black rule for Zimbabwe, will sign an agreement with the Muzorewa government and the British government after lengthy negotiations marked by continuing warfare in Zimbabwe. The signing of the agreements, including a cease-fire, ends the seven-year shooting war in Zimbabwe. Former Prime Minister Muzorewa and the British were in collusion against the Front throughout the negotiations.

Muzorewa professed a desire for a cease-fire during the peace talks in London but authorized bombing raids against Patriotic Front bases in Zambia and Mozambique. He employed South African troops within the borders of Zimbabwe itself.

Lord Arthur Soames, newly-appointed British governor of Zimbabwe, is currently in charge of the country, and will rule until the scheduled spring elections. The Patriotic Front agreed to his transitional stewardship.

The overwhelming majority of the country are Blacks who strongly support the Patriotic Front. The Front is confident of winning the coming elections, but it has taken a calculated risk as a result of its agreements with Muzorewa and the British, who have a long, bloody history of treachery and carnage against Black liberation forces.

The interim period of transition is a dangerous one. The elections are no guarantee whatsoever of a Black-ruled Zimbabwe, and the electoral results will be the prime determinant of the future course of the Black struggle for power in Zimbabwe.

## Czechoslovakia

**S**ix prominent Czech human rights activists, charged by the Stalinist government with "subversion of the Republic," drew sentences ranging from two to five years on October 23.

The defendants—Petr Uhl, Vaclav Havel, Vaclav Benda, Jiri Dienstbier, and Dana Nemcova—were members of the Czech human rights movement, Charter 77, as well as the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted, a sub-group of Charter 77.

Charter 77 was presented as a petition to the government in January, 1977. It called for adherence to democratic rights as guaranteed in the constitution and in the Helsinki Conference agreements of 1975.

International protest against the trials and sentences, which included protests by the Italian and French Communist parties, testifies to the repressive nature of the Czechoslovak government, which was militarily and bureaucratically foisted on the people by the Soviet Union in 1968.

## Grenada

**I**n a swift and precise surprise attack on a strategic army barracks at 4:15 in the morning on March 13, a tiny cadre of 46 New Jewel Movement members toppled the twenty-year-old reactionary regime of Grenada and installed the People's Revolutionary Government. The new government, backed by massive popular support, has embarked on an

ambitious program of reform and social services for this tiny Caribbean island nation of 110,000.

The new regime has declared itself socialist, although leading members call for socialism to be achieved only gradually, in a distinct sequence of stages beginning with the "democratization" of Grenadian society. In practice, however, the government has stepped out consistently on the side of the workers and peasants, promoting the formation of trade unions and agricultural workers councils.

The former dictator, Sir Eric M. Gairy, who was supported by America and Britain, has reportedly been attempting to organize a mercenary force of counterrevolutionaries in the U.S. But the coup in Grenada, which struck yet another blow against imperialist domination in the Caribbean, will not be easily reversed, especially as aid is being sent by Cuba, Guyana and Jamaica.

## Nicaragua

**S**ince the Somoza clan's dictatorship was destroyed in July, the victorious Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has led the revolution to inspiring new heights of popular democracy and implacable anticapitalist resistance.

The Cabinet of the Government of National Reconstruction, which included anti-Somoza bourgeois figures as well as FSLN representatives, was dissolved December 4, and a new government has not been announced.

The junta, under the leadership of the FSLN, had made decisive moves against the political influence of the capitalist class. All the assets of the Somoza dynasty were expropriated and placed under the control of a state institute. Somoza's vast land holdings were seized and redistributed by the Agrarian Reform Institute. Some land was given to the peasants, some turned into cooperatives and collective farms, and some given to an Indian community in the León region.

All banks, insurance companies, and foreign-owned mines have been nationalized. Expropriations of capitalists who locked out workers or sabotaged production are conducted systematically, and a state monopoly of imports and exports has been established.

All foreign debts incurred for Somoza's military expenditures have been cancelled, and a unilateral moratorium has been declared on repayment of the remainder of the national debt.

The debts of the small peasants have been cancelled. And all existing currency was given an expiration date and called in for replacement by newly-issued money; this successfully curbed speculation and the secret amassing of fortunes.

Building on close ties developed with the masses during the anti-Somoza struggle, the FSLN has been a dynamic factor in the strengthening and extension of broad, democratic organizations of workers and peasants. Sandinista Defense Committees have

been formed in urban areas across the country, and Associations of Land Workers have been organized in the countryside.

These organizations increasingly assume governmental and administrative functions, resulting in the richest form of democracy Nicaraguans have ever known.

Women, who were central and fundamental to the revolution, are playing a paramount role in national reconstruction. Through their mass organization, Women Concerned with the National Problem (AMPRONAC), and through leadership in the FSLN, neighborhood and peasant committees, and the armed militias, women are proving decisive in rebuilding the country and defending the gains of the revolution.

The danger of counterrevolution remains, from both inside the country and from foreign imperialism. The FSLN has therefore taken steps to reorganize and strengthen the militias, which are being integrated into the army, the state security system, the schools, and the factories. The FSLN's goal is to build a national voluntary militia of 300,000.

Despite the critical problems of a shattered economy, the widespread destruction wreaked during Somoza's last days, and threats of imperialist intervention, Nicaragua is showing the world a thrilling example of the power and resourcefulness of a revolutionary people in motion.

## Reportaje sobre Nicaragua

**D**esde que el régimen dictatorial del clan Somoza fue destruido en julio, las fuerzas victoriosas del Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) han conducido la revolución hasta la dramática cumbre de la democracia popular y la implacable resistencia anticapitalista.

El Gobierno de la Reconstrucción Nacional, que incluyó tanto burguesas figuras enemigas de Somoza como representantes del FSLN, fue disuelto el 4 de diciembre, formándose un nuevo gobierno todavía no anunciado.

La junta, bajo el mando del FSLN, tomó medidas decisivas en contra la clase capitalista. Se inició una gran redistribución de tierras; se nacionalizaron bancos, compañías de seguros, y minas que estaban en manos de capitales extranjeros; sindicatos, comités de trabajadores y campesinos, y representaciones vecinales han crecido tremendamente y han comenzado a asumir funciones administrativas y gubernamentales.

Las mujeres, quienes tuvieron un papel fundamental en la revolución, están participando en la dirección de todos los sectores de la revolución.

Se están formando milicias voluntarias como defensa en caso de contrarrevolución; el objetivo es llegar a tener alrededor de 300,000 miembros.

Encarando una posible contrarrevolución y una economía rota, Nicaragua está dando un inspirador ejemplo al mundo del poder y la habilidad de un pueblo revolucionario.

## Kampuchea

**U**nrelieved starvation continues to torture millions in Kampuchea, but the White House still uses food cynically as a weapon in its political war with Vietnam. U.S. aid is being directed almost exclusively to the Pol Pot forces massed along the Kampuchea/Thailand border.

Pol Pot, ousted by the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin forces, claims to be the legitimate leader of Kampuchea, and the U.S. State Department, with Thai help, backs this absurd claim and prolongs the bloody conflict in that

tormented country.

The U.S. alone is responsible for the bombings that produced the famine, but callously proceeds to starve out the Kampuchean population.

While Rosalynn Carter publicizes her "mercy missions" to the Pol Pot-held areas, the Red Cross, UNICEF, and the U.S. government whine that overwhelming obstacles are foiling their attempts to send aid to the Heng Samrin-held interior. Oxfam, a British-based, international relief organization, however, has no problem distributing food, since they cooperate with the Heng Samrin government.



*"It's an aid questionnaire . . . Is the starvee now, or has he/she ever been a communist? Explain, in 300 words or less, why . . ."*

**A retired steelworker who recently toured China writes to his hosts of his reactions to their country. Excerpts from his letter convey a graphic picture of tremendous revolutionary gains alongside unsolved problems and serious policy errors.**

... You surprised us by your total confidence that you could teach the Vietnamese a "lesson" without risking danger of Russian intervention on your Northern border.

We Americans have many reservations about the wisdom of attempting to change Vietnam by military means! So I hope that China's patience will prevail through negotiations with Vietnam. The risks are too great. One very reassuring experience was to observe your troop convoys returning from the Vietnamese front.

Mr. Shao made a question-like reference to the possibility of the U.S. teaching *Cuba* a "lesson" because Cuban troops are being used as "mercenaries" in various parts of the world. The U.S. has tried to teach Cuba a "lesson" and has failed; considering the many mistakes of the U.S. in its relations with Cuba, we fear that any U.S. military contention with Cuba would result in cruel suppression of the Cuban people.

#### Modernization

Mr. Shao emphasized that the plans for Modernization had been worked out at the highest political levels, with the Communist Party in control of and responsible for the whole program, but that it will be difficult to achieve because China has so far to go to catch up with the most developed nations.

He said some foreign contracts were overextended and would have to be cut back, and that China intended to utilize its own resources to the fullest.

A top priority will be to furnish every Commune with computer equipment to enable all parts of the economy to become totally accountable.

Our tour group felt that Modernization could probably be achieved in the cities, but the task in the countryside will probably take much longer. Two of our members served in World War II on your soil, and were struck by the fact that your peasants still do most of their work by hand labor.

We urge caution about the use of computers. Decision-making is still a human responsibility. Some private and government agencies in the U.S. use computers to invade the privacy of innocent persons.

#### Worker safety

In the countryside, people were using outdated methods of harvesting (hand-flailing and winnowing) alongside some semimodern machine methods. We saw many people hauling heavy loads on shoulder poles. Some old people were pulling too heavy loads on two-wheel carts. Some road construction was being done by hand drill and sledgehammer.

Some machine and factory workers were exposed to excessive danger of injury because they lacked adequate eye, head, or foot protection. Safety glasses, helmets, and safety shoes should be worn at all times around heavy and light machinery. Those of us with experience in U.S. factories hurt inside when we observed that risk of injury to nearly all your workers. One bright spot was a Shanghai shipyard where helmets and gloves were in use.

At a silk mill in Wushi, we were pained to observe the injury to the hands of the women, who have to keep their hands immersed in hot water and chemicals for 8 hours a day, 6 days a week. Some women in our delegation asked why no men did this work, and the answer seemed to be that women

# LETTER TO CHINA

were "more skilled." But the women bear an unfair share of the burden of this onerous work, and serious attention should be given to changing these conditions. More frequent relief periods and shorter hours of work would allow the human body to recover from that damage.

At a pharmaceutical factory, we ran into very offensive fumes. Some handicraft factories were using lacquers and paints that emitted fumes strong enough to choke some of us as we walked through. I do not know if the workers have made or are allowed to make complaints about such conditions, but if I were working there I certainly would try to get those conditions corrected. Better ventilation and changes in materials would help.

#### Job classifying

During the briefing at the factory, answers to some of our questions indicated that Job Classes were attached to the individual worker instead of the job itself. This is the reverse of what we understand to be the correct objective and scientific method. In the U.S., the work and/or job itself is analyzed and studied by time and motion, and classified according to national standards.

And while this system is used to exploit U.S. workers, careful analysis indicates that it can come close to establishing what Marx called "the amount of socially necessary labor time" to produce the commodity.

To safeguard equity for the workers under this system, provision must be made to have the workers participate in establishing it, and to frequently reevaluate its operation so the workers can share in the benefits of increased productivity.

We noticed that much labor, time, material and effort are still going into building small walls alongside roads and around workers' and peasants' homes. Most of this seems to be unproductive and unnecessary; in the U.S., it is called "boondoggling"—make-work to keep people busy and out of mischief.

#### Minorities, peasantry

In Kunming, our briefing session with the heads of the Minorities School lasted almost four hours. We had no way to judge the validity of their remarks; some representatives of minorities were present, but we did not get to know much about them. They were in costume, and some were asked to perform, but we had no communication with them. That was our most unproductive experience.

We met Joan Hinton, an American who has given 30 years' work to China.

She rode her bicycle for an hour to come in from the Red Star Commune and exchange ideas with us. She expressed a lot of confidence in the ability of the peasants to survive any political changes.

Steve Thorpe at Yunnan University asked us to send books to help him with his teaching. He said the "Gang of Four" ordered all foreign literature destroyed at that University.

#### Taxes

We often asked how some service or activity was financed, but the answers were not clear enough. Somewhere I was told that you do not impose any income or property tax to finance government operations, and I picked up the idea that you get about 15% of all production. I have the impression



E.V. Dennett

that you have a great deal of flexibility in your dealings with the production units. I don't have an adequate understanding of how that works.

#### Transportation and pollution

Your railroad system is an inspiration. The trains and airplanes are on time and very comfortable. The good condition of your public roads was another surprise; I should have realized that your nation has been building them longer than we have. Your vehicles, buses, taxis, and bicycles compare very favorably with those in the U.S., and I was surprised to see so many articulated buses. We are just beginning to extend their use here, but you seem to have had them a long time.

Your cities suffer a smog problem which needs immediate attention to protect the health of your residents. I

suffered much from your smog, especially in Beijing. Nanking was the most beautiful and livable city; it was especially inspiring to see that it has overcome the scars of the Japanese bombings.

Your noise pollution, caused by the almost constant honking of horns by buses and taxis, was hard to endure.

#### Legal system

Mr. Shao said that the present government is supported by approximately 95% of the people, but 5%—about 4 million people—have to be kept from spoiling life for all the rest. He said the Communist Party was able and willing to do that job.

I never learned how your legal system guarantees fair treatment for those in custody. I understand that during the reign of the "Gang of Four," accused persons did not get fair treatment. I hope you are taking appropriate steps to correct that situation.

The U.S. has a tradition of wanting the accused to have a fair public opportunity for defense and be regarded as innocent until proven guilty. Of course this norm is often violated, especially when a highly inflamed press whips up prejudice against some lowly political victim. But we also win some of those cases.

