

# After the Carnage: What next for Arab and Jew?

BY MONICA HILL

**B**egin, murderer! Sharon, monster! Resign! Resign!" The rage of the 400,000 who jammed the Square of Kings in Tel Aviv on September 25 was uncontrollable. Their government had perpetrated a massacre of 2,000 unarmed Palestinians in the Sabra and Chatilla refugee camps in Beirut, the city of death.

The Israeli David stood unmasked before the world as Goliath, the slaughterer. And Prime Minister Menachem Begin, the bloodstained leader of the expansionist garrison state of Israel stood accused of outrage.

Never in Israel's history had such an outpouring of internal anger assailed the government. Through 35 years of anti-Arab discrimination, anti-Palestinian genocide, and foreign wars, most domestic opposition had been stifled by memories of holocaust and by certitude that everything must be subordinated to the Jewish homeland.

Israel, cried Zionists, was a "haven" for the Jews and a "moral beacon" in a world stained forever by the Nazi murder of 6 million. What lay unspoken was the reality—that the land of Israel was the exclusive outpost of U.S. imperialism against Arab revolution in the Middle East. But now this latest mass murder eats like acid at the ideological and emotional pillars of the Zionist state.

## A decisive step

The Square of Kings rally was organized by a coalition that included the Israeli Peace Now movement and the opposition Labor Party. The protest stopped short of challenging the Zionist state itself, and focused on Begin and Defense Minister Sharon. Still it was a decisive rupture of the pattern of jingoistic rapture of Israeli aggression. The gates are now open to a Jewish re-examination of Zionism itself, and to the implications of an exclusively Jewish, capitalist fortress in the rebellious Middle East.

Among the crowd were Arab demonstrators, a fact of decisive significance. Heretofore, Jewish and Arab opposition to Israeli policy had been conducted separately, in obedience to the segregation imposed by the Zionists, although Trotskyist radicals in the Committee Against the War in Lebanon have worked with both Arabs and Israeli Jews. On September 22, three days earlier, 600,000 Arabs had staged a 1-day general strike throughout Israel to express their outrage.

While there are as yet no reports of contact between the Jewish protesters and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the rally in Tel Aviv is a step toward the Arab/Jewish unity that is basic to creating change in rapacious Israel.

## Lebanon

All summer long, anti-Israeli outrage has been building in Israel and around the world.

The June 6 invasion of Lebanon, the pulverization of its southern cities, and the horrific, sustained bombardment of Beirut—unequaled since the razing of Dresden in World War II—brought tens of thousands of Israelis into the streets. 100,000 women-led protesters marched in Tel Aviv in June. Women also spurred significant protests in Haifa and Jerusalem. Hundreds of thousands of Arabs also demonstrated in Jerusalem throughout the summer. And boiling protests erupted across the U.S. and in Europe.

Two groups—"Soldiers Against the Silence" and the more militant "There is a Limit for Israel"—have formed inside the Israeli military.

Begin had hoped the invasion would eradicate the PLO and all Palestinian resistance inside Lebanon and bring that country into a "Judeo-Christian alliance" against the Arab world. Then he could proceed unhindered to annex the occupied Gaza and West Bank territories.

But far from bringing an end to the "Palestine problem," the indiscriminate slaughter of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians, and the heroic PLO resistance against Israeli tanks and artillery inside Beirut, brought Zionism itself a stunning defeat.

The Israelis were stopped at the gates of Beirut. And when the PLO, intact, evacuated the capitol at the end of August, a maddened Begin couldn't wait to impose his own "final solution" in Lebanon.

## Countdown to massacre

The PLO began its exodus from Beirut on August 20 with written assurances from Ronald Reagan and U.S. negotiator Philip Habib that the remaining Palestinians and leftist Lebanese would be protected from the Israelis and Lebanon's fascists. French and Italian troops and U.S. Marines flew in to "keep the peace."

But on August 23, Phalangist leader Bashir Gemayel assumed the presidency of Lebanon. He immediately called for the expulsion of all "foreigners" (Palestinian) from the country.

Gemayel's father had molded the Phalange on the model of Hitler's Nazis. Gemayel personally orchestrated the massacre of Palestinians and Lebanese in the 1975-76 civil war, and has since received over \$100 million from Israel to terrorize the PLO and Lebanese left. This obliging president pledged a "democratic" Lebanon "friendly to U.S. interests."

And those in the know held their breath as the countdown to an Israeli/Phalangist bloodbath ticked away. On September 10, as if to speed the inevitable, the French, Italian, and U.S. troops began to depart Beirut.

## Exit Gemayel

Four days later, on September 14, Gemayel was assassinated when a bomb destroyed the Phalangist headquarters.

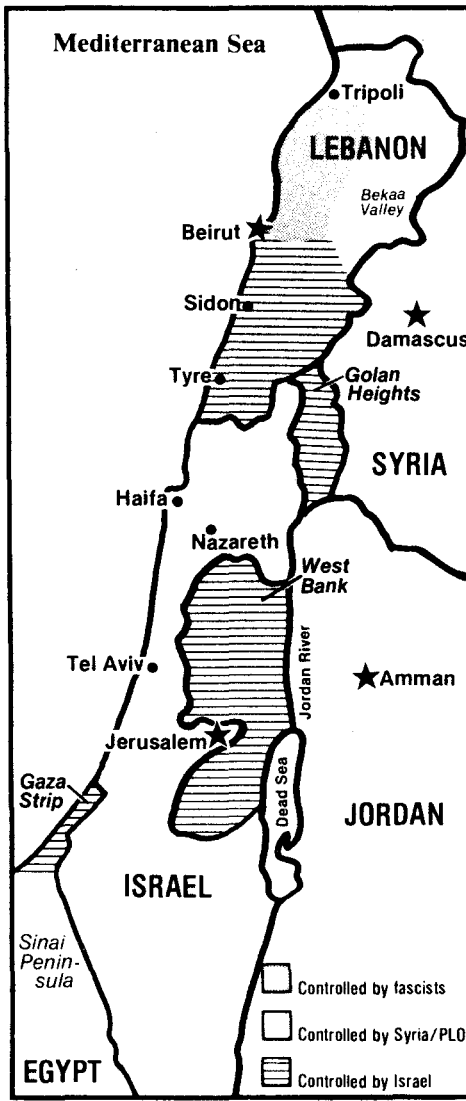
The violent removal of this führer gave Israel its pretext to storm the city on September 15, in violation of the Habib agreement. The Israelis, said Begin, would oust Palestinian guerrillas who had "cheated the U.S., Israel, and Lebanon by remaining behind."

The Zionists quickly mopped up last-ditch resistance by the leftist Maurabitoun Militia, and were in control of the city by the following day, Thursday, September 16.

That same day, the massacre in the Sabra and Chatilla camps started.

## "We are slaughtering them"

The massacre lasted until Saturday the 18th—36 hours during which



Helen Gilbert/Freedom Socialist

women, old men, and children were hunted and butchered like animals by Phalangist militiamen and troops under Phalangist Major Saad Haddad, an old Israeli proxy.

Israel, at first, denied any knowledge of the killing until it was "too late." Begin rejected "with contempt" any Israeli responsibility for the carnage. But persistent on-the-scene reports, first published in Israel's own press, told a different story. And in the following days, a far more sinister and horrifying disclosure of Israeli stage management of the massacre was pieced together in the world press.

This is what happened:

On Wednesday, September 15, the Israelis met with the Phalangist high command in Beirut to plan the fascist invasion of the camps.

On September 16, with the approval of the Israeli cabinet, the Israeli army ushered the Christians into the camps and the slaughter commenced.

Israeli officers and troops watched it all from an observation post not 250 yards away, their vision aided by flares they lit to facilitate the murders.

From time to time, the fascists would come out to rest. The Israelis stoked them with food and water. *Newsweek* reporter James Pringle, blocked from entering the camp by Israeli troops, asked about the sound of grenades and rifle fire. Said a Haddad militiaman cheerfully, "We are slaughtering them."

The killing continued systematically through Friday and into Saturday.

As reports of the carnage sent shock waves around the world, the Israeli claimed that on Friday, "as soon as the [Israeli army] learned of the tragic

events," they'd ordered an end to the bloodbath. But why, then, did the Israelis allow the fascists a leisurely twelve extra hours, until Saturday morning, inside the camps?

## More bloodbaths in store

Four days after the Square of Kings rally, on September 29, after first having tried to stonewall an inquiry, Begin was forced to call a "full judicial investigation" of the killings.

Nothing, however, has changed in Lebanon.

The Israelis remain there in force, warring on PLO and Syrian troops entrenched in Eastern Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. They vow to stay until the PLO and Syrians have left. Amin Gemayel—a nycter fascist than his brother, according to the western press—has succeeded to the presidency. The Christian wolfpacks of the Phalange and Haddad roam at will through Beirut and southern Lebanon.

The U.S., financier and armorer of the Israelis and the Phalange, is scrambling to wash its hands of the blood and stench. But Reagan has not lopped off a dime from military aid to Israel. And Marines were sent back to Beirut on September 29 to help the fascists consolidate power.

The fascists wasted no time tightening their grip on the city, sweeping the Moslem and Lebanese by the truckload, and razing refugee dwellings. On October 11, fascists again entered Sabra and Chatilla with masked informants and took away people the informants pointed out.

Clearly, the half-million Palestinians left in Lebanon are as imperiled as the slaughtered refugees.

Begin's plans for a "Greater Israel" remain the same. Annexation of the West Bank proceeds apace. And Gemayel or Haddad are slated for junior partnership with Israel.

## The real Israel

From its birth as a child of British and U.S. imperialism, Israel has echoed and advocated the most malignant features of the capitalist west. And its entire history refutes the notion of Zionist "liberals" that, given "security," Israel could settle into benign "coexistence" with its Arab neighbors. Israeli security has always depended on encroachment, war, and genocide. Begin's policies are the fulfillment of Zionism, and not an aberration of the dream.

In 1948, the Zionists declared that Palestine would henceforth be the exclusively Jewish state of Israel. They then drove one million Palestinians from their homes to clear the way for Jewish settlement.

Israel had designs on Lebanon at least as early as 1954, according to *Israel's Sacred Terrorism, a Study Based on Moshe Sharett's Personal Diary*. Former Prime Minister Sharett quotes then-Defense Minister Moshe Dayan in 1954: "... find an officer, even just a major [Haddad!]. We should either win his heart or buy him

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U.W. poster (detail)

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## the freedom socialist

On the cover: Woo photo by Nancy Kato. Fraser photo and cover design by Doug Barnes.

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The *Freedom Socialist* (ISSN 0272-4367) is published quarterly by the Freedom Socialist Party, Freeway Hall, 3815 Fifth Ave. N.E., Seattle WA 98105. Phone 206-632-7449.

Subscriptions: 1 year \$3.00 (Institutions \$6.00), 2 year Supporting Sub \$15.00, 5 year Sustaining Sub \$50.00. Add \$2.50 surface postage outside the United States; add \$7.00 for overseas airmail. Back copies \$.75 each. Donations to defray publishing costs welcome. Subscriptions exchanged.

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## LETTERS

### Hats off to Murry Weiss

The death of Murry Weiss was a great blow to the revolutionary workers' movement in the U.S. Murry was always ahead of the rest of us in everything. He realized the special oppression of women and gays, and that it would be necessary to integrate understanding of sexism and class struggle into a revolutionary perspective for the working class.

I think it is a problem within the American Left to forget those who have made the small and the great contributions to the coming American Socialist Revolution. I am glad to see that Murry *did* receive proper recognition and I know that his contribution to revolutionary theory and Trotskyism will soon overshadow many of his former comrades who at times have not allowed themselves the room for constructive revolutionary criticism.

I never knew Murry personally, but over the years I heard about him and worked on many projects in which I am sure he had a hand. In 1970, I joined the Young Socialist Alliance and went to their convention in New York where the gay issue was raised for the first time. I was one of several delegates who opposed the SWP ban on gay membership. I remember the reaction by the SWP membership to our forward-looking perspective. I was told that several leading members of the party were opposed to the antigay ban, and I am sure that Murry had influence in this development.

