

# The Freeway Hall Case

## Courts default on constitutional issues

### -railroad FSP

**Railroaded.** An ugly word that summons up the dirty injustices of conviction without trial, denial of due process, and legal lynching—exactly what has been done to the Freedom Socialist Party and nine individual defendants in the Freeway Hall Case.

Defendants were declared in "default" last April by King County Superior Court Judge Warren Chan for refusing, in the course of a lawsuit, to hand over minutes of internal FSP meetings as demanded by Richard Snedigar and his witchhunting lawyers, Michelle Pailthorpe and Thomas Wampold.

Snedigar, an ex-FSP member, is suing the party and nine individuals for return of a donation he made in 1979 to the FSP Eviction Fund—money collected to purchase a new building after the party was evicted from the headquarters it had rented for 18 years.

Lacking any legal, factual, or logical basis for his charges of "undue influence" and fraud concerning his donation, Snedigar made his McCarthyesque demand for party records knowing full well that the party would refuse to comply. He wanted to force a default to avoid having the real facts brought to light in a trial.

The FSP has adamantly refused to turn over its membership list and records, risking jail and heavy financial sanctions in defense of its First Amendment privacy and free speech rights.

The FSP has been ordered to pay Snedigar \$42,139, the amount of the original \$22,500 gift plus interest—even though no trial has ever been held on the merits of his case. The FSP now faces seizure of its national headquarters in Seattle, New Freeway Hall, and attachment of individual defendants' homes, cars, bank accounts, and wages.

**Blood on his hands.** When Judge Chan signed the default order, he delayed filing it, saying that the FSP had the right to have the constitutional issues reviewed before default took effect. This was a nod to concerted public pressure by Freeway Hall Case supporters. But Chan refused to consider the constitutional issues; instead, he kicked the case upstairs so the Appeals Court could decide whether these free speech issues *should* be reviewed. If the Appeals Court judges rejected a review, he reasoned, the blood would be on their hands.

But merely by signing the default order, Chan butchered the First Amendment.

**Naming names.** In June, the Appeals Court rejected the FSP's petition for review; in August, Chan filed his default order. Then the time came to determine how much blood money Snedigar would receive.

The September 25 and October 12 sessions in Chan's court proved conclu-

sively that the capitalist court system is an amazingly handy instrument for denial of due process and suppression of the rights of radicals.

In each session, *Chan allowed Snedigar to name for the record individual defendants as FSP members, thereby exposing some of them to possible harassment on and off the job.* When FSP attorney and case defendant Valerie Carlson protested this outrage, Chan blandly informed her that, because of default, defendants had "no legal standing" in the proceedings against them! Snedigar could assert anything he wished, without the necessity of proof.

"Nothing better illustrates the Star Chamber quality of these proceedings," Carlson said later. "The accused have no voice and no rights. It is a mockery of justice."

Snedigar's ensuing testimony was an amalgam of red-baiting tripe and outright lies punctuated, despite Chan's gag order, by continued protests from Carlson and outraged spectators who packed the courtroom. To "prove" that the FSP had "unfairly persuaded" him to contribute to the eviction fund, Snedigar painted the party as a cult-like monolith that exercised total control over members' lives, from housekeeping details to "dating" partners. His

assertions *directly contradicted his previous oral deposition.*

When Carlson protested, Chan stated that it wasn't the business of the court to determine if Snedigar was telling the truth, again because of default!

Chan then instructed Snedigar's lawyers to come back on October 12 with better "evidence" if he wanted to collect an award. He advised them to provide "legal authority" for their claims.

Snedigar could sooner grow feathers and fly than come up with authority of any kind. So he came into court on October 12 with the same lies and slander, piled higher and deeper.

However, what happened when Snedigar stepped from the stand nearly defies belief. Judge Chan murmured inaudibly, signed a paper held out by Snedigar's attorney, adjourned the proceedings, and abruptly skipped off to his chambers. After a moment of stunned confusion, defendant and FSP National Chair Clara Fraser sped after Chan demanding he return to explain what he'd signed and why. Meanwhile, Snedigar and Co. slunk out of the courtroom, trailed by sharp-eyed reporters who returned to tell defendants that Chan had accepted Snedigar's allegations as the "facts" of the case and

awarded him double the amount of the original contribution!

A riot nearly ensued. Defendants and supporters wouldn't leave the courtroom until Chan returned to account for his actions. He finally reappeared, but his "explanation" was little more than an assertion that he'd done what he'd done.

**Specious reasoning.** Chan actually hinged his decision to torpedo the FSP on two points. The first was that only individuals, not organizations, have First Amendment rights. And because the original order enjoining the FSP to hand over its minutes stipulated that all names of individuals could be deleted, the party had no constitutional grounds to withhold records. Default therefore was justified.

His second point was that this lawsuit for return of money is a *commercial* case, entirely removed from constitutional and political considerations.

Garbage.

First, constitutional liberties are *meaningless* without the organizational right to privacy. A group is composed of individuals; do their rights stop at the doorstep of collective enterprise?

And how can individual rights, free speech for instance, apply without freedom to *organize* for one's opinions? Also, how can one organize to discuss or plan actions if hostile or "neutral" political forces and institutions have access to the discussions?

Moreover, First Amendment rights for certain organizations, i.e., corporations, have been upheld in the courts. *Unincorporated* groups such as the FSP and community activist organizations have not been accorded those rights to the same extent, though their rights are gaining a degree of recognition. It's another instance of pro-capitalist discrimination by the judiciary.

**It's political.** Chan's second point is equally bogus. This is *not* a commercial case. The FSP isn't being sued over a business deal; Snedigar is using the courts to steal back a political donation.

But even if it were a commercial case, how does that preclude involvement of constitutional issues? The courts have extended First Amendment protections

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## As we go to press

### Defendants go directly to jail—almost!

**O**n January 13, three of the Freeway Hall Case defendants, FSP National Chair Clara Fraser and case attorneys Valerie Carlson and Frederick Hyde, were sentenced to jail in Superior Court on contempt charges after refusing to answer questions from Snedigar's lawyer, Thomas Wampold, that probed into their personal finances and assets. The probe was an attempt to collect the default judgment awarded Snedigar by Judge Warren Chan.

Superior Court Judge James Nee stayed the sentence after recognizing that the defendants' First Amendment arguments against the sentence and the proceedings themselves should be heard in Appeals Court. Nevertheless, the jail sentence was the latest in the legal lynchings that have been inflicted on the defendants.

Each of the defendants explained their refusal to answer the questions. "No one, including myself," said Hyde, "should be deprived of their constitutional rights because they believe in the right to privacy and political freedom. Yet I am being subjected to seizure of my assets without benefit of a trial on the merits of our case."

"To participate in these proceedings," Carlson stated, "would give credibility to Plaintiff Snedigar's abuse of the



Fred Hyde, Clara Fraser, Valerie Carlson

legal process and the courts' failure, so far, to uphold our rights and prevent a chilling effect on the assertion of these rights by countless other people."

Fraser pointed out that the proceedings subjected defendants to double jeopardy. They'd already been found in default for refusal to hand over FSP records and now were being threatened with jail for failure to disclose their personal assets. Those assets are interrelated with others' finances and are equally protected by the First Amendment right to associational privacy.

In response to Nee's insistence that he had no alternative but to find defendants in contempt and jail them, Fraser said that he would

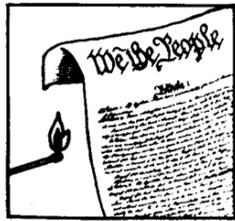
legally uphold their objections to these "unnecessary, unwarranted and deliberately provocative" proceedings, and should "because it's the right thing to do." (For the full text of Fraser's statement, see pg. 13.)

Defendants will appeal the contempt order to the Court of Appeals, the same court scheduled to hear their appeal of the default ruling. Meanwhile, Snedigar and Co. may still go ahead with collection attempts, the way, however, should discourage them from subjecting other defendants to financial probes.

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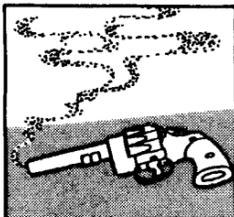
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## the freedom socialist

On the cover: Illustration by Eve Anthony.

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## LETTERS

### No more McCarthyism!

As I read in the last issue of the *Freedom Socialist*, the class struggle is still on. Enclosed is my check in defense of freedom. It appears there is no end to the reactionaries sitting in our courts.

Shall these Judases continue to remain, to serve the reactionary powers of our land, and time after time, ignore our First Amendment rights?

Don't let the courts and the reactionary powers bring back McCarthyism, or the days of the long, hard struggles of 1918-19 when paid goons and vigilantes strung men up on bridges and castrated a World War I vet whose ideology did not agree with the power at hand, which at the time was the lumber trust along with support from other reactionaries. Union halls were burnt, and the women and children inside were maimed and harassed.

Please don't let those days come back! Do what Joe Hill said, "Don't Mourn—Organize!"

ILWU, Teamsters, and all other unions: you cannot let this case go down the drain. You rank-and-file members have the power: use it, organize, and make your laws in the union halls.

A retired longie,  
M.A. Anderson,  
Desert Hot Springs, California

### Thank you, IWW!

Fellow Worker George LaForest of Illinois and the IWW has brought your situation to our attention and we would like to extend solidarity and aid to you in your struggle to maintain

the privacy of your group's records.

This contribution comes from the General Defense Committee locals #1 and #3 in Ohio. Local #3, incidentally, is composed entirely of incarcerated individuals, mostly at Lucasville, Ohio's maximum-security Southern Ohio Correctional Facility. Once again, we wish you all the best in your struggles, past, present, and future, and genuinely acknowledge your willingness to take a stand!

D. E. "Reuben" Slaton, Secretary  
Industrial Workers of the World,  
Dayton, Ohio

### AMPES fights back

Yanira Corea and her compañeras in the Association of Progressive Women of El Salvador (AMPES) were fighting mad after Yanira was kidnapped, raped, and tortured by rightwing death squad goons in Los Angeles last July. Said Yanira, "They thought we women were the weakest link. They were wrong."

Because AMPES responded with militant defiance and public exposure, the cowardly goons failed miserably in their brutal attempt to silence Corea and other intrepid Latina leaders of the antiwar movement. The women have renewed their resistance with fervor *because* of the attacks.

There's a lesson here for every activist: don't withdraw under fire—*advance* in defense of those already under attack and in anticipation that you'll be next.

Abortion rights defenders have long known that clinic bombers could

only be stopped by vigilant clinic defense and public condemnation. Such audacious strategies stop the death squad goons and firebombers because they are governed by the same rightwing ideology of misogyny, brutality, and cowardice.

The feminist and antiwar movements belong together as allies against the rightwing goons, who are desperate because they are losing.  
Monica Hill, Los Angeles

### A war prisoner writes

I am a Native American prisoner, i.e., Prisoner-of-War-by-Treaty, incarcerated at the Washington State Reformatory, and an active member of the Indians of All Tribes...

I would like to open communication with your organization on various social issues, some of which include prison conditions... I am not a Socialist, I am a Communist, because communism is the only form of political ideology that is closely related and consistent with my people's "ways and beliefs" (culture and religion), but we share the same objectives and goals...

May the People overcome the oppressions of the capitalist's exploitations, so we may evolve into a more harmonious society. Be strong, we need you.

Dominic Olivo, Monroe, Wash.

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

Loud Hawk, et al:

## Gov't targets Indian activists

The U.S. government's war against Native Americans is protracted, vicious, cruel, and unrelenting. Consider the case of Kenneth Loud Hawk, Russ Redner, and Dennis and Kamook Banks, who again face trial in U.S. District Court in Portland, Oregon on bogus charges of weapons possession.