Chairman Mao wrote extensively on this subject, referring to some of his own difficulties when he had to stand alone or in a minority. History is full of examples of minority opinions later proven to be correct. Progress depends on the willingness of a majority to protect the rights of a minority to hold views and make suggestions varying from that of the majority.

#### Lifestyle

The great change is that 30 years ago half the people were starving and sick, whereas now everyone looks well-fed and healthy, guaranteed their ration of rice, and health care. Your food was most nourishing, satisfying and healthful.

The hotel beds were disconcerting. We changed from comfortable springs to hard boards, or from hard boards to soft springs. It was hard to adjust and get adequate rest, although most of us were so tired we did sleep.

The operas, musical concerts, and drama put on by the children were delightful, especially the brilliant violin concert of classical music in Nanking.

I missed news from home—no newspapers or radio, and almost no TV.

The masses of children impressed us as well cared for, happy, and eagerly learning social behavior. Many young people talked English with me at length; they wanted to practice what they were learning in school. Most of the young people seemed relaxed, confident, and independent.

But many of the older people looked tired. They were curious about us foreigners but somewhat reserved and doubtful about what we were doing there. Many of them reported bitter experiences with and bitter memories of the "Gang of Four."

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You are building a new kind of society which holds forth the promise of a better life for all your people. I genuinely want to see you succeed.

—E.V. Dennett

# NORTHERN IRELAND

## A political tour

An eyewitness report of the Irish rebellion by two intrepid American feminists

by Melba Windoffer  
and Betty Maloney

None so fitted to break the chains as they who wear them, none so well-equipped to decide what is a fetter. In its march towards freedom, the working class of Ireland must cheer on the efforts of these women, who feeling on their souls and bodies the fetters of the ages, have arisen to strike them off, and cheer all the louder if in its hatred of thralldom and passion for freedom the women's army forges ahead of the militant army of labor.

— James Connolly

# W

herever we traveled in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic, we searched for revolutionary leaders, for Marxists in the tradi-

tion of the great labor organizer James Connolly who was executed by the British after the 1916 Uprising. And what we found was an amazing number of heroic women—determined, strong, young working women heavily involved in the struggle for socialism and national liberation.

The terrible injuries these women are addressing spring from the British presence in Ireland's six northern counties, a presence which greeted us ominously in Belfast.

### Mass arrests

An anti-imperialist march and rally of 35,000 people resulted in the arrest of 100 because of a show of arms by the Provisional Irish Republican Army (Provo IRA). These arrests, like the thousands that preceded them, involve a 7-day detention without a lawyer or visitors, false accusations and lying witnesses, a 24-hour lockup, rape or the threat of rape, and unrelenting dehumanization and torture.

The inflammatory press, as usual, portrayed the British army as saviors, concealing the politics of the struggle from the outside world and flattening



Belfast Relative Action Committee women protest British occupation and mistreatment of Irish political prisoners.

the impact of the mass demonstration against ten years of vicious repression.

British broadcasting executives censor documentaries so that the Irish question is never portrayed as a colonial or class struggle issue. And while we were in Belfast, the *Republican News*, published by the Provisional Sinn Fein—legal political arm of the Provisional IRA—was raided.

Constant surveillance prevails. As we visited in West Belfast, a poor, workingclass, Catholic district, we

were watched through video camera by soldiers in armored tanks, helicopters, and on rooftops of housing projects and cinder block huts.

Maintaining the police state costs the United Kingdom 136 million dollars annually.

British soldiers, supported by 8,000 members of the Ulster Defense Regiment, occupy the North. The British are mostly workingclass youths who face either hunger or the army when they reach 17; their brief four-month tour of duty lessens the chance of their becoming active sympathizers of the Irish struggle for nationhood.

### Church supports state

The Church, Catholic and Protestant, actively bolsters the intolerable status quo. Since the first British attempts at conquest of Ireland, remnants of the old Gaelic culture based on socialist and matriarchal clans have lent fervor to the peoples' religious beliefs. But the landed gentry, whether Catholic or Protestant, has always sided with or adopted the religion of those in power. The creeds of the people have been cynically manipulated to divide them.

The Catholic Church helped to wipe out the clans, and supplied the funds to defeat the Catholic peasants in the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. The church remained silent in the 1913 Dublin strike and uprising, and when priests do speak out against injustice, it is only with great reluctance.

### The rising of the women

Institutional voices are mute against police terror. But the women of Ireland refuse to be silent.

Central to the anti-imperialist struggle are the Northern workingclass women in the Relative Action Committee who are trying to win civil rights for 620 political captives confined in Northern prisons. The women participate in hunger strikes, pickets, and mass marches, and they have managed to keep the British army out of their communities for months. By organizing support throughout the Irish Republic and Great Britain, they have built solidarity with other workingclass women.

In the process of militantly challenging Britain's oppression of Ireland, women have grown to challenge their own oppression. We talked extensively with women who view sex liberation and socialism as integral parts of the anti-imperialist struggle.

In the north, Women Against Imperialism and the Belfast Women's Collective link the political repression with the capitalist drive to keep women's status at rock-bottom.

In the south, women are seeking emancipation from church and state laws that deny them basic physical and economic rights. They refuse to accept second-class status in the trade union movement, and more women than men are joining unions and pushing for better pay and working conditions.

Women workers recently occupied a factory for five weeks and forced the Irish government to pay them back wages withheld when the state-financed factory went bankrupt. The union (National Union of Tailor and Garment Workers) told the women to seek their money through "the proper legal channels" and refused aid, but the women's movement, north and south, together with left groups, including the Trade Union Movement Against Repression, supported the successful sit-in.

\* \* \*

The future of Ireland belongs to Irish women fighters determined to bring an end to 700 years of warfare. The weakest industrial country in the European Common Market, Ireland has been exploited so long and so intensively for its agricultural products and cheap labor that it may well prove to be the first to shatter capitalism and lead the way to a united socialist Europe.

Irish women radicals, in the tradition of Mary Galway, Delia Larkin and Helena Moloney, are teaching all the workers that "an injury to one is an injury to all," and when the freedom fighters of both sexes absorb this truth, the Irish revolution will make a qualitative leap forward. ■

**Melba Windoffer was a founding member of the Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1930s. A lifelong feminist, she left the SWP in 1966 and helped form the Freedom Socialist Party.**

**Betty Maloney, a member of Radical Women, is a high school counselor who has worked extensively with Alaskan Natives and is a keen supporter of the Irish struggle.**

## Trotsky centennial

One century ago, on October 26, 1879, in the southern Ukraine near the Black Sea, a child was born whose mind and character and actions would transform the course of world history.

Leon Trotsky was a political Renaissance man, a revolutionary leader, organizer, administrator, military strategist, writer, orator, agitator, philosopher, literary critic and theorist whose defiance, diligence and faith in the communist future of humanity never wavered.

He was the first chairman of the first soviet in history, the St. Petersburg Soviet of 1905. Together with Lenin, he led the Russian Revolution of 1917. He was the organizer and political-military genius of the legendary Red Army. And he initiated and sustained the only genuinely revolutionary movement for the murderous betrayals of Stalinism; the international movement for Bolshevik integrity and socialist democracy, the 4th International, still bears his name.

The "Old Man" bequeathed an enormous body of indispensable literature to the revolutionary movement. His monumental *History of the Russian Revolution*, his unearthing of the law of Permanent Revolution, and his exposé of

Stalinism in *The Revolution Betrayed* and countless other writings provide the basic keys to understanding the international, democratic, and economic/cultural/social character of proletarian revolution and workers states.

The voice of Trotsky, moreover, was the only clear analytical voice of the '20s and '30s to explain the nature and effect of fascism, and his profound explanation still rings all-too-true.

Loved and revered by millions during his lifetime, Trotsky's heroic appeal to the masses and to revolutionary intellectuals rested on the resounding power of his ideas. He was accordingly feared and detested by Stalin, who banished him, hounded him, and finally had him brutally murdered in 1939, in Mexico. But Trotskyism still lives, because neither imperialism nor Stalinism could kill the truth.

Trotsky was a titan of the modern world. His entire life was committed to the underprivileged, super-oppressed and sorely exploited of the earth. And his ideology is expressed today in the vast upsurge of workers, women, people and nations of color, gays, and all the rebels of the world.

We are fortunate to have Leon Trotsky—towering role model, teacher and symbol—to help guide us toward our socialist destiny. ■

Dedicated to the regroupment of U.S. Trotskyists, the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party engages in free-wheeling discussion and meaningful action. For information, contact Murry Weiss, National Coordinator, P.O. Box 475, Village Stn., New York, NY 10014. (212) 789-4156.

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# Which road for radicals in the 1980 elections—lesser evils or socialist coalitions?

by Murry Weiss

**A**s presidential electioneering for the 1980 campaign gathers steam, the Democrat/Republican two-party system of big capital has launched a frenzied effort to halt the revolutionary, anti-imperialist tidal wave in Iran and the Nicaraguan political earthquake.

Synchronized with this bipartisan foreign policy of counterrevolution, the domestic policy of both capitalist parties reveals identical purpose and familiar methods: a ruthless drive against labor; racist, sexist, antigay attacks on civil rights and social services; deliberate escalation of inflation, unemployment and human misery.

The economic drive against the people is intertwined with the reactionary backlash of the remobilized ultraright, expressed in the explosion of KKK and Nazi outrages and feverish incitement against the popular mass movements of Blacks, Hispanics, gays and women.

## Politics of accommodation

Fueling their electoral machines from this reservoir of refuse, the Democrats and Republicans are conducting presidential campaigns designed to peddle the most regressive foreign policy and reflectively shabby stance on important local issues. The incestuous unity of the two parties excludes any genuine political alternatives forthcoming from either of them.

The "progressive" candidates make

progressively more compromises, especially on the key issues of imperialism, the antilabor drive, austerity cutbacks, the rightwing resurgence and the nuclear race.

Any hope for a structured, meaningful struggle by the labor bureaucracy against the monopoly capitalists collapsed almost before it began. The Progressive Alliance, led by United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser and William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, moved most abruptly into the Kennedy camp.

These shopworn sellouts by the liberals are the inevitable result of *people's front* politics—unprincipled amalgams of workers and radicals with the liberal bourgeoisie, under direction of the latter. The "progressive" always backs down and out, leaving the left demoralized, fragmented, and with all credibility lost.

## Great gains for feminism at Peoples Alliance conference

Against this backdrop, the Peoples Alliance held a working conference on November 9-11. Its theme, "Toward a Strategy for Independent Political Action in the 1980s," reflects the longstanding but urgent and agonizing problems of electoral strategy and tactics faced by the radical left.

Gathered in Nashville, Tennessee were one hundred activists from key regions, representing the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Women of All Red Nations, the Mass Party Organizing Committee, CASA, the Detroit Alliance for a Rational Economy, *Seven Days*, the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee, the Southern

Christian Leadership Conference, and many other grassroots organizations.

The conference expressed the strong leftward shift developing in the U.S. In counterpoint to the opportunist labor bureaucracy—and the heavy lean to the right of the social democrats—many conference speakers focused on the plight of the most oppressed, and challenged the advisability of seeking mythical common ground with capitalist party candidates.

Mel King, a recent independent mayoral candidate in Boston, made the riveting declaration that the movement can never again tolerate alleged allies who talk big but never act in the struggle against racism, sexism, and homophobia.

A socialist feminist active in the lesbian movement, Leslie Cagan, drew attention to the fact of women's leadership in the movement and to the special role of lesbian women and women of color.

Other women present, sharing her view, formed a women's caucus to press for women's leadership within the Peoples Alliance.

The women's impact was graphically expressed in the unanimous conference decision to establish 50% female representation on the Continuations Committee.

## Key role of labor neglected

Summarizing the position of many conference attendees, a proposed Statement of Unity called for an independent party based on an alliance of working people, women, racially and nationally oppressed people, gays, low income and elderly people, and other subjugated strata.

Implicit in the proposal and in many statements made at the conference was the conception of building a grassroots, independent party in clear opposition to the two-party system—but *separate* from the working class organized into trade unions.

Revolutionary socialists share the Peoples Alliance's sharp criticism of the labor bureaucracy. There were conflicting trends in the conference, some thinking that organized labor can be bypassed in the building of an independent party for social change.

Other radicals held that we must work to win over the rank and file of *all* the mass movements to independent, anticapitalist political action. Grassroots struggles *outside* the unions, conducted by women, lesbians and gays, and people of color, are of decisive importance precisely because these sectors become the most explosive and the most dependably insurgent forces *within* organized

labor itself, and force it to the left.

## The poverty of reformism

The Nashville conference accurately reflected the contradictions and dilemmas confronting much of the left. Repelled by the Democratic party machine's chronic treachery, people feel a strong impetus toward more radical political actions. The majority of conference participants were oriented toward independent politics, yet they failed to draw the central logical conclusion—the need for a radical *break* with the capitalist parties.

The conference was pressured by the right wing of the reformist New American Movement to draw closer to the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and to its spokesperson Michael Harrington, who engineered Kennedy's ill-fated antipoverty program, and who currently endorses Teddy Kennedy as the "lesser of two evils." The Peoples Alliance majority opposes Harrington's social democratic policies, but is reluctant to divorce alleged Democratic "progressives"—even though progressives who challenge the basic line of the imperialists are collectors' items.

Many political activists present, however, shunned the trap of reluctance, and dealt receptively and thoughtfully with the revolutionary socialist electoral position put forth by Freedom Socialist Party, Radical Women and CRSP (Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party) delegates.

FSP/RW proposed to start building now for an eventual labor party by forming independent and united socialist electoral coalitions based on a bold program of demands that meet the needs of all those sorely exploited and afflicted by the capitalist system and its corrupt parties.

Only such a radical party, said FSP/RW, could reverse the abominable record of a century of class-collaboration politics and lead the way to a new era of an open bid for workers power and a socialist democracy. ■



Murry Weiss was a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party until the late 1960s. He now serves as the National Coordinator of CRSP and lives in New York City.