We need a socialist revolution in America, and I believe we are on the eve of tremendous developments within the working class. As a member of the National Organization of Legal Services Workers-U.A.W. District 65, I wish to offer my condolences to the friends and comrades of Murry Weiss.

At the same time, the best testament we could provide to the man would be to establish a mass Leninist-Trotskyist party within the head of the hydra—and thus bring about the lifelong dream and expectations of this great American socialist leader.

**Tom Siblo-Landsman**  
Catskill, N.Y.

### From Rita Silk-Nauni

September 27, 1982

What a victory for Clara Fraser! Was very happy to hear the great news. You're a big inspiration to all struggles. Just want to let you know that I'm joyed over your victory.

I'm presently in segregation; been here since July 9. I was merely expressing my First Amendment freedom of speech rights.

I'm supposed to be off D.U. tomorrow or Wednesday. But no telling when they'll decide to move me. It's horrible up here. They have me behind a glass wall. I come out of this room for an hour and 15 minutes a day. Just another form of harassment. I'm not allowed to have outdoor exercise, among other things. They are cruel and unusual.

I will keep my spirits up and continue to seek my justice and freedom. My precious son Derrick is doing great. He's my main concern. He lives with his dad, half brother and sister and stepmother. His grandparents live next door so there's no need for me to worry about him. Derrick is happy, so it makes me happy.

Heard from one of my sisters today. My dad will soon be coming to

Oklahoma to visit me. None of my family lives here in Oklahoma except for my son. At times it becomes very lonely for me.

We're working toward getting my appeal bond reinstated. I pray it will be by the end of the year. If not, it will be the first part of '83.

My future looks very promising. Freedom is right around the corner.

October 2, 1982

Still in segregation. They were supposed to let me off yesterday, instead they gave me seven more days. I'm not surprised, that's how they are!

Guess I'll spend my birthday alone once again. It's on Oct. 7. I pray it's the last one alone. I'll be 34 years young. They can't keep me here forever. There's a beginning and end to everything.

**Love, Peace and Unity,**  
**Rita Silk-Nauni**  
P.O. Box 11492 #109100  
**Mable Basette Correctional Institute**  
**Oklahoma City, OK 73116**

*Ms. Silk-Nauni is a Native American sentenced to life in 1980 for the self-defense killing of a policeman in Oklahoma. She welcomes letters.*

### American chauvinism?

I usually like Clara Fraser's columns, but her "July 4th Oration" in your Summer 1982 issue tends exactly in the direction Clara labels "American chauvinism." I am an American and have participated in mass movements in Canada, Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, and elsewhere. The key factor in how I was regarded was not my nationality, but my analysis, internationalism, and preparedness to act. Wherever I am, those are the questions.

I like your paper and find it generally a hopeful sign. I do wish you came out more often.

**W.D.**  
**Canada**

*Radicals everywhere tend to identify U.S. workers with the labor bureaucracy and the ruling class, and to disdain their revolutionary potential on that account. Clara addressed this error. She sketched the comparative histories of class struggles in the U.S. and other countries to counterbalance the prevailing anti-American chauvinism on the international left.*

### Spreading the word

Your well-researched and expert article on "The Right to Abortion" (Spring '82) expressed much of what I had not yet completely formulated. I especially liked the way you linked the women's movement to the class struggle. I haven't met any so-called feminists who do this, but I'm trying to make them see it.

My husband and I are working to protest a grant proposal that would take nearly \$1 million dollars away from existing family planning agencies that provide birth control, abortion, and adoption counselling—and would use it to set up an adoption agency. This would occur under the provisions of Title 20, whose new restrictions prohibit the dispensing of birth control or abortion information.

Your article could play an important role in educating people about the real issues behind adoption. Many people still sit on the fence or blindly support adoption

because they unknowingly accept their own oppression.

We have made a pamphlet from your article, giving full credit to the FS. With your permission, we would like to do a professional publication in mass quantities. Proceeds will go to support the war against our sexist, racist government.

**Amy Siblo-Landsman**  
**Catskill, N.Y.**

### Art and politics

My primary criticism of the FS is that it patronizes poetry and art, as if they were acceptable only as a vehicle for the communication of socialist thought but as having little or no importance in and of themselves. In the capitalist press, art is totally segregated from politics, but the FS's patronization of it is no improvement. Art and spirituality are two of the most important forces behind civilization, and although they have been rigidly channeled by economic stratification, they are vital to a healthy society, and the socialist theory that economics is the base of human struggles is too constricting for me to wholeheartedly accede to it.

On the whole, I find the FS diversified, educational, supportive, and worthwhile reading.

Thank you for receiving my rather harsh criticism!

**Sara M. Brech**  
**Albany, New York**

*Poetry and art are tremendously important, and not just in and of themselves. Art springs from, and is integrated with, the conditions of our lives. How else could it speak to us? But our lives are molded by political realities and while every poem need not reflect the class struggle, some of the greatest poetry is political.*

*The poems in the FS not only attest to the beauty of revolutionary ideas but inspire the advance of art.*

*We need only look at the works of Black, Asian, American Indian, Latino/Chicano, and white workingclass poets, female and male, to see the explosion of writing that comes from oppression and resistance. These works reflect the integration of the human spirit with material reality. More than any other radical paper, we promote this integration.*

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

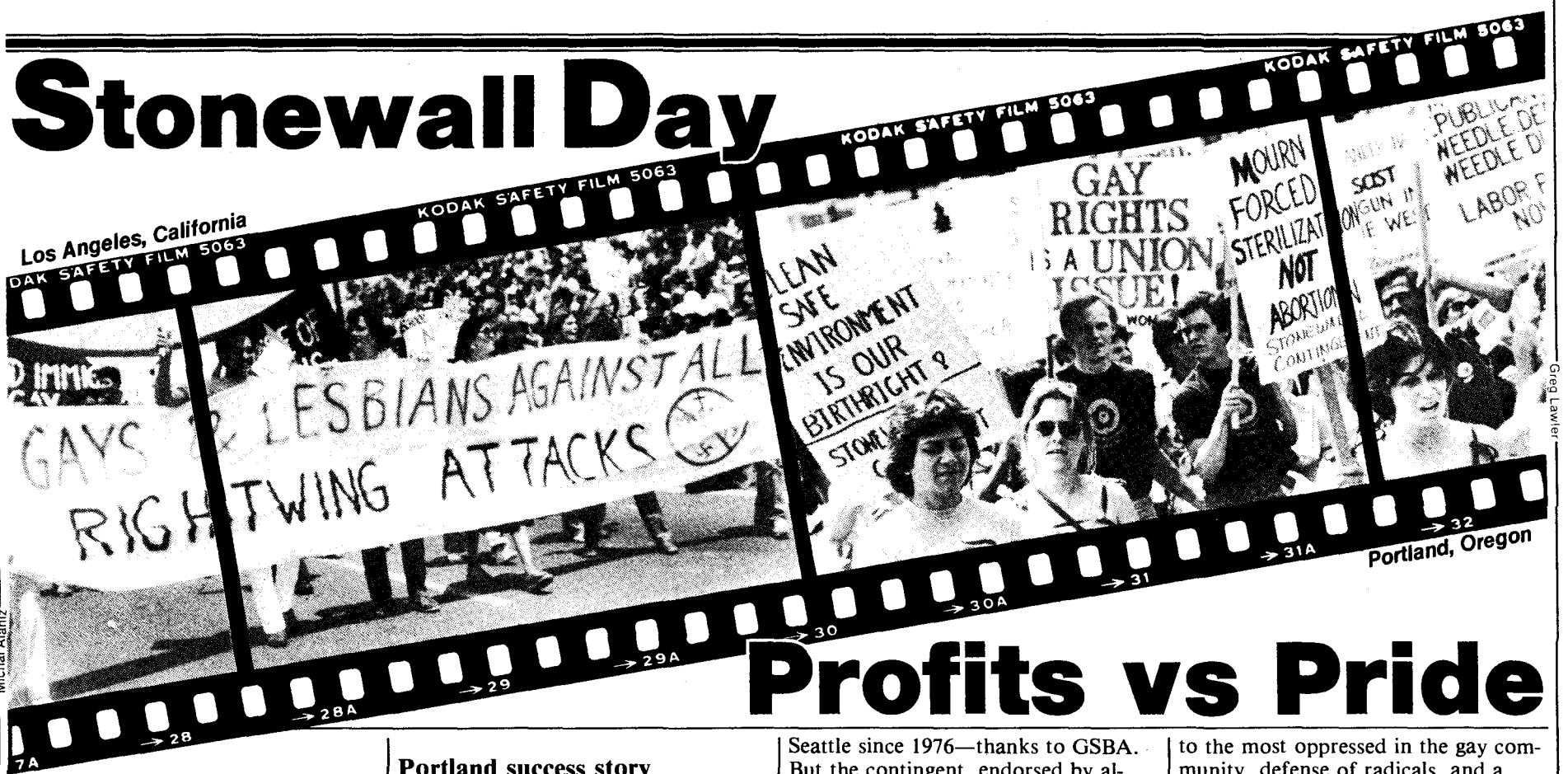
### THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:



*"UNEMPLOYMENT IS NOT SO MUCH RECESSION AS IT IS THE GREAT INCREASE IN PEOPLE GOING INTO THE JOB MARKET, AND, LADIES, I'M NOT PICKING ON ANYONE, BUT BECAUSE OF THE INCREASE IN WOMEN WHO ARE WORKING TODAY AND SO FORTH."*

- NY TIMES, APRIL 17, 1982

# Stonewall Day



## Profits vs Pride

BY SU DOCEKAL

**H**undreds of thousands of lesbians, gay men, and supporters took to the streets in U.S. cities last June to commemorate the 13th anniversary of the New York Stonewall Riots, which sparked the modern lesbian/gay movement.

Thousands more celebrated internationally. In Mexico City, 2,500 marched, braving rightwing threats. A week of political and cultural events in Sydney, Australia culminated in a spirited march.

The U.S. demos showed that lesbians and gays are not about to be shoved quietly back into the closet. Sheer numbers and visible militant contingents in many of the marches provided strong proof of this.

Despite surface unity, however, marchers were polarized, representing two sides of a heated political debate that drew class lines in the lesbian/gay community.

The debate boiled to the surface in city after city during Pride Week planning, as conservative gay businessmen made an all-out bid to turn the traditionally political marches into carnival-style business ventures.

In response, coalitions of feminists, people of color, and radicals formed political contingents within the parades. They demanded that the fighting tradition of the Stonewall Rebellion be kept alive by organizing the community to resist current rightwing attacks.

Some lesbian separatists abstained from the parades to express their contempt for the entrepreneur organizers. Had they joined the militant contingents, however, their contempt would have been registered with far greater impact.

### Portland success story

One of the largest, most dynamic forces to emerge this year was Portland's Stonewall Contingent. Although contingent organizers had been voted down when they proposed a Stonewall commemoration and a "fight the right" focus, well over a thousand marchers—half the entire parade—voted with their feet to join the contingent, which raised multi-issue, anti-rightwing demands in their chants and on their placards.

Rally participants cheered as speaker after speaker denounced the right wing. When Portland Radical Women speaker Angelica Merlino shouted, "Our greatest celebration is in the history and desire of our community to survive and defend ourselves militantly!" the crowd roared its approval.

The next day's press coverage on the parade was devoted almost entirely to the militants' impact.

The parade was the largest in Portland's history.

### Seattle Stonewall

In Seattle, the Greater Seattle Business Association (GSBA) attempted to impose an anti-political character on the day's events. The GSBA excluded *all* organizations from their parade planning committee, especially shunning the Stonewall Committee, organizers of last year's feminist Lesbian/Gay Freedom Day march.

These exclusionary tactics prompted outrage among wide sectors of the community, and many threatened a boycott. Convinced, however, that a boycott or countermarch would only isolate Seattle's gay left, Stonewall called for a feminist, militant contingent *within* the parade.

The parade was the smallest in

Seattle since 1976—thanks to GSBA.

But the contingent, endorsed by almost 50 organizations, was a success. It comprised one-third of the 1,200 participants and it marched spiritedly behind a banner proclaiming "Celebrate Lesbian/Gay Resistance Against the Right Wing."