The government's vendetta against these members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) began on November 14, 1975, when Oregon state troopers arrested Loud Hawk, Redner, Kamook Banks, and AIM leader Anna Mae Aquash near Ontario, Oregon. They were charged with harboring AIM fugitives Dennis Banks and Leonard Peltier, both wanted on trumped-up federal charges stemming from their defense of Lakota sovereignty at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

Since no witness saw either Banks or Peltier with any of the four, the government dropped those claims and charged them instead with possession of two knives and one handgun—and explosives the government alleged it found and "destroyed."

The case initially was dismissed in May 1976. Following a series of appeals by the government, the surviving defendants plus Dennis Banks were reindicted in 1980. (Anna Mae Aquash was murdered, probably by the FBI, in 1976.) In May 1983, charges were dismissed once again, this time due to the government's failure to provide a speedy trial. Subsequent government appeals concluded with a January 1986 U.S. Supreme Court reversal of the lower

courts and an order to proceed with trial—nearly 13 years after the original arrests!

**It started at Wounded Knee.** This political vendetta is a legacy of the U.S. government's 1973 siege of the Pine Ridge Reservation, home of the Oglala Sioux and site of the 1890 Wounded Knee massacre.

The siege began when tribal elders and traditional people asked AIM to help unseat corrupt tribal chairman Richard Wilson, whose policies left the reservation open for exploitation by ranchers and mining companies.

AIM members were on the scene when the white murderer of an Indian youth, Wesley Bad Heart Bull, was convicted of a mere misdemeanor in February 1973. Angry AIM leaders demanded a meeting with local white magistrates at Custer, South Dakota, but the meeting dissolved into a riot when Bad Heart Bull's mother was brutalized by courthouse guards for trying to enter the meeting. AIM leader Dennis Banks was framed for felonious riot and arson and fled after his conviction, only to emerge later that month as a leader in the 71-day occupation of a church at Wounded Knee.

In June 1975—the same day that Wilson transferred one-eighth of the reservation to the National Park Service—two FBI agents were killed while raiding a home on the Pine Ridge Reservation. A Native American, Joe Stantz, was also killed in the gun battle. AIM leader Leonard Peltier was convicted of murdering the agents on the strength of the

coerced testimony of a woman who later recanted. Peltier fled to Canada.

**Death of a warrior.** Anna Mae Aquash, one of the four arrested in Oregon for allegedly harboring the fugitives, was immediately extradited to South Dakota on yet another phony weapons possession charge. She disappeared the day before her trial in November 1975 and her body was found in February 1976.

The FBI claimed Aquash died of "exposure" and buried her. But a later exhumation and second autopsy revealed she had died of a bullet in the head.

Meanwhile, Peltier was extradited from Canada, tried, and convicted of murder in April 1977. He is serving two life terms in federal prison in Marion, Illinois.

**Stop the war!** The government's relentless pursuit of Loud Hawk, Redner, and the Bankses is part of its historic effort to demoralize and finally break Native American resistance and clear the way for untrammeled rape of Native lands. It will stop only when freedom-loving people organize to demand an end to the U.S. government's genocide against Indian nations. The trial of the four AIM activists will commence on February 2.

Send help to Loud Hawk Et Al National Offense/Defense Committee, 1200 S.E. Morrison Street, Portland, OR 97214. Call 503-230-0861 or 503-236-6154 for information.

—SANDRA WELSTED

# Social Accord: hangman's noose for Australian labor

The Australian working class is paying dearly for a social contract deal struck between Prime Minister Robert Hawke, leader of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the leaders of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU).

Currently the central focus of Australia's social and economic policy, the contract, known as the "Prices and Incomes Accord," was originally put forth by Hawke as a New Deal for workers in his successful 1983 campaign to oust the conservative government of former PM Malcolm Fraser. The Accord

economy as a whole, increases and improvements may be refused, reduced, or taken away. That is the rub—a no-strike agreement with no guarantees for the workers, signed and policed by union leaders backed by the force of the state.

A key element in the successful implementation of the Accord is Australia's unique system of compulsory arbitration. All industrial disputes and settlements must be submitted to a court called the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission (CAC). Its decisions are enforced by fines, imprisonment, re-

the country," the bosses put their bets on Hawke. He has yet to disappoint them.

**Blitzkrieg.** Most union leaders have made only token opposition to the Accord. At the ACTU congress where it was adopted, only Jenny Haines, delegate from the New South Wales Nurses Association, voted against it. Under pressure, she later signed.

The small but militant Food Preservers Union (FPU) soon struck over the appallingly low wages of its workforce—mainly migrant women. The FPU was threatened with deregistration, cops attacked the picket lines, and strikers were fired or starved back to work.

Another small union, the Federated Furnishing Trades Association, was forced to refund pay raises to employers because they were "outside the Accord."

A worse defeat hit the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF), Australia's most solid and militant union. The BLF's General Secretary was jailed on phony corruption charges, union members and organizers face thousands of charges, and the BLF was decertified.

Because the government pressured employers to hire workers only from registered unions, BLF members had to join other unions in order to work. In Victoria, the BLF's stronghold, many members entered the Building Workers Industrial Union and became part of that union's militant Rank and File Group.

On October 13, 1987, police stormed BLF headquarters in Melbourne, confiscating or smashing BLF property. In conjunction with the raid, the ALP passed a bill to seize BLF funds, claiming the union is bankrolled by Libya!

Following the raid, a spontaneous demonstration of 500 BLF members, supporters from other unions, and radicals protested outside Melbourne's Parliament. On October 14, over 2000 people marched through Melbourne and demonstrated against the government's blatant repression.

For its part, Queensland has outlawed all industrial action, and plans to destroy that state's unions by introducing individual contracts and making it illegal to organize—except by state permission!

Nationally, bosses and the state stand to collect millions of dollars in fines and damages from the unions.

The weakening of the unions mean-

while has fed the courage of the so-called New Right and enabled it to seize control of Australia's political agenda.

Federal legislation is currently being created to tie unions closer to the state via forced amalgamations of small unions on terms acceptable to the government, and by increased fines against "unruly" persons and unions.

Overall, workers' buying power has been cut 15%. Public spending has been cut 3.5%, and education, health, childcare, government housing, Aboriginal programs, and social security have been slashed.

**The way to fight back.** Despite this climate, there have been scattered victories. Late in 1986, Victoria's nurses won some concessions after a two-month long strike. They refused to return to work without gains for all nurses—including student and junior nurses—and warned the ACTU hierarchy to stay out of the dispute. While all of their demands were not met, they were not beaten either.

The nurses' strike proved that you can win if you fight back hard. There is an example to follow because big battles lie ahead for Australian workers.

The bosses and their laborite servants fully intend to destroy the Australian labor movement via the Accord. But the Accord also serves as the issue on which radicals and labor militants can mount a campaign to wrest the unions from the bureaucrats' control.

Radicals must link the fight against the Accord to other social issues—lesbian/gay rights, Black land rights, etc.—that lie at the heart of the struggle against capital.

Such an approach can swiftly unite the working majority against the ALP sellouts, and precipitate a fight to empower the majority under socialism. □

—ALISON THORNE  
AND PETER MURRAY

**Protest government persecution of the BLF! Send letters to Premier John Cain, Parliament House, Spring St., Melbourne, VIC 3000, Australia; copies to the BLF, 11 Lygon St., Carlton S., VIC 3052, Australia. Send donations to the Tuesday the 13th Movement, P.O. Box 141, Carlton S., VIC 3052, Australia.**

**Hawke the Ripper (l.) leads the onslaught against the Builders Labourers Federation with such travesties as the jailing of BLF organizer John Cummins (r.) for "trespassing" on a job site.**



was full of high-sounding promises of a New Deal for the working class. It promised price control, three monthly pay raises for all workers, better working conditions, better childcare, health-care and education, tax cuts, increased welfare payments, and funds for industrial development.

The Accord also promised to save jobs via decreased immigration and increased tariffs on imports, mainly from Southeast Asia. But Australian unemployment is not caused by immigrants or foreign competition but by Australian capital's refusal to invest in job-creating industries. This racist, jingoist provision has saved no jobs: it merely shifted the blame for joblessness from the shoulders of capital onto the backs of "foreigners."

The ALP and ACTU leaderships nevertheless embraced the Accord—to the detriment of Australia's unions.

Unions were required to sign away their right to strike except in a few limited cases. They can do nothing to improve pay or living standards in connection with any matters covered by the Accord; a refusal to sign or a breach of its provisions invites economic and legal attack.

**Lethal loophole.** For the bosses, the Accord was made in heaven. The bottom line of the Accord is that it outlaws strikes to improve pay or living standards in connection with any of the areas it covers. However, buried in the fine print is the loophole for Hawke and the bosses: if there is "no capacity to pay," either by individual employers or by the

fusal of pay raises, and the deregistration (decertification) of unions. To enforce the Accord, the CAC uses its powers to increase, freeze, or cut the wages of all union—and most non-union—workers in Australia.

**The ALP's Mr. Fix-it.** The history of the Accord is linked to the rise of Prime Minister Robert Hawke. Prior to his 1977 entry into Parliament, Hawke was president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) for 17 years. He was the "fix-it" man who solved (sold out) the most important disputes. Perhaps his most outstanding "achievement" was to head off a militant general strike in 1975 following the dismissal of Gough Whitlam's ALP government by the Governor-General. Whitlam's left-liberal government had been destabilized previously by the conservative opposition...and the U.S. CIA.

On February 20, 1983, Hawke and the ALP defeated Malcolm Fraser and the Tories. For 7 years, Fraser had grappled with a crisis-ridden domestic economy. Though he managed to hurt the poorest, least organized sections of the working class, he was unable to weaken the numerically and socially powerful trade union movement and it made real gains during Fraser's era.

The Australian bourgeoisie needed to wrench back these concessions—and along came Hawke with the social contract deal he'd made with the leaders of the ACTU. In the Accord, Australia's bosses glimpsed the possibility of a tame, demobilized workforce. With a few ritual grunts about "unions running

## Call, Write, Visit!

**F  
S  
P**

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San Francisco Bay Area: 2661-21st St., San Francisco, CA 94110. 415-550-1350.

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North Branch, 1931 E. Calhoun, Seattle, WA 98112. 206-722-3812.  
South Branch, 6021 S. Redwing, Seattle, WA 98118. 206-725-5009.  
Tacoma: P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98405. 206-759-4277.

### AUSTRALIA

Melbourne: P.O. Box 266, West Brunswick, VIC 3055. 03-386-3452.

# Karen Brodine

## Poet, Feminist, Revolutionary



The following words of tribute were given at November and December memorials for Karen Brodine in San Francisco, Seattle, New York City, Los Angeles, Portland, and Melbourne, Australia.

...she chose her favorite pieces of jewelry  
her books, posters  
a picture of her grandmother  
an antique doll from her childhood  
after some thought  
gave them away to her comrades  
a step ahead  
even in her way of dying...

MERLE WOO, poet, teacher,  
and Karen's lover, *San Francisco*

"It was an enormous relief and pleasure to read Karen's poetry. What she has done is the most living, the most vital, and the most important thing that's happening in art today."

JOANNA RUSS, novelist and teacher, *Seattle*

"Karen always wrote what she believed to be true. She was distinguished by her adamant refusal to compromise her politics or her art to get published. This shines through in her poetry, which is direct, clear, critical, and bold."

