

The bitter fight of Native American JULIE EVENING LILLY

BY MAXINE REIGEL

She's 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 crassly 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*



Maxine Reigel interviews activist Julie Evening Lilly about her child custody/extradition battle.

judicial terror."

The California police who served the kidnapping warrant on her were appalled by Julie's story and declared the warrant invalid. But after she plunged into legal defense work for Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk (Indian leaders ultimately acquitted on a false murder charge), the cops dusted off the warrant and arrested her.

Julie was freed, but action was delayed on the warrant until she and her supporters elicited a deluge of mailgrams which persuaded Governor

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 uprising for not staying nice and quiet."*

Julie has found it very difficult to break through the press blackout on her case, and she is particularly perturbed about the sexism of most Left papers. "They consider it just a 'domestic' matter, a 'personal' child custody case. But Erin's father wasn't charged with kidnapping, I was!" she exclaims. *"The woman, the Indian, becomes the criminal. So it's every woman's issue. And it's really every man's, too. What they do to me, they can do to anyone who speaks out as I do."*

Julie speaks out, eloquently, for the freedom of all who suffer under capitalism. She is compassionate about children, about women, about the life-and-death struggle of her people against the white ruling class.

And Julie has hope, and a firm faith in people. She looks forward to the day when "Mr. and Mrs. Regular White Person will understand that they, too, are expendable, and will fight back. The power structure will do whatever they want against the people until the people stop them. A united front of the people can do that." ■

Donations for Julie Evening Lilly's case should be sent to: Evening Lilly Support, Post Office Box 148, Riva, Maryland 21140, (301) 956-3356.



Lynda Ward

BY STEPHEN DURHAM

Police violence is escalating. There's a contract out on the lives of America's dissidents and dispossessed 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 boys-in-blue, the campaign calls for city officials and courts to stop tolerating the police spying, 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 6000 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 1500 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 123 people have died as a result of 340 shootings and beatings since 1975.*

Hit men on the beat

The Citizens Police Review Board campaign is the culmination of years of struggles against legal lynching in L.A.

THE BRUTALITY SQUADS

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 hirelings.

In 1979, police murdered Eulia 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 "misconduct" 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 two 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. ■

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



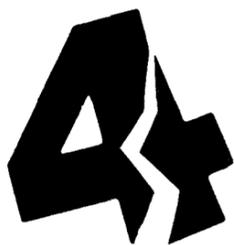
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Instead of fighting the right wing, NOW adapts to it, jeopardizing ERA passage and weakening the feminist movement. Janet Sutherland exposes NOW's myopia.

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A serious split shook world Trotskyism on the eve of the Eleventh World Congress of the F.I. A revolutionary, democratic-centralist current is defying a leadership poisoned by opportunism and bureaucratic malpractices. Murry Weiss reports.



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LETTERS

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 over the years. She makes her "personal" struggle political and bright. She teaches people how to fight. That's what I learned from the article. I like that. That's what the world needs.

The story was well written and documented. I congratulate the writers, Robert Crisman and Marc Krasnowsky.

I will introduce a resolution of support at the Peace and Freedom Party state central committee meeting, calling upon the PFP's three newsletters to publicize the case. Please send 20 papers.

Paul Kangas
Candidate for State Assembly
Peace and Freedom Party
San Francisco, California

★★★ for RSL

Your article "Feminist-quotient scoreboard" contained wrong information on the Revolutionary Socialist League. We do support the ERA and affirmative action. And our commitment to women's struggles has been demonstrated again and again; we organized the successful defense of two Black lesbians framed on felonious assault charges in Detroit in 1977; we helped organize against sexual harassment in the Chrysler Warren Stamping Plant in 1978 (two foremen were fired as a result); we disrupted a right-to-life demonstration in Chicago in October 1978; and we spurred a plant-gate rally demanding washrooms for women at Chicago's U.S. Steel plant . . .

You said we do not grasp women's central role. We see the working class as the revolutionary class. Within that, we look to *all oppressed sections* of the class to play a special leading role; this includes women, gays, Black and Third World people.

I hope this clears up any wrong impressions . . .
Paul Carson,
Detroit Branch
Revolutionary Socialist League

Canadian prison exposé

Please accept our congratulations on your fine work on prisons. Could you try to publicize our own present "cause célèbre" amongst the many others? All the best,
Claire Culhane
Prisoners Rights Group
Burnaby, B.C., Canada

Culhane has written Barred From Prison, an indictment of the Cana-

dian prison system and the atrocities committed in the name of law. Her struggle to make human voices heard beyond the walls that confine them has made her persona non grata—officially denied access to Canadian penitentiaries. Order her book from Pulp Press, Box 3868 MPO, Vancouver, B.C. V6B 3Z3.

Dutch reader

The "Prison" article is very good and carries a lot of strong information. We have been in touch with Carl Harp and know about the situation in Walla Walla through him.

I hope we can exchange information in the future. Stay strong! Fraternally yours in the struggle,
Corrie Courtens
HAPOTOC/ICAT
Bijlmermeer/Amsterdam,
Holland

More frameup victims

American Indian Movement leaders Larry Buckman and Chuckles Janis, who faced the death penalty on trumped-up charges of murdering an anti-AIM man on the outskirts of the Pine Ridge reservation, pleaded guilty in February to minor charges offered them in plea bargaining in Rushville, Nebraska. In return for the guilty pleas, Janis will receive a probationary sentence and Buckman will serve from three to ten years in prison.

They chose to plead guilty to minor charges rather than face trial on the murder charge before 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 Lesbian and Gay Rights, and was impressed. Please send a subscription.
James M. Lenahan
Ames, Iowa

The paper is fantastic. I wish it came out more often. It was good to meet people from the FSP in Washington, D.C. at the Gay March. Keep up the good work!
Paul Trollope
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 multiple breaches of nine articles of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

The men "on the blanket" (Irish Republican prisoners who have refused to wear prison clothes or do prison work) have begun their fourth year of protest of conditions of total mental and physical deprivation. There is no comparison in the "civilized" world.

Risa Carlisle
H-Block Information Centre
Belfast, Ireland

Fight the eviction

I just read that you are being evicted from Freeway Hall. Being a Native Person 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 exploit more people; the Hall and all the organizations there are expendable. I say we don't move without protest to show that we will not tolerate such actions.

I am also with you on taking the word "Indian" off Ivar's restaurant. If it were owned and run by Native People, I would see no wrong, if they so chose. But this certainly is not the case. In solidarity,

James M. Simmons, #252684
Walla Walla Prison, Washington

James Simmons is a Muckleshoot Indian charged with killing a prison guard at the Walla Walla penitentiary in June 1979. His attorney, Leonard Weinglass, is appealing Judge Yancey Reser'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 portrayal of her was exactly how we experienced her, and she was an inspiration to work with. Such quiet determination and creative intelligence will do much in furthering the cause of women. In sisterhood,
Karen Valenzuela
Women's Commission
University of Washington

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

The Klan must be blitzed

BY MADELYN ELDER

With banners flying and chants filling the air, 7000 rallied against Klan violence in Greensboro, North Carolina on February 2. Commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the famous antisegregation sit-in at the Woolworth's lunchcounter in Greensboro, the march denounced the Klan massacre of five Communist Workers Party (CWP) members last November 3 in Greensboro.

The coalition of left groups, churches, labor, and civil rights activists which organized the march faced major obstacles. The gover-

nor called in 300 National Guardsmen to intimidate the marchers, and the mayor declared a state of emergency, giving cops expanded powers to "prohibit use of weapons." A parade permit was granted only at the last minute, after the committee filed suit against the city and the National Anti-Klan Network brought national pressure to bear.

In the glare of media-induced hysteria, march organizers insisted on pacifism and expelled the CWP from the coalition executive committee for refusing to state publicly that they would not carry arms in the march. CWP participated and spoke, however. The other left groups involved cooperated with the committee. The militant and

anticapitalist rally speeches received the greatest applause from the crowd.

Such shows of strength by a strong united front are crucial to counter the rise of Klan terrorism across the country.

Tortures of Mexican job-hunters in Tucson, Arizona, cross-burnings in Georgia and New Jersey, and beatings of Black marines at Camp Pendleton, California, followed by a recent pitched battle between armed Klansmen and opponents in nearby Oceanside, testify to the resurgence of the KKK menace. ■

Madelyn Elder is a cable splicer for Bell Telephone and a shop steward for her Communications Workers of America local.



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

El Salvador

In the wake of right-wing terrorist assassinations, a mass 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 security police have intensified their 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 government security forces.

A state of siege has been imposed and all constitutional guarantees suspended.

Last October, an army junta and two social democratic parties established a new government. But opposition from workers, peasants and the Left forced the reformists out. The junta responded with severe repression which sparked a revolutionary movement.

The government has virtually no support, and rightwing elements within the army run the state. They are challenged by the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses, a bloc of all the major revolutionary parties, which is organizing for a military overthrow of the government.

The Salvadoran government would collapse were it not for U.S. personnel and hardware pouring into the country. But Carter isn't likely to convince U.S. voters that this country should police Central America. ■

Chile

Mass arrests of 120 women and men marked International Women's Day demonstrations in Santiago and Valparaiso on March 8. Two days later, 58 of the prisoners began a hunger strike.

The marches had been banned by the U.S.-supported military government, and the prisoners, many of them trade unionists, are in great danger, for torture of political prisoners is routine in Chile.

Six years ago, a military coup, powered by the U.S., drove all opposition underground. But a broad resistance movement has since flourished. Left parties work clandestinely, but some human rights groups manage to operate above ground.

Hundreds of illegal strikes have occurred since last August, and feminism is alive and vocal, despite threats of imprisonment and death—compliments of Uncle Sam. ■

Iranian women socialists freed

Mahse Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi, two Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) members imprisoned in Iran since last August, 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 HKE members who were freed earlier, were charged with "counterrevolutionary instigation in Kurdistan, Turko-man Sahra, and Khuzestan." But what was really on trial was their revolutionary **socialism**.

Their 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. ■

Gov't troops arrest and humiliate Salvadoran student militants.



Poveda/PhotoReporters

Zimbabwe

Eighty-three years of white minority rule suffered a long-overdue defeat on March 3, 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 80 parliamentary seats reserved for Blacks, brought huge crowds into the streets to chant, sing, dance, and crow in imitation of ZANU's symbol, the rooster.

The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) won 24% of the vote and 20 seats.

These two guerrilla organizations waged a long war against the white settler regime, but ZANU led the armed struggle and proposed land redistribution and basic social reforms.

The fewest votes, 8% and 3 seats, went to former Prime Minister Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who spent the most money campaigning—more than \$30 million. Propped up by the former white regime and the apartheid government of neighboring South Africa, he was the personification of betrayal.

The landslide victory dealt a crushing blow to the white minority, who still have 20 seats in the 100-member parliament, a representation far beyond their proportional numbers.

Until the day that election results were announced, interim British Gov-

ernor Lord Soames presided over a vicious intimidation campaign devised 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 candidates from the ballot and bar highly-populated regions from voting at all.

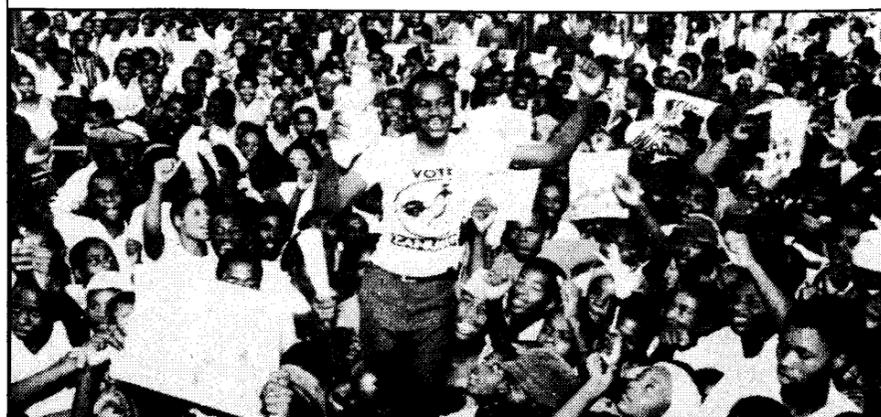
During the election campaign, two assassination attempts were aimed at ZANU leader Robert Mugabe, newly-appointed Prime Minister. Hundreds of ZANU supporters were killed or wounded in skirmishes with government troops, whose ranks included South African soldiers.

