

Management is dangerous to your health

labor cure at cancer center

BY JANET SUTHERLAND

For 4½ years, workers at Seattle's Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center have fought for the right to organize and to bargain for decent wages and working conditions. And for 4½ years, management has drawn on every known union-busting tactic in an effort to smash them.

The Center, already cited in 1979 by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) for unfair labor practices, is currently stalling contract talks with the employees' union, the Hutchinson Center Staff Association (HCSA). Management is also attempting to force HCSA negotiating team member Henry Noble out of his job. Noble, a member of the Freedom Socialist Party, has battled the Center's anti-labor strategies since the mid-'70s.

On December 1, the AFL-CIO King County Labor Council voted to cut off all its traditional and substantial financial support to the Center. Eight days later, *Washington Teamster* editor Ed Donahoe, representing the Joint Council of Teamsters #28, publicly resigned from the Center's Board of Trustees because of the prolonged labor dispute.

At a December 13 press conference, HCSA announced the establishment of the Quality Cancer Research Trust Fund in order to hold donations away from the Center until a contract is signed.

These actions hit the Center's life support system—its pocketbook. Hutchinson relies heavily on the contributions that will be diverted into the fund. And its federal funding is contingent on demonstrated public confidence.

Hutchinson is finding out the hard way that public confidence cannot be maintained without the support and good will of labor.

The nature of the beast

The Hutchinson Center functions like a feudal domain where Dr. William Hutchinson, characterized by the workers as paternalistic and arrogant, reigns as Chairman of the Board and president of the corporation. Board of Trustees members head up notorious union-busting businesses such as Seattle First National Bank, the University of Washington, and Swedish Hospital.

The separate programs at Hutchinson must compete for funds doled out by the administration. A privileged caste of professionals within these programs jockeys for travel allowances and staff assistance in the post-doctoral projects that advance their professional careers. These professionals, in turn, collude with administrators to keep staff out of the decision-making process.

Without a contract, Hutchinson employees have few rights. Once hired, they are never evaluated. The size of annual raises depends on the good will of supervisors who can—and often do—walk in at 4 p.m. and

say, "Pack up your things. You're fired."

Birth of a union

Management abuse prompts workers to organize against it. And so it is at the Hutchinson Center where, says Henry Noble, employees' labor consciousness has been transformed since they first saw the need to better their conditions. "At first, some of us thought that management would be swayed by reasonable arguments," he remembers. "Few saw what management knew from the start—that we were engaged in class struggle."

In 1978, when management used the Carter wage/price guidelines to freeze wages, angry workers formed the Hutchinson Center Staff Organizing Committee.

The Committee circulated a petition protesting the freeze. But management replied that they would only respond if the Committee won a certified union election. "The Center," Noble says ironically, "pushed us into going for unionization."

After unsuccessfully searching for an existing union that would meet their needs as an industrial organization, Committee members formed the independent Hutchinson Center Staff Association. (HCSA is currently seeking affiliation with a larger union in the area.)

The Staff Association lost its first certification election by a few votes in 1979. But investigation revealed that management had threatened employees with loss of their jobs if they voted to unionize. So HCSA went to the NLRB, which ordered another election. HCSA won the second one in April 1981.

Since July 1981, HCSA has bargained for nearly 400 employees at the Center, from maintenance and clerical workers to research technicians.

What employees want

HCSA brought a strong list of demands to the bargaining table: or-

derly layoff and recall, seniority rights, a union shop, and centralized decision-making.

The workers, who are 80% women, want a comprehensive non-discrimination clause that includes protection for sexual preference and political ideology as well as race, sex, handicap, religion, and national origin. They also want rigorously enforced safety standards to protect them in their continual handling of carcinogens.

Fighting for keeps

Management, however, has never wanted to bargain. Their negotiating tactics have been to hire a union-busting law firm, Lane, Powell, Moss and Miller; try to outwait the HCSA negotiators; and attempt to get rid of "trouble-makers" like Henry Noble.

This is the third time that Hutchinson has tried to oust Noble. The first time came after he walked a picket line during the 1976 nurses' strike in Seattle. Hutchinson backed off, though, when Noble raised his First Amendment right to free speech protection.

"The second time came right after the wage freeze petition drive in '78," Noble recalls. "The personnel director called me into his office and held out a letter for me to read. It said I couldn't be involved in organizing or I would get fired; that as a 'supervisory' employee, I wasn't protected by the NLRB; that if I told anyone about this letter, I would be terminated; and that the letter would be in my file for 36 months."

"Ridiculous! The Center had never let me supervise anyone. The union and I went immediately to the NLRB which found for me and forced Hutchinson to post a notice saying they would no longer harass me or other workers."

The current attempt to force Noble out is subtler. The Center assigned

him to a proposed project, then made sure the grant which supported it would not be forthcoming. Management then notified Noble that his job would be cut to 25% in February when his current grant runs out.

Concerted public pressure, however, including a multi-union and community picketline at the Center on January 25, prompted management to lessen the cut to 75%—at least for another two months, by which time they hope the pressure will have receded. It won't.

Noble has also gone again to the NLRB. On February 27, however, the board, which has shifted rightward since Reagan took office, bought management's no-funding pretexts and ruled against Noble. The decision is currently being appealed.

As the Center's coordinator of computer services, Noble keeps the computer running. His co-workers have already refused to take on his work, and management has not said how they will run the computer without additional funding if he is ousted.

Let the public judge

HCSA and Noble are shining the brightest possible spotlight on management intimidation. They reason that without the pressure of public scrutiny, the non-profit institution will continue to be guided by the interests of bureaucrats and careerists, with little regard for a public which is desperate for advances in cancer treatment and cure.

Noble believes that, short of a socialist state where medical research and personnel would receive ample support, unions must battle the medical research foundations for adequate workers' benefits and for the public's stake in well-managed research as well.

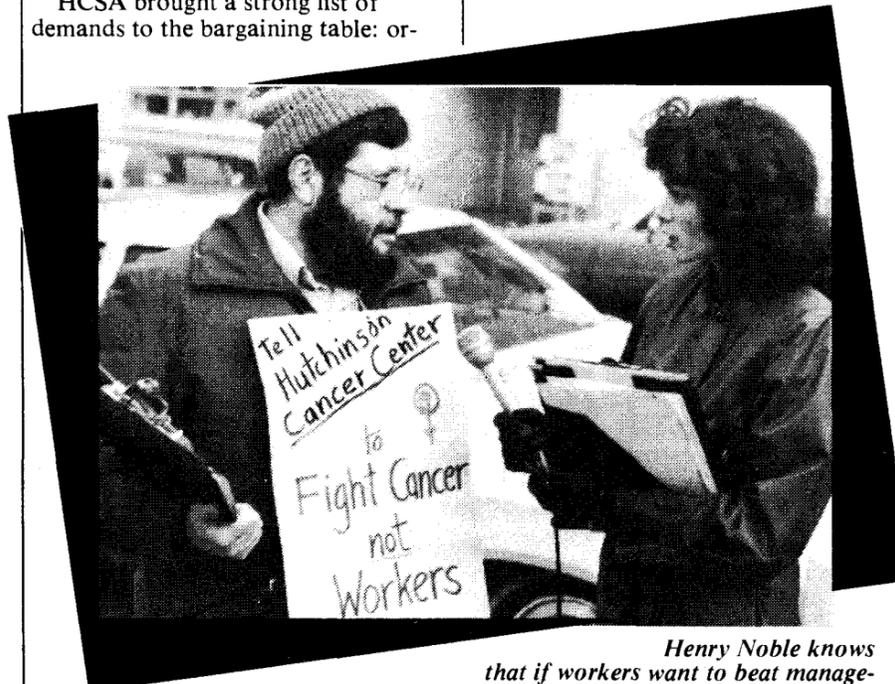
And he believes that HCSA's experience provides a blueprint for this kind of fight.

Although still stalemated in contract negotiations, HCSA's whistle-blowing to federal and state agencies has already forced management to hire a full-time safety officer, create a Management/Staff Safety Committee, and hire people of color into other than the lowest-paid jobs.

And by keeping communications open with other unions, supporting them in their struggles, and pointing out that its goal—improved cancer research—is in the best interests of all workers, HCSA has laid solid groundwork for aid from the rest of organized labor.

Concludes Noble, "Management's refusal to take employees seriously, reward them adequately, house them securely, and see to their safety at work is a travesty. And as the public and federal funding agencies see how Hutchinson obstructs rather than facilitates their research, management will be forced to change its attitude or lose its funding."

"Victory for the Hutchinson Staff Association may well be at hand." □



Henry Noble knows that if workers want to beat management, they've got to take their case to the public. He did just that on his support picket line at the Hutchinson Center on January 25th.

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Identity, unity, and strength were watchwords at the Asian American Women's Conference in Ithaca, New York last fall. Hats off to an increasingly militant and forward-looking minority!

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After Clara Fraser whipped Seattle City Light, the city wanted her to pay her attorneys' fees. Janet Sutherland tells how Fraser took the city to court and beat 'em again.



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the freedom socialist

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Game plan: civil war

The following observations on the troubles between the Sandinistas and the Miskitu Indians in Nicaragua are excerpted from a letter written to FS editor Clara Fraser by R. D. Casey, an longtime member of the IWW who lives in Belmopan, Belize, in Central America.

The letter was written in January 1982 at the time the Sandinistas forcibly relocated 10,000 Miskitus from their homelands along the Nicaragua/Honduras border, ostensibly to protect them from Honduran-based Somocista border raids. (See Freedom Socialist, Summer 1982.)

Casey's remarks on the consequences of the Sandinista refusal to recognize the Indians' right to self-determination are extremely pertinent today, as counterrevolutionaries continue successfully to enlist Miskitu support against the Nicaraguan government.

I believe Nicaragua is the great turning point for our Americas.

In my frequent visits there, I often argued against the Sandinistas' Miskitu policy, saying that it was giving the CIA a base for civil war and counterrevolution. They told me in effect that I was a gringo outsider and didn't know what I was talking about.

Well, they are singing a different tune now—after shooting up the biggest demonstration ever seen in the Bluefields! Eight died on the spot; many were seriously shot up. [The Bluefields are on the Atlantic coast in Zelaya province, home of the Miskitu, Sumo, and Rama tribes, and of descendants of African slaves brought to the region by the British.]

Let me spell out the choice the Sandinistas face: to act as the Loyalists did toward the Basques during the Spanish Civil War, or to act as the Viet Cong did toward the Meo and other tribes in Vietnam.

The Loyalists recognized the separate and different Basque culture and the Basques' right to secede from the Spanish state. By so doing, they made a permanent ally against Franco. (The Basques never did quit fighting him.)