# Business unionism as usual

by Muffy Sunde

**T**he November retirement of AFL-CIO czar George Meany and the ascendancy of Lane Kirkland to the post occasioned a great spurt of hope among union militants for a new era of labor insurgency. But such confidence in the labor bureaucracy is unwarranted—their deeds don't match their words.

Meany scored points with workers by repeatedly upbraiding Carter for the demoralizing defeat by a Democratic congress of labor's effort to reform federal labor law. And the AFL-CIO Executive Council demand, in August, for nationalization of the oil companies was accompanied by rumblings from top labor echelons about great changes forthcoming in the

labor movement. But Meany also praised president-elect Kirkland for convincing the White House "that they can have the American labor movement as a partner."

And Jimmy Carter used the November AFL-CIO convention as a platform for hate-mongering against Iran and ridiculing the demand for price controls on oil.

The building trades unions bought an ad in the September issue of *Democratic Left*, newsletter of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, praising DSOC for "firm and militant support of the American labor movement." A *Business Week* headline announced, "Socialism is no longer a dirty word to labor."

AFL-CIO Executive Council member, William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, denounced Jimmy Carter as "marching

to the tune of the corporate state." Winpisinger pushes legislative reform to require corporations to share decision-making with workers. His language, like that of AFSCME and the UAW, *sounds like* a call for independent labor political action, but his "radicalism" is empty in light of his support for Kennedy.

And UAW president Fraser dumped the auto workers' wage and retirement demands in return for a seat on Chrysler's board of directors!

The force shoving labor's kingpins into progressive-sounding rhetoric is the increasing attack on unions. As workers are told to tighten their belts and surrender to wage guidelines at a time when prices and unemployment soar, their unrest grows. Public employees, production workers, and clerical and service workers are pressuring the union bureaucracy for better representation; the unorganized de-

mand union affiliation. The bureaucrats respond with high-sounding verbiage—but they are desperate to hang onto their status as *power brokers in the Democratic party*.

Organized labor spent \$11 million electing Carter, and the solid center of the AFL-CIO Executive Council is launching a drive to sway its mass base once again into Carter's camp.

These frenzied efforts to use a militant line as a cover for delivering workers back into capitalist politics is typical in an election year. \$110,000-a-year labor officials are peddling Carter or Kennedy to the workers as if their lives depended on it—and the careers of these officials *do* depend on their ability to deliver labor's votes. Labor's future, however, depends on throwing out these rascals, electing a responsive and accountable leadership, and heading up the road of independent political action. ■

Muffy Sunde, former delegate to the Portland Central Labor Council, works as a telephone installer in Oregon.

# History made: first lesbians/gays of color conference

by Robert Crisman

**T**he first National Conference of Third World Lesbians and Gays convened in Washington, D.C. from October 12-15, and its 450 participants made history by throwing off ages-old invisibility to boldly assert their leading place in the beleaguered race, sex, sexuality, and working class movements.

The conference was unique in its high level of feminism, radicalism, class consciousness, internationalism, and exhilarating vigor.

Hosted by the National Coalition of Black Gays (NCBG), the racial, ethnic, national and political diversity represented was exemplary. Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, Asian Americans, whites, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Nicaraguans, and Canadians attended.

Organizations included the Combahee River Collective, a Black feminist group from Boston; Salsa Soul Sisters from New York City; the Bay Area Gay Alliance of Latin Americans; and Lambda of Mexico City, which includes members of the Mexican Trotskyist party, the PRT.

The Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women sent a contingent of 17 comrades from New York, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle. Though no other U.S. left groups were officially on hand, reformists, nationalists, lesbian separatists, social democrats, Stalinists, and Maoists were liberally sprinkled among the participants.

Into this political hotbed came hundreds of unaffiliated people with

lifetime experience against discrimination.

## Dynamic Women's Caucus

Women of color demonstrated from the outset their leadership of workshops and caucuses.

In the Third World Women's Caucus, Yolanda Alaniz presented an FSP/RW resolution on behalf of class struggle feminism which was enthusiastically passed and later reaffirmed by the entire conference. The resolution called on the feminist movement to address the oppression of all women and to promote the leadership of lesbians of color in all the movements for social change.

The caucus further demanded that feminists and gays rid themselves of racism and sexism, and that all men eradicate their sexism.

## Mexican compatriots

Lambda inspired the conference with its ideological clarity and fighting spirit. These comrades were very effective in the Latino Caucus and the workshop on Cuba.

The Latinos zeroed in on the relation of gays and socialism. Cuba Workshop participants discussed Trotskyist feminism, which places *lesbian/gay liberation firmly in the center of world proletarian upheaval*, as opposed to the Stalinist line, which promotes the "revolutionary nuclear family" and sanctions gay oppression (Cuba, the USSR, China, etc.).

Revolutionary versus reformist strategies for lesbian/gay liberation were assessed, and the FSP, RW and others refuted the classless gay "unity" huckstered by the white male, business-oriented promoters of a gays-

only movement that has hog-tied militancy from Miami to San Francisco.

## Internationalism hailed

Two standing ovations greeted Claudia Hinojosa and Max Mejia of Lambda during the opening night general session when they called for a feminist, internationalist, and anti-capitalist gay movement.

*"Our struggle consists of the subversion of all concepts and practices which have defamed lesbians and gay men, and subjugated women in general. The struggle against sexism, racism, imperialism, and class oppression is integral to gay liberation. We wish to leave no aspect of daily life unchallenged."*

FSP delegate Tom Boot also won applause when he challenged men to help build the leadership of women of color in all the movements.

The Asian American and Native American contingents criticized the conference organizers for insufficient prior outreach to their communities. They insisted that gay people of color overcome their dangerous self-isolation into ethnocentric groups.

The Saturday night general session extended the dynamic quality of the previous evening. Nicaragua's Sandinistas sent a welcome message of greetings and solidarity. Bird Wilson from Radical Women gave a stirring speech on the impact of capitalism on a Black gay welfare mother like herself.

And the conference repudiated separatist pressure and voted to march together with white participants through the Black and Asian communities en route to the National Gay March on Sunday.

## Separatism and autonomy

Despite sporadic accusations by separatists and cultural nationalists that white attendance in workshops violated ethnic autonomy, the conference generally retained an interracial character.

The separatists saw no distinction between *autonomy*—the right of the specially oppressed to organize independently to advance their own program and consciousness—and *separatism*—the permanent (as opposed to tactical) social separation of a grouping regardless of circumstances or impact on the class struggle.

Kathy Saadat, on behalf of the FSP, refuted the separatists in Monday's session, which was closed to whites:

*"We support autonomy as a necessary tactic, but we do not elevate it to the level of a program for liberation. We do not support gay or Black or female separatism, nor do we support bourgeois or cultural nationalism, which is a suicidal capitulation to the capitalist class that maintains itself on our enforced segregation."*

The delegates welcomed this concept of interracialism based on a common class allegiance.

## An emergent vanguard

Resolutions were passed on prisoners' rights, undocumented workers, and on the FSP-sponsored call for a united front of people of color, feminists, gays, workers, and radicals to fight the right wing in the U.S.

Delegates will reconvene in 1980 in San Francisco, where the Bay Area Gay Alliance of Latin Americans will be one of the hosts.

Throughout, the lesbians of color exhibited the keenest political awareness, determination and militance. Experienced on many fronts, they are assuming center stage in all the theaters of struggle for social progress.

The needs, aspirations and demands of lesbians of color encompass those of the entire working class. Their leadership is integral to unifying all the disjointed fragments of the proletariat and its allies and directing them to revolutionary victory.

The Washington, D.C. conference was a milestone in this process. ■



## Lesbian/Gay March on Washington



The October 14 March on Washington was an exhilarating expression of the tremendous scope and sweep attained by the lesbian/gay movement in the decade after Stonewall.

Representatives of hundreds of groups—feminist, lesbian, gay, and socialist—marched alongside international supporters from New Zealand, Britain, Canada, Mexico, etc. And for the first time a large, rousing contingent of people of color was prominent among the 100,000 marchers.

Rally speakers, hand-picked by the reformist march organizers, limited their talks to appealing to Carter and Congress for legislative reform. They said nothing about the mounting rightwing peril and the urgent need for a broad united front of resistance. Despite the platitudes of the liberals, the march reflected in its overwhelming composition of militant women and people of color the new leadership emerging to transform the gay movement of the '80s.

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relative decline in the productivity of U.S. labor, has caused large holders of dollars abroad to exchange them for more stable currencies like the West German mark and the Japanese yen. The resulting severe devaluation of U.S. currency threatens such a steep decline in international trade with the U.S. that U.S. dominance of the world market could erode drastically.

A major depression would ensue.

Since 1975 the dollar has depreciated by 33% as compared to the mark and 26% compared to the yen. Speculators ridding themselves of unwanted dollars forced up the price of gold to over \$450 an ounce in December; just five months prior, in July, gold traded at \$283.50.

The U.S. has definitively lost its position as leading exporter of manufactured goods on the world market. That position

obliged to refinance its recent imperialist competitors, Western Europe and Japan! This was done with the aid of the U.S. National Treasury—to the tune of \$30 billion.

This economic aid, reinforced by the Stalinist communist parties who disarmed the antifascist resistance and convinced the workers to accept a prewar depression standard of living, enabled the European bourgeoisie to restore the capitalist equilibrium on the continent and insure the conditions needed for profitable investment. A new wave of capital accumulation was launched which was to sustain the system for another quarter-century, in spite of the enormous geographic and demographic contraction of the world market caused by the socialist revolution in China and the overthrow of capitalist relations in Eastern Europe.

The unprecedented boom of capitalism

it worked. Increases in productivity were enormous; machines don't eat, sleep, rest or demand wage increases.

**But automation, far from creating a long-term solution, represents the end of the road for capitalist development.**

By expelling *living labor* from the production process, the bosses eliminate the only source of surplus value (the basis of profit)—the amount of labor time a worker expends over and above that required to reproduce the value of his/her labor power (wages).

Automation actually kills the goose that lays the golden eggs for capital, because the rate of profit can only be raised by increasing the exploitation of workers, through overtime or speedup. No workers equals no surplus value equals no profits.

Automation creates yet another problem. It raises productivity to the point of no returns; overproduction saturates the

The second major inflationary factor, intrinsically related to federal pumping of funds into the economy, is *the defense budget*.

The government, through deficit spending, has created a \$100 billion market for war materials at a guaranteed rate of profit for industry. The phenomenon of a permanent arms economy has been created. But military commodities are not circulated—they are produced only to be *destroyed*. And the vast amount of military spending, especially for the Vietnam War, is a prime cause of the current galloping inflation.

Money laid out for military production (wages, salaries, etc.) creates increased purchasing power for armaments workers, without a compensatory mass of commodities entering the market-place for consumer buying. This circumstance serves to inflate the prices of commodities

## “ “ “ AMERICAN ECONOMY

has been held since 1970 by West Germany. And, since 1977, West German exports, including agricultural products and raw materials, have outstripped U.S. exports overall, despite the U.S. advantage in natural resources.

The U.S. dollar is in deep trouble domestically and internationally.

### From domination to decline

The U.S. has been transformed from the preeminent symbol of capitalist prosperity into the most glaring example of capitalist slump.

At the end of World War II, the U.S. strode the world like a colossus. Its main imperialist competitors lay bleeding, their production facilities in a shambles and their currencies discredited.

The rich markets of Southeast Asia, formerly closed to the U.S. by French and Japanese imperialism, now lay open, ripe for the plucking.

A thoroughly exhausted England, deeply in debt to the U.S. for war material, had to concede the vast wealth of its Latin American markets to U.S. capital.

The great bulk of the world's gold supply, moreover, rested safely in the vaults at Ft. Knox. U.S. industry, untouched by the ravages of World War II, stood ready to claim its due.

But there was one problem. The war had ruined the most profitable market of all for U.S. commodities—Europe. And European capitalists were seriously threatened with expropriation by a revolutionary-minded working class that had armed itself in the antifascist resistance.

With the decline of the market for military goods (at the height of the war, this accounted for 42% of the U.S. Gross National Product), U.S. capital was forced to rebuild European industry in order to refuel its own economy and avoid depression. What an irony that U.S. capital was

from 1945-1968 rested on several factors:

1. The burst of consumer demands for housing, automobiles, TV and appliances, long suppressed by the war.

2. The introduction of the war-related technology of computers and automation into the production of consumer goods, raw materials and machinery.

3. The massive discoveries and exploitation of a then cheap source of energy—oil.

But it didn't take long for prewar inter-imperialist rivalries to heat up again.

Starting off with more modern industrial facilities and a more exploited working class, Europe and Japan were making inroads into U.S. dominance of world trade by the mid-fifties, and by the sixties, the productivity of European and Japanese labor (measured by manufacturing output per hour) outstripped the U.S. in every major industry, with the exception of computers and aircraft.

U.S. capital was challenged in its own home market, and this European/Japanese edge in productivity carried through to the '70s.

By the mid-'60s, however, the long wave of capital accumulation was grinding to a halt. The massive expansion of production in Europe, Japan and the U.S., combined with the intensification of inter-imperialist rivalry, unleashed a flood of commodities which saturated the world market. The rate of profit began to fall precipitously.

The capitalists desperately needed a new way to increase workers' productivity and thereby inflate profits. They found it in *automation*.

### The golden goose lays an egg

Individual capitalists introduced automated processes to lower the labor costs of production and give themselves an edge on their competitors, and for a while

market with more products than buyers can absorb, the products remain unsold, and the plant shuts down (as in the automotive industry).

Hence, super-abundance engenders social catastrophe. Such are the inherent laws of capitalism.

### Roots of inflation

In a saturated market, a general increase in labor productivity would ordinarily lead to a decrease in the value of each of the commodities produced, resulting in a drastic *fall in prices*. This was certainly a feature of the 1929-33 depression. But today we witness an *inflationary price spiral*.

