

In PATCO's uneasy aftermath

Transit compromise in Seattle

When the Reagan administration fired 12,000 air traffic controllers the day after they struck, millions of workers expected labor leaders to mobilize all-out support for the persecuted controllers and to shut down every airport in the country.

They did nothing of the sort.

Without hindrance, the government proceeded to jail leaders of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO), indict them on felony charges, levy million-dollar fines on the union, and sue to decertify it.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy shed a few crocodile tears and unctuously administered last rites to PATCO—an AFL-CIO affiliate!

Despite press neglect, heavy odds and leaderlessness, PATCO fights on. And all unionists today—particularly public employees currently negotiating elusive contracts—must be alert to the propensities for spinelessness on the part of panicked labor bureaucrats in the face of newly emboldened management.

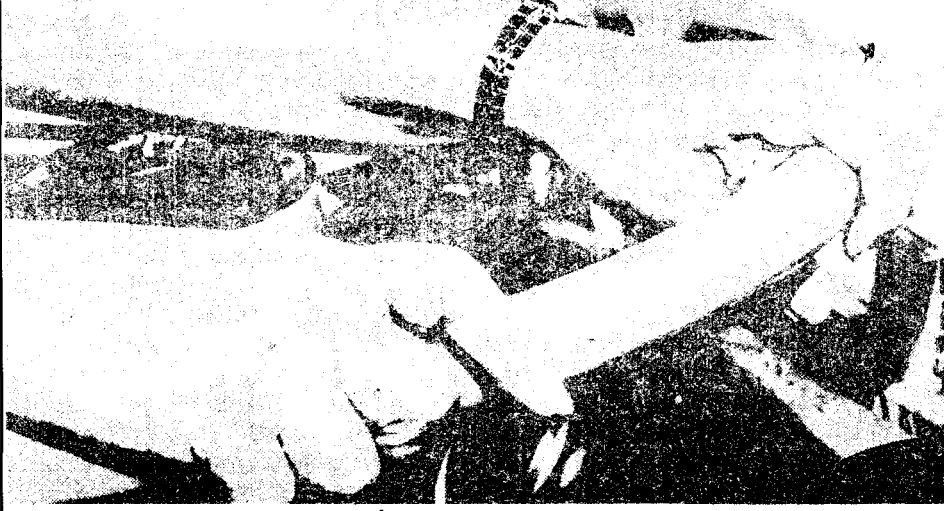
BY JANET SUTHERLAND

Seattle's Metro transit workers were given an unwelcome introduction to post-PATCO style contract negotiations.

After 15 months of bargaining, the contract ratified on November 17 by Local 587, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), is a sorry one.

- Metro's medieval disciplinary policy remained in force, subject to further negotiation.

- Inequitable salary increases widened the pay gap and increased the hostility between the lowest and the highest paid workers. Equity adjustments failed to include many



lower-salary maintenance workers and office workers who are women and people of color—some of whom qualify for food stamps.

- Almost 50% of the drivers will be part-timers. The resultant rescheduling will increase the daily driving time for full-timers, while decreasing the already inadequate break time for all drivers.

Binding exploitation

Local 587 officials began bargaining in August 1980 under the cloud of a suicidal pact with management to impose an information blackout. This left the union and the public unprepared for a possible strike.

Then, when union negotiators plunged into binding arbitration in November, Metro was enabled to stall for time, avoid opening its books, and plead poverty. Citing the "expired" contract, Metro illegally denied workers their existing contract rights and bargained in very bad faith.

Meanwhile, union executive board members and officers—mostly senior, white male, fulltime drivers—launched an attack on liberal union president Dave Johnston. In August 1981, they charged him before the International with the "crime" of sharing executive board business with the membership.

And in yet another prong of their efforts to force the ranks into approving a terrible contract, union officials raised hysterical alarms: the threat of receivership; the example of the vicious retaliation against PATCO; the faltering economy; a possible lockout and mass firings; and unfavorable prospects for arbitration, given the political climate.

Together, company and union negotiators finally wore down the union ranks and forced them to accept a bad offer. The vote was 1528 to 648.

Educational campaign

The contract could have been even worse—but a rank-and-file caucus of independents and radicals provided accurate information to the members and clarified the issues throughout negotiations.

The caucus warned that binding arbitration would most likely bind *only* the union, and that arbitrators are rarely impartial. The caucus was proven to be all too correct.

On two previous occasions, the caucus had persuaded the membership to reject far worse contract offers. Caucus members also encouraged union president Johnston to continue his course of candor with the membership, and they helped secure 1200 signatures on a petition to the International which forced the

charges against him to be quashed.

In addition to these measures, when a yes vote seemed inevitable on the "last" company offer, a caucus leaflet pinpointed the unresolved issues and forced negotiators to wring several more concessions from management.

Dangers and opportunities

The gains and losses of ATU Local 587 provide a preview of dangers ahead.

As public sector workers are increasingly scapegoated for the nation's economic ills, conservative union leaders act as capital's lieutenants and lash out at militants who oppose the sellouts.

But union strength can increase if there is committed rank-and-file organizing to expose capitulation by the officials, stop harassment of militants, and avoid the trap of binding arbitration.

And union strength will soar with rank-and-file assertion of public employees' right to strike. This demand is the most potent weapon against giveaway contracts.

Another source of strength is to combat the divisive inequalities in wages and conditions that stem from racism and sexism. This course insures widespread solidarity with labor's demands.

Public sector workers must also convince their natural allies—the public they serve—that the public interest is best served by humane working conditions for public servants and by united opposition to cuts in jobs and services.

Finally, the U.S. labor movement will have to break with the Republicans and Democrats to stop boss-party attacks on workers. Until labor and all the oppressed join forces in a bid for independent political power—through the formation of an independent labor party based on the unions—all workers will be subject to the whims of big business, the ultimate power brokers.

Olympia labor rally draws 16,000



The demand for "Jobs and Justice" brought 16,000 workers to Olympia, Washington on January 20 for a rally called by the Washington State Labor Council.

William Lucy, national secretary of AFSCME, and Marv Williams, president of the Council, urged a fair shake for labor but presented no program other than voting for Democrats. Marianne Kraft-Norton from Washington Women United called for affirmative action, equal pay, ERA, and reproductive rights.

Speakers at parking lot mini-rallies before the main event included union officials Nancy Holland from Financial Institution Employees Association and Oscar Hearde of the Ship Scalers.

A feminist contingent, endorsed by many unionists and community organizations, hoisted an impressive banner.

200 copies of the Labor Party issue of the *FS* were sold to workers eager for a political alternative. □

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the freedom socialist

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LETTERS

Pacifists in London

A quarter of a million people assembled in Hyde Park today (Oct. 24, 1981) demanding nuclear disarmament! They came from all over the British Isles with colorful banners flying—the Spartacist League, the CP, Marxist-Leninists, Jesuits, Quakers, Women Against Rape, and many labor unions and Labor Party branches.

I met some women from Women for Life on Earth who recently chained themselves to a fence at the Greenham Common cruise-missile site.

The main thrust of the speakers, including Tony Benn of the Labor Party, was to appeal to the House of Commons and get everyone to join the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which arranged the march. In one year, they have gained 30,000 members.

But I did not once hear a speaker mention sexism, racism, or gay rights. This movement seems totally devoid of any socialist leadership and the pacifists dominate it.

How I long to hear the "Internationale" instead of "Give Peace a Chance" sung at the end of the program.

Gloria Martin
London

Postal paradox

Post office workers at Cathedral Station, New York City, ask your support in our struggle to be treated as human beings. We have been subjected to harassment to get us to work like slaves. We are written up for such "crimes" as talking to fellow workers and eating ice cream cones, and are not allowed to make or receive calls from our families.

At the same time, jobs have been cut. Operations have broken down as management spends more and more time writing up frivolous grievances rather than organizing the work. Service to the public has deteriorated.

We also want an end to rules against talking and radios, and to forced overtime. We want rehired those who were fired for defending themselves. We also want more workers brought in, not only to help us do our jobs, but to benefit those who have no jobs and the customers.

Workers at Cathedral Station
New York City

An American in Paris

The first thing that struck me about Paris was chilling—I thought I'd entered a police state.

Police swarm the subway stations and on a whim demand your papers or search you for drugs and weapons. Besides harassing people of color in public, the "controls" target "illegal aliens" from North Africa and the Mideast for special attention.

The range of popular political opinion is enormous and exhilarating. From outright fascists and anti-communists to social democrats, Stalinists of the pro-Moscow ilk, and the far left, every view is represented. Anarchist graffiti is everywhere. A result of all these alternatives is a sharply heightened sense of class identification.

After 14 years of Giscard's uptight aristocratic power and privilege, the people welcomed Mitterrand by actually dancing in the streets. But the immediate "move to socialism" hardly has the bour-

geoisie shaking. The two largest banks were already nationalized, which means only that the government holds 51% of the stock and the private sector makes decisions.

The Left is dogmatic, male-dominated, and racist. The Communist Party is strong and based in the unions, but doesn't even pretend to be progressive.

Disenchanted youth, gays, and women don't seem to have any real representation in political organizations. The resulting alienation turns them to anarchism, to feminist groups that denounce lesbianism in order to retain respectability, or to a few social or rap groups for gays.

There is great revolutionary potential here that the Left seems afraid to acknowledge or organize, for fear of having its white male leadership cadre outnumbered.
Brian Greenbaum
Paris

Brian Greenbaum is an antiwar activist and member of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party who is studying at the University of California's extension program in Paris.

The impossible dream

I read your paper and see only a one-sided opinion. It is always the same story—no reconciliation of ideas—only complete subversive dialog between the "capitalist vs. communist."

What is necessary for the cause of peace is to instill some intellectual viewpoints that show that both sides can get along in spite of differences that are not in reality vast. For peace the brotherhood of man is the most important consideration, and not necessarily who is "right" or "wrong."

Mrs. Murrow

History proves that human kinship is impossible in a system torn by struggle between those who produce wealth and those who own it. We workers didn't start the class war, but a lasting peace depends upon us winning it. Neither peace nor brotherhood is possible under capitalism.

Solidarity wherever

I share your goal for a non-exploitative, just, free society. However, I find the arguments in support of your proposals to reach that goal simplistic, shallow, and completely unconvincing. Rhetoric about class conflict is irrelevant

when there is absolutely no evidence of class solidarity.

Most valuable and interesting was the account of Fraser's fight with City Light. We see a lot of cases of such management abuse all across the country.

Missouri Teamster

Clara Fraser's fight against nascent McCarthyism has elicited a great deal of class solidarity on her behalf, particularly among the ranks of labor's most oppressed. Solidarity itself must be fought for and won like any other good thing.

In defense of skinheads

You started an article on England with, "Urban ghettos exploded for two consecutive weeks in July and sporadically throughout the summer." That part I will agree with. But as I read on, I noticed that the article was written by a social chauvinist, not by a Socialist. Your article made the exact prejudiced, ignorant statement made by Time, New Music Express, People, etc., "... at the savagery of white cops, and at the racist thuggery of 'skinheads'—sympathizers of the neo-fascist National Front."

I am not a skinhead, but I know many and have done interviews with many of the so-called "fascist bands." In the majority, they are not fascists. In fact they are totally against the neo-fascist parties.

The point is, most of these kids hate the way they must live and want a better life, so they shave their heads and wear clothing adorned with slogans of their fight. A good portion of these punks are part of political groups. Only a few of these kids are racist and I mean a few.

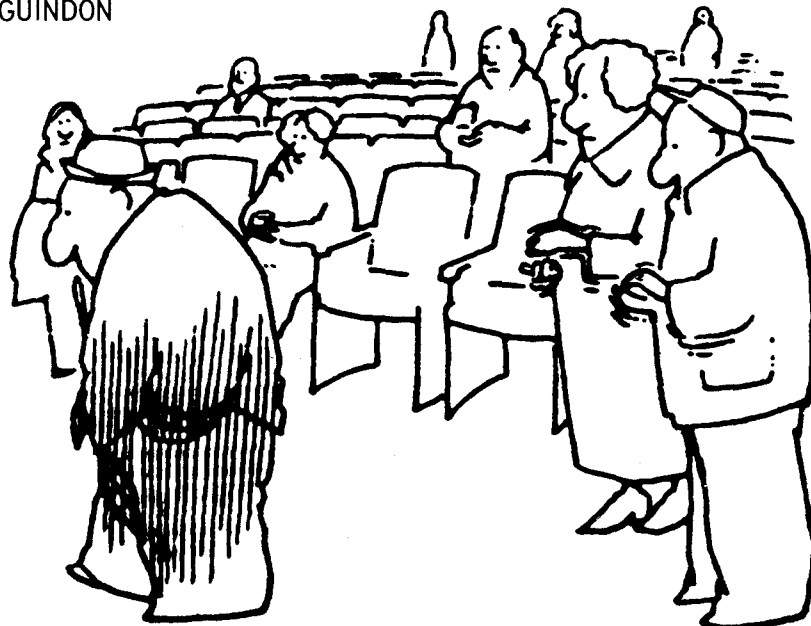
Syndiy
Edmonds, Washington

The entire British youth movement is not fascist. Events such as "Rock Against Racism," etc., demonstrate this. But fascism has always recruited gangs of poor, unemployed, and disaffected youth to use as racist thugs, and in England some "skinheads" have bought the fascist line. They see immigrants and people of color as their enemy.

We support youth who choose proletarian class struggle, and we denounce those who choose sexism, racism, and fascism.

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

GUINDON



Robert Fenster is out of work which will help bring down the rate of inflation. Let's hear it for Robert Fenster.

INTERNATIONAL ROUNDUP



BY SANDY NELSON

The ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) struck a blow against the rising power of workers when Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski declared a state of war on December 13 against the dynamic independent trade union, Solidarity.

In a series of swift and ruthless moves, Solidarity leaders were jailed, all electronic communications were blocked, a stringent curfew was imposed, all public meetings (except church services) were banned, and workers in key in-

dustries were threatened with execution if they stayed off the job.

Workers responded with a militance nourished by 16 months of historic assaults against the state bureaucracy. Tens of thousands of furious workers struck major industries in defiance of martial law. For weeks after the crackdown, news of clashes with the military police, widespread resistance, and industrial sabotage filtered past the regime's communication blackout.

The U.S. bourgeois press rushed to announce Solidarity dead, but Jaruzelski's perpetuation of martial law, calls for strikes from underground Solidarity leaders, and continuing student clashes with the police show the extent of organized resistance.

The above-ground apparatus of Solidarity, however, has been crushed. The quickening momentum of Solidarity's move to take state power has been halted.

The inevitable confrontation

Jaruzelski's crackdown came shortly after Solidarity leaders met in Radom in December and openly challenged the legitimacy of the PUWP government. Solidarity called for free elections and the formation of a provisional government. Union militants threatened a general strike if parliament passed the

PUWP's proposed Emergency Powers Act outlawing strikes, and a general strike was slated for December 17 to protest the December arrests of striking fire cadets in Warsaw.

Insurgent Poles had grown increasingly dissatisfied with the government's delay of reforms promised in the August 31, 1980 agreement known as the Gdansk Charter. And when the government postponed a reform that would decentralize factory control and give workers councils a voice in management, Solidarity braced for confrontation.

In less than two years, Solidarity had achieved dual power in its competition with the official government. Solidarity's 10 million members, disgusted by government inaction, pressured the union leadership to contend directly for control of the state power. Supported by 90% of the proletariat, Solidarity mushroomed into a mass revolutionary movement that demanded that the Stalinist bureaucracy surrender its absolute control in favor of a democratic workers government.

Dual power rocks the status quo

In the week preceding martial law, government newspapers blasted Lech Walesa, a moderate Solidarity leader,

as a "great liar and provocateur" who advocated the overthrow of socialism.

USSR criticism was more strident. Soviet bureaucrats made it clear that they would intervene if Polish authorities couldn't contain the rebellion. Kremlin Stalinists were grimly determined to crush the Polish revolution—which is a political revolution, aimed at the regeneration and democratization of the government, workers control of production, and the elimination of the parasitic bureaucracy that blocks the transition to true socialism.

The Polish conflict is a classic example of "permanent revolution," i.e., social development from elementary to higher stages. A key component of the theory of permanent revolution, as enunciated by Leon Trotsky, is that once begun, the socialist revolution develops "through collisions between various groups in the society." All aspects of life "develop in complex reciprocal action and do not allow society to achieve equilibrium. Therein lies the permanent character of the socialist revolution."

The Kremlin Stalinists halted the revolution begun in Russia in 1917, and even reversed some of its gains. But the

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Greece

Hot on the heels of the French Socialist Party victory in May 1981, and amid massive anti-NATO demonstrations that swept Western Europe last fall, Greece's social democratic Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) jolted world imperialism with its October electoral victory over the rightwing New Democracy Party (NDP).

Backed by small industrialists, businessmen, farmers, and much of organized labor, PASOK leader Andreas Papandreu and his young populist party captured 48% of the vote and 174 of 300 parliamentary seats. The NDP received 36% of the vote, while 11% of Greek voters favored the Communist Party.

Papandreu won popular support by virtue of his pledges to end the 25% annual inflation rate, create jobs for the nation's 22% unemployed, improve health care, education, and social services, nationalize key sectors of industry and finance, equalize women's economic status, and withdraw from NATO and the European Economic Community (EEC), where Greece's agricultural and industrial backwardness cripples it competitively.

