The bitter fight of Native American

JULIE EVENING LILLY

BY MAXINE REIGEL

She's a talented, articulate, well-educated, charming and beautiful. But the sovereign state of Virginia considers her a criminal, and she is waging a heroic fight to defend herself.

It isn't easy. Julie Evening Lilly happens to be a Native American, an outspoken feminist and a dedicated radical activist. And that is why her life for the past eight years has revolved around legal combat with two state governments.

In 1972, California awarded her custody of her daughter, Erin. But Erin's white father stole the child and took her to Virginia, where Julie fought an unsuccessful custody battle. The judge wouldn't even enforce her visitation rights, but she managed to take her daughter back and out of the state.

Charging her with kidnapping, Virginia issued a warrant for extradition from California. The Virginia judge was clearly racist and patriarchal toward Julie. "I was in a Southern white court, and I was a brown woman challenging a white man... judges might as well wear white sheets because they interpret the law any way that suits them. It's..."

Brown to refuse extradition. The Virginia warrant, however, threatens her anytime she leaves California. But Julie Evening Lilly must travel precisely in order to build support and raise money for her legal action to quash the warrant in Virginia. During a recent visit to Seattle, this strongminded and warmhearted freedom fighter called her case an "outrageous example of the power of the courts. They treat me like an Indian praying for not staying nice and quiet."

By Stephen Durham

Police violence is escalating. There's a contract out on the lives of America's dissenters and dissidents in every city across the country.

But the inflammatory "law and order" solution to the vast unrest caused by unemployment, inflation, racism, and sexism is being broadly challenged in Los Angeles, California, by an energetic campaign for a Police Review Board to be composed of civilians who will be the arbiters of police crime.

In the first citywide petition drive since 1937, the campaign forged an alliance of people of color, feminists, lesbians and gays, church activists, political radicals, and unionists.

Challenging the rightwing's support of misconduct by the armed boy-in-blue, the campaign calls for city officials and courts to stop tolerating the police spaying, harassment, beatings, and murders of people whose survival or politics threaten the system.

No "City of Angels"

Los Angeles, with a population composed predominantly of people of color, has been plagued for decades with police terror, a terror condoned by a weak-kneed city council and defended by notorious bigots like former Police Chief Ed Davis and ex-Mayor Sam Yorty.

Nationally, in the last decade police have killed at least 600 civilians, 80% of them people of color. These murders hit the headlines with stunning regularity—from Houston, Philadelphia, Dade County, Seattle—and victims like Joe Torres and John Rodney become focal points for ghetto wrath. But in 1950 recent cases of death at the hands of police, an officer was convicted of homicide in only three.

In Los Angeles, there has never been one criminal prosecution or indictment of a cop for violence against civilians. Yet L.A. police "lead" the nation with 23 deaths of unarmed civilians, and 133 people have died as a result of 340 shootings and beatings since 1975.

Hit men on the beat

The Citizens Police Review Board, a campaign is the culmination of years of struggles against legal lynching in L.A. The Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA) has long opposed the police state reign over the ghettos. In 1977, CAPA organized a demonstration against the convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. People of color, joined by lesbian, gay and feminist activists, socialists, and Iranian students, picketed this sinister assembly of capitalist hierarchy.

In 1979, police murdered Bolla Love on the steps of her home, and Black community fury focused on the desperate need for a civilian review board. The L.A. police commission performed the usual whitewash, admitting police "mistaken" but recommending against prosecution of her slayers.

A Chicano was beaten to death by police. A Black woman was snatched at a bus stop by uniformed police and repeatedly raped, and ten gay men were killed in Hollywood in 1979, a year that engendered more than 20 documented cases of cop homicide.

In January of this year, a white man was killed as he approached a police car for help and a Black man died of 22 bullet wounds in what the Black community labeled a public lynching.

The new centurions

Outraged by this wanton slaughter, hundreds of activists hit the streets in January, determined to collect the 116,000 signatures necessary to qualify the Citizens Review Board initiative for the November ballot.

The initiative provides a model for the entire country. It empowers a civilian board to investigate abuse, file criminal charges against officers, and determine police department policy. City officialdom, fearful that the initiative will succeed, is scurrying to create paper-tiger substitutes for a real review board.

The dynamic campaign for the Board has succeeded in unifying L.A.'s fragmented social movements in a sustained drive to vanquish the common enemy of police sadism.

There is little time to lose. Community organizations, for their own survival, must disarm the new, genocidal centurions.
Personal is political
I read the Special Edition on "Clara Fraser vs. Seattle City Light" from cover to cover. While I didn't know of the struggle before, I had heard of Clara Fraser. She makes her "personal" struggle political and bright. She teaches us how to fight. That's why I learned from the article. I like that. That's what the world needs.

Janet McCloud testifies to the sacrifices made by AIM warriors who won the gains now exploited by tribal bureaucrats. Remember the dead and imprisoned leaders, she implores, and support those who risk their lives against the enemy.

Crisis and opportunity
This assessment of the revolutionary political situation for labor in the '80s deals with the contemporary crisis that precipitates resistance, the composition of the contemporary working class, the double bind of the labor bureaucracy, and the new workers' vanguard. Stephan Kass completes his two-part article.

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NOW bungles ERA
Instead of fighting the 1980 ERA with NOW adapting to it, it is jeopardizing ERA passage and weakening the feminist movement. Janet Sutherland exposes NOW's myopia.

Fourth International riff
A serious split shook world Trotskyism on the eve of the Eleventh Congress of the F.I.T. A revolutionary, democratic, pro-agitation current is defying a leadership poisoned by myopia. Afghanistan/Iran ... 16

What is the role of the workers' vanguard on the eve of the International Bureaucratic-Communist movement's Fourth Congress? Pat Kangas Candidate for State Assembly Peace and Freedom Party San Francisco, California

Dutch reader
The Dutch Congress is very good and carries a lot of strong information. We have been in touch with Carl Harr of the Socialist movement in Walla Walla through him. I hope to receive an exchange of information in the future. Stay strong! Fraternally yours in the struggle, Corrie Courtois HAPOTOC/ICAT Bijnemer/Amsterdam, Holland

More names victims
American Indian Movement leader Larry Buckman and Chuckles Janis, who faced the death penalty on trumped-up charges of murdering an anti-AIM man on the outskirts of San Francisco, were granted plea deals in February in Michigan. Larry has been given a 20-year sentence and Chuckles is in prison. They chose to plead guilty to minor charges rather than face trial on the murder charge after an all-white, racist jury, even though it became clear during the pre-trial testimony that the state's case was weak and the evidence fabricated. The state's first offer would have required one defendant to testify against the other, and they totally rejected this.

Center for Constitutional Rights New York City
Well, all right
I bought your Fall 1979 issue at the October 14 National March on Washington for Lesbians and Gay Rights, and was impressed. Please keep up the good work!

Paul Tyrell, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

British hypocrisy
The British government's record in basic human rights in occupied Ireland is not impressive.

For the second time in eight years, the British government stands before the European Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg on alleged violations of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Liberties. The men "on the blankets" (Irish Republican prisoners who have refused to wear prison clothes or do prison work) have begun their fourth year of protest against the so-called "lifestyle deprivation." There is no comparison in the "civilized" world.

Rita Carlisle B-Block Information Centre Belfast, Ireland

Fight the eviction
I just read that you are being evicted from Freeway Hall. Being a Native Fencer struggling to maintain the sovereign rights of our People, I stand with you in whatever you decide to do regarding this eviction.

I see it as kind of being forced to move over so that the capitalist system can further get its com­ ments in Walla Walla through him. I hope to receive an exchange of information in the future. Stay strong! Fraternally yours in the struggle, Corrie Courtois HAPOTOC/ICAT Bijnemer/Amsterdam, Holland

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James Simmons is a Murpheshoot Indian charged with killing a prison guard at the Walla Walla penitentiary in June 1979. His attorney, Leonard Weinglass, is appealing Judge Franklin's sentence. Today's order that Simmons be shackled throughout the trial.

And thank you!
Many thanks to Clara Fraser for your very touching column on Kate Millett. Your character portrait of her was exactly how we experienced her, and we wish her nothing but the best in her work with. Such quiet determination and creative intelligence will do much to further the cause of women. In sisterhood,

Karen Valenzuela Professor and Chairwoman University of Washington

Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphs, photographs, and pertinent information on world and national affairs for publication.