TOM BOOT, Black gay activist and author of *Revolutionary Integration: Yesterday and Today*, *San Francisco*

"Karen was part of the '60s generation—the best part. One of those who didn't cop out, or drift away, or put their youthful ideas in a refrigerator. Karen was no Big Chiller. She was a fighter, a partisan in the war of ideas, a revolutionary poet, an artist, an organizer. She did what everybody but we say is impossible: she combined a life of art and politics, of poetry and organizing. And she did it with courage."

GUERRY HODDERSEN, National Secretary  
Freedom Socialist Party, *Seattle*

"You always made me feel so good about the work I try to do, because unlike many you actually understood it. You knew what it costs to be a black woman, an out lesbian, a feminist, and also a writer who tries every day to stand up for freedom."

BARBARA SMITH, Black lesbian writer,  
*Albany, NY*

...the fuschias, the fuschias will remain  
as will Karen in her beige dress,  
her eyes steady and focused,  
her words of power punctuating the heat  
moving the crowd where art and  
politics converge...

NELLIE WONG, poet, lecturer, and organizer,  
*San Francisco*

"Karen loved the woods as we all did. She loved to wade in the creek; we could feel the minnows swimming around

us, bumping into our feet. In one of her poems, Karen wrote: 'The woods gave freely.' But that was Karen, too, the way she gave. I took two years of dance classes from Karen. I could see how good she was and that she worked hard to get there. As a person and as an artist, I learned a lot from her about working hard."

CHRIS BROWN, childhood friend, *Seattle*

"Karen knew which side she was on. She defended the working class religiously. She never sold out. She led a life we can all be proud of."

YOLANDA ALANIZ, co-author of *The Chicano Struggle: A Racial or a National Movement?*, *Seattle*

"Karen wanted the truth to be told at all times. She challenged women writers to ask themselves 'what truth am I telling?' Karen recently attended the Oprah Winfrey show. There for all to see, Karen sat with clenched fist in palm, anger seeping into her bones, as male chauvinist panellists ridiculed the women's movement. She spoke up from the audience, determined to tell the truth—the truth from all sides."

BETTY MALONEY, women's rights leader,  
*New York City*

"Karen had a way of putting the simplest things into a poem—and rendering them rich with significance. And Work: she wrote about the part of life when you are doing tasks you may not want to do; and she subverted those movements into significance and power."

MARINA DeBELLAGENTA  
LaPALMA, poet, art critic, and co-founder,  
with Karen and others, of *Kelsey Street Press*,  
*New York*

"I accepted, in theory, the idea that poetry could be an important political tool, but I was really struck with the richness of the writing of Karen Brodine. She really did integrate politics and art. The poems were powerful and the message clear."

ALISON THORNE, teacher, union militant,  
and political worker, *Melbourne, Australia*

"She wrote about age in a way that I greatly appreciated. She never made me feel older. I can't remember her opening doors for me, and she never said, 'Oh, can you lift that?' Despite her illness, I never heard her complain."

GLORIA MARTIN, author of *Socialist Feminism: The First Decade, 1966-76*, *Seattle*

"Karen's choice, to be a revolutionary artist, puts us all in her debt. Those artists who have not yet decided to connect their art with politics will learn from the legacy of Karen's rich body of poetry that art without politics is about as satisfying or enduring as a movie like 'Gidget Goes to the Beach.'"

MONICA HILL, secretary and socialist  
feminist spokesperson, *Los Angeles*

"Her poetry sometimes has an urgency of brief sentences and short phrases—it makes me feel as if she's saying 'Hurry up. Understand this.'"

PEGGY SHAFER, poet, *Seattle*

"Karen's commitment to feminism and revolution brought clarity and optimism to everything she did. I can still see Karen at her San Francisco kitchen table, her skillful hands wrapped around a cup of coffee while enthusiastically sharing the details of branch building: the first recruits, the first mimeo machine, the first hall."

STEPHEN DURHAM, trade union  
and gay rights activist, *New York City*

"Memories of a dance may become very dim, but the literature of love will live for us always as written by Karen, the dancer."

JAN COLLUM, Karen's ballet teacher,  
*Tacoma, WA*

"I remember Karen saying that anyone could write poetry, that there was nothing magical or mysterious about it."

ADRIENNE WELLER, lesbian/gay rights  
activist, *Portland, OR*

"Karen was a powerhouse organizer and a very gifted writer, but more significantly, she used each talent to

*O body swayed to music,  
O brightening glance,  
How can we know the dancer  
from the dance?*

—W.B. Yeats

**K**aren Brodine was barely 40 years old when she died of cancer on October 18, 1987. Her death was a tragedy, an abrupt and unnatural end to a dynamic, productive life.

Her death was *unnecessary*: cancer killed her because the medical profession was too backward, too ignorant, too profit-motivated, and too sexist to catch it in time. And she was mad as hell at the medicine men who prescribed massive doses of poison known as chemotherapy—when an ounce of prevention could have saved her life.

But Karen was no martyr. She didn't waste time bemoaning her fate. She continued to the end to give voice to the aspirations, agonies, ironies, and triumphs of working people. She continued to share her artistic gift with comrades, co-workers, and friends.

Karen Brodine left a rich, unforgettable legacy. Work, life, art, and politics merged for her

into total commitment to a future where everyone will live a full, connected existence. She prescribed, and achieved "a balance and a strong connection between dreaming, working, political action, loving. All ought to be recognized and woven together in a tough, resistant fabric."

**Artist at the machine.** Karen's rich and colorful work experiences were central to her poetry. A typesetter and graphic artist from 1975 to 1986, she described her typesetting machine as:

*...layers of human work hours frozen in steel,  
tangled  
in tiny circuits, blinking out through lights like  
hot red eyes.  
...this set of codes slips through my hands, a  
loose grid of shadows with big gaps my own  
thoughts mesh through...*

Her original dream was to be a dancer. She studied ballet and modern dance from the age of five until, in her early 20s, a congenital knee condition ended her career. But Karen was also a

born teacher. Just out of high school in the mid-60s, she volunteered with VISTA in Harlem tutoring in reading and writing.

After graduation from the University of California at Berkeley in 1972, Karen taught dance in the Richmond and Berkeley school districts. She received an M.A. in Creative Writing from San Francisco State in 1974, and taught writing there for six years. For students gripped by the inability to express themselves, she worked to impart the understanding that images "live and breathe," and are:

*...livewire sparks  
between opposites, a bridge that smokes between  
people.  
And those that are most pushed down have the  
most to say,  
in images, shouts, actions, all just under the  
smooth velour  
of the manufactured stories. Images leap right  
out  
of contradiction, blasting the true story into  
breath.*

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strengthen the other.  
The result was poetry that  
was not only finely crafted in form  
but profound in content, and political  
activism that was fresh and creative."

CONSTANCE SCOTT, Organizer  
National Radical Women, San Francisco

"She wasn't all separated out with all the different component parts competing with each other. She was a synthesis in the truest Marxist sense. All parts of her flowed into each other: the opposites, the contradictions, came together and blended into a whole. She should be for all of us a total role model."

CLARA FRASER, National Chair  
Freedom Socialist Party, Seattle

*In praise of the artist at work: excerpts from reviews of  
Karen Brodine's writing.*

"Brodine's poems have the texture and momentum of a political life; they assume we are in the world to change the world and go on to ask how we live, what we must do... Their power lies in their roots... in the depth of the imagination."

ADRIENNE RICH

"Her poetry becomes a political anvil, sparks fly, fire is sparked from the vigor and the passion..."

MERIDEL LeSUEUR

"... Certainly one of the most important young poets of this generation."

WORKING CLASSICS, San Francisco

## Survivors

Survivors. Reading about the glow boys this morning. The unemployed enticed with \$60 to fix the core of the nuclear plant. In space suits they jump down into it. Acid rain, acid fog. "Just brush it off." The screen I stare at, typesetting, low level, the low lying words. Statistics for jumpers: only one fatal cancer per 100. Only!

You look around to make sense of the forms, bodies glowing with pain, campfires flickering in the Oakland hills, where people are living in the rain, no place else to go. The tv camera, hungry for news, searches out the clammy tent where children lie bundled, then leaves.

Every fact adds up but the word depression still isn't officially used.

Survival is a repetitive process, days revolving tasks completed or not, new ones streaming before you, each day centered around food and sleep and wake and talk. You follow this pattern of living set by the dark and the light. Or break into pockets of humming night, awake, catching up, getting ahead, if only all the time could be used.

Surviving my mother's and grandmother's deaths this year, sets me singular into the world. Finally not webbed in their common life. Not directed or defined by their concern or need or even love. No longer a daughter. No longer younger.

The transitory myth of family. All we've ever had to believe we belong.

Yet I belong. To the glow boys, to the people camping in the hills, to young girls asking for regard and strength, the food waiting to be cooked for all. Yet I belong to those I touch and work with. And to the dead also, and what they have done. And whose beliefs and laughter run through me and whose silence I turn to words.

My grandmother is that old woman in her patchwork clothes, homeless, hat over thin grey hair, pushing a cart of tin cans along Market Street.

by Karen Brodine

# American Federation of Teachers Council rallies for Merle Woo

**W**hen the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) refused even to consider reappointing Visiting Lecturer Merle Woo to a teaching position in June 1986, it seemed obvious the university had retaliated against Woo and violated the 1984 agreement that settled her earlier, multiple-discrimination case against them.

It was obvious enough to Woo's union, the University Council of the American Federation of Teachers (UC-AFT), which filed a grievance with the UC School of Education in July 1986, charging unfair treatment and continuing harassment against Woo.

The grievance finally was heard eleven months later by Daniel Melia, associate dean of the Graduate School of Education. Melia ruled predictably that Woo "had not made a significant case to support [her] complaints."

"We didn't expect a fair decision," said Woo. "UC can't afford to equitably treat staff who file charges against them and win. If the administration did [that], . . . employees would be filing grievances all over in response to unfair working conditions."

In mid-February, Woo and the AFT are scheduled for outside arbitration, the final step in the grievance procedure.

**Broken promises.** Woo won \$73,584 in back pay and attorney's fees in 1984 after a two-year fight proved that UCB had fired her because she was a socialist feminist, Asian American lesbian, and an outspoken critic of the growing conservatism within the Asian American Studies department where she originally taught. Her settlement with

UCB included consideration for reappointment after two years.

Woo triumphantly returned to UCB as a lecturer in the Graduate School of Education where she trained students to tutor English as a Second Language in public schools and community agencies. She continued organizing with students and lecturers, and spoke at campus rallies—all as an open member of the Freedom Socialist Party.

Then, in Spring 1986, Woo was fired without review—a blatant violation of her settlement agreement. She then discovered that her salary had been paid from a special two-year, self-terminating fund from the Chancellor's office, and that UCB considered her assignment in field studies to have "no priority" for reviews of a teacher's merits.

"The way in which Woo was reinstated was set up to insure that she would never be rehired after her two-year contract was up," said Roz Spafford, Woo's union representative. "Most lecturers are told if they are temporary at the beginning of their hire. Others are reviewed and considered for reappointment. Not to do either is clearly disparate treatment of Woo. If the university can get away with violating its settlement with Merle Woo, our whole contract, which covers 2,500 lecturers, is in jeopardy."

Supporting Woo are the AFT, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Council 10, which represents 25,000 UC employees, the National Women's Studies Association, and the Merle Woo Defense Committee, which reconstituted itself after this latest attack on Woo. They are uniting to pressure UCB and the arbi-

trator for Woo's reinstatement with back pay and an end to all harassment against her.

## Berkeley radicalism revived.

UCB's latest move against Woo takes place against a backdrop of increasing campus unrest.

Students are angry that campus police arrested an anti-apartheid demonstrator on Nov. 4 for using a bullhorn during a speak-out against U.S. intervention in

the university's attempts to take back benefits and protections during contract negotiations. A campus coalition has formed to pressure UCB to hire more women and people of color on the faculty.