As of now, the white minority threat is diminishing. An army is being built by former ZANU guerrillas, 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 inspiring Black victory in Zimbabwe will have no small 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. ■



Reiniger/Contact

China

Russophobia dominates Chinese foreign policy to such an extent that the Peoples Republic of China collaborates openly and proudly with imperialism.

In the Kampuchean civil war, China lined up squarely with the U.S., Japan, Thailand and the Philippines against Vietnam and the USSR, and Beijing has vowed full support to Thailand, a member of NATO, if that country is "attacked" by Vietnam.

China is now pointing to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan to bolster its pseudo-theory that the USSR is the main threat to world peace, and to justify its class collaboration with the CIA-backed, rightwing Afghan rebels.

As a reward for selling out oppressed masses in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, the U.S. Congress voted overwhelmingly to give China "most favored nation" status, which is providing enormous trade advantages for Beijing.

In January, Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping told U.S. Secretary of Defense Brown that "China and the United States should do something in a down-to-earth way so as to defend world

peace against Soviet hegemonism." This means that China will funnel U.S.-manufactured light arms into Afghanistan via Pakistan and the U.S. will sell military equipment (including a communications satellite and battlefield computers) to China.

Deng has solidified his power through a purge of top leaders, and a new criminal code to crack down on the dissent that flourished after Mao's death. But Deng's faction, despite severe measures, has been unable to obliterate Democracy Wall or shut down all the underground journals.

Wei Jingsheng, publisher of the dissident journal *Explorations*, was recently handed a 15-year sentence for allegedly "passing military secrets and for counterrevolutionary agitation." But such harassments have done more to raise socialist criticisms than to silence them. The hunger for democratic reforms and for jobs for unemployed youth still rages.

The repressive domestic policy and reactionary foreign policy of the Chinese Communist Party are impelling the nation toward a political showdown. Vast pressure on the ruling bureaucracy will have to be exerted to push China toward its rightful place as a great workers state dedicated to principled internationalism. ■

OLD ACQUAINTANCE

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 1970s, Indian reservations and urban Indian communities were pockets of poverty.

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 diseases attributable to starvation 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, and 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 take everything that Indians owned.

No rights were respected or defended—not human, treaty, civil, constitutional or an Indian's right arm.

AIM sacrifices

The struggle of the American Indian Movement to create 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, untended graves across the land. Many others sit forgotten in dingy prison cells. Yet all Indians benefit from these sacrifices.

There were and are other organized resistance groups of Indian people, like the Red Power movement of young college educated Indians who created a movement philosophy, and the fishing rights activists of the Northwest who organized an effective resistance to protect the abORIGINAL rights of Indian people. But the American Indian Movement was unique, for it was **nationally organized and internationally known**.

AIM's brave and daring efforts to uplift the lives of their people, to challenge a powerfully hostile enemy, and to promote a better social order for all Indian people, inspired not only their own people but the oppressed and downtrodden of the world. **AIM became heroes for the North Vietnamese, the IRA of Ireland, the peasants of southern France, the aboriginal peoples of Australia and Africa. The entire world knew and admired AIM.**

The greatest beneficiaries of the American Indian Movement are the tribal council leaders, who are quick to seize the opportunities created by the movement, and to claim unwarranted credit for the positive social changes won for Indian people. Tribal officials often hate and renounce AIM, and the BIA and FBI can always call on the worst of these tribal leaders to slander the AIM leadership.

Today, the beneficiaries of the movement live in new homes, drive cars, live longer, have better health, are better

educated, have good-paying jobs, and much more. But AIM leaders are recipients of vicious, slanderous poison from the ungrateful and jealous-hearted. Few will acknowledge that **real change only began to take place across this land after the tremendous sacrifices of the young warriors of the American Indian people.**

Where are the tribal leaders who take the credit for all the positive changes in Indian country? Back in Washington, D.C. fighting for more program monies, smoke shops and gambling or liquor licenses.

The American Indian Movement supports the efforts of all the tribal leaders and programs that genuinely promote the health, education and welfare of Indian people. Neither AIM nor any other organized resistance movement of Indian people begrudges one benefit of their people receive; they rejoice at all improvements, for this was what they fought for. **But the warriors never grabbed the benefits for themselves**, and the few who did were never true movement people.

That is how you tell the difference between leaders and opportunists.

Bureaucrats and sorcerers

The tribal leaders and others who denounce AIM justify their base actions by pointing out the human weaknesses of individual AIM leaders or warriors, with never a glance at their own. Individuals, unfortunately, do have weaknesses. But the survival of Indian Nations and sovereignty does not rest upon the shoulders of any one man or woman, no matter how strong.

Indian people are in real need of effective social service programs. Four hundred years of abuse at the hands of European immigrants have left deep scars on Indians. It will take many years and many more dollars to improve the lifestyle of Indian people. Yet racists expect change overnight and clamor for an end to tax dollars spent to rectify the atrocities committed against Indian people.

Indian people with dedication and expertise are generally considered a threat by despotic tribal leaders. If they do not silently walk the sacred "program guidelines," they soon find themselves standing in long unemployment lines. The potentially good social service programs are constipated with bureaucratic red tape from D.C., which protects tribal leaders in all their outrageous acts against their people; the FBI and BIA are quick to come to the defense of the tribal bureaucrats.

And who protects the Indian people now that the FBI has almost destroyed the American Indian Movement? Nobody. Do tribal leaders who claim the credit for AIM's labors and sacrifices rush to protect and defend Indian people against the onslaughts they face today? If you call them for assistance or help, do they answer your calls? Do you get past their secretaries? Only rarely.

Our future as a distinct people in control of our destiny rests upon the strength of our **collective unity and common purpose**.

Indian people can disagree till doomsday about which defensive strategy is best, or whether we should even resist. If we continue to disagree on politics, policy and philosophy, and enter into destructive personality clashes, we will lose all. Our enemies

never rest. **They** are ever unified around the purpose of achieving our total destruction.

A backlash is striking with deadly force, and without much opposition, at the most defenseless segments of Indian people. Our children in public schools are ganged up upon and beaten. Thousands are political prisoners in non-Indian foster homes. Indian women are being sterilized at an unprecedented rate. Racist courts overpopulate the prisons with Indian youth, where they are psychologically and physically brutalized and beaten, with no one to protect or defend them.

The American people themselves do not call the shots in this land. Policy and politicians are set and run by an international cartel of financiers, who constantly intrigue and plot for greater profit and control over the world's resources and human labor. Even the educational systems are set up to meet their needs for a never-ending supply of cheap, easy to control industrial slaves, cannon fodder and consumers. This master cult of financial sorcerers uses people as playthings and pits us one against another. We all end up the losers.

Remember our warriors

The war against Indian people and Nations is far from over. Indian people from Akwesasne sit starving and freezing in ditches trying to protect their traditional chiefs and leaders from U.S.-puppet Indian leaders and the New York SWAT teams. The sacred Black Hills of the Sioux Nations are set to be exploited by uranium interests in 1980. Indian people from the Southwest are dying from low-level radiation poisoning. Indian children were still placed in foster homes in the International Year of the Child, and Indian clan-families are disappearing.

We need our warriors, and where are they? Dead in unmarked graves; in prisons; in hiding, pursued relentlessly by the FBI; or paroled to one county in one state, unable to travel or forbidden to talk for or about their people lest they be imprisoned again.

How many Indian people whose lives have improved remember our dead or imprisoned warriors?

Dead warriors

Tina Trudell and family
Anna Mae Aquash
Dallas Thundershield
Buddy Lamont
Pedro Bissonette
Hilda Red Bear
Richard Oakes
Raymond Yellow Thunder
Wesley Bad Heart Bull

Philip Celeay
Frank Clearwater
Clarence Cross
Maurice LeDeaux
Angelo Martinez
Joe Stuntz
Jimmy Little
Frank Condon
Byron DeSersa
George Gap
Hobart Horse
Sandra Wounded Foot, Jr.
Calvin George
Nelson Small Legs, Jr.
John Waubanasum
Arlyn Pamanet
Baby Girl Yellow Bird
Jancita Eagle Deer
Robert Rosares
Tom Bad Cob, Sr.
Jeanette Bissonette
Richard Lee Lamont
Charley Killsreem
Terry Williams
Filmore Stands
David Dobbs
Leon Gaze
Lloyd Broncheau

Political prisoners, Dec. 1979

Leonard Peltier
Rocque Duenas
Ted Means
Russell Means
Dennis Banks
Vance Yellowhand
Mary Settler

It is time Indian people, the beneficiaries of the American Indian Movement, took some time to count their blessings, to give credit where credit is due, to send a card and a few dollars for legal defense to the imprisoned warriors. An investment in them is an investment in the future.

Don't forget them. We may never see their like again. ■



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

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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.

What is the Union of Black Journalists? The first 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 bullets. 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 which, at one stage, was the entire vanguard of the Black leadership.

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, mainly clandestinely, 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 it finds them undesirable, they are banned and then it's an

offense to possess or distribute them. Anything to do with socialism or Black Consciousness is censored.

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* have in your mind 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.

All kinds of things are hushed up. 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 unfurled our banners 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 shoving in bodies. One reporter tried to get this information into print—they detained him and broke his neck. There is *so* much torture.

What role do women play?

South Africa is man-oriented and homophobic, more so among whites than Blacks. But Black women have played a dynamic role in the struggle.

Winnifred Kwagare was the first president of the political wing of the Black Consciousness movement—the Black Peoples Convention.

Jubie Mayet, treasurer of the Union of Black Journalists, virtually ran that organization and held down a full-time job—and 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 stressed a need for power but economics played no role in it. The other called for an ideological and economic base—hopefully socialist. Today, the leadership is almost totally socialist. I suppose socialists have more resilience when the crunch comes. I think the most encouraging new development is that now we do have an ideological base for struggle.

We have Black art, Black ideology, Black consciousness and are connected completely with the workers' struggles.

The direction of the freedom movement now is towards a fight between the socialists and the capitalists. And for the first time in history, this fight will also be along race lines. Blacks aren't just going to *ask* whites for a better deal, we're going to *take* it, because it's ours. Before we ever saw white people, we led a socialist existence! ■

Asian American women speak out

BY SUKEY DURHAM

Invisibility is "not a natural state for anyone," according to three Asian American feminist writers who demand recognition for Asian women in the annals 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, either by separating myself off from 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 American women, despite the tendency of the oppressed to learn self-contempt. "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, said Woo; the racism of white women impelled them to build a movement tailored to their own needs, and then they condescendingly 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



Nellie Wong, Merle Woo, and Mitsuye Yamada.

as one of perennial guests.

One of her students said that he didn't mind Iranians 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 many women of color toward white feminists who do not speak to their specialized needs.

Yamada quoted from Raicho Hiratsuka, a Japanese feminist of the '20s: "In primitive ages, woman was the sun, a real person . . . I want to believe in the hidden genius of women."

To Nellie Wong, becoming a feminist derived from "being on the bottom" as a woman of color, and she stressed the need to connect the struggle against racism with the struggle against sexism: "We're told to take only parts of ourselves to meetings, readings, forums."

Wong gave a reading of "Under Our Wings," a poem she wrote for Woo:

To remain private with change is to

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

. . . we are mirrored in the windows of clouds in the shattered glass of our race and our sex.

. . . how can we stand in isolation how can we blow away the blasts 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 the floor to urge white women to do more than token "outreach" to women of color. When feminist groups are actively fighting racism, they said, women of color will join the linked struggle. ■

F A R M W O R K E R S

BY STEPHEN DURHAM

Farmworker militance, cultivated through 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.