The Stonewall Committee is now organizing the community to defeat the Family Protection Act.

### Fighting Nazis in Chicago

The right/left split boiled over in Chicago when the Nazi Party was given a police permit to rally earlier on the same day and at the same location as the Lesbian/Gay Pride rally.

A hastily-formed coalition of socialist, feminist, people of color, and Jewish organizations called for an anti-Nazi counter-demo. But the rally planners—businessmen and pacifist liberals—rejected the proposal.

Despite caterwauling against possible bloodshed, and red-baiting attacks in the gay press, the coalition mobilized 3,500 people to confront the Nazis, who fled the site before the record-breaking 30,000-strong march appeared.

### Battling it out in the Big Apple

The scenario of the left/right split was repeated in New York. The conservative majority of the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee (CSLDC) fought community representatives with red-baiting, stacked meetings, and threatened expulsions in order to keep politics out of the New York "celebration."

Radical lesbians and gays enjoined CSLDC to "publicly commit itself to the fight for full equality for people of color and women." When the committee refused, they organized a Militant/Political Contingent. The contingent leaflet called for support

to the most oppressed in the gay community, defense of radicals, and a democratic movement.

They established a vocal and visible radical presence within the parade of 100,000.

### California roundup

The San Francisco march marked a turn away from the political tenor of the 1981 march where poet-activist Merle Woo's challenge to the conservative politics of gay businessmen sparked national debate.

The 1982 march downplayed politics and focused on entertainment. Although feminist and left groups participated in the parade, they had no unified presence and their impact was diffused in the huge crowd of 250,000.

The Los Angeles march, however, included for the first time a feisty political contingent with widespread community representation. Its chants, "Bosses, Nazis, cops, and Klan/Work together hand in hand," and "Stonewall means fight back!" got a healthy response.

### Radical revival

Like their co-manipulators in other mass movements, white gay businessmen are pulling out the stops to channel the growing discontent of lesbians and gays into Democratic Party and local Tammany-style machine politics.

But Gay Pride Week 1982 was a victory for the militants and radicals who directly confronted these misleaders. They kept visible the only feasible alternative to regressive politics which pit the oppressed against each other instead of against their common rightwing enemy.

And in calling for unity against that enemy, they pointed the way to survival and victory for all liberation movements. □

The fall television scene is a **must watch** for all of us. Here are my favorites:

- 12:00 ALL MY CHILDREN**  
Senator Jesse Helms adopts all the children born to women who have been denied abortions.
- 12:30 MOVIE**  
*Seven Brides for Seven Brides.* A veiled look at alternative intimacy.
- 3:00 DONOVAN**  
Talk-show discusses mob connections of Reagan's Labor Secretary. Now in its second year.
- 4:00 NOVA**  
*Plant Murderers* examines the horrors of vegetarianism.

## M·A·L·I·C·E · A · F · O · R · E · T · H · O · U · G · H · T

by Ms. Tami

- 4:30 MASTERPIECE THEATRE**  
*The Life and Loves of Gertrude Stein.* 8-part series. Mickey Rooney. Mariel Hemingway as Alice. A rock operetta.
- 5:00 THE PRICE IS RIGHT**  
U.S. government sells out the nation. Tonight: James Watt auctions off Yosemite.
- 5:30 JULIA ADULT**  
Cooking for the gourmet poor. Tuna puree with Alpo garnish.
- 6:00 BOURGEOIS HILLBILLIES**  
The Rockefellers head for the hills after the bottom drops out of the stock market.
- 6:30 FANTASY ISLAND**  
Margaret Thatcher dreams of owning an island. Invades the Malvinas. Shelley Winters, Prince Andrew.
- 7:00 LITTLE HOUSE ON THE PRAIRIE**  
Family drama about the nation's only survivors of nuclear holocaust. Michael Landon, Marie Osmond, Kermit the Frog, Prune-Face.
- 8:00 PEORIA**  
Blockbuster drama of traditional values. Tonight: Herpes saves the nuclear family. Dustin Hoffman, Kate Smith.

- 8:30 THE NUKES OF HAZARD**  
Hardline pro-nukes contract virulent and hitherto unknown diseases. All die. Inspirational comedy.
- 9:30 DIFF'RENT STROKES**  
Denied medical care by Reagan's cuts, people begin dying in the streets.
- 10:00 MARLBORO COUNTRY**  
Anti-smoking fanatics get butch and infiltrate the enemy. Great equestrian action. Brooke Shields, Hopalong Cassidy.
- 11:00 WALL STREET WEEKEND**  
The market crashes, the proletariat seizes state power. Panel discussion followed by live revolution.



# the politics

BY JANET SUTHERLAND

**E**xultation flooded the courtroom on August 9 when King County Superior Court Judge William C. Goodloe found "the law and the facts" on the side of Clara Fraser in her long and celebrated fight against sex and political ideology discrimination by Seattle City Light.

Goodloe ordered Fraser reinstated with full back pay and benefits, and the spectators who thronged the courtroom burst into applause and cheers.

And on October 22, Goodloe approved an agreement between Fraser and the city that awarded her \$135,000 in back pay, out of pocket expenses for job search, medical costs, and processing her case, plus interest.

Fraser will also be credited for her lost years in benefits due her for sick leave, vacations, and retirement system status.

### We shall not be moved

Persistence and principle are the key words in this spectacular legal case.

Back in June 1980, after a grueling 8-week public hearing held five years after Fraser first initiated her suit, City Hearing Examiner Sally Pasette ruled that Fraser was fired in July 1975 for political reasons. But one month later, a hearing panel overturned Pasette by a split 2-1 vote.

City Hall hoped that Fraser was finished after this setback. And for two years she and her lawyers thrust and parried with city attorneys as she tried to launch her appeal.

Finally, Judge Goodloe was assigned to the case. He took a hard look at the voluminous record and decided that Pasette was right and that Fraser had been grievously wronged.

### Contributing factors

Fraser's victory was chiefly the product of six factors:

- An extremely strong *legal* case.
- Tough political conviction on the part of Fraser and her closest allies in the Freedom Socialist Party, Radical Women, and the Clara Fraser Defense Committee.
- A well-organized defense committee that publicized the case far and wide, garnered impressive local, national, and international support, and raised a financial war chest to help defray the enormous case expenses.
- Recognition by key sectors of labor, women, minorities, gays, and progressives that this was a test case of free speech in the '80s.
- Meticulous work by attorneys Valerie Carlson and Frederick W. Hyde, Jr. aided by the Seattle chapter of the National Lawyers Guild and dozens of volunteer lawyer-consultants and legal aides.
- A groundswell of determination by public workers around the country to reverse the anti-labor, anti-affirmative-action tide and beat back the city, state, and federal bosses.

Clara Fraser won in court—but not before she had won in the community.

### The long road to victory

Fraser was hired in June 1973 as City Light's first Education Coordinator. She was responsible, among other assignments, for implementing and overseeing the first all-woman Electrical Trades Trainee (ETT) program in the nation. She launched innovative and needed courses for all City Light workers and energetically advocated affirmative action training for minorities and women.

In 1974, Fraser became one of the leaders of a massive employee walkout. She testified in public hearings about the top-level City Light mismanagement that caused the walkout, and she headed the employee negotiation team for a new contract to eliminate management caprice. She also



August 9, 1982. Surrounded in the courtroom by jubilant family and friends, Clara Fraser is interviewed by the press moments after her Superior Court victory.

## How sweet it is!

# Fraser beats City Light

joined the employees' recall campaign against anti-labor Mayor Uhlman.

Infuriated by Fraser's outspoken criticism, management suddenly removed her as Coordinator of the ETT program and forced the ten women trainees into the field before their orientation course was completed.

Fraser and ETTs filed sex discrimination suits. Fraser also filed a charge of political ideology discrimination. (The ETTs won theirs the following year, in 1976.)

Management then harried, slandered, and isolated Fraser and on July 11, 1975, laid her off without notice on the pretext of a budget cut.

Five years later, during the administrative hearing, management dropped its phony rationale and claimed, for the first time, that it had properly dispensed with an "incompetent, disruptive, abrasive, and too-radical" employee.

Fraser's 7-year journey to Goodloe's courtroom was torturous. It encompassed a favorable Human Rights Department ruling in 1977; a subsequent \$30,000-and-city-job settlement that was quashed by the City Council in a 6-2 vote in 1979; the tumultuous 1980 hearing panel overturn; and a 2-year fight to appeal that panel decision in Superior Court.

The latter lap was made doubly arduous by the city's chronic stalling, and then by a battle over who would pay for the 6,500-page transcript needed for the appeal.

Fraser won this round and the city was ordered to pay \$15,000 for the production of the transcript, which set an important precedent for other discrimination victims.

Then, Fraser's request to investigate the bias and prejudice of the hearing panel majority was peremptorily turned down by two other judges.

In retrospect, the sweat and grit it took to get to Goodloe's courtroom is simply amazing.

### August 9—D-Day

Fraser's attorneys aggressively argued her case before Judge Goodloe. They were joined, over the city's objection, by National Lawyers Guild

official Daniel H. Smith, who spoke on the key civil liberties issues in the case. Smith had previously presented a National Lawyers Guild/ACLU friend of the court brief supporting Fraser at the 1980 hearing, and he appeared as NLG amicus curiae for Fraser in other vital hearings.

Carlson recounted the history and facts of the case and then showed how Hearing Examiner Pasette correctly applied discrimination law and how the hearing panel majority erred, according to the Fair Employment Practices Ordinance standard of review. (The Ordinance clearly mandates that a panel can reverse an Examiner's findings *only* if they are *clearly contrary to the weight of the evidence*.)

The basic question, said Carlson, was whether "a female city employee doing an excellent job can be fired because her political ideology differs from management."

### A solid prima facie case

Carlson explained how discrimination law works.

A "prima facie" case for discrimination is demonstrated by differential treatment of an employee, or retaliation against that employee's legally protected conduct.

The employer must then state legitimate non-discriminatory reasons for the adverse action.

If the employee can show that the stated reasons are a "pretext," discrimination is established.

In Fraser's case, said Carlson, differential treatment can be shown because Fraser is "a socialist feminist woman—a member of a legally protected class—who was qualified for her job and performing it well."

Nevertheless, she was arbitrarily removed as ETT Coordinator, harassed, and fired.

In each case where Fraser was removed from responsibility and when she was fired, she was replaced by a non-feminist, non-radical male.

Retaliation was evident because of management reprisals that followed closely upon Fraser's engagement in legally protected activities.

For example: Fraser opposed man-

agement's curtailment of affirmative action courses and programs, and management refused to reinstate those programs and reduced the scope of her duties.

After Fraser became an employee spokesperson during and after the walkout, and testified against management in Public Review Committee hearings, management red-baited her and removed her as ETT Coordinator.

Fraser filed a discrimination complaint—and management later fired her for this action.

What were City Light's "legitimate, non-discriminatory" reasons for these adverse actions?

At the time, management asserted that Fraser was removed from the ETT program because its "developmental stage was complete," and that Fraser was terminated because of a "budget cut"—the only fulltime, white-collar professional affected. The 1977 Human Rights Department findings established these reasons as pretexts.

So in 1979—five years after the fact—City Light belatedly announced that "poor performance" and "insubordination" were the real reasons Fraser was let go.

These were even more ludicrous pretexts, said Carlson. They were after-the-fact and unsubstantiated. No prior warning about these charges was ever given to Fraser. Her abrupt ouster with severance pay in lieu of notice was illegal, and management's labeling of Fraser as a "radical" happened too often to be ignored.

This is an open and shut case of discrimination, said Carlson.

### The disgraceful panel majority

Carlson then cited the innumerable ways in which panelists Darlene Allison and Beverly Stanton violated the city's standard of review of an Examiner's decision.

The panel's job, she pointed out, was to determine whether Examiner Pasette's findings were clearly contrary to the weight of the evidence, but *not* to reweigh the evidence and come to an independent conclusion.

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# of persistence

BY KAREN BRODINE

**A**s a featured speaker at the San Francisco Gay Freedom Day Parade last year, Merle Woo explained to 250,000 people what it was like to stand on the front lines of the fight for racial, sexual, and labor freedom.