Letters to the Editor:
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5. Janet Sutherland, 3002 15th Avenue S.W., Seattle, Wash. 98126.
7. Glenn Clough, 3044 42nd Avenue, Seattle, Wash. 98107.
**International roundup**

**El Salvador**

In the wake of right-wing terrorist assassinations, the mobilization of peasants and workers, and bloody street battles, civil war is fast approaching in the Central American country of El Salvador. 800 people have been killed since January by government forces or paramilitary rightwing death squads, and attacks on homes and offices of radicals, on peasant organizations, and on trade unions.

On March 24, Archbishop Oscar Romero, a popular symbol of resistance, was murdered. His assassins are believed to represent the White Warriors Union, which is closely linked to the CIA, and the white settlers in the country. But Carter isn't likely to convince U.S. voters that this country should police its neighbors.

**Chile**

as arrests of 120 women and men marked International Women's Day demonstrations in Santiago and Valparaiso. By March 8, two days later, 58 of the prisoners began a hunger strike. The marchers had been banned by the U.S.-supported military government, and the prisoners, 9% of the 89 trade unionists, are in great danger, for torture of political prisoners is routine in Chile's leftwing terrorist repression.

Six years ago, a military coup, powered by the U.S., drove all opposition underground. But a broad resistance movement has since flourished. Leftist parties work clandestinely, but some human rights groups persist in their struggle and proposed land reform and basic social reforms.

**Zimbabwe**

Eighty-three years of white rule suffered a long-overdue defeat on March 20, as Zimbabwe exploded in elation. The announcement that the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) had won 63% of the country's first Black vote, and gained 57 of the 100-seat parliament, a representation far beyond their proportional numbers.

The fewest votes, 8% and 3 seats, were announced, interim British Governor Sir Roy Welensky's mandate expired, and all constitutional guarantees were restored. The majority of Mugabe's cabinet, which included some former British generals, now holds top posts. An army is being built to raise socialist criticisms than to silence them. The hunger for democracy and basic social reforms.

**Iranian women socialists freed**

Mehri Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi, two Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (REK) members imprisoned for more than a year, were finally freed April 14. Khomeini gave the order for their release. He said he had studied their case and they were innocent.

The two women, along with 12 other REK members who were freed earlier, were charged with "counterrevolutionary instigation in Kurdistan, Turkish-irannian, and Khuzistan." But what was really on trial was their revolution-going society.

The freedom was won by an international defense campaign which pressured the Iranian government for months and achieved an important advance for the Iranian revolution and a victory in the international battle for political freedom.

**China**

Chauvinism dominates Chinese foreign policy to such an extent that the People's Republic of China collaborates openly and proudly with imperialism.

In the Kampuchean civil war, China lined up squarely with the U.S.-backed rightwing Afghan rebels. As a reward for selling out oppressed masses in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, China believed to represent the White Warriores. The fewest votes, 8% and 3 seats, were announced, interim British Governor Sir Roy Welensky's mandate expired, and all constitutional guarantees were restored. The majority of Mugabe's cabinet, which included some former British generals, now holds top posts. An army is being built to raise socialist criticisms than to silence them. The hunger for democracy and basic social reforms.

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Until the day that election results were announced, interim British Governor Lord Soames presided over a vicious intimidation campaign designed to pressure Blacks into voting for Muzorewa. Soames accused ZANU of terrorist actions which were actually the work of reactionary white provocateurs, and he threatened to remove certain ZANU leaders if they went near the ballot and bar heavily-populated regions from voting at all.

During the election campaign, two assassination attempts were aimed at ZANU leader Robert Mugabe, newly-appointed Prime Minister. Hundreds of ZANU supporters were killed or wounded in skirmishes with government troops, whose ranks included South African soldiers.

As of now, the white minority threat is diminishing. An army is being built by former generals, and the majority of Mugabe's cabinet, which includes two ZANU women leaders, is drawn from the ZANU central committee.

But Mugabe is moving very cautiously. Two whites were named to cabinet posts who were formerly backers of the racist Rhodesian Front, the party of the white settler regime. And Mugabe has explicitly pledged to maintain a capitalist economy.

There is danger, too, from the South African regime. The insinuating Black victory will have a far-reaching effect on the suppressed Blacks of South Africa.

In spite of the serious problems now facing Zimbabwe, victory has been won against the infamous legacy of white colonialism in Black Africa.

**FREEDOM SOCIALIST** SPRING 1980
The poetry and power of Janet McCloud's fiery eloquence have inspired all warriors for Native American sovereignty to reach higher levels of consciousness, organization, and unity. She does it again in this appeal.

Before the organization of the American Indian Movement in the 1960's, Indian reservations and urban Indian communities were pockets of despair.

In some areas there was no employment for any Indians; average unemployment was 80%.

The infant mortality rate was one of the highest in the world, and disease attacked, to a stunningward and severe malnutrition were epidemic.

The average life span for all Indians was 42 years.

Large extended families lived in one-room shacks and in abandoned wrecked cars. Most Native Americans depended upon their two feet for transportation.

Health care for Indians would more properly be called health brutality. Indians were often used as human guinea pigs for abominable experiments.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs had total control over all Indians, their land, rights and resources. It was open season for all exploiters. For a minimum fee the BIA had a green light to do any type of damage to Indians or to take everything that Indians owned.

No rights were respected or defended—human, treaty, civil, constitutional or an Indian's right arm.

AIM sacrifices

The struggle of the American Indian Movement to promote positive social changes for their people is well known, but not the sacrifices they made.

Some of these unsung warriors made the supreme sacrifice; they lie in unmarked, unattended graves across the land. Others, like those in the ditches trying to protect their traditional chiefs and leaders from the FBI and BIA, are quick to come to the defense of the tribal bureaucrats.
INTERVIEW WITH A REBEL

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA

Censorship, repression and murder are routinely meted out to Black writers in apartheid South Africa. The desperate struggle for freedom there is described by a member of the Union of Black Journalists.

BY SUREY DURHAM

What is the Union of Black Journalists? Members of the Union of Black Journalists came into existence in 1973 because Black journalists weren't allowed into the white unions. We forced management recognition and obtained some improvements for Black workers.

In 1976, the Soweto students rose up in revolt. Violence began with the police, but the students retaliated with their bare hands and were met with machine gun百合. Since only Blacks could get into Black areas, all the news suddenly came from a Black perspective. So the government began to adopt the attitude that the writers were inciting the children.

At this time, the UBJ published the first all-Black paper, The Bulletin. The authorities banned the second issue, so we formed a "front" organization called the Writers Association of South Africa, leaving out the words "Black" and "Journalists." Then we published a paper under a Zulu name meaning "we won't keep quiet." In 1977, the authorities banned every Black Consciousness organization in the country: the Black Peoples Convention, the Soweto Students Council, and the South African Students Movement, an organization of high school students. At this stage, the entire vanguard of the Black struggle was underground.

Right after the ban, we met secretly in a church deep in the heart of Soweto, late at night. Representatives of all the Black Consciousness groups were present—sometimes adversity pulls you together. At this meeting, we decided to form one group of all the people advocating Black Consciousness. It now operates under the name AZAPO—Azanian Peoples Organization. We call our country Azania, not South Africa—that is the whites' name for it.

How extensive is censorship? The Censorship Board reviews all publications. If a book is taken out of print, it is banned and then it's an offense to possess or distribute them.

Anything to do with socialism or Black collective responsibility are banned.

They've got a law called the Internal Security Act which permits detention even though you haven't done anything, in order to prevent you from doing what you might want to do! It defines as "communistic activity" anything that could offend anyone. If you belong to Black Consciousness, that makes you a communist. And the number of repressive laws is growing.

How do we fight back? All kinds of things are being done. One was the Bethel scandal, where farmers were killing Blacks and using them for fertilizer.

This was exposed by a Black journalist and now he's dead. It's illegal to have a demonstration, or for more than two people to meet. On the white election day, 27 of our journalists undressed our banters and marched on the Johannesburg police station where they torture people. We managed to march quite far; the station was actually in sight when they arrested us.

In the June 16 uprising in Soweto, the official death toll of Black kids was only 400. This isn't true. Many reporters were detained at the time because they knew that at every police station they were digging big holes and just shaving in them. One writer tried to get this information into print—they detained him and broke his neck. There is so much torture.