Woo's fight against UCB's multi-faceted discrimination is a perfect rallying point for the disparate protests currently shaking the Berkeley campus. As an advocate of students, labor, and free speech, as a feminist of color, lesbian,



Merle Woo Defense Committee stalwarts (l. to r.): Kass McMahon, Kathy Seeley, Marty Springer, Merle Woo, MWDC Coordinator Nancy Kato, Moises Montoya.

the Middle East. A subsequent free speech rally protesting the arrest featured speakers from campus antiwar, anti-apartheid, and anti-Middle East intervention groups. Black students, meanwhile, are leading a campaign pressuring UCB to improve the 27% retention rate among Black students. And campus workers are fuming over

and radical, Woo embodies the totality of the fight against campus reaction. Her 1984 victory shook the walls of academe at Berkeley; a second win, in tandem with the current general upsurge, can crumble the whole edifice of UCB reaction.

—NANCY REIKO KATO

**O**nce again red and black flags fly over farmworker protests in the Northwest and the battle cry "¡Viva la Huelga!" pierces the air.

A year after its formation in eastern Washington State, the independent United Farm Workers of Washington State (UFWWS) is gaining ground on the growers in the first all-out drive since the late 1970s to organize the state's agricultural workers.

Formed in September 1986, the fledgling union now has more than 1200 members and has intervened in nine labor struggles. Growers are counter-organizing, and have formed the Eastern Washington Growers League.

"We know they are concerned because they're bringing in unionbusting consultants," says UFWWS president Tomas Villaneuva of Toppenish. "To us, that's a victory. The growers have a lot of money and political influence, but without farmworkers they don't have a farm."

a pay raise from 16 cents to 25 cents per vine or an hourly rate of \$4.75 instead of the \$3.50 offered by Tag-gares.

Last spring, UFWWS threatened to turn a strike launched in February against six Yakima Valley orchards into an all-out war against the apple industry. The issue was a unilateral wage cut from \$2.50 to \$1.75 per tree for 60 pruners at Pyramid Orchard, Inc. The strike ended only after the grower-controlled state Apple Commission enticed out-of-state migrant workers into the area with false stories about a labor shortage—thousands came and were left stranded without jobs, housing, or food.

**Grapes of Wrath revisited.** These are the conditions—so reminiscent of John Steinbeck's classic novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*—that UFWWS wants to end forever through unionization of an industry currently unconstrained by fair labor standards or legislation.

Consider: the average farmworker

rights, and pesticide safety regulations do not apply in the agricultural sweatshops of eastern Washington. Further, many workers are victimized by unscrupulous foremen and labor contractors who, for a price, sell them jobs with no guaranteed wage or tenure.

UFWWS has already made a difference in the Valley. Through its intervention, farmworkers at several Washington orchards have won wage hikes and public recognition of their demands.

**Ste. Michelle.** Nowhere are the stakes of this labor vs. agribusiness conflict higher than at Chateau Ste. Michelle, Washington's largest winery. There, farmworkers have long sought wages and working conditions on par with other unionized winery employees.

In February 1987, the winery fired ten workers who complained about poor sanitation and other substandard working conditions. When employees authorized UFWWS to represent them, three more were fired.

employees and initiated a campaign of flattery and deception to woo workers away from the union.

Winery president Allen Shoup is virulently anti-union. Says he: "I would rather have Ste. Michelle go broke than recognize farmworkers' right to organize . . . we expect absolute loyalty from our farmworker employees."

Such feudalistic proclamations convince utterly that unionization is the only road to worker dignity.

**Support grows.** At its annual convention in September, the Washington State AFL-CIO recognized UFWWS as a legitimate representative of farmworkers, despite the latter's lack of affiliation with the AFL-CIO. Unfortunately, the convention failed to endorse the boycott because of protests by the bottlemakers' union that their members might lose jobs from the boycott. Active supporters like the Freedom Socialist Party hope soon to reverse this mistaken position.

In October, the Seattle Hispanic City Employees Association endorsed the boycott and promised to raise funds for the union. Local 17 of the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers has also endorsed.

Enslavement of farmworkers in Washington State hurts all workers, union and non-union.

To help UFWWS prevail at Ste. Michelle and elsewhere in Washington, send donations to UFWWS, P.O. Box 899, Granger, WA 98932. And boycott Ste. Michelle wines, also labeled as Farron Ridge and as Columbia Crest. ¡Viva la causa!

—SANDRA WELSTED



**War in the fields.** On November 7, UFWWS went to the aid of 100 tree pruners who struck the Taggares Company in Othello and Pasco. They shut down both orchards. The pruners seek

family of six earns less than \$8,000 a year—the official poverty level for a family this size is \$14,000. Only 20% of farmworkers receive unemployment benefits. Seasonal workers get no benefits. Rest breaks, overtime, sanitation, minimum wages, collective bargaining

UFWWS then launched a boycott of winery products and began picketing at the winery's sites in both eastern and western Washington, calling on Chicano community activists, labor unions, and radicals for assistance. Winery management subsequently rehired the 13 em-

## Washington State farmworkers

# A union's stand for recognition

# Wall Street

## Living on borrowed time

**N**ow that the Wall Street bull has bitten the dust, what are the prospects for the economy? And what lies ahead for American workers?

Most everyone agrees on the factors that precipitated the October 19 stock market crash: the soaring U.S. federal and trade deficits; the tumbling U.S. dollar; the continuing stagnation of U.S. industry. Political loss of confidence in Reagan following the Iran/contra revelations also played a large part in the market's dive.

No one in power knows how to fix any of these things without making matters worse. Reduce the federal deficit? Sure—and stop the military spending that fuels the deficit? Not a chance in hell if the U.S. wants to hang onto its empire. Redress the import/export deficit? Well, we can let the dollar continue to plummet in hopes of making U.S. goods less expensive abroad—but we've been doing it and it doesn't seem to help. The falling dollar ploy also risks kicking off another ruinous round of inflation.

Why not revitalize U.S. industry? Great idea! But who's going to convince the financiers—they'd much rather put their investment capital in stocks, bonds, or Taiwan than in domestic production.

As for confidence, you could more easily fly to the moon in a 1956 Buick than restore confidence in the White House's hack actor or in the fools and felons that infest his administration. Will the upcoming November elections provide a solution? Well, who would you like for President? George Bush? Bob Dole? Gary Hart? Any of the Democratic Party potato heads? Why not Spuds MacKenzie?

Too bad it's just a little late for the Perfect Party Animal.

**Birth of the bull.** The factors that caused the stock market bust are the fruits of the policies that gave birth to the bull in the first place.

The market began to take off in 1982, fueled by Reagan's attacks on labor, cuts in taxes and social services, business deregulation, stepped-up militarist aggression abroad, and recessionary measures—primarily the jacking up of interest rates—which braked the inflation that spun out of control in the '70s. Reagan intended to reverse the sliding rate of profit afflicting U.S. capitalism because of its growing inability to dump its products on the world market. American industry was feeling the squeeze of competition from Japan and Europe. What resulted was a crisis of overproduction—inherent in capitalism—wherein more goods poured onto the market than could be sold at an acceptable rate of return. The growing obsolescence of U.S. industry only made matters worse.

Reagan could not alleviate the *fundamental* difficulties, but he did create a climate of quick-fix profitability, and investors jumped in to reap the benefit.

Corporate profits skyrocketed in the early '80s, fattened by take-backs from labor. Moreover, a reduction of inflation rates to 3% by 1983 meant heightened returns from existing investments. And Reagan's \$1.5 trillion arms expenditure program swelled the coffers of such previously moribund industrial giants as Chrysler and General Dynamics.

**Recession.** Popular wisdom equates a bull market with economic health, but a close look reveals terminal illness.

Recession *did* slow inflation, but the sky-high interest rates (the cost of money to borrowers) further eroded industry, which *runs* on its ability to borrow.

Recession meant de-industrialization, and consequently, mass unemployment. Increased joblessness significantly decreases workers' purchasing power—thus enfeebling the domestic market and deepening the recessionary spiral.

Military spending grabbed scarce resources and credit from domestic industry, plowing them into products which are only destroyed or mothballed. This in-

creased the money supply in relation to the value of available consumer goods, creating an enormous inflationary pressure on the economy.

Recession and its attendant miseries seemed not to bother the profiteers. Lowered inflation and military expenditures each brought profits. Erosion of industry encouraged investors to shift to the money and bond markets where high interest brought many happy returns, or to Asia and Latin America where labor and resources came more cheaply.

**When the U.S. sneezes...** the rest of the world catches cold. In the early '80s, the U.S. sent its recession abroad.

High U.S. interest rates encouraged foreign investors to invest in U.S. Treasury Bonds. To try to stop the outflow of capital to the United States, Western European nations raised their own interest rates, thus provoking their own recessions.

Demand for U.S. dollars drove their price upward in relation to other currencies and played inflationary havoc with the currencies of Third World nations. This, along with skyhigh U.S. interest rates, made it impossible for these nations to pay the interest on the billions in debts they already owed the imperialist banks.

**Debt and more debt.** Much has been made of the Third World debt bomb. But today, the U.S. is the world's largest debtor nation.

The federal deficit hovers around \$150 billion, largely because the government has borrowed vast sums at high interest to pay for new weapons systems.<sup>2</sup>

The U.S. trade deficit has shot past \$170 billion, primarily because the strong dollar pushed up the price of exports and cheapened imports during Reagan's first term.<sup>3</sup>

Third World debt is mind-boggling. The U.S. federal and trade deficits likewise beggar belief. U.S. corporate and private household debt, moreover, is in the trillions of dollars. And there is so much *bad paper* floating around! Mexico, for example, had hoped to pay off its \$105 billion debt with oil revenues. Then world oil prices collapsed: Mexico's debt is now uncollectable. Other Latin American nations talk openly and desperately of defaulting on their loans. Bad news for U.S. banks such as Chase Manhattan which have billions outstanding in Latin American loans.

If Mexico were to default... Imagine how quickly such a default, or a string of defaults, and ensuing investor panic, would detonate world finance, world trade, world industry.

**Blowing bubbles.** Recession, unemployment, industrial stagnation, deficits and more deficits are hardly signs of a healthy economy. Yet the market remained bullish, especially after the dollar was deliberately kicked downward and interest rates were lowered by the Federal Reserve in 1985.

In '86, stocks soared as investors—primarily banks, pension funds, and insurance companies—jumped in to take advantage of a predicted 12% profit hike. Investors were encouraged, because inflation was holding steady.

Merger mania—corporate stock takeovers—also fueled stock prices, and as the euphoria drove rising prices upward, the allure of steadily rising gains drew

other investors flocking to the market. Fueled essentially by confidence that short-term stock profitability would rise, a speculative cycle pushed the market to a dizzying 2722 points in August 1987.

**Bursting the bubble.** Increasing worries over deficits and over U.S. political rudderlessness following the Iran/contra scandal began to push the market downward after August. Then, in October, it was revealed that the sliding dollar, which was supposed to help erase the deficit, had done no such thing.



Eric Anthony

Panic! Stockholders scrambled to unload and get out. Came Black Monday and a 508 point dive, largest in history.

It was a crash heard 'round the world. The foreign turmoil exacerbated Wall Street's upheaval, underscoring once again the mutual interdependence of the U.S. and world economies.

**What next?** To the big boys, one thing is certain: the deficit *must* be reduced. So, tighten credit? And strangle industry? Throw millions of workers into the streets? Industry needs to *borrow* to breathe!