Since the election, however, Papandreu's anti-NATO and anti-imperialist hyperbole has been muted and his national chauvinist rhetoric has escalated. Plans to dismantle four U.S. military bases in Greece were postponed as Papandreu maneuvers for guarantees that NATO will protect Greece from neighboring Turkey and that the EEC will provide a better deal for Greece.

Though Greece itself is an imperialist nation, anti-imperialist sentiments run high among the workers. Since World War II, they have endured successive reactionary and repressive regimes propped up by the U.S. and other powerful nations. Many Greeks understandably fear the spread of the repressive military junta that grips their Mediterranean neighbor, Turkey, and Papandreu paid lip service to this fear in his nationalist campaign snipes at Turkey as "the only threat to Greece."

Straddling an ideological fence, Papandreu is finding it difficult to appease both the capitalists and the increasingly militant working class that carried his party into power. Workers are pushing him to make good his campaign promises, while the industrialists issue dire warnings against socialist "experiments."

His failure to satisfy popular demands will sharpen the very class polarization that Papandreu is scrambling to reconcile. □

Ireland

Recent moves by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to diffuse the Irish republican demand for reunification of northern and southern Ireland have boomeranged. Thatcher has pushed Ireland ever closer to civil war between pro-British, Protestant rightwingers, and militant Catholics fighting for an independent Ireland.

Thatcher's October 1981 concession that republican H-Block prisoners could wear their own clothes, receive more outside communication, and get time off for good behavior was small return for the lives of the 10 political prisoners who died during a 7-month hunger strike against their status as common criminals.

In November, Thatcher and Northern Ireland Prime Minister Garrett Fitzgerald established the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council to strengthen economic and political ties between Britain and its Irish puppets who rule Northern Ireland.

Protestant "loyalists" who oppose Irish reunification blasted the plan as a treacherous step toward merger with southern Ireland and the removal of British troops from the north.

Sinn Fein, the Provisional Irish Republican Army's political arm, denounced the neo-colonial Council and vowed to elect republicans to the British Parliament to demonstrate popular support for unification. Meanwhile, the IRA has intensified its guerrilla war against Britain's colonial police force.

In this stormy climate, the recent

IRA killing of Ulster's Protestant parliamentarian, Rev. Robert Bradford, brought loyalist passions to a frenzy. The incendiary, arch-conservative minister and parliamentarian, Ian Paisley, accused Thatcher of encouraging "sectarian violence" and vowed to destroy the IRA with a "third force" of armed Protestants.

On November 24, Paisley's far-right Democratic Unionist Party staged a "day of action" that included mass loyalist rallies, a partial strike in many of Northern Ireland's Protestant-dominated stores and factories, and a march outside Belfast by 4000 masked men in paramilitary uniform.

The resurgence of the rightwing Protestant minority that opposes unification stems from its frustration with Thatcher's minor concessions and its drive to intensify civil war against the IRA. Republican Army spokespeople, however, vow that the war for independence from England will continue until British troops and government completely withdraw from Northern Ireland. □

Namibia

A southwest African nation flanked on the north by Angola and on the south by South Africa, Namibia is a largely Black country struggling to end more than 60 years of illegal rule by South Africa.

Once a German colony, Namibia was annexed by South Africa during World War I with the blessing of the League of Nations.

However, in 1971 the United Nations refuted South Africa's territorial claim, and in 1980 empowered a delegation of five capitalist nations—the U.S., Canada, West Germany, England, and France—to mediate an independence settlement between Namibia and South Africa.

In November 1981, the delegation announced its blueprint for bourgeois parliamentary rule in Namibia. Side-stepped were the critical questions of universal adult suffrage, one-person/one-vote representation, and a guaranteed Black majority rule. Instead the



Soviet poster, 1967 (detail)

diplomatic commission proposed electoral guarantees that would favor the white settler minority and Namibian parties loyal to South Africa.

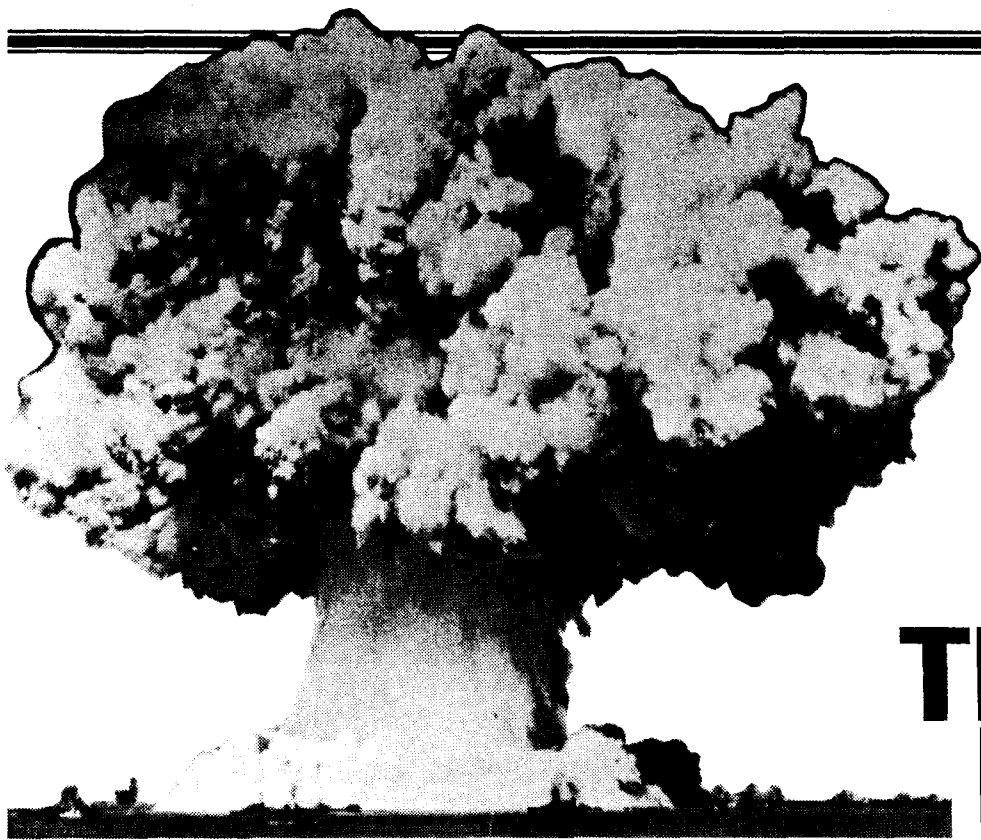
This proposal deliberately stalled negotiations.

South Africa and its imperialist allies suspect that Namibia's 89% Black population would, if given a chance, electorally defeat the pro-South African Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and elect the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)—a Marxist, nationalist, Black organization whose overwhelming support from Namibian Blacks has prompted repeated South African military attacks on Angolan military bases.

SWAPO demands enforcement of UN Resolution 435 which named it "the sole and authentic representative" of the Namibian people. But imperialists tremble at the prospect of a Marxist government in Namibia that could fuel liberation sentiments in South African Blacks, split the white minority front that has sustained South Africa's rightwing National Party since 1948, and take from capitalist hands the world's largest diamond concession and 18% of the West's uranium supply.

The ruling elites of both Namibia and South Africa justify their opposition to Black majority rule in an independent Namibia by pointing to the growing anti-independence sentiment among ultra-right white settlers, and to Russian and Cuban "interference" in Black-ruled Angola.

But imperialism's holding pattern cannot be sustained. Black militance in Namibia will soon break the diplomatic deadlock and force the scheduling of genuinely free elections. □



BY ROBERT CRISMAN

Two hundred and eight billion dollars is a staggering sum. But not to the U.S. Senate.

Last December, the august senators handed over precisely that amount to the Pentagon when an overwhelming, bipartisan vote approved the race of U.S. capital to make the world "safe" for imperialist aggression.

This Christmas present to the war-makers is history's largest single expenditure by any nation for anything. Yet it constitutes merely the first installment of a *one and a half trillion* dollar tax giveaway for armaments over the next five years.

Revving up the war machine

The history of modern America is the history of war presidencies. Every administration, whether that of Wilson, Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, or Reagan, has dismantled social programs, squeezed the poor, and rampaged with guns.

Current senate generosity to the generals was accompanied by a stepped-up round of sabre-rattling.

Between August and December 1981, Reagan's crew provoked an aerial shootout with Libya, threatened to invade Nicaragua and El Salvador, and pushed its violent anti-Cuba rhetoric to a point not reached since the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

In November, when Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's assassination threatened danger to imperialist "stability" in the Mideast, the U.S. rushed 5,000 troops into the region for war games. This provocation assumed doubly ominous significance when the U.S. threatened military action against Libyan leader Khadafi, whose anti-imperialist Pan-Arabism is a rallying force against the U.S. presence in the Mideast and North Africa.

The crowning act of hysteria-mongering came in October as Rampaging Ronnie mused publicly about the benefits of "limited, winnable" nuclear war with the Soviet Union on European soil.

This unilateral brinkmanship inflamed the entire European continent, and indignant protests ensued. But this did not stop Secretary of Defense Alexander Haig from speculating further on the virtues of dropping a "demonstration" device on Europe in the event of Soviet "aggression."

These Strangelovian outbursts of Reagan and his henchmen scared hell out of everyone, as did the subsequent decision to build the MX first-strike missile system. Obviously, only a nation preparing to *start* a war makes ready to strike the first blow.

Skullmasks worn by European anti-nuke protesters symbolized perfectly the impending harvest of the Pentagon's nuclear death machine—*350 million*

would be slaughtered in the U.S., Europe, and the Soviet Union, and millions more across a radiation-blasted planet.

Such is the future promised by imperialism spoiling for war.

Solvency through death

War, and the production of implements to wage it, are aces-in-the-hole for capitalism. In the last half century, only *permanent* militarization has saved world capitalism from total collapse.

Even bourgeois economists concede that it was the advent of World War II, and not New Deal wizardry, that pulled this country out of the Great Depression. And after the war, once pent-up consumer demands were met, only a new Red Scare and leap in nuclear and conventional arms production prevented another economic collapse.

The post-war U.S. boom and the economic recovery of Europe were based on revved-up military spending. Research and development of startling new electronic, computer, aerospace, and communications technologies were bound up with the production and deployment of arms. Profits for these and related industries soared to an all-time high as the entire economy surged with new—although artificial—impetus. Reduced unemployment was clearly linked to this expansion.

Only the defeat of U.S. forces in Vietnam stilled for a time the giddy national romance with militarism. Even so, imperialism emerged from defeat intact, its war resolve more hardened than ever, though temporarily suspended for political reasons.

What's good for Chrysler is good for the country

The current leap into fullblown militarist belligerence derives from the hammerblows that rocked the capitalist class in the 1970s.

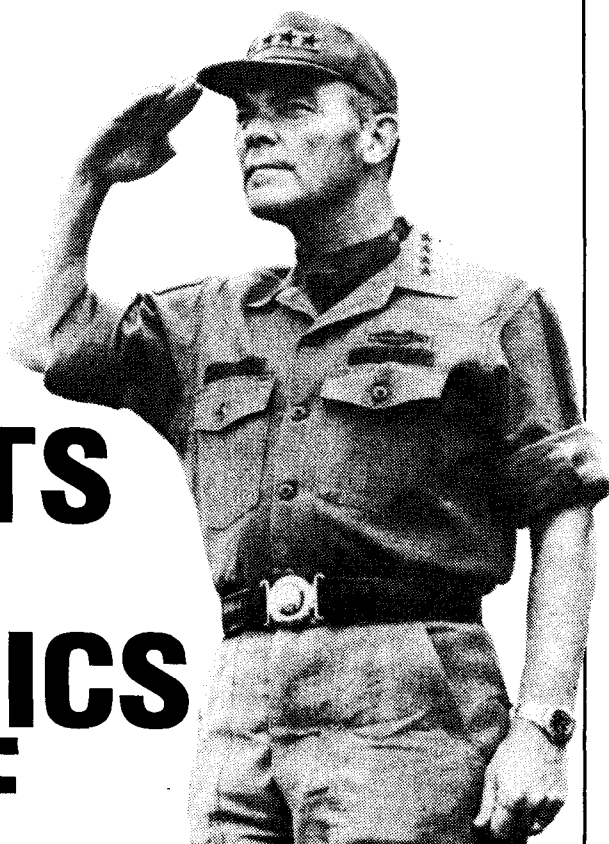
Throughout the decade, enormous chunks of profitable international real estate were ripped away from previously uncontested capitalist control. Vietnam, Angola, Nicaragua, and El Salvador extended the colonial revolution to the very doorstep of the industrial West. In Portugal and Iran, the revolution erupted in industrialized countries.

OPEC's 1973-74 oil price hikes ended forever the flow of cheap fuel that had lubricated post-WW II prosperity.

And when the U.S.-primed economies of Europe and Japan began to pass America on the world market, Wall Street braced for economic retaliation against its former junior partners.

The early '70s were still rife with the discontent and protests of the '60s. But, as society staggered under ruinous post-Vietnam inflation and the continued decay of heavy industry, as unemployment mushroomed and introduced the specter of all-embracing poverty, and as pundits wept for the

THE PROFITS AND POLITICS OF WAR



"helpless U.S. giant," the economic crisis blew political winds rightward.

Rotting welfare cases like Chrysler and Lockheed, unable to foist their products on a disdainful and shrinking civilian market, were given the go-ahead to open the throttle on war production. And the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 provided the pretext for whipping up a war mentality.

By then, the U.S. was already becoming the busiest armaments factory in history.

Very private profits

Reaganomic quackery maintains that high "defense" spending, tax breaks for the rich, and social program cuts will reduce inflation, "revitalize the private sector," and alleviate unemployment.

Yes, war production *is* a boon for the auto, shipbuilding, aerospace, steel, and electronics magnates dragged to the brink of insolvency by flagging domestic sales.

The profit rate for industry as a whole is *three times greater* for military than for civilian contracts. Waste and corruption endemic to war production account for much of the difference.

Chrysler raked in 78% profit on tanks for the army in 1979, when its auto profits were less than nothing.

Corporate stock prices for electronic warfare firms have jumped an astounding *100%* in the two years since the arms step-up. Stock prices for the *entire* defense industry rose 30%.

Profits are rolling. But what about unemployment and inflation?

Reaganites and labor skates extoll the job-creating benefits of the war industry. *But 375,000 CETA and federal jobs were axed to pay for the arms buildup.*

As the Pentagon gobbles resources and technicians, civilian industry is further crippled. Unemployment spirals upward. And only the most highly

skilled will find a place in increasingly automated war production.

What always finds a place in war and verge-of-war conditions is *inflation*. Military hardware is not consumed, but is mothballed or destroyed. The resulting depletion of available consumer goods (values) in relation to available credit and money (exchange value) kicks prices skyward.

The rich even profit from inflation, through speculation and interest.

The poor get poorer. But as long as gold can be gotten from guns, the drummers along the Potomac will continue to pound out the discordant and deafening rhythms of war.

Target red

The theme struck by the White House is the need to "contain world communism" in defense of what Generalissimo Haig calls "the fundamental values of Western civilization."

Some values. Haig's fire and brimstone is vintage warmongering against international revolution and the workers states that have arisen since 1917. Socialism challenges world capitalist hegemony, and Wall Street—the capital of capitalism—is readying the final conflict.

Chief among the world's workers states is the USSR which has been yanked from the wings once again to play bogeyman in the capitalist theater of the apocalypse. All liberal hopes for detente have been tossed on the scrap heap. But detente was doomed from the outset.

Even during decades of uneasy "peaceful coexistence" and *quid pro quo* deals with the Kremlin bureaucrats, the White House never lost sight of its ultimate goal—to smash the first workers state in history in order to eliminate forever its nationalized and planned economy.

The workers state economy is totally irreconcilable with the anarchistic, unplanned production of capitalism and its basis in private property and individual profits.

Soviet military strength, moreover, has stood too long, for capitalist liking, as a bulwark against untrammelled imperialist rape of the planet.

But Soviet foreign policy is contradictory. The Kremlin has throttled or bargained away proletarian revolutions in exchange for "peaceful coexistence" with the West, and to protect "socialism in one country."

Stalinism operates much the same as labor bureaucrats who horse-trade the rights of American workers for class peace and personal privilege.

However, sheer survival in the face of imperialist pressure has dictated Soviet assistance to some revolutions, especially colonial uprisings. Political and economic strings are attached of course, but China, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, Angola, and Ethiopia have achieved and maintain their revolutions with the help of Soviet money, technicians, and firepower.

The USSR's attempt to contain and control these revolutions within a bourgeois-nationalist framework works in the imperialists' best interests. But imperialism is increasingly besieged by uprisings which the Kremlin cannot control. Time is growing short, and capitalism, wracked by its own inner contradictions, has decided to jettison its always tenuous truce with Russia.

The myth of Soviet imperialism

Pointing to the subjugation of Soviet satellite countries, imperialists shriek that Kremlin ultimatums to Poland and Afghanistan are *imperialist!*

But imperialism by definition is the expansionist policy of *monopoly capitalism*.

Imperialism is the act of wresting natural resources, markets, spheres of investment, and cheap labor from other countries. It is enslavement of foreign nations. It is the drive for economic supremacy and political control, for territorial acquisition and hegemony over the world.