What role do women play? In South Africa is non-oriented and homophbic, more so among whites than Blacks. But Black women have played a dynamic role in the struggle.

Winfried Kwagere was the first president of the political wing of the Black Consciousness movement—the Black Peoples Convention. Jackie Jonker, the leader of the Union of Black Journalists, virtually ran that organization and held down a full-time job—now she's a widow with eight children. She was detained under the Internal Security Act as a "preventive" measure and banned from any contact with any aspect of newspapers or publishing for five years.

How do you see the Black Consciousness struggle developing? Initially, there were two trends in the Black Consciousness movement. One was a need for power, and the other one was a demand for change. We were separated completely with the workers' struggle.

The direction of the freedom movement now is toward a fight between the South African government and the workers. whites aren't just fighting for a better deal, we're going to take it, because it's ours. Before we ever saw white people as enemies, we saw a socialist existence!

Asian American women speak out

BY SUREY DURHAM

Asian American women who demand recognition for Asian women in the context of America's multi-cultural struggle for liberation.

Mitsuye Yamada, Merle Woo, and Nellie Wong, keynote speakers at a January 26 forum sponsored by San Francisco Radical Women, paid tribute to the role of women of color in the feminist movement, focusing in particular on the perspective of Asian American women.

Reflecting the strong class consciousness of all three women, Merle Woo read from her "Letter to My Mother," a chronicle of anger, hope, and determination distilling the experience of an Asian American feminist.

"[feminism] does not mean separatism, nor the separatism of non-Asians or men... it does mean fighting the whites and the men who abuse us... it means changing the economic and psychological forces that really oppress all of us."

Woo attested to the legacy of resistance and survival left by Asian Americans. "Yellow Women are strong and have the potential to be powerful and effective leaders."

But, she said, this leadership is often cut down by the sexism of Asian American men. Even though they fight racism, they accept the white male definition of masculinity.

And many white women put down minority women, Woo said; the racism of white women propelled them to build a movement tailored to their own needs, and then they condescendedly blame women of color as "backward" when they don't become involved.

Woo urged white feminists to study history and discover "how we, as Asian American women, have always been part of the struggle but never acknowledged."

Mitsuye Yamada vividly described the status of people of color in America as one of perennial guests. One of her students said that he didn't mind Jews being in the U.S. if they "behaved," and Yamada said that when she hears this kind of comment, "I know they are talking about me."

She spoke of the mistrust felt by the Jews for the blacks, and marched on the Johannesburg police station where they torture people. She called for a march quite far; the station was actually in sight when they arrested us.

In the June 16 uprising in Soweto, the official death toll of Black kids was

self-destruct. To go public with change is to begin to challenge the forces of white supremacy.

We are mirrored in the ways of clouds in the shattered glasses of our race and our sex.

How do we escape the isolation how can we blow away the blast of destruction bombarding us from every direction because we are women because we are colored because we are feared.

The audience was enthusiastic in its tribute to the three writers and to the beauty and universal relevance of their art. Many women took to the floor to urge white women to do more than just "observe" the struggle. When feminist groups are actively fighting racism, they said, women of color will join the linked struggle.
BY STEPHEN DURHAM

Farmworker militance, culminating in decades of backbreaking toil, poverty and discrimination, has scored major victories for the United Farm Workers Union in the Salinas and Imperial valleys of California.

Chicanos/Mexicanos and women, who make up the bulk of undocumented workers, have defended their union against major challenges in a fifteen-month battle that included the support of documented workers, and 17 large-scale lettuce and vegetable growers have been forced to renew their UFW contracts.

A year ago last December, growers renewed their contract to keep their UFW contracts. On Long Live the Strike was emblazoned on the walls of Mexicali. The union won and 17 large-scale lettuce and vegetable growers were forced to renew their contracts.

The twenty growers, backed by the workers, refused to renew their UFW contracts. In August, 4300 workers walked off the fields, and support to their cause spilled over into Mexico, where "Viva la Huelga!" (Long Live the Strike) was emblazoned on the walls of Mexicali. The union won and 17 large-scale lettuce and vegetable growers were forced to renew their contracts.

Elevated growers still hold out and the Farmworkers are still on strike. The boycott of nonunion iceberg lettuce (Red Cool) continues along with protests of corporate giants like Campbell Soup, Libby, and Nestle.

The heroic defense of their union by the overworked and underpaid farmworker rank and file is all the more remarkable in light of the limitations placed on them by the pacification and bourgeois politics of union president Cesar Chavez. UFW staff wages are subservient to the farm worker ranks are buy-tied by the class-collaboration politics of Chavez.

Nevertheless, the fighting, radical farmworkers have repelled big business and set a standard of solidarity for all labor.

By LOUIS HARRIS

Sick workers pay twice

ancer, emphysema, and other insidious diseases caused by the contaminated work-places strike 2 million American workers a year—and disability benefits do not pay the bill. The tab is picked up by the workers themselves, via their payments to the Social Security system, and by the taxpayers, via allocation of part of their taxes to the welfare system.

The giant industrial corporations, many of whom benefit by consuming this tidy subsidy, making money off the workers' suffering, are the producers that they themselves spawned.

But only 3% of severely disabled workers receive re-recognized benefits, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, while 66% receive nothing.

Injuries, yes, illnesses, no

The worker's compensation for which employers are governed by laws originally written to cover only-on-the-job injuries such as broken limbs or burns. Only in the past 15 years have such debilitating diseases as asbestos-caused lung ailments and some forms of cancer been recognized as job-related. And the scores of untested chemicals annually introduced into the workplace accelerate dangers to worker health.

But many illnesses may not manifest themselves until 20 years after exposure—and their job-relatedness is not as obvious as that of a broken limb—most workers are not aware that their illnesses may be job-induced. Such workers never even think of filing a claim. Those who do seek compensation are often unable to get doctors to support their claims, because few medical schools provide training in occupational health.

Hence, disabled workers are forced to resort to welfare or Social Security instead of industrial compensation benefits.

Three possible solutions exist to this dilemma, according to the Department of Labor: expand compensation laws to cover known hazardous substances, or strengthen the state compensation programs, or transfer the entire responsibility for job-caused illness to the Social Security system. But none of these reforms is imminent, and each will be bitterly fought by industry.

To the bargaining table!

Labor unions have only begun to confront management at the bargaining table with a demand for contractual guarantees for a clean environment and adequate compensation for occupational illnesses.

Though some labor leaders agree that industry is being subsidized by the taxpayers, they still lack the issue. Larry Kernen, secretary-treasurer of the Washington State Labor Council, says job-related disease "is a social problem and doesn't belong on the bargaining table."

He is wrong. Health and safety concerns have skyrocketed together with chemical technology. Last year, workers receiving from job-caused ailments lost $11 billion in gross earnings and workers are beginning to demand that their unions negotiate better health and safety agreements.

Workers are also demanding that the burden of proof be placed squarely on employers. The law, as it now stands, requires any illness assumed to be work-related proven otherwise, and is being challenged by comp. Workers cannot get doctors to support their claims, because few medical schools provide training in occupational health.

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VETERAN LONGSHOREMAN RECALLS THE SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE

By Janet Sutherland

Chicago, "the big city that works," only does so at the severe expense of its bus drivers, teachers, and firefighters.

When anti-labor Mayor Jane Byrne raised her gun on Local 2 of the Fire Fighters Union in February, it marked her third assault against public employees in recent months.

Negotiating their first written contract, the firefighters had demanded higher wages, additional personnel, and the right to strike. Bargaining broke down, and 4,000 firefighters walked out—in defiance of a restraining order.

Sweating that the strikers would never again wear "the blue shirt of the Chicago Fire Department," Byrne stationed police guards at fire stations and flatly rejected the union's offer to resume negotiations, threatened reprisals, and started a crash course for union leaders.

``Injunction and treachery...'' She turned her guns on Local 2 of the maritime unions. At first, it seemed like a good slogan was from talking to union organizers, alone anymore. Committee meetings were screened, rescreened, and targeted by witch-hunting committees.

Humble, tractable workers received cards called Blue Books that insured them from police and police and company goon snipers let loose with gunfire at Rincon Hill. On July 6, police attempted to keep union men and three workers out of the union hall and killed three workers. (Two were also killed in Seattle.)