The Viet Cong wouldn't even discuss the hill tribes' grievances. And the CIA recruited the only good army it ever had in S.E. Asia from these tribes! If the CIA had had three times the number of Meos, they might not have lost the war.

If the Sandinistas do not want that to happen here, they had better grant the Miskitus the right of secession—pronto! As socialist ideals require.

The CIA game plan is to develop civil war on the Atlantic seaboard and it just might work, unless secession rights are guaranteed.

R. D. Casey
Belmopan, Belize

Refreshing

Thank you for the article, "The Trail of Tears in Nicaragua."

I think the most enlightened discussion of the issue of Native peoples from the perspective of Marxists can be found in the book **Nationhood or Genocide** by the Bolshevik Union of Canada. This group reached essentially the same conclusions expressed in your article, though the subject centered on Native rights in Canada.

Progressive political people who are willing to deal with the realities of opportunism and racism in the Left can yet offer a promise of cooperation toward liberation

which has not matured in many instances of struggle. I believe that these contradictions stifle the struggle in many areas of the world, especially in Latin America, where political realities have been distorted by revisionist reporters and historians for generations.

Your article is a refreshing example of a group's ability to understand the true principles of liberation.

John C. Mohawk
Roosevelt, NY

Mr. Mohawk is the co-author, along with Shelton H. Davis, of the excellent article, "Revolutionary Contradictions: Miskitos and Sandinistas in Nicaragua," which appeared in the Late Spring 1982 issue of Akwesasne Notes.

Anyone interested in penetrating the fog being spread by both the U.S. State Department and much of the Left on the Miskitu/Sandinista question should read this article as well as the interview with Miskitu leader Armstrong Wiggins in the Autumn 1981 Akwesasne Notes.

Insulted

In response to your complimentary copy of the Freedom Socialist, please be advised that we do not desire to subscribe to your newspaper.

Yes, I did find the articles of some interest. Yes, we do share some areas of concern. However, I found your editorial by M. Elder, "Nice Girls Finish Last," [on national NOW's disastrous handling of the ERA] completely outrageous and largely naive and insulting. Such accusatory journalism wins few friends.

Diana Schmielt
President, Everett NOW
Everett, WA

Outrageous? Yes. Insulting? Not when the shoe fits. Naive? Hardly. As socialist feminists, we've never bought the lie that we would win demands such as the Equal Rights Amendment solely by conventional

tactics like polite lobbying.

Naive we're not. Let's leave that adjective for those who are still waiting for the Democratic Party to win equal rights for women in our (or any) time.

Fraser vs. pickpockets

We all appreciate Clara Fraser's long, hard, nasty fight because it is our own.

For that reason, it's doubly depressing to see the small settlement they gave her and then realize that they want her to pay attorneys' fees too! Of course, that figures. As Karl Marx put it, the political state is still the executive committee of the ruling class, i.e., pickpockets. And pickpockets always want others to pay their bills. That's their purpose in being pickpockets!

I know Clara won't give up the ship, so no point in urging her not to. I'm not so sure she'll always have good luck so there is a point in expressing the hope that all goes well with her in 1983.

George La Forest
Rockford, IL

On February 4, 1983, King County Superior Court Judge William C. Goodloe ordered the City of Seattle to pay \$52,392.85 to Fraser's attorneys. The city decided not to appeal further. The award doesn't begin to cover the actual legal costs, but it was a stunning victory against political pickpocketing! (See article on page 27.)

So pleased!

Congratulations Clara Fraser and Merle Woo!

I am so pleased with the outcome of both cases. It is heartening to celebrate victories when repression is so commonplace.

Wendy Cutler
Santa Cruz, CA

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

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MEXICO: The winter of discontent

BY SAM DEADERICK

When Miguel de la Madrid became president of Mexico in December 1982, the country was already suffering its worst social and economic crisis since the 1910 Mexican Revolution.

The world drop in oil prices had devastated Mexico's oil-dependent economy, forcing near-default on its astronomical foreign debt payments. Plummeting oil revenues, along with a massive outflow of Mexican capital, threatened total collapse of the economy. Then-president Lopez Portillo was forced to nationalize the banks and severely devalue the peso. Inflation soared from a previous 5-year average of 25% to 100% and is still climbing.

De la Madrid, Portillo's successor as standard-bearer of the ruling Insti-

tutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), and new hope of Mexican capital, has attacked the problem as one would expect: through increased political repression and a brutal lowering of Mexican workers' standard of living. And worse is in the offing.

The new austerity

Upon assuming office, de la Madrid, a Harvard-educated technocrat, quickly instituted a new austerity program at the behest of the International Monetary Fund. In return, the IMF provided a \$3.96 billion loan so Mexico could meet a portion of the interest payments on its \$80 billion foreign debt.

The austerity program combines a sharp cut in government subsidies for basic commodities—gasoline, sugar, electrical and telephone service—with removal of price controls on some

4,700 products and a sales tax increase of 10-15%. At the same time, a 25% wage-increase lid has been imposed. This and the fact that it now takes 150 pesos to equal a dollar, as opposed to only 25 pesos a year ago—a 500% devaluation—puts the cost of all imported goods well out of the reach of the wage-earner.

Unemployment, meanwhile, is shooting past the official 10-15%. And 40% of Mexico's workforce is "underemployed," subsisting on sub-minimum wages from part-time, unskilled work.

Renovación inmoral

Trying to polish the PRI's tarnished image after the 1982 economic debacle, de la Madrid campaigned on a demagogic "moral renovation" platform ostensibly aimed at graft and corruption, diseases whose grip on the

Mexican political and economic system (not to mention the PRI) has attained worldwide notoriety.

But rather than denting corruption, the *renovación moral* is fueling a reactionary backlash against "obscenity," prostitution, and homosexuality.

The state of Jalisco recently outlawed prostitution, and Chihuahua proposes to do likewise. Government *agentes* routinely harass gays in Mexico City, and last March, over 50 pro-PRI thugs attacked a gay demonstration there, injuring ten participants.

PRI support slips

Notwithstanding its newfound moral rectitude, the PRI entered the electoral campaign with seriously eroded popular support. The election was marked by challenges to the 50-year-long hammerlock the PRI has

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BY JOHN CUNNINGHAM

Britain's working class suffered a major setback on October 23, 1982 when the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) voted to accept a wage increase offer of only 7.2% from the National Coal Board (NCB), which runs Britain's nationalized mining industry. Despite an unprecedented and vigorous campaign for rejection by the NUM national leadership, the miners voted overwhelmingly—by 61% to 39%—to accept the NCB offer. Only the militant South Wales, Scotland, Kent, and Yorkshire Areas voted to reject. Had the majority voted to reject, it would have meant a nationwide strike.

In contrast to the NCB offer, the NUM's claim [original proposal] was for an average hike of 27%. This would have given the lowest paid worker a minimum wage of 115 pounds [\$190] per week and the highest paid (the coalface worker) 148 pounds [\$245] per week. The union's claim also included a 4-day work week, early retirement at 55, and a rate protection scheme whereby a miner would not be forced to take a lower rate of pay after taking a lighter job through injury or ill-health.

The acceptance of the NCB offer meant that none of the union's demands were conceded by the NCB despite longtime union pressure.

Traditional militance

Many sections of British workers, suffering the ravages of Margaret Thatcher's monetarist economic policies, were looking to the miners to take the lead against the Tory government. The miners' union has been traditionally one of the most powerful and militant unions in the Trades Union Congress (TUC), the British equivalent of the AFL-CIO. In 1981, unofficial action by miners prevented the NCB and the government from going ahead with a program of pit [mine] closures. And earlier in 1982, the national presidency of the NUM had been taken over by militant Yorkshire miners' leader, Arthur Scargill, who easily defeated three rightwing candidates in a national election.

At one time, the miners were regarded as a race apart, and in many respects they were. The tight knit communities the miners lived in and the specialized nature of their work gave them a special identity. But this is less so today.

The mining workforce has changed

over the years and the communities are not as tight as they once were. Over 40% of the miners involved in the historic 1972 strike have left the industry under voluntary early retirement schemes and many of their places have been taken by men outside the community. (Government legislation prevents the employment of women underground; women are only employed in the canteens and offices, making up about 5% of the workforce.)

Why the vote to accept?

If the miners had voted to take strike action, the scene would have been set for potentially the sharpest confrontation between capital and labor since the miners' victories of 1972 and 1974. (The 1974 strike toppled Thatcher's predecessor, Edward Heath.)

Why then did the miners accept a paltry 7.2% when, *even if the NUM claim of 27% had been conceded*, inflation would have meant (for face-workers) a real wage loss of 9%?

First, since 1976 the miners have been divided by a bonus [incentive] scheme which has split the coalfields into two camps—those earning good money and those earning very little. How much a miner can earn on the bonus scheme depends largely on geological conditions. The best conditions are found in the Nottinghamshire and Midlands Areas, and the higher paid miners of these Areas provided the bulk of votes for acceptance of the NCB offer.

Secondly, two issues—pit closures and wages—were combined on the same ballot. The NUM executive decided to link the two questions together in response to the NCB's offer to increase the money available if the NUM accepted pit closures. For the miners, then, to accept the wage offer meant accepting unspecified pit closures, and the only way to vote against these closures was to vote against the wage offer, and thus

Dangerous setback in Britain

Miners lose the wage vote

precipitate a strike.

While in principle NUM's connection of issues was absolutely correct, it must be said in retrospect that it was a tactical mistake. Many miners resented the two issues being linked and thought there should have been separate votes. Some miners felt that Scargill was railroad-ing them into a strike.

Additionally, the overall downturn in the class struggle has not left the miners untouched. There is currently quite a widespread demoralization within the British labor movement as massive closures and redundancies

closures, about which the NCB may feel confident enough to go ahead. And the NCB will have the full support of the government, which has long wanted to break the strength of the miners.

However, closures are a much more emotional issue than wages—an expensive lesson the Tories learned in 1981—when successful unofficial strikes against a sweeping pit closure program were preceded by the acceptance of a wage rise only slightly higher than the current one. The NCB and the conservatives may not get as easy a ride as they hope.

Over a third of Britain's energy requirements come from coal, giving the miners a mighty economic and social lever. Despite the large stocks of already-mined coal and the recession, the miners can exploit their power to devastating effect, as they did in 1972 and 1974 when the country virtually ground to a halt during miners' strikes.

The NUM policy, to fight all closures except on the grounds of proven seam exhaustion, will create



[layoffs] have gone ahead, sometimes unopposed.

Strikes by key sections, such as the train drivers, have been sold out by the TUC's weak leadership, and the hospital workers' wage struggle has dragged on since May 1982 with little chance of a successful conclusion.