Go the other way? Loosen the purse strings? Get the economy moving, restore investor confidence? How long will their confidence last after inflation grabs 'em by the short hairs?

Speaking of inflation, the dollar's sunk too low. Prop it up! But what about exports?

Maybe we can have it *both* ways, they say. Loosen the purse strings, then tighten 'em up when things start to boil over, and wheedle the economy along until it gets healthier... Of course, the military's just killing us...but who's gonna cut that? We've got an empire to run! Besides, too many good ol' boys are getting rich off the contracts...

And so on and on and on.

**No exit.** Capitalism is doomed no matter how it wriggles. But the big boys intend to make *us* pay the price.

They *are* going to slash spending—starting with every social service they can use their knives on.

Meanwhile, capital will continue its flight to greener pastures overseas, and U.S. industry will rot still more. Unemployment will mushroom, and the bosses will use the situation to try cutting wages and benefits to nothing.

That is *austerity*, with a vengeance.

Naturally, none of this can really solve the capitalists' problems. Austerity will cripple the domestic market. Moreover, Japan and Europe will continue to outstrip the U.S. in the world.

Then there's the matter of inevitable political explosions at home. And those relentless revolutions abroad.

Enter fascism and war, the bosses' final solution.

Fascism means the destruction of constitutional liberties, decimation of the unions, the unleashing of armed and organized Red-hunters, race haters, misogynists and homophobes to scapegoat and slaughter the victims of this system's evils. It means the coming to power of an American Hitler.

War will come. In the Middle East or Central America or the Philippines or Korea... Against the Soviets, or perhaps Japan. War to "tame" revolutions and re-open investment opportunities through destruction of the productive capacities of many countries and untold millions of lives.

**Hold it!** That's their scenario. But for us, there *is* a way out. It starts with the recognition that no matter what the temporary "solution" or promises of "new ideas" by yet another of the system's mechanics, capitalism offers us nothing but economic, political and social decay, disaster and death—and soon.

It begins with the realization that it is *necessary* to fight for our economic well-being and our liberties, as workers and oppressed people who are fed up with having our pockets picked, our rights chewed away, and our futures made a mockery of by the inevitability of worldwide slaughter for profit.

It begins and ends with the *certitude* that this system must be scrapped, and that socialism—planned production for need not profit—must be installed in its place.

—ROBERT CRISMAN

1. Further, earlier OPEC oil price hikes drove production costs through the ceiling; businesses had to borrow like crazy to survive, and this aggravated inflation. Meanwhile, revolutionary upheavals on five continents made the globe an increasingly unsafe place for capitalist investment.

2. Despite federal indebtedness, the government has slashed corporate taxes and dumped millions of working taxpayers onto the unemployment rolls, thereby decimating its prime source of revenue!

3. Even though the U.S. engineered a 40% drop in the price of the dollar in 1985 (it has been falling ever since, precipitously in recent months), the trade gap continues to widen. Buyers, mindful of quality, have refused to switch back to U.S. goods.

4. Corporate investors found it more profitable to buy up existing stock rather than build new plants and hire more workers: since stock prices had not kept up with inflation, the plant and equipment of a targeted company were often worth more than the total value of its stock!

# CRSP!

Dedicated to the regroupment of world Trotskyists. The workingclass women, gays, people of color, & white male radicals who compose the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party engage in freewheeling discussion & social actions on a widespread front.

For information, contact Dr. Susan Williams, National Coordinator, 301 W. 17th St., #2E, New York, NY 10011. 212-929-0210.

## EDITORIAL

# National Lesbian/Gay March on Washington

## Pride, power and polarization

They came by the hundreds of thousands to the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights last October. Not since the blistering rage against the carnage in Vietnam threatened to converge with the Black civil rights movement and ignite a revolution had so many come to the capital to make their outrage known to the nation and its rulers.

AIDS genocide and gay civil rights rollbacks were the rallying points for this awesome display of power, solidarity, determination, and anger.

The unprecedented size, mood, and multi-issue program of the march all testify to a deep radicalization going on in Gay America, as welcome as it is overdue in these twilight years of the Reaganite '80s.

spent a year defending it.

The People of Color Caucus had to threaten to walk out in August before the national steering committee would agree to censure the Southern California Network for deleting the demands to end racism and apartheid from its pre-march publicity.

Then, when picking speakers for the Washington, D.C. rally, the reformists wanted big names—big, straight, Democratic Party names like Jesse Jackson, Eleanor Smeal, César Chávez. This caused rumblings.

Said Virginia Apuzzo, New York Governor Cuomo's liaison to the gay community, "What does it say about us that our own community wishes to make us invisible?... We need our own

lenced because the genuine multi-issuism she embodies leads directly to the radical awareness that capitalism spawns racism, sexism, war, unemployment, medical catastrophe, etc.—and that capitalism is the *connection* in all social inequality and the *source* of lesbian/gay oppression:

From there, it's a relatively short step to genuine revolutionary outrage and action.

Imagine what would have happened in D.C. if nearly a million lesbians, gays, and supporters had heard a call for socialist revolution!

That's why the reformists blackballed Woo and stuffed everyone's ears with cotton supplied by the Democrats.

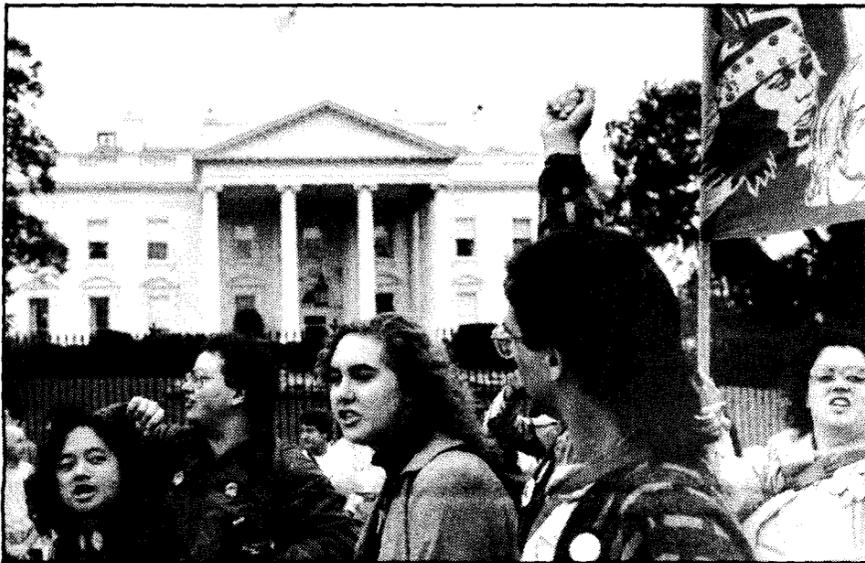
**A million Malcolms.** There are plenty of militants who are tired of backroom deals for political scraps from the Democrats' table, and with "leftists" like Workers World Party, which hopes to curry favor with the reformist power brokers by riding shotgun against upfront socialist feminists such as Woo. Militants have seen the results of the backroom deals: an almost unanimous vote by Senate Democrats for the homophobic Helms Amendment to the AIDS Education Bill in October; a deadly new round of anti-gay hysteria inspired by the vote. In the face of this vicious hysteria, gay reformists were abjectly silent, of course.

Gay militants don't believe in the single-issue suicide prescribed for the movement by the Democrats, or that the ruling class can be sweet-talked into liberating anybody. They want a multi-issue movement because lesbians and gays face multi-issue discrimination and because solidarity among all the oppressed is the best way to fight. They want a movement that calls itself anti-capitalist because capitalism is the source and lifeblood of oppression.

These militants are *radicals*, and theirs was the power the reformists feared to unleash in Washington, D.C. Theirs is the power that gathers strength and will one day find its voice in a million lesbian/gay Malcolm Xs. Theirs is the voice that will not be denied a place at the podium for long.

—STEPHEN DURHAM

**Angry demonstrators pass the White House. The March on Washington—650,000 strong—was by far the largest and most dramatic national protest since Vietnam.**



**Respectable reformists.** Gay radicalism found almost no voice at the main speakers' podium in Washington, however. And herein lies a story about the polarization between "respectable" reformists who want a gay slice of the American pie versus the growing number of grassroots activists—gays of color, feminists, youth, and people with AIDS—who are searching for an *alternative* leadership and program.

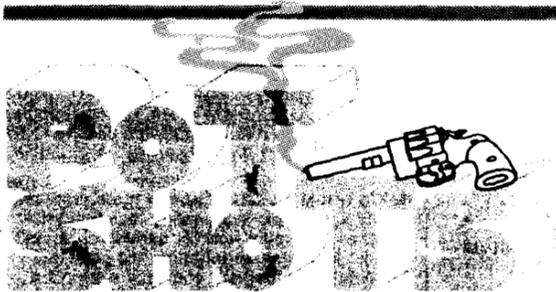
These grassroots activists led the fight for a multi-issue march program and won it. Then they

Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X."

Attention: the lesbian/gay movement already has its Malcolms and Kings. People like Barbara Smith, the *only* radical to address the main afternoon rally. People like Merle Woo, a leader of Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party, whose picture was used to promote the march but who, despite nationwide protests, was denied a speaker's slot because of her radicalism.

**Why Woo was gagged.** Woo *had* to be si-

## FOR THE RECORD



**For this he got the Nobel Prize?** Sipping a glass of champagne in honor of his 1987 Nobel Economics Prize, **Robert Solow** reflected on the stock market crash: "I haven't the vaguest idea what the stock market was reacting to. It was probably reacting to a pessimistic feeling about the economy..."

**He can't sleep a wink.** **Shmuel Goren**, Israel's Coordinator of Activities in the Territories, on the wounding and killing of Palestinian schoolgirls by Israeli settlers in the Gaza Strip: "Such incidents...do not serve peace and quiet in the area."

**Must've been all the big words.** According to anti-gay rights crusader Senator **Jesse Helms** (R-NC),

when he showed a safe-sex comic book published by the Gay Men's Health Crisis to **President Reagan**: "The president opened the book, looked at a couple of pages, closed it up, and shook his head and hit his desk with his fist."

**No biggie.** After El Salvadoran refugee and activist **Yanira Corea** received death threats in Los Angeles, then was kidnapped, tortured, interrogated about her political work, and raped by men with Salvadoran accents, **Harold Ezell**, Western regional director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, asked: "Why should we believe this is a big political thing? This is just another rape in Los Angeles, we have hundreds of rapes every year."

**How could he hop with that foot in his mouth?** At a press conference in Orlando, Florida, presidential hopeful **Alexander Haig** described his progress in political campaigning: "I have been plodding along in my race slowly but surely like the hare."

**Probably just a coincidence.** The day after Black Monday's stock market crash, major corporations began a frantic buy-back of stocks. Observed consultant **Stanley Abel**: "It looks like there's almost a get-together on the part of corporate America to prop up the market."

**Give 'em an inch.** Strongman and self-appointed Brigadier General **Williams Regala** of Haiti has found that holding on to power in his poverty-stricken country is not made any easier by the aspirations of the Haitian people: "Many people don't know where their rights stop."

**If you blinked, you missed it.** Georgia's dippy Representative **Newt Gingrich** (R) was happy with the televised Iran-Contra hearings because "the country, for the first time in my lifetime, saw the left-wing of Congress face-to-face."

**At last conservative Republican homosexuals have someone who speaks their language.** At his November 13 presidential campaign rally, **Rev. Pat Robertson** made a bold assertion to voters: "I am a Republican, and I have no intention of giving up the streets of America to radical homosexuals."