During the funeral of the murdered men, nothing moved in the city but silent workers marching to muffled drums. Not a policeman was in sight. Indignant meetings were held in most union halls in the city, and on July 16, with the backing of the San Francisco Labor Council, a general strike was declared.

The strike continued for four days, paralyzing the city. Facilities were arranged by the strikers to feed their families and cure for their needs. But conservatives in the labor leadership felt frightened by the militancy and terrorism of the striking workers.

The General Strike had a decided impact on the waterfront employers, who resumed negotiations. The longshoremen settled on July 31, 1934.

In 1937, West Coast dockers polled out of the bureaucratic ILA and became the International Longshoremen's Union, a powerful and democratic new union with a confident rank and file and a militant leadership. At the ILWU district convention in Aberdeen, in 1937, Joe Ryan was burned in effigy.

The cause of labor is an ongoing struggle. The considerable gains we have achieved have had to be defended constantly. But the San Francisco General Strike was one great show of strength that helped win the great labor victories of the 30's.

BY CHARLES JOHNSON

1934 photos: Left, hired Pinkerton goons. Right, longshoremen docked. (CFL)

Clarence Strong, who witnessed the death of a Seattle longshoreman in the 1934 strike, credits San Francisco's general strike for the victory of the dockworkers.

The General Strike in San Francisco in 1934.

After the defeat of the maritime unions in 1919, the waterfront employers instituted a phony "Square Deal" hiring hall to bring "peace" to the docks. They set upPinkerton halls in every port on the West Coast and all union militants were blacklisted. Unionists were screened, rescreened, and targeted by witch-hunting committees.

1934: "they were screening union organizers, alone anymore. Committee meetings were screened, rescreened, and targeted by witch-hunting committees."

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1934: During the funeral of the murdered men, nothing moved in the city but silent workers marching to muffled drums. Not a policeman was in sight. Indignant meetings were held in most union halls in the city, and on July 16, with the backing of the San Francisco Labor Council, a general strike was declared.

1934: The strike continued for four days, paralyzing the city. Facilities were arranged by the strikers to feed their families and cure for their needs. But conservatives in the labor leadership felt frightened by the militancy and terrorism of the striking workers.

1934: The General Strike had a decided impact on the waterfront employers, who resumed negotiations. The longshoremen settled on July 31, 1934.

1934: In 1937, West Coast dockers polled out of the bureaucratic ILA and became the International Longshoremen's Union, a powerful and democratic new union with a confident rank and file and a militant leadership. At the ILWU district convention in Aberdeen, in 1937, Joe Ryan was burned in effigy.

1934: The cause of labor is an ongoing struggle. The considerable gains we have achieved have had to be defended constantly. But the San Francisco General Strike was one great show of strength that helped win the great labor victories of the 30's.
bitter national controversy has once again erupted over the draft. Many of the same people who demonstrated against the Vietnam war are back in the streets, chanting "Hell, no, not Vietnam, not again!"

What is new in the uproar is the emergence of the women question at center stage. While the antiwar movement and the New Left of the '60s stressed winning away the ballot for political change, feminism flourished as women spread into a social force with such enormous potential. For the radical left to understand the full, complex dimensions of the subject, Carter, meanwhile, pretends to be pro-ERA and tries to win feminist support for the draft with a demagogic appeal for equality. "Equal obligations, more privileges, for both men and women, to alter the present racial ratio and diffuse potential resistance from the Blacks."

And just as it's kept, the generals also fear a massive influx of females into the services, despite the great record of women as clerical aids, drivers, and administrators in the military. Drafted, non-volunteer women well oppose military repression of their sisters in Iran and around the world; drafted women, of all races, could prove to be an even graver internal threat than Black men. So military planners are disinclined to neutralize the effect of Black troops only to open the combat doors to rebellious, critical women.

A males-only draft is sexist

Imperialists are wrong. The draft was wrong. But the Pentagon and congressional critics and radicals have come to see that delineate exclusion from the draft on sex grounds is nothing less than rampant discrimination.

Chivalrous rightwingers and rabid antifeminists note that an imperialist war machine has always been women's work! Throughout history, women have been capable and courageous warriors, and the more, the merrier. And the Chinese, Japanese, and American revolutions, the World War II support, and so on. To exempt women because of "frigidity," "weakness" and propensity to pregnancy is flagrant perpetuation of women's second-class status, not homage to the "gentle sex.

Women-especially women of color and lesbians—need to fight on a two-edged front. They must be in the vanguard of anti-draft resistance and to capitalist war, and they must fight sexistejection from the draft.

Along with revolutionary opposition to war mobilization, women radicals, like other anti-vietnamite, must be prepared to join their class brothers and sisters in the normalivisual service—so where the male workers and minority males are and share the burdens and opportunities of service. In this way, well-trained female soldiers can truly lead in turning the war into a civil war of worker-soldiers against the capitalistic warmongers, as was done so brilliantly by the Brits in the '50s.

The primary struggle at this juncture will be to win a sexes-equal draft. But if it happens, equity demands that it comprise both sexes and all racial and sexual minorities will take their place as true equals in the draft resistance movement.

Women as a whole must have the same chance, the same choices of being induced, going to jail, fleeing the country, etc. The exact tactic will be decided by class, by men and women soldiers, by the working-class, as usual. The important point is that they join with their own blood. Rarely is there any other way.

In November and December of '80, a National Women's Action Movement gathered in San Francisco, and was followed by a similar conference in April of '81. These national conferences were followed by a series of forums, including the Detroit Women's Forum, the 'Women and Draft Resistance' national conference, and the upcoming National Women's Action Conference at the end of July. These conferences were attended by hundreds of women and men, and demonstrated the growing awareness of the issue among the working-class. But if it happens, equity demands that it comprise both sexes and all racial and sexual minorities will take their place as true equals in the draft resistance movement.

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I

In 1952, while the spectacles were succumbing to McCarthyism and outing the radical founders from Mattachine, a new gay organization was formed in Los Angeles—ONE, Inc.

ONE's self-described four fields of activity were educating, publishing, research, and social services, but publishing was quickly shut down and about gay men was its major work. ONE Magazine doubtlessly reached a large number of readers and performed a valuable function as a voice insisting on social legitimacy. But it was far more of a philosophical and scientistic forum than a political one.

The magazine promoted an image of the gay male as a respectable, highly moral, urban and successful man of the world. It ignored lesbians.

The reactionaries mobilized inseparately there are some female homosexuals, all this would split the group, the women, that is, full second-class homosexuals.

DOB, whose logic was based on the "variant," education of the public, research project, investigation of the penal code, and legal aid.

The Ladder, the magazine of DOB, was published continuously from 1956 to 1972. It carried articles, stories, poems, reviews, and letters from many contributors. Some famous or slated for fame. The Ladder was the solitary lesbian publication in the U.S. at the time. It featured an extra section. Lorraine Hansberry, the brilliant Black author of Raisin in the Sun, was an early member of ONE. In an anonymous letter to The Ladder she wrote: 

"...I believe that persecution and condemnation has at its roots not only social ignorance, but a philosophically active antifeminist dogma.

DOB brought the gay movement into the sixties, movement, and vice versa.

At a convention in 1958, san Francisco, Del Martin said:

At every one of these conventions I attend, year after year, I must defend the Daughters of Bilitis against separate and distinct women's organizations. First of all, what do you know about Lesbians? In all of your programs and your [Maze and books] Review, you speak of the male homosexual and follow this with—oh, yes, and incidentally there are some female homosexuals, too, and because they are homosexual, all this should never affect them at all. ONE Magazine has done little better. For years they have remained blithely unaware of this problem called 'Feminine Votaries.'

In 1963, the Minorities Research Group was founded in London with a similar aim to The Ladder. Two more lesbian groups, primarily social, were started in 1965. Kerver in London and the New Group, in Manchester. By the end of the '60s, three lesbian organizations had emerged on the continent: the Minerva Club in Germany, the New Ladder in Holland, and the Flamingo Brevikklub in Sweden.

From decorum to defiance

During the homophile period, particularly in America, women provided the majority leadership and their contributions proved more enduring and advantageous than those of the men.

But the character of the movement as a whole was a single of one-issue quest for integration. Social activities flourished; the gay scene of bars, cafes and popular gathering places was rich and varied. But few and often, demands were heard, nor any calls for deep-going change.