Is this the course of the Soviet Union? No. Its economy is not based on private investment, ownership, or profits. The expand-or-die economic principle of capitalism does not apply

to a nationalized, non-capitalist economy. Soviet "imperialism" is a contradiction in terms.

Still, the USSR expands. But even George Kennan, U.S. policy-maker of the Cold War era, concedes that Soviet moves into other nations are made *in defense against* a hostile and encircling capitalism.

Stalinist repression itself is an historic product of imperialist pressure on the young Russian Revolution.

Military invasion and economic blockade by 21 countries, including the U.S., followed the 1917 revolution, along with a civil war. This twin assault devastated a country already reeling from the slaughter of WWI. Terrible privations were added to inherited backwardness, the disintegration of industry, the exhaustion of the proletariat, and the defeat of revolutions in Europe. The resulting misery paved the way for the Stalinist usurpation of Soviet state power after Lenin's death.

Stalinism still stands as a mortal danger to workers democracy and world socialism. But Stalinism is an *internal* danger within the working class itself. Imperialism is the far greater, totally encompassing danger. What is necessary in the Soviet Union is a *political* revolution, but what is necessary in the U.S. is a complete *social and economic* revolution.

It is essential to grasp these differences to avoid the complacency accompanying the "plague on both your houses" mentality. *Unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism* is the essential proletarian response to the U.S.-USSR antagonism. We are adherents of the gains of the October Revolution which created an historically progressive social system with an economy and social goals far more advanced than that of capitalism.

Just as we defend the most corrupt and bureaucratic union against the employer, so we defend the gains of October against those who would dismantle them.

The myth of the enemy within

Burgeoning U.S. militarism abroad is combined with increased attacks on democratic rights at home as *redbaiting* becomes the rule.

Government, business, and the right wing garner support for their plundering of workers and the poor by center-

ing their attacks on women and minorities. Sexism and racism pave the way for anti-labor atrocities. And radicals who try to defend democratic rights and labor's gains are targeted by witch-hunters. Congressional subcommittees investigating the Red Menace have sprung up like stinkweeds.

A grand jury was given carte blanche to investigate radicals on the East Coast after the urban guerrilla-engineered Brinks robbery in New York last October. Police raided Black communities en masse after the heist, and at least one Black activist was murdered.

In December, Reagan gave the CIA the go-ahead to spy once again on U.S. citizens. He also mandated CIA infiltration of any political organization "believed to be acting on behalf of a foreign power."

As in the fear-ridden '50s, the "war on communism" is a search-and-destroy mission to denude the working class of the radical and militant leadership it needs and deserves.

Labor and all the oppressed have the power to resist being crushed by capital. They must unite and repel the red-baiters, warmongers, and bosses—who are one and the same force.

War against capitalist war

War is the capitalist survival ticket for the '80s.

And sexist, racist, anti-union terrorism is the domestic lubrication of war preparation.

All the separate social movements are raising the appeal for a united front of resistance to militarist reaction. This surge toward multi-issue unity must govern the nature and scope of anti-war activity.

The 1960s anti-war movement was largely single-issue. Its leaders—straight white males and male-oriented women—were all too often bureaucratic, reformist, and opportunist. They evaded the question of the roots of imperialist war. And when mass protests and military losses finally drove the U.S. out of Vietnam, the movement promptly dispersed and the forces of reaction began to regroup.

The war and draft resisters of the '80s are both more naive and more sophisticated than their predecessors.

The May 3, 1981 People's Anti-War Mobilization, gave voice to a wide range of social demands. But the

bureaucratism, sexism, and sectarianism that disfigured the '60s protests have made inroads into the '80s.

PAM was precipitously abandoned by its leadership, the Workers World Party (WWP), as soon as demands were raised for free speech and feminist slogans and leadership.

And at the 1981 All People's Congress in Detroit, the WWP attempted to herd people into an adventurist "overturn" of the "Reagan program."

What good can come from a congress wherein free speech is trampled and no groundwork laid for long-term organizing within other progressive movements?

Anti-war work is the business of the entire working class, and the advanced sectors of the class must work painstakingly within the labor, women's, gay, civil rights, radical, and all democratic movements. The modern anti-war movement is in its early stages; eventually a coalition open to all will develop, and debate on program will assume first priority.

Only in this way, and through defense of the most oppressed, can anti-war forces coalesce and ascend to victory over the war machine.

Dismantle the dismantlers!

The roots of the war drive lie deep in the basic structure of society.

Capitalism was born of war, survives by war, and is inseparable from war.

No wishful reformist thinking can divorce private enterprise from its politics—and its politics are necessarily the politics of war. Capital must expand or die—that is its *nature*.

The nature of the economic system—the way people produce and exchange goods and services—inexorably determines the politics and culture of a society. The politics and culture of this society are those of exploitation, decay, dictatorship, fascism and death.

For capital, the "morality" of war is irrelevant—capital *literally has no choice*. So it glorifies war.

But the workers and have-nots do have a choice. They can uproot the war culture and consign it to the realm of an artifact, along with all its instigators and their entire chamber of horrors.

Socialism is the only answer, for keeping alive the very memory of, and for impelling, the ascending evolution of humanity. □

Which way for the peace movement?

Europe on the march

BY SANDY NELSON

A tidal wave of human indignation swept Western Europe at the close of 1981. Three million protesters jammed the streets of London, Amsterdam, Madrid, Athens, Brussels, Rome, Paris, Bonn, Oslo, and other cities, demanding a halt to NATO's plans to set up Europe as a nuclear battlefield.

The series of massive demonstrations in October and November primarily targetted NATO's 1979 decision to install 572 long-range tactical nuclear warheads in five Western European countries by 1983. The U.S.-built missiles would be aimed at Soviet cities.

But the ire of Europeans exploded anew at remarks by Reagan's men about "limited nuclear war"—at the chilling horror of the U.S. challenging the USSR to a nuclear showdown on European soil.

A disarming offer

As the anti-nuke movement gained size and strength, Reagan tried to undercut the seething anger by agreeing to U.S. participation in NATO

disarmament talks with the USSR.

He also announced a tentative "disarmament" offer.

But NATO is not budging from its deployment plans. And Reagan's wolf-in-sheep's-clothing offer asks the Soviets to cut back their *existing* weapons in trade for a cutback in *planned* U.S. weapons. This would tip the nuclear scales sharply in favor of the West, an offer the Soviets could hardly accept.

Classless struggle

The anti-nuke movement, so far, is a contradictory political mixture.

National chauvinism coexists with powerful international alliances against the nuclear menace. Virulent anticommunists share the podium with denunciators of capitalism. Some leaders place the blame squarely on U.S. imperialism and its NATO cover, and others make no political distinction whatsoever between Western capitalism and the world's workers states.

• In *Spain*, 500,000 demonstrators protested their government's plan to join NATO. At the rally at the University of Madrid, Socialist Party

leader Felipe Gonzales said, "It is the same to us whether the missiles come from the East or the West."

• The U.S. and the USSR were simultaneously denounced in *Italy* when 250,000 protested the Italian government's decision to host U.S.-controlled weapons in Comiso, Sicily. The marches were spearheaded by the Italian Communist Party.

• Trotskyists led the protests in *France*, and a spirit of internationalism prevailed as the Revolutionary Communist League (French section of the Fourth International) urged workers to fight both NATO and the French ruling class, and called for solidarity with U.S. workers.

Because of its support for the NATO alliance, the ruling Socialist Party boycotted the Paris demonstration of 50,000. The French Communist Party, an opponent of NATO but supportive of a French independent nuclear strike force, attended en masse.

• *West Germany*, which bristles with more U.S.-controlled missiles per square mile than any other European nation, has one of the most politically diverse anti-nuclear move-



Regis Boas/Sygnia

ments, composed of 300 disarmament groups. Trotskyists, Maoists, feminists, and Christians participate.

The basically progressive demand of West German anti-nuclear activists to "resist the subjugation of NATO" is coupled with nationalist exaggeration. Wolfgang Pohrt, a self-described "leftist," published an article equating the peace movement with a new national awakening for Germany, and titled it, "One People, One Nation, One Peace"—a line borrowed from the Nazi slogan, "One people, one nation, one Fuhrer."

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When socialist feminist leader Murry Weiss died on December 26, 1981 at age 66, many colleagues recalled his zestful words on the lifestyle of a political radical:

To fight for revolution with comrades; to share, disagree, resolve, and unite for new ventures and fresh exploration; to create a Leninist party within the heartland of imperialism—this is my idea of the good life, the fulfilled life, the life of challenge and meaning.

Murry was a magnificent, lifelong Marxist who never stopped radiating his belief in the vast human potential for revolutionary change.

One of the founders of American Trotskyism, Weiss was renowned as a superb organizer, teacher, theoretician, writer, and editor. He was committed to the imperative of Lenin and Trotsky to build and sustain the revolutionary party through good times and bad, and his impact was monumental for five and a half decades.

BY JANET SUTHERLAND

Weiss joined the Freedom Socialist Party in 1979. He brought to it a half century of stature as a front-runner American Marxist.

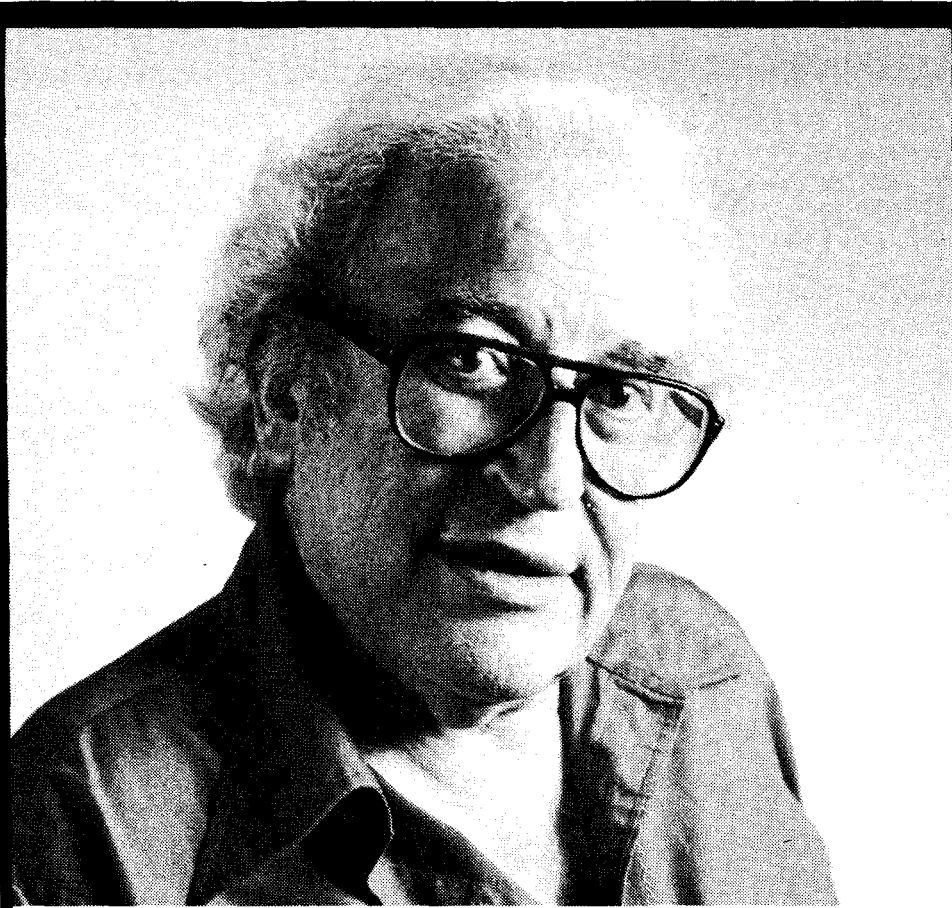
In 1926, at age 11, he was a Young Pioneer, associated with the Communist Party.

In his teens, he became a Trotskyist, and he served as a fulltime professional revolutionary and national leader of the Socialist Workers Party until the early 1960s. After the party veered off into centrist and bureaucratic directions that he could not countenance, he left it.

He was in his 50s and had congenital heart problems. But he set out boldly to learn to earn a living outside the party. He enrolled in college, received a master's degree, and entered private practice as a psychoanalyst, a skill at which he came to excel.

In 1976, he visited Seattle to further relations with the FSP, and together they helped found the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP) the next year. Two years later he cast his lot with the party of revolutionary feminism, became chairperson of its National Committee, and lived long enough to plan and play a prime role in the National Committee Plenum in New York on December 3-6, 1981.

The FSP, a relatively young party (16 years old) with a predominantly youthful membership of working women, lesbians and gays, people of color, and male feminists, was honored and gratified by Murry Weiss' adherence to its principles, approval of its practices, and admiration of its composition.



Anne Sarason

Quintessential 20th Century Marxist

MURRY WEISS 1915-1981

Evolving from a common source in the SWP, Murry and his FSP comrades created exciting and challenging new directions for U.S. Trotskyism.

Political prodigy

The thunderous movement of the '20s to free Sacco and Vanzetti initiated Weiss into politics at the age of 11.

He joined the Young Pioneers, forerunner of the Young Communist League. But in 1933, he held the view that German Communists should form a united front with the social democrats against Hitler, and for this Trotskyist "deviation" the YCL expelled him.

This was his first testing in the crucible of radical politics.

Undaunted, he toured the country as an "unofficial guest of the railroad companies." He experienced the poverty and devastation of the Depression, and was enraged at how racism intensified the suffering of Blacks.

A member of the International Left Opposition youth group, he later served on the National Committee of the Young People's Socialist League until 1938. With other revolutionaries from the Socialist Party, he left to organize the new Socialist Workers Party.

Weiss toiled steadily and creatively for the SWP. The party was the core of his life. Beginning as a branch organizer in Youngstown, Ohio, he later led branches in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York City. He was a National Committee leader for nearly 25 years, and he edited the *Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* during the '50s, contributing prolifically to both these SWP publications.

Building the party

Murry's giant intellect, his genius for politics, his talent for bold and innovative organizing, and his warm, humorous, and expansive personality won him early recognition as an exceptional figure.

He played a vigorous and decisive role in defeating the petty-bourgeois in-

tellectual deserters of the Burnham-Shachtman faction in 1939-1940. And he collaborated with leader James P. Cannon on the historic document for the 1946 party convention, *Theses on the American Revolution*.

"The decisive battles for the communist future of mankind will be fought in the U.S.," maintains the *Theses*. It calls for active intervention into the mass movements by the vanguard party at all times, and Weiss firmly defended that strategy against the faction of liquidationists, Burt Cochran, Mike Bartell, and George Clarke in 1952-53.

In 1957, he toured the country, speaking and writing about the suddenly-possible regroupment of radicals in the wake of Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956. Weiss' work resulted in a number of successful united socialist electoral tickets in 1958 and 1960.

Weiss' status and popularity, and his political closeness to Cannon, were viewed with jaundiced eyes by SWP officials Farrell Dobbs and Tom Kerry. Their bureaucratic, narrow trade unionist mentality, fused with their virulent anti-feminism and bias against theory, led them to oppose the Cannon/Weiss brand of bold interventionism and sensitivity to the special plight and talents of women and minorities.

His split with these misleaders became irrevocable in 1959 when they made an unprincipled bloc with a faction in the Young Socialist Alliance (the SWP youth affiliate) that opposed the Cuban revolution under Fidel Castro's leadership. The SWP was an enthusiastic supporter of the thrilling revolution in Cuba, and this official party policy was defended staunchly by the majority faction of the YSA. But Dobbs-Kerry sacrificed their own YSA co-thinkers in the interests of an organizational/power arrangement with Tim Wohlforth and Jim Robertson of the YSA anti-Cuban group.

Weiss was furious and defended the perplexed and astonished pro-Cuban YSA comrades. The SWP power-brokers never forgave him.

On to socialist feminism

When Weiss suffered a serious stroke in 1960, the party abandoned him. His wife and longtime co-organizer Myra Tanner Weiss, a national party leader, had to singlehandedly support him financially and nurse him back to health. He learned to speak, read, walk, and think all over again—and being Murry, he made a complete recovery.

Now detached from the party, he continued to meld political theory with practice in his own inimitable style. As a radical therapist, he was honored by being asked to join the New York Feminist Therapy Collective. And he continued to teach the history and lessons of the Russian Revolution, this time at the School for Marxist Education.

In 1975, Murry and Myra Tanner Weiss circulated an international document rebuking the SWP for its support of the social democrats instead of the communist workers in the revolution in Portugal. The Weisses called the SWP Stalinophobic and reformist-oriented.

This document, together with his growing knowledge about the feminist theory and practice of the FSP, were the stimulus for his 1976 trip to Seattle.

In 1980, following a split in the Fourth International, Weiss and two other CRSP leaders attended meetings, as observers, of the Fourth International (International Committee) in Madrid and Paris. This was his first and only European trip, and he contracted Legionnaire's disease in Paris.

Back in New York in January 1981, he grew desperately ill and was hospitalized in intensive care. He made a miraculous recovery from imminent death and plunged right back into political work, visiting Seattle in August for three weeks of relaxation and consultation with the FSP leadership.

Theory and practice

Weiss drew his practice from theory, and used practice to develop and test theory.

In 1945, he and Myra Tanner Weiss spearheaded the organization of a broad, labor-based united front against fascist Gerald L.K. Smith in Los Angeles. The campaign stirred walkouts in schools and marshalled enormous rank-and-file union support and Jewish involvement. Thousands thronged the street to demonstrate against fascism, and forced Smith to leave the auditorium.