Woo's speech, written in stirring poetry, was printed, broadcast, attacked, and defended all over the U.S. and in Europe. It earned her widespread admiration and recognition as a defender of oppressed peoples.

It also made her a highly visible target for reactionaries.

Less than a year later, in June 1982, the University of California at Berkeley (UCB) fired Woo from her job as a lecturer in the Asian American Studies Program of the Ethnic Studies Department.

The termination was hardly a coincidence and certainly no surprise.

But it is a political outrage.

Woo had been hired at Berkeley four years previously with the promise of permanent employment. She was enormously popular and well respected by her students. Her evaluations were uniformly excellent.

This is a teacher you'd think that Cal, birthplace of the 1960s Free Speech movement, would strain to keep. But the university is accelerating a union-busting, anti-affirmative action drive against its faculty and students. Those hit hardest, of course, are people of color, women, and gays—the traditional frontline targets of reactionary headhunters.

UCB bigwigs hoped to cap and consolidate their mounting reign of terror by picking off Woo—a lesbian, socialist, Asian American, feminist thorn in their side, who had stood up and protested previous administration attacks on faculty. They underestimated the uproar that would ensue.

Woo sees her firing as an attack on Asian American Studies, students' rights, and the right of a teacher to teach. "I am a socialist feminist, a lesbian, a member of Radical Women," she says. "My teaching and activism flow from who I am. I have organized in the American Federation of Teachers to protect lecturers' rights; I have organized with students and other workers to protest department policies. What kind of academic freedom do we have when we are fired if management doesn't agree with us?"

## A student-oriented program

Asian American Studies (AAS) at Berkeley emerged out of the militant '60s, designed with an orientation to community and student needs. Woo was hired in the fall of 1978, not only because of her 9-year teaching experience at San Francisco State and the rave reviews of students there, but *because* of her politics. The conservative groundswell of the late '70s had not yet thoroughly shaken the groves of Berkeley academia.

Department objectives at that time, says Woo, were "to offer an alternative political perspective on the

history of Third World people, meet the needs of native and foreign-born students, encourage community involvement, and conduct relevant research." Woo says she was also "told explicitly that AAS was working towards a Third World college."

Woo became coordinator of a lively series of classes involving 28 student tutors who met in work groups to discuss teaching techniques, department policy, and educational goals. And she added a new element to the already radical course material—her perspective as a socialist feminist and a lesbian, which enabled her to reveal the interconnections between race, sex, sexuality, and class oppression.

## Department in retreat

But mounting conservatism in the university administration was already making its mark on AAS.

The department was discouraging student participation as early as 1977, before Woo was hired. By Spring 1980, AAS had stopped teaching the Cantonese and Tagalog languages and the goal of a Third World college was replaced with the opposite objective of moving Ethnic Studies into the Division of Letters and Sciences and stripping it of autonomy.

Then the department began to fire its activists—a librarian in Spring 1980, and three women lecturers a year later. Woo joined tutors and students in protest, and several mass meetings were held to enlist department and community support. In May 1981, students organized a 2-day teach-in and boycott of AAS.

Tenured faculty, however, lined up against the protesters. After the boycott, the faculty retaliated by giving out excessively low grades to some of the AAS student militants, and by calling for dismantling of the tutors program.

Throughout the growing controver-

sy, Ling-chi Wang, head of the Ethnic Studies Department and a powerful spokesman for the petty bourgeois layer of Bay Area Asian Americans, tried to strangle the protests. In firing activists, broadcasting his contempt for students, tutors, teachers, and other workers, and fostering demoralization among AAS majors, Wang seemed hell-bent on presiding over the dissolution of AAS.

## Unkept promises and sexism

In February 1981, Wang surprisingly had arranged for Unbound Feet, a collective of Asian American feminist writers that included Merle Woo, to read their work on campus. But before the performance he reneged on his promise to pay the costs of publicity and hall rental, and treated the women in a sexist and arrogant manner during negotiations.

At the performance, Unbound Feet members criticized this treatment and a tutor called for changes in the way the department was run, including reinstatement of community language classes, renewed student participation, and an end to budget reductions. This public criticism, and the alliance between Unbound Feet and the students, infuriated Wang and tenure-track faculty, and lit the fuse to the retaliations that followed.

## Nothing personal

The department removed Woo as coordinator of the tutors program in Fall 1981 and proceeded to fire all but eight of the tutors. This was a tremendous blow to AAS students, for the tutors were integral to creating a community perspective.

Wang and some tenured faculty circulated rumors about Woo. She was "emotionally unstable," couldn't handle money, didn't meet the needs of foreign-born students—this last despite her tremendously positive evalu-

ations from students in *all* her classes, 50% of whom are foreign-born!

Another canard alleged that Woo taught "from an anti-male perspective." Ling-chi Wang remarked in a faculty meeting that she was "just interested in doing radical politics and poetry, not teaching."

Early this year, the department threatened to cut Woo's Asian Women class. Suspecting that her job might be next, Woo asked Wang in April about her status for the following year. "You're terminated as of June 30," Wang answered, "but it's just a technical matter, nothing personal."

Looking through her personnel files (before she was denied access to them in Spring 1982), Woo found a copy of a pamphlet on the Unbound Feet controversy—which obviously had nothing to do with her teaching record. Yet Wang maintains with a straight face that he "didn't fire her for her politics. I don't even know what her politics are."

## Some of my best friends

Woo was one of the few openly lesbian or gay faculty at UCB. She talked about gay rights in her classes. Hence her firing took on even more suspicious dimensions, especially with memories still fresh of the defeated 1978 Briggs Initiative in California, which tried to sanction the termination of all lesbians and gay men as unfit to teach.

Woo's lesbianism is a *political* issue; her politics are a ringing affirmation of her sexual right to choose. Thus she is doubly feared and despised by university management.

Graham Perry of UCB's Gay and Lesbian Union stated recently that Woo's termination is a message to students, staff, and teachers to get back into the closet—or else.

Wang was confronted about homo-

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## Ideas banned at Berkeley

# Merle Woo fights for her right to teach



Merle Woo (center) and supporters demonstrate at a Public Employment Review Board hearing to protest the 4-year rule, which wipes out job security for most lecturers at the University of California.

Sharon Umene



BY SANDY NELSON

**W**hile Americans celebrated the 206th anniversary of the first American Revolution during the July 4 Independence Day weekend, Freedom Socialist Party members and friends ascended a mountaintop and met in convention to clarify the course of the coming socialist third American revolution.



Tom Boot presents his landmark document, "Revolutionary Integration: Yesterday and Today." Bird Wilson chairs the discussion.

The scene was Crystal Mountain in Washington State's spectacular Cascade Range. The convention hall was awash in flowers and color. Vivid banners depicting Asian American, Black, Mexican, and Nicaraguan women leaders formed a beautiful and relevant backdrop to the rich discussion.

Through four politically charged days and nights, July 2-5, comrades and supporters from around the country explored, debated, and reaffirmed their commitment to Marxist feminism and Revolutionary Integration—the programmatic cornerstones that distinguish the FSP from all other parties on the left.

Revolutionary Integration is the theory which recognizes the central tendency of the historic struggle of Blacks, Chicanos, and Asian Americans in this country is toward legal and political integration and equal rights, rather than separation and distinct nationhood. The theory was firmly upheld as the key to achieving both the liberation of people of color and multi-racial working-class unity in the U.S.

The convention marked the coming of age for this rugged and determined band of Bolsheviks. Confident of its theoretical foundations and steered by 16 years of struggle, the Party took another giant stride toward understanding the contours of the coming victory in the final conflict between the disinherited and their oppressors.

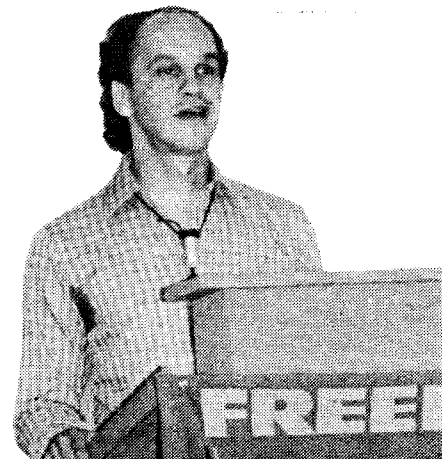
#### When opportunity knocks

In his presentation of the Political Resolution, "The Precarious '80s: Crisis and Opportunity," written by the late FSP leader Murry Weiss together with Sam Deaderick and Clara Fraser, Sam Deaderick outlined the

tremendous revolutionary prospects that accompany capitalism's swan song. (The document is printed in full in this issue, starting on page 9.)

Standing solidly on the 1946 classic of American Trotskyism, **The American Theses**, by the late Socialist Workers Party leader James P. Cannon and Murry Weiss, the Resolution maintains that Wall Street still rules the globe but "in the worldwide conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the workers are winning."

Since World War II, said Deaderick, nation after nation has seceded from capitalist control and not one has returned to it. Furthermore, "Colonial revolution against imperialism, irrepressible radical movements in the



capitalist countries, and political revolutions [against Stalinism] in Eastern Europe all form a united force that shifts the balance of power against the profit system."

Deaderick analyzed the international "middle caste"—that social layer of reformists and bureaucrats

that sits astride the world's labor and social liberation movements—as the force which, more than any other, is the bulwark of capitalist survival. The phrase and the analysis stem from Trotsky. Labor skates in every country, reformist misleaders in all the mass movements, and Stalinist rulers in the workers' states all act to control, narcotize, and defuse revolutionary movements.

But snowballing economic and social crises are breaking up the cozy equilibrium between the middle caste and world capitalism. The bourgeoisie is bringing down the curtain on reforms it can no longer afford. Workers everywhere are rising against the betrayals of the labor bureaucracies. For the middle caste, the world is fast becoming a no-man's land.

In America, said Deaderick, this conjuncture opens up the way for a **Labor Party** independent of Democratic Party boss politics and im-

placably opposed to the sexism, racism, homophobia, and elitism that maintain the middle caste's position within the system.

And what of the Leninist, vanguard party in the U.S.?

Said Deaderick, "As American workers, we live in the most sophisticated capitalist country in history. Therefore, we have to be the most sophisticated party with the most sophisticated program."

The key to the American Revolution, he continued, is **feminism**—"it glues all the movements together." The FSP, "the first revolutionary feminist party in history," can attract and unite every movement and lead them to the seizure of power.

In the day-long discussion that preceded the unanimous adoption of the Resolution, speakers explored and clarified the concept of the middle caste, which is defined by its reactionary political role in the class struggle, unlike the middle class, which is defined by its relation to production. "Understanding and combating these middle-caste misleaders of whatever class," said New Yorker Dr. Susan Williams, "is the key tactical question of our epoch."

Speakers agreed that the shattering



Yolanda Alaniz, at the podium, and Megan Cornish report on La Raza's 300 years of struggle.

of the Stalinist monolith and the terminal illness of reformism have presented Trotskyists with great opportunities to push for united fronts, for a Labor Party, and for the leadership of female radicals on all levels of struggle. Trotskyist feminism is the cutting edge of world revolution, they said.

#### Revolutionary Integration

Central to the convention was the FSP's unanimous support for the theory of Revolutionary Integration, a Marxist analysis of the revolutionary roots, nature, and direction of the Black movement in the U.S., and its extended application to Chicanos and Asian Americans (but not sovereign Native Americans).

Revolutionary Integration was developed by a minority faction of the SWP in the early '50s and adopted by the then-Seattle branch of the SWP. It formed the programmatic basis for the split of the branch from the national party and rebirth as the FSP in

1965-66.

The original resolution on Revolutionary Integration was written in 1963. It applied to the Black struggle alone and affirmed that U.S. Blacks were an oppressed *race* rather than a nation or an incipient nation. It proved that *the historic march of Blacks overwhelmingly demanded integration rather than separatism, that real integration in this country is inherently revolutionary and cannot be achieved under capitalism, and that Black integration into, and leadership in, revolutionary politics is the only basis for workingclass unity and success against U.S. capitalism.*

The document was updated and expanded for the convention by Tom Boot. His resolution is entitled **Revolutionary Integration, Yesterday and Today**. It incorporates the feminist analysis that Black working women and Black lesbians play a pivotal, unifying role in the fight for Black liberation.