Chicano/Mexicanos and women, who make up the bulk of agricultural workers, have defended their union magnificently in a fifteen-month battle against the union-busting growers—and 17 large-scale lettuce and vegetable growers have been forced to renew UFW contracts.

A year ago last December, growers refused to renew these contracts. 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 the support of undocumented workers, a victory which rudely aborted the bosses' plan to use them as strike-breakers.

The thwarted growers, backed by the police, resorted to relentless harassment and intimidation. On February 10, 1979 three armed company supervisors killed Rufino Contreras as he entered a field to talk with strike-breakers. The murderers were speedily acquitted by a local judge.

Strike efforts redoubled. In April, a national boycott began against United Brands' Chiquita Bananas, parent company of the largest lettuce grower in the world—Sun Harvest, Inc. In August, the union organized a demonstration of 15,000 in Salinas. One grower capitulated the next day, then four more growers—including Sun Harvest—renewed their contracts. By December, the first contract renewal in the Imperial valley had also been won.

General wages jumped from \$3.70 to \$5.00 an hour; employer payments to the UFW medical fund doubled; union control of hiring halls was guaranteed; and piecework rates increased from \$.57 to \$.75 per 24-head box of lettuce.

Nervous about union gains, 1600 California and Arizona growers dragged the issue into court last December. Their \$300 million suit charges the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board with "conspiring" with the



UFW to win the contracts. The lawsuit is a rallying point for agribusiness, which wants the legislature to reverse the recently-won right of agricultural workers to organize.

But in spite of legal and political maneuvers, the new wage standards have swept the lettuce industry as nonunion growers try to buy off the workers before they can organize.

Eleven growers still hold out and the farmworkers are still on strike. The boycott of nonunion iceberg lettuce (Red Coach) continues along with products of corporate giants like Campbell's Soup, Libby, and Nestlé.

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 pacifism and bourgeois politics of union president Cesar Chavez. UFW staff wages are substandard, and the ranks are hogtied by the class-collaboration politics of Chavez.

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

Español

La militancia de los trabajadores del campo, cultivada durante décadas de extenuante esfuerzo, pobreza y discriminación, ha ganado recientemente significativas victorias con el Sindicato de Trabajadores del Agro (United Farm Workers Union) en los valles de Salinas e Imperial, en California.

Los Chicanos/Mexicanos y las mujeres, quienes constituyen la mayoría de los trabajadores agrícolas,

han defendido su sindicato magníficamente durante una batalla de quince meses contra los agricultores que no aceptan la libertad sindical—y así es como dieciséis de estos grandes agricultores de lechugas y otras verduras han sido forzados a renovar sus contratos con el UFW.

Desde el mes de diciembre de 1978, los agricultores rehusaron reanudar estos contratos. 4.300 trabajadores salieron de las plantaciones y se extendió el apoyo a su causa hasta México, donde el lema ¡Viva la huelga! fue escrito en las paredes de Mexicali. El sindicato ganó también el apoyo de los trabajadores sin documentos legales, quienes malograrón el plan que tenían los patronos de usarlos como rompehuelgas.

Los frustrados agricultores, respaldados por la policía, recurrieron al hostigamiento y a la intimidación implacables. El 10 de febrero del año pasado, tres supervisores armados le dispararon a Rufino Contreras cuando él entraba a una plantación para conversar con los rompehuelgas. Los asesinos fueron rápidamente absueltos por un juez local.

Una huelga popular

Los esfuerzos de la huelga se redoblaron. En abril de 1979, comenzó un boicot nacional contra Chiquita Bananas de United Brands, compañía progenitora de la más grande productora de lechugas en el mundo—la Sun Harvest, Inc. En agosto, el sindicato organizó una manifestación de 15.000 personas en Salinas. Un agricultor capituló al día siguiente, después cuatro más—including la Sun Harvest—renovando sus contratos con el UFW. En diciembre de 1979 se logró la primera reanudación del contrato en el valle

de Imperial. Las remuneraciones en general subieron de \$3.70 a \$5.00 por hora; los beneficios en dinero de los agricultores al fondo médico del UFW fueron duplicados; el control del sindicato para condicionar el empleo de un trabajador fue garantizado; y la tasa del trabajo a destajo aumentó de \$.57 a \$.75 por la caja de 24 cabezas de lechuga.

Nerviosos con las victorias sindicales, 1.600 agricultores de California y Arizona arrastraron el caso a las cortes en diciembre pasado. Su pleito de \$300 millones de dólares acusa La Mesa Estatal de Relaciones Laborales en Agro (ALRB) y el sindicato con "conspiración" en lograr los contratos. El pleito es un punto de reunión para los grandes agricultores que quieren que la legislatura revoque el derecho a organizar, recientemente ganado por los trabajadores del agro.

La lucha continúa

Pero a pesar de maniobras legales y políticas, las nuevas normas de remuneraciones se han extendido a toda la industria de la lechuga, incluso hasta aquellos agricultores, que no aceptando el sindicalismo, tratan de comprar la lealtad de sus trabajadores antes que éstos se afilien.

Once agricultores todavía no ceden y sus trabajadores están aún en huelga. El boicot a la lechuga "iceberg" (de Red Coach), cuyos recolectores no están afiliados a una organización sindical, continúa junto al de los productos de las gigantescas empresas agrícolas, las Sopas Campbells, Libby y Nestlé.

La heroica defensa del sindicato hecha por sus puros trabajadores, mal pagados y recargados de labor, es todavía más notable si la miramos a la luz de las limitaciones impuestas sobre ellos por el "pacifismo" de su presidente, César Chávez, y por su dependencia de la política burguesa. Las remuneraciones del personal del UFW están bajo lo normal y los miembros están incapacitados a causa de la política que tiene Chávez de colaboración entre clases.

No obstante, los luchadores, los radicales trabajadores del agro han rechazado a las grandes empresas y han dado un brillante ejemplo de solidaridad a todo el movimiento laboral. ■

Sick workers pay twice

BY LOIS HARRIS

Cancer, emphysema, and other insidious diseases caused by contaminated workplaces strike 2 million American workers a year—and disability benefits don't 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, moreover, boost their profits through this tidy subsidy, making money off the health hazards and lethal byproducts that they themselves spawn.

But only 3% of severely disabled workers ever receive industry-funded benefits, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, while 66% receive welfare or Social Security.

Injuries, yes; illnesses, no

The worker's compensation for which employers pay is governed by laws originally written to cover on-the-job injuries such as broken limbs or burns. Only in the past 15 years

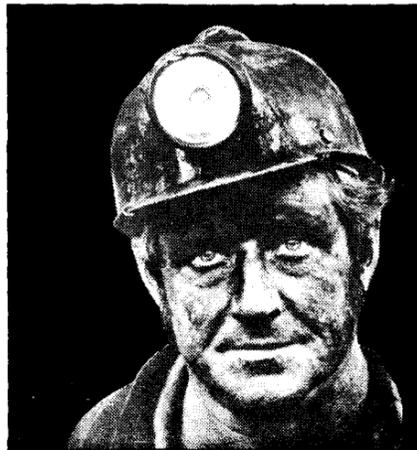
have such debilitating diseases as asbestos-caused lung ailments and some forms of cancer been recognized as job-related.

And the scores of untested chemicals annually introduced into the workplace accelerate dangers to worker health.

Because 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 just begun to confront management at the bargaining table with a demand for contractual guarantees for a clean workplace and adequate compensation for occupational illnesses.

Though some labor leaders agree that industry is being subsidized by the taxpayers, they still duck the issue. Larry Kenney, 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 suffering from job-caused ailments lost \$11 billion in gross earnings and workers are beginning to demand that their unions negotiate hazard-free job conditions.

Unionists want contracts which guarantee the right to information about all chemicals in the workplace; the right to refuse to work around any hazardous substance unless given information, training and protection; and the right to job transfer, without pay loss, because of adverse reactions to chemicals or pollution.

Workers are also demanding that the burden of proof be placed squarely on the company—that any illness be **assumed to be work-related until proven otherwise**, and be compensated by company disability payments—and the call is out for worker's compensation laws to be expanded and strengthened.

People who have to breathe poison to pay their rent and feed themselves and their families are already in the forefront of the struggle for a healthy workplace environment. Workers will not go on subsidizing what is killing them, and the unions will lose their members unless they force the industrial giants to pay for the current carnage in the workplace.

The spirit and the practice of Karen Silkwood live... and are thriving. ■

SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE

Yes, indeed, there was a General Strike in San Francisco in 1934.

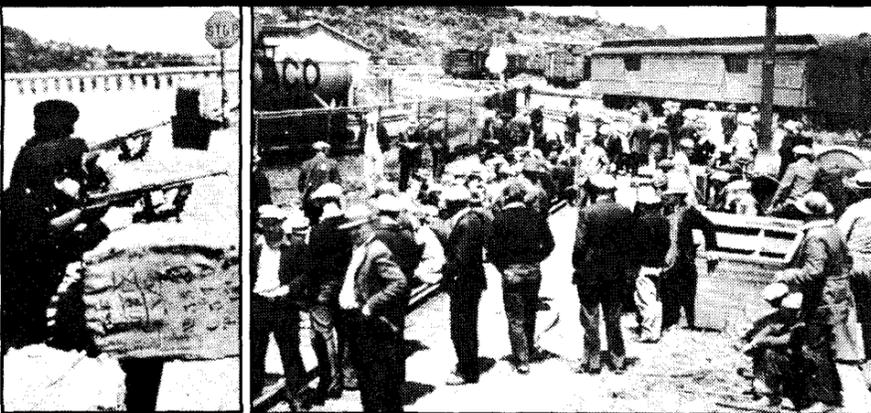
After the defeat of the maritime unions in 1919, the waterfront employers instituted a phony "Square Deal" hiring hall to bring "peace" to the docks. They set up fink halls in every port on the West Coast and all union militants were blacklisted. Unionists were screened, rescreened, and targeted by witchhunting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

Humble, tractable workers received cards called Blue Books that insured favoritism, kickbacks, and other rewards. At first, it seemed like a good deal, but they soon realized that benefits were traveling a one-way street—direct to the employer.

Safety standards were dumped in order to increase production, and grievances weren't processed. The bosses' slogan was "head down, ass up, mouth shut—or get out." And to keep men from talking to union organizers, bosses kept the worn-out gangs working endlessly. While many workers were clamoring for jobs, others were forced to work 72-hour shifts.

Conditions got so bad the men couldn't stand it. San Francisco longshoremen held a rally and burned their Blue Books. This gave heart to the blacklisted, who now felt they weren't alone anymore. Committees were

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.



1934 photos: Left, hired Pinkerton goons. Right, longshoremen picketing a loading dock.

elected to deal with the bosses, but on May 9, 1934 negotiations broke off and a strike was declared. Pickets were dispatched from the new union hall to close the port.

Coastwide, the strike soon included 25,000 longshoremen and maritime workers and their sympathizers. International Longshoremen's Association President Joe Ryan showed up from the East Coast asking strikers to settle for a measly nickel-an-hour increase

with no protection for active strikers. Due to these sellout tactics, he was resisted by the workers and the union leadership and was run out of most ports.

San Francisco employers were determined to open the port at any cost, and police and company goon snipers let loose with gunfire at Rincon Hill. On July 5, police attempted to keep union members 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. Indignation 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 care for their needs. But conservatives in the labor leadership felt frightened by the militancy and terminated the strike.

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

The cause of labor is an ongoing struggle. The considerable gains we 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 '30s. ■

Byrne burns firefighters

BY JANET SUTHERLAND

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

When antilabor Mayor Jane Byrne turned her guns on Local 2 of the Fire Fighters Union in February, it marked her third assault against public employees in recent months.

Negotiating for their first written contract, the firefighters had demanded higher wages, additional personnel, and the right to strike. Bargaining broke down, and 4000 firefighters walked out—in defiance of a restraining order.

Swearing 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 cover emergencies. She refused to resume negotiations, threatened reprisals, and started a crash course for scab firemen.