When Weiss toured the country analyzing and denouncing witchhunter Senator Joseph McCarthy in 1954, he brought with him the wisdom gained from his Los Angeles experience. He exposed the basic anti-union sentiment and policy of both Smith and McCarthy, and called for a Labor Party to smash McCarthy's incipient fascism.

Not only theory, but a sharp eye for organizational detail, gleams in his tour accounts in the *Militant*. His reports on the branches abound with enthusiasm over good ideas and habits he encountered—successes in union organizing, fund-raising, distributing leaflets, filling a hall, welcoming strangers, attracting women, youth, and Blacks, recruiting new members, providing childcare.

A consummate organizer, he noticed everything.

Speaking at the Weiss memorial meeting in Seattle on January 23, 1982, Clara Fraser acknowledged the debt that generations of organizers owe him:

He gave us a vision and a concept of what the American revolutionary party should be.

He stood for respect for theory and Marxist scholarship; appreciation of art and culture; active, interventionist, audacious strategy in the mass movements;

Announcing The Murry Weiss Memorial Publications Fund

You can make possible the reprinting and publishing of works by Marxist theoretician Murry Weiss. There can be no more fitting tribute to him than disseminating his profound ideas.

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leadership training for comrades of talent and broad shoulders; democratic debate of disputed issues; theory as a firm guide to practice; a unique grasp of the special needs and energies of the most oppressed—women, people of color, gays.

And he had a great concern with youth—with its ethical idealism, intelligence, humor, knowledge, and its natural yearning for justice, decency and beauty.

At home with revolution

Weiss' last writings positively shine with his absorption in world affairs and empathy for the workers of the world. Said Clara Fraser:

He had a rapport, an affinity with exploited and oppressed people at home and on the other side of the globe. He didn't feel strange about them, he didn't think they were different. He felt for them, he belonged to them, he was them. He always knew for whom the bell tolled . . . As a communist, a Jew, a professional revolutionary, and a true leader, he could not possibly ever be a passive observer of the horror around him. He identified.

Weiss never stopped studying and explaining the breakup of the Stalinist monolith. In 1956, he wrote and lectured about the Khrushchev revelations on the crimes of Stalin, calling them a ruse to bolster the entrenched Stalinist bureaucracy by apparently conceding to the obvious. And from Hungary to the Moscow-Peking disputes to Poland, his pen was busy heralding the triumphs and tribulations of worker revolts for a socialist democracy.

In 1978, Weiss wrote "Permanent Revolution and Women's Emancipation," a profound re-interpretation of revolutionary, Trotskyist feminism.

Referring to women workers in the Russian Revolution, he wrote: "They gauged the moment and acted." He predicted that the "dynamic of women" will again unleash "an incalculable revolutionary power."

His prediction materialized the next year in Iran, and Weiss toured the U.S. to speak about the inspiring revolutionary zeal of Iranian women and the contours of that great revolution.

In 1980, he was the only male Marxist to applaud the women of Poland, who exemplified courage and leadership reminiscent of the Russian women radicals.

He always saw the permanent revolution manifested in the Black, feminist, and gay movements. He often spoke of that aspect of the theory of

permanent revolution which explained the necessity for revolution to reach every layer of society and confront every social injustice in order to effect living, lasting change. He noted that in the U.S. the mass movements are the precursors of revolution and the multiply-oppressed contingents of these movements are fated to lead it and complete it.

He saw clearly that unless a revolutionary party addressed racism, sexism, and lesbian/gay liberation, it would suffer the same fragmentation, stagnation, and conservatism he had rejected in the white-male dominated left.

Paying homage

Murry's family, friends, comrades, and former colleagues, and radicals who only knew about him gathered to pay him high tribute at memorial meetings organized by the FSP on January 23 and 24.

In New York City, the *New York Times*, the *Guardian* and the *Militant* ran articles about Murry and announcements of the memorial meeting. 160 people heard theoretician George Novack and Murry's brother David Weiss, both of the SWP, speak movingly. Former SWPers Hedda Garza, Myra Tanner Weiss, and Nat Simon (Jack Dale) also spoke, as did Carol Munter, a longtime friend and feminist therapist, Steve Zeluck of Workers Power and editor of *Against the Current*, and representatives of CRSP, Radical Women, and FSP. Musician Connie Crothers performed a piano favorite of Murry's. Annette Rubinstein, Marxist literary critic and teacher, sent a beautiful message.

In San Francisco, Art Sharon of the SWP, Joyce Schon of the Revolutionary Workers League, and local comrades gave tributes in the FSP's new headquarters.

In Los Angeles, Jeanne Morgan, Murry's former secretary who corresponded with him over the years; Fred Halstead, SWP; and Nicholas Kramer of the Revolutionary Workers Front, were among the speakers at an outdoor meeting. A skit depicting Murry's adventures with high and low cuisine in Paris was presented.

In Portland, FSP comrades were the main speakers. The local SWP refused to participate as speakers or attendees.

Alaskans Phil McMurray, and Sherman Haley of Radical Women, joined former SWP member Carmen Wynn for a half-hour radio broadcast in Juneau featuring tapes of Murry speaking and readings from his works.

Seattle's commemoration included talks by FSP National Secretary Clara Fraser; Rita Shaw of the SWP; Melba Windoffer, a Trotskyist since the 1930s; and Sam Deaderick of the *Free-*

Excerpts from

On Hearing of Murry's Death

. . . Such a warrior is Murry Weiss a comrade who went out in battle a socialist feminist Trotskyist who wrote about Poland, Iran, Portugal, Angola, who believed that we can win if we fight for the rights of the most oppressed who believed in the workers, you and I, in this world.

I met Murry at a CRSP conference in Seattle in July 1980, heard him speak. His will, intelligence, spirit, compassion lifted the comrades.

Later I showed Murry my red toy lobster, wound it up and laughed. "Murry," I said, "this is what I call the rightwing shuffle." Murry roared, his hair flying as we sat outside in the garden of Gloria's home.

Now I realize my life has been touched by a great man whose death will not be noted in the bourgeois press. My fortune is having met him.

As the rain pours in Oakland, as Solidarity comrades fight in Poland to be free, Ding Ling writes in Chinese of her visit to America, Clara Fraser continues her struggle for free speech, we in the party continue our work as freedom fighters, carrying on the tradition of militancy, valor, honor and courage that one day when the revolution's come, we will march en masse with candles lighting our way through the cities and farmlands, calling out our joy, singing "The Internationale."



Nellie Wong

January 4, 1982
Oakland, California

dom Socialist staff. The Bread and Roses Chorus sang revolutionary songs. Joanne Ward, feminist poet, read Nellie Wong's moving poem, "On Hearing of Murry's Death."

In keeping with Murry's love of good food, each memorial meeting was accompanied by a sumptuous meal.

Telegrams and messages on Murry's death arrived from all over the country, and from Europe, Latin America, and Australia. These were shared with the audience at each meeting.

There is a widespread audience for Murry's literary works, and to meet this need, the FSP has established the *Murry Weiss Memorial Publications Fund* to finance the publishing of the writings which he continued to produce until his final stroke and mercifully quiet death.

Legacy of a leader

Murry died too soon. He had ambitious plans to write a full autobiography, complete with an in-depth appraisal of the rise and degeneration of the SWP. (His last major literary work was his personal memoirs of Sacco and Vanzetti, published here for the first time on page 8.) Murry also planned to write extensively on his strong belief in Trotskyist regroupment and the regeneration of the Fourth International around revolutionary internationalism, women's leadership, and a new level of respect for native peoples, people of color, lesbians and gays, national/ethnic minorities, the most exploited layers of the proletariat, and the mass of oppressed allies of the working class.

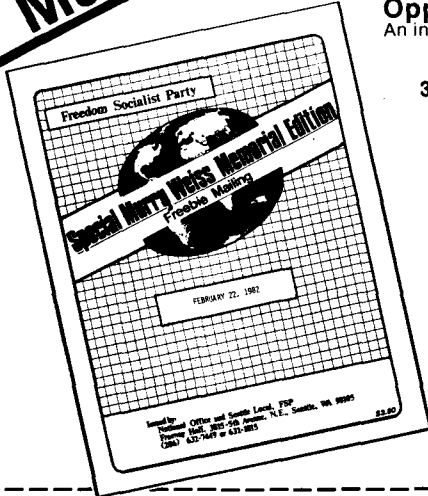
He foresaw a new relation of forces between world Trotskyism and the communist workers of the world as the Stalinist temples crumble and the revolutionary class struggles for workers democracy, and he planned extensive writing about this.

But he was too much the activist, relisher of life and enjoyer of conversation and vocal polemic to get it all written down, and those tasks devolve upon his political heirs.

The death of Comrade Murry is a blow, a tragedy, and an enormous loss. But just as his example and mentorship motivated and nourished thousands of radicals, his legacy will kindle countless more to achieve the noble goal he set with such verve and gusto for himself, his comrades, and afflicted humankind—the goal of the socialist commonwealth of the world.

From the depths of his ideological, organizational, and psychological wisdom, Murry Weiss sought comrades for whom socialism is inseparable from feminism, and both are inseparable from a vanguard party. He placed himself shoulder to shoulder in our revolutionary ranks, and we shall always admire, appreciate, and love him for it. □

Works by Murry Weiss



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- 2. **The Repression of Women's Caucuses and the Growth of Opportunism in the Fourth International** by Murry Weiss & Dr. Susan Williams \$.80
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City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were executed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on August 23, 1927. I was 11 years old.

The two Italian workers were anarchists, one a "good shoemaker" and the other a "poor fish peddler," as Vanzetti called himself. And his words give us a poignant glimpse of his personality—his simple modesty, capacity for deep friendship with Sacco, and gentle sense of humor.

I learned all about the two of them in the few months before their execution, when I joined the futile campaign to save their lives. In my eyes, they were heroic figures, models of humanity.

My New York City childhood prepared me well for an understanding of Sacco and Vanzetti.

I was the youngest of three children in our family. When we were very small, and it was exceptionally cold, our parents kept my sister, my brother, and me in bed all day, covered with a *perena*—a very soft, huge pillow. And we were rarely alone: the room was often crowded with workers conducting a strike committee meeting.

Everyone shouted, argued, laughed, and joked in Polish and Yiddish. They were passionate in their views. And how proud my mother was when she managed to produce enough soup for the entire committee!

With our help as shoppers, she would somehow accumulate all the ingredients for this sumptuous dish. We would buy a huge day-old *challah* (eggbread) for five cents and slightly wilted soup greens. We accepted any vegetables the strike committee contributed. We obtained those meats that butchers gave away in those days—liver, lung, kidneys, spleen, and occasionally, bones with a little beef still miraculously clinging to them. Finally, a little actual cash was spent for thickening agents: cereal, limas, barley, or split peas—a handful here and a pinch there.

This fabulous soup was always devoured without the discussion being interrupted for one minute. I loved the soup and I was fascinated by the orators. I hoped the meetings would go on forever.

We kids learned a great deal about the garment industry, the union, strikes, strategies and tactics, and slack times.

Once, after a particularly long strike, my father became ill and couldn't work for several months. The workers in his shop made heavy overcoats for each one of us kids. My father, a proud man, was embarrassed by the gift. So his shopmates didn't tell him about their second gift; they whispered to us to look in the pockets, and we each found a five dollar bill. Five dollars was entirely beyond our comprehension, but we understood the thought and loved the workers for their concern and solidarity.

Sacco and Vanzetti, too, were radicals, like my parents and the strike committee. So their struggle, their aspirations, and their agony belonged to us all.

Hate and hysteria

The two anarchists were arrested in Brockton, Massachusetts, south of Boston, on May 5, 1920 during the course of the Palmer raids, the most sweeping redbaiting witchhunt in U.S. history until that time.

They were charged with the April 15, 1920 robbery of a \$15,776 payroll from the shoe factory of Slater and Morrill in South Braintree, Massachusetts, 20 miles from Boston, and with slaying the paymaster and his guard. While awaiting indictment in jail for these crimes, Vanzetti was also indicted for an earlier, unsolved robbery attempt in nearby Bridgewater, Massachusetts. Between June 11 and July 1, 1920, he was tried before Judge Webster Thayer in neighboring Plymouth, Massachusetts, convicted of intent to rob, and sentenced to 12-15 years. Thayer, 63, was a Dartmouth graduate, a county judge, and a leading citizen of Worcester, Massachusetts.

Four months after their arrest, Sacco and Vanzetti were both indicted for the shoe factory robbery/murder. When their trial finally began on May 31, 1921 in Dedham, Massachusetts, a well-to-do residential suburb of Boston, they had already spent over a year in jail. They were found guilty of first degree murder on July 14, 1921.

There was no evidence against them, only prejudice. Vanzetti summed it up: "We have been tried during a time . . . when there was a hysteria of resentment and hate against the people of our principles, against the foreigner . . ." The "bolshhevik" had to be lynched in the name of patriotism. This was the true-blue American answer to the supposed hordes of foreign revolutionaries plotting to overthrow the U.S. government.

During the next three years, from July 15, 1921 until October 1, 1924, Judge Thayer received and denied a motion for a new trial and five supplementary motions which reviewed the Dedham trial and offered a significant amount of new evidence and argument.

Then, on November 18, 1925, Celestino Medeiros, in Dedham jail under sentence of death for a different murder, confessed to his fellow-prisoner Sacco that he had been part of the gang that actually committed the robbery and murders for which Sacco and Vanzetti had been convicted. Sacco passed Medeiros' written statement to his lawyer. It said simply, "I hear by confess to being in the South Braintree shoe company crime and Sacco and Vanzetti was not in said crime."

An affidavit taken from Medeiros spelled out the details of the crime and this new evidence was incorporated into a motion for a new trial.

Judge Thayer feared that this confession of a Death Row criminal would free Sacco and Vanzetti. In his October 23, 1926 decision to deny a new trial based on the new evidence, the judge launched an unrestrained attack on Medeiros:

Medeiros is without doubt, a crook, a thief, a robber, a liar, a rum-runner, a "bouncer" in a house of ill-fame, a smuggler, and a man who has been convicted and sentenced to death for the murder of one Carpenter, who was cashier of the Wrentham Bank. An affidavit from a man of this type must be examined and scrutinized with the greatest possible care, caution, and judgement before the verdict of a jury approved by the Supreme Judicial Court of this Commonwealth is set aside.

Months merge into years

Thayer's bias was universally protested. Three days after his ruling, even the conservative Boston *Herald* changed its position and backed the defense with an editorial by F. Lauriston Bullard that won the Pulitzer Prize:

We submit—

In our opinion Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti ought not to be executed on the warrant of the verdict returned by a jury on July 14, 1921.

. . . as months have merged into years and the great debate over this case has continued, our doubts have solidified slowly into convictions, and reluctantly we have found ourselves compelled to reverse our original judgment . . .

We have read the full decision in which Judge Webster Thayer, who presided at the original trial, renders his decision against the application for a new trial, and we submit that it carries the tone of the advocate rather than the arbitrator . . . The supreme court overruled a bill of exceptions but expressed no judgment whatever as to the validity of the verdict of the guilt of the defendants. Judge Thayer knows this, yet allows himself to refer to the verdict as "approved by the supreme court."

Now as to Medeiros: A criminal with a bad record, true, and under sentence of death. But the government relied in part on one of his confessions to convict him of a murder. His evidence was accepted against himself when his own life was at stake. His evidence now is offered in behalf of two other men whose lives also are at stake. We submit that Medeiros should be placed on the stand in open court, facing a jury and a judge, and subjected to examination and cross-examination. He may be lying, but the criterion here is not what a judge may think about it but what a jury might think about it. The question is—would the new evidence be a real factor with a jury in reaching a decision?

There were numerous appeals to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts for review of Judge Thayer's decisions on many of the motions, but this court consistently affirmed his decisions and use of judicial discretion.

Unable to offer further substantial proof of their innocence, Sacco and Vanzetti were brought before Judge Thayer on April 9, 1927 and sentenced to death in the electric chair. Nicola Sacco was then 36 years old. Bartolomeo Vanzetti was 39.

The beautiful people

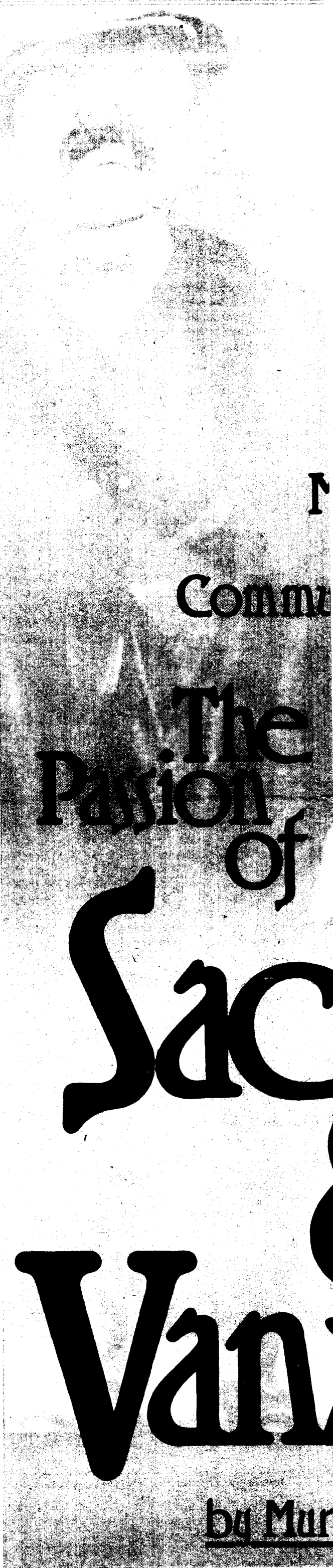
Medeiros was never tried in open court for the crimes to which he confessed and for which Sacco and Vanzetti were executed. Medeiros was deemed an unreliable witness on the basis of his *character*—but evidence of the character and personalities of Sacco and Vanzetti was ignored and suppressed.