The closure battle

Although they've suffered a defeat, the miners have by no means lost the war. The next struggle will be over pit

the arena for the miners' next battles. And a victory for the miners in the closure battle could still prove to be the turning point that the British working class so urgently needs. □

—Yorkshire, November 1982

John Cunningham is an active and outspoken member of the British National Union of Mineworkers in the Yorkshire Area. He is a contributor to the English newspaper *Socialist Organizer*.

Where did all the jobs go?

BY ROBERT CRISMAN

Don't believe what you read these days in the newspapers or *Time* magazine about our supposed economic recovery. There *isn't* one, at least not anything that will last, or make any significant improvement in the lives of American workers.

It's wiser to trust the continuing reports of economic cataclysm: block-long lines around our unemployment offices and food banks; queue-ups of hundreds and thousands of workers for 10 or 15 jobs in the devastated Midwest and Northeast industrial belts; West German CARE packages flowing into Detroit; futile cross-country migrations of hundreds of thousands of people searching for work; homeless families sleeping in garbage dumps and under bridges; young mothers with children begging on the streets.

Hard times are upon us with a vengeance. Sufficient jobs simply cannot be had. Hundreds of thousands of workers fall onto the unemployment rolls each month. And there is no visible end to the disaster.

The story in numbers

Official statistics only approximate the scope and depth of the cataclysm.

The overall unemployment figure from the U.S. Labor Department for January is 10.4%. That's *11.5 million* people officially out of work and actively seeking jobs.

Black unemployment is tabbed at an appalling 20.8%. *And 52% of Black teenagers are jobless.* (The figure for all teens is 22.7%.) Chicanos and Latinos suffer a 15.5% unemployment rate. And although current national statistics are unavailable, regional statistics indicate that Native American joblessness is even higher than that of Blacks.

The specific figures for Asian Americans are also unavailable from the Labor Department. They are nonetheless astronomical—especially for recent Southeast Asian immigrants—as any check of the unemployment and food bank lines will attest.

As of November, the blue-collar jobless rate stood at 16.5%, disclosing the critical illness of U.S. industry. Unemployment for construction workers and steelworkers was 21.9% and 24.6% respectively. The formerly "healthy" service sector suffered a 10.7% jobless rate.

Out of sight, out of mind

That's the official side of the story. But government statisticians are experts at underplaying social ills. The complete picture is far worse.

According to the Labor Department, women suffer 9% unemployment. But women, especially women of color, actually suffer a vastly higher rate of joblessness than men. The official statistics in no way account for the millions of women forced out of their jobs by this depression and back into the home.

The numbers don't encompass the seven million workers (primarily women) who have been cut back from full to part-time work, or the nearly two million "discouraged workers" (again mostly women) who've given up hope of ever finding a job and have dropped off the rolls and out of the statistics altogether.

The Labor Department has never counted as unemployed the millions of out-of-work seasonal and undocumented workers. Nor does it recognize those—mostly women, people of color, elders, and the disabled—who subsist on welfare and social security.

As for the god-knows-how-many people who've dropped through the cracks of our social and health networks and who don't even show up on the census figures—they're not unemployed either, according to our keepers of the statistics.

Bleeding hearts

Reagan claims that his heart "bleeds" for the unemployed. The Democrats, too, shed copious tears for the jobless, at least when the TV cameras are turned their way.

Yet our bipartisan Congress passed legislation in October that denied unemployment benefits in at least 10 states to 400,000 workers who were otherwise eligible. This came as Congress was applying the coup de grace to the CETA federal jobs program which had provided jobs for four million people during the mid-'70s.

The much-ballyhooed federal jobs program offered by the administration and Congress in February—a \$4.2 billion public works program whose impact, admittedly limited to suburban white male skilled construction and transportation workers—is a miserable placating gesture from Democrats and Republicans worrying about the 1984 elections.

But the overall jobs and benefits cuts, along with the massive health,

education, and welfare cuts that Reagan has so far imposed (with the Democrats' blessing), indicate far more convincingly the utter lack of rulingclass sympathy for American workers and the poor.

The bosses' game plan

Many see Reaganomics as the sole villain behind the jobs crisis. But Reaganomics is merely the latest installment of capitalist economics, and its policies are dictated by the economic and political needs of the system.

In the last decade of industrial stagnation, inflation, and the advance of Third World revolution, the capitalists' rate of profit nosedived. Reagan's aim upon entering office was *to reverse this profit slide by lowering the bosses' costs of production.*

This meant, above all, lowering *labor costs* through an intensified assault on the living standards and political muscle of the workers.

Reagan pledged, among other things, to "restore business confidence" and "put America back to work again." But a peek at the lugubrious past and future of capitalism reveals with finality the emptiness of those promises.

Capitalism is doomed. And Reagan intends to make the workers pay the price of its disintegration.

Monkeywrenches in the works

By the end of the '70s, the auto, steel, rubber, housing, and other manufacturing industries that have traditionally been the backbone of the U.S. economy were critically ill. Saturated and shrinking domestic markets, rising competition from Japan and Europe at home and abroad, rotten management, and outmoded production techniques and facilities had helped devastate basic industry.

Revolutionary upheavals in Africa, Asia, and Latin America made tremendous inroads into America's international labor and resource pool, and lessened investment opportunities.

Ruinous federal deficit spending—primarily for armaments—jacked up *inflation* by pumping money into the economy without significantly increasing the amount of available consumer goods and services. Inflation in turn increased production costs and further lowered the capitalists' return on investments.

Capital flight from the backbone industries accelerated. Profiteers invested overseas, where labor is cheaper, or



"It's very hard for a single parent to be on unemployment and try to make a living and feed two kids... They try to keep us down lower than whites. We have to work and fight harder."

**Pauline Hardin,
Unemployed
Computer Operator**

jumped into the money and commodities markets where profits come higher and faster than in industry.

Corporate diversification grabbed resources from such labor-intensive industries as steel and put them into high-tech industries—computers, plastics, chemicals—where jobs are fewer.

Increased cutbacks, foreclosures, and bankruptcies resulted from these and other pressures eroding U.S. industry. By the end of the '70s, unemployment reached an ominous 7%.

Crackdown on inflation

Inflation, meanwhile, shot past the double-digit mark and threatened financial collapse.

Then, in 1979, the Federal Reserve Board acted to brake inflation by instituting a "tight money" policy. It lifted interest rates on borrowed funds to 12%, thus freezing credit and forcing a general economic slowdown.

Tight money ravaged the already moribund industrial sector, especially the auto, housing, and related industries which *survive* on credit. The slowdown escalated the pace of plant closures and labor cutbacks and, as the 1980 elections approached, the length of the unemployment lines dredged up memories of the '30s.

Enter Reaganomics

Economic misery and general disgust with the Democrats lifted Reagan into the White House.

Yet once in office, he instituted—on a grand scale—policies *already initiated or proposed by Carter*. He proceeded to deregulate banking and industry, proffer tax breaks and "investment incentives" to the rich, boost arms spending to unheard-of levels, decimate social welfare programs, and kick lending rates sky-high.

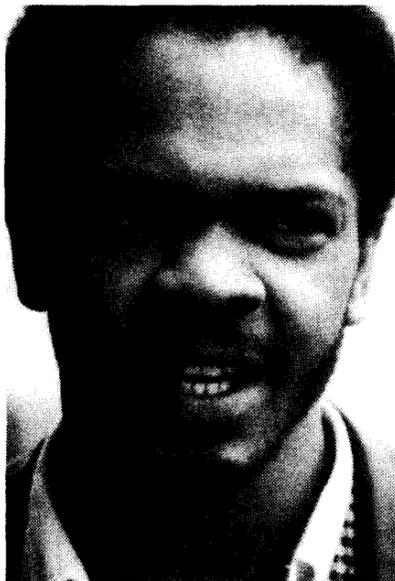
By April 1981, three months after Reagan took office, unemployment had climbed to 8.3%. His first-year budget cuts alone axed hundreds of thousands of jobs in government and in the health and education industries. Since then, over *three million* people in the U.S. have lost their jobs.

What recovery?

Nevertheless, Reagan now boasts that we're well on our way to econom-

ic renewal. And since January, bourgeois economists and journalists—citing a spurt in U.S. production brought on by the recent lowering of interest rates—have leaped to proclaim that “the seeds of recovery are sprouting.”

These optimists also wax ecstatic over the early 1983 inflation rate of 3.9%, which has come down from 8.9% in 1981 largely as a consequence of industrial cutbacks and soaring unemployment. Consumer purchasing power has plummeted, and prices have



“It’s a recession for people who are employed and a depression for people who are unemployed. I haven’t seen anything good come out of either the Democrats or the Republicans.”

**Jeffrey Myles,
Unemployed
Greyhound Bus Driver**

tended downward in an effort to attract dwindling demand. And while Reaganomists claim that lower inflation will reduce unemployment, inflation is actually being held down, and only temporarily, by the massive unemployment itself!

Time magazine, which predicts a continued rise in production this year, happily forecasts increased consumer spending to match, “because families will be able to buy more for their dollar.” But not even *Time* sees a significant unemployment drop. And continued high joblessness means that not many families will have any dollars to spend. Where will the bosses dump their wares? And how can recovery sustain itself in the absence of a market?

We may not have to worry about it. There is another immense dark cloud on our economic horizon—the unprecedented federal deficit. Even the optimists are losing sleep over this one.

Catch-22 with a vengeance

The deficit continues and will continue to soar, reaching \$189 billion in 1984 according to the man who in 1980 promised to balance the budget by the end of his first term.

But because Reagan has slated \$1.6 trillion for armaments over the next four years, he won’t be able to keep his promise. Ballooning government indebtedness and tremendous inflationary pressure on the economy are in store for us. The government debt, in fact, together with the even greater volume of private debt, is the root cause of *permanent inflation* built into modern capitalist economy. And high unemployment can only temporarily hold it down.

The bosses, meanwhile, are taking the money and running. Deregulation of business, contrary to spurring industrial investment as Reagan said it would, has merely facilitated capital flight from high-risk U.S. industry. Investment in industry declined an estimated 2.3% in 1982, and *Time* envisions a 5% drop this year regardless of the supposed rise in production.

The news just gets worse. The current move toward automation, unaccompanied by worker retraining and jobs programs, will only further reduce and impoverish labor. And the vaunted “Buy American” campaign, with its anti-Japanese racism, only risks retaliatory trade wars with Japan and Europe.