Injunction and treachery

Castigating the strikers as "law-breakers," Byrne secured a court injunction accompanied by heavy

fines on union leaders and a back-to-work order for the strikers. But when they returned on February 21, *Byrne had them locked out!*

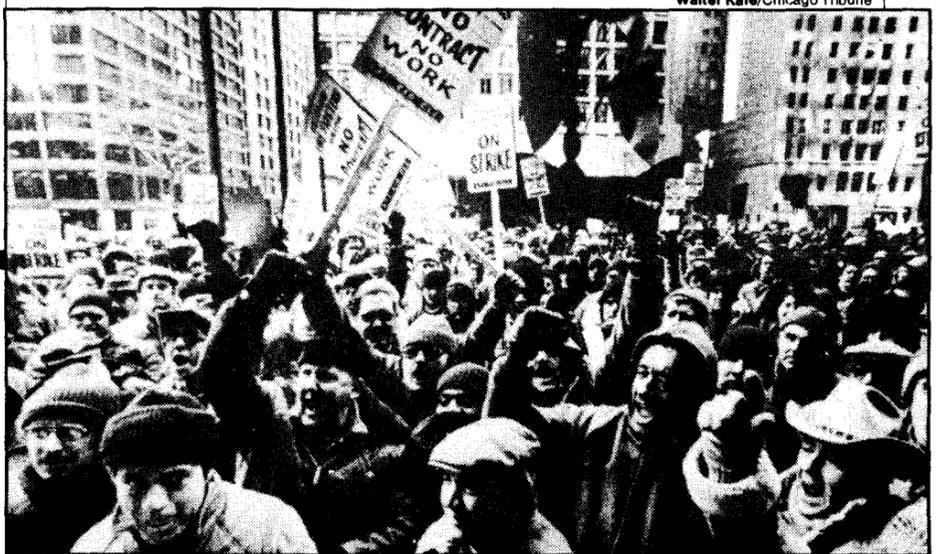
Union president Frank Muscare was jailed for contempt of court. Then, Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) president, William F. Lee, reneged on his agreement to respect Local 2's picket lines, and labor support dwindled. Labor's "friend," Senator Ted Kennedy, hustled across the picket line to attend a \$100-a-plate dinner hosted by Democrat Byrne.

Public concern forced the city back into bargaining—to the city's advantage. Reverend Jesse Jackson, the apostle of individualism, was the mediator. Betrayed and demoralized, the union dropped its demands and uneasily agreed to end the 23-day strike on March 8.

The union won only a limited amnesty. The city promised to "attempt" dismissal of contempt penalties *in return for one to four days' work without pay.* A short term pact was signed, with no assurance of a written contract.

The fire next time

Byrne's union-busting is an example of the extreme means being



Walter Kala/Chicago Tribune

employed to keep Chicago's dying economy afloat.

Still the financial and industrial center of the Midwest, Chicago's tax base is eroding badly as the population shifts to the suburbs, and industries move south. The neighborhoods are deteriorating rapidly, and one of every five city dwellers subsists on welfare.

Racism costs the school system \$90 million a year in federal funds, denied because of de facto segregation. The schools pay millions in interest to the banks, on short term notes, and lease prime property to business interests for pennies—yet they won't pay the teachers, whose recent strike was settled only at the expense of school service workers.

Byrne blames Chicago's financial woes on previous squandering of public money like "a profligate

welfare queen." She wants low taxes to attract business and she intends to trim the city budget by cutting the payroll. Her blueprint requires stringent austerity for city workers "in the public interest."

The Chicago story was duplicated in March when 70 Kansas City, Missouri firefighters were jailed for striking to reinstate 42 men fired in a December slowdown. But their militancy won them all their demands, after a six-day strike.

City workers are *part* of the public, and they will not for long play the scapegoat for capitalist mismanagement. When city employees in Chicago learn to unite in a common defense of the rights of labor, they will win the support of all the unions and vindicate the heritage of Chicago as one of the cradles of American radicalism. ■

BY CONSTANCE SCOTT

A 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, we *still* won't go!"

What is new in the uproar is the emergence of the woman question at center stage.

While the antiwar movement and the New Left of the '60s were withering away, feminism flourished, and it spread into a social force with such an enormous impact that President Carter, intent on resurrecting involuntary conscription, could not ignore the issue of drafting women.

As a result, an intense debate on the advisability of drafting women is raging on every level of the political spectrum, and it is crucial for feminists and the radical left to understand the full, complex dimensions of the subject.

The born-again draft

In his State of the Union address to Congress in January, Carter sought congressional approval for a record \$158 billion military budget. He took the occasion to warn the Soviet Union that the U.S. would intervene in the Persian Gulf if the economic and political interests of American imperialism were endangered. And to bolster this threat, he called for an end to the all-volunteer army and for a reconstitution of Selective Service to register men for the draft.

One month later, in February, Carter asked Congress for the authority to also register women.

Yeas and nays

Within hours of Carter's address, antiwar demonstrators hit the streets nationwide to protest revival of the draft. University of Oregon women carried signs proclaiming "Hell, no, we won't go . . . and neither will our boy-friends!"

The opposition to the draft was loud and clear.

But what about women's role in the military if the draft is restored?

NOW president Eleanor Smeal said that she opposed the draft for anyone, but if men were required to register, women should be, too. "We are full citizens," she said. "We should serve in every way."

Countering her was anti-ERA ring-leader Phyllis Schlafly, quick to denounce Carter's plan as "a cowardly surrender to women's lib . . . we are not going to send our daughters to do a man's job."

Most of the left is deftly sidestepping the issue.

Workers World says that drafting women is "ironic and hypocritical" without a national ERA. *Workers World* opposes the draft for men and women, ignoring the question of what to do should it be reinstated.

The Militant is antidraft in general and opposed to drafting women in particular. Candidate for vice presi-

dent Matilde Zimmerman writes that drafting women will "undercut popular support" for the ERA! "We are for equal rights for all, not equal oppression," she says.

The Guardian sees the question as secondary, fearing that the controversy is "so extreme it could potentially overshadow the more fundamental debate over registration and the draft."

Carter, meanwhile, pretends to be pro-ERA and tries to win feminist support for the draft with a demagogic appeal for equity. "Equal obligations,"

more pliable, privileged and patriotic white men to alter the present racial ratio and diffuse potential resistance from the Blacks.

And quiet as it's kept, the generals also fear a massive influx of females into the services, despite the great record of women as clerical aides, drivers, and administrators in the military. Drafted, non-volunteer women may 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

WOMEN AND THE DRAFT

says this great emancipator of women, "deserve equal rights."

But behind Carter's smooth phrases lie his usual doublethink.

Women as non-combatants

Scrambling to please his conservative supporters, Carter has vowed that female draftees will be excluded from combat duties.

But many of the 150,000 women already in the service have long complained that combat restrictions prevent them from entering 75% of the positions in the service, leaving them with little opportunity for training or promotion. Once again, women are relegated to low-status, dead-end jobs: 80% of the women are pushed into the four lowest pay grades.

Even when a woman in a combat area is doing the identical work as a combat-classified man, she is called non-combatant and paid less because of the restriction.

So Carter's proposal is simply a way for the Defense Department to double its supply of *cheap* involuntary labor.

Up in arms over volunteers

Women already comprise 8% of the total volunteer armed forces—a higher percentage than in any other country. And this doesn't seem to bother the brass.

But the Pentagon and congressional hawks shudder at the fact that **Blacks now comprise 34% of all new recruits** to the 5 million-strong army—and will soon represent **65% of the noncommissioned officers**.

The militarists rightfully fear that an army composed of so many Black troops and officers may well refuse to squash revolutions in Third World countries or smash insurrection at home.

Behind the move for a new draft, then, is military and government anxiety to beef up the armed forces with

security 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

Imperialist wars are wrong. The draft is wrong. But many feminists and radicals have come to see that **deliberate exclusion from the draft on sexist grounds is nothing less than rampant discrimination**.

Chivalrous rightwingers and rabid antifeminists notwithstanding, fighting has always been women's work!

Throughout history, women have been capable and courageous warriors in the struggle for self-defense and freedom, as witness their role in the Arab revolution, Nicaragua, Iran, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, the Russian, French and American revolutions, the World War II underground, and so on.

To exempt women because of "fragility," "weakness" and propensity to pregnancy is flagrant perpetuation of women's second-class status, not homage to the "gentle sex."

Similarly, witchhunts against lesbians and gays in the military—designed to sustain the myth that homosexuals are morally and mentally incapable of military service—are examples of illegal discrimination that must be challenged.

Feminists, lesbians and gays, workers, radicals and all who oppose the draft and the imperialist war machine must nevertheless be prepared to fight exclusionary policies in the armed forces based on male chauvinism and homophobia.

The last antiwar movement was rife with sexism and heterosexism largely because of women's freedom from the draft, just as the labor movement was rent with prejudice to the degree that women, minorities, and gays were absent from it.

Women and draft resistance

The new draft opposition is building even before mandatory registration has been invoked. And women are already moving to the fore of this antiwar movement of the '80s.

Women—especially women of color and lesbians—need to fight on a two-edged front. They must be in the vanguard of political resistance to the draft and to capitalist war, and they must fight sexist rejection from the draft, should it be realized.

Along with revolutionary opposition to war mobilization, women radicals, like male radicals in previous wars, must be prepared to join their class brothers and sisters in the armed services—to go where the male workers and minority males are and share the burdens and pressures together.

In this way, well-trained female *soldiers* can truly lead in turning the imperialist war into a civil war of worker-soldiers against the capitalist warmongers, as was done so brilliantly in Portugal.

The primary struggle at this juncture is against reinstatement of the draft. But if it happens, equity demands that it comprise both sexes and all sexual orientations. Then women and sexual minorities will take their place as true equals in the draft resistance movement, inside or outside the military.

Women as a whole must have the same options as men, the same choices of being inducted, going to jail, fleeing the country, etc. The exact tactic will be determined by the actual strength of the war resistance movement at any given point, but women are obligated to face equal alternatives.

Nor should women horsetrade the ERA for the draft. To proclaim "No draft for women unless ERA is passed," begs the question with a legal technicality. Black slaves escaped to join Union armies long before the Emancipation Proclamation precisely because they realized they had to win freedom with their own blood. Rarely is there any other way.

In World War II, Black troops won an end to segregated units and entrenched military racism, and came home to lead the civil rights struggle here. As did Japanese Americans, who joined the army to escape internment and fight racism in the military as well as at home.

The woman who becomes a coal-miner or a busdriver has decided that **equal exploitation** is superior to her previous "privilege" as unpaid domestic or underpaid clerical-service labor. This woman does not evince her hostility to wage exploitation by staying clear of the working class—she joins it, becomes part of it and of its struggle.

And so with the military question: women oppose the war machine not only by condemning it from the relative safety of far-off perches, but by resisting it from the inside, shoulder-to-shoulder and rifle-to-rifle with their oppressed sisters and brothers—or from the outside as draft resisters. ■

Constance Scott, National Organizer for Radical Women, lives in San Francisco.

Akwesasne Mohawks under siege



On November 15, six members of the Akwesasne Mohawk Nation, facing spurious indictments for conspiracy, assault, and burglary, asked New York judge Jan Plumador to dismiss the charges. The Indians insist that the state of New York has no jurisdiction in Akwesasne territory.

But far more than jurisdiction is at stake. New York State is negotiating

with the illegally-established St. Regis Tribal Council to acquire millions of acres of land held by native peoples. Traditional Mohawk chiefs oppose this council and the abusive tactics of its police force.

The battle began in May, 1979 when Mohawk Chief Loran Thompson, protesting the destruction of 72 maple trees on his land, confiscated the Young Adult Conservation Corps' chain saws.

Thompson was accused of grand

larceny and arrested in front of his sons. Tribal police also brutalized a 72-year-old woman who objected.