On the evening of the two anarchists' arrest, the police found a sheet of paper in Sacco's pocket, a draft in Italian of a leaflet written by Vanzetti announcing a meeting to hear his political views:

Fellow Workers, you have fought all the wars. You have worked for all the capitalists. You have wandered over all the countries. Have you harvested the fruits of your labors, the price of your victories? Does the past comfort you? Does the present smile on you? Does the future promise you anything? Have you found a piece of land where you can live like a human being? On these questions, on this argument, and on this theme, the struggle for existence, Bartolomeo Vanzetti will speak.
Hour_____ day_____ hall_____ Admission free.
Freedom of discussion to all. Take the ladies with you.

Now, of course, the "ladies" are full-fledged women and they take themselves to meetings. Sacco and Vanzetti, the tribunes of emancipation, would glory in the new

Ben Shahn, "Sacco and Vanzetti and their Guards", 1932 (detail)



Memoirs of a Left Childhood:

Sacco & Vanzetti

Weiss

feminist fighters who are shaking the earth today. Sacco and Vanzetti were incapable of male chauvinism or of brutality in any form.

How could anyone believe that Sacco and Vanzetti were simultaneously planning a vicious robbery-murder and organizing meetings to create a better world for humanity? Only virulent class bias—class hatred—could assess the character of Medeiros as prime and the characters of Sacco and Vanzetti as irrelevant.

Sacco and Vanzetti were beautiful men. Their characters proved that they could not have committed the robbery and murder in South Braintree, Massachusetts. But they were radicals and in 1920 that was a very dangerous thing to be. It was anti-red hysteria that doomed them.

Agony and triumph

The now out-of-print book *Commonwealth vs. Sacco and Vanzetti*, edited by Robert P. Weeks, succinctly described the climate of the times:

In 1919 Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer warned that there were 60,000 dangerous alien radicals in the United States seeking to bring the Red revolution to America by bombs, bullets, and other, less violent, means of subversion. For evidence Palmer could point to the scores of bombs mailed in April of that year to judges, cabinet members and other public officials, or to the midnight bombings on June 3, 1919, of government officials' homes in eight cities, including Palmer's own house in Washington.

Unable to track down a single person responsible for the bombs, the Justice Department laid plans for a nation-wide raid in which federal agents assisted by local police would in one night round up thousands of what were variously described as "communists," "anarchists," "Bolsheviks," "reds," or simply "radicals." After several small-scale practice raids, the time finally agreed on was the night of January 2, 1920. Justice Department undercover agents in the Communist Labor Party, the Socialist Party, and other leftist organizations succeeded in scheduling meetings of those organizations for the night of January 2. That night in 33 cities and towns across the country, police swept down on meetings in homes, offices, lodge halls, union headquarters, and churches to gather in approximately 3000 men and women, most of them aliens, believed to be guilty of trying to overthrow the United States government.

Several hundred arrests were made in New England on the night of January 2, 1920. Boston had more than its share of the national anti-red obsession. The alleged foreign-born radicals were detained for months, at first virtually incommunicado, in poorly prepared quarters. Wrote Robert P. Weeks:

Pains were taken to give spectacular publicity to the raid, and to make it appear that there was great and imminent public danger, against which these activities of the Department of Justice were directed. Arrested aliens . . . were handcuffed in pairs, and then, for purposes of transfer on trains and through the streets of Boston, chained together. The northern New Hampshire contingent were . . . brought to Boston in a special car . . . the handcuffed and chained aliens were exposed to newspaper photographers and again exposed at the wharf where they took the boat for Deer Island.

Against this backdrop of fanaticism and hatred, Sacco and Vanzetti held fast to their principles and faith in the future victory of working people.

In April 1927, Vanzetti was interviewed in prison by Phillip D. Stong, a reporter for the North American Newspaper Alliance. Stong took shorthand notes on the margin of a newspaper. A direct quotation from Vanzetti subsequently appeared in a feature story in the *New York World*. It became famous, not just as a commentary on the case but as a powerful literary expression of a man with the soul of an artist. Facing the grim prospect of execution and looking back at his long, hard struggle for life and freedom, Vanzetti said:

If it had not been for these things, I might have live out my life, talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have die, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man, as now we do by accident.

Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler—all! That last moment belong to us—that agony is our triumph!

My teachers

The more I heard the words of these two heroic

radicals, the more I was drawn to the purity and truth of their cause. My young heart was moved by their glowing personalities and the suffering they endured. Their own statements and letters gripped me far more than all the great speeches and articles of the famous figures who defended them.

In my pre-teen world of gang fighters and glorified Mafia thugs in the Lower East Side and Harlem, the normal mode of behavior of the big shots was marked by avarice, lies, trickery, and cruelty (especially to children), and brute violence toward women. The shining figures of Sacco and Vanzetti symbolized the opposite of this world.

Theirs was a world of truth, compassion for the exploited, deceived, and oppressed, love for the many at their own expense. They embodied simple and singular loyalty to their comrades and their class. And it is almost embarrassing for me to remember that I was inspired by the idea of loyalty because it was so unusual and beautiful. The dog-eat-dog moral standard was despised by my heroes, and by me.

Their every action and utterance exhilarated me. I hated the heartless capitalists with their merciless greed and their lives of unbelievable luxury wrested from the crushed hopes of the poor.

I rejoiced in the two leaders, and I loved them.

I was not alone in my regard for Sacco and Vanzetti. They waited in jail for seven long years while hundreds, at first, then thousands, and then millions of people throughout the world struggled frantically to save their lives and set them free. There were demonstrations in France, Bulgaria, Spain, Argentina, Uruguay, and all major cities in the United States.

The leading literary and journalistic talents of the U.S. wrote poetry, plays, editorials, feature stories, and pamphlets to publicize the case and expose its deep injustice. From Edna St. Vincent Millay to John Dos Passos, Edmund Wilson, Malcolm Cowley, Lincoln Steffens, Theodore Dreiser, and Sherwood Anderson, those who could use words with impact, beauty, and persuasion wrote and protested. Maxwell Anderson's prize-winning play of the 1930s, *Winterset*, was based on the case and focuses on the Judge Thayer character. A noted expert on the case has said: ". . . Prosecution, judges, and the hostile public majority have not in 20 years found a single literary defender of their position."

Nevertheless, despite final appeals to various judicial and executive authorities, including the governor of Massachusetts, two levels of federal court, and the U.S. Supreme Court, the sentence of death remained unaltered.

The world wept

August 1927, a hot summer night in Union Square in Manhattan. The square is hushed, trembling with the incredible pressure of 50,000 demonstrators and 20,000 cops, thousands of them mounted on horses located at all the strategic points of the square. The 9-floor building of the Communist Party fronts on the square, covered by a huge sign that will announce the exact time of the electrocutions of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

The tension is high. The vast assembly is grim, heavily laden with despair, bitterness, and anger.

The fateful sign lights up, and a wail of anguish sweeps through the crowd.

Sacco and Vanzetti are dead.

Thousands of voices lift in the revolutionary anthem, the "Internationale." *Arise ye prisoners of starvation, arise ye wretched of the earth!*

The music resounds, the human race for a moment seems to raise itself aloft, above the gruesome deed.

I watch in surprise as the thousands of policemen off their hats, in the same human gesture as the rest of us.

The truth still lived. Bartolomeo and Nicola had not died in vain. We all knew that, felt it deeply. I wept, thousands wept.

The inheritance

Death is a beginning and theirs was for me.

I went eagerly to demonstrations. I put up posters and leaflets in stores and on the walls and lampposts of Brighton Beach and Coney Island, where we lived then. A few of us young radicals spoke up in Public School 225 about Sacco and Vanzetti. We were promptly hauled before the principal. And we were denied the right to hold a meeting in the school yard.

At the time of the execution I was a member of the Young Pioneers, the children's section of the Communist Party. Later I joined the Young Communist League. My parents joined the Communist Party soon afterward.

My father was a needle trades worker and unionist all his life. He was also a writer, lecturer, and teacher of drama. I went to the demonstration with him on that terrible August night in 1927 and our hearts had surged in unison. And the warmth of that moment nourished me throughout my life, even after we found ourselves in opposing factions of the Communist Party.

In 1932, strongly opposed to the festering Stalinist bureaucracy in the Communist Party, I became a Trotskyist. My brother David also became a Trotskyist and we were both expelled from the Young Communist League.

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That pitted us politically against our parents, and the vast historical and social process involved in that split was refracted in the microcosm of our family.

The Stalinist bureaucracy slandered its critics as "fascist agents," "counterrevolutionists," "spies," "traitors," etc. My parents were pressed by the Communist Party to denounce my brother and me and bar us from home.

My mother and father tried to resolve the difficulty by ignoring it. But it wouldn't go away. The party would periodically call for stern measures against us and insist that relations with their sons must be broken.

My father, like many CP members, was ambivalent. Privately he would say that the Moscow Trial's charges against Trotsky might be lies. But after all, he would argue, we cannot give aid and comfort to the imperialists, and you know that you can't make an omelet without breaking eggs, even great revolutions make mistakes, etc., etc.

My mother was more direct, less inclined toward sophistries and double reckoning. She worked in the garment shops, going there as soon as the kids were old enough to be on their own. She also ran the house and took in boarders to help pay the rent. She was a true worker Communist, with the triple load of housekeeper, mother, and laborer.

Her attitude to us was quite simple: She told her Communist colleagues, "My sons are not fascists or spies or anything like that. How do I know? I'll tell you how I know. Because they don't have a nickel and they both need a pair of shoes!"

After we left home, we were always made welcome in our parents' house when we visited. They may have been semi-Stalinists but they were essentially workers, not bureaucrats, and every day they had to face the fierce realities of capitalist exploitation. As Trotsky said of the heroic Communist workers, they deserved a better party.

Stalinism and anti-Semitism

My father was the author of three books in Yiddish, including an autobiographical novel that was ultimately published in Warsaw, Poland. He was disturbed by the persistent rumors after World War II about the executions of Jewish writers. He couldn't believe it and finally decided to visit the Soviet Union.

In the USSR, after considerable effort, he made contact with groups of Jewish writers who had managed to survive and function. They explained that Jewish writers could write and get published, but there was a hitch: if a manuscript was submitted in Yiddish, it was bought at a good price—and instantly translated into Russian! Only in the Russian language could it be published.

To my father, of course, this was a mockery of Yiddish culture, condemning it to certain death.

While travelling on a passenger ship in the Black Sea, he was appalled to discover that there were five classes on board ship. As he ate in a glassed-in dining room with his fellow American visitors, the peasants huddled on the deck outside in the cold, munching on loaves of black bread for dinner. "How is it possible," protested my father to the captain, "to have five classes aboard a socialist ship?"

Said the captain, unruffled, "Yes, we still have inequality. We still have wage differentials. We can't yet produce enough for all to go first class. We need competition to increase productivity."

My father thought to himself, "Yes, the Americans find that out long ago, but the Americans don't claim to be socialists!"

In protest against the Stalinist betrayal of socialist principles and of millions of Communist workers, and their crime of anti-Semitism, he left the party.

But he returned later, as an expression of solidarity with the anti-capitalist struggle, and he remained a member to the day of his death in April 1981.

My mother also visited Poland and Russia. She sought but could not find any trace of the family's history in Warsaw; all had been wiped out by the holocaust.

My mother, a lifetime communist worker, died in April 1979.

The we generations

The grief I had felt at the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, I experienced again when Leon Trotsky was assassinated in 1940. And still again in 1953, when Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were electrocuted in a new wave of anti-red hysteria—the McCarthyite witchhunts.



Murry Weiss with his mother, Freda, at Brighton Beach in New York, circa 1929.

Sacco and Vanzetti, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, the Rosenbergs—revolutionary martyrs all. But there exist *nameless* (to us) revolutionaries, tormented in prisons all over the world or struggling in the streets, in the shops and offices, in the countryside, and in constant meditations to free humanity from its bondage. Millions dedicate their lives, too, to ending the hunger, the poverty, the wars, the discrimination and bigotry, the injustice, and all the outrages born of decaying capitalism.

My heart goes out to the Bartolomeos and the Nicolas of today, female and male, of all races and nations, gay and straight, elder and youthful—to all those immersed in the year-in, year-out battle to bring the message of socialism to a confused world.

From the '30s through the mid-'60s, I was an organizer, teacher, writer, editor, and political analyst for the Socialist Workers Party. Then for years I taught at the School for Marxist Education. And in 1977 I helped to found the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party and then joined the Freedom Socialist Party. In the program and spirit and energy of the FSP I saw the nucleus of what the revolutionary, democratic, vanguard party should be in America. So my life, too, has been filled by the daily work of carrying the message of freedom and hope for the future.

How many times have I written leaflets, often with a broken-down typewriter on a faded and tearing stencil, searching vainly for decent ink for the fraction's mimeograph machine! How many days did we know of loneliness, of waiting at the door for those who didn't come, of cold, dingy halls, of the frustration of indifference. All we ever hoped for was the chance to patiently explain!

All I ever wanted was the joy and intensity of *communicating* with my comrades, and the pleasure of helping to open fresh minds to the promise of socialism.

Even at the very end, already convinced that death was at hand and expecting no reprieve from the governor of Massachusetts, Sacco was still explaining his politics. In a farewell letter to his 7-year-old daughter (*The Letters of Sacco and Vanzetti*, edited by Marion Denman Frankfurter and Gardner Jack-

son, New York: Viking, 1928), he wrote:

July 19, 1927. Charlestown State Prison

My Dear Ines:

I would like that you should understand what I am going to say to you, and I wish I could write you so plain, for I long so much to have you hear all the heart-beat eagerness of your father, for I love you so much as you are dearest little beloved one.

It is quite hard indeed to make you understand in your young age, but I am going to try from the bottom of my heart to make you understand how dear you are to your father's soul. If I cannot succeed in doing that, I know that you will save this letter and read it over in future years to come and you will see and feel the same heart-beat affection as your father feels in writing to you . . . I could have lived with you and your brother Dante and your mother in a neat little farm and learn all your sincere words and tender affection. Then in the summertime to be sitting with you in the home nest under the oak tree shade—beginning to teach you of life . . . and singing through the verdant fields picking the wild flowers here and there from one tree to another, and from the clear, vivid stream to your mother's embrace.

The same I have wished to see for other poor girls, and their brothers, happy with their mother and father as I dreamed for us—but it was not so and the nightmare of the lower classes saddened very badly your father's soul.

For the things of beauty and of good in this life, mother nature gave to us all for the conquest and the joy of liberty. The men of this dying old society, they brutally have pulled me away from the embrace of your brother and poor mother . . .

Your Father

And again, in a last-minute letter to the Defense Committee, Sacco and Vanzetti teach, exhort, and give of themselves:

. . . But now it is 5:30 P.M. and no one returned yet. This tells us that there is no good news for us, for if so, some of you would have hurried to bring them to us. It almost tells us that all your efforts have failed and that you spending these remaining few hours in desperate and hopeless efforts evade our execution. In a word, we feel lost! Therefore, we decided to write this letter to you to express our gratitude and admiration for all what you have done in our defense during these seven years, four months, and eleven days of struggle.

That we lost and have to die does not diminish our appreciation and gratitude for your great solidarity with us and our families.

Friends and Comrades, now that the tragedy of this trial is at an end, be all as of one heart. Only two of us will die. Our ideal, our comrades, will live by millions; we have won, but not vanquished. Just treasure our suffering, our sorrow, our mistakes, our defeats, our passion for future battles and for the great emancipation.

Be all as of one heart in this blackest hour of our tragedy. And have heart.

Salute for us all the friends and comrades of the earth.

We embrace you all, and bid you all our extreme good-bye with our hearts filled with love and affection. Now and ever, long life to you all, long life to liberty. Yours in life and death,

Bartolomeo Vanzetti
Nicola Sacco

To the scarlet banner

The names of Sacco and Vanzetti are vaguely familiar to the youth of today. But just as they motivated me more than a half-century ago, their noble lives should kindle the sparks of emulation in all youth who would join in the great struggle for a world socialist society.

The revolutionary women and men of today should warmly retrace the memory of these two great radicals and let themselves be renewed and reanimated by the beauty and courage and ardent conviction that are the heritage of the good shoemaker and the poor fish-peddler.

Their lives, so intrinsically a part of mine, now belong to the world. Their passion was mine and I bequeath it to you.

Avanti popola, bandiera rossa!
Long live Sacco and Vanzetti—and the Scarlet Banner! □

(Written in August 1981, New York City. Edited by Clara Fraser. Additional research by Tamara Turner.)

FSP
Where to find the

ALASKA

Juneau: P.O. Box 1325, Juneau, AK 99802. 907-586-1617.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles: P.O. Box 36D23, Los Angeles, CA 90036.