**Wait until he tries to claim his luggage.** "For the first time in years, I'm having to make my own airplane reservations," said ex-Secretary of Defense **Caspar Weinberger**, "I'm told commercial airlines sit people next to each other who don't know each other."

—TAMARA TURNER

## VOICES OF COLOR

There is a serious war raging in the Black community. Some call it the battle of the sexes. I prefer to call it what it is: Black women's war against Black male sexism, a reality as destructive, vicious and obstructive as racism in maintaining capitalist economic and social domination over Black women.

Calvin Hernton, author of the controversial *Sex and Racism in America* (1965), Professor of Black Studies at Ohio's Oberlin College, is an exception in the war. In 1984, he published an article, "The Sexual Mountain and Black Women Writers," which was reprinted in 1985 in *The Black Scholar*. An updated version of the article was published in a book by the same name in 1987. In the excerpts which follow, Hernton takes a stand—and rightfully so—alongside the Black woman, the Black feminist, the Black lesbian who dares to stand up for herself as an independent and as an equal with the Black man.

Calvin C. Hernton's *The Sexual Mountain and Black Women Writers: Adventures in Sex, Literature, and Real Life* is available from Doubleday (New York, 1987) for \$16.95. It includes essays on "The Color Purple" controversy, Ann Petry's writings, the feminism of Langston Hughes, and the work of six Black women poets. BUY IT!

—TOM BOOT

Although black and white men stand on

two straws, the second being the 1979 publication of Michele Wallace's book, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*...

The mobilization against Wallace...and Shange...was quick and solid...

The upshot...eventuated in the 1979 May/June issue of *The Black Scholar* [in] "The Black Sexism Debate."

The men claimed the women had fallen prey to white feminist propaganda...that black women, like white women, had been duped into turning against their men...that the writings of black women were "divisive"...

Black men write a lot about the "castrating" black female, and feel righteous in doing so. But

when black women write...that black men are castrators and oppressors of black women, black men accuse the women of sowing seeds of "division"...when black women write about the...sisterhood of black women in their struggle for self-esteem, black men brand the women "feminist bitches."

...Meanwhile, there are black women writers, poets, novelists, dramatists, critics, scholars, researchers, intellectuals, politicians and ideologues...wielding their pens like spades...bringing forth rough new uncut literary jewels of their lives, in which are reflected for the first time the truer wages of our history and our conduct...

# A Black man defends Black women writers

they would not count on ground when it comes to the mountain of sex.

Traditionally, the World of Black Literature in the United States has been a world of black men's literature...the complexity and vitality of black female experiences have been fundamentally ignored...

During the Black Power/Black Arts Movement of the 1960s, the unequal recognition and treatment of women writers was enunciated more bigotedly than perhaps ever before... [It] resulted in so many demeaning experiences for the women, that many of them began to protest and eventually break away...

[It] was not until 1978 that the straw which...broke the billy goat's back appeared in...the Broadway production of Ntozake Shange's *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow is Enuf*. In fact, there were

feminists—Barbara Christian, Mary Helen Washington, Barbara Smith, Ann Shockley, Cheryl Clarke, Wilmette Brown, and the rest—are in the forefront...

What we are witnessing is an entire movement on the part of contemporary black women in general...bringing to the forefront a humanity of black women and a world in their writings that have been historically, systematically overshadowed by the sexual mountain...

It is altogether consistent with the heritage of black writing that black women write about the meanness they have experienced and still experience at the hands of black men as well as white men. It is inescapable that women writers seek to illuminate and elevate the condition of black women, their whole condition. How is one to participate meaningfully in the struggle between the races if one is the victim of subjugation within the race?



Clara Fraser

## The 4 years of living dangerously

IT'S TUESDAY, JANUARY 12 and tomorrow I go to court to be grilled about my personal finances.

Together with my two attorneys, Valerie Carlson and Frederick W. Hyde, I've been subpoenaed to testify about my private fortune so that \$50,000 or so can be seized to pay off a trio of mercenary villains named Snedigar, Wampold and Pailthorpe (no, these monikers don't come out of Dickens, they're for real).

I haven't got fifty grand, and if I had I still wouldn't hand it over to this radical-baiting, witchhunting triumvirate of vengeful scoundrels.

Yet I won't take the stand and plead poverty. I'll use my assertiveness training (it's chic these days) and I'll refuse to answer any questions at all.

I'll read a statement—until they stop me—and then prepare for the wrath of a coldblooded judicial system that will not tolerate defiance of its silly, mickey-mouse rules.

This is what I will try to say to the King County Superior Court on January 13th:

● ● ●  
"I WOULD LIKE TO EXPLAIN to the court the problem I have in answering Mr. Wampold's questions.

Six years ago, in this courthouse, Judge Goodloe and I had a fascinating discussion about the importance of freedom of belief and the Bill of Rights. He had just ruled that I could not be punished and discriminated against by City Light because of my beliefs. This upset many people in the city establishment, who have harassed me ever since.

And it made Richard Snedigar envious and spiteful. Why should I have the right to my meager \$85,000 net back pay award, when the Freedom Socialist Party still had the \$22,500 donation he and others made to our eviction fund?

Three months after my victory in 1983, he demanded the gift back, and then he sued me, my attorneys and six political leaders. He attempted to blackmail us into paying him off by demanding that, in the discovery process, we disclose confidential FSP membership lists, minutes and contributor lists.

I refused; people trust me to safeguard their jobs, their anonymity perhaps, their personal privacy. I cannot betray them. It's a matter of conscience.

A default judgment was entered as punishment for our refusal to turn over the minutes. Yet no court has rendered a judgment after a fair trial on the merits of the case. Even so, I'm hauled up here like a criminal to divulge my finances. But why should I voluntarily contribute to my own impoverishment, or become a stoop pigeon like Snedigar, or sell out the organizations and people I've dedicated my life to?

My financial affairs are interrelated with others, you see, and to disclose them would violate my First Amendment rights to associational privacy, because disclosure would subject me and my colleagues to further political and legal harassment. Free speech and free association are the very rights that are at issue in our appeal. Yet you force me into these proceedings before our appeal has been decided and our rights vindicated, and I believe this amounts to punitive retaliation against me for having asserted my rights in the first place. It's double jeopardy!

I never had a trial, I've not been proved guilty of anything, and I cannot give credence and legitimacy to this punishment by participating in it.

I take this position not out of disrespect to the court, but as a matter of fairness and principle. I believe that the state law or practice which allows a person to be convicted on a procedural technicality instead of the substance of a case is wrong and illegal.

I believe I have the right to question and challenge the system itself when it is screwed up, and I refuse to become a hatchetman against myself.

Snedigar, Wampold and Pailthorpe know full well what my answer will be. This proceeding is unnecessary, unwarranted, unfair, and deliberately provocative, and I cannot dignify it by being an accessory to it.

I decline to testify on the grounds of the First Amendment, and I ask you to respect my convictions."

● ● ●  
SIXTY-TWO YEARS AGO, in 1926, the great socialist leader James P. Cannon wrote an article titled "The Cause That Passes Through a Prison." Wrote Cannon,

The path to freedom leads through a prison. The door swings in and out and through that door passes a steady procession of "those fools too stubborn-willed to bend," who will not turn aside from the path because prisons obstruct it here and there.

The door may swing in for Fred and Val and me, but I promise you: they'll know we were there. And they'll know what cause made us pass through.

● ● ●  
To find out what happened on January 13, turn to page 1.



# First Amendment outrages and ironies

As the Freeway Hall Case rages on, another far-reaching First Amendment battle is heating up in the Washington State courts, and now the legislature. This one involves a lawsuit by rightwing employer Thomas Layne against Freeway Hall Case attorney and defendant Fred Hyde. The right of a socialist to hold a job is at stake, as is the independence of the state judiciary from rightwing control.

Layne had charged Hyde, a Washington State Administrative Law Judge, with conspiracy and bias for ruling that Layne was guilty of discrimination against a transgendered employee. Layne also sued the state for negligence in hiring Hyde because he is a socialist and human rights activist.

Layne got together with the attorneys opposing the Freedom Socialist Party in the Freeway Hall Case, obtained case documents from them, and immediately demanded membership records and minutes from an employee rights group Hyde works with. Layne also subpoenaed Val Carlson, Hyde's co-attorney in the Freeway Hall case, to produce financial records from that case.

They refused. The State Attorney General's office backed their refusal and defended Hyde in court because he is a state employee.

The judge tossed out the case on

summary judgment, ruling that Hyde was not guilty of conspiracy, that Hyde's socialist politics and advocacy of employee rights do not deprive him of the right to immunity from lawsuits for his decisions as an Administrative Law Judge, and that the state was not negligent for hiring him. The judge also awarded the state \$5,000 in terms against Layne for bringing a frivolous suit.

Layne immediately filed an appeal with the Washington State Court of Appeals. Then, on January 1, he sent a 53-page document to the State Legislature charging that the Office of Administrative Hearings, Hyde's employer, had violated due process and state law and committed fraud by employing Hyde and allowing him to rule on discrimination cases.

Layne's diatribe rested, as does his lawsuit, on the contention that Hyde, because he is an anti-discrimination activist, is a "zealot" who is totally "biased" against employers. As *ultimate proof of bias, Layne cited "Hyde's strong affiliation with an organization (Freedom Socialist Party) that is determined to wipe out the profit system (private employers) in the United States and around the world."*

Layne claims that Hyde's employers knew and approved of his activism and

his "affiliation" with the FSP. Hence, in allowing Hyde to judge discrimination cases, the agency broke state law and violated employers' right to due process.

Layne hopes to stir up rightwing rabble in the legislature via this document, force Hyde's termination, and initiate a change of law to bar socialists and human rights activists from the judiciary. This tinhorn McCarthyite would, in other words, *enshrine political discrimination as the law of the land in Washington State.*

It is most telling that Layne equates anti-discrimination with "bias" against employers. Fairness to employers evidently entails *acquiescence* to discriminatory practices! Layne would no doubt claim he seeks an "impartial" judiciary. Yet what is "impartiality" here but silent approval of unfair practices?

The State Attorney General, slandered by Layne for defending Hyde in the suit, has filed a strong response to Layne's appeal, and the case will be argued before the Court of Appeals later this year.

Layne's harassment suit emphasizes why the issue of privacy in the Freeway Hall Case is so important. At stake in this suit is the right of political dissidents to hold both their jobs and their opinions. It's time once again to protect the First Amendment, this time against an employer who thinks he has the right to discriminate.



A free speech forum to New York University in October was disrupted by campus administra-

tion under the pretext of "protecting" attendees.

The forum, "Defending the Right to be Radical," included Roger Wareham, a former NY 8 defendant and member of the Defense Committee Against Fascism, Su Docekal of the Freeway Hall Case Defense Committee, Victor Diaz of the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression, and Dick Geyer from the Socialist Workers Party.

Near-martial law was imposed on the forum's sponsors, NYU Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party, by NYU officials, ostensibly because the anti-communist Jewish Defense Organization threatened to demonstrate in protest against NYU's permission to Radical Women for the event while the JDO is barred from campus.

NYU officials insisted that attendees show photo i.d., be accompanied by a certified NYU student, and pass through mounted police and a metal detector. At the very last minute, they demanded a list of names of everyone at the event be collected for the police.

The harassment was so potentially discouraging to participants that forum sponsors moved the event off-campus to the Washington Square Church. Despite the last minute move, over 75 people attended. The JDO demonstration never materialized.

Forum speakers agreed with Roger Wareham that NYU's actions were "a cover for censoring this event and an excuse for open police surveillance and intimidation."

—SAM DEADERICK

## ...Freeway Hall Case

from page 1

to corporations precisely to shield them in business lawsuits!