Two other groundbreaking documents presented at the convention, **The Chicano Struggle: Oppression of a Race or a Nation?** by Yolanda Alaniz and Megan Cornish, and **Resolution on the Asian American Struggle**, by Nellie Wong and Merle Woo of the San Francisco Bay Area, extended the concept of Revolutionary Integration to Asian Americans and Chicanos.

These two documents painstakingly outlined the unique historical contours and character of the two struggles, affirmed the fundamental racial nature of the oppression involved, and stressed their commonality with the Black struggle and with each other in the resistance to white racism and cultural nationalism.

The convention also endorsed a resolution defining the Native American



FSP leader Gloria Martin presents a rousing opener to the Convention: "Good morning, revolution! You're the best friend I ever had!"

movement in the U.S. as a struggle for **national self-determination**, unlike the political integrationist nature of the struggles of other people of color. This resolution upholds Native American treaty rights and condemns the genocidal attacks on Indian economic and cultural autonomy.

#### Together or separate?

Revolutionary Integration is the antithesis of both cultural nationalism and liberalism, stated Tom Boot during the presentation of his resolution.

Only Revolutionary Integration, he

**"revolution in our time and on our terms"**

# Freedom Socialist Party National Convention 1982



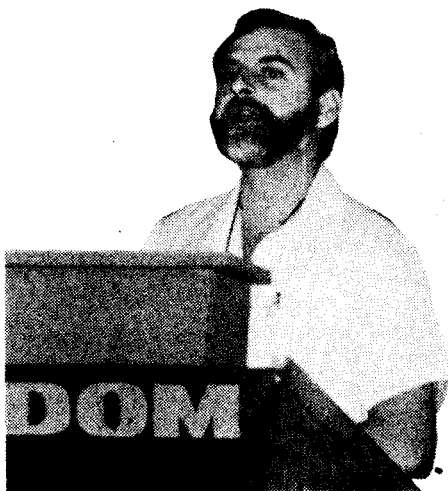
Nancy Kato &amp; Doug Barnes/FS

said, can combat racial segregation, which is crucial to the survival of divide-and-conquer capitalism. However, he said, since the early '70s, large segments of the Black movement have disavowed integration and opted for one or another utopian version of cultural "nationhood" and chimerical Black capitalism.

Such "nationhood," averred Boot, is suicidal for Blacks. It takes the poisons of the ruling class ideology—racism, male supremacy, anti-gay bigotry, classlessness—as its own, and it accepts absolutely the prison walls of segregation thrown down around Blacks by the profit system.

Cultural nationalism and the sexism and heterosexism integral to it were the main causes of the demise of the Black movement in the '70s, said Boot. And today, with reformists and much of the left in retreat from the Black struggle, it is up to feminists and revolutionary integrationists, said Boot, to step up support of the Black movement and link up with activists searching for a way past the impasse of separatism and despair.

Speakers from the floor praised this document for its scrupulously Marxist attention to the recent history of the Black movement. They pointed out that nationalism will never appeal to the bulk of Black workers, and



**Sam Deaderick forecasts increasing turbulence and ultimate success for world revolution.**

still less to Black women, because it refuses to address class issues or Black women's double and triple oppression.

It was stressed that the labor movement is key to the Black struggle and that the Black and all people of color movements should be a priority in union and labor activities.

Concluded Boot, "Our roots are in the Black community and the Black movement. We live there and our position is absolutely based on reality."

## ¡Viva la Raza!

"After 300 years on this land, Chicanos are still treated like foreigners, despite the fact that, like Blacks, they built this country," declared Yolanda Alaniz in the presentation given by her and Megan Cornish on the Chicano struggle.

Are Chicanos a national minority or are they an oppressed race? Is cultural separatism the answer to Chicano oppression, or is Revolutionary Integration the path to Chicano liberation?

Alaniz and Cornish traced Chicano history, from the original Spanish and Mexican settlements in what is now the U.S. Southwest, through the Anglo invasion of the Southwest, the systematic theft of Mexicano landholdings, and the 1846 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which ripped the entire Southwest away from Mexico.



**Merle Woo (left) and Nellie Wong (right) provide a pioneering analysis of the cause, effect, and cure of racism against Asian/Pacific Americans.**

They outlined the subsequent proletarianization of Chicanos and the development of a unique culture.

They concluded that, *while Chicano oppression contains many aspects of national oppression, it is fundamentally racial in character.*

It is true, they said, that Chicanos are expected to speak English and to assimilate into the dominant Anglo culture, and that these expectations are a hallmark of national oppression. But at the same time, Chicanos are locked out of jobs, denied housing and education, and segregated into big-city barrios. They are victims of classic race discrimination.

Moreover, they explained, Chicanos are now dispersed throughout the U.S. and lack a common territory, a separate economy, and a stable, historically evolved community—all of which are prerequisites for true nationhood.

Chicano culture, said Alaniz, is a unique blend of Mexican, Indian, and Anglo elements—a truly international culture. And through their interna-

tional links, "Chicanos are more than a nation." She criticized the Stalinists, who mechanically assert Chicano nationhood and try to direct Chicanos away from workers' struggles and into a preoccupation with cheerleading Third World revolutions.

Cornish noted that U.S. labor history in the Southwest is virtually synonymous with the Chicano movement. She explained the intertwined exploitation of Chicanos and undocumented Mexicano workers, and she stated that the leadership of exiled Mexicano revolutionaries historically



infused Chicano workers with a strong class consciousness and a socialist internationalist perspective.

Speakers in the discussion noted that the document is a culmination of decades of high-level theoretical study and practice, beginning with Lenin's dissertations on the national question, and extending through the original Revolutionary Integration document, Cornish's own 1978 document on the national question, years of intense study and debate within the FSP, and the Party's entire 16-year history of intervention in the people of color movements.

Speakers lauded the document's dialectical exposition of the national and racial character of Chicano oppression, and its detailed and exacting use of history to show the fundamentally integrationist dynamic of Chicanos.

Many expressed their thanks to the authors for providing the theoretical weaponry to do battle with the Stalinists and cultural nationalists inside the Chicano movement.

## Militant—and not so model

Merle Woo and Nellie Wong, who co-authored and presented the pioneering Asian American Resolution, stated that, like Chicanos, Asian Americans are always looked on as aliens, no matter how long they have lived here, because of language differences and the fact of constant immigration from Asia.

Woo pointed out that *Asian Americans are composed of many Asian and Pacific Rim nationalities, and that the condescending label of "quiet, hardworking model minority" is a special feature of the racism against them and their exploitation as a reserve of cheap labor.*

Glaringly contrary to the myth that they have "made it," said Wong, most Asian Americans work in low-paying, unorganized jobs.

Woo noted that "submissive" Asian Americans are compared favorably with other people of color as a means of dividing them off, and that those who do make it into privileged professional jobs are spotlighted in order to stifle radicalism and foster opportunism.

"Asian Americans are industrious," said Wong. "They have to be." Even so, said the speakers, who can forget that 100,000 industrious Japanese Americans were thrown into U.S. concentration camps during World War II because they had begun to attain some economic power? Or that this racist internment terrorized all Asian Americans?

In keeping with the special character of the racism against them, Asian Americans are "invisible" in many mass movements and among other people of color. But Woo and Wong affirmed the increasing radicalism of young Asian Americans and their internationalist ties to China, to the anti-Marcos struggle in the Philippines, etc.

Asian American women, like their Chicana and Black sisters, said Wong, are victims not only of racism, but of sexism in society and in their own movements. Lesbians and gay men get very little support or recognition within the Asian American community.

Woo added that many Asian American women have not yet embraced feminism for fear of turning "their men" against them.

Wong recounted long-suppressed histories of individual Asian American women immigrants who fought for independent lives against overwhelming odds, and noted that the writings of modern Asian American women are "often more political"

to next page



than the writers themselves admit.

Asian American women feminists, she said, "are a minority within a minority," and socialist feminists provide an alternative to the self-denying invisibility imposed by sexism.

In the discussion, speakers agreed that the Asian American document was a major pioneering work, and a very strong beginning toward a more thorough understanding and analysis of the Asian American movement.

They elaborated on the history revealed in its pages: the torturous immigration struggles; the racist terrorism of internment; and the role of Asian Americans in the labor movement.

Tom Boot expressed his appreciation of Woo and Wong's discussion of the racism displayed by people of color toward other people of color, and added that the Asian American movement, composed of so many different nationalities, can serve as a model of unity for people of color.

### Intact and on the move

The FSP, a one-of-a-kind party, arose out of a rich Trotskyist heritage and out of the feminist upsurge of the '60s to become a national party with international connections within 16 years, said founder Clara Fraser in her presentation of the Organizational Resolution.

Since 1976, she reported, five branches outside Seattle were organized—in Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, and Aberdeen, Washington. And the Party intervened with dissident sectors of the Fourth International to regroup the American Trotskyist movement and cleanse the International of its sexism and unprincipled bloc with the U.S.-SWP.

The Party instituted a newspaper, the *Freedom Socialist*, expanded its activity in the labor and other mass movements, conducted regular forums, classes, and public information campaigns, and led the fight against incipient workplace fascism through the Fraser vs. City Light and Merle Woo vs. University of California cases.

All this happened in the context of an increasingly depressed U.S. economy and a correspondingly reactionary political and social climate.

"How did we reach sweet 16? Because it was necessary," Fraser stated. "If a bomb hit us now, a new FSP would arise to champion the underclass of the working class. Why? Because we have chosen to make of ourselves the conscious, willing instruments of the unconscious, objective process of historical development."

"We know that if we don't fight for ourselves, nobody will," she con-



Left to right: Doreen McGrath, Bird Wilson, Carl Anderson, Emily Woo Yamasaki, and Kathleen Merrigan.

## New members

One of the convention's most eagerly awaited moments was the introduction and acceptance of five new members.

These comrades had worked closely with the Party in mass movements, participated in study groups, and immersed themselves in the day-to-day regimen that keeps the Party functioning.

Each of them had tested the FSP to see how it carried out its socialist feminist program and met its commitment to party democracy and building women's and people of color's leadership.

They had also tested themselves to see if they possessed the strength and commitment to join a Bolshevik party that expresses itself in activism, speaks out proudly, and urges individuals to become well-rounded revolutionary theoreticians and organizers.

Both the FSP and the new comrades passed the test. Each new member embodies the Party's dedication to labor solidarity, principled politics, feminism, lesbian/gay liberation, and

the leadership of women and men of color.

The convention voted unanimously and with enthusiasm to welcome: Emily Woo Yamasaki, Asian American feminist, gifted actor, and daughter of Merle Woo; Bird Wilson, a Black/Native American mother who found the FSP to be the only party which fought for her on every front; Carl Anderson, who spent years fighting in the Socialist Workers Party for revolutionary principles and democracy, but found them only in the FSP; Doreen McGrath, a skilled worker who has already taken on the tremendous job of *Freedom Socialist* business manager; and Kathleen Merrigan, a multi-talented activist, labor organizer, and bulwark of the *FS* layout crew.

Emily hails from New York City, Carl from San Francisco, and Bird, Kathleen, and Doreen from Seattle. They reflect the national growth and attraction of the FSP and are a tribute to the fine recruiting work of the national branches. □

continued. "That realization should make us humble and tough."

She added that "great aims require great responsibility and we must develop the capacity to change, grow, and enhance our productivity."

The main party cadres are intact, she said. Hard times have left us leaner but stronger than ever, and we look to the future with confidence. The FSP, she said, is "the railroad to power. The engine will reach its destination if it's professionally run and cared for."

"It's really not so hard," she concluded. "People make revolutions all the time. I have boundless faith in you. I know you will go forward."

### Red scare on the job

The silencing of radicals precedes the silencing of working people as a whole, and the courageous resistance of Clara Fraser and Merle Woo against discriminatory firings and McCarthyite blacklisting is transforming on-the-job crises into opportunities for self-defense, said Mary Ann Cur-

tis in her summary of the Fraser sex and political discrimination case.

Merle Woo was terminated last June from her teaching position at the University of California at Berkeley. As an Asian American, socialist feminist, and lesbian, Woo was a number-one target for the reaction currently sweeping U.S. campuses.