213-935-8638.

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

415-824-1497.

NEW YORK

New York City: 301 W. 17th St. #2E, New York, NY 10011.

212-929-0210.

OREGON

Portland: 2831 N.E. Union, Portland, OR 97212. 503-249-8067.

WASHINGTON

Seattle: National Office, Freeway Hall, 3815 - 5th Ave. N.E.,

Seattle, WA 98105. 206-632-7449.

North Branch, 1931 E. Calhoun, Seattle, WA 98112. 206-722-3812.

South Branch, 6021 S. Redwing, Seattle, WA 98118. 206-725-5009.

Grays Harbor: 917 Garden Road, Aberdeen, WA 98520.

206-532-0452.

AUSTRALIA

Darlinghurst: 146 Liverpool St., Darlinghurst, Australia 2010.

02-336389.

Clara Fraser vs Superior Court

Court stonewalls probe of panel bias

BY HELEN GILBERT

Time can't erase the memory of Hearing Examiner Sally Pasette's June 1980 decision that former Seattle City Light employee Clara Fraser was discriminatorily fired for her radical political ideology.

Nor can time obscure the indignity that followed when two members of a hearing panel arbitrarily overruled Pasette, dismissed the opinions of their far more qualified co-panelist, and asserted that management had every right to deny free speech on the job and fire workers whose *thinking* didn't conform with theirs.

Time doesn't bury the truth. But where time fails, the city of Seattle bureaucracy and the courts take over, and thwart every legal attempt by appellant Fraser to trace the suspicious origins of the astonishing and prejudiced 2-1 panel decision against her.

A stacked deck

After the 1980 hearing of Fraser's sex and political ideology discrimination case, it was discovered that the two pro-management panelists—middle-class housewives Darlene Allison and Beverly Stanton—were handpicked by the Seattle Women's Commission with total disregard for its own rules on hearing panel selection.

Before Fraser's 5-month-long hearing, the Women's Commission *never* contacted numerous women who had applied for the publicly advertised hearing panelist positions, women who demonstrably had the required knowledge of and experience in



Gladys Contreras: Childcare activist hits sex discrimination.

discrimination law and the necessary commitment to Seattle's Fair Employment Practices Ordinance.

The uncontacted applicants included a professional in counseling and human resources development; a single mother and businesswoman who had experienced sex discrimination; a correspondent for *Women's Sports Magazine* and former editor of *Working Women Magazine*; a woman who had won a discrimination suit against the King County Police Department, studied discrimination in police testing policies, and worked in advocacy and shelter programs for women; a journalist and activist in Seattle's feminist and lesbian/gay communities; and a lawyer with experience in international law; and knowledge of women's issues.

In contrast, Allison's illustrious background involved "various volunteer activities, including the Emergency Feeding program and political campaigns." Citizen Stanton was the current president of the Haller Lake Improvement Club, past-president of her local PTA, and past-president of her neighborhood gardening club.

Not surprisingly, the dissenting

panelist, Elizabeth Ponder, was selected by the Human Rights Department for her keen awareness of racial discrimination and her lifelong activism in Seattle's Black community. Ponder's attempt to broaden Hearing Examiner Pasette's ruling to include sex discrimination was quashed by her biased colleagues.

Fraser was not allowed during the hearing to question the proposed panelists and, until her hearing ended, she never knew that many others had volunteered to serve.

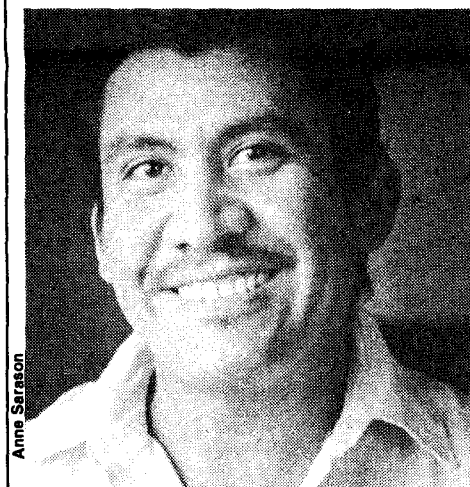
Fraser is the victim of collusion between city government and the Seattle Women's Commission, which long ago abandoned its role as tribune for the oppressed and became a political tool of the city establishment, business interests, and conservative feminists.

Signed, sealed, delivered

To add to the intrigue, Fraser has been denied access to the Office of Women's Rights files that document the selection of Allison and Stanton, files that could substantiate her contention that the duo were biased against her, unqualified to serve and improperly selected. The files have conveniently "disappeared."

Fraser is confident that a probe into the panel selection process would reveal the city's complex maneuvers and machinations to throttle her right to due process.

But on December 9, 1981, Superior



Jesus Rodriguez: Chicano militant protests legal gag rules.

Court Judge H. Joseph Coleman ruled that Fraser could not inquire into the Seattle Women's Commission panelist selection process. Further, he ruled that she must obtain additional court approval for any investigation of panelist prejudice. And on February 4, 1982, Judge Frank D. Howard denied Fraser's motion to question panelists Allison and Stanton under oath about their anti-labor and anti-radical biases.

Judge Howard ruled against Fraser despite shattering evidence presented in an affidavit by panelist Elizabeth Ponder, who detailed the bias of the other two panelists. During the proceedings, Ponder said, Allison voiced disapproval that Fraser was a socialist. "Nobody who talks like that should expect to hold a job," Allison claimed.

Allison and Stanton said Fraser had no right to criticize management. Allison often said, "After all, Vickery was the boss," and "Clara should have danced with the system."

KING-TV news commentator Don McGaffin, who frequently editorialized about the case, submitted another strong affidavit to the court describing an unprecedented surprise phone call to him by Allison before the panel issued its decision. She challenged his support for Fraser and asked, "How the hell is any organization to manage itself with people like Clara running around?"

Judge Howard gave the briefest deci-

sion ever heard. "Motion denied," he said. "Next case."

These rulings "amount to nothing less than gag rule . . . to keep the lid on a highly suspect and volatile can of worms," says Jesus Y. Rodriguez, chairman of the Washington State Chicano Education Task Force.

And Yolanda Martinez, a member of the Women's Commission during the hearing panel selection, said she is "still puzzled how the two unqualified panelists were finally selected." None of the three she proposed—a Chicana attorney, a Chicana community activist, and a white feminist attorney—were even interviewed. "I made attempts to obtain and review the hearing panel file, but it was not available. Now, presumably, it is missing!"

Judges Coleman and Howard are cast in the same mold as their predecessors on this case, who brazenly flaunt due process by upholding all the city's motions against Fraser. These judges overlook blatant violations of their court rules by the city attorney. They walk into court with their minds made up, often give Fraser's lawyers little chance to speak, and rarely bother to explain their high-handed decisions.



Constance Miller-Engelsberg: One fired feminist supports another.

This continuous stonewalling actually demonstrates the impotence of City Light's legal defense and is a backhanded tribute to Fraser's well-prepared motions and affidavits.

Up in arms

Despite repeated setbacks, Fraser has her sights set on a victory in appellate court this spring. What sustains her is widespread support.

Gladys Contreras, a Chicana fighting to preserve quality, multi-cultural childcare at the University of Washington, describes her affinity with the case: "What I see in this struggle is discrimination against women. There have been many cases like hers, but she is one of the very few who are standing up and fighting back."

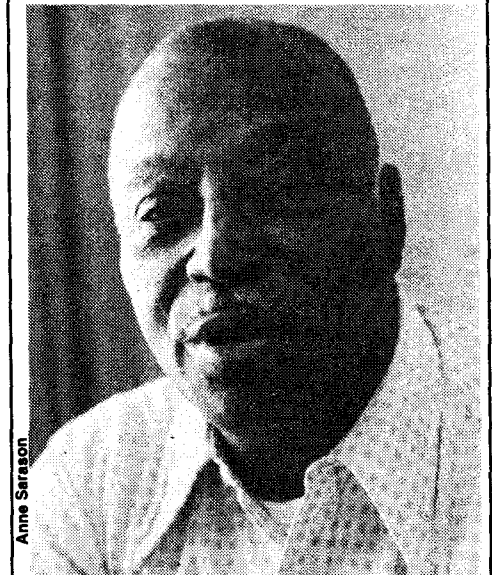
Oscar Hearde, business manager of the Shipscalers Union, Local 541, and a widely respected Black elder is a staunch backer of Fraser. "It relates to my life in that it's a struggle for freedom and equality for all people," says Hearde. "After all the pitfalls she's had in this case, she's still willing to stand up and fight for what she believes is right. That's an example to each one of us."

Fraser received a standing ovation when she spoke at a mass PATCO meeting in September. The strikers compared her struggle with theirs. Says local PATCO leader Joe Palmer, "A key issue is whether employees have the right to go public and speak out about

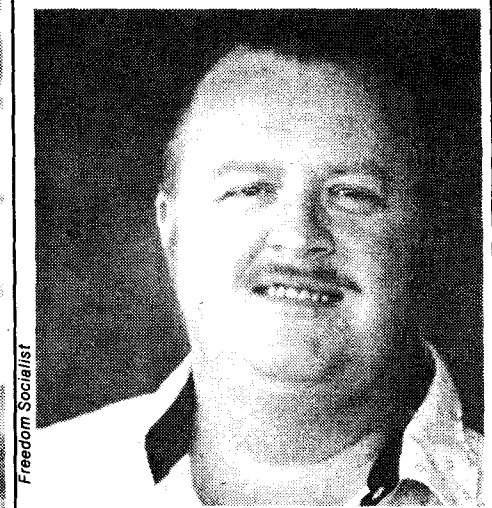
working conditions. Second, is whether or not management is going to *meet* affirmative action programs or simply talk a good game."

Peggy Shafer, a feminist poet, describes why she has lent her support and time. "Clara's case is causing geological changes in the social atmosphere and is a little island of intelligence in a sea of apathy."

"I'm outraged at the way they break



Oscar Hearde: Freedom fighters are this unionist's favorite people.



Joe Palmer: PATCO striker wants to see free speech fly.

the rules!" said C.R. Gillespie, a case mainstay who has donated more than 100 hours of time to Fraser's defense committee. A computer programmer, he feels the pinch of the enormous amount of money spent by the city to cover up its tracks. "As they continue to fight Clara, I have to pay taxes for it!"

Fraser's defenders are impressed with her personal courage and principle. "The lady has guts that won't quit," says Angie Mohr, a veteran radical. "As an older woman, I feel a particular affinity with her and the cause she represents. I represent the third generation of women who have fought for the same thing."

"I appreciate her bravery and determination to fight for her rights and the rights of other employees," says Constance Miller-Engelsberg, a Black human rights activist who won a grievance against the city Human Rights Department when it fired her for union organizing.

Fraser sees support as a two-way street. "I have to keep faith with the thousands of endorsers of my case who are dedicated to winning democratic rights, especially in the face of growing totalitarianism on the job," she says. "I feel morally impelled to keep up this fight until free speech in the workplace and the right to criticize and challenge management policies are legally vindicated."

March 15 is the deadline for Fraser's first appeal brief in her Superior Court case. □

EDITORIAL



Indian victims of the fishing wars

Sabotage, vandalism, and unsolved murder mark the latest chapter in the Northwest fishing wars. Sports and commercial fishing groups continue their covert and overt campaign for abrogation of the treaties that reserve aboriginal fishing rights to coastal Indians.

Some examples of the new stage of undercover genocide:

- Two Indian-owned fishing boats ran aground in Seattle's Shilshole Bay on November 18 after vandals cut the lines and furtively guided the boats out of the marina.

- A young Indian couple, their infant daughter, and a friend died on November 7 from carbon monoxide poisoning while sleeping in a car parked near their fishing boat on Fox Island near Tacoma, Washington. Fear of vigilante-style vandalism by white fishermen had compelled the foursome to stay near the boat.

- An Indian-owned fishing boat moored on Totten Inlet near Olympia was cut loose, set afire, and completely destroyed by unknown arsonists on the night of December 26. That same night, the nearby Sanaxin Island tribal longhouse was burned to the ground.

- AIM leader Rocque Duenas is presumed dead after friends and relatives found the body of his fishing companion, Kevin Henry, near their boat in Commencement Bay at Tacoma. Duenas is still missing.

Killings of Indian fishers and malicious destruction of their equipment go virtually unnoticed by the media and unprosecuted by the police agencies. But full investigative resources and strident press coverage accompany "atrocities" against commercial fishers.

Tacoma police and Coast Guard officials refused to open an official investigation or to search for Duenas and Henry when they were reported missing on October 3. And when Henry's body was dis-

covered, law enforcement officials found nothing suspicious about the bruises on his forehead or the smashed boat wrapped with fishing nets. They quickly announced that Henry died by drowning.

In contrast, when two veteran enemies of Indian fishing rights—Phil Sutherland and William Dolman—drowned recently in separate incidents in West Coast waters, the Coast Guard launched an exhaustive search. Dolman's body is still missing, but coroners carefully examined Sutherland's body for signs of violence before finally attributing his death to drowning.

An anti-treaty press, meanwhile, rushes to publish charges by commercial fishers that federal court decisions upholding Indian treaty rights have forced non-Indian fishers to risk their lives in unfamiliar waters.

The state supplements its uneven justice by provoking racism in independent non-Indian fishers, blinding them to the economic basis of the fishing

wars. For example, fisheries officials deliberately issue more licenses than the resource can support and then they drastically curtail the non-Indian commercial fishing season, blaming treaty and conservation obligations!

Encouraged by self-serving sportspeople and charter fishing boat owners, the frustrated commercial fishers lash out at the Indians instead of at their real enemies—the large fishing corporations and their government agents.

The fishing war is not only an imperialist war against Indian nations but a *class war* that pits small boat owners against the rich companies. Independent commercial fishers must realize that their interests lie with Indian fishers and against the duplicitous, wasteful corporate fisheries and government officials.

The capitalists and the state are the only true beneficiaries of the terror and murder that bloody the waters of the Pacific Northwest.

Why did Duenas die?

The American Indian Movement lost a courageous and effective spokesman when Rocque Duenas mysteriously disappeared in early October while fishing in Tacoma's Commencement Bay. Workers, feminists, lesbians and gays, and all people of color also lost a sincere ally.

"Rocky" was heavily involved in Native struggles in the Northwest for many years, beginning with the occupation of Fort Lawton in Seattle, which led to the creation of the Daybreak Star Indian cultural center. He worked with Indian prisoners, was a key witness in AIM activist Leonard

Peltier's battle with the U.S. government, and participated in the occupation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, as well as various cross-country walks which dramatized the continuing colonial oppression of Indians.

In 1978, Rocky addressed a CRSP conference at Alderbrook Inn, Washington, and his warmth and wit, his informed interest in Marxist philosophy, and his support for the goals of the revolutionary socialist audience won the hearts of all.

For his dedication to his people, Duenas was hounded and harassed by federal investigators. And now he is probably a murder victim.

The father of three sons, Duenas initiated a survival school called Native Generations to correct dislocated urban youth with their tribal heritage. Native youth are now continuing the struggle, inspired by his lifelong commitment.

MOVIE REVIEW

REDS!



Annie Hall meets Dr. Zhivago

What results when a Hollywood filmmaker brings to the screen the life of John Reed, the great American journalist and chronicler of the Russian Revolution? Well, in this case, it's *Reds*, the love and adventure epic of the year.

Writer-director-producer and star Warren Beatty deserves credit for presenting to modern moviegoers a thin slice of the life and times of the author of *Ten Days That Shook The World*. Hollywood generally ignores radicals, or baits them into oblivion, or trivializes them, à la *The Way We Were*. Beatty, however, is clearly sympathetic to Reed, but he is not up to delineating and coping with the real people and politics that gave Reed's life its meaning and heroism.

In *Reds*, the politics and the history that shaped Reed serve primarily as a confusing and distorted backdrop to the 5-year romance of Reed and writer Louise Bryant, a feminist and radical.

The treatment of the Russian Revolution in October 1917 is a particularly mind-boggling case in point. The Bolshevik uprising has exploded onto the streets of Petrograd, and Reed and Bryant are in the thick of it all, cheering Lenin, interviewing Trotsky, immersed in the full sweep of titanic events. These are the truest, most affecting scenes in the movie. But suddenly the electrifying panorama of the revolution is whisked offstage and a soaring rendition of the "Internationale" supplies an angel's chorus for the resurgence of Reed and Bryant's sex life in a seedy Petrograd hotel room.

Just as history in *Reds* is always a little bent, a little obscure, a little misshapen, so are the characters disfigured—mostly that of Louise Bryant, performed by Diane Keaton.

Though Bryant was never the committed revolutionary that Reed was, the film only hints at the range of her independent political involvement—her activism for women's suffrage, her own book on the Russian Revolution (*Six Red Months in Russia*), and her boldness as a witness before the 1918 U.S. Senate Committee investigating homebrew Bolshevism. She forced the Committee to admit pro-communist testimony.

Instead, Beatty reincarnates Bryant as an early-day Annie Hall, painting her as a flimsy, superficial, and semi-hysterical dilettante and sulky hanger-on who is motivated primarily by jealousy of Reed's talent. We glimpse very little of the strong, independent, bravely avant-garde woman she was, though there's a brief hint of it in her angry rejoinder to pal Eugene O'Neill's cynical red-baiting.

