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Volume 5, Number 1  
Spring 1979



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# IN THIS ISSUE

Volume 5, Number 1 Spring 1979

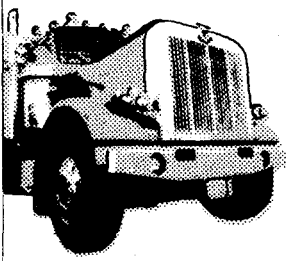
On the cover: Graphic by Marcel Hatch, inspired by 1925 Soviet poster commemorating Bloody Sunday in 1905.

## China 20

The antics of the Chinese leadership are sowing confusion and doubt about socialism, as Chinese foreign policy, rooted in Stalinism instead of internationalism, shakes the world. Mary Ann Curtis is the reporter.



## Teamsters 6



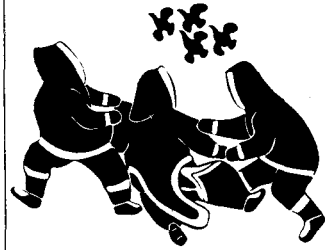
Contention over the Master Freight Agreement has forced a confrontation between Teamsters and the government. Harry Turner assesses the situation.

## Violence against Women 5

Wife-beating and female-battering are intrinsic to the American way of life. Tamara Turner reports on some of the victims who defended themselves, and the legal jeopardy they are in.



## Alaskan Natives 4



The aboriginal people of Alaska face extinction at the hands of the resource pillagers and land snatchers. But they are fighting back. Analysis by Phil McMurray.

also

<b>INTERNATIONAL</b>	<b>GAYS</b>
Cambodia ..... 15	Gay Resistance, Part 3 8
Iran ..... 10	
<b>LABOR</b>	<b>GENERAL</b>
Pulp-Paper Workers ... 4	Freeway Hall Eviction 9
Weber Case ..... 6	Open Letter ..... 8
The Uncivil Service ..... 7	Ms. Tami ..... 14
NY Doctors' Strike .... 7	<b>POETRY</b>
	Ann Barada ..... 12
<b>WOMEN</b>	<b>EDITORIAL</b>
Rebutter ..... 14	Clara Fraser ..... 13
A Victory for Socialist Feminism 16	Labor Party ..... 12
<b>MINORITIES</b>	<b>MOVIE REVIEWS</b>
Japanese Americans .. 3	Witchhunt Nostalgia 13
	Previews ..... 13

## freedom socialist

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## LETTERS

### Indian Religious Freedom

It is extremely important that the Indian public be aware of the Indian Religious Freedom Act.

We are interested in hearing from tribes, non-affiliated Indian groups and individuals experiencing problems in asserting their constitutional right to religious freedom.

The Indian Religious Freedom Act requires various federal departments and agencies to evaluate their laws and practices and determine what changes are needed to allow Indians to practice their religion without federal government interference. President Carter has to report the results of this evaluation to Congress by August, 1979.

In order to intervene into the evaluation process, the Native American Rights Fund and the American Indian Law Center are undertaking an Indian Religious Freedom Project. We need examples of problems experienced by Indian peoples with federal laws, regulations, and procedures that prevented their unhampered practice of Native American religions. Contact Native American Rights Fund, 1506 Broadway, Boulder, CO 80302, Phone (303) 447-8760.

Burgess C. Primeaux  
Native American Rights Fund  
Boulder, Colorado

### Getting to Know You

We call ourselves the Anti-Imperialist League. We are a small but militant group that believes in the right of oppressed nations to self-determination. We follow the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

We are discussing the question: Is the so-called socialist camp really socialist or state capitalist?

The two main activities we are involved in at the present are building support for the Newport News shipyard strike, and building an Affirmative Action Coalition.

We hope to find out more about you.

Larry Txabi  
Newport News, Virginia

### Editor's Response

We think it crucial that the definition of "nation" be applied with great care. We don't, for instance, view Blacks as a nation but as an oppressed race. We promote the program of Revolutionary Integration for Blacks in the U.S. (See FS Vol. 3, Nos. 3 & 4, for a thorough analysis of this issue.)

We agree with Trotsky's view that the so-called "socialist" countries are saddled with a bureaucratic caste rather than a ruling class, so they are workers states (in various degrees of degeneration, deformation, and crisis). Their national ownership of the means of production, monopoly of foreign trade, and planned economy are a tremendous advance over capitalism, and we staunchly defend these lands against all imperialist onslaughts.

### You Bet!

We recently received a copy of the *Freedom Socialist* and found it to be very informative.

Would it be possible to receive your publication on an exchange basis with our monthly publication *Steellabor*?

Russell W. Gibbons, Editor  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

### Longshore Martyrs

After the publication of the

Art Mink interview (Winter, 1978 issue) I received several phone calls from now-retired longshoremen concerning the eight lives lost in the 1934 strike.

The three men killed in San Francisco were: Howard S. Perry, member of Sailors Union of the Pacific and a volunteer in the strike kitchen; Mike Bordoise, a cook and strike kitchen volunteer; and Charles Olsen, a Longshoreman shot in the arms, chest, and face. Two men were killed in Seattle: Shelly Daffron, a Longshoreman; and Ollie Helland, Sailors Union of the Pacific member. Two were killed in San Pedro: a Mr. Knudson and Richard Parker. And Bruce Lindeberg, a member of Sailors Union of the Pacific, was killed in Shanghai.

Hundreds of other men were gassed and otherwise injured for striking for dignity on the job, equality of earnings, and union-controlled hiring and dispatching. They are traditionally honored on July 5, the Longshore Holy Day.

Melba Windoffer  
Seattle, Washington

### Iran Critique

I enjoy your paper and was disappointed that so little space was devoted to something as earthshaking as the Iranian revolution.

The people of Iran are involved in an incredible movement against the right wing of Iran and the world. Their unity against imperialism has left the U.S. with no workable options to save a sinking ship. But the FS characterized anti-Shah forces as an "unprincipled combination of Left, Moslem and business forces" and Khomeini as a "right-wing religious leader."

On the contrary, the right wing in Iran (the comprador bourgeoisie, serving Western business) hates Khomeini and supports only the Shah, the Army, and now Bakhtiar. All other classes, including the petty bourgeoisie, are anti-Shah.

I agree with Marxist Iranian students who say, "We critically support Khomeini as long as he follows the demands of the people." To do otherwise is to play into the hands of the right wing in their effort to divide the opposition at a time when unity against the right is crucial. Unity of the anti-Shah masses and the striking oilworkers brought Death to the Shah.

I support the Iranian leftists who joined with the masses in welcoming Khomeini. They were not "collaborating with class enemies," but were expressing unity with their class.

The time to criticize Khomeini will come when and if he falters in his "leadership" and the masses pass him by. But until then we should recognize that this movement is predominantly progressive — no matter how much the terms "moslem," "holy war" and "aging religious leader" are thrown around.

None of the Iranians I know ever heard of "Death or the Veil" as a right-wing slogan against oppressed women. I do not think it reflects the true nature of the situation and wonder if that slogan originated as a plant in some "news" article by the CIA.

I hope more space can be devoted in the next issue to Iran. I always look forward to reading a publication which encourages such open response from its readers.

John Dickerson  
Houston, Texas

### Editor's Response

We were in error in characterizing the vast opposition as an "unprincipled combination." It was no more unprincipled than the February 1917 revolution that deposed the Russian Czar and merited the support of revolutionists everywhere. But it is vital for radicals to scrutinize Khomeini and denounce his anticommunism and support for capitalism. It would have been dangerous and deceitful to give him unqualified support before he seized power, regardless of his popularity.

Unity should never mean the cessation of internal criticism and debate, nor blindness toward a clearly impending split.

The "Death or the Veil" slogan was reported in Workers Vanguard, the organ of the Spartacist League, which attributed it to Khomeini's Iranian supporters. Events have shown that the veil has taken on different meanings during different stages of the revolution; under the Shah, it symbolized opposition to him, but now it is a clear symbol of female oppression.

Khomeini's stance on the veil has now been exposed on the front pages of the world press.

The article on Iran in this issue should clarify our position. Thank you for your comradely criticism.

### SCAT

As a woman active in the Seattle Committee Against Thirteen, I strongly protest your article on Initiative 13 characterizing SCAT as a white, male organization.

What a gross insult to the many women who were active in and leaders of SCAT! According to you, all our efforts count for nothing; we simply don't exist. Throughout history, women's contributions have been systematically belittled or ignored. Your denial... continues this chauvinist tradition.

Both SCAT and Women Against Thirteen plan to continue activities in the fight for lesbian and gay rights. By praising WAT... while denigrating SCAT, I feel you are trying to drive a wedge between the two organizations and prevent further collaboration of the kind that was so fruitful in the campaign. Should such efforts on your part succeed, the gay movement can only lose.

You owe SCAT, particularly the women in SCAT, and the entire Seattle gay community, a public apology for printing such a slanderous statement.

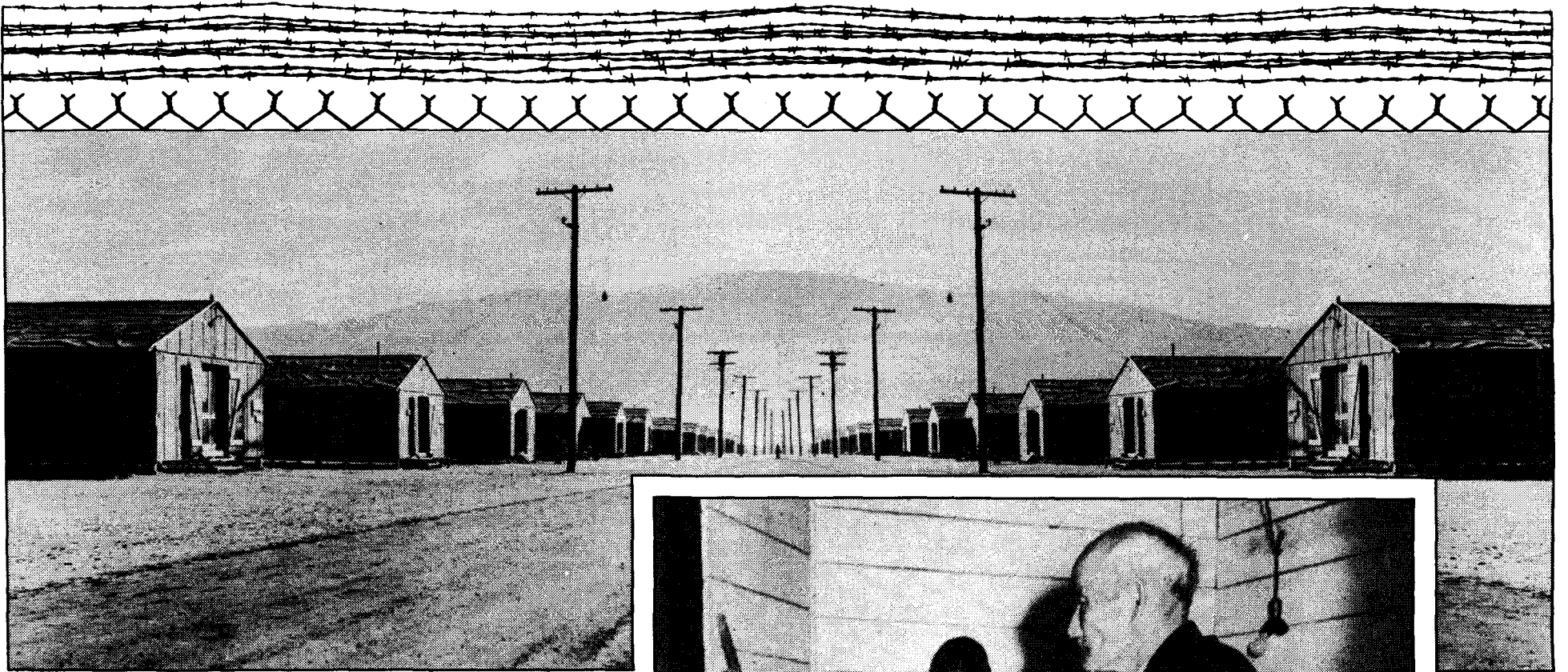
Caryl Sholin  
Seattle, Washington

### Editor's Response

We wrote, "SCAT, composed predominantly of white gay men... moved quickly into emphasis on moderation... pushed a generally single-issue line of 'war on homophobia,' but pressure from WAT forced it into occasional opposition to Initiative 15 and into addressing the issue of the right wing." White males did predominate at SCAT meetings, and this was significant in the light of its cautious program. The anti-13 forces were led to victory by feminists who rallied the minority communities, labor, and the liberals into opposition.

Readers are encouraged to submit letters, news stories, commentary, cartoons, graphics, photographs, and pertinent information on world and national affairs for publication. All material will be carefully considered by the Editorial Board.





by Helen Gilbert

**T**hirty-six years after the shameful concentration-camp imprisonment of 123,000 Japanese, a vast memorial-protest movement to avenge the infamy is assaulting the conscience of America and threatening congressional purse-strings.

On November 25, 2000 Japanese Americans publicly reenacted their forced trek to prison in 1942. Using borrowed U.S. Army buses and cars, they traveled from Seattle to the stables of the State Fairgrounds in nearby Puyallup. Euphemistically called "Camp Harmony," this was one of the many infamous stopover-relocation centers of World War II.

Similar grim demonstrations took place in Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles during February, 1979.

Gordon Hirabayashi, who served time in federal prison for his courageous stand against internment, spoke for thousands of Asian Americans when he said in Seattle, "*We must shed the survival mechanisms of self-effacement and quietness—and fight!*"

#### Redress for Relocation Nightmare

Japanese Americans today are demanding national legislation to provide monetary restitution as well as a legal commitment that racism and greed will never again cause the wholesale lockup of a race and robbery of its possessions.

The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) is preparing enabling legislation to furnish compensation for the loss of property, homes, businesses, and jobs. In addition, they are estimating the social and psychological damages of the loss of up to four years of freedom, and a tentative sum of \$25,000 has been pinpointed as reparations for each internee—a total of \$3 billion.

In order to prevent future abuses, the legislation seeks to overturn the legal basis for internment (upheld by several Supreme Court decisions) and curb the misuse of presidential power, so that crimes against innocent civilians can never again be committed in the name of "military necessity."

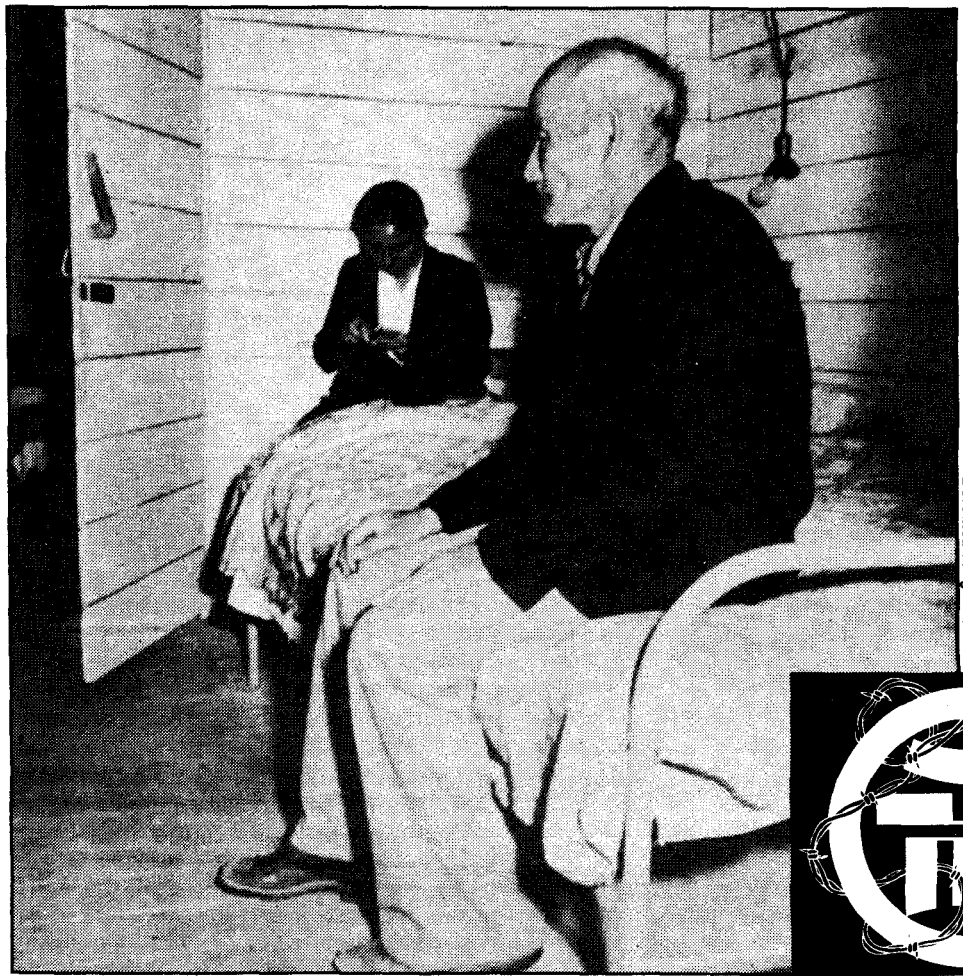
#### A Convenient Enemy

U.S. entry into WWII demanded a scapegoat to disguise U.S. warmongering in Asia, and to perpetuate the Big Lie of the "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor. It was a perfect opportunity for West Coast growers, and the Bank of America, to get rid of the Japanese and seize their property.

Despite 100 years of "Yellow Peril" hysteria and discrimination against them, Japanese farmers were incredibly successful at turning wasteland into highly productive farms—and earning the envy and hatred of powerful agricultural interests.

Since Japanese immigrants were barred from becoming citizens or owning land, property was held in the names of their American-born children. Hence, to get control of these lands, the entire Japanese race had to be impounded. Citizen and noncitizen, child and parent, affluent and poor—without a trial, all were accused and convicted of being treacherous enemy aliens. A tidal wave of jingoistic slander and lies was unleashed which convinced the nation that Pearl Harbor was a result of internal sabotage.