Woo and Fraser are centers of two national campaigns organized by the FSP to defend civil liberties on the job. Mary Ann Curtis likened their cases to that of James P. Cannon and other SWP leaders who were tried for sedition by the war-hungry U.S. government in 1940. Both women, like the defendants in the Minneapolis trials, based their legal cases on the constitutional rights won by the workers, and publicly asserted their right to hold radical ideas. They explained their politics clearly, asked for labor and public support, and won remarkable endorsements.

Both cases, she said, tested to the utmost the party's capacity to reach new heights of productivity, resourcefulness, and commitment, and the test was passed.

### Crises and opportunities

Ten major resolutions were adopted at the convention. In addition to the Political Resolution, the Revolutionary Integration update, and the Chicano and Asian American papers, the following Draft Resolutions were unanimously endorsed: **Latin America**, by Stephen Durham; **The Left, the Right, and United Fronts**, by Angelica Merlino; **The Malvinas Crisis**, by David Fagan; **Ireland**, by Guerry Hoddersen and Robert Crisman; **The Native American Movement**, by Sandy Nelson and Guerry Hoddersen; **Trotskyist Feminism and Radical Women**, by Constance Scott; and **The Lesbian and Gay Movement**, by Stephen Durham.

Former Seattle FSP Organizer Gloria Martin paid tribute to the tremendous work and political acumen that went into each of these documents. She noted that the au-

thors had begun writing as early as the FSP pre-convention Plenum in December 1981, seven months earlier.

She also praised the comprehensive sweep of the papers, echoing convention organizer Heidi Durham's statement that the papers "analyze nearly every crisis and pinpoint every opportunity that the '80s have to offer."

### Milestones and memorabilia

• The convention elected an expanded National Committee of thirteen regular members and seven alternates to provide the party with political direction for the next period.

• The FSP Comrades of Color Caucus, a leadership group within the party, reported plans to expand its coordination of national policies and activities.

• In a heartfelt tribute to Murry Weiss, FSP National Committee Chairman and the "Dean of American Trotskyism," who died last December 26th, the convention featured the Murry Weiss Memorial Library in the meeting hall. Browsers relished the trove of radical literature that Murry bequeathed to his comrades.

• The convention sent greetings and aid to a Seattle Palestinian student organization, and hailed the women-led anti-war demonstrations in Tel Aviv.

• Greetings were sent to Australian comrade David Fagan, who contributed several lively discussion papers for pre-convention debate.

• Salutes were rendered to convention coordinator Heidi Durham and her aide, Luma Nichol, and to the numerous organizers who made sure that everyone had lodging, transportation, meals, and office services.

• Five attendees were accepted into party membership. (See box.)

• Several women announced their intention to join Radical Women.

• Guests included three comrades from the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), with whom the FSP has been recently collaborating on antidraft, lesbian/gay, and Labor Party activity. The RWL representatives participated in convention discussions and initiated a meeting with FSP leaders to continue the mutual exploration of program.

• A special salute was proffered to the convention Presiding Committee: Portland FSP organizer Angelica Merlino, New York organizer Dr. Susan Williams, Los Angeles organizer Stephen Durham, and San Francisco CRSP organizer Nellie Wong. They kept the convention on track and on schedule, and assured full participation and democracy.

• Convention evenings were reserved for culture and entertainment, including an *FS* banquet and satirical revue, skits by each branch on revolutionary life in their respective cities, a special Portland song and comedy revue, and a stirring poetry reading by the San Francisco Bay Area branch.

• Striving for excellence in mass movement work was underscored in workshops on the feminist, anti-war, lesbian/gay, and labor movements. Skills training was conducted in graphic arts, organizing, public speaking, and writing workshops.

• National FSP Finance Director Eldon Durham announced an ambitious \$25,200 Publications Fund Drive, to begin August 1982. The money will enable the party to publish in pamphlet form a number of major theoretical documents.

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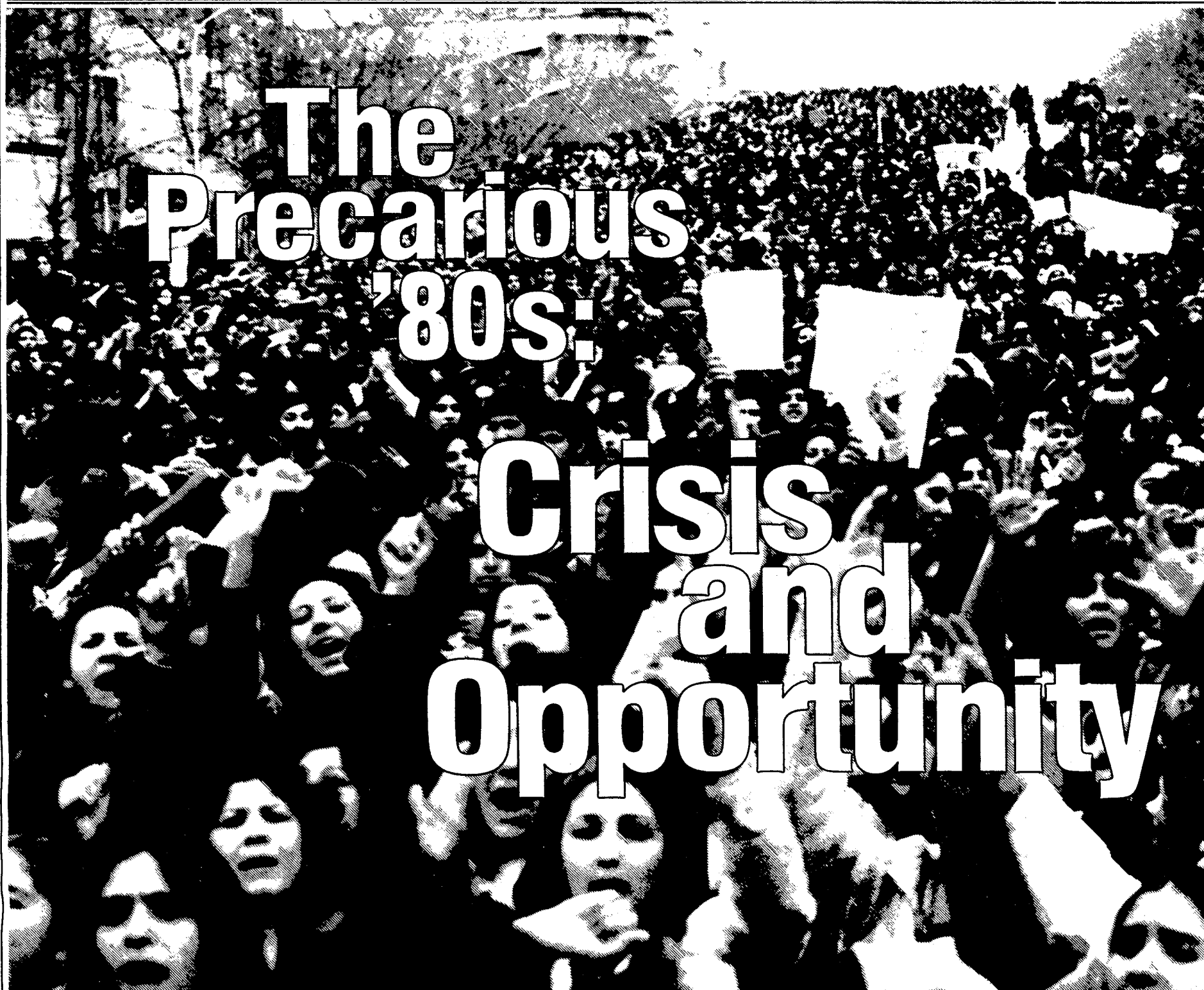
The FSP left Crystal Mountain armed with a mighty socialist feminist solution to capitalist chaos, and with unshakeable optimism about its bright future.

The comrades were intent, as Clara Fraser put it, on making a revolution "in our time and on our terms." □



Caricature and slapstick crown the entertainment as madcap satirists elicit howls of laughter from their comrades.





# The Precarious '80s: Crisis and Opportunity

Political Resolution adopted by the July 4th National Convention of the Freedom Socialist Party. Written by Murry Weiss, Sam Deaderick, and Clara Fraser on behalf of the National Committee of the FSP.

## PREFACE

**W**orld and U.S. capitalism are poised on an economic and political precipice.

Inflation, unemployment, deepening poverty, business failures, budget deficits, recession, and the specter of a devastating depression comparable to 1929-33, strain the capitalist economy to the breaking-point.

Successful revolutions abroad, aimed against both U.S. imperialism and national bourgeoisies, and increasingly powerful revolutionary movements within capitalist nations, threaten the very fabric of Wall Street's global domination.

Reagan's supply-side economic war on the poor has sparked widespread protest and a highly politicized resurgence of labor militancy. Nuclear war-mongering and revived draft registration have lent similar impetus to an antiwar movement that mobilizes hundreds of thousands in demonstrations against U.S. foreign policy.

The mass social movements in the U.S. face severe attack through White House, legislative, and judicial rollbacks of the hard-won gains of the 1960s and '70s. And with the implicit approval of the reigning rightwing Republicans, groups like the Moral Majority, KKK, and various fundamentalist religious cults and neo-nazi formations are expanding and flexing their muscle. They comprise the potential basis and breeding ground of a fascist mass movement that could spring forth as economic crisis deepens.

All the major characters are on stage, and the plot is emerging in classic form, in this drama of preparation for revolution and counterrevolution at home. To those with open eyes, the climax in the final act is clearly visible.

### Imperialist equilibrium shatters

The class struggle—which includes the struggles

of women, ethnic and racial minorities, lesbians and gays, the elderly, poor, youth, and disabled, fighters against political repression, and all who fight capitalist war and misery—is at a *remarkably high pitch* in the U.S. given the generally conservative political climate and drift.

Militancy and radicalism are way down from the '60s but up from the late '70s, and promise a curve of ascendancy.

Reagan's difficulty in winning domestic and international support for his policies in El Salvador, the Malvinas, Nicaragua, Cuba, and elsewhere, testifies to the hard political times besetting the ruling class.

The global class struggle—the broad battle of the world working class and its allies against domestic tyranny and global imperialism—is at an *unparalleled height*, with Latin America in the lead.

The equilibrium of imperialism in relation to its former colonies is shattering at an ever-increasing rate. This is a fact of the first magnitude for all revolutionaries.

### Tightrope of detente

The imperialist colonial balance is not the only failing relationship. The equilibrium of peaceful coexistence between U.S. capitalism and the workers' states is similarly undergoing a rupture.

This uneasy detente, nurtured over the years between the U.S. capitalist rulers and the Kremlin (and most recently China), is shifting and failing as Wall Street grows more panicked and desperate, as the masses in the workers' states launch heroic challenges against the bureaucratic tyranny of Stalinist regimes, and as China continues to chafe over Taiwan.

The Polish events of 1980-81 signal a new and cataclysmic level of political revolution against Stalinism. The Polish revolution fatally weakens the ailing Stalinist monolith and inspires revolutionary proletarian activity in other workers' states and in the West.

And it raises anew the glowing banner of anti-Stalinist, democratic, worker-controlled socialism.

### Goodbye to detente with labor

One social layer alone—the social democratic and Stalinist reformists of the world—shields world capital from the power and fury of the organized proletariat.

Without its delicate but decisive symbiotic relationship with this workers' bureaucracy—which Trotsky called the *middle caste*—capital would long since have found itself staring directly into the face of its proletarian nemesis.

The middle-caste layer of professional opportunists and anti-revolutionaries mediates and maintains peaceful coexistence between capital and labor. And it transmits bourgeois ideas, needs, and influences into the heart of the working class.

These misleaders are the power brokers, the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, the house servants of the plutocrats, and the eyes, ears, messengers, and agents of reaction—despite their "labor" or "socialist" labels.

But this equilibrium, too, is in serious jeopardy. The middle caste is losing its control over the disgusted masses, and a middle caste that cannot deliver is worthless to the ruling class. And so is a middle caste that is continually forced left by irrepressible political pressure from the workers.