The playwright O'Neill, enacted by Jack Nicholson, and shown as a conventional anti-communist (!), is the real "intellectual" hero of the picture. The portrait of O'Neill just doesn't make sense.

Beatty is far more faithful to Reed's character than to Bryant's, but he fails to show Reed's devel-

opment into a committed revolutionary. Worse, when politics finally take center-stage in the second half of the movie, the struggles to clarify doctrine and tactics in the U.S. Socialist Party and the Russian Communist Party are viewed vulgarly as battles between pure-hearted Reed and cynical bureaucrats. Here, *Reds* degenerates into stale and stereotypical anti-communism.

The Bolshevik leader Zinoviev is depicted as a full-blown Stalin-like tyrant who orders Reed to give everything to the revolution and high-handedly rejects Reed's right to dissent. Reed's own insistence on discipline among his comrades during the left split from the Socialist Party, is denigrated as harsh, almost religious, fanaticism.

And when anarchist Emma Goldman, played as a jaded parlor-wit by Maureen Stapleton, condemns the Soviet regime for the poverty of the people, Reed is not allowed to argue with her convincingly.

Scenes like these are reactionary mis-portrayals of Bolshevism as embryonic Stalinism. Is it any surprise that the ultra-rightwing John Birch Society endorses *Reds'* view of communism?

Reds does well in showing Reed as a man of integrity who dedicated his life to his principles. But the audience is never allowed to understand *why* he or anyone else was a revolutionary socialist. So Reed and Bryant are relegated to the realm of myth and romantic naiveté, where they can't infect us.

Beatty could have produced another *Lawrence of Arabia*, where the viewer completely identifies with the passionate radical hero. Instead *Reds* has too many overtones of *Dr. Zhivago*, a real clinker. By "rescuing" Reed the personality from Reed the radical politician, Beatty has reduced Reed, as well as Bryant, to something of a simpering idiot. Too bad. This great story remains untold.

—LUMA NICHOL

Voices of Color



Third World Conference of Lesbians and Gays The personal vs political

The first time that Third World lesbians and gays met for a national conference was a political high for everyone. That was in October 1979, and 500 people engaged in an intensive debate of political ideas, strategies, points of unity, and differences. Afterwards, the conference-goers became an impressive contingent in a massive march on Washington, D.C. held that same weekend.

By comparison, the second national conference in Chicago on Thanksgiving weekend 1981 was a downer, a disappointment.

Poor advance publicity, travel difficulties posed by the air controllers' strike, and a hefty registration fee combined to keep attendance below 100.

The conference agenda primarily addressed personal feelings and relationships, and individual solutions. Despite a banner proclaiming "A Unified Rainbow of Strength," the focus was not on program or organizing, but on forming networks for individual contacts.

Daniel Tsang, conference speaker and editor of *Gay Insurgent*, had something important to say: "Our challenge is to form a united front against our oppressor." These fighting words could have sparked productive discussion had the conference organizers, the National Coalition of Black Gays, wanted it and planned for it. But they didn't.

Conference organizers took no political responsibility or leadership for the conference itself or the movement as a whole. They let the conference flounder aimlessly, without purpose or direction.

Sparks of life

Despite the anti-political atmosphere, there were encouraging signs of forward political movement. Given the opportunity for debate in a few workshops, many people eagerly discussed the state of the lesbian/gay movement and related political issues.

Tom Boot, of the Freedom Socialist Party, led the workshop, "A Left Wing Perspective on Radical Politics, Lesbian/Gay Liberation, and Race." He pointed out that many liberals are more afraid of radicals than of the right wing, and ally themselves with the oppressors.

Radical Women member Bird Wilson told the workshop that the FSP and RW are socialist feminist organizations that see the leadership of the lesbian/gay movement—especially the leadership of women of color—as decisive to the American revolution.

Said Wilson, "Lesbians of color are at the bottom of each social movement, and this social and economic oppression puts us in a key position to be the strongest fighters. We have the least to lose and the most to gain. We are unique because as women, women of color, lesbians, and workers, we combine within ourselves all the issues and movements."

The workshop passed a resolution calling on

workers, the oppressed, and radicals to build a united front against the right wing. When this resolution was brought before the conference's final session, it passed overwhelmingly.

Labor party debate

At this final session, a resolution supporting a labor party was co-sponsored by the Revolutionary Workers League and the Freedom Socialist Party. Both are Trotskyist organizations whose members work in many political arenas, including the lesbian/gay movement.

The resolution exposed the dependence of the Democratic and Republican parties on the capitalist class, and called for the formation of a labor party so that working people can wage an independent fight for political power instead of scrambling after the phantom concessions offered by the major parties.

The resolution was defeated by a small margin, but only after stimulating and energetic debate.

Defense of Woo and Wong

A resolution in defense of socialist feminist poets Merle Woo and Nellie Wong was also hotly debated.

Both women have come under attack in the movement press for their politics, sex, and race.

Unfortunately, some men attendees said they lacked enough information to support both women, and amended the resolution to challenge only a single attack on Woo in *Midwest* magazine. The conference passed the amended version and agreed to write *Midwest* to protest its racist, antifeminist, dehumanizing editorial against Woo, and to support radicals' right to speak out.

Forward or backward

Despite its organizers, many conference participants proved that there is still hunger for political discussion, growth, and action within the lesbian/gay movement. In just 11 months, Reagan's administration has wiped out major historic gains for civil rights, labor, and the disadvantaged, and a new radicalism is being born.

But the important questions remain: will the National Coalition of Black Gays and other Third World lesbian/gay groups take the initiative to meet the challenge? Will we develop a responsible leadership and build a powerful united front against reaction? Will we confront not only racism but its vicious tentacles of sexism, homophobia, and class exploitation? Will we sit back or fight back?

Personal escape is impossible—and suicidal. To survive, we must resist, not disappear into narcissism. Nobody else is going to do our work for us. We either organize and struggle or we retreat to the closet and get stampeded into the concentration camps. Let's stand up for life.

—YOLANDA ALANIZ



Clara Fraser

Life and death in New York town

AND WHAT WAS an ingrained West Coaster like me doing in New York last December?

Well, I'm sorry it wasn't April in Paris, or whenever it is one does the Italian Riviera. I've never been to Paris in April. I've never been to Paris. And I always manage to get to Manhattan in the dead of winter.

But it's always worth it, and this trip was fascinating, memorable, delightful—and stained by tragedy.

THE GOOD PART came first. Flying on Canadian airlines, to buttress our PATCO friends, was great. I had never seen Toronto, and the trip between the airport and the Amtrack depot permitted a panoramic view of the great city.

The train trip to New York was not a good part. Down with the evil-tempered U.S. Immigration agent who woke us up and grilled us as if we were heinous public enemies smuggling ourselves across the sacred border. I was magnanimously permitted to re-enter my own country, but travellers of color fare much worse with both Yankee and Canadian officials.

Travel tip: try not to cross the border by bus, as I did on the return trip. The baggage inspection ordeal reduces everyone to cattle.

ONCE IN MANHATTAN, I was beautifully hosted by the 17th St. kids (that street corner on 8th Avenue has got to be the noisiest all-nite marketplace in the world). Then dozens of us took off for upstate New Jersey in cars packed like covered wagons, en route to a charming country home generously lent us for the National Committee plenum of the FSP.

From December 3-6 our organizers examined the shape and options of the world, awarding special attention to the Black struggle, the shattering crisis of U.S. capitalism, permanent and deepening revolution in Poland and Iran, and the status of and prospects for socialist feminism. The plenum was rich and exciting, and the lucky participants were kept fed and watered by *haute cuisine* chef Max and her culinary elves.

NEXT, IT WAS BACK to the mean streets and the raw, driving momentum of the City. The Fraser Defense Committee there, sparked by Laurie and Nancy, is a hustling, bustling operation. They whirled me through a press conference, a half-hour interview on NBC radio, lunches and dinners with case endorsers, a public meeting on the NYU campus in Washington Square, a lovely reception in a Greenwich Village studio, and more.

It was great seeing Flo Kennedy again—she's a dream to have in your corner. And I particularly enjoyed the company of Marxist critic and literary historian Annette Rubinstein, author of one of my all-time favorites, *From Shakespeare to Shaw*. Annette chaired my public meeting superbly.

I loved the audience—old friends from the movement whom I hadn't seen in decades; transplanted Seattleites; women with discrimination cases; a bevy of youth with all that East Coast bounce. They contributed freely to the defense fund, and their warmth provided one of those shining moments when my case brings me pleasure.

BUT A TERRIBLE contrast to the stimulation and dynamism of New York lay in wait.

Throughout my visit, Murry Weiss was a tower of intellectual activity, physical endurance, and zest. At the plenum he led the discussion on the Political Resolution, and immersed himself in every topic and every task of clarifying policy and perspective. At the banquet finale, he presented an hilarious roast of Dr. Susan and preened himself at having finally done one of these spoofs. Back in the city, he met daily with Sam or me for literary work and planning.

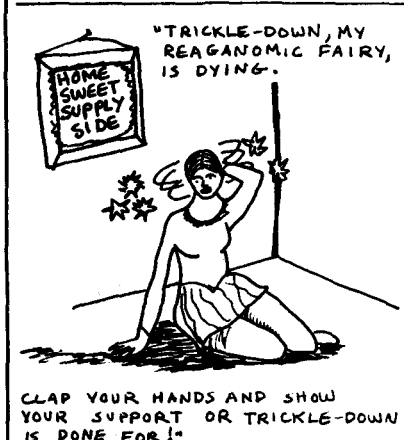
He phoned me on Friday to beg off from our meeting because of a cold. By Saturday—the day of my public meeting—he still felt weak but anxious to talk, and I visited him. He bragged happily about his sale of eight tickets to my meeting, and we parted with plans to meet the next day—my last day in New York. But on Sunday he went to the hospital.

Six days later, on December 26, he was gone. And with him went an incredible saga of the role of one larger-than-life individual in history. Murry's soaring talent for revolutionary leadership and transparent joy in soil-tilling for world socialism were things of beauty. His death stings and saddens.

New York will never seem the same without him. But the fresh promise of spring is already on its way in that surging metropolis, and Murry's political heirs are there to affirm a season of renewed life and fresh hope for tomorrow.

CLASS COMIX

by Ms. Tami



... Poland

from page 3

Polish mass movement is attempting to deepen and expand the revolution and is thus an expression of the irrepressible force of permanent revolution.

Unnerved when the dual power shifted in favor of Solidarity—alarmed by Solidarity's attempted ouster of PUWP-controlled workers committees from factories and workplaces in 21 of Poland's 49 provinces—threatened by Solidarity's planned election of a provisional government—pressured by the Kremlin to quarantine the rebellion from other Eastern Bloc countries—Jaruzelski was backed against a wall.

And he set in motion the dark night of repression. Army officers seized dissident leaders and took over industries and public services. Thousands of radicals were herded into detention camps. Hundreds were tried in military court for "anti-state" offenses.

Solidarity leader Zbigniew Buja, who escaped arrest, appealed from underground to soldiers and police to join Solidarity, while authorities wooed the soldiers as "the only hope and foundation of the nation."

Career security police assumed leadership of the military crackdown to prevent conscripts, who were carefully stationed far from their home provinces, from sympathizing with and joining the workers. Nevertheless, reports reached the West that soldiers in some areas refused to fire on strikers.

Piety and passivity

Polish church leaders and Pope John Paul II urged restraint, reminding Polish workers that the future of the nation *and* the church were at stake. The clergy obediently offered to "mediate" talks between the government and Solidarity.

But the church is hardly an objective third party; the Catholic hierarchy needs the support of the state as much as the Stalinists need religious support to make oppression palatable and passivity virtuous.

Without an oppressive state, the church would die of irrelevancy. And without the church, fewer workers would be distracted and deterred from the revolutionary struggle.

Capitalist propaganda

U.S. imperialism seized the occasion to propagandize about the "failure" of socialism, while opportunist politicians jumped on a "pro-labor," anti-Soviet bandwagon.

Prime union-buster Ronald Reagan cautiously denounced martial law and imposed some minor trade sanctions against the USSR. But the administration's tongue-slucking is a fraud. Reagan and his ruling class mentors share the Stalinist horror of successful political revolution in industrial Poland or in any bureaucratized workers state.

The real capitalist attitude was revealed by Western bankers who risk the loss of \$16 billion in loans if Poland goes bankrupt. They expressed guarded approval and relief at the authoritarian takeover. The December 18 *Wall Street Journal*, quoting market analysts, said, "... if the Polish government is successful in quashing strikes, it may actually decrease the chances of default, since Poles going back to work will bolster the country's withered economy." Martial law or Soviet intervention "will be unfortunate for the Polish people, but the loans will be paid off."

Nevertheless, foreign creditors, representing the 460 Western banks that hold Polish loans, denied the Polish government's request for a new loan to pay its overdue interest. This was a blatant attempt to force the Soviets to rescue Poland from economic default.

Poland's debt to capitalist banks already soaks up 92% of its annual export earnings!

International left response

The Polish events tested every political party in the world claiming to represent the working class—and most failed.

Social democrats in many European nations organized anticommunist demonstrations against "Soviet bandits." But Socialist Party leaders in France and West Germany, trying to protect their lucrative trade agreements with

the USSR, announced that the crackdown was "an internal matter" and refused to join Reagan's sanctions against the Soviet Union.

In the U.S., the same AFL-CIO labor-fakers who deserted PATCO rushed to organize demonstrations to denounce "communist totalitarianism."

Pro-Soviet Communist Parties around the world ritually hailed the Polish government's action. But after 16 days of debate, Italy's Eurocommunist CP condemned the military takeover and demanded immediate restoration of civil and union rights and the release of political prisoners.

Some ostensibly anti-Stalinist leftists in the U.S. ended up on the wrong side of the barricades.

The once-Trotskyist but increasingly pro-Kremlin Workers World Party denounced "this counterrevolutionary fink outfit misnamed Solidarity" for attempting a return to capitalism. And the Spartacist League, suffering from a congenital inability to distinguish the political direction of a mass movement from its most rightward components, happily crowed that Solidarity's "counterrevolutionary grab for power has been checked."

Trotskyists led an enormous protest march in Paris on December 14, with demands that were correctly anti-Stalinist *and* pro-socialist.

Socialist rank-and-file

What *is* the political nature of Solidarity?

It is a mass workers organization moving toward a seizure of state power from the Stalinist bureaucracy. Its direction is not against socialism, but against the privileged social layer of bureaucrats who distort and prevent socialism. It is not a movement for the restoration of capitalism, but for the working class to control production and its own state in its own name.

In an *Intercontinental Press* interview in November 1981, Solidarity leader Edward Nowak refuted claims that Solidarity is antisocialist:

In Poland, the process of socializing the means of production was stopped after . . . the transformation of private owner-

ship of productive property into state ownership . . . The transition to social control over the means of production was arrested by the state authorities, who were able to enrich themselves through their bureaucratic control.

Some Solidarity leaders are to the right of Nowak and his fellow and sister leftists. But the mass of Polish workers who are fighting and dying for workers democracy and workers control of production would never welcome the capitalists back to Poland.

Solidarity's birth, development, and direction are a tumultuous vindication of permanent revolution and an earth-shaking move toward the completion of the revolution begun in Russia in 1917.

Political revolution

Mass support for Solidarity continues despite martial law. Demands for releasing political prisoners and lifting military control continually resurface in the form of work slowdowns, sabotage, strikes, literature distribution, and underground organizing.

Jaruzelski insists that coexistence with a "responsible" independent union is possible. He promises that there will be no return to the mistakes and "mistakes" of the past. But the bureaucracy cannot exist without corruption and privilege. Martial law has fatally isolated and discredited the PUWP before an entire generation of Polish workers, and Solidarity will no longer seek association with such a ruling caste.

Solidarity will rise again, as the Polish working class has after each defeat. When it does, the Polish workers will have learned a lesson in blood: there is no peaceful, parliamentary, negotiable path to power against the Kremlin, the core of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Political revolution is a civil-military engagement which must be undertaken with full knowledge that reform of entrenched Stalinism is not enough and is not possible.

The corrupt, counterrevolutionary bureaucracy must be totally dismantled by superior military strength. It must be replaced by the rightful rulers—the workers of the workers state. □

... Europe

from page 5

• In London, 250,000 packed Hyde Park on October 24 to demand an end to U.S. and British nuclear armament. But the swiftly growing Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which organized the march, "seems totally devoid of any socialist leadership and the pacifists dominate it at this point," according to Freedom Socialist Party leader Gloria Martin, who attended the rally. "I didn't once hear a speaker mention sexism, racism, or gay rights," she reported.

Heterogeneous and politically amorphous, the movement faces sharp and crucial internal battles. *Its common goal—to save Europe from nuclear catastrophe—cannot be met*

without common principles and a common direction.

There is no peace

A capitulation to nationalism will kill the peace movement, just as it did the socialist Second International on the eve of World War I, when each national section rushed to the aid of its own bourgeoisie.

Already, the Stalinist and social democratic leaders of the movement are dangerously ambivalent about both a full condemnation of domestic military buildups and NATO's atomic arsenal.

The nuclear arms race is not simply an insane duel between equally lunatic superpowers. It is the class struggle on a global scale. The Soviet Union and the rest of the workers states represent the world working class, refracted through the corrupt

Stalinist bureaucracy. And the White House and NATO represent the world bourgeoisie.