Outraged at this barbarity, 200 Mohawks occupied the tribal council-controlled Community Hall on May 29, demanded the resignation of the tribal police and disarmed those who refused. Indictments, some secret, were quickly handed down by a Franklin County grand jury guided by District Attorney Joe Ryan, who labeled the Mohawks "animals."

Awaiting arrests, the Mohawk community endured a summer of terror which culminated August 28 in an early morning raid and arrests by state police and a riot squad.

Defense Attorney William Kunstler, arguing for dismissal, denounced the state's racist double standard of justice. But in late winter, 1980, the motion was denied and now the Mohawks face yet another fight in the crucial battle for Native American sovereignty. ■

Gay Resistance:



the hidden history

BY SAM DEADERICK

In 1952, while the respectables were succumbing to McCarthyism and ousting 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 education, publishing, research, and social services, but publishing a magazine largely by 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 literary and pseudoscientific forum than a political one.

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

Women were welcomed into ONE—at least officially. But lesbian concerns were rarely addressed, treated as a footnote to the more important men's issues. A few women joined, some of the women from the *Vice Versa* circle became active, and one woman was the editor of the magazine for three years. But ONE was always a predominantly gay male organization.

Daughters of Bilitis

The first American lesbian organization was formed in 1955 in San Francisco by Del Martin, Phyllis Lyon, and six other women. The originator of the idea was a woman from the Philippines. By 1958, there were chapters in New York City and Los Angeles.

For the first time in American history, an independent women's organization was specifically addressing lesbian issues.

DOB had five basic goals: education of the "variant," education of the public, research projects, investigation of the penal code, and legal change.

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 and its influence was enormous.

Lorraine Hansberry, the brilliant Black author of *Raisin in the Sun*, was an early member of New York DOB. In an anonymous letter to *The Ladder* she wrote, "... homosexual persecution and condemnation has at its roots not only social ignorance, but a philosophically active antifeminist dogma..."

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

Addressing a 1959 *Mattachine* convention, Del Martin said:

At every one of these conventions I attend, year after year, I must defend the Daughters of Bilitis as a separate and distinct women's organization. First of all, what do you know about Lesbians? In all of your programs and your [Mattachine] 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 apply to them as well. ONE [Magazine] has done little better. For years they have relegated the Lesbian interest to the column called 'Feminine Viewpoint.'... neither organization has recognized the

fact that Lesbians are women and that this twentieth century is the era of emancipation of women. Lesbians are not satisfied to be auxiliary members or second-class homosexuals.

But DOB, like the men's organizations, was confined to educating people and trying to change institutions without fundamentally questioning them. Gene Damon, an editor of *The Ladder*, wrote: "Initially *The Ladder's* goal was limited to achieving the rights accorded heterosexual women, that is, full second-class citizenship."

The advent of the women's movement would later strain this reformist direction to the breaking point.

The European scene

During the 1950s and '60s, an active homophile movement in Europe worked for legal reform, published newspapers and magazines, and organized social events. Similar in political viewpoint and tactical approach to the U.S. groups, the Europeans stressed moderation and caution.

The International Committee for Sexual Equality (ICSE) was founded in Holland in 1951; by 1956, its membership included organizations and publications from 30 different countries. ONE, Inc. and *Mattachine Society* were represented.

Many women were active in the European homophile movement, but just as in America, men dominated the organizations and the publications reflected their needs almost exclusively.

In 1963, the Minorities Research Group was founded in London with a program similar to DOB's. Two more lesbian groups, primarily social, were started in 1965: Kenric, 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 Geneva, Switzerland and Diana and the Flamingo Brevklubb in Sweden.

From decorum to defiance

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

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

And there was no clear and conscious linkage with other civil rights movements, other than 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*, startled the movement with the assertion that homosexuality was *not* a sickness—and many gay spokespersons *disputed* him.

The early homophile leaders were courageous pioneers, the first to organize publicly as lesbians and gay men, and to argue for their civil rights. But it would be the next generation of gay activists, inspired by the Black upsurge, the wave of militant feminism, and the antiwar protest, which would lead the gay movement out of polite company and into the churning mixture of ideologies, issues, and organizations that comprised the radical New Left.

The catalyst that would transform the homophile movement into the gay liberation movement, and would force the left to address the issue of gay rights, was the Stonewall Rebellion.

Stonewall

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

Gay militance, gay pride, and gay rage were born, and the gay movement would soar to unparalleled heights of mass participation and internal political growth. ■

Part VIII will trace the gay movement from Stonewall through the split between women and men and thence to the unfortunate resurrection of single-issue reformism.

NOW bungles ERA

BY JANET SUTHERLAND

The campaign by the National Organization for Women for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment has been effectively stymied by fanatic, 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 fight 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 homosexuality.

The reactionaries mobilized inse-

cure people and political opportunists into a movement which has caused a great drain on NOW's energy and money. Legal suits are being waged against NOW's boycott of unratified states, and against Congress' extension of the ratification deadline to June 1982. Rescission actions in already-ratified states must also be fought.

But NOW has utterly failed to enunciate strong, straightforward answers to all the interconnected issues raised by the antifeminists.

Copycat politics

Protective legislation: The rightwing says ERA threatens this, and it does—unless a fight is waged to *extend* 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

Ellie Smeal appeals exclusively to housewives for support, ignoring feminism's allies 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 legislative lobbying repeats a tragic historic mistake. Against the advice of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, suffragists in the 1880s 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 be-

cause the absence of organized mass support left suffragists without the leverage of real public pressure.

But NOW blithely continues to urge votes for supposed pro-ERA candidates who usually defect. And NOW endorses Kennedy, whose legacy is one female corpse at Chappaquiddick and a wife driven to alcoholism.

Break the logjam!

The multitudinous forms of discrimination against women have created a vast popular indignation against the sexual double standard. And the key fact that women comprise nearly 50% of the workforce, yet earn 59¢ to the man's dollar, is a rallying cry for ERA. Hence, the most logical strategy for winning ERA is to mobilize the millions who *want to fight*.

But NOW won't be providing the dynamics for such a movement, for soon NOW will become indistinguishable from the male-supremacist ruling class it so assiduously courts. ■

ECONOMIC CRISIS



A N D



POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY

BY STEPHAN KASS

"Economic Crisis and Political Opportunity" concludes Kass' two-part article on the American economy and the state of the workers' movement. The first section, "The American Economy—Profile of a Crisis," appeared in the *Freedom Socialist*, Vol. 5, No. 4, Winter, 1979.

The catastrophic economic trials and tribulations afflicting the entire world already rule the newborn decade of the 1980s.

Inflation soars relentlessly, and the standard of living of the working and middle classes drops precipitously month after month.

But a crisis always has two faces. Danger is one of them; the *opportunity for radical change* is the other. And the disaster-course of world imperialism actually presents U.S. workers with the greatest political challenges and options they have had since World War II.

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 fascist dictatorships of Portugal and Spain were smashed.

Victorious national liberation struggles took place in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Zimbabwe.

Revolt flared in South Africa, Namibia, and Eritrea, and the feudal regime was defeated in Ethiopia.

Revolution broke out in Indochina, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Afghanistan.

El Salvador and Peru hovered on the brink of revolution.

And the opening chapters of the Iranian revolution shook the world.

As a result, the U.S. could not maintain *political and economic equilibrium at home, even though it dominated the world market!* Internal stability was permanently disrupted by the 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, rulingclass strategists such as David Rockefeller, George Ball and McGeorge Bundy devised a Machiavellian plan. To ward off and control impending global upheaval, they aimed to achieve a strategic unification of U.S., Western European 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 hammer out a program to achieve these objectives, Rockefeller organized kingpin international capitalists and bourgeois politicians into the *Trilateral Commission*.

But this fragile alliance ran into trouble: the world economic recession which began in 1974; the oil, gold and dollar crises; and the political defeats of imperialism on four continents.

Fierce nationalist antagonisms erupted within the Commission. Western Europe and Japan refused to absorb U.S. inflation and to reverse the unfavorable U.S. balance of trade by reducing their bank interest rates and absorbing more U.S. imports.

Japan and Western Europe even went so far as to destroy the monopoly of the dollar in world trade.

Under heavy pressure from domestic capital, the U.S. responded by raising protectionist import barriers against Western European and Japanese steel, autos, and textiles. And the U.S. tried to use its near-monopoly of Middle Eastern oil to bleed its allies and reverse its competitive disadvantage on the world market.

As a result, Western Europe and Japan refused to go along with U.S. demands for boycotts, bank freezes and other economic-warfare maneuvers against Iran and the Soviet Union. Capitalist Europe and Japan are primarily concerned with protecting their own oil trade with Iran and their lucrative trade with the Soviets.

The outcome of all this jockeying for national economic advantage has been an *overall weakening of the world capitalist network*. And this debilitation confers a striking political advantage upon the workers of the world, who include the American proletariat.

The changing face of labor

Just who is the U.S. working class?

Since the 1930s, irreversible economic and social changes have transformed the face of this class to the point that *women and people of color are now an absolute majority of the workforce*.

The massive influx of women into the labor force was determined by both objective conditions and by the rising consciousness of women.

The concentration and centralization of capital into agribusiness in the '30s and '40s virtually liquidated the patriarchal family farm, and farm women took jobs in the cities, especially during World War II.

Furthermore, modern industrial food preparation and storage techniques, the electrification of the country, and expansion of the electrical

appliance industry made much household labor unnecessary and freed city women for paid jobs.

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

The feminist movement, and the Pill, spurred millions of women, especially the educated and trained, to find gainful employment.

And the decline in real wages during the 1970s propelled even more women into paid jobs in an effort to preserve tottering living standards.

Blacks entered industry and the trades in massive numbers in the '40s and '50s, in the course of a giant emigration from the South to the North and West. And during the '60s and '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.

Millions of peasants and workers, meanwhile, departed from Latin, Central American and Caribbean lands that were impoverished by U.S. colonialism, and joined the workforce.

These women and minority workers, the most persecuted in every sphere of life, generally had access to only the lowest-paying and least organized jobs, and they came to dominate the vast pool of cheap labor so necessary for the survival of capitalism.

But they also came to rebel against the bosses just as they had rebelled against the patriarchal and racist culture outside the workplace. *And this vast layer of the class is today the most dynamic motor force for revolutionary change that the capitalist epoch has yet produced.*

No wonder. To extract profit, capital imposes the kind of working conditions that make rebellion inevitable, and this is the fatal flaw of the capitalist system.

But how does this objectively revolutionary potential of the new proletariat become realized? How do women, Blacks, and Third World workers become a conscious material force for social change? And is the present leadership of the labor movement willing or able to seize the time, organize and unite the class, and move into radical political action?

Or must a new leadership emerge, dedicated to revolutionary socialist feminism, whose face reflects the face of the ranks?

Bureaucratic buy-off

American labor is led by a trade

union bureaucracy that is dedicated solely to *controlling* the workers for the economic benefit of imperialism—and of itself.

Consolidated during the period of Yankee world hegemony from 1942-1967, legitimized by its ugly communist purge during the McCarthy period, and codified by the merger of the AFL with the CIO in 1955, the reigning labor bureaucracy exercises a stranglehold on the working class.

Labor officials like to pose as a responsible and effective grouping that cleverly cooperates with the bosses and the Democratic party to win good wages and benefits for skilled labor and workers in heavy industry.

And, indeed, giant capital was willing to pay a bribe to maintain a conservative layer of relatively privileged workers. This insured the stratification 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 politics only so long as the economy permitted—and it no longer permits.

The end of the post-World War II boom, combined with the anti-imperialist victories of the '70s, has severely undermined the capacity of the capitalists to grant concessions to the privileged workers.

And to add to the woes of the labor fakers, the civil rights and anti-imperialist consciousness of millions of minority and female workers *cannot be contained within the strict confines of traditional business unionism*.

The tremendous strain of this contradiction 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 pro-imperialist—is centered in the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

This grouping has no interest whatever in organizing the unorganized because it is desperately frightened of, and opposed to, the political repercussions 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 exploding and of forcing the bureaucracy—horror of horrors—into open and direct conflict with the employers, and with the labor aristocracy in the unions.