Why?

In the 1929 depression, the government kept hands off and allowed the laws of the market to operate unchecked. But with the growing radicalization of labor and the tumultuous emergence of the CIO, the government intervened into the market to staunch the economic effect of the depression and its social-political consequences.

Upon the advice of British economist John Maynard Keynes, the government borrowed money so it could *pump more money into circulation than it took out in taxes*. This prevented a fall in prices and stimulated production.

The premise of the Keynesian model was that an expansion of the market, in the long run, would allow the government to take back in taxes more than it spent, and that prices would fall back into line. Keynes neglected to anticipate that if the market stagnated, the number of commodities for sale would remain the same while the amount of government-injected money in circulation was increasing, and this contradiction would create a rise in prices.

This is precisely what happened.

produced for civilian consumption.

The third and principal source of permanent inflation today is the expansion of overdrafts, on current accounts, guaranteed by banks to the private sector, and covered by central banks and the government. In other words—*credit*, private debt.\*

Bank credit to consumers automatically guarantees that companies can and will transfer increased production costs to the consumer; monopolies so protected increase prices *irrespective of* increases in production costs.

This phenomenon also enables companies to bring down their break-even point (the minimum utilization of productive capacity which insures a profitable operation). The stagnation of market growth, since 1965, has forced on U.S. industry an average 20% rate of permanent under-utilization of capacity. If military production were to cease, this rate would go up to 33%.

U.S. Steel, for instance, was able to increase its prices and bring down its break-even point to such an extent that in 1960, when it utilized 47% of its industrial capacity, it obtained nearly the same net profit as in 1953, when it used 98%.

Thus, permanent inflation temporarily contains the crisis of overproduction and enables inventories that would have gone unsold to circulate.

Increased credit produces no expansion whatsoever of the market; it only serves to postpone, and in the end exacerbates, the severity of the inevitable explosion. Credit creates inflation, but without it there ensue massive overproduction, under-consumption, and unemployment. In either event, crisis beckons.

The economic balance is so precarious that the failure of any major multinational, like Chrysler, or the collapse of the housing market, or the inability of Third World countries to meet their debt payments on the \$50 billion advanced to them by U.S. banks, would bring in their wake the failure of the major bank creditors. The country would plunge into depression.

The looming spectre of depression haunts the capitalists, and haunts the people as well, who demand that inflation be reduced and the economy "stabilized." But the ruling class cannot save its own profit system.

### Off our backs

The federal government, fearful that uncontrolled inflation will wipe out profits and provoke a sharp rise in worker militancy, is trying to engineer a "moder-

\* Since the start of 1977 the volume of credit has risen at an annual rate of 14%, sending the prime interest rate soaring to 15%. The enormous leap in private debt far outstrips government indebtedness.

## The Greensboro Five

# Klan murders

by Janet Sutherland

**O**n November 3, as police lingered several blocks away, Nazi and Ku Klux Klan killers arrived at an anti-Klan demonstration in the predominantly Black Morningside neighborhood of Greensboro, North Carolina. Shouting racist epithets, the assassins fired into the crowd. Fifteen demonstrators were injured and five rally leaders were slain, hit in the heart or the head by sharpshooters.

The dead were members of the Communist Workers Party (formerly Workers Viewpoint Organization), sponsors of the demonstration called in response to increased Klan activity in the area. Four of the dead were union organizers; one had recently led a textile mill strike.

Rally leaders kept rally logistics confidential and had asked police not to interfere. The police obliged, setting the scene for the hideous violence by not revealing that the Klan had a copy of the rally permit and *knew* the precise rally location.

National news services sympathized with the fourteen terrorists arrested after

the murders, implying that the marchers "asked for" death by "taunting" the Klan.

Klan virulence always reflects a sagging economy; in pre-Depression years, the Klan claimed 3 to 5 million members sworn to keeping the races divided, womanhood pure, and workers nonunionized. The Greensboro martyrs perished to expose this Klan threat to human rights. Their assassination was a coldly calculated attempt by the Klan to smash a growing solidarity between the Black community, women workers, radicals and unionists in North Carolina's depressed textile mill territory. ■





# Hostage Hysteria in the United States of Shah-ocracy

by Sam Deaderick

**A**

new chapter of world history was written when audacious Iranian militants backed by hundreds of thousands of cheering demonstrators,

occupied the U.S. embassy in Tehran, took 62 embassy personnel hostage, and demanded the extradition of the ex-Shah from the U.S.

With this stunning challenge hurled at world imperialism, decades of U.S. spying—and control over Iran—were brought to a shattering conclusion, and the Iranian revolution made an enormous leap forward.

President Jimmy Carter realized full well that the entrance of the Shah onto U.S. soil would be seen in Iran as a provocation and virtual act of war. Yet Carter deliberately welcomed the hated tyrant and sparked the crisis, which he used to launch a viciously racist campaign against Iranians here and in Iran.

The hostages could have been released at any time by simply returning the Shah to Iran. But Carter was willing to sacrifice them for the sake of justifying an attack on the Iranian revolution. Wall Street, the Pentagon and Carter are threatening economic blockade and "military options" against Iran.

The hostage hysteria has been carefully orchestrated to benefit Carter's tarnished image and his reelection campaign. Rarely has political cynicism been employed in such a reckless fashion.

A dangerous standoff prevails at this writing. The crisis bristles with the hovering threat of a U.S. attack calculated to pulverize the Iranian revolution in a holocaust of blood and fire.

## Dual power

Since the Shah's government fell, the Iranian revolution has continued to advance.

Khomeini's medieval persecution of women has been challenged by hundreds of thousands of women demonstrating for full emancipation. His demand that the masses disarm was defied by the Fedayeen, a Marxist mass organization, and millions kept their weapons. He is constantly challenged by national minorities

demanding self-determination, and by the call of the Fedayeen and Iranian Socialist Workers Party for a workers' and peasants' government.

Separate poles of authority—*dual power*—have dominated the dynamic of Iranian events. Two differing governments have vied for power.

The *revolutionary committees*—created by the masses, endorsed by the workers and peasants, and reluctantly represented by Khomeini—were one government; *the official government of Bazargan*, representing the bourgeoisie and U.S. business, made up the other.

After the embassy takeover and ensuing crisis, the "moderate" Bazargan could no longer display even a semblance of authority, and his government simply collapsed.

At that point, polarization deepened between Khomeini and the masses. The ayatollah is forced ever further to the left by the masses, even to calling for the population to be armed. Yet he is desperately trying to save the bourgeois order, just as he did when he created the Bazargan government, and he wants a referendum on his proposed bourgeois constitution. But significant opposition exists to the constitution, particularly among national minorities who boycotted the referendum in Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, Baluchistan, and Turkoman.

A prime example of leftward pressure was the action of the Mojahdeen in sparking the embassy seizure and the later participation in the occupation by the Fedayeen and the PLO.

This continuing leftward development, which cannot be stopped even by Khomeini, threatens capitalism the world over. The Iranian revolution has spurred anti-U.S. protests in the U.S. and throughout the Moslem world. U.S. embassies in Pakistan and Libya have been attacked.

## New land of the Shah

In the U.S., anti-Iranian eruptions by super-patriots have featured flag-waving nationalism and racism, and chants like "Nuke Iran!" "Camel Jockeys go home!" and "Long Live the Shah!"

Iranians and all dark-skinned people are in danger of their lives. Beatings, threats and shootings multiply, and in Los Angeles an Iranian was handcuffed and murdered execution-style.

Carter ordered the Immigration and Naturalization Service to begin deportation hearings against Iranian students whose papers were not in order—a common state of affairs due to the bureaucratic red tape of the INS itself. This grave injustice against all Iranian students was halted as unconstitutional by a federal court on December 11, but the government has appealed the decision.

2,000 marched in New York on December 1, chanting, "Defend the Students, Deport the Shah!" In Seattle, 300 people picketed a fundraising dinner for vice-president Mondale. They shouted, "Ship the Shah, Not the Students!" and "Madr Bar Carter, Madr Bar Shah!" (Farsi language for "Death to Carter, Death to the Shah!")

Carter ordered all Iranian assets in the U.S. frozen, thereby cutting off student access to their own funds and making it impossible for Iran to move its funds. A large fleet of warships carrying planes and nuclear missiles was dispatched to the Persian Gulf. And the United Nations, true to its role of protector of Western capitalism, self-righteously denounced the taking of hostages.

The USSR, which earlier supported

Iran, *voted with the U.S.* on this resolution, legalistically condemning the taking of hostages as a violation of international law. Sharing a 1300-mile border with Iran—and fearful of the Iranian revolution's impact—the Soviet bureaucracy quashes any challenge from national minorities within its own borders.

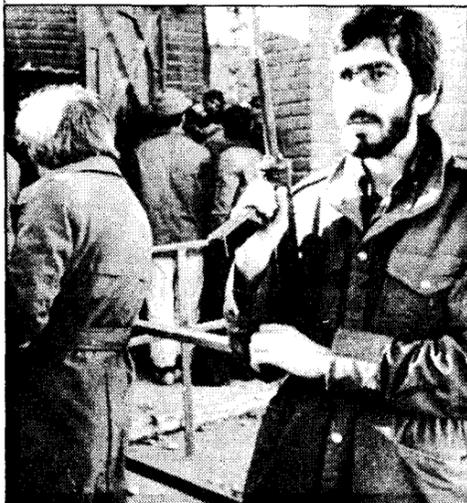
The Chinese bureaucracy stood foursquare with the U.S., anxious to cement their economic/military alliance with imperialism.

## Ship the Shah!

On December 15, the U.S. flew the Shah to Panama. This deal was calculated to appear as a concession to Iran and to relieve Carter of immediate responsibility for the Shah. At least two major opposition parties in Panama swiftly denounced the transfer, and hundreds of angry students protested in Panama City.

In Iran, the militants occupying the embassy have resolutely refused to release the hostages and have said they would indeed be tried on charges of spying. Additionally, an international tribunal is being organized by the Revolutionary Council to expose the Shah's crimes and American involvement in Iran.

Carter could still arrange for extradition of the Shah through the Panamanian government and thereby resolve the crisis. But he wants the crisis to continue and



**Anti-Shah fighter guards the occupied U.S. embassy.**

the atmosphere of impending war to remain.

All the elements of war are still present. American oil companies want to regain control of Iranian oil and Carter wants to reinstate the draft. The "loss" of Iran, moreover, has struck a major blow to the position of the U.S. vis-à-vis the USSR in the Middle East.

But there is no indication, in spite of rightwing furor, that all-out war would gain massive support. Even Teddy Kennedy, whose party worked overtime to keep the Shah in power, has seized on anti-Shah rhetoric to woo support for his presidential campaign.

The Iranians have repeatedly said they have no complaints against the American people but will no longer be ruled by the U.S. government. All Americans who have suffered under the same U.S. government should stand shoulder-to-shoulder with their Iranian counterparts and prevent U.S. capitalism and its White House servants from smashing the Iranian revolution. ■

**Deport the Shah, not the students!  
No war against Iran!  
Lift the freeze on Iranian funds!  
Defend the Iranian revolution!**



**Beverly Hills police brutalize Iranian student.**

UPI

ate" recession by means of reducing the money in circulation. They hope that contracting the money supply will reduce bank loans to corporations, which would restrict industrial and then consumer spending, leading to a downturn in economic growth.

By slowing down economic growth and cutting back on consumer spending, the government also hopes to achieve a favorable balance of trade, i.e., reduction of imports and increase of exports. Devalued dollars give a competitive edge to U.S. commodities in the export market, and the hope is that a trade surplus of exports over imports would reduce the number of dollars held abroad. This in turn might revalue the dollar and restore it as an international means of exchange.

But this plan offers no solution. The classic crisis of overproduction has sharply reduced profit-making opportunities for the capitalist class internationally, and no manipulation of the money supply can solve this endemic problem.

**Indeed, the financial manipulation employed to postpone the full outbreak of the economic crisis has itself led to the inflation that plagues the capitalist world, and will deepen the severity of the crisis.**

Big capital and the federal government count on this downturn to stabilize prices, and to increase profit through wage freezes and massive unemployment.

The *N.Y. Times* reported on October 17 that "Administration economists regard as their top anti-inflation priority preventing the recent surge in energy and housing prices from spilling over into wages."

Paul A. Volcker, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, in testimony before the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, said, "The standard of living of the average American has to decline."

Only the massive destruction of capital through plant closings and physical decimation, as occurred in the great Depression and in World War II, combined with an absolute increase in the exploitation of the working class, can restore the profitability of capital.

## Day of reckoning

Revolutions throughout the Third World are contracting the sphere of the capitalist market, and automation is putting absolute limits on the production of surplus value. The system is fast closing in on the ultimate barriers to its expansion—which means its very existence. It must **expand or die**.

The capitalists try to delay this day of reckoning. They use the financial power of their central banks to postpone the inevitable depression until they have achieved sufficient unity and strength of purpose on an international plane to take the awesome measure of engineering a depression. They are terribly afraid that a premature collapse would provoke a revolution in Western Europe or Japan or at home—the beginning of the end for the bourgeoisie.

By severely repressing the working class internationally, and restoring capitalism in the workers states of the Soviet bloc, China, etc., at the cost of a World War, capitalism can gain a new lease on life as an economic system. In this nuclear age the rallying cry of Socialism or Barbarism has never been more apropos.

Hope for the survival of civilization lies exclusively in the international victory of labor over capital. The U.S. working class is central to achieving this task and this promise. ■

**In the concluding section of this two-part article, Stephan Kass explores the capacity of U.S. workers and the labor leadership to combat the capitalist offensive, and assesses the prospects for a bold, new and radical union movement prepared to break away from paralyzing dependence on the Democratic party and take the road of independent working-class political action.**

# Blacks vs. Jews: the myth and the reality

The supposed implacable enmity between American Blacks and Jews is a State Department and media-engendered hype.