### Wall Street still rules the world

U.S. capitalism is in heavy trouble—with its colonies, with detente, and with its middle-caste agents and spies. Nevertheless, within the world political climate of heightening class struggle, the U.S. remains the *world's leading capitalist power*.

Make no mistake about it—economically, politically, and militarily, U.S. capitalism is the keystone of global capitalism.

No other capitalist power can seriously challenge

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U.S. strength, stature, and impact on every level, despite the limited superiority of Japan and West Germany, for instance, in consumer commodity production and technology. This is a vital fact that many radicals overlook. Underestimation of U.S. power leads to, or reflects, underestimation of the specific gravity of the North American Revolution.

In 1946, the Socialist Workers Party convention adopted a bold and optimistic resolution, **Theses on the American Revolution**. The Theses put forth the scientific conclusion that the U.S. revolution was the key to world revolution. Because U.S. imperialism is the greatest counterrevolutionary force in the world, and because all proletarian and anti-colonial revolutions are distorted and contained by it, no revolution can be fully completed until the Yankee giant falls.

Say the Theses:

**The issue of socialism or capitalism will not be finally decided until it is decided in the U.S. Another retardation of the proletarian revolution in one country or another, or even one continent or another, will not save American imperialism from its proletarian nemesis at home. The decisive battles for the communist future of mankind will be fought in the U.S.**

**... The Russian Revolution raised the workers and colonial peoples to their feet. The American revolution with its hundredfold greater power will set in motion revolutionary forces that will change the face of our planet.**

This is still true today, 36 years later. Despite the breakdown of previously stable relations between U.S. capitalism and its colonies, its middle-caste lackeys, and its Soviet buddies, and despite the deepening economic crisis and the burgeoning world revolution, *the U.S. remains the central barrier and most powerful enemy of world revolution.*

*And the U.S. proletariat remains the chief international lever of challenge to U.S. capitalism.*

#### Socialism or barbarism

The current crisis presents a world historic opportunity for successful class struggle in the U.S.—and not in the misty clouds of the far future. This is an epoch of world showdown, and the American convulsion is approaching. The outcome depends on working class ability to transcend its bureaucracy, forge a revolutionary leadership, and go all the way to full power.

The crisis of the U.S. and world proletariat is still the crisis of leadership. But fresh uncorrupted leaders have a way of emerging out of the muck of opportunism, cynicism, and defeatism. The inexorable sweep of the revolutionary process tends to throw forth leaders with drive and integrity. Great vanguards tend to be created by great events.

This does not mean that Bolsheviks sprout spontaneously out of nowhere. Or that a Leninist and Trotskyist party can be ultimately sidestepped or transcended. It does mean that the accumulated wisdom, experience, theory, and spirit of Marxism are transmitted by the cultural winds of revolutionary internationalism, and that they take seed in new times and new places.

Permanent revolution teaches that revolt and great ideas are *contagious* and cannot be long suppressed. Their time always comes. When determined leaders are at hand, or come forth anew, or evolve at these historic junctures, and when a bold and intransigent revolutionary party crystallizes, all the ingredients for transforming society are present.

But if these ingredients do not appear, revolution is staled or defeated. And in our epoch the price of defeat is fascism, barbarism, or nuclear annihilation. This horror defines the bottomless depth of the danger, a danger which underscores the urgency of our task.

People know that a cloud of radioactive and Gestapo-like doom hovers over them, and people are shrieking their outrage at such an ignominious fate for humankind. The spirit and the will to live, and live beautifully, are surging toward the highest expressions of human solidarity, toward socialism, and this survival spirit will resolve the final conflict and unleash the full creative glory of the human race.

That is the hope and promise and logical denouement of our times.

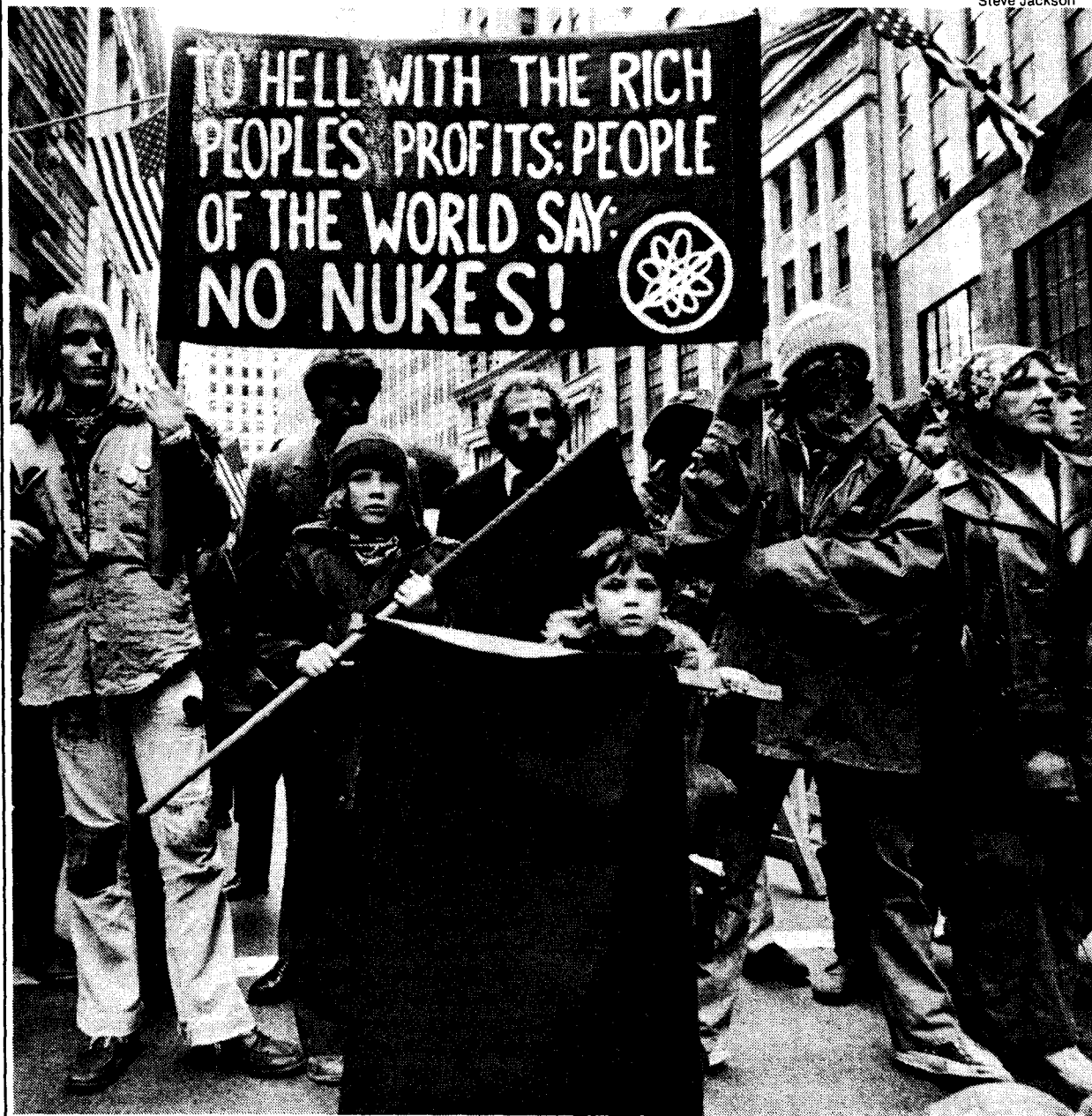
### I. A FALTERING BUT STILL POWERFUL GIANT

**A**fter World War II, U.S. capitalism reigned supreme.

Germany and Japan, its two most serious rivals, were decisively defeated. Industrial Europe and England were ravaged, their productive facilities almost entirely destroyed and their economies disrupted.

The U.S. was untouched by the physical destruc-

Steve Jackson



**October 29, 1979: On the 50th anniversary of the 1929 crash, the Manhattan Project leads a demonstration of thousands in an attempt to shut down the N.Y. stock exchange. Unless world capitalism and its Wall Street headquarters are vanquished, nuclear annihilation looms.**

tion of the war, and it emerged economically and technologically strengthened, due to increased investments and technological improvements in industry and manufacture made possible by government financing of war production.

The war economy was the magic transfusion that saved the stricken country from the Great Depression of the 1930s. War was good for U.S. capitalism, and the ruling class expected the postwar era to be even more beneficial.

Indeed, after the allied victory, the U.S. was the undisputed general and banker of the capitalist world.

After the Kremlin and world Stalinism stifled and sold out the postwar surges toward socialism in Europe, the U.S. heavily recapitalized Europe, England, and Japan through the Marshall Plan. A prolonged period of relative capitalist prosperity was in the offing as the U.S. consolidated an unprecedented domination of the world capitalist economy.

Industrial retooling and reinvestment at home, combined with the long pent-up demand for consumer goods, were sufficient to keep the U.S. economy relatively buoyant. Later, the production of arms for the Korean War and then the Vietnam War kept purchasing power and employment at relatively high levels. Opportunities for profitable investment in production, distribution, and services were widespread. Employment abounded. Unemployment levels were "acceptable."

This was the "American Century!"

#### The boom begins to bust

Capitalism's postwar recuperative powers, however, were markedly limited.

Once the need was satisfied for consumer goods that had been unavailable during World War II, the domestic market shrank. Outlets for investment lessened and the rate of return on investments fell. This discouraged new and widespread capitalization.

And internationally, once war-ravaged Europe had been rebuilt, the opportunity for further investment there diminished.

In due course, bitter competition with U.S. capital came to be provided by West German and Japanese manufacturing, which enjoyed more advanced productive facilities and a miniscule military budget. As a result, the U.S. dollar fell on the world market, creating even more difficulties in profitably selling U.S. goods abroad.

Not even Americans were buying American goods: they bought Toyotas and Sony instead of Chryslers and RCA.

In addition, revolutionary upheavals in Eastern Europe, China, Africa, Cuba, Southeast Asia, and Latin America removed enormous markets, fields of investment and sources of cheap labor and raw materials from the capitalist orbit. All over the world, countries formerly under the economic thumb of U.S. and European imperialism and colonialism were now regaining control of their own natural and human resources and destiny.

The U.S. economy was further eroded by the state's astronomical deficit spending (which ballooned during the Vietnam War), by permanent inflation, by mounting unemployment, and by the ensuing reduction of consumer buying power.

Today, the situation has dangerously worsened and a fullscale depression looms. There is every indication that the depth of the coming bust will be directly proportional to the height of the post-war boom. This boom receded frequently in the '50s and '60s, and the economy began to divebomb after Vietnam. But this time, the bust will not be followed by another boom.

Capitalism is beginning to feel its death convulsions. The current crisis is a crisis of a diseased and contracting system which shows no signs of an ability to substantially recover. This is a system overripe for overthrow.

#### From recession to depression

Two major features distinguish the current recession from others since World War II.

First, this recession began with *unemployment at a very high rate—7%*. Previous recessions began with unemployment at approximately 4%.

Second, in previous recessions, the government moved to appropriate funds to aid the unemployed and create jobs. This time the government is *cutting back on all social service spending*.

As a result, consumer spending has plummeted, causing a decline in the production of consumer goods.

Unless a method can be found to induce economic expansion *without* fueling inflation, the current recession will inevitably tumble down the dangerous path to a fullscale depression.

Making more credit available could spur economic expansion, but increased credit itself is infla-



tionary. Manufacturers simply transmit credit costs to the consumer, and the consumer must pay interest on everything bought on credit. Increasing credit can only *postpone* crisis, not cure it. But without credit, there ensue underconsumption, overproduction, and unemployment. Whether credit is expanded or curtailed, crisis looms.

Bourgeois economists, at a loss to reconcile the worsening contradictions of modern capitalism, have themselves begun using the word "depression"—for the first time since the 1930s.

The special measures used to end the 1929-33 depression will not work this time. The economy of the '30s was revived largely through economic "pump-priming." On the advice of British economist John Maynard Keynes, the federal government began participating in the economy to a larger extent than ever before. A measure of *centralized planning* was introduced to partially offset the deadly anarchy of laissez-faire capitalism.