So the labor officials seek to reduce points of conflict with management by

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Critical split in the Fourth International

An exceptionally sharp fissure jolted the Fourth International just as its Eleventh World Congress convened in Brussels in November 1979.

Two groupings within the International (the official body of world Trotskyism) walked out or boycotted the meeting—the Bolshevik Faction (the majority tendency in Latin America) and the large Leninist Trotskyist Tendency (of France). The Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction 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 struggle.

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 tightened the SWP's domination of the Congress, which was confronted with a fait accompli by the SWP in the form of its appalling actions in Nicaragua.

The SWP's open betrayal of Trotskyists in Latin America, now a world scandal, signified nothing less than the liquidation of the principles and tradition of Trotskyism.

A Parity Committee representing the three tendencies, formed in October 1979 and called for an open conference of world Trotskyists, with pre-conference discussion to be conducted in French, Spanish, and English.

This clears the way for candid and irreconcilable struggle against the liquidator-bureaucrats of USec and the SWP who have made a mockery of Trotskyism and democratic centralism.

SWP school for scandal

Immediately after the split, the SWP and USec opened a strident press campaign, charging the opposition with indiscipline and irresponsibility in Nicaragua, opposition to the Nicaraguan revolution, "criminal" adventurism, splitting/destroying the Fourth International, etc.

Barry Shepard of the SWP, in a chilling echo of the half-century-long Stalinist slander campaign against "counter-revolutionary" Trotskyists, went so far as to say:

Those who split from the Fourth International did so in order to free their hands to pursue a criminal course of giving aid and comfort to the international campaign of imperialism and capitalism against the Nicaraguan revolution.

*Intercontinental Press/Impre-
cor*, Vol. 17, No. 47, 12/24/79.

The split was consummated in the heat of the Nicaraguan revolution, as once again the living struggle became the final test of a party and a program. Vast social forces tested the SWP and the Bolshevik Faction in Nicaragua—and revealed the depth and seriousness of the differences.

Treachery in Nicaragua

After Somoza was toppled by a mass armed uprising led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), a government was formed that included the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie. A *dual power* emerged, with authority divided between the FSLN, representing the working class, and bourgeois rep-

resentatives of capital.

Before Somoza's fall, the Socialist Workers Party of Colombia (PST), part of the Bolshevik Faction, organized the Simón Bolívar Brigade. Some Brigade members went to Nicaragua and joined the struggle; some were killed. Soon after the July 1979 victory, march of the FSLN into Managua, the entire 250-member Brigade entered Nicaragua, and on August 15, led a demonstration of 3000 workers opposed to the efforts of the capitalists to control the revolution. The demonstrators demanded "Power to the Proletariat!"

Shortly afterward, 40 non-Nicaraguan Brigade members were expelled from Nicaragua by the Government of National Reconstruction and deported to Panama, where they were arrested and beaten by Torrijos' police and then returned to Colombia.

The FSLN accused the Brigade of organizing 70 unions and fighting for land seizure by peasants, in opposition to government policy. The Brigade was also charged with labeling some government officials as bourgeois, and calling FSLN leaders reactionary.

In an article in *El Socialista*, the paper of the Colombian PST, the Brigade defended its actions, but denied calling FSLN leaders reactionary:

Nor do deepgoing differences with the policy pursued by the FSLN leaders today prevent us . . . from hailing them as the heroes of democratic revolution . . . What we sincerely desire . . . is that they also be leaders of the second socialist revolution of the Americas . . .

But the U.S. SWP has totally failed to recognize the dual power situation in Nicaragua and acts as if the *workers* revolution is completed. The SWP calls the government a "workers and peasants government" when it is actually a workers and *capitalists* government.

Playing a scandalous role as volunteer consultant to the security police, the SWP denounced and fingered its own comrades by lending unqualified public support to the persecution of the "ultraleft, unauthorized" Colombian Trotskyists.

And more: SWP leaders *supported* the government call for all left contingents to *turn in their arms*.

In November 1979, Carlos Petroni, an Argentinian Trotskyist, wrote to the SWP:

[I] charge the delegation of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International in Nicaragua—which included some comrades from your political organization (Peter Camejo, Fred Murphy, etc.) . . . with complicity in the repression . . . against Trotskyists . . . [and] in the persecution and imprisonment . . . of worker and peasant leaders . . .

Petroni asked that the conduct of the Fourth International delegation be judged by a workers' tribunal comprised of worker and racial minority leaders and representatives of every Trotskyist tendency.

Theoretical blundering

The International is in great danger of shattering as a result of the outcry following the Nicaraguan events. And the danger does not stem from the alleged crimes and "sectarianism" of the three tendencies that split, but from the reformist deviations and bureaucracy of the SWP—the greatest threats to world Trotskyism.

The SWP's role in Nicaragua as the "good" Trotskyists betraying the "bad" ones is only the culmination of its long-time orientation toward power blocs and unprincipled alliances. The party is plunging headlong into an open break with Trotskyism.

During the Portuguese revolution and the Angolan war for national liberation, the SWP, by taking a neutral, third camp position, in effect aligned itself with the social democrats.

Then, in its analysis of Iran, Nicaragua, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan, it moved even further to the right and paid obsequious homage to any strata holding or approaching power.

SWP's attitude toward Cuba clearly reveals the loss of its revolutionary bearings. It lines up uncritically with the policies of the no-longer revolutionary Castroite bureaucracy.

The SWP at home is equally reformist-oriented. In all the mass movements, the SWP inclines toward the petty-bourgeois leadership and works to keep the issues as narrow as possible in order to build the quickest following.

The SWP has plunged recklessly, for two decades, into one theoretical blun-

der after another. And on the organizational plane, its bureaucratic deformities have strangled its once-vibrant democratic centralism.

Since 1965, factions are forbidden outright. Adherents of the International Tendency, aligned with Ernest Mandel of the Fourth International, were unceremoniously expelled for disagreeing with the majority.

Archie Bunkers of the Left

The SWP blocked the formation of women's caucuses within the Fourth International, pontificating that caucuses were unnecessary because sex equality within the movement had already been achieved!

After betraying the feminists, the SWP then took on gays, and steam-rolled a witchhunt that hounded gays out of the International.

Incurably sexist and homophobic, the SWP has helped to poison the International on all major issues. ***The Parity Committee must explore the causal relationship of sexism with the "labor turn."***

Paper unity

For eight years, the International Majority Tendency of the Fourth International, led by Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank, and Livio Maitan, waged a profound struggle against the SWP's opportunist drift to reformism.

The differences were *political*—programmatic disagreements on the character of the contending social forces in Portugal, Angola, Latin America and Kampuchea, among others.

And these disputes led to sharp organizational-power conflicts.

Strong political differences still exist on Afghanistan and Nicaragua. Nevertheless, all the vital political and organizational differences are being swept under the ignoble carpet of unity at all costs, a unity gimmick around "proletarianization."

The International Majority hoped that an unprincipled truce around the SWP's "proletarian turn" would provide a magical cure for SWP opportunism. Preposterous! The trade union movement—particularly in the U.S. where the labor bureaucracy is so extensive—is a *prime arena for opportunist politics!*

In fact, the SWP has historically shown a consistent tendency to support the labor bureaucrats and oppose the left wing of labor.

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SWP turns to the labor bureaucracy

The capitulation of the SWP to the union bureaucracy during the last decade was cemented in the "proletarian turn" articulated in 1979 by the Eleventh World Congress.

The SWP contends that "heavy industry" is the basic sector of the economy, that layoffs and wage cuts in this sector produce the profoundest discontent, and that the white male workers who now predominate in this sector are accordingly the vanguard of the working class.

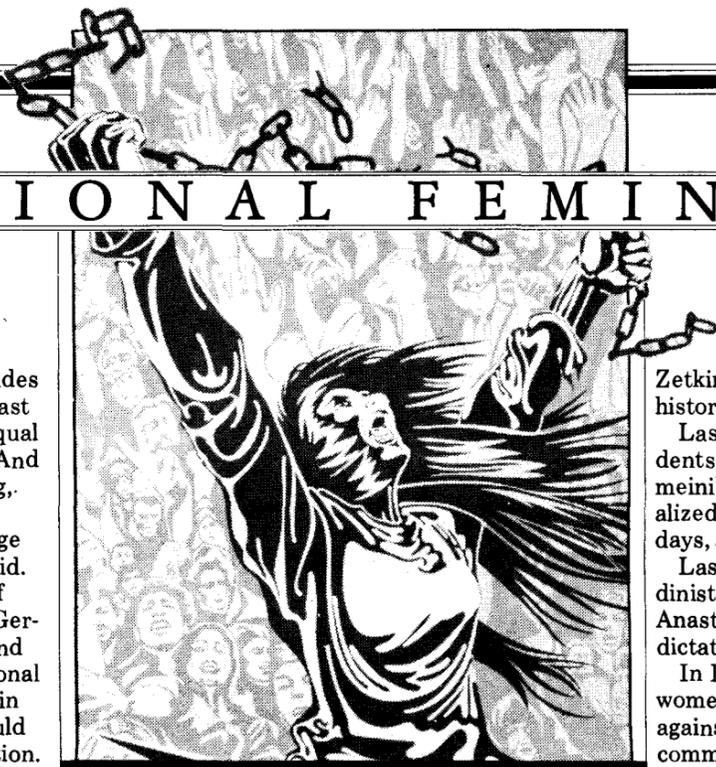
This latest version of vulgar, economic determinism—that heavy industry automatically equals class vanguard—never poses the following basic questions: Where is the *political* linchpin of the class situated? Who are the most *militant* workers today? What

are the most strategic and decisive stages in the production process in the age of *computers and automation?* And just *who* and *what* will trip off the workers in heavy industry?

Life has proven over and over again that without massive intervention and prodding by women, people of color, and gays, most white male workers remain trapped within the narrow framework of a pure and simple trade union consciousness, a backwardness that condemns them to protracted bondage to reformists.

It is ironic, but the SWP never realized that its erratic and contradictory participation in the women's, gay, and minority movements represented its closest approach to the *real workers' vanguard*—to these most aggressive, class conscious and radicalized layers of the class.

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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 in November 1909, these women, 20,000-strong, shut down New York City's garment industry.

The *New York Times* wailed that their uprising 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 9½ weeks, and according to IWW's Big Bill Haywood, "The women won the strike."

With the help of organizer Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, strikes 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. And it was this bold action—unsanctioned by everyone 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 Bolshevik 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 intransigent revolutionists.

"*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 brilliant 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 institutionalized feudal patriarchy. Women marched for five days, and the revolution took a gigantic leap forward.

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

In Eritrea, 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 antifeminism and political bankruptcy of the Communist Party.

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

As Zetkin foresaw, the fertile seeds 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.

TWO
POEMS
BY
NELLIE
WONG

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 commercials, conversations. And it's no magic then that language stores itself like 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 is what 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.

© 1979, Nellie Wong

Toss Up

You call me
into the hall.
Standard procedure
for a conference.

You ask me:

If we had a fight,
whose side
would you
be on?

His
because he is Chinese
or mine
because I am a woman?

© 1976, Nellie Wong

Boldt: another broken treaty

After six years, the federal District Court is still stalling 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.

Indians want to retain their right 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 mis-

managed 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! Since 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 apparent in the U.S. Supreme Court's backtracking 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 Medi-

cine Creek Treaty in a manner fashioned to serve the interests of the government and the white commercial fishermen of Washington State.

The brethren of the Supreme Court decreed 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 "50-year history of discrimination against

Indian fishermen."

The fishing war in the Pacific Northwest is far from over as 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.

Kramer vs. Kramer vs. Women

Hatched from Avery Corman's antifeminist novel about a child custody battle, *Kramer vs. Kramer* tries feebly to be fair and "liberated." But the film's superb acting and contagious humanism are corrupted by a calculated message: today's young mother cannot cope with both child and career—but Superdad can!