Until the movement recognizes the international, class struggle nature of the arms race *and* the battle against it, it is doomed to a paralytic, no-win stalemate.

The real enemy of world peace is world imperialism. Desperate to save

itself and its Third World markets from revolution, world capitalism is pouring billions into the weapons necessary for a final military stand.

But the peace movement can halt the conflagration before it happens—by allying with the world working class against the capitalist of a lasting and pursuing peace. □

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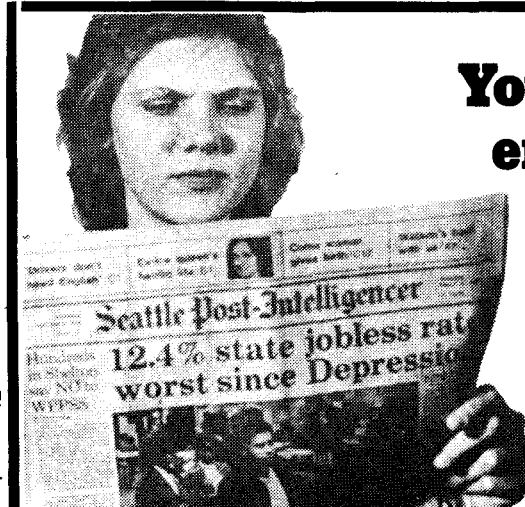
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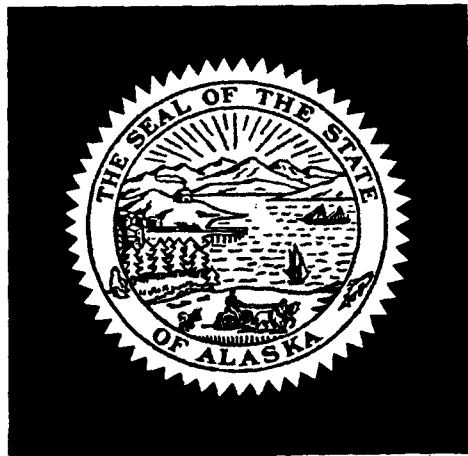
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Free speech wins in Alaska



BY PHIL McMURRAY

Free speech won a major court battle in Alaska last October 10 as a result of a determined legal offensive against redbaiting.

After a grueling 3-year fight, Sharman Haley, the Radical Women organizer and social issue activist in Juneau, won a substantial award in an important civil liberties case she waged against the Alaska legislature.

Fired from her job as a researcher because she participated in a lunch-hour demonstration against multinational corporations and their control of the Alaskan economy, Haley was vindicated when the court awarded her full back pay and benefits, and job reinstatement.

A 2-stage trial

An earlier ruling by Superior Court Judge Thomas Stewart in January 1981 determined that Haley's firing was illegal. But an award wasn't granted until the October jury trial to determine the amount of the damages.

RADICAL WOMEN 1 STATE OF ALASKA 0

At this trial, the state attorneys did their best to turn the jury against Haley through a sensationalized redbaiting "exposé" of Haley's Trotskyist politics. Embarking on a political fishing expedition, the state tried to subpoena letters, articles, and documents from Haley and the Common Ground Collective, which co-sponsored the lunchtime demonstration.

But Thomas Stewart ruled that such matters were irrelevant to the issues at hand.

Haley further deflated the redbaiting by publicly exposing the state's tactics and demonstrating how much public interest existed in her case. She and her supporters sent out a widely-distributed letter and they posted flyers all over Juneau publicizing the trial and inviting friends of free speech to attend.

In response, observers were present for the full six days of the dramatic trial, and 50 people packed the courtroom to hear the jury's verdict.

During the trial, Haley and her lawyer, Walter L. Carpereti, faced a battery of three to seven state attorneys, and they worked nearly 20 hours a day to stay ahead of the state's maneuvers. The visible support for Haley in the courtroom boosted the morale of their side and rattled the state attorneys.

The jury ruled that Haley had tried diligently, but without success, to find

new work as a legislative researcher. This finding confirmed the evidence that she had been blackballed. The jury also ruled that Haley had suffered emotional distress as a result of the firing, but she was awarded monetary compensation only for lost wages and none for the emotional distress.

Unfortunately, Haley's victory is not final. The state has filed an appeal to the Alaska Supreme Court.

Twice hired, twice fired

Haley was originally fired under a state statute forbidding "partisan political activity" by legislative employees. She charged that such an over-broad interpretation of "partisan" violated her right to free speech. So the Legislative Council rehired her—and simultaneously re-fired her for no reason. They figured this absurd action would cancel the original wrongful firing and that Haley would have to drop her protest.

Instead, Haley went public.

News of the event hit the Alaska papers and TV; the issue was debated in dozens of letters to the Juneau and Anchorage press, and editorials on the case were published in several newspapers. The ultra-conservative editor of the *Anchorage Times* used the case to unleash a McCarthyite red-scare with an editorial titled "Socialism in Juneau."



Haley filed suit against the state of Alaska, the Legislative Council, and her ex-bosses in the Research Division. One and a half years later, in January 1981, Judge Stewart ruled that she had been illegally fired for exercising her First Amendment rights. He found that her research work had been uniformly excellent and unbiased, and that her statements during the demonstration did not interfere with her work.

His ruling set the stage for the October jury trial that awarded Haley back wages and job reinstatement.

Haley intends to fight the state's appeal and to keep alerting Alaskan labor to the need for firm resistance to on-the-job witchhunts. It will take strongly waged, publicized, community-based struggles like Sharman Haley's to win free speech for beleaguered public employees and for all workers. □

Phil McMurray, a union activist in Juneau and longtime friend of Radical Women and the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party, works closely with Haley on her landmark case.

... Friedan

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can forge a new pro-family alliance with the right wing.

Hallelujah, sisters, a savior is born. Now, to keep our new-found buddies, feminists must abandon "incendiary sexual issues" like abortion, gay oppression, rape, and pornography. Friedan thinks it was these controversial subjects that stalled the "first stage" of feminism.

Moreover, she avers, such a focus is caused by women's secret masochism; rape isn't men's fault anyway (rapists were denied some "tender loving mother's touch"); abortion is "selfish" and bespeaks "licentiousness"; lesbians are "exhibitionists." And *everybody* is too radical.

No wonder a backlash erupted, she whines; we created a monster.

Friedan is a great tactician. Don't organize—mourn. Don't resist—surrender. And love your enemy—love, love, love, love, love. Barf.

Just folks

Nowhere does Friedan display sensitivity to the persecution of women of color by the very right wing she embraces. Her vision of a new coalition is impossible, immoral, unprincipled, fatal, and racist to the core.

She has always been "irritated," she writes, at the criticism that

... there was something wrong with the women's movement because it spoke to the condition of "white, middleclass women."

That was its strength, of course, in a country where all women (and men)—except for the Marxist daughters and sons of the rich—would like to think of themselves as, at least, middle-

class, certainly not poor (even if they are), and, if they are a minority, would like at least the chance to enjoy what the majority take for granted.

This is evasion and doubletalk. Any movement that doesn't address the special oppression of people of color—as well as capitalist exploitation of the working class, the *basic matrix* of this society—will not long endure. Obviously: the color-blind, class-blind sector of feminism has long been part of the problem for minorities and women workers.

A new history, too

The one fascinating section in the book is "drawn extensively" from Dolores Hayden's *The Grand Domestic Revolution* (MIT Press, 1981). Hayden unearthed intriguing data about early 20th Century feminist attempts to communalize domestic work, and the movement's methodical destruction by corporate powers who feared the influence of the Russian Revolution.

Friedan ignores Hayden's *socialism*. And she slanders the Bolsheviks for not seriously trying to create "new socialized housekeeping structures . . ."

The fledgling Soviet state, beset by famine, civil war, capitalist sabotage, economic collapse, and 21 invading foreign armies, still found time to legalize divorce, abortion, and homosexuality; to establish communal kitchens, childcare, and laundries; to draw women into politics and to launch a far-flung and expensive campaign to liberate them from feudal bondage and to educate men. *This was feminism's shining hour!* Betty Friedan is a liar.

Her cynical rewrite of history excises the socialist alternative, leaving her free to invent "flexibility" for capitalism.

She wants to ask the support of the wealthy to help end entrenched patriarchy. And she wants to keep her own

class privileges. So, with desperate polemical surgery, she tries to separate capitalism from patriarchy. But she falls flat on her sociological face.

Sexism and class society share the same vital organs; separated, they will die only seconds apart.

The Cleaver of women's lib

The *Second Stage* expresses Friedan's Second Childhood. Or Second Coming, if you prefer. But her pages of gibberish are less sinister than her politics, which are crassly imperialist and implicitly proto-fascist.

Not content with degenerating into the Eldridge Cleaver of feminism, she has also become the Phyllis Schlafly of the Democratic Party. She is not in retreat, but in rout. She has fewer solutions than Nancy Reagan to unemployment, inflation, poverty, the wholesale annihilation of social welfare programs, political repression, war, race and sex bigotry, and all the crimes of the plutocrats.

She's even opposed to government-

funded benefits, and espouses "passionate volunteerism" to cajole Big Business into private grants for childcare.

And she "feels safer" because of the coed cadets at West Point who are "sensitive and tender," yet, to humanistic values!

A matter of choice

The turncoat Friedans of this world shrivel and shatter when the backlash comes. Yearning for popularity, conventional success, and *freedom from conflict*, these summer-soldier liberals turn into super-patriots for all seasons, and do witchhunting for the rulers.

The women's movement is much better off without them, freer to develop its innate revolutionary nature.

The lesson here is clear: turn left or turn right. In the period of the death agony of capitalism, the middle is a myth.

Bye, bye, Betty. Thanks for turning us on, but now you can go to hell. See you on the barricades—or, rather, across them. □

RADICAL WOMEN is the nation's first socialist feminist organization, revolutionary wing of the women's movement, and feminist vanguard of the left. Immersed in the daily struggle against racism, sexism, antigay bigotry, and labor exploitation, Radical Women's impressive record validates its view that the woman question is decisive to the world revolution. **Join us.**

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Betty Friedan

Exit Stage Right



BY ANDREA BAUER AND CLARA FRASER

The Second Stage
Betty Friedan
New York: Summit Books
1981. \$14.95

Nothing more starkly symbolizes the decline and fall of the respectable, middleclass wing of feminism than the latest bilge from founding mother Betty Friedan.

The Second Stage is a horrifying but highly revealing example of a mother devouring her young. Friedan gazed at what she had created and found it bad. She rested, and then she ate it all up.

This was fated to happen. The turbulent movement erupting from her 1963 blockbuster, **The Feminine Mystique**, went further than she could or would, as movements are wont to do.

Women's Liberation spawned an instant radical wing as well as a fusion with a sector of the Left, and Friedan was swiftly recognized as outflanked by predecessor theoreticians who were braver and more knowledgeable—de Beauvoir, Engels, Susan B. Anthony, Emma Goldman, and a host of revolutionaries.

This was bad enough, but an even greater shock was in store.

The women of the '60s and '70s who evaded Karl Marx became "radical feminists," à la Shulamith Firestone, Robin "Sisterhood is Powerful" Morgan, and others. Their credo held that biology, in the form of the male's superior strength and exemption from childbearing, was the source of women's hapless destiny. Men were structurally and naturally no damn

good, no matter what social system they lived in or espoused. Hence, a glandular sort of "real" revolution would have to transform *homo sapiens* before sex equality could happen. Meanwhile, personal separatism would prevail as doctrine, if not practice.

Thus battered about by the horrifying Bolshies, man-haters, and bull dykes, and getting richer by the second from her writings, Friedan flipped. While women hotly debated whether to sautee males or capitalism, Friedan and NOW—the organization she founded—denounced both sides.

Neither is the enemy, they intoned. Men and the private profit system are both just dandy.

Hail to the nutrient matrix!

In **The Second Stage**, Friedan acknowledges a few bugs in the system. Women in her world *do* suffer stress juggling high-powered careers, domestic chores, and the search for emotional attachments. But to a disapproving Friedan, the biggest problem is that many "best and brightest" women remain childless.

Why is this so terrible? Because the family is the "nutrient matrix of our personhood." Whatever *that* means.

What *she* means is that women aren't fully human unless they are mothers. And the feminist movement has denied them their birthright—the "power and the glory" of maternity. Male chauvinism, she charges, is now superseded by female machismo, and women have turned into men.

What has really happened is that Friedan has gone full circle and come home to Sigmund.

The new redeemers

The new harried mommas will need help. Who will supply it? Would you believe the poppas and the bosses?!

Once women stop trying to do it all alone, Friedan assures us, men will share parenting and housework. It is women's fault, she says, that men don't do this now: women's self-worth depends on unilateral control of home and family affairs!

Alright. The men are now great fathers and housecleaners. But what about the 89% of households that don't fit the old pattern of a working father, a housewife, and kids?

Enter General Motors to the rescue. Friedan insists corporations are already changing, because it is in their interest to admit that most women have to work, husbands or no husbands. After all, cars, condos, and Cuisinarts cost megabucks. The workplace, therefore, will provide flextime, parttime, and show-and-tell time.

Friedan is shameless in her paeans to corporate progressiveness. It escaped her notice that workplace reforms cost money which would come from profits, which business will never lower to ease the lives of female workers.

Strange bedfellows

Friedan tries to be a realist. To influence the powers-that-be to do right, she declares, women must switch strategies.

"Why," she demands, "should we let the radical right Mau-Mau us into a costly, divisive battle to the death on their terms?" Why, indeed, when we can simply *accept* their terms and join 'em. We

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the freedom socialist

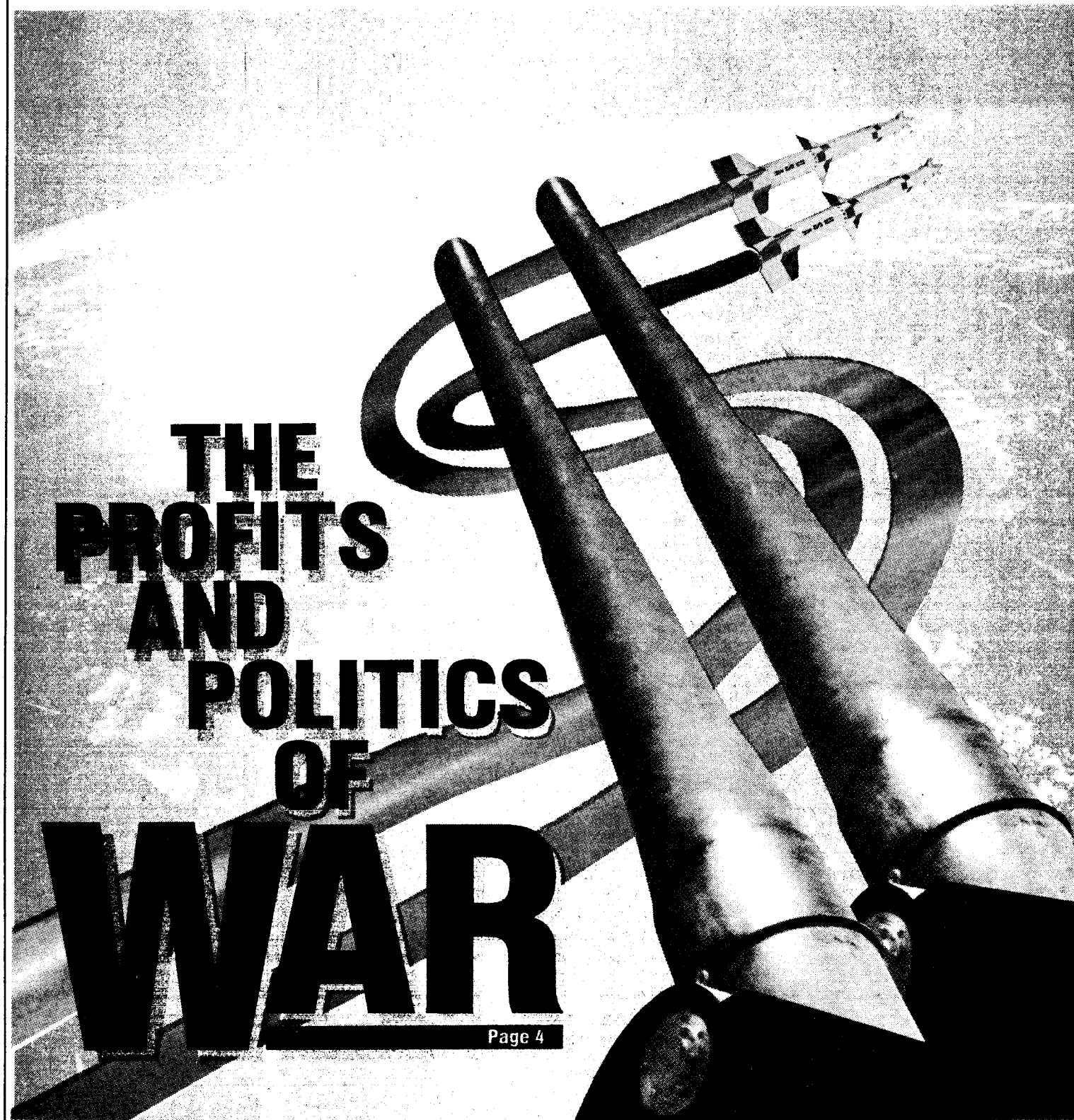
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