And the Japanese were rounded up like animals



Dorothea Lange/AFSA



## Japanese-Americans remember Pearl Harbor and protest U.S. prison camps

to "protect internal security."

#### America the Beautiful

Three months after Pearl Harbor, the evacuations began. All Japanese from Alaska to the Mexican border were herded into 10 massive concentration camps in some of the harshest deserts on earth. "Scorching hell... a place beyond description and beyond tears," said one inmate.

Tar paper barracks were divided into cubbyholes, each housing one family. Huge bathrooms featured long rows of toilets with no partitions for privacy. Standards were below those of prisoners of war.

Barbed wire fences and guard towers girded the camps, and searchlights scanned the premises nightly. Trigger-happy guards manned the gates to prevent people from leaving.

And as the war progressed, and the insanity of relocation became evident, "protection against misguided patriots" became the official excuse for continued imprisonment!

#### Resistance and Betrayal

Part of the official racist cover-up of this terrible chapter in American history is the myth of Japanese acquiescence.

It is true that the initial evacuation was characterized by the desperate effort of a stunned people to cooperate so as to prove loyalty. But indignation and outrage prevailed from the outset, and resistance was soon manifest.

Strikes erupted against insufferable conditions and abuses of human rights. Unions were organized. Legal suits, petitions, "riots," and draft

resistance became the favored forms of protest, along with universal, covert forms of daily rebellion: caustic anti-administration jokes, silent boycott of administration projects, and persistent violation of the camp ban against the practice of traditional medicine and clubs and schools which taught Japanese culture.

Japanese resistance was especially heroic when contrasted with the desertion of those who should have been allies. Few radical parties, no labor organizations, and no other minority groups took up the cudgels. "Liberal" politicians championed the camps.

Despite great hostility against them, the Socialist Party and several pacifist groups staged protests against the relocation; the Socialist Workers Party also spoke against the internments. But the Communist Party, completely pro-Roosevelt and frenzied with superpatriotism after the Nazi invasion of the USSR, endorsed the outrage and violently broke up one of the protest meetings in Seattle.

#### Never Again!

"Whatever groups come into disfavor with the government will be threatened with this happening to them," says Ron Mamiya, one of the drafters of the JACL legislation. "*Maybe gays, maybe Iranians, maybe Taiwanese—who knows who it might happen to next? Unless we rewrite this page in history, it will happen again.*"

The camps still exist, intact, waiting there for all of us unless the working class and its allies support the proposed legislation and build a strong united front against all forms of police-state regimentation.

# ALASKA!



## where the natural people and the natural resources face extinction

by Phil McMurray

**L**ast summer, four Native Alaskan men, ages 67 to 98, were arrested by Alaskan Fish & Game wardens for attempted salmon fishing on the Copper River.

The fishermen were seeking food for their households. They did not know that a weekday fishing ban had been imposed by the State because of the limited salmon run, nor could they compete with the sports fishermen swarming all over the rivers on weekends.

Many similar arrests in recent years have once again raised to the forefront of Native struggles the question of basic subsistence.

Alaska's 250 Native villages are among the last places on earth marked by a subsistence-level fishing and hunting economy, and they face annihilation as their aboriginal cooperative lifestyle becomes engulfed by an insatiable, profit-mad capitalism

which destroys people and natural resources with equal ferocity.

As resources dwindle, Native hunting and fishing rights are arrogantly denied or ignored. The conservative backlash against Native Americans in the "lower 48" states is mirrored in Alaska by cries that Native people are a "special interest" group demanding "special privileges."

But the hypocritical cries flaunt the historical truth.

### The Whaling Issue

Large-scale exploitation of whales, otters, and other wildlife by American, Japanese, Russian and European interests during the 19th century rendered some species virtually extinct. The vast oil pipeline and other environmental assaults have helped to decimate salmon, caribou, and other remaining food resources. As a result, the State of Alaska and various capitalist-dominated international commissions have limited the seasons, or set quotas, or banned altogether the taking of certain wildlife.

But these restrictions totally ignore Alaska Natives' survival needs.

Whaling has been an integral part of Eskimo diet and culture for thousands of years. Yet in 1977, the International Whaling Commission banned the taking of bowhead whale. The Eskimos were not notified or involved in the decision, which was made on the basis of incorrect evidence on the number of existing bowhead whales.

Eskimo people strongly protested the ban and the denial of their right to participate in such decisions, and in 1978 the IWC permitted a quota of whales for Eskimo hunters. But it was far too limited for survival needs. And when a quota of only 18 whales was established for 1979, the Eskimo delegation walked out of the conference and rejected IWC jurisdiction over their people.

### Clash of Cultures

The 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act gave Native Alaskans title to 40 million acres of land, plus compensation for lost land. But the fundamental result of ANCSA was the formation of 13 regional profit-making corporations to manage and distribute benefits to the people, and conservative leaders of the Native communities have themselves set out on a course which will cause the final extinction of Native cultures.

Business entrepreneurs, both Native

and non-Native, preach that parallel and coexisting cultures are possible, and that the regional corporations can meet the needs of Native people for housing, education, employment, and legal rights, and still make a profit. But more and more Native people realize that these corporations have not stopped the destruction of their lands, resources and livelihood.

It has not been profitable to develop labor-intensive local businesses which meet economic needs and support the culture of Native people, and the corporations have been investing in hotels, stocks and bonds, and large-scale extractive industries.

Clashes between the corporations and Native communities have already erupted; the battle over control of the resources of beautiful Admiralty Island is a vivid example.

Hiding behind phony catchphrases like "more jobs and ecological protection," capitalist interests are gearing up to plunder more non-renewable Alaskan resources and exterminate the economy, the culture, and the very lives of the indigenous people. ■

Phil McMurray, a member of CRSP, is an energetic supporter of the Alaskan Native struggle. He lives in Juneau.

## Paper Workers Hold Out Against Heavy Odds

by Robert Crisman

**T**he bitter West Coast Pulp and Paper Workers' strike has entered its eighth month with no end in sight—the longest stoppage ever held in the Pacific Coast paper mills.

A rash of February settlements seemed to signal the strike's end, but the thousands of workers still out are determined to save their conditions and their union from gouges by industry giants like Weyerhaeuser and Georgia-Pacific.

The Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers has demanded a 10% annual wage increase over 2 years, and pension adjustments to offset inflation. Management has offered 10, 9, and 8% wage increases over 3 years, and inadequate pension adjustments.

The strikebreaking manufacturers have hired scab labor and provoked violence on the picket lines. Struck plants are reimbursed for losses by the bosses' association, which demagogically cites Pres. Carter's "anti-inflationary wage-hike guidelines" as the basis for its shabby proposals.

Separate bargaining with each AWPPW local has seriously hampered strike coordination and persistence, especially after the more compliant AFL-CIO United Paperworkers International Union accepted contract offers early in the strike. And while strike funds have dwindled toward zero, industry profits have increased.

### Bright Spot

The militance of striking women cler-

icals from Local 315 in Hoquiam, Washington provided a beacon light of resistance.

The Grays Harbor Paper Company replaced the striking office workers with scabs who filed for union decertification. The striking clericals filed a countersuit and for two months exerted unrelenting pressure on the scabs by rallying the union into mass picketing, which was stopped only by a court injunction and police violence.

1,000 paperworkers marched with the clericals in October, and a November anticab demonstration attracted culinary workers, longshoremen, and Teamsters, in an exemplary display of labor solidarity.

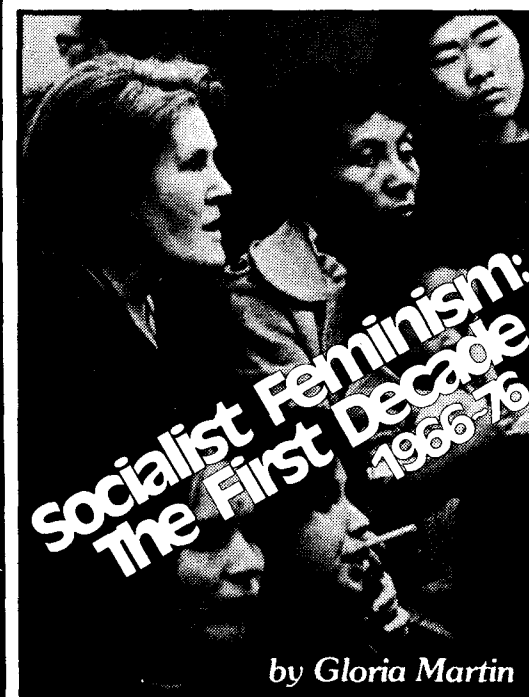
Local 315 contingents traveled throughout Washington State soliciting labor support against the union-busting war of the paper companies. Their bitter 8-month battle was settled March 31 through federal mediation.

### Renewed Militance

Workers at Weyerhaeuser mills in Oregon and Washington rejected contract offers in March, and locals at other companies followed suit. Roving pickets shut down all Weyerhaeuser Oregon operations, as well as plants in Everett, Longview, and Snoqualmie Falls, Washington.

11,000 International Woodworkers of America members, joined by woodworkers in other unions, have refused to cross AWPPW picket lines.

Broad labor and community assistance to the tenacious strikers, plus a determined course of united mass action, could spell victory for the hard-pressed paperworkers. ■



NOW  
FROM THE  
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In the words of author and FSP Organizer Martin, the report seeks to "assess the highlights, identify the errors, and level judgment on an entire decade of revolutionary work." Fascinating reading for radical organizers and historians, and an exciting sequel to A Victory for Socialist Feminism.

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of **Socialist Feminism: The First Decade, 1966-76**. Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_. Price \$7.95 each.

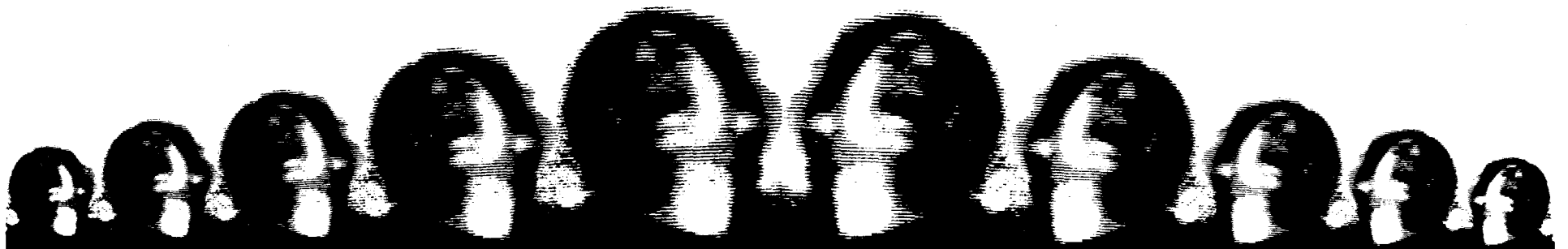
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# Violence Against Women

## The American Way of Life

by Tamara Turner

**W**hen women employ deadly force to protect themselves against males who assault, batter, and terrorize them, the courts tend to hand them a reduced prison term in exchange for a plea of guilty.

But women today are rejecting the blatantly sexist legal definitions of self-defense and demanding victory in the courts as an affirmation and a vindication of their right to survive.

The celebrated cases of Joan Little and Inez Garcia dramatized the terrible plight of women who are unmercifully harassed by the state because they chose to defend their lives rather than submit to murderous and rapacious men. Scores of similar, less heralded cases still crowd the court dockets, and the outlook for most of them is bleak.

Violence against women is an *institution* that perpetuates the contemporary social jungle. The human male's use of superior muscular strength to brutalize and control an entire sex is endemic under capitalism, and the revolt of the victims foreshadows a titanic overturn of all social relations that is next on the world agenda.

### Cassandra Peten, Battered Wife

The Oakland, California jury that found Cassandra Peten guilty of assault served notice last January that it is still open season on women in the nation's criminal "justice" system.

Cassandra Peten is a young Black mother, a shipyard worker, and a battered wife. In 2½ years of marriage, she was slapped and beaten, and her teeth were broken. She left her husband three times, and after he threatened to kill her, she left her job at Todd Shipyards, placed her child in her mother's care, and fled to another state.

In May, 1978 she returned to San Francisco to cash her \$1500 income tax return, and agreed to split the money with her estranged husband. Outside the bank, he took all but \$95. When she protested, he raised his fist and she shot him, like thousands of women who have defended themselves with a weapon in order to equalize the battle with an unarmed but violent male. A minor wound was inflicted on him.

Because he had no weapon, it was her word against his that his intentions were threatening; her past history of battering and terror meant nothing.

Found guilty of assault, she now faces a 4-year maximum imprisonment. And though free on bail before the trial, she was jailed *prior to sentencing* because

the judge felt she was "a threat to her husband."

On February 22, the judge deferred sentencing and ordered a 90-day period of psychiatric observation on the grounds that she was a dangerous and disturbed woman because she never expressed remorse for her act.

A major fundraising campaign to meet \$6000 in legal fees has been launched by the Cassandra Peten Defense Committee, 1600 Woolsey Street, Berkeley, CA 94703. Message phone: (415) 841-6500.

### Claudia Thacker, Embattled Mother

On Labor Day, 1977 Claudia Thacker ended a 20-year reign of terror in her Port Orchard, Washington home by shooting her husband dead as he stormed through the house in a drunken rage. He had smashed the furnishings, beaten two of their three daughters, and threatened to kill them all with his gun.

Claudia was convicted of second degree murder, which carries a mandatory 5-to-20-year sentence. Claudia was freed on her own recognizance pending outcome of her appeal to the Washington State Court of Appeals in June, 1979.

The jury heard very little about Kenneth Thacker's violent habits. Not until a year later, through precedent set in the Yvonne Wanrow case, was past history of abuse permitted as evidence in a self-defense trial. In February, 1979 the appeals court agreed to consider a supplemental brief written by Claudia. For the first time, the brutal story of her life with Thacker will be exposed in all its relentless cruelty and trauma.

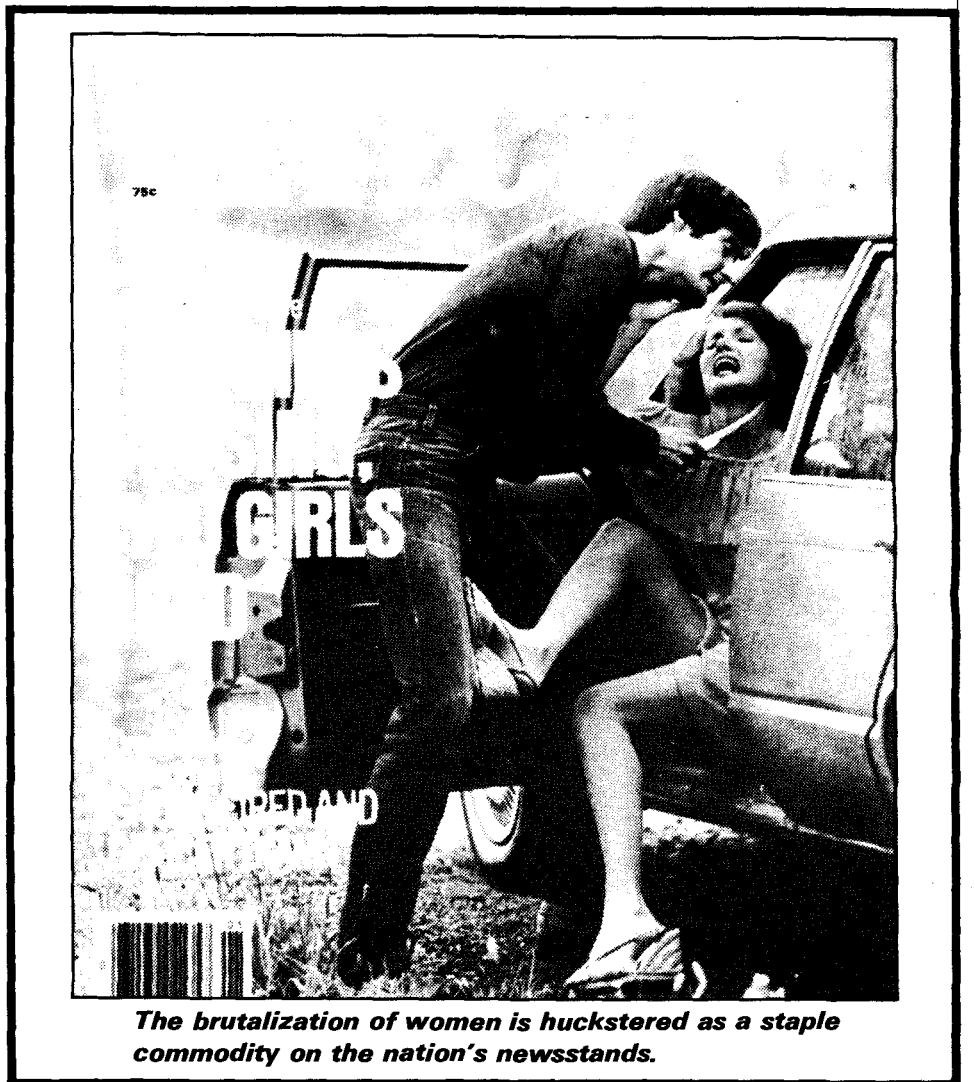
Claudia Thacker learned about marriage American-style from her Air Force sergeant husband after he brought her from her native France to the small town of Port Orchard. Over the years, his drinking and abuse worsened, but she did not know how to seek protection and was too frightened and ashamed to ask. Ironically, her plight was common knowledge.

"My kids went to school with theirs and I guess he was thumping them all the time," said the police chief. "Nobody wants to see her serve time. But what can you do? You just can't go around knocking off husbands."

Interviewed by the *Freedom Socialist*, Claudia expressed thanks to all the feminists supporting her.

"Now I worry about my appeal," she said, "and I hope the judges will see the truth of how badly women are treated. And I worry for Yvonne Wanrow. But how can the judges not listen? This is 1979; they *must* see how life has not been fair to women."