Modern capitalism offers a no-win situation to both U.S. workers and industry, which must maximize its profits—quickly—or go out of business. Reagan, like Carter before him, can only exacerbate U.S. industrial decay. His continuing option—balancing off depression against inflation, while helplessly watching the deficit soar out of sight—is an absurdist scenario for



“I can hang in there for a bit, but I will begin to worry pretty soon. I don’t believe we’re in a recovery. That’s a bunch of junk, lies! I think there’ll be a revolution in this country, I really do.”

**Carol Preston,
Unemployed Secretary**

economic extinction.

Meanwhile, as inner contradictions wrack this diseased and contracting system, revolution on four continents tightens a political/economic noose around capitalism’s neck.

There’s only one way out for the bosses. War. War abroad to gain markets and resources and to destroy their anti-imperialist enemies, and war at home against an increasingly desperate and recalcitrant workforce.

A very political economy

War at home has already been declared. The bosses are using the jobs crisis like a meat cleaver against the hopes and well-being of the workers.

Business closures and cutbacks have wiped out millions of jobs. According to *Fortune* magazine, one out of five assembly line jobs has been lost since 1979, the majority never to return.

The threat of more cutbacks is being used to wrest enormous concessions from workers in industry after industry, as business and government propagandists cudgel the unions with the charge that their demands are hobbling business recovery.

And capital flight from unionized

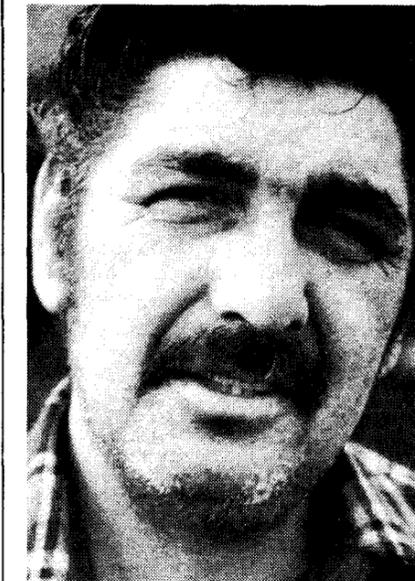
industries—to other lands, to the anti-union U.S. South and Sunbelt, and to more profitable investment arenas—is also sapping organized labor’s strength.

Hard times have spurred the right-wing political offensive against all social, economic, and civil rights. Both Reagan and Carter used the economy as an excuse to cripple the health, education, and welfare budget. And reactionaries, from Reagan on down, have seized on economic panic to foment hatred against the traditional scapegoats of U.S. society.

Women, undocumented workers, and political refugees are being blamed for unemployment among men and whites. Affirmative action for women and people of color is being brought into collision with older white workers’ seniority rights as the bosses chip away at both through layoffs and the courts. Gays are held responsible for the moral and, by implication, economic breakdown of society. And as the general desperation mounts, Nazis, Klansmen, and religious bigots are emboldened to strike harder at non-white, non-heterosexual, and non-male victims.

Patriotism and red-baiting are still the refuge of scoundrels. The anti-Soviet war scare, burgeoning witch-hunts in our universities and public employment sector, and now Senator Orrin Hatch’s proposed hunt for “subversives” in the unions are efforts to whip everyone into silent lock-step-Americanism.

The right wing is out to terrorize workers, inflame the racism and sex-



“Reagan says there’s work out there, but I can’t see any. Meanwhile, he’s sure busting the unions. I thought I was pretty safe in my trade, but my shop closed down last summer, and that’s supposed to be the busy season. I’ve got seven kids and I had to send one of them to live with relatives in Canada.”

**David Munoz,
Unemployed Roofer**

ism that divides them, and so divert attention from the capitalist source of our economic misery. Frightened, divided, and deluded workers cannot fight back against their enemy.

Jobs and unity now

Unity is a necessity for workers in the ’80s. And recent demonstrations in Youngstown, Ohio, the Monongahela Valley in Pennsylvania, and San Francisco attest to the growing combativeness of employed workers and the

jobless.

Demonstrators’ demands are to the point: jobs now; extension of unemployment benefits; medical and social service benefits; jobs and retraining programs. The Monongahela rally included the four-day work week in its demands. Soon, demands will be heard for the sliding scale of wages and hours (30 hours work for 40 hours pay).

Speakers at all the rallies stressed the need for unity in the face of the economic crisis. But unity can only be won through the realization that the jobs crisis and the rightwing onslaught against the super-oppressed are interdependent aspects of the capitalist drive to subjugate labor.

Unity can only come through the realization that the Democrats, and their labor and other reformist supporters, are unable and unwilling to decisively combat our social and economic privation. How could it be otherwise, when the Democrats, like the Republicans, are bound body and soul to the system?

Beyond the two-party system

It’s time for a *Labor Party* in this country—one that stands independent of the capitalist two-party system.

A Labor Party—based in the unions; connected to and drawing strength from the progressive social movements; encompassing the demands of women, minority, gay, and disabled workers; and democratically expressing the will of the majority—can unite both the unemployed and those who still have work in an effective fight for jobs and social services and against the myriad inequities of the system.

It can raise to the fore the demands of the most exploited—upon whose backs this system rests—and thereby further the interests of all.

And by fighting against the bosses and the conditions which deny the majority the right to earn a decent living, the party of labor will also prepare the greater, decisive battle—the war for workers’ control of production, the state, and their own destinies.

Victory will ensure a decent living and a bounteous life for all. □



“Employers want people my age to work at minimum wage or below. And most places won’t hire Native Americans, though I haven’t suffered much on that score because I look white. But I’m a woman and most places only hire white guys.”

**Erin Hegwood,
Unemployed youth**

Free speech fight at Berkeley

Judge Orders: Rehire Merle Woo!

BY KAREN BRODINE

Chalk one up for Merle Woo and 2,000 other lecturers at the University of California.

On December 2, the California Public Employment Relations Board (PERB) ruled that UC had committed an unfair labor practice in 1980 when it unilaterally reduced the maximum teaching term for lecturers from eight to four years. UC, said PERB, should have negotiated with the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) before it instituted the 4-year rule.

Administrative Law Judge Barry Winograd ruled that UC must reinstate its 8-year maximum, rehire all lecturers fired under the 4-year rule, and reimburse them for lost pay and benefits. He ordered Woo, the central figure in this case, against whom the rule was "expressly misapplied. . . as a basis for premature termination," to be reinstated in her lecturer's job at UC Berkeley within 45 days.

Woo had charged that UC invoked the new 4-year rule as a pretext to get rid of her last June, despite the fact that she had been hired with the promise of permanent employment, as Winograd noted. And she has filed sex, race, and political discrimination complaints—issues not dealt with at the PERB hearing—through a separate university grievance process and through the federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC).

The university fired Woo, an Asian American socialist, feminist, lesbian, and unionist, following her outspoken advocacy of gay rights and her sup-

port for students, staff, and faculty against high-handed, anti-labor administrators in the Asian American Studies Program where she taught.

that because AFT had not signed a contract with UC to be the bargaining representative for the lecturers, it had no right to represent them at the hearing. The appeal said that since Woo was the only one fired—not true, incidentally—her case is *not* an example of the 4-year rule's generally adverse effect on lecturers. Finally, the university claimed that because Winograd's ruling states only that UC's *method of implementing* the rule was unfair, the rule itself has no adverse effect!

UC is engaging in acrobatic double-talk. Since when does the AFT have to sign a contract *with* UC to represent lecturers in an adversary proceeding *against* UC? Also, Woo's firing is certainly an adverse effect of the 4-year rule, as are the terminations of other lecturers at UC's Santa Cruz campus.

An outraged Woo says, "There are good teachers out here, censored from the classroom, on unemployment, while UC blithely continues its union-busting and discrimination." All the lies and legal tangles the university dreams up, however, "won't stop us from continuing the fight," she vows.

War on other fronts

In mid-January, Woo learned that her grievance would not come before an arbitrator for a year. It had been tentatively scheduled to be heard late this winter. At this hearing, Woo's lawyers will argue her charge that UC discriminated and retaliated against her because of her politics. The UC Chancellor, though, can overturn any decision favorable to Woo. Her option, then, is to take her case to civil court.



Nancy Elnor

port for Woo, UC-AFT President Joel Westman, Berkeley AFT Local President Joe Neeland, and UC-Santa Cruz lecturer Roswell Spafford, to discuss continued union support for Woo's case after AFT lawyer Robert Bezemek had recommended dropping it. The Committee is charged with handling Woo's case for the union.

Spafford, a respected longtime lecturer-activist, pointed out that support for Woo's case is all-important in terms of the union's efforts to organize lecturers system-wide. Everyone agreed, and AFT decided to continue support.

The following day, the AFT presented a resolution supporting Woo at the California Federation of Teachers Convention, held in San Francisco. The resolution declared that Woo was the victim of sex and political ideology discrimination and that UC had violated her right to free speech on the job. The Convention, attended by 500 delegates, passed the resolution unanimously.

A saboteur bows out

The night before the March 18 Grievance Committee meeting, AFT member Nancy Elnor resigned as head of the Committee. Well and good! Elnor had been bad, bad news in the year she had "handled" Woo's case.

She had tried from the beginning to drive a wedge between Woo and her Defense Committee, and the AFT. For six months she blocked passage of an AFT support letter to other unions. She also stonewalled Woo's access to AFT lawyer Bezemek.

Elnor refused to allow Woo or the Merle Woo Defense Committee (MWDC) to speak at the AFT press conference following the PERB victory, twice struck Woo's case from union meeting agendas, and attempted to suppress or discredit support petitions that Woo brought to the meetings for resolution. At one point, she told Joel Westman that the AFT "should not support an independent organization's fundraising attempts." (This, after the union had *asked* the MWDC to raise the money for Woo's arbitration expenses!)

The red-baiting Elnor also warned Bay Area Radical Women members of MWDC not to "work against the union," something that *Elnor*, not MWDC or RW, did consistently.

Mutual solidarity, please

Nancy Elnor is—or was, at least until May 1982—an acknowledged member of the Socialist Workers Party, a fact which goes a long way toward explaining her anti-Woo perfidy. The SWP for years has backstabbed other radicals (Trotskyists and feminists above all) in its attempts to snuggle up to labor bureaucrats and the reformist leaders of other movements.

Ironically, a few days before Elnor exited from the Grievance Committee, Freedom Socialist Party leader Clara Fraser received a call in Seattle from an SWPer who asked her to give a statement in support of the SWP's recently concluded free speech fight in a Los Angeles federal court. (Alan Gelfand, a former SWP member expelled in 1978, sued unsuccessfully to have the *court* reinstate him in membership and remove the SWP national leadership.)

Fraser was bowled over by the SWP's request. The SWP National Office had refused to support her sex and political discrimination case against Seattle City Light, and SWP's paper, the *Militant*, gave it minimal and inadequate coverage. Fraser was also well aware of Elnor's effort to destroy Merle Woo's case.