And there was no clear and conscious linkage with other civil rights movements, or with the ideological connection with feminism.

There wasn't even agreement that homosexual love was legitimate. In the mid-60s, Frank Kameny, leader of the Washington, D.C. Mattachine, starred in the movie The Best, which showed that homosexuality was not a sickness—and many gay spokespersons displayed public affection.

The early homophile leaders were cautious about going public. They were afraid to expose themselves publicly as lesbians and gay men, and to argue for their civil rights. But it would be the lesbian activist and gay activists, inspired by the Black upsurge, the wave of militant feminism, and the women's movement, which would lead the gay movement out of polite company and into the burning mixture of ideologies, conflicts, and organizations that comprised the radical New Left.

The catalyst that would transform the homophile movement into the gay movement was the conclusion that there could be no compromise with the forces that would lead to the limited right to address the issue of gay rights, was the Stonewall Rebellion.

Stonewall

One summer night in 1969, the unthinkable happened. Riots, instigated after a police raid on a gay bar in New York City, and gay activists were catalyzed into the seventies.

Gay militancy, gay pride, gay self-assertion, and the movement would soar to unparalleled heights of mass participation and internal political growth.

Part VIII will trace the gay movements in the United States and the world to seek the sources of this split between women and men and to trace to the unfortunate resumption of single-issue reformism.

NOW bungles ERA

By Janet Sutherland

The campaign by the National Organization for Women for the Equal Rights Amendment has been effectively stymied by feminists, well-financed, and highly-organized antifeminist forces. Although 35 out of the 38 states necessary to win federal ratification have endorsed the amendment, the cautious leadership of NOW is too frightened of militant mass action to rally the kind of united front, no-holds-barred fright against the political right wing that is decisive to the passage of the ERA.

Since 1977, the right wing has subsidized a broad-based, multi-issue war against ERA, linking it with horror stories about family deterioration, abortion, childcare, sex education, and homoeosexuality.

The reactionaries mobilized inscrutable people and political opportunists into a movement which has caused a great deal of NOW's energy and money. Legal suits are being waged against NOW's boycott of unratified states, and NOW's attempts to encourage the ratification deadline to June 1982.

Recission actions in already-ratified states must also be fought. But NOW has utterly failed to emanate strong, straightforward answers to all the interconnected issues raised by the antifeminists.

Copycat politics

Protective legislation: The right wing says ERA threatens this, and it does—unless a fight is waged to protect protective benefits to all workers. NOW refuses to do this.

Redbaiting: When the right wing redbaited feminists, NOW actually instituted an internal witchhunt (against Socialist Workers Party members), "Homemakers." Trying to catch up with the Mormons, NOW president Sheila Smeal appeals exclusively to housewives for support, ignoring feminism's alliance among workers, gays, people of color, and radicals.

NOW's pitch to a primarily middle-class, white audience (strongly denies that strict ERA enforcement would create revolutionary change. NOW, of course, is dead wrong and its opponents are right.)

NOW doesn't challenge its enemies—it chases after and adapts to them, even though ERA ratification is blocked only by an estimated twelve conservative, white, state senators.

NOW's major tactic of intensive legal lobbying, reports a tragic historic mistake. Against the advice of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, suffragists in the 1860s, turned away from alliances with workers and radicals, and concentrated on deals with the Establishment.

Forty years of futile campaigns were aimed at hostile male voters, legislatures, and political parties because the absence of organized mass support left suffragists without the leverage of real public pressure.

But NOW's blueprint to continue to urge votes for proposed ERA candidates and those hostile to ERA, yet earn $49 to $10 man's dollar, is a rallying cry for ERA. Hence, the most logical strategy for NOW is to continue to urge votes for the millions who want to fight.

But NOW won't be providing the dynamite that could instigate a movement. Soon NOW will become indistinguishable from the male-supremacist ruling class it so asidiously courts.

Freedom Socialist Spring 1980


Imperialism in danger

The '70s witnessed the most serious capitalist emergencies since the depression of the 1930s, and imperialism continued to be defeated at its weakest points by forces of revolution. The anti-imperialist struggles of Portugal and Spain were smashed. Victorious national liberation struggles took place in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Zimbabwe, Revolt flared in South Africa, Nambia, and Ethiopia, and the feudal regime was defeated in Ethiopia. Revolution broke out in Indochina, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Afghanistan. Salvador, and Peru hovered on the brink of revolution.

And the opening chapters of the Iranian revolution shook the world. As a result, U.S. imperialism no longer has a monopoly on anti-imperialist victories of the last decade.

And the heating-up of U.S. economic rivalry with Western Europe and Japan has accelerated the deepening crisis of U.S. capital.

Bourgeois blues

Prospects are bleak for the U.S. capitalist class.

In the early '70s, ruling class strategists such as David Rockefeller, George Ball and McGeorge Bundy devised a Machiavellian plan. To ward off and contain growing global opposition, they aimed to achieve a strategic unification of the U.S., Western Europeans and Japanese capital.

A cornerstone of their plan was to be a joint offensive against workers states, national liberation struggles, and the U.S. labor and protest movements. In order to hamper out a program to achieve these objectives, Rockefeller organized big money international capitalist and bourgeois politicians into the Tripartite Commission.

Bureaucratic buy-off of the working class was the weakest point by forces of revolution. The outcome of all this jockeying for favorable economic and political advantages has been the catastrophic economic and social changes have transformed the face of the world capitalist network.

The bosses could afford this trade-off of good wages for boss-party policies only so long as the economy permitted—and it no longer permits.

And, indeed, giant capital was willing to pay a bribe to maintain a conserver of relatively privileged workers. This insured the reproduction of the working class, and it kept cheap labor cheap and isolated.

But this tidy arrangement couldn't last forever. The bosses could afford this trade-off of good wages for boss-party policies only so long as the economy permitted—and it no longer permits.

The enormous expansion of government and private social services, which socialised many aspects of formerly private household labor, drew countless millions of women into this work and out of the home.

The feminist movement, and the AFL-CIO's '70s, with an assist from federal and local equal employment laws, millions more entered the offices, stores, banks, schools, social services, and professions, especially in the governmental sector.

Chicanos, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Asians and other people of color followed suit, entering the labor force in a wide variety of occupations. Thousands of millions of workers, and other people of color, have been drawn into these occupations. This has opened up serious fissures in the monolithic face of the labor bureaucracy.

As a result, two diverging and antagonistic variants of business unionism have emerged.

Rightwing stalwarts

The George Meany-Lane Kirkland wing of the labor bureaucracy—traditionally an imperialist—is centered in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

This grouping has no interest whatsoever in organizing the unorganized because it is desperately frightened of, and for a non-hostile working environment have a habit of exploiting and of the bureaucratic—horror of horror—and direct conflicts inherent in organizing women and people of color.

The long-suppressed demands of superexploited workers for equal pay and for a non-hostile working environment have a habit of exploiting and of forcing the bureaucracy—horror of horror—and direct conflicts inherent in organizing women and people of color.

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The enormous expansion of government and private social services, which socialised many aspects of formerly private household labor, drew countless millions of women into this work and out of the home.
n exceptionally sharp failure joined the Fourth International just as its Eleventh World Congress concluded in November 1979.

Two groupings within the International—embracing the official body of world Trotskyism (the majority tendency in Latin America) and the large Leninist Trotskyist—were confronted by a bloc of the Fourth International, which was on the verge of fusion, refused to attend. These three dissident groups represent one-half of the world Trotskyist movement.

This important rift sharpened the ongoing struggle in the International between Leninism and opportunism, and brought to the surface a new stage of the world workers' movement.

The three opposition groupings are protesting the unprincipled combination of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. The bloc between USec and the SWP’s domination of the Congress, and the large Leninist Trotskyist, walked out or boycotted the meeting—the Bolshevik Faction (the official body of world Trotskyism) walked out or boycotted the meeting—the Bolshevik Faction (the official body of world Trotskyism) walked out or boycotted the meeting—the Bolshevik Faction (the official body of world Trotskyism) walked out or boycotted the meeting—the Bolshevik Faction (the official body of world Trotskyism) walked out or boycotted the meeting—the Bolshevik Faction (the official body of world Trotskyism) walked out or boycott...
On March 8, 1908, infuriated women needletrades workers marched through New York's Lower East Side to dramatize their audacious demand for equal pay, an end to sweatshops, and the right to vote. And, after a while, it did. And in November 1909, these women, 20,000-strong, shut down New York City's garment industry. The New York Times wailed that their upsurge would lead to socialism. And, after a while, it did. To commemorate the historic achievement of these women, Clara Zetkin—the revolutionary German feminist—proposed in 1910 that the Second International declare a day in March as International Women's Day, and March 8 was selected. Zetkin confidently predicted that this new holiday would assume a paramount place in the socialist tradition. And, after a while, it did.