Donations and letters can be sent to:



*The brutalization of women is huckstered as a staple commodity on the nation's newsstands.*

Friends of Claudia Thacker, c/o The Gazebo Florist Shop, 730 Bay Street, Port Orchard, WA 98366.

### Yvonne Wanrow: Update

Yvonne Wanrow's long, hard struggle to protect her family from social oppression took a decisive turn in 1972 when she was forced to shoot a drunken, angry man—known in the neighborhood as a child molester—who entered the house where she sought safety from him. As he started to attack her family, she shot him through the heart.

Today, *seven years later*, this valiant Native American woman is still fighting the sexist, racist American legal system that found *her* guilty of assault and murder, and sentenced her to a 25-year prison term.

Her 1973 conviction was overturned in a landmark Washington State Supreme Court decision in January, 1977, but the Spokane prosecutor obtained a retrial, scheduled for April 30.

A major legal step toward equality under the law for women came with the court's ruling that the traditional determination of "reasonable force" assumed

there was "an altercation between two men." Requiring a 5'4" woman on crutches to "repel a 6'2" intoxicated man without employing weapons in her defense... violates the respondent's right to equal protection of the law."

To help, contact: Yvonne Wanrow Defense Committee, c/o P.J., 1824-12th Avenue, Seattle, WA 98122. Phone (206) 324-6292.

### Sharon Crigler, Unwilling Victim

On April 17, Sharon Crigler will appeal her conviction and 10-year sentence for manslaughter.

Crigler, a Black, was tried before an all-white jury. The judge who sentenced her criticized her for being on welfare and for her attitude.

Refusing to bargain for a lesser charge with a guilty plea, Crigler maintained her innocence. Keith Rolland, a man she had sheltered and supported for several months, repeatedly beat her, and she kicked him out. When he returned, she believed him to be armed, and fired the warning shot that killed him.

Contact: Sharon Crigler Defense Committee, 3811 N. 22nd St., Tacoma, WA 98406. Phone (206) 759-8501. ■



Brian Weber charges "reverse discrimination" in U.S. Supreme Court case

## Weber: Blue Collar Bakke

by Val Carlson

**B**rian Weber's reverse discrimination suit now before the U.S. Supreme Court is the latest giant warhead aimed at the heart of affirmative action. If the Court decision does not dismantle this formidable weapon, the complete destruction of compensatory opportunity for the socially disadvantaged will ensue.

From *Bakke* to *Weber*, devastation of affirmative action is moving from the educational arena to the economic, and from the public sector to the private.

In 1974, Weber was a \$21,000 a year lab assistant at Kaiser's Gramercy, Louisiana plant, and he was turned down for a new skilled craft, on-the-job training program called for in the union contract. The purpose of the program was to improve mobility for all workers and to offset past racial inequities.

Seven Blacks and six whites were accepted, and two of the Blacks had less seniority than Weber. Charging a violation of the Civil Rights Act, Weber sued Kaiser and the United Steelworkers of America on behalf of all eligible white workers at the plant.

### No Career Ladders

Until 1974, Kaiser required previous experience for skilled workers and hired from the outside instead of promoting from inside. Hence, Weber could not even have been a *candidate* for a skilled job before the inauguration of the very program he is challenging.

The Kaiser-Steelworker plan was to build up minority and female representation until the craft workforce contained 5% women and a percentage of minorities equal to the population in the area around each plant. Gramercy's minority population was 39%, but only 2% of Kaiser's craft workers were minority.

To accomplish this, 50% minorities and

women and 50% white men were to be admitted to the training program.

### Kaiser the Great

The previous two lower court decisions ruled that the 50% goal for women and minorities was "an unlawful preference" because Kaiser admitted to no prior discrimination. Neither court heard documented testimony about Kaiser's history of lower pay, limited hiring and segregated facilities for nonwhites; Blacks were forced to eat amid factory fumes while whites enjoyed an airconditioned lunchroom.

Kaiser management testified only about its equal opportunity policy (on paper), its unsuccessful attempts to recruit Blacks, and its adoption of a "quota system" to satisfy federal requirements and avoid "vexatious litigation." Had management admitted the disparities that justified the selective training program, successful and costly suits by minorities would have followed.

### Reverse Justice: Another Twist

Labor's ability to bargain for the special historic needs of minority and women workers is gravely imperiled by the Weber case. A recent United Steelworkers resolution from the New Orleans local called *Weber* "an antiunion attack in the worst tradition of the Taft-Hartley Act, 'right to work' open shop laws, and strikebreaking injunctions."

Civil rights leaders rightfully proclaim that the issue involved is simply fair and just reparations for minorities, not the vengeful discrimination against whites claimed by Bakke and Weber.

Voluntary affirmative action programs are already staggering under the paralyzing wound inflicted by *Bakke*, which constricted white-collar opportunities. Should *Weber* block access to skilled blue-collar work, it will be back to the broom for minorities, back to the offices for women, and back to the open shop for the entire labor movement.

A clarion call must be heard across the land, a call so loud that even the Supreme Court can hear it: **STOP WEBER!** ■

by Harry Turner

**T**he national Master Freight Agreement of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters—an agreement covering 300,000 local cartage and 100,000 long-haul truck drivers, the backbone of the 2.4 million member union—expired in March. And April found thousands of teamsters on strike or locked out.

The new contract is expected to set the pattern for 3.7 million workers under other major contracts which expire this year, among them the heavy artillery of the labor movement—those workers in such basic industries as rubber, electrical and auto.

The IBT settlement will be a major test of labor's ability to withstand the double-barreled, antilabor "austerity" offensive recently announced by the chief executive of the ruling class, Jimmy Carter.

Carter's 7% "voluntary" wage-rise ceiling is designed to curb the double-digit inflation rate again threatening workers. Even though real wages declined 3.3% last year, Carter would erode them further. His "austerity" budget is designed to help induce a "mild" recession this year by paring last year's inflation-generating federal deficit of \$37 billion to \$29 billion, in the hope of staving off a galloping depression next year—a presidential election year. The austerity in the budget, however, is only for workers and especially oppressed minorities, for whom social services and programs are to be slashed. The armaments industry, the banks and the big corporations will suffer no pain, and the Pentagon's "defense" appropriation is to be increased by \$11 billion.

## Teamster Contract: Critical Test for Labor

### Teamster Misleadership

The Teamsters have begun contract negotiations, but their union is headed by a thoroughly corrupt and venal leadership. Frank E. Fitzsimmons and company have a cozy relationship with organized crime, are implicated in the murder of previous union president Jimmy Hoffa, and are involved in the looting of millions of dollars of pension fund money from locals in the central states, southeast and southwest areas. The union officials had been trustees of these funds until forced to resign by the federal government.

Fitzsimmons may yet bow to Carter's 7% wage ceiling, if only to win immunity from prosecution. He is no longer talking about matching the 39% won by the miners. He may also accede to the "productivity" demands of the trucking industry—variable pay scales and starting times, increased speedup, longer probation and a lower apprentice wage. But he faces a growing and increasingly influential rank-and-file movement which will limit his ability to sell out.

### Rank-and-File Demands

Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) has 3100 members and a monthly newspaper, *Convoy*, which reaches another 50,000 Teamsters. Together with PROD, Inc.'s 5400 members, they have formed a "Majority Contract Coalition" which is coordinating struggles on a chapter level for union democracy and a better Master Freight Agreement.

Despite a barrage of "red-baiting,"

TDU and PROD slates have ousted the bureaucrats in local elections in Oklahoma City, Flint, St. Louis, Boston, Jacksonville, Harrisburg and Roanoke, losing only in New York and Pittsburgh.

The rank and file is demanding not less than a 39% wage boost and an uncapped cost-of-living clause. But their primary stress is on working conditions and workers' control ("a right to our own lives") against the "productivity" offensive of the trucking bosses and mandatory overtime. At present, drivers are only guaranteed a 24-hour rest period between 8-day/70-hour tours, and must "babysit" by the telephone, reporting for work within 2 hours after being called. They are also demanding job security, pension improvements, grievance and safety provision reform, and the right to vote on all contract supplements and riders.

### Lessons of the British Truck Strike

In 1934, the strikes of the Teamsters in Minneapolis under Trotskyist leadership helped spark the formation of the CIO.

In England, the recent strike of 100,000 British truckers for a 23% increase—which started as a wildcat—sparked a tremendous wave of 24-hour strikes by locomotive engineers and hundreds of thousands of low-paid municipal workers, demanding increases over 40%. The strikes crippled British industry, commerce and transportation and smashed both the "social contract" fastened on labor

3 years ago by the Labour Party government *and* the 5% wage-rise ceiling imposed by current Labour Party Minister James Callaghan.

The British truck drivers are now winning at least 20.75% wage raises, setting the pattern for all British labor.

And if a Trotskyist vanguard party existed in Britain today, the labor movement would move beyond the reformist Labour Party into revolutionary politics. Without such a political development, the growth of the right will become an increasing danger.

### Radicals in Basic Industry

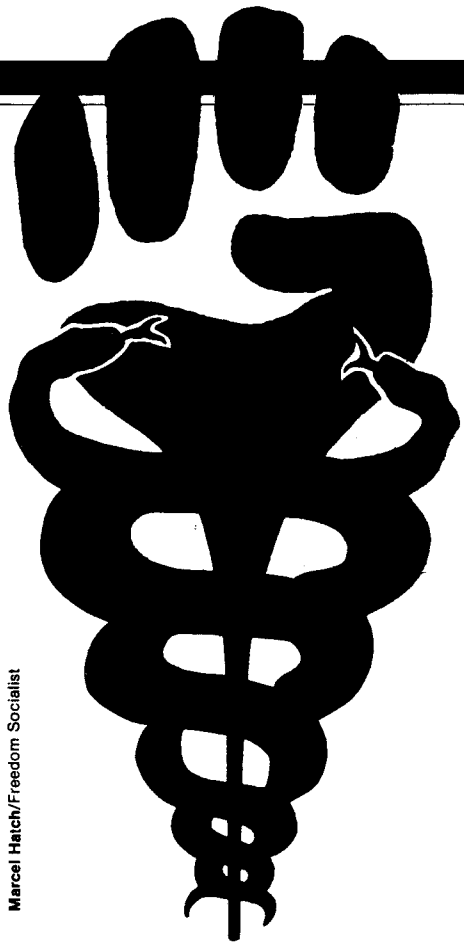
Trotskyists must become rooted in major industrial unions such as the teamsters and steelworkers. The open-shop South is now being challenged by the steelworkers' strike at the shipyard in Newport News, Virginia.

Trotskyists must become involved in rank-and-file organizations such as the TDU where they exist and in organizing them where they do not.

In industries with a predominantly white male workforce, Trotskyists must spearhead the fight for jobs for women, as part of the process of fighting for jobs for all workers. At the last TDU convention, 15% to 20% of the delegates were women.

Trotskyists can play a crucial role in the unions in developing worker consciousness that the next historic step for labor must be political—a break with the twin parties of capitalism and the construction of an independent party of the workers, a Labor Party. ■

Harry Turner, a prominent member of CRSP and a veteran socialist, lives in New York City.



## Disgusted Doctors Strike New York City Public Hospitals

by Susan Williams

**A**ngry interns and residents struck nine New York City hospitals for 24 hours in a massive January protest against city cutbacks in public health services. This was the first public hospital strike in the city's history.

The Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR), a union representing 4,000 housestaff doctors, has been pressing to include patient rights and better patient care in the new contract, but the city's Health and Hospital Corporation refuses to negotiate these supposedly "nonlabor" issues. The doctors demand an end to hospital closures, cutbacks, and layoffs, as well as provision for adequate supplies, staffing, and support services.

Last December, union doctors refused to sign certification sheets used to collect Medicare and Blue Cross payments. The financial toll to the city caused by this bold job action reached hundreds of thousands of dollars, but the HHC still did not budge.

### City Scissors Services

Protesting doctors managed to learn a great deal about the city's three-year plan for social and health service cutbacks, including a city commission recommendation to close two hospitals and give two others to private owners.

At Harlem Hospital, after doctors blocked an attempt to eliminate the departments of pathology and radiotherapy, the HHC moved to reduce the surgical program by more than 40%.

In January, the city started to lay off 20,000 employees, further diminishing the provision of health services to poor and working people. As a result, the CIR organized the January 17 strike.

At a private hospital whose Chief of Medicine spearheaded the attack

on public hospitals, the doctors struck in sympathy.

When the public hospital strike was announced, hospital administrators unleashed a scare campaign. They issued memos on the Taylor Law (illegalizing public employee strikes) and threatened, implausibly, to revoke malpractice insurance and prevent striking doctors from getting licensed or certified. The day before the strike, the City went to court claiming union violation of the Taylor Law and seeking financial penalties from the doctors. They lost the latter but won an injunction against the one-day strike, and publicly vowed to jail strike leaders.

Undaunted, the housestaffs walked out the next morning, leaving skeletal emergency crews inside, and the spirit on the picket lines was high, despite the snow and cold.

### Strike Stirs Community Support

At Harlem Hospital, many nurses, aides, clerical workers, technicians, and attending physicians joined the picket line during breaks or after their shift, and community people added their numbers to the line. At a noon rally, doctors exposed bad conditions in the hospitals and condemned the racist attack on the poor by the government and by city financiers. Support statements were read from many sources, including AFSCME DC 37 and the NAACP.

No strike leaders were jailed. But Harlem Hospital filed charges against the CIR Representative, a leader of the local strike committee, for "endangering" lives, "obstructing" an administrator, and "behaving in an unprofessional and unbecoming manner." The CIR Representative, a Black woman doctor, immediately instituted a union grievance and a civil suit for libel and defamation of character.

Interns and residents were incredulous and indignant at this harassment, and committed to defeating the administration's attempt to pick leaders off individually. They voted to consider themselves suspended, too, should the Rep be suspended. Although the threatened suspension has been withdrawn, the victimized Rep was fined 3 days' pay. She is appealing that penalty.

Doctor militants are organizing a radical caucus to facilitate response to reprisals and to maintain the momentum created by the strike, which brought public hospitals favorable press coverage for the first time in years. Doctor activists are working to consolidate support among city unionists and community groups affected by the increasing paralysis of public health services. ■

## The Uncivil Service

by Ivan King

**A** misplaced backlash against front-line public employees has found expression in tax revolts, in contracting out public services to profit-making private corporations, and recently, in reckless dismantling of civil service systems at every level of government.

Trigger words like *Watergate*, *Lockheed*, and *Iran* constantly remind the public of high-level political corruption, waste, and bungling, but the ruling class cynically diverts this indignation into an attack on innocent, rank-and-file civil servants. Opportunistic politicians, egged on by the capitalist press, blame everything from racism to inflation on government workers, and their careers flourish as they manipulate citizen distrust.

### Whims and Vengeance

In October, Congress eagerly helped Carter to fulfill a vengeful campaign threat against public employees. Under the new federal law, seniority safeguards are now sacrificed to a capricious system of "performance evaluations," while still denying government employees basic bargaining rights.

The plan encourages increased exploitation of workers by 9,200 "super-executives." These administrators can earn bonuses up to \$10,000 yearly for successful adaptation of private enterprise-style brain-picking, brown-nosing, and throat-cutting. It is clear that the requirement for holding most jobs will become abject subordination to the ambitions and political whims of superiors.

Seattle provides a glaring local example of this new type of travesty. One year ago, voters were persuaded to desert municipal civil service for a "merit system." But this so-called improvement simply furnishes the framework for speedy return to a full-scale spoils system.

Seattle voters were only vaguely aware that two significant groups of city workers were not covered in this "reform" shell game, namely the huge

police and fire departments. Ironically, the merit system won liberal support as a vaunted boon to affirmative action, yet the two exempt departments have the worst all-time record of wanton exclusion of women and minorities. And hard-won job protections will no longer be available to affirmative action hires in less powerful departments.

With loss of seniority rights for government workers, and little chance of winning high "merit" ratings from racist and sexist supervisors, many minorities and women will be caught in a career cul-de-sac.

Boss-pleasing will rapidly become more important than civic-minded service. Sexual politics, old-boy networks, rampant race discrimination and destructive interpersonal competition have gained a green light.

### Back to Tammany Hall

Most unions across the country are resisting the attack on civil service, since the peeling away of public employee protections sets a dangerous and contagious precedent for accelerated union-busting in the private sector. Organized labor has warned that current "liberal" administrations offer no guarantee against a precipitous return to patronage.

The expense to the public of the revived spoils system will be great. Unions struggled for decades to get seniority recognized as a reasonably objective performance criterion. But now perfunctory and unvalidated subjective supervisory evaluations will determine an employee's job security, and the relatively high standard of public service will suffer irremediably.

As favoritism and prejudice encroach upon objectivity and fairness, the true merit of a representative workforce, reflecting the composition of the population served, will be eradicated.

The day-to-day imprint of a well-organized, self-respecting, and affirmatively hired staff is the best and only guarantee of integrity, awareness and competence in the public service. All friends of labor should be alerted to resist the sinister return to Tammany Hall-style cronyism in government hiring, promotion and tenure. ■



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by Sam Deaderick  
and Tamara Turner

### European Lesbians

**T**he story of the struggle for lesbian rights in Europe during the late 1800s and early 1900s is shrouded in virtual silence. The laws referred only to male homosexuals, so the effort to remove antigay laws from the criminal codes focused primarily on men.

Nevertheless, lesbians were prominent and dedicated activists in the male-dominated movement for homosexual emancipation.

In their pioneering work, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)*, John Lauritsen and David Thorstad report that Magnus Hirschfeld, leader of the German Scientific Humanitarian Committee, stated in 1902 that lesbians "have become an almost indispensable and prominent component of all our events. Although the homosexual woman is not subject to any legal restrictions in Germany, she nevertheless suffers in the most varied ways because of the ignorance about her nature."

Lesbians faced enormous difficulties and suffered great scorn and outrage for daring to live independent lives outside the traditional family unit. It is most likely that politically oriented lesbians channeled their efforts into the women's movement, which electrified Europe in the highly-charged, pre-World War I period.