Experience with a wrenching custody battle of my own sparked my curiosity about the fanfare surrounding this picture. Hailed as "a true portrayal of the non-macho male," and "paternal love in action," everybody supposedly loves it. I think it's disgraceful.

All the fuss is over a father making his debut as hero of the hearth. Dustin Hoffman portrays Ted, forced to change from a self-centered, job-obsessed executive into an understanding, responsible father who can brilliantly juggle the demanding chores of single-parenting and career. He accomplishes this miraculous transformation swiftly and single-handedly.

Meryl Streep, bound and gagged by the script's cliché caricature of a woman seeking independence, manages to evoke a painfully 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 reappears, after 18 months, as a "whole person"—with a \$31,000-per-year job and a "good therapist." Now ready to claim custody, she fights limply, wins, and then relinquishes custody!

Such a noble sacrifice makes for great melodrama, but is totally uncharacteristic, unwarranted, and unnecessary. In real life, non-adversarial divorced parents can utilize joint custody, divided custody, and other cooperative arrangements never hinted at in *Kramer*, which insists that Big Daddy must *win* and Selfish Mommy must *suffer*.

Most believable are the lawyers in the courtroom scene. When Ted's lawyer brutally excoriates 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 affluent whites 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, superstar father. 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. Arranging for childcare, shopping, cleaning, feeding, schooling, and recreation demands *help*; this is the fabric of women's interdependence with other people, and male parents cannot manage without it either.

Going it alone confers only grinding exhaustion and deprivation for parent *and* children.

Kramer vs. Kramer is dangerously antifeminist and antihuman, and fiendishly contrived to manipulate the audience. The women's movement should rate it "X" for social obscenity.

—TERI BACH

Teri Bach is an electrical lineworker who successfully fought a child custody case after her ex-husband kidnapped her children.



Clara Fraser

A socialist on trial

I've never been raped, sexually. But I am being raped, politically and legally and psychologically, in 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'm the Charging Party, 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 accuser 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 my accusation that it really did blow, their arguments would sound something like this:

1. Eruptions 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 wayward boulders an eruption.
4. The steam, flames, and gases are a humanistic method of removing the surplus population at the foot of the mountain. (The last days of Pompeii were planned, implemented and monitored by a similarly liberal civic administration.)
5. Eruptions are more cost effective than complaining about them.
6. Mountains are scrupulously non-political, but commentators on their behavior have ulterior motives.
7. The poor mountain was only trying to protect itself from the ravages of an outside 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. Kill, kill, kill.

But all is not lost. The bosses and their barristers and their perjurer-witnesses are simply killing the thing they love. They don't hate me, you see, they *like* me. They say so. They all say so. They adore me, I'm a living doll.

Oh, I'm abrasive, arrogant, overbearing, disruptive, contemptuous, disloyal, disobedient, dilatory, thieving, manipulative, unproductive and hostile—but I'm *nice*.

Everybody in management thought I was great until I turned against them, for some mysterious reason. So they say. Actually, the top honchos were rendered apoplectic by an in-house, upfront woman socialist in middle-management who joined the striking electrical workers, tried to recall the antilabor mayor, helped negotiate an employee Bill of Rights, testified publicly against management violations of affirmative action laws, and agreed to interviews by the media whenever they asked me.

So it's nothing *personal*, you understand. And, perish forbid, it's nothing—you'll excuse the expression—*political*! I just "ignored the chain of command" and had to be consigned to chains for suchlike lèse majesté.

The hell of it is, I can't even plead guilty to that charge. I'd like to, considering what I think of their brand of chain and command, but I'm shamefully innocent. Because the only way to function at all within a vast bureaucracy is to try and stagger through the tortuous channels, and I did. I tried, I staggered, I kept upright for awhile, and then I got creamed.

The commandants with their cookie-cutter politics may have *liked* me but they sure didn't want me.

There can be only one politics—theirs. Only one philosophy—theirs. One avenue of self-expression and action—theirs. One criteria for competence, efficiency, cooperation and proper demeanor—theirs. They run the government, have the power, make the rules. And woe to the critic, the whistleblower and the unearther of skeletons in their bureaucratic closets, especially if she is a she and has been known to belittle capitalism.

If you tell the truth to a disbelieving world, you get raped. There's no justice. Not in a courtroom, on a civil rights/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?

—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, Transamerica Corporation has released two antigay films, *Windows* and *Cruising*, which warn the world that lesbians and gays are cruel, sinister, psychopathic, homicidal, or borderline schizophrenics. And the lesbian/gay community is painted as a netherworld of sexual predators prowling in a jungle of sadomasochistic violence.

If slander will sell, Hollywood will sell it.

Tarnish on the silver screen

Windows is the lurid saga of the attempt of wealthy lesbian Andrea (Elizabeth Ashley) to seduce her neighbor Emily (Talia Shire) by hiring a man to rape Emily and relentlessly harass her so that Emily will reject men and turn to Andrea. Failing this, Andrea lures the frightened woman to her loft and tries to seduce her. She then terrorizes Emily at knifepoint.

Predictably, Emily is rescued by her lover—the male detective investigating the assault.

Cruising is an equally grotesque tale. Steve Burns (Al Pacino) is a cop assigned to masquerade as gay in order to apprehend the man responsible for a series of mutilation murders against gay patrons of New York's S&M leather bars. Burns pegs his suspect, lures him to a park, and stabs him in a sexually-charged episode. Also found slaughtered at the film's conclusion is Burns' buddy, a gay neighbor.

The implication is that Burns has recovered enough from his "infection" by gays to reassert his "healthy" heterosexuality by murdering his erstwhile friend.

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 secret and ferocious underworld milieu.

Porno is big business

Windows received no pre-release publicity, but outrage over *Cruising* exploded last summer when New York's lesbian/gay activists learned that the picture would sensationalize a distorted slice of the S&M scene. They organized massive protests, disrupted the filming, prompted Greenwich Village bar owners to ban on-location filming, and forced the producers to reconstruct entire sets—for an \$18 million price tag!

Since *Cruising* opened nationwide 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 Transamerica subsidiary which donated \$2000 to the antigay "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 for the crisis in the capitalist economy.

This latest trend in cinematic lies and violence must be combatted with an alliance between all victims of the sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia of the movie industry. Mutual self-defense that takes shape in massive protests will stop the degrading programming of the capitalist media and will raise the level of the general struggle for human dignity and emancipation.



Malice Aforethought by Ms. Tami

We sophisticated watchdogs of the national press are distinguished from the snobish, the sectarian, and the inexperienced by our comprehension of details to which they are wholly insensitive. I refer, naturally, to those glimpses of American mood and changing political perspectives to be gleaned from the lines of Ann Landers' column. It is here that the weighty, albeit elusive, twists and turns of the SWP find their highest theoretical expression. I alone divined the real meaning behind her April 11 column wherein one of her correspondents alludes to the

"letter about the dog that said, 'Out Now.'" With the political acumen denied Ms. Landers, I declare this letter to be an announcement that the SWP has halted its headlong plunge toward heavy industry and has just as swiftly gone to the dogs. "Out Now" is the archetypal slogan of the SWP. It was their slogan during the antiwar movement. During their 3- or 4-minute consideration of the gay question, it was their slogan for gays in the closet. Currently, it is the slogan they direct to gays within their organization. The SWP obviously plans to organize dog cadres to take politics to the

masses in the privacy of their homes. This eliminates the embarrassment of **public** encounters with radicals. But there are problems. Since dogs are man's best friend, how will the SWP address the woman question, if at all? And what is the class composition of the dogs to whom the SWP has gone? Pampered poodles or proletarian pooches? Not to worry. Among other innovative SWP approaches, negotiations with the Statue of Liberty are continuing—the SWP has great hopes for winning her constituency. Said one of their ace strategists, "Sure, they're huddled. Sure, they're yearning. But what the hell, they're **masses!**" ■

Powder Ridge Conference
MAY 23-26, 1980.
A Northeast Conference of Multinational Lesbians and Gay Male Feminist Socialists. Middlefield, Connecticut.
The Conference will discuss perspectives on racism, Marxism and lesbian/gay male liberation; develop strategies to combat the right wing, and form a network.
P.O. Box 512, Village Station, New York, NY 10014. 212-929-0210.

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Dedicated to the regroupment of U.S. Trotskyists, the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party engages in free-wheeling discussion and meaningful action.

The National CRSP Steering Committee will meet in Seattle, July 4-6.

For information, contact Murry Weiss, National Coordinator, P.O. Box 475, Village Stn., New York, NY 10014. (212) 929-0210.

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Seattle: 3948 S. Hudson, Seattle, WA 98118. 206-723-2482.
Spokane: W. 3005 Boone, Spokane, WA 99210. 509-327-6975.

Contact any Freedom Socialist Party or Radical Women branch for socialist feminist literature and information on activities and actions.

... Economy

from page 10
sacrificing the interests of the unorganized and the low-paid in hopeful exchange for goodies for white-male craft and industrial workers—that strata of worker-aristocrats upon which the bureaucracy bases itself.

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

This fence-straddling act prompted Meany to say, at the height of world recession in 1976, "I don't think there is any reason for us to get excited about the fact that we do not have a higher percentage of the workforce organized."

The ruling class agreed. But labor's majority did not.

The leftist corner

More and more people of color and women have become unionists, and some key unions had to adapt

The demands of women and minorities in the United Auto Workers, the International Association of Machinists, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America forced the leadership of these unions to take on a relative "left wing" coloration.

This left wing has been further pushed by massive corporate union-busting and the related move of Northern capital into the anti-union South and Southwest. Labor is presently losing more than half of all decertification and National Labor Relations Board representation elections.

Union representation has fallen from 35% to 24% of all workers. Only 17% of working women are organized.

Spurred on by their female and minority constituencies, the left bureaucrats are using their resources to organize the unorganized. But they know that to wage an effective campaign, they must break through the **reactionary 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, gays or socialists to aid in the organizing efforts, much as the leadership of the CIO did in the 1930s. (AFSCME and the UAW were prominent participants 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 justice, officials like Winpisinger of IAM actually rule the internal affairs of their unions with the iron hand. These men are hogtied to the capitalist system and they intend to keep the ranks of labor equally manacled. The IAM Executive Board, for instance, is to this day, totally white male.

These leftist leaders have begun to consolidate ideologically and politically 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 and state capitalist control of heavy industry.

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

DSOCers Jerry Wurf of AFSCME and Murray Finley of Amalgamated Clothing Workers have voted for the draft, withdrawal from the Olympic Games, and increased military expenditures.

These Social Democrats, members of the reformist Second International, are determined to prevent the emergence of an independent working class party. **They are capitalism's star flunkies around the world.**

Nevertheless, their new needs and directions open up possibilities for effective educational intervention in the labor movement by the revolutionary left.

CP opportunism knocks

The American left itself has general-

ly misunderstood recent trade union upheavals, relating to them in a thoroughly opportunist manner and revealing its own affinity for reformist politics.

Both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have capitulated shamefully to the leftwing opportunists in the labor bureaucracy. For the CP, this is nothing new.

In its endless quest for political respectability, the Stalinists have carried out a systematic, 40-year-long policy of subordinating labor to a mythical "anti-imperialist" or "anti-monopoly" wing of the ruling class. The only kind of mass workers party that the CP can conceive of is a Progressive Party-type, dominated by small capitalists and petty-bourgeois elements.

And the CP persists in overt hostility to the women's and the gay emancipation movements.

CP politics derive directly from foreign policy considerations of the conservative Soviet bureaucracy, which the Stalinists automatically but erroneously identify with proletarian internationalism 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 candidates, that is, with a temporarily soft line on the Kremlin.

The CP and the labor bureaucracy have long been birds of a feather; they are both counter-revolutionary.

The degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party, however, is of more recent vintage.

The Stalinist-like quest for legitimacy inside the unions has led the SWP to opportunistically orient itself to the temporary dependency on the left of the labor bureaucracy. The SWP repeats, on the labor front, its anti-political, minimum-reform, **economist** perspective that so discredited it in the other mass arenas. (See page 14 for more on the SWP turn to the labor bureaucrats.)