The female vanguard

In mid-January 1912, textile mill owners in Lawrence, Massachusetts cut wages and hours, and the women workers led their 25,000 coworkers out on strike. The strike lasted 6½ weeks, and according to IWW's Big Bill Haywood, "The women won the war."

With the help of organizer Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, strikers at nearby Lowell and New Bedford were also successful, and 200,000 New England millworkers won pay increases.

In 1917, women textile workers from the Vyborg district in Petrograd celebrated International Women's Day by striking against the czarist government. As a result, they won the vote—unsanctioned by anyone including the Bolsheviks—that sparked the Russian Revolution. Lenin recognized clearly that the success of any revolution depended on the eager participation and leadership of women. He hammered on the Bolshevist party to commit at least half its energy and resources to the working women's movement, and to rigorously cleanse itself of every remnant of male chauvinism.

Another keen appreciator of the profound influence of feminism on the worker's movement was Leon Trotsky. Extending his theories of combined and uneven development and Permanent Revolution to the woman question, Trotsky appreciated the enormous significance of the large numbers of women entering the workplace, and he viewed them as the most oppressed members of the class who would become the most important revolutionary vanguard.

"Turn to the woman worker!" he exhorted the Fourth International in the 1930s.

Women's Day; every day and everywhere

As the wheel of history rolls into the 1980s, Zetkin's keen anticipation of women's central role in history is finding its vindication.

Last year in Iran, 100,000 women workers, students and radicals rallied on March 8 to defy Khomeini's outrageous call for a return to instruction-first feudal patriarchy. Women marched for five days, and the revolution took a giant leap forward.

Last year in Nicaragua, women and children Sandinistas armed themselves en masse and ousted Anastasio Somoza, the latest acion of a dynasty of dictators which had bled Nicaragua for 42 years.

In Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, and, indeed, all of Africa, women militants are in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism. And they are creating a fusion of communal matriarchy with socialist technology.

Irish women, throughout the 1970s, were in the forefront of the bitter struggle of Northern Ireland against the British.

Eurofeminism shattered the Stalinist stronghold on the European left and mercilessly exposed the virulent anti-Semitism and political bankruptcy of the Communist Party.

And in the U.S., it is women—especially the doubly-oppressed wives of color and lesbians—who are absolutely transforming the radical left and moving it in a revolutionary direction.

As Zetkin foresaw, the few decades of socialist feminism have taken root. And in the 1980s they are blossoming into socialist revolution on a global scale.

—Patrick Haggerty

Patrick Haggerty does research on ancient matrilineal societies. He works as an investigator for a human rights agency.

**Stolen Moments**

Light nights. Stolen moments while typing memos, adding figures or even sorting mail. Though I try to hang on to the pressures at hand, to the work before me at my desk, my mind works, stealing poems from articles, newspapers, radio conversations. And it's no magic; conversations that language stores itself as sacks of rice in the kitchen of my body. After reading poems at a benefit for battered women and children a woman said she appreciated my saying that I stole moments in order to write. In reply I laughed that I only made it up, that is saying I stole things from my job, not erasers, magic tape or Ko-Rec-Type, but moments that no job can steal from you. So that what is working at a job is, exchanging, bartering my labor for moments, time secreted in red and orange capsules swallowed whole before I get caught, eating forbidden strawberries, to face the consequences before the earth eats me up.

**Boldt: another broken treaty**

After six years, the federal District Court is still stalled on implementing the original Boldt decision, which allocated 50% of Washington State salmon to Native American fishers. Unless the court acts swiftly on Phase II of the Boldt case, there will soon be no salmon left for anyone.

Indian want to retain their rights to prevent the state from allowing environmental harm to fish runs. Hydroelectric dams, industrial pollution, and unsound logging and construction practices have sorely decreased the salmon runs, and 1980 threatens to be another bad year of severe restrictions, closures, and quotas for both Native American and white fishers.

For decades the state has mismanaged fisheries, manipulating the placement and quantity of hatchery runs to the detriment of natural runs. Yet the state plans to argue before District Court Judge William H. Orrick, Jr. (in April) that hatchery salmon should be excluded from the fish allocations made to treaty Indians. Hence many natural runs already have been depleted, an unfa­vorable Phase II ruling could severely curtail tribal fishing rights.

Federal complicity in the state's campaign against Indian fishers was clearly recognized in the U.S. Supreme Court's backing track last summer on Phase I of the Boldt decision.

Despite headlines to the effect that "Indians Win Fishing Case," the court actually rewrote the century-old Medi­cine Creek Treaty in a manner fash­ioned to serve the interests of the government and the white commercial fishermen of Washington State.

The brethern of the Supreme Court decades that the right of treaty Indians to fish is not inherent but only eco­nomic; hence, tribes are guaranteed only enough fish to earn a moderate living. The 50% allocation has been transformed from a minimum catch to a ceiling, and may be lowered should a tribe dwindle or cease to rely on fishing for subsistence.

And what is even worse, the court turned over enforcement power to the very party which appealed the Boldt decision—the State of Washington, denounced by Boldt himself for a "10-year history of discrimination against Indian fishermen."

The fishing war in the Pacific North­west is far from over. Under Nat­ive Americans resist the government offensive to drive them off the rivers and deprive them of their livelihood and culture. Indians were the first and best environmentalists. Their expertise in the management and conservation of dwindling fish resources must be respected and utilized. Treaty fishers must have first, and last, say over the salmon at all stages of the fishing cycle.

—Fred Hyde

Fred Hyde is a Seattle attorney specializing in civil rights, labor, and free speech cases.
Hatched from Avery Corman's antifeminist novel, *Kramer vs. Kramer* is a well-crafted custody battle. While the film's superb acting and contagious transformation swiftly and single-handedly earns N.Y. Post's award for "good therapist,"[1] the sensitive, sympathetic portrayal of the mother, Joanna, who has abandoned (horrors!) her 5-year-old son in her compulsion to escape the oppression of marriage and "find herself," Joanna, who is "whole person"—with a $31,000-per-year job and a "good therapist." Now ready to claim custody, she requests, is wisely, as a "noble sacrifice"—as if the noble sacrifice makes for great melodrama, but is totally uncharacteristic, unwarranted, and unnecessary. In real life, non-adult divorced couples do not share custody, divided custody, and other cooperative arrangements never hinted at in *Kramer*, which instead is a result of our "macho" and Selfish Mother must suffer.

Most believable are the lawyers in the courtroom scene. When Ted's lawyer brutally exterminates Joanna, her own lawyer—with characteristic sexism—cannot muster a defense of his client. Ted's lawyer, of course, objects vociferously when Ted's credibility is attacked. Dustin Hoffman has said that "the best thing about Kramer is that it is never fraudulent." Wrong. For all its pathos, *Kramer* is a Madison Avenue fairytale.

Very few mothers leave their children and disappear to sunnier climes. The fathers leave, though they may sneak back later to kidnap the kids. Nor is Manhattan populated solely with white affluence as depicted in the movie. And Ted's heroics, when his child is hurt, are absurd and even dangerous.

But the greatest fraud is the myth of the solitary, superfather. It's hard for any single parent to manage today, and Ted faces heavy pressure from his boss. But single mothers who work and raise children have adapted by pooling their resources with others. Women's interdependence with other people, and male parents cannot manage without it either. It's the only way to juggle the cleaning, feeding, schooling, and recreation demands. Help: this is the fabric of women's interdependence with other people, and male parents must rate it "X" for social obsolescence.

*Teri Bach*

Tern Bach is an electrical lineman who successfully filed a custody case after her ex-husband kidnapped her children.

Both films embellish upon the oldest and most pernicious stereotypes: the lesbian as sexual vampire, and the gay man as a brutal denizen of a vampire, and the gay man as a brutal denizen of a sodomy-chaste underworld milieu.