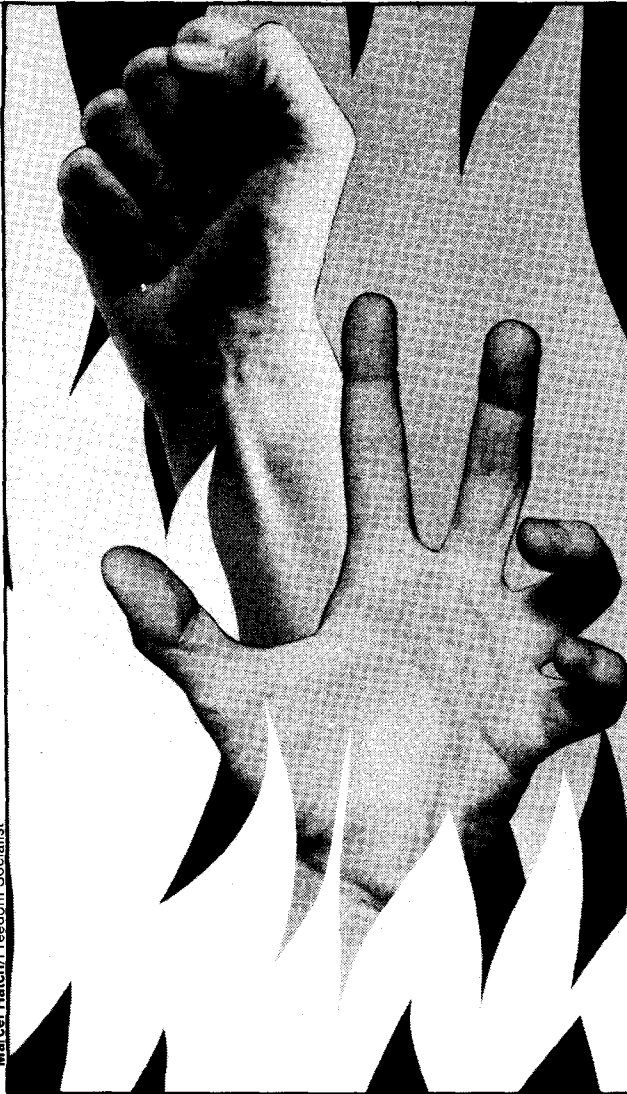
Lauritsen and Thorstad also describe a 1904 meeting of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee in Berlin, where lesbian feminist Anna Rühling spoke on "What Interest Does the Women's Movement Have in a Solution to the Homosexual Problem?" Said Rühling:

When we consider all the gains that homosexual women have for decades achieved for the women's movement, it can only be regarded as astounding that the big and influential organizations of this movement have up to now not raised one finger to secure their most insignificant number of Uranian members their just rights as far as the state and society are concerned, that they have done nothing—and I mean not a thing—to protect so many of their best known and most devoted pioneers from ridicule and scorn as they enlightened the broader public about the true nature of Uranianism.

Her speech could have been delivered to NOW in the early 1970s.

### The Literary Challenge

The scientific studies of Krafft-Ebing, Moll, and Hirschfeld in Germany, as well as Symonds, Havelock Ellis, and Edward Carpenter in England, definitely attributed homosexuality to hereditary factors. By the turn of the century, these works served to create a more open and permissive climate for authors to include variant characters or themes in their work.



Marcel Hatch/Freeform Socialist

## Gay Resistance: The Hidden History part III

The international suffragist movement, meanwhile, expanded women's educational and occupational opportunities, especially during World War I.

These developments, combined with a relaxation of Victorian sexual standards, permitted a more open life for lesbians, and their lifestyle and ideas were quickly reflected in the literature of the time. Much lesbian defiance of convention in early twentieth-century Europe emerged in literary form.

In stirring novels and poetry, "the love that dares not speak its name" spoke with a voice whose strength and power would irrevocably revolutionize Western literature.

Much of this literature, however, was privately printed in small press runs, ignored by established critics, and known only to a few lesbians.

Jeannette H. Foster's *Sex Variant Women in Literature*, published in 1956, analyzes this body of writing with a lucidity and intelligence that is invaluable to the uncovering of gay history.

Her work is of monumental significance because it salvages the work of lesbian writers through the span of history from ancient Greece to modern

times, regardless of language or country of origin. The reader of Foster's book feels devastated over the enormity of the suppression of lesbian art, and the cruelty of the loss to world culture.

### Renée Vivien

Two modern pioneers of the submerged literature of lesbianism were expatriate Americans who lived in Paris and wrote in French: Natalie Clifford Barney and Pauline Tarn (Renée Vivien).

Appalled by the intense prejudice against homosexuality, they fought hard to eradicate it. They lived openly and proudly as lesbians and were outspoken in their demand for respect rather than tolerance. They were strong feminists. They were also rich.

Vivien was extensively well-read in the classics and in modern, romantic literature. She exhumed all the data and myths of the past to find every single female rebel and theme of female independence, and celebrated their heroism in her writings.

Her poetry has been described as the most perfect in form of any French verse between 1900 and 1925, an extraordinary accolade in view of the difficulty of mastering French literary forms and the fact that French was a second language to her.

Vivien created a massive body of poetry and other writings before her tragic death from alcoholism complications at 32. Although her work explicitly centers on the love of women, most anthologies of her writing exclude this theme. The only biography of her was written while most of the persons involved were alive, so much was omitted. When she died, her friends seized her unpublished manuscripts and letters and sealed them in the Bibliothèque Nationale until A.D. 2000.

Vivien's magnificent achievement in poetry and her just place in literature are denied solely because of the lesbian content of her work. Fortunately, her 1904 novel, *A Woman Appeared To Me*, was translated into English by Jeannette H. Foster and published by Naiad Press in 1976.

### Colette

Through the great fiction of the famous French writer Colette, a total philosophy of sexual development and sexual relations was illuminated, one which presented lesbianism in a healthy light.

The five novels about Claudine trace this character from childhood through marriage and widowhood, with profound and unique commentary on sexual mores and practices.

Colette's work has been available to the world since 1900. Although she was forced to issue her books under the name of her husband, she soon separated from him and lived openly as a lesbian for some years before remarrying later in life. Her profound understanding and acceptance of the rich variety of human experience render her a literary immortal. ■

This is the third installment of a unique analysis of gay history that traces the gay rights movements from antiquity to the present day. The next section assesses Virginia Woolf, Radclyffe Hall, and Mary Renault, among others.

## Open Letter to the Movement

### Stop the Terrorism Against Us!



Doug Barnes/Freeform Socialist

John Trudell

Gangs of rightwing terrorists, bent on annihilating those who resist oppression, pose a deadly threat to militants and radicals.

Two recent brutal murders of movement activists bring home the urgent necessity for mutual defense against our common enemies.

In November, Tony Adams, a Black member of the Socialist Workers Party and a gay activist, was murdered in his Salt Lake City apartment only days after a phony morals charge against him was dismissed in court.

Three months later, the family of American Indian Movement (AIM) chairman John Trudell died in a propane fire set at their home on the Duck Lake Reservation in Nevada. Activist Tina Trudell, her three children, and her mother were the victims of this strange fire which

occurred the day after Trudell led a demonstration in front of FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C.

We must expose and denounce these savage murders!

We must excoriate the complicity of police, courts, and the FBI with the reactionary fanatics of the right. They are all agents of the capitalist state apparatus and are unrelenting foes of all progressive forces.

The SWP, unfortunately, merely follows the routine of demanding police investigation and does nothing to stop the next attack, and the next, and the next. This irresponsibility perpetuates ignorance about the rightwing terror and breeds a false sense of security within movement ranks.

If they are not alerted to the growing danger, movement workers are prevented from organizing self-defense

and group protection, and become immobilized.

The police will not defend us from attack. We must defend ourselves. We must solidarize on this issue, and organize radicals, feminists, workers, gays and people of color into joint defense guards and protective squads. The lives of our comrades and colleagues are far too high a price to pay for go-it-alone sectarianism or suicidal dependence on the very same bodies of armed men that persecute us.

To the families and comrades of Trudell and Adams we should offer both our deepest sympathy and our assurance that we shall avenge these outrages by effectively preventing their repetition.

Guerry Hoddersen  
Seattle Local Organizer  
Freedom Socialist Party





# FREEWAY HALL-

by Gloria Martin

When millionaire restaurateur Ivar Haglund tried to summarily evict the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women from Freeway Hall, their longtime headquarters, he had no inkling of the forthcoming eruption of community interest and wrath.

Haglund dropped his eviction-bomb in November, and when negotiations for a stay of execution proved fruitless, the tenants called a press conference—and everybody came.

Representatives of dozens of varied organizations—who had used the Hall during its 15 years of operation—read protest statements, and the story was carried on every TV channel, and in the daily, weekly, monthly and special-interest press. Haglund was forced to grant an extension to provide time for locating a new hall.

The halcyon days of Freeway Hall as a center and rallying point of radical politics in the Pacific Northwest are numbered. It is slated to share the fate of many historic buildings demolished to make way for parking lots.

Big capital will eradicate Freeway Hall, but the great ideas and thunderous mass actions conceived there will never be forgotten. And the Freeway Hall philosophy of free speech and principled revolutionary politics will continue to be nurtured in whatever storefront, warehouse, or older home becomes the new Freeway Hall.

Years ago, the Seattle IWW designated one Skid Road intersection as "free speech corner," and this honorable tradition and model was joyously revitalized by Freeway Hall, which provided a platform for all rebels with a cause—a soapbox on request. Everyone has been heard there—race freedom fighters, Marxists, anarchists, pacifists, reformists, feminists, labor organizers, political candidates, hippies, yuppies, and new left counter-culturists.

The Hall was a base for the antiwar movement, women's liberation, SNCC and the civil rights struggle, labor defense work, community organizing on behalf of Chicano and Native

American rights, and much more. It hosted hundreds of lectures, forums, debates, symposiums and classes on every pertinent international and domestic development, and vast numbers of parties, dances, cultural events, movies, theatrical productions, banquets and rummage sales.

Many an occasion found the facility bursting its seams with the crowds and the good vibes.

The first classes ever presented in Seattle on women's role in history took place at Freeway Hall in 1965, initiating the exciting process that culminated in the birth of Radical Women.

The Hall housed the founding convention of the Freedom Socialist Party in 1966, when a small band of radicals became the first socialist party in history to assign the emancipation of women to the top of the revolutionary agenda. And the first warriors for legalized abortion were mobilized there in 1969.

In 1970, scores of pre-schoolers managed to ruin the floors and scuff the walls when the Hall opened its arms and doors as a last resort refuge

# Unexpected Cause Celebre

for an embattled childcare center thrown off the University of Washington Campus.

In 1971, amidst a fundraiser for the Seattle Seven conspiracy trial defendants, the Hall was raided by cops. A mass arrest ensued. Organizer Clara Fraser, one of those arrested, subsequently defended herself in court and won acquittal.

The proud saga of Freeway Hall entitles it to be declared an historic monument, but it will be pulverized by the implacable bulldozer. And we will do more than bid it a fond farewell. We are committed to see it rise anew to carry forward the original hope and promise implicit in a revolutionary headquarters.

**The big, bad wolf is a huffin' and a puffin', Tryin' to blow our house down Again!**

*(Who does he think he is, anyway, Ivar Haglund?)*

**We need a new home!  
Our goal is \$20,000,  
to keep the wolf from the door.**

Send contributions NOW to: Freeway Hall,  
3815 Fifth Avenue N.E., Second Floor West, Seattle, WA 98105.



Susan Dockall/Freedom Socialist

by Monica Hill

**W**ith stunning force and searing intensity, the Iranian revolution continues to ascend to ever higher peaks of proletarian consciousness, socialist aspiration, and revolutionary feminism.

After 38 years of subjection under the hated, U.S.-installed Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the masses of oil-rich Iran are swiftly accumulating in their grasp the greatest power there is—the power to intervene in their own destiny.

And it is no wonder that the vital principle, the paramount social issue that is impelling the awesome revolutionary tide to the left, is the explosive question of women's rights.

The slogan of the liberation of women has become the focus and the rallying point for the radical opposition. Once again, female revolutionaries are the catalysts spurring history onward to new citadels.

#### Death to the Shah!

For 15 months the people have waged a determined war for liberation in the streets, schools and factories. In the final months preceding the overthrow of the Shah, demonstrators numbering in the millions—one-quarter of them women—emerged in all the major cities, testing their strength and gaining experience. And nothing could stop their dynamic, not guns, tanks, troops, or police.

Brief retreats turned into renewed and stronger offensives against the monarchical regime, and the collective courage and insistence on victory of a truly revolutionary populace proved irresistible. Army and air force mutinies erupted with regularity, peasants seized land, and long-oppressed nationalities mobilized for independence. The momentum of insurrection was dizzying.

Oil workers were in the forefront of a general strike that paralyzed the economy and cemented an alliance of all the popular masses. Confronted with relentlessly insurrectionary masses ready to die for their cause, the monarchist loyalties of the armed forces eroded and then crumbled.

Like their Russian predecessors in 1917, Iranian women were the first demonstrators to meet the soldiers head on and persuade them not to shoot and to solidarize with the people. The ranks of the military went over to the people.

Virtually the entire population moved as one body toward their goal. Monarchist officers were executed, and the Shah fled when it became evident that the army could not stop the mass movement.

#### Death to Bakhtiar!

The Shah fled under heavy guard to Morocco for a "vacation." He left with all the pomp and ceremony his pride required but not before he and his family had transferred millions of dollars out of the country.

In a last desperate gesture, the Shah attempted to form a "civilian" government headed by former oppositionist Shapour Bakhtiar. But this doomed move was greeted by

intensified strikes and a new slogan for street demonstrations: cries of "Death to Bakhtiar!" mingled with "Death to the Shah!"

#### Enter the Ayatollah

Without nationally recognized and organized leadership from the left, a vacuum existed into which stepped the Moslem religious leaders whose mosques and communication network were available vehicles for organizing.

The popular symbol of opposition to the Shah, exiled Moslem leader Ayatollah Khomeini, proved to be equally intransigent to Bakhtiar. Khomeini, still in exile, refused to meet with Bakhtiar unless Bakhtiar resigned. Khomeini's uncompromising opposition to the puppet prime minister greatly increased his stature and influence in the revolution. And Bakhtiar was forced to allow Khomeini to return to Iran, where he was greeted by a crowd estimated at four million people.

Khomeini immediately announced the names of key figures to comprise a rival regime, and a short-lived dual power situation developed. After days of demonstrations, culminating in fierce street fighting, the armed forces transferred their loyalty to the Ayatollah, and the Bakhtiar regime was finished.

#### Leadership, Soviets, Dual Power

The U.S. media has portrayed Iran as a country running amok under mob rule. Khomeini is variously portrayed as a despot or as a focus of order amidst chaos. But beneath the apparently disordered surface of revolution always lies organization and logic.

The truth is that the Iranian working class and the radicals organized extensively to overthrow the Shah and then Bakhtiar.

Before Bakhtiar's exit, government workers refused entry to his ministers. *Los Angeles Times* reporter Joe Alex Morris, Jr. wrote, "In the Foreign Ministry, an action committee formulated a new foreign policy for Iran calling for a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union and a diplomatic break with Israel and South Africa. 'It's the first time in history that doormen and tea servers are making foreign policy,' commented a Western

ambassador."

Workers councils, i.e. soviets, sprung up in such key industries as oil and railroads, evincing their independence by protesting the negotiations for domestic oil transport conducted by Khomeini-appointed Prime Minister Bazargan. Workers stopped a trainload of oil destined for the army.

In factories outside the capital city, Tehran, workers won two hours off work daily for political seminars. During the Shah's last bloody days, power station workers blacked out the city just before the military-controlled evening news came on. Telephone workers instituted a daily cut in service. A committee at the Central Bank stopped the supply of money to local banks and published an exposé of the millions stolen by the Shah and his entourage.

Inconveniences like power blackouts, gasoline shortages, market

closures, and transportation shutdowns were greeted with joy by the populace as dramatic manifestations of the power of the revolution.

Neighborhood committees took care of people's needs during the strikes, and whole towns were administered by representatives of the people who simply dismissed Bakhtiar's functionaries.

The level of organization has been tremendously high, linking virtually every sector of society. And the huge network of soviets, committees, and revolutionary tribunals of all kinds shows no signs of dissolving and turning over power to the government appointed by Khomeini. Nothing can be done by the government without the agreement of the councils; Bazargan can act effectively only with the approval of the particular council affected.

Dual power, shared between the organizations of the working class and the government of the bourgeoisie, is a reality in Iran today.

#### Permanent Revolution

The historic task in Iran is to complete the revolution against the Shah by inaugurating a workers state and transforming capitalist productive relations into a socialist system.

Khomeini is scrambling to halt this inexorable process of swift revolutionary development from lower to higher planes. In concert with the generals, domestic capitalists, and U.S. imperialism, he is desperately trying to reestablish "order" in Iran.

But the revolution has a life of its own, and it will not easily stop short of its own intrinsic destination—the complete and fundamental economic, social and political transformation of Iranian society.

Khomeini demanded that the armed populace turn in their weapons. No more than a trickle of guns was surrendered.

He demanded an end to strikes and a swift return to production. The workers, particularly in the oil fields, rejected capitalist business-as-usual and kept oil production in their own hands. They are not about to give up their control to anybody.

Khomeini calls for establishing an "Islamic Republic" based on the religious teachings of Islam. Already,

tion, duly sanctioned by Islamic law.

Women were unable to marry, leave the country, or find a job without permission from male guardians. They were not allowed to testify in court, and automatically lost custody of their children in a divorce case. Sons, by law, inherited twice as much as daughters.

Women bore the brunt of Iran's skyrocketing joblessness, predominated in the low-paying hazardous industries, and earned two-thirds of men's wages.