Seize the future!

The CP and SWP are tailending, not leading, the class. Now is the time for

clear-headed revolutionary socialists to take responsibility for the radicalization of American workers.

The absolute hegemony of U.S. imperialism has been shattered and the social consensus at home ruptured. The economic crisis of world capitalism will continue to exacerbate inter-imperialist rivalries and to provide a wide range of maneuverability to the revolution. The time is ripe to intervene effectively.

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 by race, sex and sexuality, age, and politics. Unless the needs of those on the bottom are met squarely, no one can rise.

And those on the bottom happen to be the motive force and the political conscience of everyone else.

A new leadership composed of working class women, people of color and gays 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 worker.** And only white male workers who appreciate this can rise to or retain leadership themselves.

A new radicalization is taking place among the workers' vanguard. It is ready to listen to provocative ideas. And the fundamental precondition for effective dialogue with this rising sector of militants is **regroupment of revolutionaries into a Leninist party rooted in a powerful program of socialist feminism and international worker solidarity.**

In this process lies the key to the commitment of the vanguard and the ensuing mass radicalization of the class. And the political victory of this class is the only guarantee in life against the terrible, persisting crisis and the imperialist-nuclear doom that threaten to engulf us.

Socialist feminist revolution is the door to the fullest realization of our economic, social, cultural, and human potential. ■

... 4th Int'l

from page 11

It is tragic that at the very moment when revolutionary world breakthroughs are assuming the proportions of a tidal wave, the SWP and USec have overwhelmed the entire International with their opportunism. The unity ploy has only led to a deeper split, and the International stands convicted of making a terrible mistake in abandoning criticism of the SWP for the sake of a paper unity.

Re-arm the International

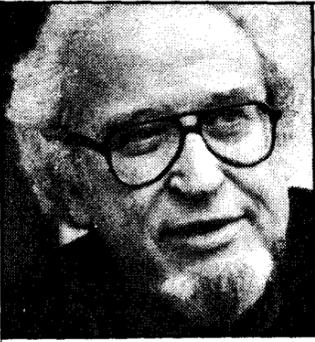
The power of the SWP to re-arm itself by correcting its errors vanished when it eliminated the full play of party democracy. *The SWP is no longer self-corrective.*

But the enormous corrective faculty of Trotskyism is wonderfully alive internationally, as signified by the current split. In the powerful reflex of the protesting Parity Committee, the opportunism pervading the movement has been stormily 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—who learned 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.

... SWP

from page 11

Indeed, the most radical workers in the '60s and '70s, frustrated by Archie Bunkerism in the unions, thronged to the mass social movements of the day.

And the workingclass vanguard is still to be found, by the tens of thousands, within these movements as well as in unions.

But the SWP, trailing after the petty-bourgeois, bureaucratic leaderships of these movements, was completely blinded to this reality.

The SWP never attempted to consolidate the proletarian elements of any of the mass movements around a transitional program toward socialism that fused workers' liberation with human liberation. The SWP recruited out of these movements, but fiercely

resisted raising the level of consciousness of the throngs in them.

The SWP refused to believe that the new vanguard of the most oppressed could smash through the labor bureaucracy and furnish a radical leadership that could unify the entire class against capitalism.

Hence, with its labor turn, the SWP overreacted and nearly abandoned the mass movements. It hurled its cadres into heavy industry, where they quickly adapted to the bureaucracy.

And then came Carter's sabre-rattling and the rise of a new antiwar movement, along with punishing layoffs of the SWP's industrial cadres.

So the SWP is back in the antiwar business, more conservative and opportunist than ever as a result of its honeymoon with the labor officialdom.

—STEPHAN KASS

Carter provokes terrorism to muzzle Iranian students

BY ALI MOGADY

Forty-six Iranian students in Louisiana were recently imprisoned. They went on a hunger strike and were later freed on bail.

Mass arrests and jailings of Iranian students were perpetrated in Texas.

An Iranian student was murdered in California, and an Iranian woman 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 U.S. Their American teacher is staying with them in solidarity.

Iranians in the U.S. are being fired from their jobs, subjected to physical violence, and threatened with deportation. Their financial assets are frozen.

All these acts of terrorism have been prompted by Carter's brutal anti-Iranian campaign. The illusion of American democracy is being shattered 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, and the U.S. government is working overtime to prevent

this information from reaching the American people, by intimidating and demoralizing Iranians in the U.S. But the students are pressing ahead to publicize the truth and they are winning sympathy and support.

In Washington State, the Committee to Defend the Legal Rights of Iranian Students has held press conferences and been interviewed in the major media to publicize the assaults against Iranians in the U.S.

In Texas, demonstrations of 600 people condemned the wave of racism against Iranians. In one school, 30% of the students signed a petition to defend Iranians against deportation and racist persecution.

Arab students have come to the support of Iranians, and some Arab defenders were jailed in Texas.

When the brother of the Shah's Prime Minister came to the U.S. as a supposed representative of Iran, 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, their lives, jobs, homes and funds are gravely imperiled. ■

Ali Mogady, an Iranian, is one of the leaders of the Committee to Defend the Legal Rights of Iranian Students at the University of Wash.

... 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 U.S. territory, Carter said that "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 any means necessary, including military force."

The President announced further that he would order the reinstatement 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 \$158.3 billion.

Since then, in response to rising public outrage over the rate of inflation, Carter has proposed budget cuts—from social service funds, not from the obese defense budget.

Impact on Iran

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

Since the Shah's February 1970 ouster, authority in Iran has taken the form of dual power, with the revolutionary committees representing the workers and the peasants on one side, and the official, bourgeois government on the other.

The government was headed by Mehdi Bazargan until the November 1979 embassy seizure toppled him from power. On January 25, former Finance Minister Abu al-Hassan Bani-Sadr was elected president and ap-

pointed by Khomeini to head the Revolutionary Council—an attempt to merge the two poles of power and stabilize the revolution.

Since the takeover of the U.S. embassy, the militants who hold it have played an extremely powerful role.

They have consistently refused to follow the political direction of any leader except Khomeini—and he expresses full confidence in Bani-Sadr while avoiding public criticism of the militants. He doesn't want to lose mass support.

The embassy militants still embody the radical aspirations of the masses, and Bani-Sadr, to consolidate bourgeois rule, must try to erode their authority.

Upon his election, and in concert with Khomeini, Bani-Sadr announced government support for the rightwing Moslems in Afghanistan. The militants, however, denounced them and declared that U.S. imperialism, not Soviet intervention, was the greater threat. So Bani-Sadr was forced to announce that the government would not support any forces receiving U.S. aid.

He then viciously called the militants "children," "a government within a legitimate government," "intolerable." He threatened force if they refused to obey, and denied them access to television and radio.

Nevertheless, the militants insist that no hostages be freed until the Shah is returned.

When Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh announced that Khomeini wanted the Revolutionary Council to take charge of the hostages, the militants said they would obey Khomeini's wishes. Almost

immediately, thousands rallied outside the embassy to demand that the militants keep the hostages until the Shah appears in Iran.

Khomeini remained silent. The students called Ghotbzadeh a liar. And the hostages stayed put.

Khomeini has since announced, with student agreement, that the coming parliament will decide the hostages' fate.

A showdown is approaching. Defeat of the militants would deal a sharp blow to the advance of the Iranian revolution and pose great danger to the Afghanistan revolution.

But the embassy captors are backed by the revolutionary sentiments of armed millions. When Carter began his war noises, Khomeini called on the masses to arm themselves, to build "an army of 20 million."

The revolutionary Iranian people did not make their sacrifices in blood in order to compromise with imperialism, and they are still guiding the course of their revolution.

In defense of the USSR

In international terms, the Afghanistan civil war has escalated into a conflict between U.S. imperialism, backing the right wing, and the Soviet bureaucracy on the left.

In such a standoff, revolutionary socialists are obligated to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution by giving unqualified support to the USSR against imperialism. Degenerated as the Stalinist bureaucracy is, the Soviet state is still a workers state, still representing a qualitative historical advance over a capitalist economic and political system, while Carter's cold war is an imperialist offensive against

the collective economy of the USSR.

Indeed, the victory of world imperialism over the USSR in Afghanistan would be a profound defeat for the international working class.

Yankee stay home!

The Persian Gulf region is presently the most critical nexus of world politics. The living drama of the permanent revolution is now being played out in the hills of Afghanistan and the cities of Iran.

The daily struggle of embattled workers, women, minorities, youth, peasants and students against intolerable oppression has inexorably been transformed into a perilous conflict between revolution and world imperialism.

Imperialism and its crimes have been exposed in all their naked ugliness. Even the Shah, upon leaving Panama for Egypt, announced that he feared a CIA plot to kill him as a solution to the diplomatic crisis!

The vast dynamic of the international class struggle has created an historic whirlpool in the area, and the outcome is critical for workers and their allies all over the world.

A very real threat of war and nuclear holocaust prevails, sparked by the U.S. ruling class that is desperately attempting to avoid further humiliation and to regain status as the dominant world economic and political power.

But a mass movement against imperialist war is once more budding, and it can paralyze Carter's deadly military machine and advance the cause of revolution a thousand-fold. ■

**No to imperialist war!
Oppose the draft!
U.S. out of the Middle East!
Defend the Iranian and Afghani revolutions!**

The Russians, Yanks, Persians and Afghanis are coming!!

BY SAM DEADERICK

The pompous rattling of sabres has not clanged so loudly since World War II. The anticommunist manifestos 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 debacle.

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 western 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 rightwing guerrillas representing the dispossessed landlords, former usurers and military officers, Moslem clergy, and beneficiaries of the Afghani 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.

Noor Mohammad Taraki, leader of the pro-Kremlin PDPA, became president, announced a "democratic national revolution," and outlined a network of reforms.

Peasant debts were cancelled. Land reform limited ownership to 15 acres and distributed surplus land to the peasants. A literacy campaign placed special emphasis on education for women. Child marriages were outlawed and bride prices were reduced. Trade unions were legalized.

But the PDPA's effectiveness in defending its gains was limited by its failure to try to organize the peasants, and by internal strife within the party. *Counterrevolutionaries were especially incensed over the measures to free women from bondage, and they launched a military offensive.*

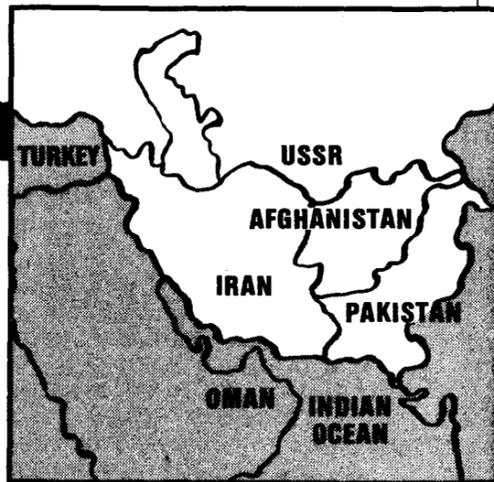
In September 1979, an inner-party shootout ended in President Taraki's death. Halizullah Amin rose to power. Meanwhile, the rightwing offensive mounted.

Taraki and then Amin repeatedly requested Soviet military aid, but none was forthcoming until the last week of 1979, when an estimated 85,000 Soviet troops poured in.

This intervention was not motivated by a spirit of proletarian internationalism. The USSR simply could not risk an entrenched U.S. presence along the 1000-mile Soviet/Afghanistan border. Hence, the military-bureaucratic installation of a Kremlin-controlled regime was calculated solely to protect Soviet national interests.

Upon their arrival, the Soviets had Amin killed and replaced by the more staunchly pro-Kremlin Babrak Karmal.

Since then, an offensive against the guer-



rillas, carried out by Afghani troops with Soviet backup, has virtually defeated the reactionaries.

But the future of Afghanistan is yet to be decided.

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 smashing 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 ramrodded 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.

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Doug Barnes

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