Porn is big business

Windows received no pre-release publicity, but Dungeons over Cruising exploded last summer when New York's lesbian/gay activists learned that the picture would sensationalize a distorted picture of the S&M scene. They organized massive protests, disrupted the filming, prompted Greenwich Village bar owners to ban on-location filming, forced the producers to reconvene entire sets—for an $18 million price tag! After failing open season in February, the protests have proliferated. Pickets surround theaters showing either film in major cities, explaining the issue to movie-goers and urging them to boycott both movies.

Windows and Cruising are products of United Artists, a Transamericas subsidiary which doled out $2000 to the antiporn "Yes on 6" campaign powered by California bigot Senator Briggs in 1978. These multi-millionaires are the financial backers of the current rightwing offensive to scapegoat sexual minorities and other oppressed groups in the capitalist economy.

This latest trend in cinematic lies and violence must be combatted by an alliance between all victims of the sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia of the movie industry. Mutual self-interest should take precedence at this point; protesting will stop the degrading programming of the capitalist media and will raise the level of the general struggle for human dignity and emancipation.

*Sandy Nelson*

**Windows, Cruising and other garbage**

Back in 1973, the American Psychiatric Association, pressured by a newly-powerful gay rights movement, struck homosexuality from its list of mental illnesses. But in 1980, Transamericas Corporation has released two anti-gay films, Windows and Cruising, which warn the world that lesbians and gays are sick, mentally ill, homophile and/or borderline schizophrenics. And the lesbian/gay community is painted as a netherworld of sexual minorities and other oppressed groups in the capitalist economy.

**F I L M**

Kramer vs. Kramer vs. Women

Back in 1973, the American Psychiatric Association, pressured by a newly-powerful gay rights movement, struck homosexuality from its list of mental illnesses. But in 1980, Transamericas Corporation has released two anti-gay films, Windows and Cruising, which warn the world that lesbians and gays are sick, mentally ill, homophile and/or borderline schizophrenics. And the lesbian/gay community is painted as a netherworld of sexual minorities and other oppressed groups in the capitalist economy.

**F I L M**

Kramer vs. Kramer vs. Women

Burns pegs his suspect, lures him to a park, arrests him, and stabs him in a sexually-charged episode. He must be combated with an alliance between all victims of the sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia of the movie industry. Mutual self-interest should take precedence at this point; protesting will stop the degrading programming of the capitalist media and will raise the level of the general struggle for human dignity and emancipation.

**Sandy Nelson**

**A socialist on trial**

I've never been raped, sexually. But I am being raped, physically and legally, and it's time we recognized that the course of my absurdly long-running courtroom case against City Light. It isn't a criminal case. But I'm charged with being one. I'm not even the defendant. I am the plaintiff. Nevertheless, I'm the one who ends up on trial, with my virtue, past practices and motives subjected to a smear campaign —to the kind of slander and character assassination that routinely accompany a rape or murder hearing.

Fair players, the legally hip, and feminists have long been up in arms about the patent inequity of the courtroom process wherein a woman charges rape. It is she who finds herself on trial, not the man. The securer becomes the accused, the victim becomes the criminal, the person affirming the law becomes the lawbreaker.

What isn't as well known is that trying to make a discrimination case in court is tantamount to proving that Mt. St. Helens didn't erupt last month. Everybody knows it did, but legal proof is something else again. And if City Light's lawyers were assigned to defend the mountain against our attack, they would blow, their arguments would sound something like this:

1. Eructions are a management prerogative of mountains.
2. Anyone leveling such a charge obviously hates mountains and wants to level them.
3. Only a subversive incompetent would be reckless enough to call away burned sections of mountain.
4. The steam, flames, and gases are a humanitarian method of removing the surplus population of the foot of the mountain. (The last three days of Pompeii were planned, implemented and monitored by a similarly liberal civic administration.)
5. Eructions are more cost effective than combating about them.
6. Mountains are scarily non-political, but commentators on their behavior have ulterior motives.
7. The poor mountain was only trying to protect itself from the rage of an outsider agitator. The end justifies the means, doesn't it?

Ergo, there was no "eruption," only self-defense against a female, radical menace. Off with her head. To the guillotine. Right? K.K.K. hill.

But all is not lost. The hoses and their baritrones and their purgatory-witnesses are simply killing the thing they love. People like you, not I. Well, then, why are they killing it? They all say so. They adore me, I'm a living doll.

They're rearranging, overbearing, dictatorial, contemptuous, disdainful, disobedient, disloyal, thieving, manipulative, unproductive and hostile—but I'm nice. I'm everybody's mother—one woman up in management, I'mEverybody's mother—one woman up in management.

The commandants with their cookie-cutter politics may not have the power, make the rules, and win the critique, the whistleblower and the unscrupulous skeletons in their bureaucratic closets, especially if she is a she and has been known to little capitalism.

If you tell the truth to a disbelieving world, you get raped.

It's no justifies, explains, on the women's civil liberties issue. Whether you win or lose, you are ravished in the legal mill. And what kind of dollar damages does one assess for premeditated political rape in the first degree?

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sacrificing the interests of the unor- ganized and the low-paid in hope for a share of the dollar for male craft and industrial workers—that strata of worker-activists upon which the bureaucratic bourgeoisie flog.

The Mensy-Kirkland wing believes that the 43% of industrial workers represented by trade unions will give enough strategic leverage to maintain its power base both in the union movement and as-a-vis the capitalists.

This fence-straddling act prompted Michael Harrington to announce in 1974, "I don't think there is any reason for us to get excited about this...we do not have a higher percentage of the workforce organized than we have ever had in the labor movement." The ruling class agreed. But labor's majority did not.

The leftist corner

More and more people of color and women have become unionized, and some key unions have adapted.

The demands of women and mi- norities in the United Auto Workers, the International Association of Machinists, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Em- ployees, and the Amalgamated Cloth- eworkers of America result in the leadership of these unions to take on a relatively "left wing" coloration.

This left wing has proven to be more than a bubble floated up by massive corporate union- busting and the related move of North- ern capital into the anti-union South and Southwest. Labor is presently losing more than half of all de-certifica- tions of both State and Municipal Board representation elections.

Unions are losing membership from 35 to 24% of all workers. Only 17% of working women are organized.

Speculative, racist and sexist minority constituencies, the left bu- reaucrats are using their resources to organize, trying to capture the mass of discontent where they know that to wage an effective campaign, they must break through the repressive image of the union movement. Hence, they must present unionism in its classic form—as a movement for social justice.

So, they have been consciously reaching out to feminists, minorities, gay rights activists to aid in the organizing efforts, much as the leadership of the CIO did in the 1930s. (AFSCME and the UAW were prominent partici- pants in recent pro-ERA and anti-Ku Klux Klan marches). But it must be understood that the labor bureaucrats only organize women and people of color in order to contain them.

While oratorically promoting social reforms, the labor bureaucrats areWindowing of IAM actually rule the internal affairs of their unions with an iron hand. These men are captured to the capitalist sys- tem and they intend to keep the ranks of labor equalized. The IAM Executive Council, for instance, is, day by day, totally white male.

The labor bureaucrats have begun to consolidate ideologically and political- ly under the banner of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

DSOC, founded in 1972 from a split in the Socialist Party, and headed by Michael Harrington, operates almost exclusively within the Democratic party, advocating a Keynesian scheme of more equitable income distribution which it knows to be the real interests of any worker.

In 1976, DSOC was for Carter; today it supports Kennedy.

David Barry of WRP of AFSCME and Murray Finley of Amalgamated Clothing Workers have voted for the draft, withdrawal from the Olympic Games, and increased military expendi- tures.

The Social Democrats, members of the reformist Second International, cannot possibly conceive of a monolithic whole with immediate revolutionary perspective that so discredited the Third International.

And the CP persists in overt hostil­ ity to the women's movement, the. civil rights movement, the anti­ draft, withdrawal from the Olympic Games, and increased military expendi­ tures.

CP policies derive directly from for­ eign policy considerations of the imperialist Democratic party—to con­ cern itself with the common interests and the working people of the world—social consensus at home ruptured. The CP is the most exploited and most enslaved. The CP has nominally run its own candidates since the 1972 presidential elections, it actually gives strong electoral support to "progressive" candidates of the im­ perialist Democratic party— candi­ dates, that is, with a temporar­ y political skin on the Kremlin.