The FSP, she replied, supports the SWP case in principle, as it supports all radicals and activists against government attacks. But she was reluctant to give a support statement until the SWP could bring itself to curb its anti-Woo policy and honor the principle of reciprocal solidarity against attacks.

Keeping the heat on

The Merle Woo Defense Committee has continued its pressure on UC since the December 22 appeal. To date, the Committee has sent UC President David Saxon petitions containing 3,000 signatures calling for Woo's reinstatement and an end to the 4-year rule. Letters supporting the PERB decision have flooded the university.

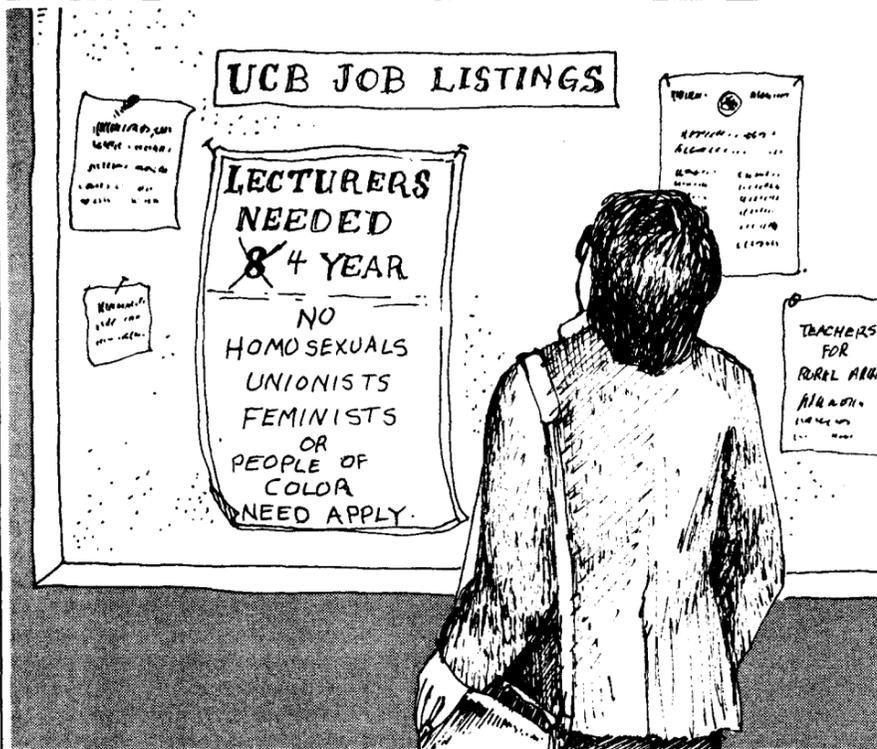
The Committee's new endorsements include Irish socialist leader Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, Cannery Workers Union Local #37 of Seattle, CWA Local #9410 of San Francisco, feminist poet Adrienne Rich, and Seattle's Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights.

The goal is victory

The PERB decision and the resolution victory at the CFT Convention are tremendous boosts for Woo and her supporters, and the arbitration delay and EEOC setback have not dampened their spirits a bit.

The Committee has fashioned a dynamic national defense campaign, with solid support from the feminist, lesbian/gay, people of color, and labor movements. Campaign strategies are modeled on Clara Fraser's successful Seattle fight—publicly tying together the issues of free speech, race, sex, and sexuality, and organizing support from all the movements for social justice. These strategies were central to Woo's initial win and will pave the way to complete victory, no matter how long it takes.

Regardless of UC's appeal, Woo's achievements to date mark a significant gain for lecturers' job security, affirmative action, and the right of all workers to organize on campus. □



Ruby Slattery

port for students, staff, and faculty against high-handed, anti-labor administrators in the Asian American Studies Program where she taught.

The PERB action, initiated by the AFT on behalf of the lecturers, resolved none of Woo's specific discrimination complaints. But it did strike hard at UC's attempt to inhibit union organizing by the lecturers through reducing their length of service.

An appeal to unreason

The university appealed Winograd's decision on December 22, claiming

The same week that Woo learned of the arbitration delay, the federal EEOC—now larded with Reagan appointees—informed her that she had no case; the university had not fired many Chinese/Korean women (on the excellent ground that there are not many on campus to fire), so no pattern of discrimination could be found.

Logic like the EEOC's leaves one grasping for sanity.

Great news!

AFT held a special Grievance Committee meeting on March 18, attended



BY JANET SUTHERLAND

King County Superior Court Judge William C. Goodloe awarded \$52,392.95 in attorneys' fees and costs to Clara Fraser on January 27, 1983, capping the victory in her political and sex discrimination case against Seattle City Light.

As Fraser and her attorneys, Valerie Carlson and Frederick W. Hyde, Jr., store away the eight-years-worth of records of the case—legal research, motions, affidavits, briefs, transcripts and exhibits—they can revel in a legal triumph that is a milestone on the road to political freedom on the job for all workers.

After receiving a net back pay and damages check of \$84,000 (what was left after her \$135,000 award), Fraser returned to work at City Light on November 17, 1982—amid flashing cameras, flowers, and other welcoming tributes from coworkers and friends.

Fraser and her attorneys had negotiated the back pay and damages amount with the city after Judge Goodloe, in August 1982, restored City Hearing Examiner Sally Pasette's 1980 ruling in Fraser's favor. The judge left the amount to be negotiated under his supervision. Since City Attorney Doug Jewett was busy seeking liberal votes as a Republican alternative to reactionary militarist Senator Henry Jackson, the negotiations for Fraser's salary and benefits sped along and were quickly resolved.

Jewett, however, lost his bid for the U.S. Senate, and soon ended the armistice with Fraser. Pressed for final settlement of attorneys' fees and costs, Jewett's assistant, attorney Roger Nowell, refused to negotiate. In effect, he proposed that Fraser use her back pay award to meet the \$86,000 fee sought by her attorneys.

But Judge Goodloe is better at arithmetic than Jewett & Co. He declared that "equity and justice" demanded that the city pay these legal fees and costs, and set the amount at \$50,000

The Seattle Times
City told to pay Clara Fraser's lawyer \$50,000

PLEXUS
SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA WOMEN'S NEWSPAPER
Workers Victory Wins Back Job, Pay



Without these people—and dozens of unsung volunteers—the Fraser case could never have captured the headlines. (left to right) Attorney Valerie Carlson; Legal Team Coordinator Charles H. Meyer; Fraser case Coordinator Mary Ann Curtis; Attorney Frederick W. Hyde.

to the city in November 1982 along with 50 pages of hour-by-hour documentation. Assistant City Attorney Nowell stalled, and then said he wouldn't even discuss the settlement offer until the end of March.

The Fraser Defense Committee made Nowell's stalling a public issue. People bombarded the Mayor and the City Attorney with phone calls and petitions demanding legal fees for Fraser. Carlson and Hyde saw clearly that another fight was in the offing,

ed them, in a *pro se* capacity, and strenuously objected to Nowell's improper and insulting inquisition about whom Carlson and Hyde lived with, whether they were married and had children, and whether their bosses knew and approved of what they did with their spare time!

fees should be denied because the city Fair Employment Practices Ordinance did not authorize them, and because Human Rights Department Rule SHRR 30-030(2), which does authorize fees, had never been properly published and therefore was invalid.

Carlson and Hyde quickly proved that the rule had been published, and Nowell had to admit in court that his research assistants had "overlooked" it. But the city's last minute prevarications about the Human Rights Department rule caused Judge Goodloe considerable consternation. While he was "bleeding," he said, to award fees to Fraser, he asked for a persuasive argument that the fees should be awarded without specific authorization for them in the Ordinance.

The last waltz

Val Carlson spoke convincingly to this point. She said that the Ordinance was intended to carry out state and federal civil rights legislation at the local level, and didn't need to specify awards clearly provided for in those laws. And without such awards, she asked, how could any discrimination law be enforced? If the victim's legal costs could cancel out any damages award, who would bring suit?

Fraser had won, and Judge Goodloe had restored an earlier ruling in her favor. How, Carlson asked, could this

be a victory if the gains were wiped out by the cost of winning?

The Judge had to ponder these arguments, and he sent the courtroom crowd home. But his decision to award the fees came on the same day.

The city then blustered, as it always did, about appealing the attorneys' fees. But calls from concerned citizens swamped the phone lines. Justice, born of public pressure, prevailed, and the city finally announced it would not appeal.

And who was personally on hand when the final order was signed on February 3? None other than a smiling "good sport," City Attorney Doug Jewett. He made a big point of shaking hands with an appalled Clara Fraser and then told the press that his office had originally advised the City Council to settle with her in 1979. Jewett's claim amazed case volunteers, who knew that in 1979 his office had convinced the Council that City Light had a valid case and that Fraser could be beaten back.

But any tardy public relations victory the city hoped to reap by its final and "graceful" acquiescence—too little, too late, and too grudging—is more than overshadowed by the immense public disgust at city officials' treachery, lies, compulsion to hang onto power at gigantic public expense, and cynical contempt for the public's memory and intelligence.

Someday soon an aroused public will simply throw the rascals out for good. The power elite has caused too much misery for too many workers. Their day of reckoning is at hand. □

Attorneys' fees victory: FRASER WINS IT ALL!

for lawyers' fees and \$2,392.95 for court and legal costs.

City slow-shuffles on fees

Carlson and Hyde originally submitted a proposal for a fair settlement to the city—at the city's request. During the two and a half years of Fraser's appeal, Carlson and Hyde wrote or responded to 28 motions; wrote two extensive briefs, 13 memoranda and 42 affidavits; reviewed a 10 thousand page record; and researched all the legal issues involved in the complicated and unusual proceedings. For this they asked \$50.00 an hour, a fee that other lawyers considered low. The total fees and costs figure of \$86,456.45 actually represented 1,701 hours of labor by Hyde and Carlson, plus copying, court fees, and other legal costs.

In the interest of an amicable settlement, Carlson and Hyde cut this figure to \$75,000 and sent their proposal

filed a motion for attorneys' fees and costs in Superior Court, and set a January 27, 1983 hearing date before Judge Goodloe.

Deposition rag

Assistant City Attorney Roger Nowell, who had claimed he was much too busy to even discuss a settlement, immediately subpoenaed Carlson and Hyde for depositions and asked for a pre-trial meeting with Judge Goodloe to request a postponement of the hearing.

Fraser instantly filed a motion for a protective order to shield her attorneys from this deliberate harassment. She called the procedure—which is virtually unheard of in determining attorneys' fees—"discriminatory grilling."