Despite—and because of—such exploitation and repression, Iranian women fought back heroically in the early 20th century, after the 1917 Russian Revolution, and after the Second World War.

Today they have surged to the front ranks of the revolution, insisting on their demands and their right to be in on decisions.

Women activists were dealt with brutally by the sexist police of the Shah and by rightwing Moslems. In one instance, a group of university professors were fired on and beaten by police, who singled out six women professors for punishment, shouting "harlot" and "prostitute" at them.

The controversial veil (chador), a full-length garment worn by many women in the early demonstrations, did not necessarily mean female submission. Iranian women preferred that the veil was worn as a symbol of mourning and of resistance to the Shah. Many women wore veils for the first time during the revolution, vowing not to remove them until the Shah was gone. The veils also come in handy for concealing weapons and leaflets!

In Iran, as in all revolutionary movements of this epoch, the question of women's emancipation plays a pivotal role in the unfolding of the permanent revolution. Terrible oppression under the Shah impelled women to join the opposition movement *en masse*, and Khomeini's double-talk on women's rights insured his fall from grace in their eyes.

Khomeini says the new Islamic Republic will not discriminate against women, but he quotes Islamic law to oppose abortion and says that divorce will only be allowed under "certain circumstances." He also instructed

# ! I R A I

homosexuals have been executed, "adulterous" women stoned, and thieves mutilated. He is running into ferocious opposition. In class terms, he is forming a bourgeois republic, and the workers and radical students and intellectuals know that capitalism—replete with labor exploitation, close ties to world imperialism, subjugation of women, and political powerlessness of those who chased away the Shah—cannot fulfill the aspirations of the Iranian masses for independence, justice, economic security and democracy.

#### Women to the Fore

Nothing in Iran expresses this sharp dividing line between the classes more clearly than the movement for women's emancipation.

Despite the Shah's much touted advocacy of women's rights, Iranian women toiled under the rankest social, legal and economic discrimina-

tion, and reinstated a wide range of regulations that are oppressive and demeaning to women.

Iranian women, however, did not help depose the Shah just to be thrown back into the Middle Ages.

On International Women's Day, March 8, 100,000 women rallied at Tehran University, a center of radicalism. Twenty thousand women dressed in Western clothes marched through the city demanding the right to wear whatever they choose, the reinstatement of laws protecting women, which Khomeini had scrapped, and an equal voice in government.

Khomeini had abolished equal property and divorce rights for women, richly deserving the "male chauvinist" epithet hurled at him by Kate Millett, the American feminist author of *Sexual Politics* who was expelled from Iran.

Millett had joined the mass march

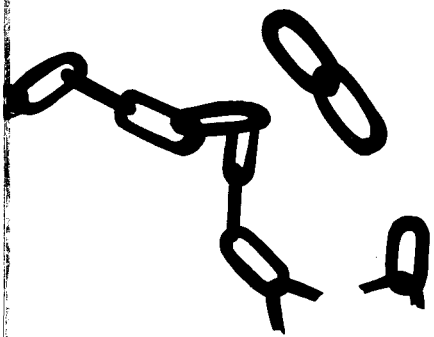


of women who chanted, "At the dawn of freedom, we have no freedom," "Death to the Dictatorship," and "We will not be slaves." Troops loyal to Khomeini dispersed the demonstration by firing rifles into the air.

The demonstrations continued for several days as the women clashed with pro-Khomeini men who hurled rocks, fired rifles, and brandished knives. At least four women were stabbed. The world watched in awe as the endless phalanxes of intrepid women defied the Ayatollah's feudal decrees.

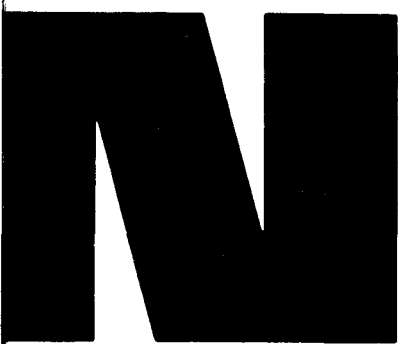
"The experience of all liberation movements," said Lenin in 1918, "has shown that the success of a revolution depends on how much the woman takes part in it." Iranian women are making sure that this revolution succeeds; their struggle is a key component of the general yearning for a workers democracy, and if the male Left gives full and unstinting support to the women, the victory of socialism in Iran is assured.

If radical male workers fail to solidarize with the women, the revolution will flounder and degenerate sooner or later. For the women workers of Iran are currently the vanguard of the upsurge, and to halt their momentum is to betray the revolutionary essence and dynamic.



### The Left Wing

The socialist movement in Iran is engaged in deep-going theoretical debate. Handicapped by decades of repression and by widespread distrust of communism because of Stalinist betrayals, radicals are striving to develop a program, a party, and a leadership that will carry the revolution through to a workers democracy.



The debate centers around the classic polarity between Bolshevism and Menshevism.

The Stalinist Tudeh Party is traditionally Menshevik, claiming that the revolution must go through prolonged and orderly consecutive stages and must therefore merge with bourgeois forces at this time.

It is one thing to ally temporarily with the bourgeoisie to get rid of a monarch. It is quite something else to submerge the revolution in the camp of the capitalist class.

The Tudeh has no argument with Khomeini's Islamic Republic, even though he has not lifted the Shah's ban on them!

Several radical organizations, fortunately, adopt the Bolshevik position that the revolution must not stop at the stage of a bourgeois republic but must drive forward to socialism and a workers state.

Throughout the early weeks of

Khomeini's rule, the newly-formed Iranian SWP (affiliated with the Trotskyist Fourth International) called for a constituent assembly to decide the future social order, and for a workers and peasants government. Later, according to the March 9 issue of the *Militant* (the organ of the American SWP), the Iranian Trotskyists advocated "the development, extension, and coordination of the democratic committees of the toiling masses in the factories and offices, in the armed forces and the neighborhoods."

But these demands do not go far enough. The constituent assembly is a key demand for a democratic institution that will provide an arena for the political fight ahead. However, a constituent assembly is a **multi-class** institution with the exclusive function of writing a constitution.

On the other hand, a national and truly representative assembly, which includes only representatives of the popular councils—factory councils, soldiers' and airmen's councils, special councils of women workers, neighborhood councils, all the councils born in the revolution—must be created. Only such a national body, a national congress of soviets, could present a unified proletarian voice in a constituent assembly.

"The development, extension, and coordination" of these committees is one thing, but the organization of a definitive system of local representatives to regional councils, and regional representatives to a **national revolutionary council**, is quite another.

This task is on the top of the agenda in Iran today, and is absolutely essential to the consolidation of revolutionary gains and the sharpening of the struggle for socialism.

Two other Marxist organizations have played key roles in Iran, the Fedayeen and the Mojahdeen.

The Fedayeen split from the Tudeh in 1970 over the Tudeh's attempted collaboration with the Shah, and it has operated as an underground guerrilla force. The Mojahdeen, which describes itself as "Islamic-Marxist," is an outgrowth of the Islamic opposition movement.

The Fedayeen and Mojahdeen, often working in alliance, represent the leading left forces in Iran. They have a mass following and stand opposed to an Islamic Republic.

These two organizations have played an exemplary role as **highly conscious** revolutionary cadres throughout the insurrectionary period. At the moment when the fall of Bakhtiar depended on the arming of the workers, the Fedayeen and Mojahdeen provided the arms and the military leadership to challenge the regime.

The Fedayeen issued instructions by radio to the people, instructing them in how to handle the firearms, set up communications networks, build barricades, conduct street fighting, and arrest "enemies of the people."

They continue to exhibit an excellent sense of revolutionary strategy as they build their forces and extend their influence more and more deeply among the masses.

The Fedayeen, however, despite its advanced program for a workers and peasants government, does not call for a national body of soviets.

(Such a body may be in the process of formation, but no news of such a development has yet emerged.)

### Toward a Workers State

Now that the first stage of the revolution has been attained and the Shah and Bakhtiar have fallen, the internal political differences within the revolution have attained key

significance.

Even bourgeois analysts say that "the revolution is not over" and warn of a leftwing bid for power.

As Khomeini attempts to build a bourgeois state, he condemns the radicals. "Anyone opposed to Islam is our enemy," he says, and those opposed to an Islamic Republic are "counterrevolutionaries." But he dares not use substantial force against the growing left opposition.

On February 23, a rally in Tehran of 150,000, led by the Fedayeen, demanded a workers state, distribution of all arable land, nationalization of banks and foreign investments, and cancellation of contracts with foreign oil companies. Since then, many smaller rallies and demonstrations have opposed Khomeini's Islamic Republic from the left.

In early March, reports appeared in the American press of gun battles between Khomeini's forces and the left wing. And then the feminist fury erupted against Khomeini.

These struggles between the radical workers and the bourgeoisie are the heart of the revolution; they fuel the total movement and all other developments must be weighed and measured against them.

### The Yankee Presence

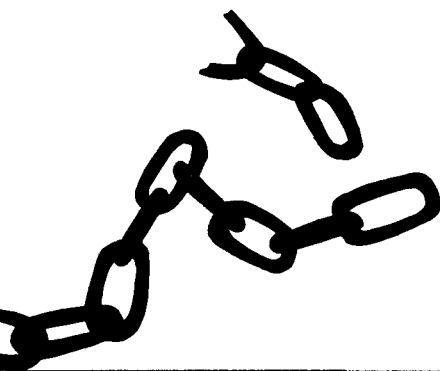
U.S. interference in Iran was a major cause of the revolution.

The Iranian masses will never forget that the Shah would have fallen after World War II without CIA help, and that Wall Street and the White House have propped him up ever since.

In return, U.S. capital was free to systematically rob Iran of its wealth through special oil deals, to use the country as a base for spying on the USSR, to sell Iran billions of dollars of U.S.-manufactured weapons, and to advise and train the hated secret police, SAVAK.

As a result, revolutionary rage against the U.S. government presence in Iran reached volcanic proportions, and Khomeini rushed to take advantage of this fury. But now he's making oil deals with the U.S. and trying to send oil workers back to their jobs to produce oil for export.

Khomeini is seeking a way to contain the vast contradictions of the situation so that Iranian capitalism can be reconstituted. Can he build a trade? Will the workers allow export to the U.S.? Will the workers allow the renewed presence of American advisors in Iran? The Khomeini compromisers and the revolutionary workers are heading for an historic showdown over these and many other unresolved questions.



### Social Democratic Complicity

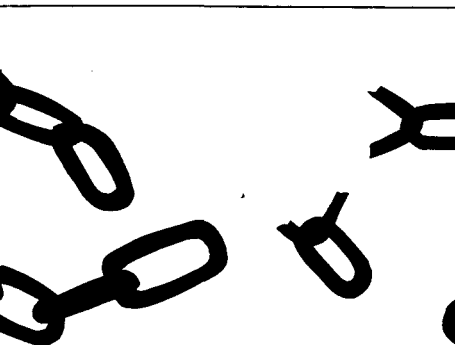
Yankee plunder of Iran and brutalization of its people were only possible given the tacit approval of the cynical opportunists who comprise the social democracy in the U.S.

The labor bureaucracy, National Organization for Women, the moderates who control most minority and gay civil rights groups, and all liberals who preach adaptation to the Democratic Party for "practical" reasons bear a definite responsibility

for the ravages of U.S. imperialism in Iran.

A Democratic president, with the full support of his party, denounced the Iranian revolution from the beginning. Carter supported and feted the Shah. When the Shah was chased out, Carter supported his clone, Bakhtiar. And now Carter calls for order under the Khomeini regime, as Khomeini repays him by negotiating for continued purchase of Iranian oil and for U.S. technical advisors.

All this treachery against the will and needs of the Iranian people is promoted by the Democratic Party, the party of American imperialism, and political support to it is a betrayal of the Iranian revolution and its sisters, brothers and comrades in the American working class.



### Iranians in the U.S.

Washington is callously using the Iranian revolution as a ploy to contrive another oil crisis and foment anticommunist xenophobia. But Iranian students in the U.S. have countered with effective demonstrations of the links of their revolution with the world proletariat. Their protests have exposed U.S. hypocrisy on "human rights."

Many of these students, and many Iranian political exiles from all over the world, are currently returning to their homeland to help fight for the persisting revolution.

### The Continuing Revolution

Iran is a cauldron of revolutionary fires, stoked by round-the-clock debates, demonstrations, and hammering out of political programs.

Crisis rocks the government at every turn. Bazargan, claiming an inability to govern due to the counter-authority of the revolutionary councils, has attempted to resign. But Khomeini will not let him. If the government were to fall, Khomeini's personal reign would be sorely endangered by face-to-face confrontation with the democratic workers councils.

Bazargan also demanded that the executions of generals and SAVAK torturers be stopped, and Khomeini has obliged him, mandating that all verdicts of revolutionary courts must be reviewed.

The blazing march to freedom of the Iranian people has left the world breathless.

When the Iranian rebellion started, many sage observers predicted that in a decade or so the Shah would be deposed. As usual, they underestimated the fervor, audacity, persistence, resilience, and raw purpose of the Iranian people, who would not settle for a mere casting out of a detested monarchy, and who will not rest content with the formal democracy and continued exploitation imposed by a limited, bourgeois revolution.

Their gigantic leap toward the apex of revolutionary power furnishes a living lesson to workers of the world on the anatomy and dynamic of the permanent, unstoppable revolution.

**For Permanent Revolution in Iran!  
For Workers Democracy!  
For Revolutionary Feminism!  
For a Socialist Iran!**

# The Coming Labor Party

American workers are caught in a political trap. Year after year, they are swindled by their worst enemies, the Republicans and Democrats. Workers are deceived into voting back into power all the devoted representatives of the capitalist class.

And what does this capitalist power produce? Rising unemployment, ballooning inflation, soaring taxes, cutbacks in health, welfare and schools, mounting oppression, and imminent depression—*everything* the worker hates.

The enormous wealth produced by workers is grasped by the hands of a tiny group of capitalists who see to it that at least half the federal budget is allocated to war, and to crushing sister and fellow workers in Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America. And at home, the ruling class foments an antihuman campaign of vast proportions—a racist, antiunion, antiwoman, antigay offensive.

## Labor Lieutenants of Capital

What *prevents* the working class from organizing its own Party, a Labor Party with a workers' program and pro-labor candidates who will fight for the real needs of the people?

What stops the organization of such a mass party of the majority is the huge *labor bureaucracy*.

These high-priced union officials are tightly identified with the interests of capitalism, its parties, its FBI and CIA, its foreign and domestic plots, and its imperialism. Union bureaucrats ram the philosophy and policies of the bosses down the throats of the rank and file with unrelenting cynicism. And a peculiar irony of the system is revealed: these forked-tongued betrayers of exploited workers are actually fed and cared for and given super-privileges by the very workers who are their victims and their prey.

The capitalists don't even have to pay for their



own watchdogs.

The labor bureaucracy rests mainly upon the upper layers of privileged workers in the unions who are bribed in a thousand ways to ape the politics of management. Lenin and Trotsky brilliantly explained the function and mechanism of the labor bureaucracy many years ago. But what is new today is the *makeup* of the U.S. proletariat.

## The Real Proletariat

The majority of the contemporary working class in the United States are either racial, national and ethnic minorities, or gays, or the undocumented, or those who alone constitute more than 50% of the population and the class—women of all colors.

Women workers are transforming the entire character of the working class. As members of the

huge sector of the specially oppressed in society, and members also of the organized working class, they connect and bring together the *underprivileged* and the *relatively privileged* whose unity will spark a new era of revolutionary drive.

Something else that is new on the scene is the sharp erosion of the privileges of the worker-aristocrats.

No longer are they assured of security and lulled by a comfortable income and job conditions. Retirement benefits, wages, seniority and job protections are under fierce bombardment, and the rumble of resistance is rising everywhere, as reflected by the 1978 coal miners' strike.

## Political Counteroffensive

Deep fissures, cracks and dislocations are beginning to wrack the labor aristocracy, and its creature, the bureaucracy, in the wake of worsening economic conditions. Union officials are singing new tunes. Donald Fraser of the auto workers union now speaks of the "one-sided class war" against labor. But he has no counterwar against capital to propose.

The new dynamic force and catalyst of the working class—its most suppressed layers—will force a break with capitalist politics and will stimulate the building of a labor party. This most urgent task of our time will be accomplished by the intervention of women and ethnic and gay workers.

The task of all concerned people is to tell the truth about the indistinguishable parties of Big Business, and stimulate interest in an anticapitalist Labor Party that can turn this country around and lead the way to socialism, feminism and freedom for all the harassed and deprived.

—Murry Weiss



When you're "weeny armed"  
and a woman,  
the linemen who risk their lives everyday  
on the poles  
fifty feet up, or more,  
who say they've done their share of the dirty work  
and fought their way to the top,  
they'll yell down  
"If you can't hold the goddamn line  
you'd better look for another job!"

And if you ask for help with a feeder arm  
going up, when you're new  
and sore and don't have  
meathooks yet for hands,

they'll jeer  
"You gonna share your pay?  
And how the hell did you pass the exam  
anyway, grunt?"

And all will ask how you like that  
little piece of meat that's walking by  
on the street,  
and who do you sleep with, anyway?

We work on the ground,  
scattered around the city.  
We run our faces in the mud,  
break our necks under the blistering sun,  
watching, straining  
to catch the new words that bounce  
off the traffic, that are ground  
through the saws and the drills and  
the hydraulics . . .  
Good news! We sweat for our lives!  
We are thirsty for whoever will shout  
"You skin wire with your knife like this, you dummy."  
This is number two and that's four,  
Measure with your arms and you can find  
more reels over there."

We watch the linemen climb,  
slipping through the maze of wire.  
They lean back on their hooks and their belts  
as they cut and splice and  
sweat out the hot connections,  
swinging in the wind over the whole city,  
balancing cross-arms and bugs and lamps  
on their arms and legs  
like acrobats  
or mothers.

In a night sweat we dream  
of swaying buckets  
far above our heads,  
the blinding sun behind them,  
the mustachioed linemen  
with the power in their hands  
that can kill or save us all,  
who tell us day after day  
we're slow and stupid  
cunts and bitches  
who don't belong.