The CP and the labor bureau­ cracy have long been birds of a feather; they are both counter- revolutionaries.

The degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party, however, is of more recent vintage. The Socialist-First Internationalists are only remnants of proletarian interna­ tionalism and the defense of the Russian Revolution. For example, even though the CP has nominally run its own candidates since the 1972 presidential elections, it actually gives strong electoral support to "progressive" candidates of the imperialist Democratic party—to candi­ dates, that is, with a temporar­ y political skin on the Kremlin.

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But leadership is impossible if the working class is viewed as a monolithic whole with immediate common interests and goals.

The class is actually divided into privileged and non-privileged strata, and has its own labor and popular politics. Unless the needs of those on the bottom are met squarely, no one can be organized.

And those on the bottom happen to be the poorest and the most political conscience of everyone else.

A new leadership is taking place among the workers' vanguard. It is redefining the class struggle and political consciousness of everyone else.

A new leadership composed of workers in the struggle for the class of gay people who is already transforming public awareness of where the heart and the direction of the union movement lie.

It is the most exploited and most socially oppressed workers who truly represent all workers, who can truly unify the class without sacrificing the real interests of any workers.

And only white male workers who ap­ preciate can this precipitate to rise or retain lead­ ership.

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Carter provokes terrorism to muzzle Iranian students

BY ALI MOGADY

Forty-six Iranian students, including Luisa Alaminos, were recently imprisoned. They went on a hunger strike and were later freed on bail.

Mass arrests and jailings of Iranian students were part of a wave in the US against the Shah regime. An Iranian student was murdered in California, and an Iranian woman was raped in Texas.

Since Carter's latest visa restrictions, five Iranian students on a field trip to Canada from the University of Idaho are being prevented from re-entering the US. Their American teacher is staying with them in solidarity.

Iranians in the US are being fired from their jobs, subjected to physical violence, and threatened with deportation. Their financial assets are frozen. These acts of terrorism have been prompted by Carter's brutal anti-Iranian campaign. The illusion of American democracy is being betrayed by the sadism and racism of the very government which claims to uphold human rights around the world.

The White House provokes punitive measures against Iranian students to silence their criticisms.

The students have firsthand information about U.S. support of the vicious repression carried out by the Shah's regime. The U.S. government is working overtime to prevent this information from reaching the American people. Carter is thus preparing the way for a criminal and demoralizing Iranian in the US. The Shah, with the support of American officials, is using imperialist war to suppress the masses of Iranians.

In Texas, demonstrations of 600 people condemned the wave of racism against Iranians. In one school, 20% of the students signed a petition to defend Iranians against deportation and political persecution.

Arab students have come to the support of Iranians, and some Arab delegations are coming from the Middle East.

When the brother of the Shah's Prime Minister came to the U.S. as a supposed representative of the Shah, American students joined with Iranian students against him. Police violence ensued. It is necessary to win more support to the plight of Iranian students. Carter's offensive is escalating sharply, and without a widespread network of defense the punishing attacks against millions of students will grow.

The students' struggle is the only way to destroy the U.S. embargo on the hostages. The Shah's regime is collapsing, and the response of the U.S. government is to increase the terror against the people.

Carter's attempt to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people with force, with blood and suffering, will fail. The imperialists will be defeated for all time.

FREEDOM SOCIALIST SPRING 1980

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In the tragic that at the very moment when revolutionary world breakthroughs are forming the proportions of a tidal wave, the SWP and USec have overreacted and the entire International is condemned to making a terrible mistake in abandoning criticism of the SWP for the sake of a paper unity.

Re-arm the International

The so-called "SWP to re-arm itself by correcting its errors vanished when it eliminated the full play of party democracy. The SWP is no longer self-corrective.

But the enormous corrective faculty of Trotskyans is underdeveloped internationally, as signified by the current split. In the powerful reflex of the opposing Party Committee, the opposition pervading the movement has been stormsly rejected.

Political opportunism and anti-democracy have defiled the SWP. But the Fourth International has a world historical chance to root out these diseases from its system and reconstitute itself according to the living legacy of Lenin and Trotsky that they may learn from their mistakes and never made them a second time.

History demands that the Trotskyist International forge the revolutionary cadres to resolve the crisis of leadership within the world proletariat.

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

STEPHAN KASS

...Russians, etc.

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The war fever reached new virulence when Carter delivered his January 23 State of the Union.

Virtually declaring the Persian Gulf to be in U.S. interests, he said: "An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America. And such an assault will be repelled by all necessary means, including military force."

The President announced further that he would order the reinstitution of registration for the draft.

He also announced a 5% hike above the inflation rate for military spending for fiscal 1981, bringing the total bill to $180 billion.

Since then, in response to rising public outrage over the rate of inflation, Carter has proposed building up a military force of cool 30% of the American people. Carter's latest visa restrictions serve as an attack on the arrests in Texas.

Impact on Iran

The Carter crisis has contributed to the increased polarization within the developing Iranian revolution.

Since the Shah's February 1979 ouster, authority in Iran has taken the form of dual power, with the revolutionaries running the workers and the peasantry on one side, and the conservative bourgeoisie on the other.

The government was headed by Mehdi Bazargan until the November 1979 embassy seizure toppled him from power. On January 25, former Prime Minister Arash Bani-Sadr was elected president and appointed by Khomeini to lead the Revolutionary Council—an attempt to merge the two poles of power and stabilize the revolution.

Because the takeover of the U.S. embassy by the students showed the futility of diplomacy, the students called for the return of the hostages and asked the students to move to Tehran with the hostages.

The students have firsthand information about the U.S. support of the vicious repression carried out by the Shah's regime, and the U.S. government is working overtime to prevent this information from reaching the American people. Carter is thus preparing the way for a criminal and demoralizing Iranian in the US. The Shah, with the support of American officials, is using imperialist war to suppress the masses of Iranians.

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Carter's attempt to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people with force, with blood and suffering, will fail. The imperialists will be defeated for all time.
The Russians, Yanks, Persians and Afghans are coming!!

BY SAM DEADERICK

The pompos rattle of sabers has not clanged so loudly since World War II. The anticommunist manifestation unfurled on editorial pages and in legislative chambers have not been so shrill since Joe McCarthy's reckless tirades. The danger of military conscription, has not been so imminent since the Vietnam decade.

And all because U.S. imperialism's stranglehold on the Persian Gulf oilfields is critically threatened by the specter of revolution. A new cold war is heating up. Carter is riding his presidential campaign horse as an anticommunist crusader for god and oil, while he calls for the sacrifice of young American men and women to halt the revolutionary wave sweeping the Middle East. But these same youth may well unseat him. They aren't wildly enthused about a holy war in west Asia.

Afghanistan flashpoint

The war threats reached full volume when Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. The USSR had mixed motives: to install a pro-Kremlin regime and fight U.S.-backed right-wing guerrillas representing the dispossessed landlords, former usurers and military officers, Moslem clergy, and beneficiaries of the Afghan monarchy which fell in 1973.

These hated rightwing forces have received military training, arms, and supplies from the U.S.-endorsed dictatorship of General Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan. They seek to roll back a series of broad reforms instituted when the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, endorsed by mass mobilizations in Kabul, ousted the repressive regime of Mohammad Daud in April 1978. Now Mohammad Taraki, leader of the pro-Kremlin PDPA, became president, announced a "democratic national revolution," and outlined a network of reforms.

Pecuniary debts were canceled. Land reform limited ownership to 15 acres and distributed surplus land to the peasants. A genuine Afghani movement for socialism will meet with sharp resistance from the ruling Stalinists, and Soviet policy could change swiftly from defending the revolution to smothering it.

Carter's war fever

The Carter administration quickly seized upon the Soviet intervention. Embargos were placed on U.S. grain sales and high-technology transfers to the Soviet Union.

A boycott of the Moscow Summer Olympics was ramrod through, over the protests of furious athletes. The Salt II treaty has been shelved, and further talks postponed.

And in a nod to union conservatives, Carter and the labor bureaucracy gave implicit support to the refusal of East Coast dockworkers to load Soviet vessels. Crews at Kennedy International Airport have similarly refused to service Soviet aircraft.