Regardless, the fact that the FSP has been dragged into a capitalist court makes this case supremely political. Snedigar's demand for minutes and his endless redbaiting, and Chan's collusion in the naming of names, are a concerted assault on constitutional freedoms.

**Damned if you do...** On October 19, in a hearing on an FSP motion to stay enforcement of the default ruling, Chan acknowledged that Snedigar's

collection efforts "may well affect the ability of the organization to continue to work." Then he denied the motion and set a \$50,000 bond as the price for delaying collection on the judgment during the FSP's appeal of the case.

Five weeks later, Appeals Court Commissioner Larry Jordan denied the FSP's motion for a delay of collection without bond, on grounds that the party refused to make financial disclosures to prove that the bond would cripple the party's ability to function and would bankrupt individual defendants.

In other words, Jordan refused to protect the FSP's rights unless the party first made disclosures that blatantly violated those rights!

On December 7, defendants filed a motion to reverse Jordan's ruling, but it was rejected on January 4, 1988. Without the bond, the party is unprotected

from collection attempts.

**Next round.** Chan's October 19 decision finally cleared the decks for appeal of this lawsuit, which means that the facts and issues will at last be reviewed by the Court of Appeals. Defendants feel confident they'll win. Oral arguments will probably be heard next fall.

Meanwhile, the sheriff could come knocking any time at Snedigar's behest, and the FSP is girding up against seizure of its headquarters and assets. A community alert network has been set up for the day the sheriff appears: the case's public outreach campaign has gone into overdrive, and hundreds of people have called to offer their time and support.

Undaunted by sheriffs and courts, the FSP is continuing to upgrade and remodel New Freeway Hall, for its own and the community's benefit.

**Showdown.** Workers across the U.S. are battling forced drug testing. The lesbian/gay movement served notice last October in Washington, D.C. that it wasn't going to take forced AIDS testing or anti-constitutional sodomy laws. General outrage at Judge Robert Bork's disdain for privacy rights killed his Supreme Court nomination.

The First Amendment was violated in the Freeway Hall Case. But the FSP's fight against Snedigar has just begun. As the issues are fought out in appeal, and as the connection between Snedigar's vendetta and the widespread McCarthyite attacks on the Constitution becomes even clearer, additional thousands will rally to undo the dirty work of Judge Chan and his cohorts on the bench and in the city establishment.

—ROBERT CRISMAN

## Freeway Hall Case endorsements roll in... a sample of recent support:

- Coalition of Labor Union Women, Puget Sound Chapter, WA
- General Oil Worker's Union, Tokyo, Japan
- Industrial Workers of the World, Southwest Ohio
- National Organization for Women, CA
- Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild, WA
- Rodo Joho, militant workers' journal, Tokyo, Japan
- Sojourner Truth Theater, Portland, OR
- Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women, Manila, Philippines
- Vietnam Veterans Against the War Anti-Imperialist, Seattle, WA
- The Women's Working Group, Quezon City, Philippines
- Carolyn Ashbaugh, author of *Lucy Parsons: American Revolutionary*, Eugene, OR
- John Crawford, West End Press,\* Albuquerque, NM
- Lee Heller, Labor Video Project,\* San Francisco, CA
- Nicole Hollander, cartoonist, Chicago, IL
- Gibson Rich, author of *Fireglrl*, Palo Alto, CA

- Benjamin Spock, M.D., St. Thomas, Virgin Islands
- Tomás Villanueva, United Farm Workers of Washington State\*
- Howard Wallace, Lesbian/Gay Labor Alliance,\* San Francisco, CA

\* For identification only

### I want to join the privacy rights brigade!

- Add my (our) name to the list of case endorsers.
- Add my name to the mailing list and keep me posted.
- Contact me to help with defense committee work.
- Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help the FSP defend First Amendment rights.  
(Make checks payable to the Freeway Hall Case Defense Fund.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_ (please print)  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: Karrie Peterson, New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA, 98118.  
Phone: (206) 722-2453.

## ...Eyewitness

from page 16

and as the necessary first step before socialist revolution.

In my discussions with KMU delegates and other Filipino leftists, I stated that democratic capitalism is impossible in the Philippines because of the demands of the world imperialist market, and that democracy can only come through socialist overthrow. Many I spoke with seemed willing to consider these "Trotskyist" arguments, which I think shows that there has been tremendous ideological upheaval, questioning, and debate within the CPP and the Left in the turmoil following Marcos' ouster.

**A whirlwind tour.** The conference opened on April 24, but most delegates arrived a day earlier and were immediately immersed in activity. We visited a slum located in a Manila garbage dump and attended a demonstration demanding an investigation into the November 1986 murder of former KMU head Rolando Olalia.

The conference's opening day featured presentations on the current political situation and KMU history. That evening, delegates formed into six groups and were briefed about upcoming tours of worksites to meet workers and examine actual working conditions.

On April 25, my group visited strike sites in Metro Manila. For the next three days, we traveled south to the largest industrial sector outside Manila.

Everywhere there were confrontations between strikers and the military. In one attack, soldiers broke up a picket line and sprayed polluted water on the strikers, many of whom were women, well-organized and determined.

**Aquino—the same old story.** I asked Filipinos about Aquino's administration. From KMU members on picket lines, to federal workers, sailors, students, and squatters, most said the 1986 People Power revolution at first gave them hope in Aquino.

But they have seen few substantive changes since Marcos.

Economic policies dictated by the U.S. and the International Monetary Fund continue to crush the Philippines under one of the world's highest national debts. Giant agri-business prospers at the expense of small enterprises and the production of basic foods.

Multinationals typically rake in ten

from page 5

Karen co-founded the Women Writers Union in San Francisco in the early '70s, was founding co-editor of the Kelsey Street Press, and an editor at the Berkeley Poets Co-op. She belonged to the National Writers Union and the National Women's Studies Association.

Karen published three volumes of verse: *Slow Juggling* (1975), *Workweek* (1977), and *Illegal Assembly* (1980). Her last book, *Woman Sitting at the Machine, Thinking*, will be published in 1988 by Freedom Socialist Publications.

**Red-diaper baby.** Raised amid radical politics in Woodinville, Washington, she was proud of the intransigence of her grandmother, Harriet Pierce, a postal worker identified as a subversive, hounded by the FBI during the McCarthy period, and blacklisted for her union work and feminist beliefs.

When Karen returned to Seattle in 1984 to edit and publish Gloria Martin's *Socialist Feminism: The First Decade, 1966-76*, she quickly saw the connection between her grandmother's harassment and the current Freeway Hill Case in which the Freedom Socialist Party

dollars profit for every dollar paid in wages. Eighty percent of Filipino children are malnourished; Aquino, nevertheless, has outlawed birth control and abortion. Workers' wages are the lowest in S.E. Asia: \$2.50 a day, though \$6.00 is necessary for survival.

Meanwhile, bribery of government officials abounds, and Philippine military action against the rebel New People's Army includes saturation bombings that destroy whole villages and leave thousands homeless. Right-wing and military violence against peasants, workers, and the Left has significantly increased: beheadings are common. Over 250 workers died in strike-related violence in 1986.

**May Day.** The conference ended with an inspirational May Day rally attended by over eighty thousand workers. On April 30, Aquino had banned any display of the hammer and sickle or singing of "The International." In last minute negotiations, the KMU walked out on Aquino when she ignored May Day demands such as genuine land reform and repudiation of the national debt.

The rally crowd cheered wildly when KMU speakers denounced multinationals and again when the international delegates were seated center stage. Six

imperialism will only be achieved through socialist revolution. The two-stage theory obscures the class nature of the struggle for democracy, and it allowed Aquino the "democrat" to steal the Left's thunder in the 1986 elections.

Today, much of the Filipino Left appears more than ever to favor alliance with liberals in pursuit of bourgeois revolution. Following Aquino's election and subsequent betrayals, however, CPP debates are fierce and open, questioning the party's past program and strategies. There is also evidence—burgeoning interest in Trotsky's writings, for example—that sectors of the CPP are fed up with two-stage suicide.

Not a moment too soon! Time is short, and the immediate task of the CPP is to take the national democratic demands for land reform, workers' and womens' rights, autonomy for national and indigenous minorities, removal of U.S. bases, etc., and wed them to a conscious struggle for socialism via merciless exposure of all capitalist hoaxes.

—MUFFY SUNDE

## ...Karen Brodine

(FSP) has refused to turn over minutes of its meetings to the courts. In "Drawing the Line," she wrote:

*We refuse to name names.  
Subversive, we shove back.  
Loyal, we hold in trust  
each name given,  
It is that difficult  
and that simple.*

Karen grew from her experiences and work to become a socialist feminist and a national leader in Radical Women and the FSP. In San Francisco, she was Radical Women Organizer from 1979-1981, and FSP Organizer from 1981-1983; from 1982 on, she served on the FSP National Committee.

As coordinator of the Merle Woo

Defense Committee (1982-84). Karen's brilliant organizing skills helped win Woo's landmark race, sex, and political ideology discrimination suit against UC/Berkeley.

**A life well-lived.** In spring 1987, Karen discovered that her breast cancer had metastasized and she was terminally ill. She continued to write and, in August, read poetry at a Women's Rights Day celebration in her honor, sponsored by Seattle Radical Women. She read at another tribute to her poetry in San Francisco in September.

Memorial meetings celebrating Karen Brodine's life and work were held in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York City during November and December.

Until the very day she died, Karen maintained her keen interest in current events, feminist issues, debates, and ideas. She wanted to squeeze as much as possible into her shortening life. To her battle against cancer and to her final days, she brought dignity, courage, and intensity, still teaching us, her comrades and friends, about resistance.

—JANET SUTHERLAND

hours later, despite the heat, nearly thirty thousand people were still intently listening to the political presentations.

**Imminent revolution.** Most Filipinos feel that revolution or counter-revolution is imminent. And despite government redbaiting, the military, and the death squads, it is clear to me that the Left is in the ascendancy, especially in the trade unions.

The high morale and revolutionary fervor of the KMU and Filipino workers in general was certainly a revelation to me and, I'm sure, to the other international delegates. I saw them face repression and death with indomitable courage and the will to win. It made me realize anew that we can do the same thing here in the U.S. when the time comes.

—JONATHAN FOE

## ...Philippines Crisis

from page 16

Though outlawed, the CPP heads the NPA and retains vast influence in those organizations—National Democratic Front, BAYAN, the KMU trade union federation—which together embody the Filipino peoples' democratic aspirations.

The CPP could weld these organizations into an unstoppable anti-capitalist force relatively swiftly—if the party first orients itself ideologically toward that task.

Historically, however, the CPP has adopted Stalin's "two-stage" theory of revolution for dependent nations: it has called for a "national democratic and anti-imperialist" (bourgeois) revolution in the Philippines. This, it says, is *pre-requisite* to eventual socialist overthrow. But Stalin's formula disregards the fact that national liberation vis a vis

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By Gloria Martin  
Introduction by Karen Brodine

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MERIDEL LeSUEUR

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Celebrating the many sides of the Philippine struggle, this mural (detail shown) served as backdrop to the International Solidarity Conference attended by FS correspondent Foe.

Time is just about up for Cory Aquino's government. Successive rightwing militarist coup attempts in recent months, each a greater shock than the last, underscore Aquino's inability to consolidate the patchwork "peoples power" coalition that swept her into office in 1986. Aquino's problem, however, is not the militarist cliques: real peoples power could easily dispose of them. But to set this power in motion, Aquino first would have to implement the democracy she promised the Filipino people.