When U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young, who is Black, was "discovered" answering with the Palestine Liberation Organization, President Carter forced his resignation. The press promptly shrieked that Jews saw this as welcome support for Israel's anti-PLO policy and that Blacks were blaming the Jews for Young's fall, shattering the longstanding alliance between these two oppressed peoples.

But the "Black Backlash Against Jews" is basically a fiction.

**Fact. Jews are longtime, conspicuous defenders of Black and Arab freedom.**

The majority of world Jewry is neither pro-Zionist nor middleclass—nor tenement landlords nor pawnshop owners. Jewish radicals and humanists have always worked for—and died for—Black freedom, the Arab revolution, and the refugee Palestinians.

The historic involvement of Jews in the fight for civil rights for all ethnic, political and sexual minorities, and for women, is paralleled by Jewish leadership in world revolution. Radical Jews, moreover, traditionally reject an exclusively Jewish, religious, and bourgeois state for Palestine; they consistently call for a nonsectarian socialist Middle East to assure Arab and Jew alike a cooperative homeland.

Furthermore, Jewish radicals steadily expose the Zionist lie that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. It does *not*, any more than opposition to Zimbabwe's sellout president Muzorewa spells racism. All Jews fight anti-Semitism, but only some Jews espouse the

pro-Israel, pro-imperialist persecution of Arabs. Hence, most Jewish enemies of anti-Semitism are also enemies of Zionism—and they welcome Black sympathy for the besieged Palestinians.

**Fact. Black Americans strongly support other oppressed people, including the Jews.**

But Blacks rightly condemn those victims of prejudice who turn around and subjugate *another* hapless group, as the Zionists have done. For Blacks to take similar issue with the repressive policies of the pro-Establishment sector of U.S. Jewry is correct, and is *not* anti-Semitic.

**Fact. Anti-Semitism is being promoted—by the U.S. ruling class.**

When Young's not-so-secret meetings with the PLO were prematurely unveiled, Carter punished him to disguise his own foreign policy shift. This saved him the Zionist vote, but he tried to save the Black vote as well by letting the press blame Young's dismissal on "Jewish" pressure—a blatant invitation to anti-Semitism.

This divide-and-conquer manipulation—a malicious scapegoating to foment a phony racial war—typifies the crude zigzags of imperialist politics. The White House *wants* Jewish and Black workers to battle each other instead of their common enemy—capitalist rule. So all Jews are blamed for Carter's apparent anti-Arab stance (just as all whites are wrongly blamed for racial segregation and ghetto poverty).

**Fact. Economic greed, not humanitarianism, powers the new policy of token recognition of the misery of refugee Arabs.**

U.S. capital needs oil. It needs buyers of U.S.

products, especially war materiel. And it needs allies like Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt to augment Israel's role of chief agent for imperialism, because Israel alone cannot stem the Mideastern revolutionary tide.

The State Department throws a few crumbs to Arab moderates in order to contain the class war against imperialism. Seen within this context, the "peace" negotiations of Young, Jesse Jackson, etc. are not helping *either* the Arab revolt *or* the mass of Black Americans whose interests lie with the Arab masses. Young toured Africa securing buyers for U.S. goods—and chastising African leaders for not supporting Israel! And Jackson also helped prop up Wall Street; spouting pacifism like the Pope, he urged embattled Palestinian militants to lay down their arms against an armed enemy!

**Fact. Blacks are no more politically homogenous than Jews.**

As the economic crisis spurs Black militance, Black spokesmen are granted increased media prominence in the hope of heading off a new ghetto revolt. But Young and Jackson do not control the ideas of Black people any more than Zionists control Jewish thinking. As workers stagger under inflation, the stale politics of Black and Jewish reformist leaders are not likely to fool the masses.

Black-Jewish alliances have not been broken, nor are they likely to be.

Blacks and Jews alike are rent by internal divisions because of class, ideology and politics. But both groups are primarily workingclass and radicalized. Now, more than ever before, their interests lie in coordinated resistance to racism, bigotry and exploitation.

The November murders of Jewish and gentile radicals by the KKK and Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina engendered widespread protests from Blacks, Jews and progressives, a striking example of common action between the two peoples.

Only a revolutionary America can smash the holocausts, slave systems, and refugee starvation awaiting at the hands of the U.S. warlords who hate equally Blacks, Jews, women, gays, labor, radicals and all defenders of human dignity.

—Monica Hill

## How does the Left score on women's liberation?

# Feminist-quotient scoreboard

by Maxine Reigel

Most left organizations lack a clearly defined position on feminism.

Opinion runs from bold insistence on women's leadership to damning women for the mortal sin of "dividing" the class struggle.

Though few radicals consider women's rights counterrevolutionary—how can Engels, Marx, Bebel, Lenin, Clara Zetkin, Trotsky, and the Soviet constitution be challenged?—many consider the woman question and the class struggle to be unrelated. Women, they say, aren't as basic as workers. Seeking the pure essence of class struggle, many socialists pontificate that working women shouldn't "split the class" with their demands, happily ignoring the truth that women make up 50% of the working class in North America, and that a sexist working class cannot advance the cause of labor.

The following scoreboard capsulizes the party lines of twelve tendencies. A four-star score (★★★★) indicates support to the autonomous women's movement *and* women's leadership of the general struggle for human rights

and socialism. Three stars (★★★) means support to civil rights, but no key role for women in the labor movement (the "real" workers are trade union men). A two-star (★★) rating means lipservice to legal equality, and one star (★) is for pigs who might discuss the matter—*after* the revolution.

★★★★ Freedom Socialist Party. Accused by workerists of "going overboard on feminism" because FSP predicts, urges and helps furnish women's leadership in all the great social movements. Only place on the left where feminism is top priority and women and gays recognized as a revolutionary vanguard.

★★★ International Socialist Organization. The women members often appear at single-issue women's and gay rights demonstrations. ISO thinks it important to support these struggles, but isn't sure why, and doesn't understand the connections between them. Women's *leadership* is a no-no issue.

★★★ New American Movement. Trendy reformist group loves to analyze but mystifies socialist feminism. After redefining it so it will not "turn

off male workers," they might support it. Not much different from the Old American Movement.

★★½ Revolutionary Socialist League. Their documents boost women's liberation, but no support to ERA or affirmative action. They don't grasp women's *central* role in revolutionary history and in current and future upheavals.

★★½ Workers World Party. They haven't yet seen women as an *integral part* of the working class. Hence, they expect women to be schizophrenic—to fight as women one day and as workers the next. Fence straddlers.

★★½ Socialist Workers Party. Mourning their expulsion from NOW and turning to "heavy industry" and the white males there. Long active in the feminist right wing, they stand behind women's liberation—far behind.

★★½ Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee. These Marxist-Leninists want to end women's oppression but haven't a game plan... yet. Feminism isn't quite class struggle so there's no need for women quarter-backs or an all-feminist lineup.

★★ Communist Party. After decades of ignoring world feminism,

the Stalinists are suddenly supporting the ERA. Boycotting the women's movement, they believe women can work equally as well as men—in the Democratic party.

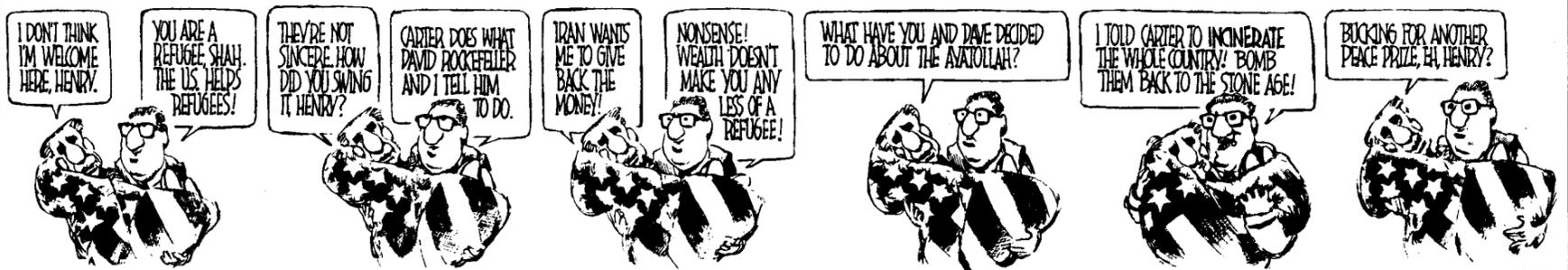
★★ Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). Women's issues can be discussed anywhere where "workers" can't overhear. Maoist doublejabber.

★★ Socialist Party. 100% support to women's *suffrage*. These Rip Van Winkles might support feminism if women prove it will last—without upsetting men, poor dears.

★½ Spartacist League. Scornfully opposed to affirmative action on the job and in the SL. Women and revolution make great copy, but *feminism* is a petty bourgeois-capitalist plot to fragment the class.

★ Revolutionary Communist Party. Macho ultra-lefties deify Mao and sneer at feminism. Perfect for women willing to stand *behind* their men in the "revolutionary fighting family."

Maxine Reigel, current Organizer of Seattle Radical Women, was a shipyard welder and Boilermaker Union delegate to the Central Labor Council.



# No revelations in *Apocalypse Now*

*Apocalypse Now* is a masterfully crafted, wrenching and evocative film gorged with the horror and insanity of America's war against Vietnam. But this martial super-spectacular dead-ends in confusion and mystification despite director Francis Ford Coppola's avowed intention to explore the experience so Americans could "put it behind."

Coppola's re-creation of modern warfare is technologically and psychologically stunning. Mists and explosions blindingly illuminate the eerie, deranging oppressiveness of the jungle as the sound system surrounds and disorients the audience with a sensory blitz of roaring helicopters, weapons fire, screams, and the monumental crescendos of Wagner.

But an apocalypse is a revelation, a vision with **meaning**. Coppola doesn't tell us why we were there and he doesn't essentially object to us having been there. His focus on horror, banality and paranoia doesn't even amount to a pacifist appeal, because the only excitement in the picture is the destruction itself.

Devoid of revelations, *Apocalypse* is actually two films. One is a psychotic-poetic miasma of battle: soldiers loaded on drugs, crazed officers, and helpless Vietnamese victims. The second film, a close adaption of Joseph Conrad's "coming to manhood" classic, **The Heart of Darkness**, injects a strain of ambiguity that deepens the overall floundering.

Coppola tries to deal with the predicament of Black soldiers fighting a white man's war against other people of color, and the ensuing polariza-

tion between Blacks and whites that intensifies the war's madness. But his Blacks are jive-artist stereotypes or inscrutable technicians denied any characterization or impact.

In racist fashion, the Vietnamese appear only as a **backdrop** for what is "real"—the psychological mawling of the two white male, U.S. protagonists.

Coppola exalts the reactionary Kurtz (played by a stoned-looking Brando) who is not condemned by the brass for going too far, but for doing so without orders. Kurtz's ruthless slaughter and sadism seem preferable to the political maneuvering of the military bureaucrats; it is not Kurtz's wanton acts that are questioned but the premature timetable for committing them.

The only way to put Vietnam "behind" us is to come to grips with the ultimate horror of the **cause** of the war—which lives on in capitalist America's rapacious economic system and the racist, sexist, violent mentality that the system breeds and thrives on. Substituting spectacle for **political** understanding, Coppola actually plays into the macho myth that a tougher stance by the U.S. army could have won the war in three days. This idiocy bolsters today's hysteria about the hostages in Iran: we could supposedly free them if we just had the balls to nuke Khomeini.

Like *Coming Home* and *The Deer Hunter*, *Apocalypse Now* only distorts the real meaning of Vietnam. A military travelog is neither a statement nor an interesting movie.

—Su Bondurant



**Clara Fraser**

## Sexual Economics

We're having dinner at her hotel and rushing the conversation because she's speaking on campus that night.

She loves to talk and question and ponder over people and ideas. She is suffused with the Iranian revolution and grateful for her opportunity to play a role in it. She is at one with the tens of thousands of women who are defying the medieval misogyny of the mullahs. She loathes the Shah and her comments on the Rockefellers are duly scatological.

This is one tough woman, resonating with quiet energy and purpose. This is Kate Millett, and she can be steely. But she also comes across as gentle and softspoken, with a finely-tuned sensibility more reminiscent of a Southern lady than the embattled lesbian feminist, exploited artist and maligned radical that she is.



On campus, an overflow audience cranes to hear her views on "International Feminism." She speaks with a unique intelligence, wit, tenderness and simplicity. Women, she announces, are the advance troops of the Iranian revolution because they came out in full force against the Shah and are in the forefront of the battle against Khomeini, who is "**the worst thing to happen to Iran since the Shah.**"

She has as little use for national chauvinism as for the sexual kind. "**They told me I had no right to interfere in another country,**" she says. "**Do they think my allegiance belongs to the white male ruling class of the U.S.? This country of imperialism and brutality is not what I identify with. My people are the women and the oppressed of the world.**"

A woman criticizes her for failure to present a workingclass analysis and anticapitalist program. Millett, startled, nods at the speaker's points. "I agree with you," she says. "I'm sorry I didn't make that clear." A second floor speaker furiously disputes the first one: "That's how women always get forgotten—we're shoved into second place after the workers!" Millett says mildly, "We needn't be. I **am** a socialist."

After the meeting, we take her to nearby Freeway Hall to see a real workingclass and feminist headquarters. She seems pleased when Marcel, our in-house graphics genius, gifts her with one of his beautiful posters of an Iranian woman rebel.



Then we all drive to my house, where cedar logs are burning in the fireplace and refreshments are at hand. We talk about Tehran, New York City, and the flight to reformism of most feminist superstars of the '70s—and this brings us inevitably, materialists that we are, to what women always end up discussing: the bitter struggle for money.