We come back to work each day.  
Dirt-lined, slowly we gather  
in the afternoon  
before the last bell,  
meet each other  
in the underground locker room,  
watch out for each other,  
begin to notice the changes  
as we turn to callous and leather  
and move like our well-oiled tools,  
hear how the cutting edges  
of our tongues sharpen,  
watch our arms turn to bare copper.

We climb. We push  
and pull ourselves up the poles.  
We begin to learn,  
woman to woman, now,  
and woman to man,  
that taut ropes have always burned through  
our dreams,  
and our muscles will hold.

—Ann Barada





Milte Peters/Dayton Daily News

'I don't know what got into me... I went to America... I ate hamburgers and Coca-Cola... I wore a 10-gallon hat, and then I invaded Vietnam...'

## MOVIE REVIEW

# McCarthy Era Nostalgia

Gently the seeds float down, flowering into sweet, lovely blossoms. And the inhabitants of trendy San Francisco are replaced, one by one, by steely humanoids grown from the pods which developed from the alien seeds.

A remake of a 1956, low-budget horror film, the 1978 version of *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* has more pretension to political relevance than the original, but less success at it.

The earlier movie, far less ambitious in financing and length, was a fast-moving and truly eerie film. Produced at the end of the McCarthy era, it captured the paranoia and the constant undercurrent of fear.

The allegorical reality was striking. But the remake, which is slick, sophisticated and artful, loses this gut-level connection to reality and dwindles into one more puerile horror movie. Only a few scenes are even startling.

Both *Invasions* are ambiguous. The depicted fear could easily be taken for the fear of communism, not McCarthyism. Since the weakness of the metaphor offers few clues in either case, the vagueness effectively prevents either film from stimulating any attitude stronger than antiauthoritarianism.

Far better in their treatment of McCarthyism are *The Front*, a 1976 movie starring Woody Allen, and *The Way We Were*, a 1973 film starring Barbra Streisand and Robert Redford.

*The Front* has Woody Allen fronting for a scriptwriter who has been blacklisted. It is touching and funny in its examination of the wiles needed to get around the witchhunters. But the film is marred by a surfeit of Woody Allen's over-intellectual humor.

Only Zero Mostel's wonderful performance sharply brings home the terror and tragedy of the Hollywood persecutions. Mostel plays an actor blacklisted from the movies and forced to work clubs for a living. Hounded, harassed, and cut off from his real work, he finally kills himself, stunning Woody Allen, and us, with the horror of the witchhunt.

In many respects, *The Way We Were* is the best of the McCarthy era films. Streisand plays an intensely committed communist who

(incomprehensibly) falls in love with rich, privileged, and talented Robert Redford.

Amid much gauzy glamour, it is soon apparent that their attachment is seriously jeopardized by Streisand's radical views, and then by her militancy against McCarthy's raid on Hollywood.

Redford, ambitious to become a successful scriptwriter instead of the fine novelist she believes he could be, sells out to the producers who are panicked by McCarthy, and writes what they want him to. She has a baby and then leaves him.

In a great scene, Streisand sees him by chance years after their romance is over. She says hello, talks to him a few moments, touches him lightly on the forehead. Her strong feelings for him are obvious, but her political convictions are unchanged. Redford walks away, and Streisand calmly begins passing out her Ban the Bomb leaflets, *without a tear*.

Viva the constancy of her relationship to politics! And her objective perspective on sex and love.

But *The Way We Were* avoids a direct, shattering confrontation between Redford's opportunism and Streisand's firm principles. A confrontation scene was written and filmed, but in ironic homage to their 1950s predecessors, the 1970s censors cut it.

All three films reveal that the spirit of McCarthyism is not entirely dead in Hollywood. The period is used as a dramatic device, without indicting Congress and the bosses for the misery and terror they produced, or crediting the courage and strength of the thousands of radicals who opposed them.

There's no lack of fine, dramatic material on McCarthyism. Lillian Hellman's *Scoundrel Time*, for example, would make a thrilling, suspenseful, and triumphant film. But Hollywood is not ready; the producers and financial backers are not about to make anticapitalist movies.

The scripts depicting the real scourge of McCarthyism still languish, unscreened, until the day when the whole truth will be demanded by cinema-goers.

—Sam Deaderick

### WITH BABIES AND BANNERS

Directed by Lorraine Gray. Produced by Lorraine Gray, Lynn Goldfarb, and Ann Bohlem.

*With Babies and Banners* recounts the daring and crucial role of the Women's Emergency Brigade in the 1937 sit-down strike at General Motors in Flint, Michigan.

The film alternates 1937 footage of the Brigade in action with a recent event—its reflective reunion 40 years later. The star of both events is Genora Johnson Dollinger, whose leadership and spirit validly dominate the film—which fails to mention her then-membership and training in the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party.

The last scene, depicting the unvanquished militancy of the Brigade veterans as they vociferously conduct a floor fight at the last UAW Convention—to demand that Dollinger be

granted the floor, speaks volumes about sexist ingratitude in the labor movement.

The film is available from New Day Films, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417.

### TORRE BELA

Produced by Thomas Harlan. Filmed in 1975.

*Torre Bela* is the true story of the seizure of a huge estate during the 1974 Portuguese Revolution. Reclaiming land long left fallow by its wealthy owner, the peasants harvest olives, set up housekeeping in the manor house, argue, agitate, and learn to form an agricultural collective. As the richly democratic process unfolds, the collective becomes a testament to the will of workers to control their own destiny and the products of their own labor.

Order from Tricontinental Films, P.O. Box 4430, Berkeley, CA 94704.



Clara Fraser

## nuggets from the in-basket

**Prediction of the Week.** Feisty Bella Abzug, who is wedded to the Democratic party but got bounced from the National Advisory Committee for Women by our M.C.P. president, told a Seattle reporter, "It's true we were not at the Last Supper, but you can be damn sure we're going to be at the next one."

For the benefit of all you infidels, the repast referred to, best I can make out, found Jesus dining with his disciples on the eve of his crucifixion. And a bon appetit to you, too. But Abzug is complaining because women were excluded from that festive occasion.

Some people will demand equal rights to just about anything.

• • •

**Book of the Month.** *Black Macho & the Myth of the Super-Woman*, by Michelle Wallace, delivers a knock-out punch to the Moynihan-Eldridge Cleaver garbage that Black matriarchs—rather than capitalism—caused second-class citizenship and second-class egos for Black men.

"And when the black man went as far as the adoration of his own genitals could carry him," writes this brave, 26-year-old rebel, "his revolution stopped. A big Afro, a rifle, and a penis in good working order were not enough to lick the white man's world after all."

It is good to hear the scathing voice of Black feminism. Wallace not only excoriates the Imamu Barakas and Stokely Carmichaels—and their muling mentor, Norman Mailer—for misogyny against Black women, she also recounts, compassionately but boldly, how Angela Davis and poet Nikki Giovanni, each in her own way, surrendered to the epidemic of masculine mystique that fatally poisoned the Black movement of the sixties.

"... the single most important reason the Black Movement did not work," she writes, "was that black men did not realize they could not wage struggle without the full involvement of women... By negating the importance of (women's) role, the efficiency of the Black Movement was obliterated."

The appalling confusion of racial emancipation with *manhood* was addressed fourteen years ago in a paper I wrote on "The Emancipation of Women."

What happened, I said then, was "a *pater-familias* despotism, as endorsed by the Muslims, or a more subtle and sophisticated assumption of male supremacy, derived from campus sociology, orthodox Freudianism, and general practice... The black liberation movement, to endure and develop, is going to have to rise to heights unachieved by any existing labor or political organization: *it is going to have to come to grips with the woman question.*"

You bet. And Wallace is one of the tribunes speaking for a new generation of women of color who have cast out the devils of confusion and self-abnegation, defied the black-bitch slander, and shouldered public responsibility for racial and human progress. Right on, sister.

• • •

**Shotgun Wedding of the Year.** I loved the syndicated cartoon of a rifle-toting Carter nudging that reluctant couple, Begin and Sadat, into the chapel.

Carter is a shoo-in for the peace prize bestowed from the coffers of Alfred Nobel, the munitions mogul. How appropriate.

• • •

**Tour of the Decade.** The tempestuous events in Iran are the subject of a Houston-West Coast tour by ace-analyst Murry Weiss, national chair of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party.

Comrade Weiss is an acknowledged genius-in-residence of CRSP. As Marx once wrote to Engels, "Between whites, as one cannot always be writing, I am doing some Differential Calculus  $dx/dy$ ," and that's about how Murry utilizes *his* time (while the rest of us go to the movies).

The Weiss tour will reward all its audiences with a memorable May Day experience. Bon voyage, Murry, your public awaits!

## rebuttal

**I**n the fall issue Clara Fraser railed against some unnamed "patience mongers" and "mañana mouthers." These "Marxist realists," she wrote, "cooly inform" women and minorities "that they must wait *until* the revolution, *throughout* the revolution and *long after* the revolution before their oppression is significantly relieved" and that "the attainment of elementary civil rights is out-of-sight even under socialism."

Unfortunately, she neglected to identify the culprits or cite a single quotation. We have never heard a socialist utter such absurdities. Of course elementary civil rights are attainable, but is Comrade Fraser satisfied with "elementary civil rights," i.e., legal equality? In Cuba women certainly enjoy elementary civil rights, but political, economic and social equality is a long way off. Overt discrimination can be abolished virtually overnight, but habits of thought cannot. Furthermore, the disadvantaged need more than civil rights to win an equal position in society. They need training, experience and confidence. This requires that the state give top priority and assign all necessary resources to this end.

The revolution will certainly elevate the consciousness of *all* workers, but it is those who were the doubly exploited and oppressed who will struggle most militantly for a genuine equality in the shortest possible time. This question is addressed by the resolution of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" as follows: "Political freedom under workers democracy therefore implies freedom of organization and action for *independent* women's liberation, national liberation and youth movements."

It was apparently this statement that provoked Comrade Fraser's polemic. She rejects the idea that in a workers democracy women and other oppressed strata should be *guaranteed* the right to organize independently of the state to make sure that their needs receive top priority and to campaign against sexist hangovers. Instead, she offers her personal guarantee that this will not be necessary, since the revolution will produce full equality automatically. Yet, nowhere has the revolution led to complete equality for women—either in society or in the home.

A victorious workers' revolt does not immediately produce communist relations—it "only" transfers state power from one class to another. The transformation of social relations, and with them, personal and family relations, culture, morals, ideology and psychology occurs over a period of years. In a sense, the elimination of the inequality of the sexes is one aspect of the elimination of the division of labor generally in society, and this, like the state and the family, will not be "abolished," it will wither away.

Finally, Comrade Fraser suggests that this approach will not inspire oppressed people. We think it is condescending to assume that in order to motivate women they must be fed fairy tales about miracles of instant, total liberation.

What will the revolution accomplish in the first months?

- 1) Eliminate all remaining areas of discrimination. Guarantee full civil rights by the vigorous prosecution of violators.
- 2) Eliminate all programming of children according to sex roles, etc.
- 3) Use the full propaganda and educational resources of the state to overcome prejudice against women, minorities and gays.
- 4) Initiate a massive affirmative action program to overcome the handicaps inherited from the old order.
- 5) Guarantee the unconditional right of women and minorities to organize and struggle until the last remnant of inequality is eradicated. This right does not exist in any so-called "socialist" country.

We think that these goals (along with the overall benefits of socialism) are sufficient to inspire all oppressed people to join the fight for the new society.

—Edith and Milt Zaslow

### Second Annual 500-Mile American Indian Marathon Run

From Davis, California to Los Angeles  
June 20, 1979

Purpose: to commemorate *The Longest Walk* protest against anti-Indian legislation

Anyone May Participate

Contact: Oakland Inter-Tribal Friendship House  
phone (415) 452-1235

## ... Deng

from back page

being seen. He did not even hold a press conference in Seattle, to the chagrin of reporters; his mission was geared to business and political deals, not to winning support for the Chinese people.

### The Vietnam Connection

China invaded northern Vietnam as a political demonstration of the strength of the new U.S.-China alliance. The USSR was put on notice that a firm U.S.-China block *against the USSR* was the tangible product of Deng's visit.

Tension between China and Vietnam has escalated since Vietnam's defeat of the U.S. in 1975. China consistently disapproved of Vietnam seeking Soviet aid to rebuild its shattered country. Yet China reduced aid to Vietnam in retaliation for the Cambodia border fighting early in 1978. And in May of 1978, when Vietnam expropriated the large capitalist class in the South, many of whom were Chinese, the tension spiraled higher. "Racism," screamed China.

China seized on this move to cut off all remaining aid to Vietnam, and Vietnam quickly signed a friendship agreement with the USSR and joined COMECON (the Soviet-organized economic bloc).

Then came the Kampuchean conflict, with Vietnamese troops fighting the Beijing-backed Pol Pot regime (see p. 15). The stage was set.

Once on American soil, Deng obtained the administration's green light for his invasion. Although the White House claimed it did not approve the invasion, Treasury Secretary Blumenthal made his scheduled trip to Beijing at the height of the fighting—a clear signal of support in the language of international diplomacy.

But the Vietnamese put up a strong fight, and Chinese domestic opposition to the invasion grew. The Chinese regime was forced to begin troop withdrawals in March.

Both sides claimed victory, and bragged of inflicting heavy casualties. But the real winner was the U.S., which has been trying to isolate Vietnam by refusing to pay war reparations, by denying diplomatic relations, and by imposing an economic blockade.

The U.S. fears Vietnam's ties to Kampuchea, which pose a threat to the U.S. linkpin, Thailand, and fears Soviet access to the modern, U.S.-built naval base abandoned at Cam Ranh Bay.

China is now an agreeable accomplice to U.S. viciousness. China's attack was greeted with ill-concealed glee in the international bourgeois press. A *New York Times* editorial crowed that the concept of capitalism as the cause of war had been laid to rest. But it wasn't.

The prolonged hostility between the Soviet Union and China, like that between the Soviets and Yugoslavia, and the Soviets and the early regimes in Hungary and Cuba, is a product of the counterrevolutionary Stalinist idea of socialism in *my* country but not in yours. And this idea is a flagrant capitulation and accommodation to imperialism.

The cause of war between workers states is precisely the terrible pressure of world capitalism upon them.

### The Legacy of Stalinism

Maoism remains the basic ideology of the

Chinese regime. Maoism is an outgrowth of Stalinism, sharing with it the theoretical cornerstone of "socialism-in-one-country."

The demands of international workingclass solidarity, according to this counterrevolutionary notion, must be subordinated to building "socialism" at home through wangling diplomatic deals with imperialism. Military security, therefore, depends on selling out the world working class instead of winning it.

Intrinsic to "socialism-in-one-country" is a narrow, rigid, and outmoded nationalism that provides the impetus for such counterproductive measures as China's invasion of Vietnam and her fawning on U.S. officialdom.

Since the Sino-Soviet split, relations between the USSR and China have been governed not by comradely internationalism but by a conservative ethnocentrism. Bitter competition for trade agreements and areas of influence finally erupted in a new war on Vietnamese soil, further proving that, to the Chinese regime, an alliance with Wall Street against the Kremlin was infinitely preferable to socialist solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution.

The Sino-Vietnamese mini-war was rooted in the poisonous earth of counterrevolutionary Stalinism.

### Capitalist Restoration?

Shortly before the Deng visit, a *Seattle Times* headline proclaimed "Capitalism Restored in China." The article reported that "the capitalists will be able to recover huge sums in bank deposits and confiscated property," and that former landlords have been given back their jobs and past wages, and have had their civil rights restored.

In factories, previous management by revolutionary committee has been replaced by a single manager, and the *Beijing Review* reports that workers are now being motivated by individual material incentives such as bonuses.

Since the Cultural Revolution, it is known that factions of the Chinese Communist Party have struggled over economic directions.

Mao and "The Gang of Four" stressed *ideological* incentives and *limited foreign investment* (although Mao consistently sought political ties to the U.S. and invited Nixon to China in 1972).

The Deng/Zhou Enlai/Liu Shaoqi grouping, whose view is now ascendant, stressed *increased investment by foreign capital* and *material incentives* for workers, who desperately need improved living standards.

Deng has reemployed former capitalists as managers, instituted financial incentives and trade with the U.S. But none of these measures, by themselves, signal an imminent return to capitalism. Public ownership of industry has not yet been touched, nor the state monopoly of foreign trade.

Nevertheless, China's course is extremely dangerous as production and planning move ever farther away from workers control and the bureaucratic practices of the regime proliferate. And if China permits U.S. firms to own property in China, social tumult is inevitable.

The triumph of Chinese socialism depends, in the final analysis, on the success of the world revolution; yet shortsighted, pragmatic China is acting as a terrible block to that process. And should China let a hundred capitalists bloom on Chinese territory, the death knell of the Chinese Revolution itself would be sounded.

to next page



# happy hour

ms. tami

### The Art of Analogy

"The act of deserting the home in order to shape society is like thoughtlessly removing crucial fingers from an imperiled dike to teach people how to swim."  
—Elder Neal A. Maxwell at an April, 1978 Mormon conference.

That's thoughtless? Sounds good to this social swimmer. And if the home is an imperiled dike, how long can it remain a man's castle?

### Mathematics for the Millions

Kate Rand Lloyd, editor-in-chief of *Working Women*, says her magazine is aimed at the estimated 37% of working women to whom a job means a career, not just a paycheck.

"The huddled masses, the 80%, don't spend \$1.25 for a magazine," she said in Seattle on March 8.

The lady has arrived at a total of 117%, and we wonder what the extra 17% are up to—those who neither work nor huddle.

### Household Hint

Having trouble starting a fire in your fireplace? Try using a Pinto gas tank to get it going, then toss in a Firestone tire to make sure it doesn't stop.