On January 12, Judge Goodloe denied the city's request to postpone the January 27 hearing, but allowed the city to depose Carlson and Hyde. He did state that the depositions were unnecessary, and suggested that Fraser add the cost to her final bill.

When the city deposed Carlson and Hyde on January 21, Fraser represent-

Fraser refused to allow Carlson and Hyde to answer questions unrelated to the setting of fees and the amount of time and costs. But she allowed her attorneys to explain that they were able to invest over 1,700 hours, outside their regular jobs, precisely because of the tremendous amount of help—on housework, cooking, typing, and legal assistance—provided by dozens of Defense Committee volunteers.

Nowell was flabbergasted by this argument; he couldn't absorb it, but neither could he disprove it! He growled about "letting the Judge decide" the disputed issues, but he never even submitted the transcript of the depositions to the Judge.

Public interest polka

When the matter came before Judge Goodloe on January 27, Nowell maintained that Carlson and Hyde had "no written contract" with Fraser; that since they both held full-time jobs, their claim of 1,701 hours of work was unreasonable; that they undertook the Fraser case as a matter of "principle" and expected no pay.

Nowell couldn't imagine attorneys working even one hour a day for two and a half years in the public interest—but if they did, and won, they shouldn't expect to be paid!

Nowell also claimed that attorneys'

EDITORIAL

New York cops run riot. Gay bar raided and ransacked. Twenty patrons hospitalized. Countless others beaten and robbed. Sound familiar?

Rampages like these led to the Stonewall rebellion in 1969. But it happened again in 1982, and although the targets were the same, the terror and damage were much, much worse.

On September 29, 40 policemen invaded Blue's, a Times Square bar patronized by Black gay men, transvestites, and transsexuals. The cops locked the door behind them and proceeded to tear the place apart. They broke windows, trashed the machines, dumped the liquor from behind the bar, rifled the cash register, beat and robbed customers, and sexually abused transvestites and women, all to the accompaniment of racist, sexist obscenities and death threats.

The walls and floors were literally spattered with blood.

Nine days later, the cops returned and repeated the atrocities.

Police claimed they had received complaint calls. Yet there were no arrests made either time and no record of any complaint.

The New York media, except for the *Village Voice*, the *Amsterdam News*, and WBAI radio, ignored the story. Even the *New York Times* treated this news as unfit to print. This had to do with the fact that the *Times*, which sits across the street from Blue's, had badgered the cops to "Clean up Times Square" and shut the bar down.

It's war

Gay and minority bashing have become national epidemics.

The Times Square atrocities, however, mark a heightened level of heterosexist and racist violence. Forty badge-carrying thugs turned a Black gay bar into a virtual slaughterhouse. This was tantamount to a declaration of war against New York's people of color, lesbians, and gays. The press silence was a

TEROR in TIMES SQUARE

tacit go-ahead for more of the same. And how long does anyone think it will be before the cops, or other rightwing headcrackers, strike again?

Politicians' promises

The crisis highlights a deepening split in the lesbian/gay community. The night of the first raid, a few blocks across town, 850 tuxedoed gays and friends attended a \$150-a-plate banquet thrown by Democratic presidential hopeful Walter Mondale, who was out courting the gay vote. Attendees enthusiastically applauded the timeworn Democratic paeans to "human rights" and promises of happiness under our capitalist "democracy."

Lesbian/gay rights somehow went unmentioned

at this banquet. Did anyone there notice? These gay Democrats—white, primarily male and monied—seem not to care. They are thirsty for "respect" from the powerful and blind to a political landscape littered with politicians' broken promises. And they have yet to grasp the significance of racist cop gaybashing in a town that's run by the Democrats, just as they have yet to evince concern for the fates of their sisters and brothers of color.

Urgent words

On October 15, 1,500 protesters led by people of color and radicals jammed Times Square to denounce the raids. Rally participants included Black and White Men Together, the Third World Alliance of Lesbians and Gay Men, Salsa Soul Sisters, El Comité de Homosexuales Latino Americanos, Dykes Against Racism Everywhere, Radical Women, the Committee Against Racism, Anti-Semitism, Sexism, and Heterosexism, and many others.

Renee McCoy of Harlem's Metropolitan Community Church enjoined listeners to "create a new movement" to deal with "racism, classism, sexism, and heterosexism within our struggle for sexual liberation."

Hers is an urgent appeal. Black and Puerto Rican drag queens—pariahs in even their own gay and racial communities—are frontline victims of cop terrorism. But while reaction may begin with the most outcast, it doesn't end there. "Respectable" lesbians and gays and straight people of color are also on the hit list.

Hopefully, the Blue's raids will jolt people into reality. Rightwing cops and the system of bigoted, immoral laws they uphold can only be fought and overcome through defense of the outcast among us.

The October 15 protest rally was a strong and welcomed step in the right direction.

—ANGELICA MERLINO AND MAXINE REIGEL

VOICES OF COLOR



Emily Woo Yamasaki: shattering the stereotypes

Cornell University, in the mountainous region of Ithaca, New York, provided the setting for a groundbreaking conference on "Asian American Women: Probing the Minority's Minority" on October 23, 1982. Cornell's Asian American Coalition sponsored the conference, which 75 students and off-campus visitors attended.

The ambitious agenda included speeches, workshops, and cultural presentations. A diverse group of speakers addressed topics ranging from Asian Americans' historic fight against racist immigration laws to the modern-day search for identity in a society raised on the myth of Asian Americans as the "model minority."

Speakers explained how U.S. society's depiction of Asian Americans as "acceptable" people of color, who are not really oppressed, helps keep all people of color divided.

How true. As a Black woman, I found that I recognized and identified with the issues being raised. I also felt a common bond with the experiences described throughout the conference.

Keynote speaker May Chen, a teacher who describes herself as a New York Chinatown community political activist, provided an historic overview that exploded the myths. Asian American women are triply oppressed, she said, "as women, Asians, and workers," and are frequently denied even the lowest-paying jobs. As a result, they have often been forced into prostitution both in the U.S. and

Asian American Women: ON THE MOVE

abroad, especially during war times.

Evelyn Yee, also a New York Chinatown activist, led a workshop on media stereotypes of Asian women: "Finding Our Own Images." And Liz Young, actress and member of Asian Women United, presented "Ourselves," the first film by and about Asian women. Subsequent discussion centered on the "cultural limbo" Asians in the U.S. inhabit through wanting to be accepted as Americans while still retaining Asian culture.

Spotlight on stereotypes

Radical Women and Freedom Socialist Party member Emily Woo Yamasaki sparked lively discussion with her talk "Asian American Women and the Feminist Movement," which pinpointed the capitalist economics and politics that shape U.S. culture, and wove together Asian American struggles with those of other oppressed groups.

Yamasaki used her experience as a film and stage actress to illuminate how capitalism exploits people of color and women through race and sex stereotyping. She explained that Asian American women are usually limited to "China Doll" and "Dragon Lady" roles which are designed to fix women as men's playthings and Asian Americans as "exotic" and alien.

All women and people of color, she said, have likewise been saddled with denigrating images to "legitimize" their exploitation and perpetuate the chauvinist notions of white male-dominated society.

The rock bottom line

Yamasaki emphasized the need for all of capitalism's victims—women, people of color, lesbians and gays, and workers—to unite against our common victimization. The alternative—remaining divided over our differences—is suicidal, especially in the face of growing rightwing attacks. She called on women of color, as rock bottom opponents of this triply oppressive system, to lead in building unity against the reaction.

Yamasaki cited the example of Merle Woo, an Asian American lecturer who was fired from the University of California at Berkeley for her lesbianism and her socialist feminist politics. Woo's defense campaign, said Yamasaki, centers around the right to freedom of speech and academic expression and has rallied nationwide support from a diverse spectrum of people who recognize the multifaceted nature and importance of her fight.

In addition to her talk, Yamasaki presented a workshop entitled "Which Road for the Feminist Movement: Liberal Reformism or Socialist Feminism?" An enthusiastic group of conference attendees participated in this workshop, which explored the advantages of a multi-issue, anti-capitalist women's movement as opposed to liberal accommodation to the system.

New directions for Asian American women

The conference succeeded in presenting different political viewpoints and in providing a forum for Asian Americans and non-Asians to discuss all issues relating to the "minority's minority." Young Asian American women especially gained from the opportunity to identify their oppression in U.S. society. But it took Yamasaki's workshop and the socialist feminism of RW/FSP to get the conference on its political feet. I was particularly impressed with the intensity of the politics that Yamasaki represented.

It's clear that the "invisible" minority faces rightwing attacks just as do Blacks and other people of color. We can no longer afford to let the oppressor play his game of divide-and-conquer. I am convinced that all people of color need to move forward together now toward true liberation for everyone. Revolution in our time!

—G. MAXINE RISHER

G. Maxine Risher is an aspiring musician who lives in New York City.

Cuba revisited

I went to Cuba this year from January 19 to January 30 on a special political tour organized by the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society. We were the first group of Australians to visit Cuba, at least since the revolution. I had been there once before, in January 1981.

As before, I was struck by the friendliness and openness of the Cuban people. A man who had fought in Angola told us that in any fight against imperialism, we could count on the Cubans.

The Black Cubans we talked to seemed amazed by racism in Australia and the U.S., explaining that this was not the situation in Cuba. Like most Cubans we talked to, they were 100% behind the revolution.

Cuba has a way to go in solving women's oppression. Its Family Code, for instance, sets a *moral* standard for equal labor within the family, yet there are no legally enforcing mechanisms. Certain jobs—childcare, nursing, etc.—are considered effeminate, and men don't do them.

Anti-gay attacks have lessened recently, but the militia still occasionally raids gay

meeting places. It is still impossible for an open lesbian or gay man to teach or join the Cuban Communist Party.

Cuba's economic problems are caused primarily by the U.S. blockade, and its economic dependence on the USSR results in political concessions to the Soviet bureaucracy. I think this accounts for Cuba's refusal to fight wholeheartedly for feminism and against lesbian/gay oppression, issues which Stalinism abhors.

But Cuba *has* broken with capitalism and the gains of the revolution are apparent. Travel through any other Latin American country and you will see (as I did in Mexico) Cuba's advantages.

On our final day in Habana, we participated in a demonstration celebrating the 130th birthday of national hero José Martí. We marched in the sweltering heat with hundreds of thousands of people. It was thrilling to be a part of such a manifestation of belief in the international socialist future. *Viva la revolución Cubano!*

—DAVID FAGAN



Clara Fraser

MY COURT CASE IS OVER, the victory won, the cheers subsiding. But Merle Woo, my dear friend and awesome comrade, is not so fortunate. Her travail persists. There is no more fitting use of this column in this issue than to turn it over to Merle—Merle the poet, Merle the rebel, Merle the gallant gladiator. She does me honor to let me put her words in my space.