Kate Millett is a Ph.D., a best-selling and prolific writer, a painter and sculptor, a political activist and world figure. And she is almost broke. Finding publishers is a degrading and almost impossible task, her books are not reprinted even though they sell well, her author's share of sales is miniscule, and her (surprisingly) few speaking appearances are usually low paid.

**Women writers and lecturers suffer an extreme form of economic sexism, particularly when they are social rebels.** Millett tries to turn her tree farm into a modestly profitable enterprise, and to that end she labors mightily with hand, sinew and muscle while the literature and visual art and the political organizing she excels at go uncreated. What has to lie fallow is her mind and her talent.

In Iran she was arrested and subjected to the terror of armed men representing the bourgeois state. "**Powerless individuals shouldn't be treated like that,**" she says. "**It just isn't fair.**" And neither is it fair for a Kate Millett to be underpaid and politically prevented from reaching the marketplace for her wares.

She is a pacifist; I am not. (We argued heatedly about this.) She underplays her socialism; I do not. But she is one of the bravest and most principled figures to emerge from the huge wave of radical feminism, and if the women's movement doesn't bestir itself to help shield its few real leaders from the capitalist double-cross against women's earnings, that movement will behead itself.



It was four in the morning when I deposited Millett back at the hotel, and we were still wide awake. A hard look at the economics of being female will do that to you every time.



**Janet McCloud**

## Dixy Lee Ray—high priestess of brutality

I was ill for several days after learning of the depraved brutality of a segment of the guards at Walla Walla state prison.

Indian prisoners were persecuted and beaten for months, yet no state official would help or listen to them. Government agents are still trying to whitewash the whole ugly mess and are accusing us, the families and friends of these unfortunate men, of being hysterical and prone to exaggeration.

**Yet Lloyd Broncheau lies dead, his known slayer actually honored by racist redneck guards who feel that the only good Indian is a dead one.**

Can anyone be safe and secure when uniformed law men act like lawless Nazi storm-troopers?

The racist backlash against Indian people is enforced by many state courts and certain racist judges who mete out maximum prison sentences even for first offenses. And the courts take much of their direction from the tone of Governor Dixy Lee Ray.

Governor Ray and Attorney General Slade "Himmeler" Gorton are publicly hostile to all Indians. The major blame for the recent uproar at Walla Walla lies totally with the irresponsible Governor Ray, who has proven her lack of humanity and compassion for all the people of Washington State, especially women, elders, the poor, and the working class. We have only to consider her refusal to adequately fund the state mental institution in Steilacoom until it lost its accreditation and federal funds.

She champions only large corporate interests and shows a total lack of concern for the genetic and ecological dangers to humans, animals, plants and the total environment. Her preoccupation with Atomic Reactors and Big Oil blinds her to the needs of future generations and the quality of life.

Governor Dixy Lee Ray behaves dogmatically,

like a high priestess of some unknown and weird scientific cult. We, her subjects, must worship her every word or suffer her wrath. Her heart is as hard as a rock, as cold as ice.

**She is a Republican-turned-Democrat in a two-party system run by enemies of the people.** Look at the low caliber of the elected and appointed leaders who only act for big business interests!

Governor Ray advertises Washington State as a natural dumping ground for atomic wastes, and this state is the atomic garbage pail of the world. Now she wants the dangerous wastes from Three Mile Island to be dumped at Hanford, and anyone who opposes her reckless mania is called an "environment nut."

The only person of color Governor Dixy ever befriended was the Black government official she danced with at her Inaugural Ball. **The only attention Indians have ever received from her is harassment and racist persecution, the continued private war of State Game and Fisheries agents against our fishers, increased fines and maximum jail sentences for illegal fishing of our own fish, and more.**

We Indians are the guardians and caretakers of Mother Earth, not her abusers or exploiters. It is our solemn duty and obligation to act in the defense of all that lives, and the land and the waters, so that we may preserve this life and land for the generations to come. But Governor Dixy has closed her ears to all the tortured cries for help at Walla Walla and throughout the state.

Her inhumanity reeks of Nazi Germany before it began its total massacre of the Jewish people. This is the time for all Indians and all humane people to rise up against Governor Ray and her kind before it is too late.

**Janet McCloud, a Tulalip Indian, is a national spokeswoman, writer and organizer for Native Americans.**

## part VI

# Gay resistance: the hidden history

by Sam Deaderick

**A**fter the short-lived Society for Human Rights collapsed in 1924, there was no documented homosexual rights organization in the U.S. until The Sons of Hamidy formed in 1934. Very little is known about this group; a former officer described it as the voice of "an apocalyptic program of retribution against a hostile society."

The Sons hoped to win civil rights for homosexuals, to punish the opponents of gay rights, and to recruit a membership large enough "to take over" government positions. Meetings were held in several cities, but by 1943 the organization had virtually disappeared.

Once again, continuity in the homosexual civil rights struggle was broken, but the thread of gay political history reappeared during the bleak McCarthy years.

### Kinsey and McCarthy: strange bedfellows

The wellspring of the reemergence of the gay movement was twofold: the witchhunt unleashed by Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the new wave of scientific examination of sexual behavior sparked by the pioneering research of the Kinsey Institute.

Dr. Alfred Kinsey's 1948 report, *Sexual Behavior of the Human Male*, and his 1953 report, *Sexual Behavior of the Human Female*, shattered centuries of myths and

misinformation. The data, the most accurate for its time, revealed that 25% of males and 10% of females over the age of puberty were "more than incidentally homosexual," and that 4% of males and 2-3% of females were exclusively homosexual.

This scientific bomb was dropped just as the most vicious anti-homosexual campaign in American history was being unleashed by Senator McCarthy. (At the same time, a massive propaganda barrage was launched to push women out of their wartime jobs and back into "normal" fulltime housekeeping.)

### "Sex perverts in government"

A special Senate subcommittee was mandated "to determine the extent of the employment of homosexuals and other sex perverts in government; to consider the reasons why their employment is undesirable and to examine into the efficacy of the methods used in dealing with the problem."

The subcommittee's 1950 report announced that homosexuals were employed in 36 out of 53 branches of the federal government, and noted with some satisfaction that in the 2½ years between January 1947 and April 1950, a total of 4,954 "sex perverts" had been separated from government jobs, including the military.

During the same period, and for many years afterward, the state of California required anybody arrested for homosexual activity to register with the police and to carry a card that labeled them as a sex deviant.

From out of this avalanche of fear, hate and bigotry, only slightly tempered by new glimmerings of scientific enlightenment, the U.S. "homophile"\* movement was born.

### Lisa Ben opens the door

The first attempt at gay organizing during this period was made by Lisa Ben (a pseudonym and anagram of "lesbian"). In 1947, she began publishing *Vice Versa*, a newsletter containing theatre, film and book reviews, poetry, short stories and editorials. Eight volumes were published, and several readers became leading members of One, Inc., a moderate gay rights organization of the 1960s.

*Vice Versa* was the first literary expression of the modern American lesbian movement, and it opened the door to the homophile movement of the '50s and '60s.

### Mattachine Society patriots

In 1950, the Mattachine Society was established as an underground organization. Its first statement of purpose was written by founder Henry Hay, who was a radical and a former member of the Communist Party. Hay warned of "encroaching American fascism" and cited the fate of gays under Hitler:

\* "Homophile" used to be applied to people and organizations, gay or straight, who supported civil rights for homosexuals. It sometimes refers to the old-line, moderate, gay rights groups in existence since the 1950s.

The socially censured Androgynous minority was suborned, blackmailed, cozened, and stamped into serving as hoodlums, stool pigeons, volunteer informers, concentration camp trustees, torturers and hangmen, before it as a minority was ruthlessly exterminated.

The Society's program was strongly multi-issue, committed to cooperation among oppressed people and to linking the gay struggle with the Black and Chicano movements. But the radical bent of the Mattachine was quickly straightened out in 1953, when many of its leaders succumbed to the ferocious, rightwing climate and elected to go above ground—without the radicals.

A stormy constitutional convention was held, marked by red-baiting and the demand for pro-government loyalty oaths. One member threatened to deliver to the FBI the names of everybody present unless the body endorsed political screening of members.

The super-patriots won the day, the radicals were purged, and Mattachine embarked on a sedate new course of respectability and long-term, very low-key education. ■

Part VII of "Gay Resistance: The Hidden History" will trace the homophile movement from the 1940s to Stonewall and the birth of modern gay liberation.

# Women scholars denounce patri-science

by Barbara Brown and Carmen Keltner

**T**he American Association for the Advancement of Science held its national conference in Houston, Texas last January, and the occasion was marked by the first Feminist Symposium ever sponsored by that august assembly.

The one-day symposium featuring feminist scientists from the United States and England offered valuable insights into many questions under debate among feminists, such as the nature of the patriarchy, and the natural or social superiority of women.

The women scientists pulled no punches as they condemned the destructiveness of U.S. science, questioned the objectivity of inquiry that serves the "sexist, racist, ageist, classist and heterosexist" purposes of patriarchy, and proposed a feminist scientific "method of strategic heresy" to provide fresh analyses and liberating discoveries.

They hailed the life-promoting discoveries and attitudes of matriarchal societies, and the accomplishments of women through the ages.

"I think these women have a tendency to overstate their case—I detect a lot of anger here and am surprised—because it's supposed to be a scientific conference," grumbled one of the few males attending the symposium.

### Doing the twist

The atrocities against women committed by scientists were well-documented. Psychologist Barbara DuBois of Goddard College explained how science reinforces dominant values by labeling those who challenge them

"nonscientific." She described the "pretzel" syndrome—women twisting their work to fit pre-established expectations. "If our work is not somehow threatening to the established order," she warned, "then we are on the wrong track."

Sarah Hoagland, of Northeastern Illinois University, encouraged women to demand, "Who determines what a subject ought to do, what is normal, what is abnormal? Whose purpose, whose design, whose scheme of things? Functional for whom?"

Rutgers sociologist Susan Cavin elicited delighted laughter with her challenge: "Patri-scientists must prove their assumption that all pre-historic dead women were straight." Cavin's paper, "Lesbian Origins: Sex Ratio Theory," a study of 30 widely-separated societies, shows that lesbian-

ism spans all types of subsistence systems and family forms. It is also found among all nonhuman primates. Yet science has supported the persecution of lesbians.

Beverly Smith, University of Massachusetts, reporting on experimentation on Third World women, explained that the medical specialty of gynecology grew out of years of experimental operations performed by a Southern doctor on the female slaves of his plantation. Her documentation of the extensive forced sterilization of Native American, Puerto Rican and poor Southern women brought cries of indignation from the audience. Smith ended with the statement that "to confront racism and class oppression are the issues on which the women's movement will rise or fall."

Theologian Mary Daly of Boston Col-

lege dissected modern scientists—"the busboys carrying out the orders of patriarchal religion." And secular science, she said, is programmed by "Christian, patriarchal myth."

### Double duty

Leafleters condemned the 1977 election of notorious racist Arthur Jensen as an AAAS Fellow. AAAS admits that Jensen's claim that Blacks are genetically inferior to whites is based on fraudulent data, but the organization refuses to revoke his fellowship.

Feminist scholars have to do double duty. Not only must they expose the deadly control of science by vested interests, they also have to take on and vanquish the male chauvinism of the labor and radical movements. Judging from past performance, they certainly will! ■

# Malice Aforethought by Ms. Tami

**T**he visit of Pope John Paul to America was bound to have some repercussions. I followed news accounts of his trip from corporate headquarters in Rome to various U.S. cities and read with wonder his opinions on life after death, life before birth, and the role of women in his organization. Where will it all end, I mused.

Then, two weeks ago, my neighbor leaned over the back fence and told me that his wife was a pope. Not the pope, but a pope nonetheless. He said it hadn't upset the routine of their lives,

and he was proud of his wife's sudden, if unusual, change in status.

It was too sudden for me. The Putneys had always been a pleasant, hard-working pair, not given to erratic moods or claims of extraterrestrial travel, even after a few drinks. And, significantly, they weren't Catholics, either. An invitation to coffee in their tiny kitchen brought an explanation.

"You see," confided Marcie, "I've always had these vague pope yearnings. Even during our wedding, those fifteen yards of white satin in my gown made me feel closer to Rome than home. I felt very guilty."

Ironically, the Pope's comment that

"homosexual activity, not homosexual orientation, is morally wrong" triggered her breakthrough.

"Orientation is OK," crooned Marcie. "I can be anything, as long as I don't do it."

The Mormon Church already has endorsed the Pope's logic as a way for women to support the ERA without doing it. And politicians are ecstatic at not having to try to back up any campaign promises.

Adherents of this "Nothing Doing" movement may think it all started with Pope John Paul. But I remember Jimmy Carter's "lust in my heart" confession and he deserves at least a footnote.

# A Victory for Socialist Feminism

## Organizer's Report to the 1969 FSP Conference

### VII. 1969

#### A New Conjuncture and A New Growth

**A**s the new year rolled in, the FSP was left with its name, its integrity, an excellent and popular headquarters, and a lot of experience. But the party was detached from the white student movement and lacked a substantial periphery.

Rapid changes in the political conjuncture, in which our intervention has played no small part, have radically altered this situation, presenting new opportunities, new problems, and new responsibilities.

#### The Tide Turns

##### 1. The New Left

The intense, highly personal student rebellion against the constrictions, brutality, and inequities of capitalist society grew into the "new" Left, and through all of its twists and turns, it reflects a basically middle-class character.

*Its programmatic vagueness, organizational incoherence and lack of solidarity, wild leaps from one end of the political spectrum to the other, and ideological glorification of emotionalism and subjectivism all arise from the fundamental capriciousness of a movement with no solid attachment to any productive class.*

Any "program" this movement espouses is a momentary choice resulting from a mood, rather than a stable and long-term commitment to the needs and interests of the working class. Continual search and experiment become the substitute for serious program, and the movement feels an instinctive hostility to settling down to serious theoretical discussion, to chart a rational course for itself, and to stick by its decisions.