### Captionitis

"It won't stop, doctor! All I hear is Arafat, Arafat, Arafat, Arafat . . .!"



by Sam Deaderick

**B**

itter war rages in Kampuchea (Cambodia) as two armies—the Khmer Rouge and the Kampuchean National United Front for

National Salvation (KNUFNS)—contend for control of the country.

In December, 1978 the KNUFNS army, comprised of 100,000 Vietnamese troops and 20,000 Kampuchean rebels, launched a drive into Kampuchea and rapidly took over all key areas of the country. The Khmer Rouge government, headed by Pol Pot, appeared to be entirely routed by the rebel forces.

But Khmer Rouge loyalists have summoned a strong military resistance and amid today's heavy fighting, it is far from clear who will triumph.

### Proxy War?

The Western press views the conflict as a proxy war between the USSR, which backs the KNUFNS, and China, which backs the Khmer Rouge. To a certain extent this is true. The war is being waged with Chinese and Soviet weapons, and both countries deem the outcome as critical to their influence in S.E. Asia—an area attractive for both its militarily strategic location and its abundance of natural resources.

But the proxy character of the war becomes secondary when examined through the eyes of the Kampuchean people. They are not fighting for China or the USSR, but for themselves. To them, the conflict is a struggle between two distinct forms of social organization: the militarized agricultural primitivism of the Khmer Rouge versus the hope for greater

# KAMPUCHEA

## Vietnamese "Invasion" or Civil War?

political freedom and social progress represented by the KNUFNS.

### Military Agriculture

The Khmer Rouge gained control of Kampuchea in 1975, after the fall of the U.S.-puppet regime of Lon Nol. Within hours of its victory the Khmer Rouge forcibly evacuated the cities and forced the entire population into agricultural cooperatives and roving work brigades.

The new rulers claimed the evacuation was necessary because food supplies in the cities were too low, and independent sources confirmed this fact. Also, a huge and well-organized workforce was needed to repair the damage to agriculture caused by the devastating U.S. bombings.

But it soon became clear that the population was being permanently regimented into agricultural units, and the cities were never rebuilt.

In 1977, Prime Minister Pol Pot admitted that the evacuation was planned months before the takeover because the "class enemy" could organize in the cities. He said the new social organization was indicated because "(Khmer Rouge) strength was not great enough to defend the revolutionary regime" against the "enemy's secret agent network." By dispersing the population into the countryside, opponents of the Khmer Rouge "were scattered in various cooperatives which are in our grip."

After the evacuation of the populace to the country, the flow of information from Kampuchea halted, and it became almost impossible to unearth facts about life in that deliberately isolated country. But enough became known to reveal a bleak portrait indeed.

The economy was completely dismantled, and currency eliminated; all exchange is handled through simple barter. There exists no educational system, health care system, or postal service, and only one government newspaper and radio station.

The population apparently has no political rights, and little, if any, freedom to travel or choice of residence.

### KNUFNS

The National United Front for National Salvation, which now holds most of the key population areas, calls for a progressive counterprogram to that of the Khmer Rouge.

It wants to reestablish urban industrialization and grow beyond regimented, agricultural social organization. The KNUFNS promises to reinstitute a money economy and establish an eight-hour working day with wages paid for hours worked, health care, education for children, and the gradual relocation of people into their original urban areas.

China and the U.S. claim that the KNUFNS is simply an invasion force from Vietnam—though the U.S. is hardly in a moral position to condemn any "invasion" in Indochina. And while the KNUFNS is largely made up of Vietnamese troops, a substantial number of its ranks are Kampuchean, and it seems to have considerable internal support.

The outcome of the conflict is critical for Vietnam. A Kampuchea aligned with Beijing (Peking) leaves Vietnam virtually surrounded by the forces of its bitter enemy—the People's Republic of China.

### The Unhappy Prince

One of the more bizarre episodes of the conflict is the reemergence of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was held under luxurious house arrest since the Khmer Rouge took power.

Sihanouk was king during the last years of French rule of Cambodia. Independence came in 1955, and he remained chief of state until a CIA-backed coup overthrew him in 1970. His crime was neutrality in the Vietnam/U.S. war. Living in exile in Beijing, he became titular head of the Khmer Rouge. When the Khmer Rouge triumphed, he returned to Cambodia, but was immediately arrested.

When the KNUFNS danger surfaced, the Khmer Rouge attempted to gain international sympathy by dusting off Sihanouk and sending him to the United Nations to plead for an



Rene Mederaw/Querrilla Fighter, 1970

end to "Vietnamese aggression." But the prince vented his ire against the Khmer Rouge as well. He charged that human rights violations in Kampuchea were legion under the Khmer Rouge, but asked for U.S. and U.N. troops to drive the Vietnamese away.

He wants to retire to the French Riviera, since "aristocratic nationalists are not much in demand in Cambodia anymore."

He is currently being sheltered once again by China.

### Whither Kampuchea?

Amidst charges and countercharges of "invasion," "aggression," and "atrocities," the best course for Kampuchea is difficult to chart.

The Stalinist-oriented regime of Vietnam is no great model of revolutionary democracy. But the social order created by the Khmer Rouge has nothing in common with socialist democracy and cannot reconstruct the economy.

Life would most probably be markedly improved under a KNUFNS regime. The KNUFNS has not promised full political freedom, but it has promised to rebuild agriculture, industry, and the cities, and this would be an enormous step forward on the road to a Kampuchean workers state.

The Soviet Union has not intervened directly in the conflict, even after China invaded Vietnam as "punishment!"

Anything can happen in this power struggle between super-nationalist, anti-internationalist and bureaucratic workers states, and the Kampuchean will undoubtedly be the last to be consulted by anybody. But like the Vietnamese before them, they are likely to surprise everybody by taking their revolutionary destiny into their own hands. ■

### As We Go to Press . . .

A major theoretical dispute has emerged between leaders of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party of the U.S. The International severely criticizes the SWP for abandoning Trotskyist principle by labeling Kampuchea under Pol Pot as a capitalist state. The International calls it a seriously deformed workers state. An assessment of this dispute will appear in the next *Freedom Socialist*.

## . . . Deng

from page 14

### The Taiwan Question

For many years, U.S. recognition of China was stalled dead center over the status of Taiwan.

The U.S. recognized Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang regime as the only legitimate government of China. The People's Republic of China insisted that Taiwan is an integral part of China.

When U.S. capital realized the tremendous potential for trade and political maneuvering represented by an alliance with China, Washington switched course and recognized the Chinese Communist Party as the sole legitimate governing body of all China, including Taiwan.

In return, Deng promised a "peaceful resolution" to the question. He announced that the capitalist economy could remain in Taiwan, and the U.S. would be permitted to continue to sell arms there! This betrayal of the workers on Taiwan guarantees their availability for stepped-up U.S. exploitation.

Pro-capitalist Taiwanese living in the U.S. or Taiwan call for a Taiwan independent of both the CCP and the Kuomintang. They insist that Taiwan is not part of China, but since they do not oppose U.S. intervention in Taiwan, these nationalists risk

putting themselves in the same camp as the KMT.

If anybody on Taiwan has the right to self-determination, it is the 230,000 non-Chinese aboriginal people who lived there long before the present Taiwanese migrated from China and the KMT fled there. But their rights are ignored by the Taiwanese nationalists.

Whether or not Taiwan is a nation with the right to self-determination is a debatable question. And without the demand for an end to U.S. colonialism and for a workers Taiwan, an exclusively bourgeois independence struggle can only lead to a replacement of one capitalist class with another.

### Back to Basics

The Deng-Carter love-in is too hot not to cool down. The protagonists objectively represent two fundamentally irreconcilable social systems and two intrinsically warring classes.

Deng's antics in America and his reprehensible invasion of Vietnam violate the historic interests of the exploited and oppressed of the world. And the great Chinese people, to preserve their own giant social conquests, will have to rise up in protest and settle accounts with Deng and his cohorts.

Reports of Chinese dissidence have already surfaced. Demonstrations against the invasion of Vietnam occurred in major Chinese cities, and a rift in the leadership has developed over the invasion.

The Deng faction has allowed a certain amount of open discussion of political issues—wall posters representing opposing views, contact between the people and the Western press, and Chinese press reports of debate. And while the debate is somewhat orchestrated by the regime, political discussion cannot be turned off and on like a spigot.

The Chinese masses represent the largest national working class in the world. And they have been educated in some fundamental Marxist principles, despite Maoist distortion and vulgarization of those principles. Large-scale repression of this vast populace is currently out of the question, and the flourishing debate will inexorably lead to widespread opposition to the regime.

Left opposition from the masses has the explosive potential of forcing the Chinese leadership into a revolutionary direction that would truly represent the historic aspiration of 900 million Chinese. China has again shaken the world, and it is once again in torment as it stands at the crossroads: toward cynical opportunism or to providing inspiring revolutionary leadership to the exploited people of the planet. ■

Mary Ann Curtis, a specialist in Chinese language, history, and culture, has lived in Taiwan. She is Business Manager of the *Freedom Socialist*.

# A VICTORY FOR SOCIALIST FEMINISM

## Organizer's Report to the 1969 FSP Conference

A *Victory for Socialist Feminism* describes the birth-pangs of a political party. When, in 1967, the Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party separated from the parent body and became the Freedom Socialist Party, one of the unresolvable differences that had precipitated the split was the Woman Question. And in the new party's first two years of life, its feminist principles were tested even further in the crucible of experience, and all but the most determined champions of women's equality ended up out of the party. Those comrades who stuck to their feminist battle stations emerged tempered enough to go on to build a unique kind of revolutionary party.

The issue that triggered the split in the young FSP was a divorce between two leading members, Clara and Richard Fraser. Washington State divorce law at that time put the wife at a terrible disadvantage, and when Richard Fraser forced the issue and contested Clara's divorce and custody suit, the party had to face the then-disputed question of whether a political principle or a private matter was at stake. Fortunately for its survival, the party made the correct decision—an historic decision. Clara Fraser, considerably ahead of her time, refused to be intimidated by male chauvinist "radicals" who scornfully accused her of confusing the personal and the political. Nor would she be shamed into secrecy and submission by any individualistic fear of public "disgrace" over the exposure of her domestic battles for equal rights. She saw clearly that the physical abuse, the husband's alcoholism, her economic burdens, and the reactionary political and moral slander against her character, wielded as blackmail in the child custody dispute, were not just the center of *her* case but the heart of women's oppression everywhere. And these outrages were no more to be tolerated in a radical party than anywhere else; on the contrary, in a Marxist organization energetically espousing the great principles of women's emancipation, Richard Fraser's conduct was particularly reprehensible. The ensuing intra-party conflict categorically separated the socialist feminists from the hypocrites, and *The Victory* transpired when the conflict deepened into rift and the rift into outright split. Because the women and their few male defenders won out, this chapter of feminist history warrants close attention today, when the women's movement is scrutinizing the Left in search of a basis for a principled alliance. And the book speaks just as tellingly to male-dominated radical groups who are still wondering just what it *is* that women revolutionaries want!



## Introduction

*In the two years since our last party conference, our organization has been through a rich and intense political experience, in the course of which we have clarified our basic political and organizational concepts and consolidated the core of a political cadre. This crystallization of our political identity has developed out of a conscious affirmation of Bolshevik principles in the face of a complex external situation and very serious internal problems.*

*This document is a review of the political and ideological developments of the radical movement in Seattle over the past two years, and an evaluation of our role and activities in the same period. This report will be the basis for collective discussion and analysis during the party conference, out of which will come our decisions on approach and priorities for the coming year.*

"The strength and meaning of Bolshevism consists in the fact that it appeals to the oppressed masses and not to the upper strata of the working class... They feel in their innermost hearts that it is a teaching for the oppressed and exploited, for hundreds of millions to whom it is the only possible salvation. That is why Leninism meets with a passionate response among working women, who are the most oppressed section of society."  
—Leon Trotsky, *Prospects and Tasks in the Far East*

"Fortune favors the godly. If you live right and conduct yourself properly, you get a lucky break now and then. And when an accident comes your way—a good one—you should grab it and make the most of it."  
—James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism*

## I. History and Backdrop

**B**y the time of the January, 1967 FSP Conference, the party had already passed its first major test: it had survived six months of independent political existence, no small accomplishment.

The nucleus of the Freedom Socialist Party was the former Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which had existed as a barely-tolerated minority tendency in the SWP for nearly a decade. The branch held fundamental differences with the SWP majority over Black Liberation, the Woman Question, Socialist Re-groupment, anti-war policy, and internal democracy.

When the SWP adopted its Peoples-Frontist "single-issue" strategy in the anti-war movement, and brought spurious charges against Comrade Kirk (the tendency's sole remaining representative on the National Committee) for circulating a document inside the party that was sharply critical of anti-war policy, the branch decided that the conservatism and bureaucratism of the SWP were intolerable, and proceeded to separate from the parent organization.

The official break took place in May, 1966. A few weeks later, all the former SWP members, together with others who shared their political outlook, met in convention and founded the Freedom Socialist Party.

The new party immediately faced a serious external threat. This first took the form of a series of organizational attacks and maneuvers by the SWP; the Spartacist League followed with an organizational raid within a few months.

Combined with the external pressures was a challenge to the party's existence and integrity from within.

Some of the new members, who weren't part of the old SWP cadre, had no solid grounding in the traditions of revolutionary Marxism and no conception of the political difficulties the new organization faced. Most of these people proved unable to withstand the pressures bearing down on the small, local revolutionary grouping. Some

developed political differences and went over to the Spartacists; others simply dropped out of politics, as did a few of the former SWPers.

By January, 1967 this initial differentiation within the party's ranks was substantially complete. The remaining cadre comprised the bulk of the former SWP members, plus a few of the newer recruits.

Despite organizational attrition, the FSP was in a stronger position at the time of the 1967 conference than at its founding the year before. The objective situation was very promising. The anti-war movement demonstrated considerable vigor and both the Black struggle and the student movement were showing signs of increasing militancy and radicalization. Our party commanded considerable respect in the radical movement, had connections with most of the developing groupings on the local scene, attracted a broad periphery, and was established on the political scene. The cadre had been tested in the struggle for political survival.

The very fact of survival was a tribute to our ideas, the main bulwark against pressures from without and within.

## Rank and File Revolt

The January, 1967 Conference was marked by a contradiction between the formal political unity visible on the surface, and the dissension fermenting beneath.

Apparently, everyone agreed on the basic definition of party program and character.

We considered ourselves a **bolshevik vanguard party**, based on the tradition of revolutionary Marxism developed by the world communist movement under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky and continued in the U.S. by the early SWP, led by James P. Cannon.

We agreed on the central importance, for the American scene, of the extensions of this tradition as set forth by the Kirk-Kaye tendency in the SWP, which was characterized by two main programmatic positions:

(1) **Revolutionary Integration** as the direction of motion of the Black liberation struggle. Blacks in the U.S. cannot end their special oppression by turning in a nationalist-separatist direction, and in the course of fighting for their rights will most likely take their rightful place as the vanguard detachment of a working-class socialist revolution.

(2) The first-rank importance of **women's rights**, in both theory and practice, within the party, the mass movements, and on the general political scene.

Further, in accordance with its high political standards, the FSP was to maintain **democratic centralism** as its organizational principle, i.e., full freedom of discussion in arriving at decisions, and complete unity in action, based on the rule of the **majority**, in implementing policy.

There appeared to be agreement on current tasks and perspectives. The party's main role in the coming period was to be **propagandistic**, hence the most immediate task was to complete the publication of the basic documents setting forth the party's distinctive contributions to the Marxist tradition.

It was also generally recognized that the party's internal functioning must be drastically improved. The executive committee had been paralyzed for months by intense disputes over strategy and tactics which the party ranks knew about vaguely, mostly through rumor.

Meanwhile, considerable frustration and puzzlement prevailed over the maneuvers of some party leaders in the mass movement.

Their actions took the form of a series of desperate plunges in different, sometimes antagonistic directions, with different elements of the party leadership involved at different times.

Thus, in the Independent Socialist Union—the party's abortive attempt to initiate a youth organization—Comrade Kirk maneuvered with opponent elements, directly betraying his own party fraction. Comrade Frank Krasnowsky was the author of our nearly disastrous "deep-entry" tactic in the first Peace and Freedom Party. And Kirk, this time opposed by Frank, led the FSP into a "fraternal" association with the Spartacist League that set the party up for an organizational raid by the S.L.

All these sorties demonstrated the existence of an opportunist current in a section of the leadership that was always willing to make unprincipled political concessions and combinations in adaptation to the mass movement or opponent organizations.

At the same time, party organization and administration were degenerating.

The bulk of the rank-and-file was annoyed,

critical and perplexed. Unsure of what was wrong, they knew that something was, that a section of the leadership could no longer be relied on for firm, principled political direction and organizational guidance. They demanded a change.

So a cleavage existed between a majority of the leadership and the ranks, but its precise nature was not yet clear to anyone. Since there was every appearance of political unanimity, differences were seen as purely tactical, and the solution proposed was accordingly of an organizational character. There was a general consensus among all sectors of the party that room must be made for new leadership that would represent a broader spectrum of experience, age, and reflexes. It was hoped that such a new leadership would be able to organize and direct the party's activities more effectively than the old.

## The Conference Elects New Leadership

The general agreement on the need for reorganization was codified in two unanimous decisions made at the conference:

(1) A new executive committee was elected, its members drawn from several generations and backgrounds. Most of the new members were also party officers with definite administrative responsibilities in the party apparatus. From the outgoing executive, only one member—Comrade Clara—was retained.

(2) A Literary and Correspondence Committee (LCC) was established to prepare basic documents for publication, maintain national correspondence, and produce position papers on pertinent issues for discussion. This committee contained **all** the members of the outgoing executive.

Comrade Frank, the outgoing organizer, presented these major proposals to the conference, including the slate of officers for the new executive. And despite the emergence of tactical differences in the conference discussions, general harmony seemed to prevail.

Still, these reorganization measures had arisen out of a defacto partial revolt in the party ranks against most of the old leadership.