Words for my father

BY MERLE WOO

MY FATHER HAS BEEN on the critical list for over three weeks after open heart surgery. I want to tell him, "*We just won a major victory! The judge ruled I should get my teaching job back at Berkeley. He decided in our favor because we have such a good case, we had a great picket line, and my Asian students packed the courtroom!*"

I've wanted to tell Daddy so much. I want to tell him in flawless Cantonese that I am fighting back because of him and my mother; that many of us are fighting so that no one will ever be put on Angel Island again (that infamous immigration depot in San Francisco Bay where Asians were detained—often for years—before entering this country), or will have to work so hard for so little; that we respect him for what he has done.

"Remember representing yourself in a courtroom when you became a citizen? You were all alone and didn't even need an attorney. You made it on your own study and knowledge."

WHEN HIS EYES ARE CLEAR, I wonder what he is thinking, what he cannot say to me. Not a language barrier this time—his Cantonese, his family's English—but a physical muzzle, the respirator. When I visit him, I don't want to be fully conscious of what I see. The insults to his body!

I write down phrases from my Auntie Lula and my comrade Nellie. I say "*Mo sao. Nay jow ho fan, lo.* [Don't worry. You'll be better soon.]" He holds my hand tightly.

His tenacity for life shows me the courage and single-mindedness I need to continue.

MY SON PAUL SAID, "*You feel so bad because he's the only one in our family who doesn't mind that you're a socialist.*" True. My father knows what it is to stand up against something really big, against what is holding us in the Chinatowns, in shame, in an enforced lie that doesn't even give him a legal document to tell him how old he is or even what our real name is—Wong, Woo, Wing.

Sometimes his anger bursts out. He'd never told me he was on Angel Island until I gave him a book on its history: "*One and a half years! Bok Gui!* [White devils!]" This year he asked, "*Ling-chi* [Ling-chi Wang, Director of Asian American Studies, UC Berkeley] *fire you?*" I nodded. He blurted, "*That Ki-Di!* [S.O.B.!]"

MY FATHER KNOWS collective work. He and his buddies at Sang Wo, the grocery store, spent decades sending food to a friend out of work or to relatives dying of TB or alcoholism, defying the police and immigration officials, keeping as close together as in their home village. Tommie, Guen Sook, Ah Sook, "Edward G. Robinson," Ah Bock, Nelson. Now only two or three are left.

I think about the language barriers between my father and me. Why didn't the rest of our family learn Cantonese? Why did my father refuse to speak English, although he is extremely literate in it? Racism. To us, speaking Cantonese meant being foreign. To my father, English has always been foreign, the language of the oppressor.

"Daddy, if we have a revolution, language won't divide us anymore."

I WANT ALL OF US to be free to speak out proudly in our languages. I want young people to have a different education, one that is cleansed of racism, sexism, heterosexism, and elitism, not one that perpetuates all that.

I want to get my job back and stop the University from union-busting. The battle itself is so important. Workers and students have to see others resisting. If we struggle, we can't lose.

In the process, we will expose the University as a capitalist enterprise, not really promoting teaching and learning but enforcing lies to maintain privileges for a few.

I once felt that going to work in Asian American Studies was a homecoming. But I quickly learned that a man with a yellow face who spouts sexism and homophobia and represents management is not my brother, and that the tenured faculty there who go along with the University are self-serving opportunists. Had I forgotten my father's mistreatment by his Chinese bosses?

My father's fight against exclusion is my fight, although my perspective and my alliances are broader because I am a lesbian and a radical. Today I want to tell him that as I build for a socialist feminist revolution, I keep him and my mother foremost in my mind.

On Headaches

To be a communist is a beautiful thing, though it causes many headaches.

And the problem with the communist headache is, we assume, historical: it will not cede to analgesic tablets but only to the realization of Paradise on earth. That's the way it is.

Under capitalism our headaches and is torn from us. In the struggle for the Revolution the head is a delayed action bomb.

Under socialist construction we plan the headache which does not minimize it, quite the contrary.

Communism, among other things, will be an aspirin the size of the sun.

—Roque Dalton



Roque Dalton, internationally admired Salvadoran poet, has been a revolutionary since the '50s. He has been imprisoned and has escaped into exile several times, and now lives in Cuba. His poems are read throughout Latin America.

BY LUMA NICHOL

An unholy combination of liberals and pseudo-radicals made sure that the speakers' platform was reserved for Whites Only at Seattle's January 22 abortion rights rally. The rally was held to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion in the U.S.

Native American feminist and well-known abortion rights activist, Margaret Ward, was outraged that all the speakers were white, and asked to address the crowd. But Seattle NOW and the Seattle Reproductive Rights Alliance (SRRA) refused; the agenda had already been set, you see.

Ward had participated in and led a month-long defense of the Seattle Women's Healthcare Clinic against rightwing harassment last September and had spoken at a Clinic defense rally on September 18. She has important things to say about abortion rights and should have been granted her right to speak.

But NOW and SRRA said it "was

tion. So much for the concerns of women of color, working women, and lesbians. So much for feminist unity.

Next came the battle over rally speakers. There seemed to be agreement within the Coalition that women of color are the hardest hit by the current attacks against reproductive rights. So, argued the outnumbered RW, FSP, and Stonewall representatives, women of color should be the first to speak to the issue.

But NOW and SRRA claimed it

Racist exclusion at abortion rally

Who shall speak for the women's movement?



too late for last-minute program changes," and that the white speakers could adequately address the concerns of women of color.

Ward and her supporters rejoined that women of color could speak for themselves. Then NOW and SRRA threatened to cut off the mike if anyone tried to "take over" the stage. Charged with racism, they could only assert that they are "anti-racist."

But actions speak louder than words. Thanks to these "anti-racists," the rally ended without a woman of color addressing the crowd.

NOW and SRRA accused Ward, and the scores of rally participants who supported her, of "dividing" the feminist movement with the demand for a woman of color speaker. But what could have been more divisive than their own decision to draw the color line in the abortion movement?

So-o-o respectable

NOW and SRRA's racist censorship capped their months of maneuvering against the participation of women of color in the January 22nd Coalition which sponsored the rally.

As the controlling groups inside the Coalition (which also included representatives from Seattle Radical Women, the Freedom Socialist Party, the Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights, and independents), NOW and SRRA were primarily concerned with hustling support for abortion rights from the Democrats. They wanted a nice, "respectable," straight white middleclass event. That's why they teamed up to ensure that women of color and their supporters would be kept as unseen extras in the background on January 22.

Lilies on the rostrum

Exclusionary politics arose early in the planning sessions when NOW and SRRA forced the Coalition to drop demands for lesbian/gay rights and childcare and against forced steriliza-

would be "tokenism" to reserve a speaker's slot on the basis of skin color. Then, they blocked steering committee efforts to contact minority speakers, and outright refused to consider an independent Latina who volunteered to speak. None of the women of color, they said, had the "necessary qualifications" as an abortion rights activist! Evidently, one must have a Ph.D. and a peaches-and-cream complexion to qualify!

After a heated debate, NOW and SRRA slammed through the vote for their all-white speakers' list.

Thus the stage was set for the January 22 confrontation.

Exposing the excluders

After the demonstration debacle, 77 independent feminist and community activists and organizations wrote and signed a January 28 "Open Letter to the Feminist Community," denouncing NOW and SRRA's racist exclusion of Margaret Ward and refuting their charge that she and her supporters were "dividing" the feminist movement. "What divides our movement is racism," the letter said, "and not the demands of women of color for participation and leadership."

The letter recounted how women of color, with white women from the anti-poverty programs, initiated and led the historic abortion rights struggle that was won in 1970 in Washington State—three years before abortion was won nationally. "That NOW and SRRA could not find a 'qualified' woman of color speaks volumes to their own refusal to recognize minority women's leadership" and reflects "their political priorities."

Dodging the issue

NOW and SRRA responded with their own letters to the community, which, like the "Open Letter," were printed in the March issue of Seattle's *Northwest Passage* newspaper.

Both letters *mea culpa'd* their lack

of "commitment" to "fight racism" in the Coalition. But SRRA said that "the decision to have a woman of color speaker" should only have come out of "discussion... of racism" during the planning meetings. Sadly, "In an attempt to achieve unity with people from different political perspectives, we did not actively promote discussion of this question."

SRRA neglects to mention that it and NOW throttled discussion—and action—on this question.

SRRA says that the speaker issue was a way to "dodge the issue of racism itself." In other words, insisting on women of color's visible participation and representation in their own movement is... racism! Logical, no? It only remains to be said that NOW and SRRA tried to bury the issue—in the interest of "unity with people from diverse political perspectives," of course.

Too bad women of color and their supporters aren't included in their concept of political diversity.

Backroom bargain hunters

Unhappily for reproductive rights, NOW's leaders, who've learned nothing from their ERA defeat, still think that a quarterback sneak through enemy lines is the way to women's equality. To these ladies, backroom bargains with capitalist politicians are the keys to political "legitimacy" and success. Any democratic participation in decision-making by women in the ranks must be avoided like the plague.

Consequently, NOW insists that the abortion movement steer clear of offending the racist, sexist, homophobic, and rulingclass consciousness of Democratic legislators and rightwing pressure groups. And to ensure this, it is prepared to drive out the movement's toughest fighters—women of color, working women, and lesbians.

If the liberals in NOW have their way, abortion rights, like the ERA, will die a lonely but no doubt respectable death in the legislatures.

A rightward Trend

If SRRA has its way, NOW will indeed achieve "respectability" for abortion rights.

SRRA is dominated by the Trend, a Stalinist grouping that publishes the

theoretical journal *Line of March*.

True to its ideological heritage, Trend pays lip service to oppressed peoples' unity while practicing utter segregation of race, sex, and class issues in all the social movements. This stems from its lust for popularity with white liberals in the feminist movement and sexist reformists in the people of color movements. Stalinists, in their reactionary cynicism, always uphold the backward elements in each movement as the representative leaders.

The Trend, like NOW, wants women of color and all uncontrollables (especially Trotskyists) out of the abortion movement, which could then be kept safe for white "anti-racist" guilt-tripping. A segregated, de-radicalized movement would be Trend's gateway to control of the Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2), of which SRRA is a part, and hegemony over the entire left wing of the women's movement.

Naturally, these "radicals" prefer NOW-ist bureaucratism to the radical fusion of race and sex issues.

Let us point out that a left wing under the Trend's dictate, shorn of its women of color militants, lesbian/gay rights fighters, and radicals, would be putty in the hands of NOW's liberals—and the women's movement would be left defenseless against rightwing reaction.