This inherent instability is accentuated by the class struggle vacuum in the U.S. In the absence of a strong working-class or socialist movement off campus exerting a commanding influence upon students, few objective forces exist to lend programmatic substance and social weight to the college rebellion.

This lack of a solid social base to connect it with reality is the New Left's gravest constitutional problem, and the one weakness that the movement truly agonizes over. Its "go-it-alone" hysteria is balanced by a desperate longing for an authoritative voice—for an infallible pope—to lay down the law from on high. Hence, the movement turns frantically from one saviour to another—the Peace and Freedom Party, the "Third World," Chairman Mao, the Black Panthers, and lately resurrected in all his glory, Comrade Stalin and his terror tactics.

The New Left, which claims to have arisen out of the purest existential freedom, is in fact at the mercy of its own whims, dictated by whatever looks biggest or most attractive at any given moment.

But none of the twists, turns, and about-faces of student radicalism, from participatory democracy through Stalinism, has alleviated its crisis of program and leadership. On the contrary, this crisis now assumes graver proportions with every passing week as the movement splits and fragments in a dozen different directions.

##### 2. The Black Movement

The protracted crisis of leadership continues. Locally, there are two main contenders for the loyalty and support of the ghetto masses.

On one side are the reactionary cultural nationalists, represented in Seattle by the *Afro-American Journal* gang. This group has a real neo-

fascist character; behind a mask of super-militancy and super-Blackness, they employ terrorist tactics to intimidate opponents, *especially radicals*, and to try to line their own pockets. Their aim is not to overthrow the white capitalist power structure, but to reach an accommodation with it that allows *them* to rule and exploit the ghetto.

Terrorism and extortion do not make for instant popularity. But the steady appeal to the Black mystique finds some response, and given the virtual leadership vacuum, the *Afro-American* crew can win adherents, especially among the declassed and demoralized street youth.

An effective challenge to the fascistic elements can only come from the left, and the only substantial group on this end of the political spectrum is the **Black Panther Party**.

This organization is still experiencing a very contradictory development. The BPP has proclaimed itself as the revolutionary socialist vanguard party of the ghetto. In asserting the working-class character of the coming revolution, and their right as *Black* revolutionists to play a vanguard role in the *total* revolution, the Panthers exemplify our theory of revolutionary integration.

Another step in the right direction was their recent attempt to come to grips with the Woman Question; for the first time they took a public position against male chauvinism in the BPP and in the Black community.

Still, despite this willingness to pose and confront key issues of the American Revolution, their organization suffers increasingly from serious internal illnesses.

Lacking a base among Black workers, the BPP is essentially a party of youth. Its leaders come out of the student movement; its mass base is among high-school students and young street Blacks. And while this type of composition displays great militancy and combativeness, it is also highly volatile and unstable. Lacking the necessary *conservatism* of a workers' organization, the Panthers are given to mercurial shifts in line.

Much like the white student movement, the Panthers leap from one end of the spectrum to the other. *Putschist* and desperate nationalist moods, aggravated by continual police repression and white racism, continually erupt within the ranks, and the leadership responds to this recklessness with purges of the "undesirables." Then, in a frantic search for allies, the party jumps from ultra-left adventurism into People's Front alliances with white liberals, whom they try to control with threats and bluster.

This class-collaborationist People's Front trend was already evident last year in the national Panther alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party. It has lately surfaced again in the form of a "United Front Against Fascism," Stalinist-style, that rests on a close alliance with CP hacks.

This recent turn spells danger for the Panthers, and, because of their strategic position on the left, endangers the radical movement as a whole—especially the student movement, whose instability and irrationality are heightened and reinforced by the Panther example.

The Panthers are the only *organized* radical force of any consequence in the Seattle Central Area, but they by no means represent the total of its radical potential. There exists a considerable body of young, militant, male and female, Black workers and intellectuals who display a singular level of political sophistication and willingness to act. Repelled by the ravings and goon-squad terror of the cultural nationalists, and by the militarism and arbitrariness of the Panthers, they are left without leadership to represent them and give them a viable program.

**A Victory for Socialist Feminism** describes the birth-pangs of a political party. In 1967, when the Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party became the Freedom Socialist Party, one of the differences precipitating the split was the "Woman Question." And in the party's first two years of life, its feminist principles were tested even further in the crucible of experience—and only the most determined champions of women's equality remained in the party. These comrades who stuck to their feminist battle stations emerged tempered enough to go on to build a unique party.

This concluding installment assesses the state of the movement in 1969, and charts the FSP's intervention into that momentous period of American radical history.

Many of these militants are concentrated in the government anti-poverty agencies, as both staff-members and trainees. And so great is the Black leadership-vacuum that many of these workers and professionals, ordinarily very suspicious of whites, cooperate and collaborate with white FSP members who have daily on-the-job contact with them.

The party not only provided the party with invaluable growth, experience and associations, but has helped to spur the formation of a militant left-wing within a vital stratum of the Black working class.

The most promising development has been the emergence of a union of anti-poverty workers (PAPS). This organization was initiated with the purpose of improving the salaries and working conditions of non-professional anti-poverty workers, giving leverage to curb the arbitrariness of agency rulings, and providing a nucleus for the organization of super-exploited, unorganized and unrepresented workers throughout the city.

PAPS is very young and far from completing its task of organizing anti-poverty workers. Yet it has already won significant concessions from the OEO bureaucrats, and has weathered its first red-baiting attack. Its prestige and impact are considerable.

Comrade Gloria, who is president of the local, has exercised decisive leadership in organizing and maintaining PAPS, and bringing it through a difficult formative period while maintaining a thoroughly principled political stance.

The work of our comrades Gloria and Clara in the poverty program resulted in the dramatic contingent of Central Area women who sparked the mass lobby for abortion reform organized in March. The abortion-reform bill was forced out of the Senate Rules Committee in the wake of the mass action led by Radical Women. Hundreds of poor and minority race women participated and learned valuable political lessons. The State Legislature, of course, was rocked to its foundations.

Currently, the most important contribution of the party in the anti-poverty arena has been the initiation of a mass-protest campaign against the terrorism and extortion tactics of the *Afro-American* super-nationalists. This campaign has assumed an independent momentum of its own, and is sweeping the Central Area.

It would not do to paint a one-sided, rosy picture of the possibilities for radical action, particularly *white* radical action, in the anti-poverty agencies. The situation remains contradictory, fraught with difficulties as well as opportunities. Nevertheless, the work of our comrades serves as a model for what can be accomplished by even one comrade in daily contact with Black, Indian, Asian, Chicano and poor white people who want to struggle.

Moreover, it should lay to rest the myth that it is *impossible* for whites to intervene in the Black community. What is needed to qualify for this work is commitment, integrity, modesty, the tactical sense to gauge opportunities, the caution and tact required in acting to meet them—and, above all, a *correct theory and historical knowledge*.

It is not accidental that the effective party activity in the ghetto is being carried out by revolutionary *white women*.

Because of their acute awareness of the nature of their own social oppression, they characteristically display a far greater sensitivity to and rapport with the needs and problems of Blacks than do white men, even revolutionists. In the eyes of Blacks of both sexes at this juncture, white women represent the oppressor *far less than do white men*, LeRoi Jones' nationalist sexism notwithstanding.

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### 3. The GI Movement

Similar to the student movement in the shifting and vacillating character of its social base, the status of GI is no more permanent than that of student. And since GI's are continually subject to transfer at the command of the brass, their opportunities to establish permanent ties and stable nuclei around which to form a movement are distinctly limited.

Still, army life is markedly different from life on a campus, and imparts a qualitatively different character to the soldiers' movement.

GI's resemble workers in some important respects: they are *disciplined* and *collectively oppressed* by the ruling class, often in a very brutal and crushing manner. Playing at radicalism and acting in an irresponsible and adventurist way is obviously not only impractical but extremely dangerous.

This affects the nature of the movement. The soldier-militant who wants to fight the system is typically more *cautious* than his student counterpart, and, once radicalized, tends to take political ideas very seriously, since they represent a much graver commitment.

For these reasons, the GI movement hasn't suffered from the most typical sicknesses of the New Left. But it has problems of its own.

Fort Lewis, the largest military base in the Western U.S., has for the past year been the scene of considerable radical activity arising out of the attempts of local radicals to build a viable GI movement.

The most promising endeavor in this field was the GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace (GI-CAP), in which the SWP-YSA exercised predominant influence. This organization has suffered several vicissitudes. It reached its high point last February when several hundred GI's participated in a mass march against the war in Viet Nam. Since that time, it has gradually petered out, under the able guidance of the YSA, whose main policy orientation was to try to build a soldier-contingent of the mass, single-issue, anti-war movement. SWP still hopes to accomplish this in cooperation with the pacifists, liberals, and Stalinists, but locally the prospects are dim, because when GI-CAP became imprisoned within the SWP formula, it stagnated and lost its attraction for GI's.

Nevertheless, the GI movement has been a fruitful arena of work for the FSP. Persistent educational propaganda within GI-CAP provided the party with a milieu for some months, out of which we gained an excellent recruit who is a leader of GI's.

Despite the decline of GI-CAP, the ferment at the Fort continues, and our comrade has built a nucleus of GI's interested in organizing a movement able to challenge the repressive apparatus of the officers. The potential for building a movement, and the party, in this area, remains very good.

### 4. The Trade-Unions

Unionism has not occupied us a great deal in recent years, for a very good reason: most of the action has been elsewhere. Nevertheless, an important sector of the local working class has come into motion recently, and, again, an FSPer has been in the middle of it.

For several months, the Service Employees Union has been carrying out an organizing drive among nursing-home employees in Seattle, who are predominantly women and Blacks; one of our women comrades is organizing it.

This kind of work proceeds slowly, and an organizer is continually hampered by the bureaucratic procedures imposed by the law and the conservatism of the labor bureaucracy. Nevertheless, our comrade has been able to exercise considerable latitude in her organizing strategy, and has quite successfully appealed to the workers as both super-exploited Blacks and women.

***This nascent awakening of one of the most intensely exploited categories of workers is still tentative but is a portent of the future, forecasting a general upsurge of a new layer of the working class that is only now beginning to gather self-confidence.***

A decisive success in this drive can catalyze activity among broader sections of the class and redound greatly to the benefit of our party.

### 5. The Women's Movement

This is the one sector of the mass movement in which no evaluation of the present conjuncture can be made without referring to the FSP, for here our party's influence has been decisive in shaping the period.

At the same time, it is difficult to separate party activity in this field from mass work in the Central Area and the union movement, for our work in these milieus, performed almost entirely by women comrades, has contributed to building the general women's movement and has, in turn, benefited from this movement.

***An independent women's movement has emerged in the Seattle area, and its history in recent months provided swift and striking vindication of our insistence on the top-level political importance of the Woman Question and our perspective of building an independent, working-class, women's organization with a basic socialist character.***

Last winter, things didn't look so good. After the breakaway of both the "Women's Liberation" and "Majority Union" contingents from Radical Women, the parent organization was hardly more than an FSP women's caucus. But the subsequent evolution of all three groups soon showed who had the correct line, the staying power, and the organizing know-how—and who would grow.

The single-issue, anti-political stance of the Women's Majority Union, and the infantile ultra-leftism of the Women's Liberation Committee, soon revealed themselves as two sides of the coin of petty bourgeois frivolousness and political ignorance. Isolated in a campus milieu, these organizations had in common a basic lack of gut-level understanding of the needs of working women, Black women, and working class housewives, and their theoretical grasp was utterly inadequate to orient them consistently toward these sectors which are the indispensable base of any serious, fighting, mass movement of women.

Unable to link up with any exploited and triply oppressed women, both the Union and the Committee turned inward to feed on themselves. The Majority Union seems to have slowly starved to death on such a diet, while the Women's Liberation Committee has maintained a discussion-club and guerrilla-theatre role, unable to orient itself in any direction.

By contrast, Radical Women, beginning once again with only principles and a small nucleus of comrades, quickly revived and rebuilt itself. Working

women and minority race women were attracted by ***precisely those features*** that repelled petty-bourgeois student types—clearly defined program and a taking-care-of-business structure appropriate to a serious organization.

Indeed, the first major gain for the party was made in the very course of the factional struggles that led to fragmentation into three factions. The single non-FSP, working-class radical member of Radical Women elected not only to stay with the organization but to join the FSP, soon proving to be one of the party's most valuable activists.

The decisive turn came when Radical Women spurred the eruption of a tremendous agitation for abortion reform.

***Thousands of women were mobilized in a mass rally at the capitol early this spring, and by virtue of its immediate and distinctive propaganda approach, and the energy and political solidity of its mass workers, Radical Women found itself transformed from an isolated cadre organization into the main pole of attraction for the radical wing of the women's movement.***

This transformation of Radical Women was made possible by the work of party activists in the anti-poverty agencies. Through energetic day-to-day contact work, they were able to recruit some of the best militant women workers into the abortion action and then into the ranks of Radical Women.

Radical Women was now strong enough to initiate an action solely on its own responsibility. When the Strike Committee chairman of the local photo-finisher's union appealed to some of our comrades in Radical Women for aid to their strike of beleaguered women, Radical Women decided to throw its energies into a demonstration to build support and win publicity for the strike.

Radical Women called for a mass picket line, persuaded others in the radical movement into supporting it, and on very short notice built an effective sympathy demonstration at the Perfect Photo plant.

***The demonstration was an outstanding success in focusing attention on the strike, helping the Photo Finishers gain a victory settlement, and enhancing the prestige of Radical Women.***

It also resulted in a mass arrest of picketers, including several Radical Women members. At the subsequent trials (on charges ranging from "obscenity" to "resisting arrest"), once again it was Radical Women who distinguished themselves in court by their forthright defense of their actions and their insistence on constitutional rights, while Women's Liberation and New Left males showed themselves incapable of pursuing a unified and principled defense.