But democratic reforms, e.g. land reform, remain false promises. Aquino "defends democracy" through strike-breaking, warfare against peasant rebels in the Communist-led New Peoples Army (NPA), and government-sanctioned death squads—all bankrolled with increasing hundreds of millions of dollars in U.S. military assistance.

Continued repression and exclusion from power has only served to make Filipinos restive and disenchanted; they want radical change. Strikes occur daily in metropolitan Manila and southern Luzon, and despite Aquino's cruelest efforts, the rural insurgency of the peasants is mushrooming.

**Cory's dilemma.** If Aquino, the bourgeois democrat, beset by both the militarist Right and the Left-led mul-

titudes, were to acquaint herself with the history of the Russian revolution—specifically with why the stillborn Russian bourgeois democracy was tossed into history's dustbin—she might more deeply appreciate the nature of her own predicament and upcoming date with that same dustbin. Democracy this side of socialist revolution is as impossible in the Philippines as it was in Russia because of the abject dependence of Philippine capital on the imperialist world market. The

profits of imperialists and Filipino compradors alike are derived from decimation of the national economy by export industries, subjection of Filipino workers to the meanest wage slavery, agricultural monopoly, and by corollary, ruination of the peasantry. Such profits cannot survive reform: Aquino the "democrat" is undone by Aquino the capitalist. She promises liberation and delivers counterinsurgency. And if the Right seeks to topple her, it is only because, in their estimation, even the promise of democracy is going too far.

**Whither the CPP?** Either the Right or the Left will prevail in the Philippines. The Left's key to victory lies in the program and strategies of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

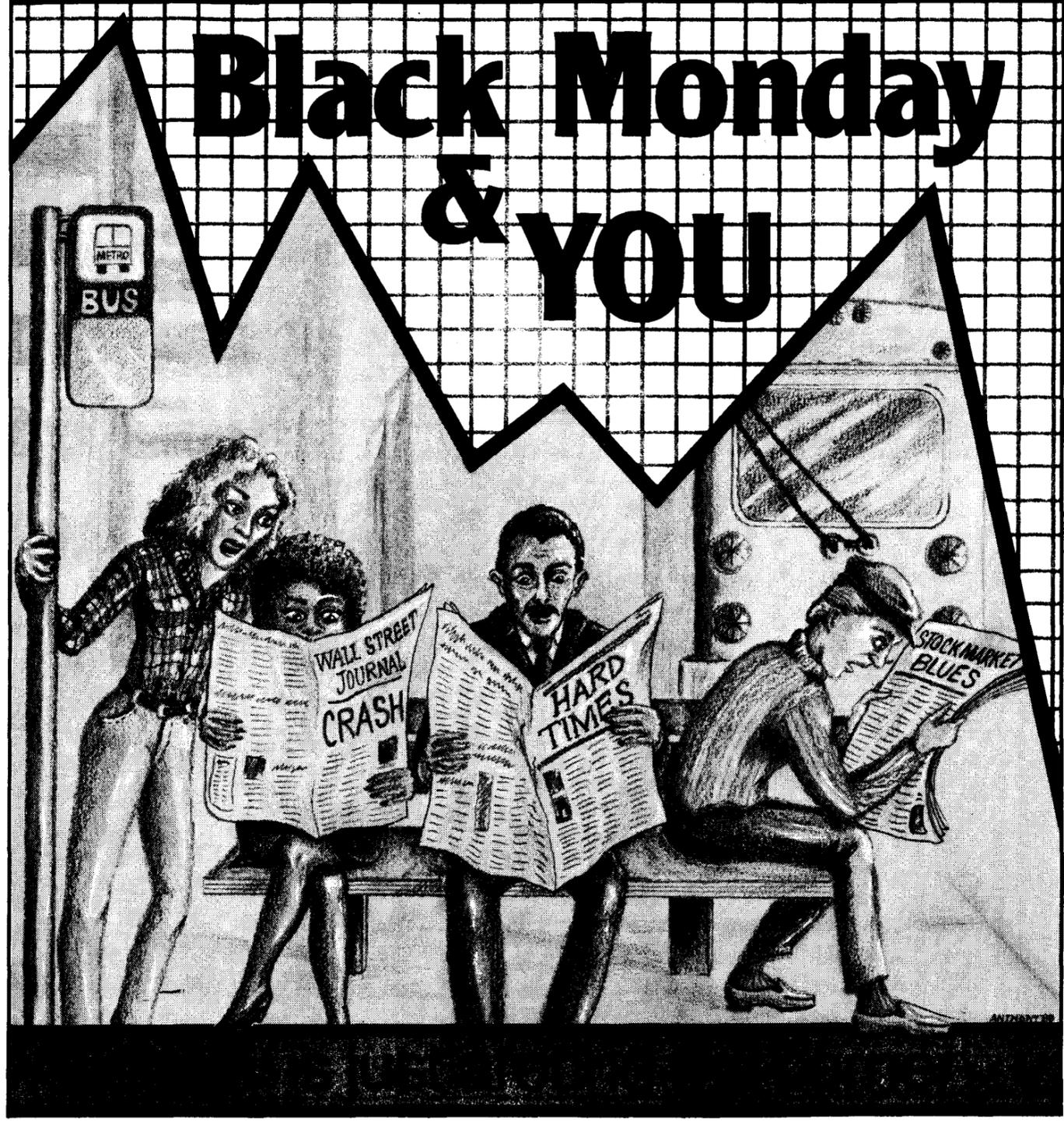
to page 15

## A nation in turmoil

...ing conditions... agrarian re... of national... the domination... national demo... government of working... anti-imperialist... This demand undoubt... influence of the Com... of the Philippines (CPP)... has advocated... revolution as the... imperialism,

to page 15

# Black Monday & YOU



Aquino regime totters — can the Left take charge?

# Philippines Upheaval



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Continued repression and exclusion from power has only served to make Filipinos restive and disenchanted; they want radical change. Strikes occur daily in metropolitan Manila and southern Luzon, and despite Aquino's cruelest efforts, the rural insurgency of the peasants is mushrooming.

**Cory's dilemma.** If Aquino, the bourgeois democrat, beset by both the militarist Right and the Left-led mul-

titudes, were to acquaint herself with the history of the Russian revolution—specifically with why the stillborn Russian bourgeois democracy was tossed into history's dustbin—she might more deeply appreciate the nature of her own predicament and upcoming date with that same dustbin.

Democracy this side of socialist revolution is as impossible in the Philippines as it was in Russia because of the abject dependence of Philippine capital on the imperialist world market. The

profits of imperialists and Filipino compradors alike are derived from decimation of the national economy by export industries, subjection of Filipino workers to the meanest wage slavery, agricultural monopoly, and by corollary, ruination of the peasantry.

Such profits cannot survive reform: Aquino the "democrat" is undone by Aquino the capitalist. She promises liberation and delivers counterinsurgency. And if the Right seeks to topple her, it is only because, in their estimation, even the promise of democracy is going too far.

**Whither the CPP?** Either the Right or the Left will prevail in the Philippines. The Left's key to victory lies in the program and strategies of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

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## Eyewitness report:

# A nation in turmoil

Even a short stay in the Philippines conveys the impression of a country on the edge of civil war.

I was in Manila in Spring 1987 at the invitation of the Seattle Filipino Association for Community Education (FACE), because of my work as a radical in the Communication Workers of America. We attended an International Solidarity Affair Conference in Manila sponsored by the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU): the May First Movement.

The 700,000 member KMU, founded in 1981, is one of the world's fastest growing unions. It campaigns for higher

wages and better working conditions, repeal of anti-labor laws, agrarian reform, democratic control of national wealth and freedom from the domination of multinational corporations.

KMU also calls for a "national democratic coalition" government of working class, peasant, and "anti-imperialist" bourgeois forces. This demand undoubtedly reflects the influence of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). The CPP historically has advocated national democratic revolution as the solution to dictatorship and imperialism,

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# the freedom socialist

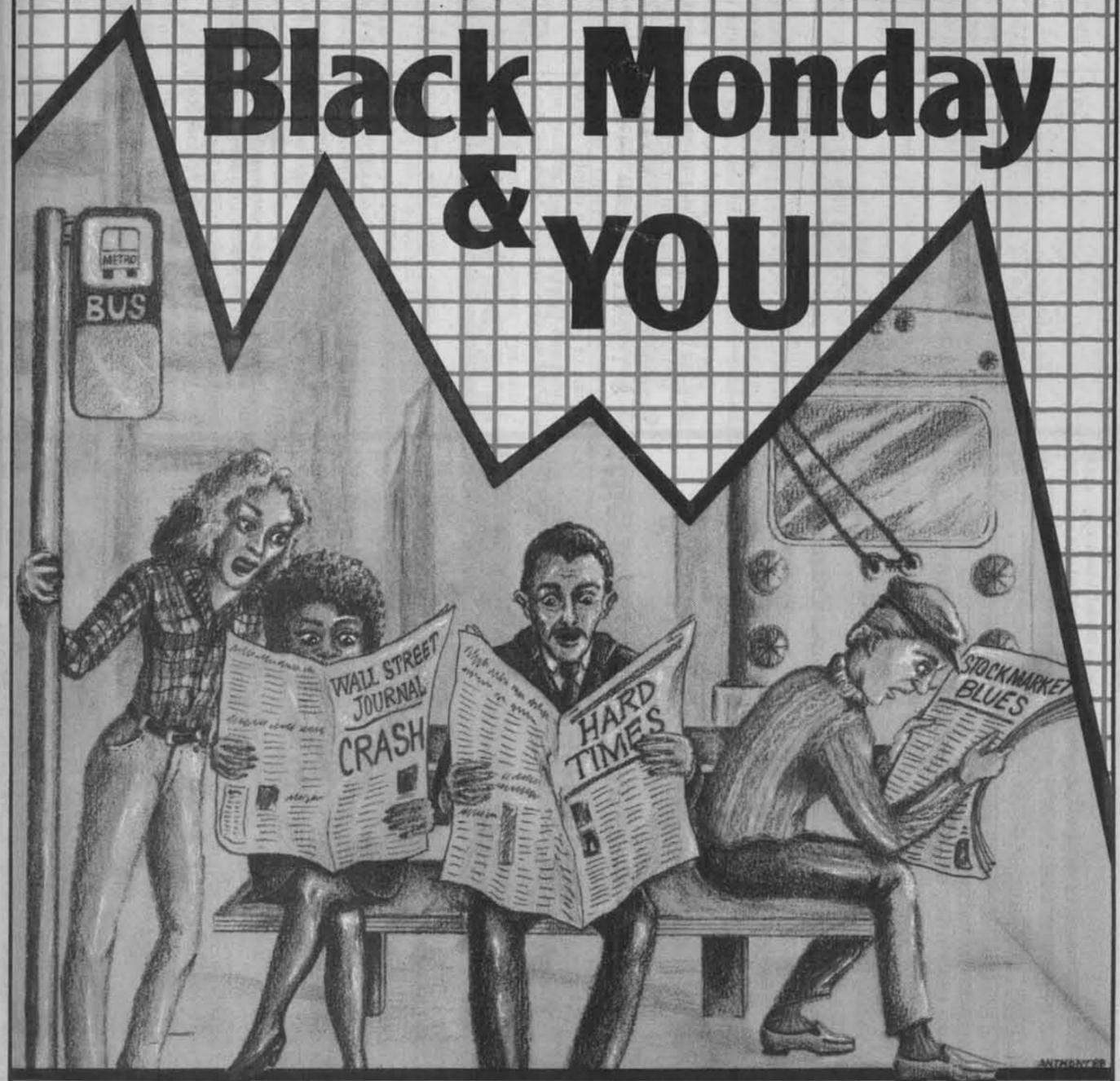
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