The removal of all but one of the former executive members and the simultaneous creation of the Literary and Correspondence Committee were motivated in part by the urge to free some of the party's most qualified writers and theoreticians to carry out necessary literary work. But there was also a very real desire to free the party from their organizational leadership, which was felt to be increasingly arbitrary and capricious. It was hoped that in their new role, the former leaders could accomplish something constructive, while a new organizer would help the party get down to business.

Events were to show that this hope was sadly doomed.

## II. The Breakup of "Unity"

**A**n apparently minor dispute at the conference concerned the division of labor between the executive and the Literary and Correspondence Committee.

Comrade Frank, in his reorganization proposals, had characterized the LCC as "**a kind of Politburo**" or "**National Committee**," implying a role of primary leadership and direction, while the executive was a lower-level administrative and service apparatus.

His formulation was decisively repudiated by the conference. It was made clear that while the LCC was to produce literary and theoretical work of a high order and act as an advisory council on programmatic issues, the **executive** was to be the political directorate of the party.

With this clarification of structural roles, the new executive committee tried to settle down to business, but it was soon evident that the conference had not, in fact, solved the basic problems of authority. No sooner was the new leadership installed than it faced a direct challenge to its hegemony by the Literary and Correspondence Committee.

## The Priorities Crisis

The executive's first assignment to the LCC was to immediately prepare basic party documents for publication. This was not accepted. Instead, the LCC chairman, Comrade Frank, backed by Comrade Kirk, insisted on initiating a new dis-

to next page

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discussion on China, with a view toward intervening on the left with a call for the defense of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, currently at its height.

Comrade Clara, an LCC member and the liaison with the executive committee, pointed out that this would completely disrupt the priorities laid down for the LCC, and that despite the great importance of the Chinese events, it remained the basic task of the party to publish its already-developed positions on key questions of the American Revolution. A finished position on China would simply have to wait.

This dispute over priorities paralyzed the LCC for several weeks, and no literary work was done.

Finally, the executive brought a policy motion to the party membership, instructing the LCC to give **exclusive priority** to publishing our basic documents. Comrade Frank contested this, moving an amendment to delete the word "exclusive" and substitute "first priority," with the qualification that the LCC continue to carry out its "normal" functioning.

This was confusing; what it gave away with one hand, it took back with the other. Nevertheless, it was apparent that by "normal" functioning, Comrade Frank meant the right of himself or anybody else on the LCC to introduce new questions on its agenda, regardless of assigned priorities. Frank's amendment passed by one vote.

The LCC had successfully challenged the executive's authority to set the priorities for literary work, and had established its own autonomy, with the sanction of the general membership. The executive saw this vote as a repudiation of the

perspective endorsed by the conference. Finding itself in the untenable position of lacking the "confidence" of the party, and no longer allowed to represent the program it was mandated to serve, the executive resigned. Four out of the five executive members offered their resignations and demanded that the real majority, led by the LCC, take over the leadership and carry out its own perspective.

This did not happen. Despite the confusion over the nature of the differences in orientation and organizational principles, the party membership was not prepared to deliver itself back to the leadership of Comrades Frank and Kirk, who were themselves unwilling to take responsibility for administration of a party that had adopted contradictory perspectives out of sheer confusion.

The outcome of the dispute was a membership decision to reject the resignations of the executive and re-establish the policies of the party conference. A qualified victory for the new executive committee had been won.

**In Search of Differences**

Throughout the debate over priorities, Frank, Kirk, and their supporters had constantly intimated that the new executive represented a grouping with views contrary to the basic line of the party, views which were being intentionally "concealed." The puzzled executive denied this, but nevertheless agreed to an extensive internal discussion designed to analyze the party's basic positions in order to determine what differences, if any, might exist.

This discussion in search of "differences" occupied a good deal of the party's time throughout the spring of 1967, but failed to disclose any major differences whatever *in principle* on the "main political questions" of China, the Black Struggle, Regroupment, Youth work, Women, etc. Nevertheless, sharp and acrimonious disputes erupted on tactics, style of work, past events and how they were handled, and the relative emphasis to be placed on each question—again, *priorities*.

It was not the 'big political questions,' but the **character of the party** that emerged as central to the dispute. Clearly, two different concepts co-existed of the party's nature, and the correct methods of operation deriving from it.

One concept, put forward most clearly by Comrade Clara, regarded the FSP as a vanguard party with enumerated and specific goals, priorities, and standards of conduct. The first goal was to establish the party as an integral entity in the radical arena, and its politics succinctly defined and differentiated, with its organizational structure, based on consistent internal discipline, candidly described.

The contrary view, espoused emphatically by Comrades Frank and Lee, called for a broader, looser, more "flexible" organization without fixed priorities, ready to take up anything and everything at once in response to developments in the mass movement or opportunities for entries, collaborations, and hopefully, quick "unifications." Some proponents of this view, particularly Lee, claimed that the FSP should see itself as a temporary, purely transitory formation that anticipated imminent dissolution into a broader formation.

To this group, "mass work" was everything and party integrity was a triviale.

The low-level nature and depth of the emerging differences between the two groupings crystallizing in the party became revealed with the onset of vitriolic attacks by the Frank-Kirk contingent against other leading members. Comrade Bob, the organizer, was particularly singled out for sharp criticism for regarding the FSP as "*The party*," rather than just "*a party*," while Clara's "inflexibility" on matters of consistent standards and

shared organizational responsibility was labeled as a "bureaucratic Stalinist" trend, supposedly inflicted on her by Comrades Bob and Gus, who had spent long years in the Communist Party.

In sum, the opposition had begun to politically characterize the executive leadership group as **Stalinist, bureaucratic, sectarian, and hostile to regroupment.**

By way of reply, the executive summed up the opposition's political tendencies in two words—**liquidationist** and **menshevik**, i.e., adulterating and defaming the very concept of the revolutionary vanguard party.

At the conclusion of the internal discussion in June, 1967 it was clear that there were fundamental **organizational** differences dividing the party. What was not yet clear was the **political basis** of these differences, and in the absence of any visible, definite difference in programmatic line, neither of the two groupings was ready to organize itself along definite factional lines and press a determined struggle for hegemony within the party.

Nothing was resolved. Rising dissension, often over what seemed to be petty matters, continued to disrupt the life of the party. In this charged atmosphere, the party could neither orient itself toward effective intervention in the mass movement, nor carry out its basic and uncompleted internal tasks. The publication schedule had become inoperative; six months after the conference, only one document—**Introducing the FSP**—had found its way to press, and this was the document that Comrade Clara had been assigned to edit and prepare for publication.

**Election Campaign Frenzy**

In the summer of 1967, big-city Black ghettos across the country erupted in a series of spontaneous, massive explosions. This marked a qualitative leap forward of millions of people in an arena of the class struggle which our tendency has always regarded as the key to the American revolution and thereby to the **international** revolution.

The entire party recognized the exceptional opportunity for intervention in the Black struggle with our own politics. After a long discussion, the party decided that despite previous priorities and serious internal problems, it would intervene in the situation by running a Black candidate—Comrade Skip Ware—in the upcoming City Council elections.

The party had high hopes for the election campaign. Here, if anywhere, appeared to be an opportunity to unify the party around its basic political line. Also, here was a great chance to make solid contact with rebellious, revolutionary-minded Blacks in the Central Area. Healthy contact with a mass upsurge, it was hoped, would revitalize the party cadre and heal the growing rupture in the ranks.

The political content of the campaign was carefully worked out beforehand. Its main thrust was to be an articulation of the political logic implicit in the rebellion of the ghetto, to be implemented through the raising of territorial demands explicitly linking the struggle of the ghetto masses with the class struggle for socialism.

The election campaign was to be a crash program, claiming virtually **exclusive** priority over all other work and mobilizing the energies of the entire party. It was to be a solid, professionally-organized effort, requiring full-time personnel and a competent director to take responsibility for day-to-day activities and administrative decisions. This responsibility, and the authority that went with it, was to rest with three different campaign directors for three consecutive two-week periods, since no one comrade could work full time for

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free for the duration of the campaign. Each director was to oversee the operation during his or her two-week term. The director's administrative decisions were to be, within the framework of the campaign committee, authoritative, and could be challenged or over-ridden only by the party executive.

Definite procedure, definite responsibilities, a definite line of authority—good, businesslike, bolshevik procedures—were to be the rule of campaign organization.

This perspective was agreed to by all. Comrade Clara was assigned the decisive post of initial campaign manager and was to spend her two-week vacation working full-time in the headquarters to get the campaign rolling. She was to be succeeded by Comrades Lee and Frank respectively, but she was to retain final authority over all news releases.

In the beginning, our high hopes for the campaign appeared to be justified. The campaign program and the excellent quality of the campaign literature met a highly favorable response from Black and white radicals alike. There was no great difficulty in securing endorsement of our candidate from several organizations and prominent individuals, including Black militants. We managed to break through the wall of silence initially imposed by the bourgeois press, and received the best and most frequent publicity mileage of our long history in Seattle.

But, in the end, the campaign ran aground on two political snags.

One was the growing opportunism of the candidate himself. Instead of addressing himself forthrightly and directly to the Black revolt and the ghetto, Comrade Skip oriented toward gaining the sympathy and intellectual admiration of the white liberals (whose aim was to end the ghetto revolt by offering token concessions). His political over-adaptation to this milieu was strikingly evident in his last TV broadcast, where he soulfully "begged" (his words) the white community to do something for the Black minority by electing him.

Instead of using the campaign to mobilize white support for Blacks and Black support for socialism, he strained desperately to get elected.

Coupled with this irregularity was the opposition's deliberate *disruption and characteristic disorganization* of the campaign. Despite formal agreement with the procedural rules adopted, they could not live by these rules in practice. Throughout the campaign, unanimous organizational decisions were unilaterally and frivolously challenged, sabotaged and overturned by members of the opposition. Their desperate assertion of autonomy and their capriciousness dislocated the campaign workers and exacerbated the inner-party feud.

In the atmosphere of organizational anarchy and personal bitterness that surrounded the campaign, the party was unable to unify itself sufficiently to correct the opportunist course taken by the candidate, or to direct its attention outward and take advantage of the tremendous opportunities presented by the situation. The great propaganda gains made during the campaign were

balanced, on the negative side, by the growing hysteria of the opposition and the general demoralization following in its wake.

The campaign ended as a public success, but an intra-organizational disaster. The two wings of the party were polarized to the point of virtual stasis; for the first time, there was an atmosphere of split in the party.

The second installment of A Victory for Socialist Feminism will appear in the Summer, 1979 issue of the *Freedom Socialist*.



Poster: *Iran, the Revolution Unveiled!* Ruby, turquoise and bronze ink on pearl stock. \$5.00. Mail to: *Freedom Socialist*, check 3815 Fifth Avenue N.E., Seattle, WA 98105.

The Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party, a Trotskyist tendency undertaking revolutionary regroupment, proudly announces a

National Speaking Tour by  
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## CRSP Publications

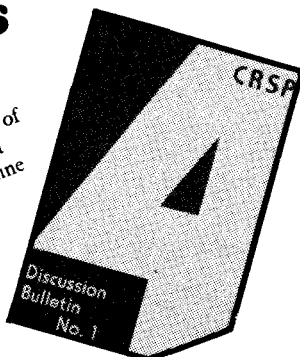
### Pre-Conference Discussion Bulletins

1. *Where Matters Stand*, by Edith and Milt Zaslow  
Critical Notes on Cannon's Conception of the Revolutionary Party, (author unknown)  
Ernest Mandel on the Relation of Women and Minorities to the Class Struggle in the U.S. Transcript of a tape made in Seattle, and submitted by Los Angeles CRSP  
The National Question. Reprinted from an SWP Discussion Bulletin, 1973 **90c**
2. *The Matriarchy in Gentle Society*, by Patrick Haggerty  
What Role for CRSP in the American Revolution? by Robert Crisman **70c**
3. *Socialist Feminism and the Travail of the Typical White Male*, by Ivan King  
What Is CRSP? What Is FSP? by Clyde Frick **45c**

A. *CRSP Statement of Purpose*  
A concise overview of the CRSP program for the reinvigoration and regroupment of U.S. Trotskyism. Includes a critical analysis of the decline of the SWP. **40c**

B. *Discussion Bulletin No. 1*  
Contains the Statement of Purpose, several critiques of CRSP, an analysis of the Portuguese Revolution by Murry Weiss, and an overview by Myra Tanner Weiss. **\$1.25**

C. *Discussion Bulletin No. 2*  
Key documents emanating from the struggle of New York CRSP with the Marxist Education Collective. **\$1.25**



6. *The National Question*, by Megan Cornish **75c**
7. *September 25, 1978*  
Close Encounters with the SWP Prove It Necessary to Rebuild American Trotskyism, by Fred Hyde  
*Socialist Feminism: Where the Battle of the Sexes Resolves Itself*, by Susan Williams and Clara Fraser **75c**
8. *October 1, 1978*  
*Where Matters Stand with Me*, by Gloria Martin  
*The Political Space Wars over Single/Multi Vanguard and Issues*, by Jamie Bevson  
*Letter Exchange between Seymour Kramer and the Freedom Socialist* **70c**

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4. *The Black Struggle for Liberation*, by Myra Tanner Weiss  
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*Why I Am Not a Member of CRSP*, by Bill Callison  
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5. *The Impact of the Latin American Revolutions on the U.S.*, by Jesús Mena  
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by Mary Ann Curtis

**T**he Vice Premier made very good copy. Deng Xiaoping sporting a cowboy hat, eating barbecue, trying out a space flight simulator, sipping Coke, toasting U.S. capitalists and politicians—was so charming.

He departed Seattle, Washington, USA vowing peace and friendship. He sped home to Beijing—and launched the Chinese invasion of Vietnam in a cloud of bluster and belligerence.

The Chinese didn't visit factories or wave at the cameras in Vietnam. They were an aggressor force, bent on demonstrating their new alliance with the U.S., to dare the USSR to respond, to try to force Vietnam out of Kampuchea. They were out "to punish Vietnam... to teach them a lesson."

The two journeys, separated geographically, are not politically separated. Both signal a growing identification of top Chinese leadership with American imperialists. In the U.S., the Chinese delegation spent all its time wining and dining with the ruling class, and in Vietnam Chinese troops carried out the dirty work of this same class by means of the criminal incursion against the long-suffering Vietnamese.

Heated debate rages around the two events. Was the Chinese visit to the U.S. a victory or defeat for socialism? What did it signify for China's political course? Why did China invade Vietnam, and what role did the U.S. play in this decision? Is capitalism being restored in China? And what about Taiwan?

#### Deng in Yankeedom

Deng's historic entry onto U.S. soil after a thirty-year refusal of U.S. capitalism to recognize the People's Republic of China represents a decisive advance for socialists and the entire world working class. It was a tribute to the dynamism of the great Chinese Revolution.

Despite decades of incendiary anti-Chinese propaganda, the Pentagon was unable to crush China and the White House couldn't starve her.

The reality of the workers state in China could no longer be ignored.

And the new understanding with Wall Street is the gateway to China's full-fledged entry onto the world scene.

She also has gained access to the advanced technology she desperately needs to rise above a low level of subsistence. Without the highest level of industrial and agricultural production, socialist progress is impossible, the stuff dreams are made of. Financial and technical aid are decisive to China's future.

On the other hand, Deng's affectionate, mind-boggling embrace of America's reigning robber barons is a scandal for a revolutionary leader and an insult to the international proletariat.

Deng had zilch to say to workers, radicals, Americans of Chinese descent, women, or oppressed minorities. By ignoring all those sectors who have an objective interest in the success of the Chinese Revolution, he demonstrated unmistakably that his first loyalty is to the U.S. imperialists.

#### Stopover in Seattle

Deng in the U.S. was *no* ambassador of socialism.

In Seattle—the closest U.S. port to China—Deng toured the Boeing aircraft plant and port facilities, met the governor, the mayor, Senators Warren G. Magnuson and Henry Jackson, and tycoons of finance and industry, and plunged the city into an orgy of Deng-o-mania.

While the champagne flowed and the testimonials reverberated, Seattle streets were thronged with a mass of the uninvited who had their own message for the Chinese.

In front of the posh Washington Plaza Hotel where Deng stayed, 150 red-jacketed members of the anti-Deng, pro-Mao Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) marched in cadence to drums, shouting "Death, Death, Death to Deng! Long Live Mao Zedong!"

Pro-Kuomintang (KMT) Chinese from Taiwan and their American friends unfurled their own banners directly across the street from the RCP. "A Support Committee of 10 Million for Taiwan and a

Free Nationalist China!"; "No Communism!" and "Keep Free China Free!" they proclaimed, shouting "Maoist idiots!" at the RCP. They sang the Nationalist Chinese anthem.

The RCP chanted, "Hua, Deng, KMT, lick the boots of the bourgeoisie!"

KMT demonstrators marched around the block several times, brushing against the RCP. Each side tried to outshout the other as riot police watched from the hotel entry. The Maoists departed, leaving Deng burning in effigy, and the KMT dispersed.

Then the Taiwanese for independence appeared with their banner: "Mr. Deng, Welcome to Seattle, but stay out of Taiwan!"

Representatives of the Freedom Socialist Party joined the street throngs to distribute a leaflet welcoming Deng and criticizing his lofty detachment from the American people, his shameless courting of the Establishment, and his betrayal of internationalism.

But this wasn't good enough for the deluded Maoists of the RCP, who roared into their bullhorns that the FSP "is really a Trotskyite, counterrevolutionary outfit!" A shouting and shoving match ensued, and the *Freedom Socialist* contingent staunchly held its ground.

Deng paid no attention whatsoever to any of the demonstrations. Shielded by an incredible security blanket of troops, police, and the world press, he was effectively quarantined from seeing or

to page 14

#### Chinese Spellings

In keeping with China's State Council usage, the *Freedom Socialist* is adopting the Chinese phonetic alphabet (Pinyin) system of romanization for most Chinese names and places, but is retaining the more familiar (Wade-Giles) spelling for Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek, and Kuomintang. Examples: Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing); Beijing (Peking); Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung); Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai); Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch'i).