Integration is survival

Obviously, NOW and its "radical" collaborators must be fought and overcome. Their policies—the same racist, homophobic, and anti-working-class segregationism that capitalism uses to foster anti-feminist reaction—must be exposed and decisively repudiated.

Straight white middleclass women don't own the feminist franchise and they never have. From the early abolitionist and suffrage movements, to today's labor, abortion, and Third World revolutionary conflicts, women of color, lesbians, and white working women always have been leaders. They recognize fully that these are all women's struggles.

Only if the abortion movement promotes and reflects the needs and demands of these most oppressed women will it be able to survive and fulfill its revolutionary potential. □

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by Ms. Tami

City Light's shell game

There's an old wives' tale that chicken soup is good for what ails you, and it appears to be true. There's another tale that says criminals always return to the scene of their crime. As applied to Seattle City Light management, currently facing a sex discrimination lawsuit, it's not so true. They didn't return to the scene of the crime—they never left it. The bosses' inside job began with the old shell game. They hired Clara Fraser back in 1973 and got her to start a program to recruit and train women in the electrical trades. Training and promotional opportunities were promised by management ("now you see it") but later withdrawn ("now you don't"). Fraser was lauded for getting affirmative action into high gear ("now you see her") and then fired ("now you don't") when the new recruits successfully sued City Light over management's broken promises.

During this first lawsuit, management tried to protect its cover with decoys like Pat Wong. She testified for the bosses, saying that there was no real problem with the electrical trades program—except that Clara and the other trainees were power-mad radicals. Yet, when the trainees won their suit in 1976, Wong had no real problem in demanding—and getting—a cut of their back pay and damages award. Clara Fraser also sued on grounds of sex and political ideology discrimination, and she won, finally, last August.

Victories? You bet. Lots of back pay, and damages too. But to the bosses, what's a few hundred thousand dollars out of the public trough? Their deals with nuclear power quietly added billions to the taxpayers' debts.

The women's lawsuits were only tip-of-the-iceberg stuff. Meanwhile, management's hegemony remained intact. Then, with the ink hardly dry on Fraser's victory, all hell broke loose at City Light. Those women—again! The Human Rights Department filed a director's complaint, on behalf of the women in non-traditional jobs, charging City Light with seven years of discrimination, harassment, intimidation and outright outrages against electrical tradeswomen. Management is still playing the old shell game, still scrambling to keep its cover. The bosses teach everything about utility poles, for example, except how to climb them safely. Nothing the recruits do is ever good enough, but the pressure on them to succeed anyway is dangerous and intolerable. Promotions and equal opportunity exist, somewhat, but never for women and minorities, even those with seniority.

The number of women and minorities admitted to the electrical trades program is impressive; the 90% dropout rate is more impressive. So management has now started a "Task Force"—and they promise to come up with solutions in one month that will make the last seven years all better. As proof of their good faith, they've put Pat Wong on the Task Force. Plus a few other women who are true patriots and repudiate the "militants." However, not to worry. Management can play this cooling-off game, but there's that old wives' tale that hell hath no fury like a woman scorned—or denied training, safety protections, promotions, free speech, and simple human dignity.

...Draft

from page 32

But this organizing effort was stopped in its tracks—first by the Socialist Workers Party, which split the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (NCARD) by refusing to allow NCARD's program to be "sullied" by other issues—such as feminism.

Draft resister Wayte, however, who supports equal treatment for women under the registration law, showed a far more intelligent appreciation of the explosive power of women in the draft movement when he stated in a January interview with this newspaper that "One of the reasons Congress would not pass a draft bill that treated men and women equally was because they feared stronger resistance if women were included."

After NCARD fell into the doldrums, Workers World Party ascended to movement leadership through People's Anti-War Mobilization

(PAM). They correctly grasped the multi-issue demands of the ranks, but squelched democracy in PAM in a play for movement hegemony. Within six months, they had strangled the movement.

A fighting program

The antidraft movement now must recover its momentum, quickly. The government is forging ahead with more prosecutions, and if it wins them, draft-age people and the rest of us are in real trouble.

Draft resisters need a fighting program, one that links the draft to war, imperialist profits, and racist, sexist, anti-labor exploitation here at home.

The movement also needs fresh leadership, democracy, and a sense of urgency. Draft-age youth, women, gays, people of color, workers, and radicals who suffer the brunt of militarist reaction must provide this direction.

A democratic and programmatically reconstituted antidraft movement can engage and rout the government warmongers. □

...Mexico

from page 3

maintained on Mexican electoral politics through its stringent control of all key institutions and draconian electoral regulations.

Election restrictions were somewhat loosened in 1977. But even liberalized regulations allow the PRI-controlled Federal Electoral Commission to deny registration to any party. And a party seeking to run candidates must have existed for four years and have at least 65,000 members. In spite of the regulations, eight parties ran candidates in the 1982 elections, including several left parties.

The Unified Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM), an electoral coalition dominated by the Mexican Communist Party, called for greater nationalization of industry and won the highest vote totals on the left. But its Stalinist leaders weakened the PSUM by excluding the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexico's largest Trotskyist party.

The PRT ran its own candidates

and injected the issues of political and social repression into the center of the electoral debate. It also made political history by being the first Latin American party to run lesbian and gay candidates for public office, nominating six for the congressional elections. The PRT also nominated Rosario Ibarra de Piedro, a lesbian/gay rights supporter, as its presidential candidate—the first woman ever to run for the Mexican presidency.

Increased support for leftist candidates was but one indication of growing dissatisfaction with the PRI.

In late December, workers and peasants seized over 40 municipal buildings in towns throughout the country, charging that PRI electoral fraud had prevented local opposition candidates from taking office. Five people were killed and 32 wounded in clashes between protesters and the PRI and police.

In Ocoyoacac, near Mexico City, 500 peasants fought off 2,000 police and took control of the town to protest PRI pressure on them to sell their land for a housing development. After a 2-week stand-off, the government abandoned its plans and the peasants retained their land.

Bringing the revolution home

As the economic malaise and political instability exacerbate the social crisis, Mexico's international political role could well be transformed. Currently the political buffer between Central and South American revolution and U.S. reaction, Mexico could soon become the transmitter of revolution into the U.S.

Then Mexico, now a frontrunner in world capitalism's slide into disintegration, could take the lead in building a revolutionary federation of the Americas. □

Gays under McCarthyism

The Survival Years is a history in progress of the anti-gay aspects of the McCarthy years, concentrating on the Security programs and purges of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. If you have any information on this period, particularly concerning the effects of the 1950s purges on the victims and bystanders, please contact:

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Draft prosecutions Government railroad Jobs off the track

BY SU BONDURANT

The government's draft registration program was dealt a stunning blow in November by gutsy U.S. District Judge Terry J. Hatter of Los Angeles.

Judge Hatter ruled that the government had illegally implemented draft registration and violated the First Amendment rights of draft resisters by prosecuting only outspoken non-registrants.

Wayte wins!

In a September pre-trial hearing for 21-year-old David Wayte of LA, the defense argued that the government was trying to silence draft opposition by selectively prosecuting resistance leaders.

The arguments were good ones. Hatter ordered the government to prove that this had *not* been their strategy. And the government couldn't do it.

U.S. attorneys offered documents that supposedly proved that the prosecutions were equitable. But they were so massively censored—to hide the truth—that Hatter called them "totally useless."

When Hatter demanded real evidence, the government stonewalled the court, accusing the judge of an "insatiable appetite" for "sensitive materials."

Furious, Hatter replied, "This court has an insatiable appetite for the truth!" and dismissed all charges against Wayte on November 16.

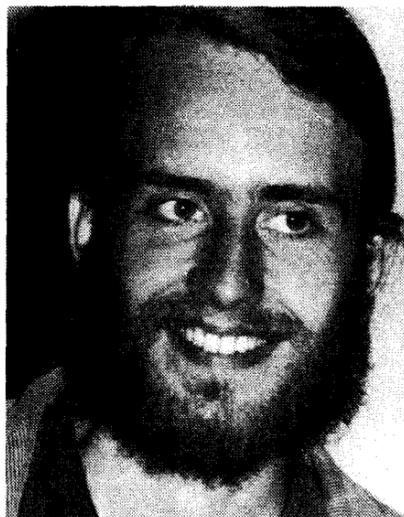
The politics of prosecution

Wayte's victory shocked the government, which had hoped to railroad him as it had three previous defendants.

The government began its draft prosecutions with an easy win before moving to tackle political resisters. Its victim, Enten Eller of Virginia, was a religious objector who eschewed a public, organ-

ized defense. A quiet trial suited the feds, and the press cooperated by reporting only the inevitable conviction. Another religious objector, Mark Schmucker of Ohio, later suffered the same fate as Eller, for the same reasons.

U.S. attorneys were ready after Eller's conviction to indict a political draft foe. They chose Ben Sasway of San Diego—a conservative, pro-military community



Draft foe David Wayte

which assured the government a cooperative judge and press.

Sasway's trial, predictably, was a farce.

Gagged and jailed

U.S. District Judge Gordon Thompson refused to allow Sasway to explain his antidraft position and actions on the stand, ordering him to answer questions with only yes or no. Sasway was speedily convicted. In an unprecedented and vicious move, the judge ordered Sasway held without bail until sentencing to pre-

him "from writing, trying to influence public opinion."
On October 4, the judge sentenced Sasway to 2 1/2 years, but "under pressure from antidraft militants, released him on \$10,000 bail pending appeal. The opinion added an infamous condition, however: Sasway must not urge others to violate the registration law or associate with people who advocate non-registration!

This, of course, was a clear attempt to intimidate resisters and prevent them from exercising leadership in antidraft and antiwar actions.

Victory lends strength

The Sasway and Wayte prosecutions revived the flagging antidraft movement in San Diego and Los Angeles. Demonstrators gathered every day during both trials, and thousands signed petitions on Sasway's behalf as he languished in jail, thus helping pressure the judge to grant him limited freedom.

Wayte's victory lent strength to the movement elsewhere. On March 10, 1983, a U.S. District Court judge in St. Paul slapped a preliminary injunction on a law signed last September by Reagan that would have denied educational loans to student non-registrants. The Minnesota Civil Liberties Union is currently seeking to make the injunction permanent.

Where is the movement?

The antidraft movement has been unable yet to mount a coordinated national response to the prosecutions.

When Jimmy Carter first announced reinstatement of registration, mass protest exploded overnight. For almost two years, a national movement grew, linking the draft issue to U.S. imperialism and to sexist, racist, and economic inequality at home.

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Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

Volume 8, No. 2, Spring 1983