As a result of its intransigence in theory and practice, Radical Women now exercises ideological and organizational hegemony in the Seattle women's movement. Not loved by its opponents but granted a grudging respect as the authentic bearer of principle, it points out the roads for women's liberation, and the women's movement, grudgingly or otherwise, follows in those directions.

Because it is objectively far in advance of the whole national women's movement, Radical Women has a surprising number of contacts across the country and finds itself in a position to exercise national influence.

Needless to say, the success of Radical Women not only puts the FSP in immediate contact with a healthy and growing movement of young feminist radicals, but also reflects credit on the party as a shining vindication of our unique position on the Woman Question.

### Perspectives

Our party has entered as a component, often a major one, into many mass movements since the beginning of 1969. Nevertheless, it is an independent entity. It develops in interaction with the entire movement, but has a separate character and distinctive objectives of its own.

A few months ago, we regarded *survival* as our major objective, and we have managed this rather well. In fact, this is one of the things we do best. In the past three years, we have witnessed a whole raft of radical organizations come into being, and we have outlived several and will outlast many more.

But we have not just survived. We have managed to grow, in contrast to the menshevik splitters, who, despite all their tail-wagging and deep-entry tactics in frantic search of a home, are today more orphaned than ever. We have demonstrated a capacity to intervene in the mass movement, to ***build*** a movement, and to win respect. We have been able to do this precisely because we stuck by our principles, even, and especially, when the going was rough.



***Please contribute NOW to the 1980 Freedom Socialist Fund Drive. Our goal is \$20,000 and we urgently need your help. Send donations to Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105.***

The FSP has become *the* party of women's emancipation in Seattle and the *only such party* in the U.S. **This is as it should be.** We have followed the logic of our political development; it was only natural that our party, the only consistent and persistent exponent of the Woman Question on the entire left, should attract the best elements of the rising women's movement. And now that every other radical organization is jumping onto the bandwagon, we should be very conscious of the historic significance of our pioneering and the urgent necessity to continue defending and expanding our theory.

### 1. The Women's Movement

This milieu, the most fertile area of mass work, should be the party's primary mass orientation in the coming period.

Our responsibilities are both ideological and organizational, and demand a contribution from the entire party, including the men comrades. And particular attention must be given to maintaining a high quality of performance.

Party activity in this and all related areas (the ghetto and anti-poverty arena, trade-union organizing, etc.) must be organized and coordinated much more systematically. This could be handled through the establishment of a women's fraction, under a responsible, experienced coordinator, so that activists in this area could consult on a regular basis and receive practical guidance and advice on policy and technical questions.

### 2. The Black Movement

Despite the good quality of our work in the Central Area, whites cannot solve the leadership-crisis of the Black movement. The problem, as before, is the necessity of a Black revolutionary socialist vanguard. With all their contradictions, the Panthers remain the *only* force in the ghetto striving in this direction, and if they go under, the movement will not improvise a new vanguard formation on short notice.

At a moment like this, with the Panthers beset not only by the police and a nascent fascist cadre inside the ghetto, but by the virus of Stalinism as well, they need ideological clarity and practical support more than ever.

The Black Student Union is more complex, both better and worse than the Panthers. It is more ideologically developed and theoretically oriented, but less homogeneous and disciplined.

As a broad organization (actually a loose federation of separate clubs on several local high school and college campuses), the BSU is more flexible, lacking the rigidity and paramilitary psychology of the Panthers. The leadership, who are radical intellectuals and longtime students, is generally on a higher political level than the Panthers and has the potential for much greater political maturity. It could evolve into a vanguard nucleus.

On the other hand, the BSU's lack of program, loose structure and lack of internal discipline

encourage opportunistic adaptations to external pressures from "respectable" society, and give free rein to the wild capriciousness of the young and politically inexperienced Blacks who have recently surged into the ranks.

Our responsibility to our own program and to the brave young radicals of the BPP and BSU is to find ways of assisting them with ideas and expertise. Any failure to do so amounts to an abdication of basic responsibility and must be remedied. Knowledgeable and capable comrades should be selected to work intensively with them.

This work is difficult, demanding not only a good grasp of theory and tactics, but perseverance and an ability to roll with the punches. Further, **comrades involved in this work must have thoroughly absorbed the significance of the strategic role of Blacks in the vanguard of the American revolution; since Black radicals recognize or sense this reality, disputes over theory and tactics are made easier when pursued within this theoretical context.**

### 3. The GI Movement

Only one comrade is presently active in this field, and this should be sufficient, along with occasional intervention and assistance by others. However, the party should give this comrade all the political-ideological support he needs in bringing soldier-contacts closer. A definite strategy should be worked out through discussions in the party, and regular consultations arranged between our mass-worker and the organizer.

### 4. The Student Movement

Our main responsibility in this arena is ideological. The party must make itself more available to individual contacts to discuss basic politics, avoiding embroilment in organizational campaigns and factional conflicts that serve no political purpose for us. We should be much better prepared for this, and much more cognizant of the necessity of orienting student work closely around the party, after our experiences with the new leftist Draft Resistance organization and the SDS women.

Our immediate aim with students should be recruitment and building of a fraction able to combat the characteristic diseases of the New Left and the newly-acquired Stalinist goon-squadism prevalent in SDS. Some comrades will find themselves on familiar ground here, and only the FSP can effectively counter the baleful influences in the student movement of Third Period CP ultra-leftism and SWP conservatism.

### Organizational Tasks

**Fulltime Organizer.** If the FSP is to meet its political responsibilities, a way must be found to maintain a fulltime organizer, able to direct and coordinate all departments of party activity and utilize the talents of every comrade to the best advantage of our organization.

This will require considerable political and administrative skill, and the party should select the best possible comrade to fill this key post.

**Finances.** The need for an organizer immediately places on the agenda the question of financial solvency. Given the current cost of living, we can't expect an organizer to be maintained on less than \$100 a week. If we are to meet this expense, we will have to rack our brains to come up with new sources of money, and the membership will need to pay their fair share by increasing pledges and donations.

We cannot expect to reach this degree of solvency without a new dynamic and efficiency in the financial department, which has been administratively neglected for some time.

**Headquarters and Education.** To effectively discharge our ideological responsibilities, we must utilize our headquarters much more extensively than heretofore. While political crises break all around us, we have not had a forum for months! We must institute more regular and frequent forums, classes and socials to aid us in political analysis, solving our financial problems, and bringing more people around the party.

**Publishing.** To facilitate expansion of our general educational work, it is recommended that the agit-prop director post be revived, not only to organize forums and classes, but to supervise the writing, production and distribution of documents and propaganda leaflets.

**Bookstore Emphasis.** The work of the Literature Committee in the area of bookstore renovation and better publicizing of our literature must be expedited. Literature sales have picked up considerably, but could be enlarged even more with attractive displays and more attention paid to selling.

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It is fitting, in closing, to underscore the dramatic fact that it was work among *women* that furnished us the *key to the working class and the Black*

*movement*, just as our theory predicted.

We empirically followed the line that our principles indicated, and struck pay dirt. And in recognition of this fact, we must more *consciously* shape our strategy and perspectives in accordance with the proven correctness of our special ideology.

As the first revolutionary Trotskyist party to fuse Marxism and feminism on its bannerhead, we have stoutly defended our doctrine throughout the movement, against a vicious attack by male chauvinist-menshevik types inside the party, and in a public courtroom battle. We have thereby helped to define the new feminist era and have enriched the class struggle with a new dimension.

This confers upon us a mantle of grave responsibility, which our vast confidence in the socialist future of humankind will help us to wear proudly and well. ■

This is the concluding installment of A Victory for Socialist Feminism. Appended to the three previous editions of the book are the following FSP documents: "Concerning the Schism in the FSP"—April 8, 1968; "Lessons of the November 1968 Elections"—August 1969; "Letter to the Legislature on Abortion Legalization"—February 4, 1969; and "The Revolutionary Approach to the United Front"—July 18, 1969. Interested readers can order the book from their nearest FSP or RW branch, or from the FSP national office in Seattle.



Before you Subscribe to the **FREEDOM SOCIALIST** consider 5 weighty reasons why you shouldn't.

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Contact any FSP or RW branch for socialist feminist literature and information on activities and actions.



by Stephan Kass

**A**nger, desperation and confusion are the hallmarks of the American worker's attitude toward the economy.

White House economists surfeit the public with reams of bewildering and contradictory pronouncements, predictions, assurances and warnings. But their statements rarely seem to relate to the real world of groceries, energy, housing, medicines and schooling, the world where one salient fact is clearly understood every time an economic transaction takes place: more and more buys less and less. The situation is getting worse, and there is no end in sight.

The capitalist system of production and distribution of goods and services is faltering badly. Basic necessities are becoming unaffordable, and jobs are increasingly insecure.

#### The horse's mouth

What's going on? Who is responsible for the situation?

No real answers are coming from those who brought us the crisis.

Alfred Kahn, chairman of the White House Council on Wage and Price Stabili-

## The American Economy- Profile of a Crisis

ty, told Congress' Joint Economic Committee that he saw "no short-term relief in sight," and that the President's goal of restraining inflation at 10.6% in 1979 is "unachievable."

Hence, only four years after the generalized recession of the international capi-

talist economy in 1974-75, the U.S. finds itself once again on the brink of economic catastrophe.

Inflation is climbing at the highest annual rate since 1946, when the U.S. was struggling to recover from World War II. In October, consumer prices went up 1%, all but guaranteeing an inflation rate of more than **13% for 1979**, the worst rate since 1949.

Real wages have now dropped below 1969. And the effects of spiraling inflation on employment have been severe. Department of Labor statistics for October detail a spurt of layoffs, mostly among women and Blacks, which pushed documented unemployment up to 6% of the workforce—6.2 million people. The jobless rate among adult women rose from 5.5% in September to 5.8% in October. And Black unemployment jumped from 10.6% to 11.7%, with the rate for minority teenagers leaping from 31.5% to **35.7%**!

#### The dwindling dollar

This dangerous state of the domestic economy is directly tied to the *international* economy and to the value of the dollar, which now functions as world money.

Inflation in the U.S., combined with a

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# the freedom socialist

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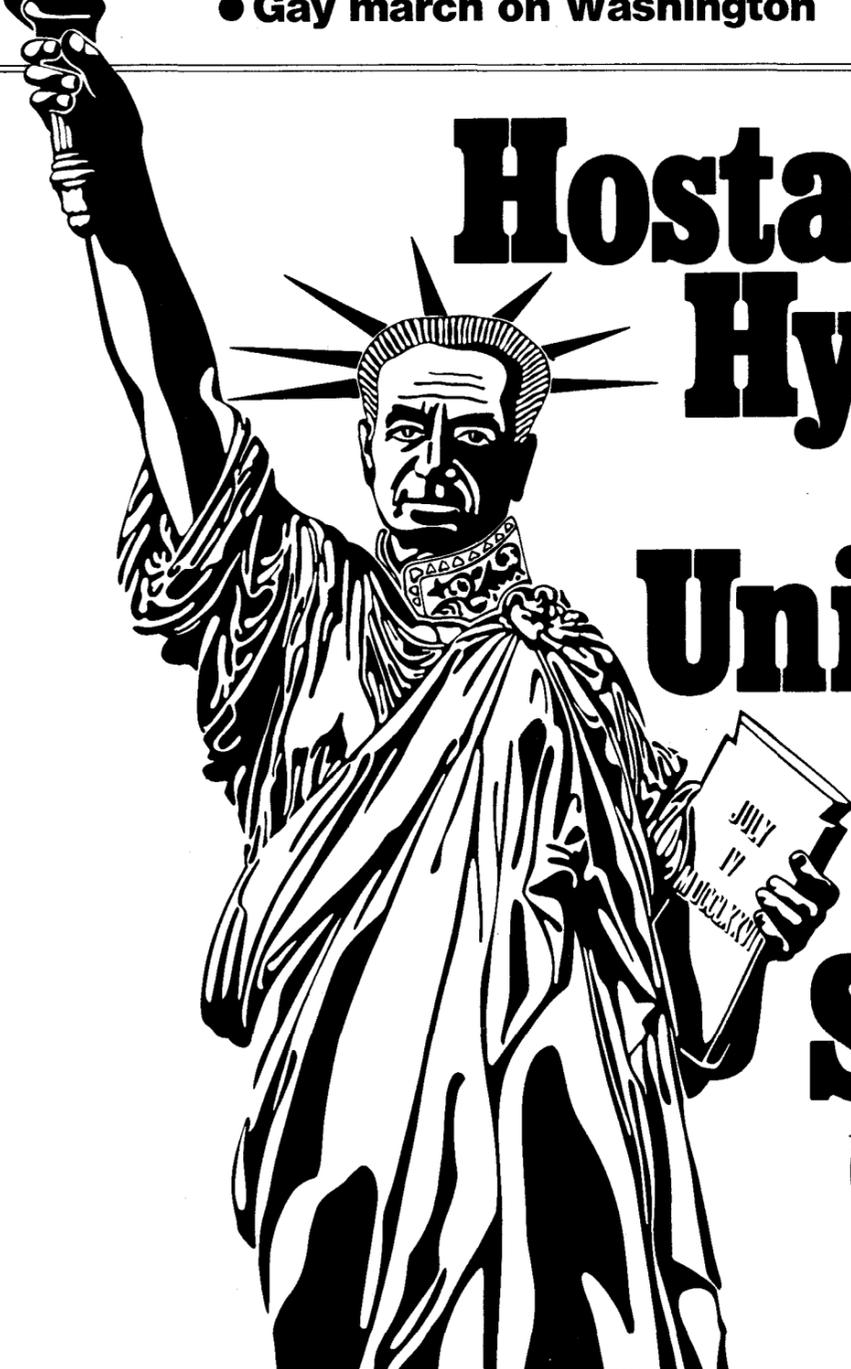
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