Through the mechanisms of immense public work projects, vast new social services, unemployment compensation and social security, government-subsidized art and drama, and other schemes, the federal treasury pumped huge sums of money into the economy.

By increasing consumer purchasing power, the government hoped to spur private investment and avoid any further fall in prices. And the Keynesian panacea worked to an extent. But its various strategies were never sufficient, by themselves, to revitalize the system. Not until military spending reached the astronomical levels of World War II did the economy show a sustained upswing.

This two-front economic corrective of welfare and warfare worked for a relatively prolonged period.

But now the very strategies that saved capitalism from the Great Depression have turned into the problems that threaten its continued survival.

As the government feeds money into the economy—primarily in the form of military production—purchasing power is increased. However, there is no corresponding *volume* increase in the production of consumer products (military goods are produced to be destroyed, not exchanged). Thus, the money-supply increases in relation to the stock of salable goods, and this *imbalance of commodities and money* drives up prices and devalues the dollar.

This is inflation: \$5.00 buys only one dollar's worth of goods.

Rising government spending, moreover, enormously increases the federal budget deficit. This forces the government to borrow more money at high interest rates and raise the interest rate on the lending of federal funds. This in turn kicks the prevailing commercial and consumer interest rates even higher, and increases inflation still further.

High interest rates have dire consequences for industry. The housing crisis, for example, stems from the inability of builders and buyers to pay the interest demanded by the banks and from the inability of consumers to pay the high mortgage rates. So building stops, the lumber and sawmill industry slows down, and the manufacture and sale of appliances, furnishings, etc., grind to a halt. Soon other vital sectors of industry—textiles, aluminum, electrical—also falter.

Steel plants close; the falling rate of return on investment forces them to price steel higher than their foreign competitors, and sales drop off. The capitalists turn to investing in energy or the stock and bond markets instead of steel.

The automobile industry is crumbling; saddled with mismanagement, bad design, and cars built shoddily because of insane speed-up conditions. Auto inventories languish unsold, production is cut back, auto and auto parts plants close, and hundreds of thousands of workers are laid off.

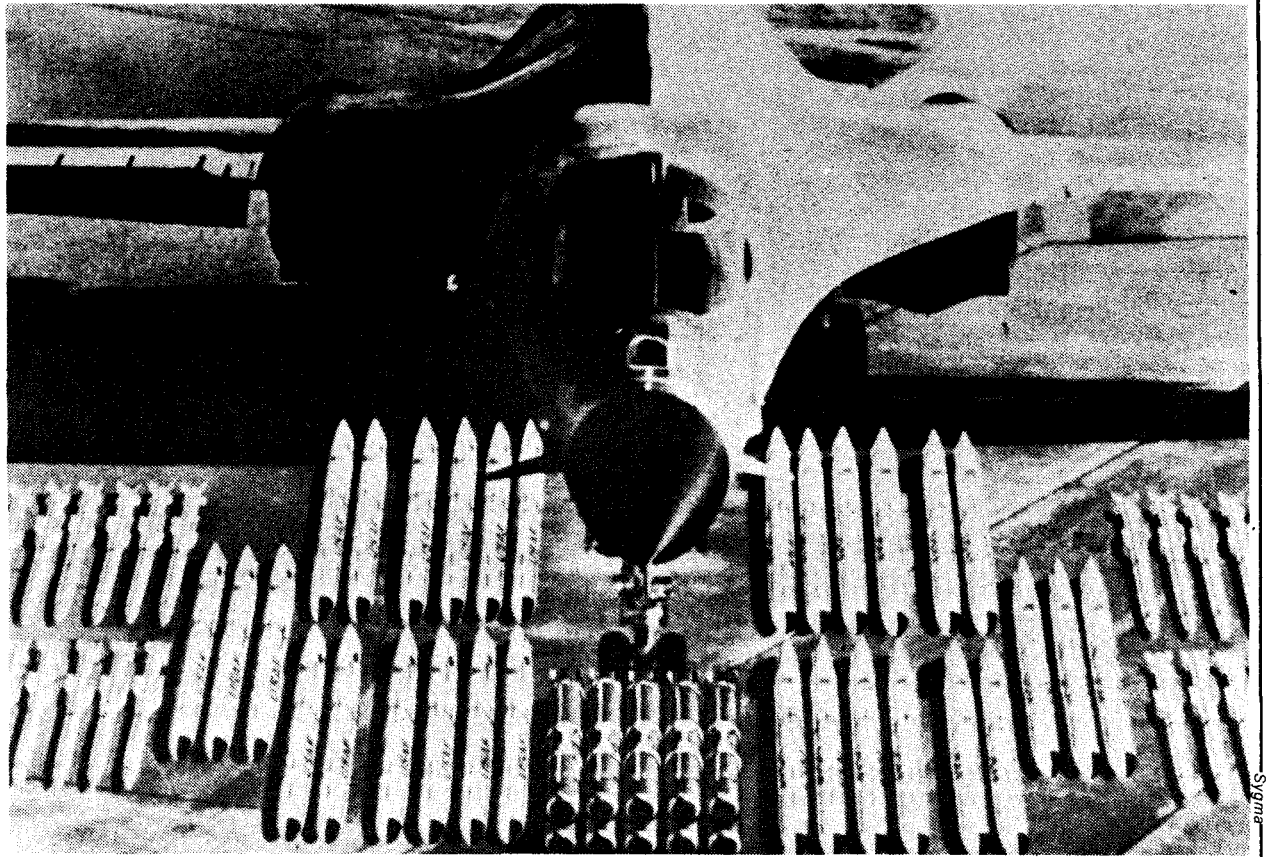
Housing, auto, and steel—industries which traditionally led the upturn from recession—are fighting for survival. And no new industrial or commercial enterprises have arisen which can lead in the recovery process.

Finance capital is also in trouble. Savings and loan institutions, traditionally the major source of home mortgage financing, face a strangulating squeeze. They are forced to carry huge numbers of long-term, *low-interest* loans, yet must borrow funds on the *high-interest* loan market. Numerous savings and loans institutions, facing collapse, have merged, and the surviving institutions can only offer mortgage rates unaffordable by most consumers.

### Economics vs. politics

To combat the approaching depression, the Reagan administration must do two things.

It must slow the falling *rate* of profit (profit is the difference between labor costs and the selling price of a commodity, and the rate of profit is the degree of exploitation of labor power), so that investment



The B-1 bomber and its deadly cargo, part of the vast U.S. military machine that sits as the police force of world imperialism. Economically, militarily, and politically, U.S. capital is the keystone of world capitalism. U.S. power rests on the enormous destructive capacity of the military arsenal.

in labor power is worthwhile.

And it must reduce the dangerous inflationary spiral.

To increase the rate of profit, capital must *increase the exploitation of workers*.

To slow inflation, the only course is to *cut* government spending, *tighten up* the money supply in circulation, *slow down* economic expansion, and *provoke* recession.

However, these curative economic measures create severe *political* problems.

The rate of profit can be increased only by reducing labor costs. This can be done through increased automation (in the short run), improving systems and techniques, eliminating some managerial layers and "fringe" programs, reducing real wages, and stepping up productivity by means of speed-up and longer working hours.

Introducing advanced automation, however, involves great capital expense. And to reduce the cost or improve the effectiveness of management is notoriously difficult and goes against the grain of management philosophy.

So, instead, industry and government declare war on organized labor and attempt to raise the rate of profit by reducing the ranks of workers, lowering real wages, speeding-up the work flow, and saddling workers with impossible responsibilities and conditions of labor.

Attacking inflation by reducing the federal budget deficit is also difficult, because the primary source of the deficit is the military budget. While reducing military production could slow inflation by cutting the federal deficit, it would simultaneously strike a deadly blow to ship and aircraft builders, electronics manufacturing, steel, rubber, and other industrial sectors.

And politically, the ruling class must continue to strengthen its military might against the rising tide of Third World revolution. It must signal to the rest of the capitalist world that the U.S. intends to remain the bulwark against creeping socialism.

However, economics and politics are in conflict here, and the dangerous contradiction between them deepens the crisis of each sector and sets the stage for social combat.

Increased social services, reductions in arms spending, and fair wage increases are *bad capitalist economics*. Capitalism can no longer afford even shreds of humane social programs. Capitalism can no longer afford FDR's New Deal or LBJ's Great Society and anti-poverty programs or Kennedy's liberal-humanist rhetoric. Those days are gone.

Reagan is sincere when he says he's trying to cure the economy, even if that spells disaster for the masses. He only enunciates, after all, the basic nature and objective needs of capitalism.

### The primacy of U.S. capitalism

The political and economic contradictions torturing the U.S. economy seem insurmountable. Yankee capitalism has fallen a long way from being the vigorous inheritor of world imperialist hegemony after World War II.

Does this mean that the U.S. giant is losing its preeminent position, that it has been surpassed in capital's international competition for first place among the thieves?

Hardly. *America has not lost its position as the premier power of world capitalism. The U.S. is still the leader in economics, politics, and war.*

And as U.S. capitalism weakens through its own contradictions, so does world capitalism. The decline of the U.S. can't help but affect the world market, world banking, and world commodity production. Because the U.S. economy is the keystone of world capitalism, serious trouble here translates into serious trouble for the entire bourgeois world.

Unemployment is mounting around the world, reaching record levels in West Germany, Japan, Britain, France, and Canada. Just as the 1929-33 U.S. depression became a worldwide crisis, the coming U.S. depression must spread internationally.

Despite national competition, tariff barriers, national economic peculiarities, and other differences, the capitalist economy is a *unified, international system*. Like a house of cards, every portion bears the weight of some parts and leans on others. And like a house of cards, if the delicate balance is shifted, the slightest tremor can cause a collapse.

The nemesis of capitalism is the worldwide class struggle—the unceasing battle of the working class in the industrial nations against the bourgeoisie, and the colonial wars of liberation against imperialist plunder. Class war in the factories, the offices, and the streets, against the owners and the rulers, disrupts production and distribution, confounds the economy, and provides the tremors to shake the house of cards.

The key to the future of the planet lies in the outcome of this international class struggle. The still powerful giant—and his holy trinity of Wall Street, the Pentagon, and the White House—will crash thunderously when he is felled. But felled he will be, by the international *proletarian* giant of tomorrow.

## II. THE ASCENDING WORLD REVOLUTION

**T**he depth of capitalist decay in this last quarter of the 20th century is unarguable demonstration that the inefficient and anachronistic system of production and distribution of goods for private profit is unable to support the survival needs of the world's masses. This is so even though industrial technology and productivity have long since passed the point where world plenty is a material possibility.

But capitalism will not gradually dissolve itself into a socially-owned and managed system, although such a system is infinitely more humane, rational, and equalitarian. Despite chronic economic crises, industrial wastefulness, and immeasurable human suffering, the bourgeoisie tenaciously clings to power until that power is forcibly ripped away.

Scientific socialism teaches that the independent struggle of the proletariat is the only way to abolish privilege and parasitism, and achieve real political and economic democracy. And this precept holds true on both the national and international scale. The only agent that can conquer international capitalism is the international working class.

This world historical task, however, cannot be

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accomplished overnight. It is a process spanning a complete historical period. We are fortunate to live in this most exciting era of world history—the epoch of international proletarian revolution begun by the Russian workers in 1917, when for the first time in history, the working class, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, boldly seized power.

The epoch of world revolution is the epoch of capitalist decay, characterized by a continual ascendance of the world proletariat and the prolonged death agony of the private profit system. The revolutionary tempo of the 20th century has not been smooth and predictable. But overall the working class has made staggering advances while the bourgeoisie has steadily retreated.

### The Third International after Lenin

Before World War II, the Soviet Union stood alone as the world's first workers' state. The period from the victory of the Russian Revolution through

for the fascist occupation of almost the whole of Europe—from the German invasion and annexation of Austria in 1936 until the defeat of Mussolini in 1943 and Hitler in 1945.

The military victory over fascism entailed the destruction of Japanese, German, and Italian imperialism, the weakening of French, English, and Belgian colonialism, and the emergence of the Soviet Union as the second most powerful military/industrial nation in the world. And the relief and exaltation of liberation, after the horror of fascist Europe, unleashed a revolutionary wave previously unmatched in human history.

### Post-war Europe

With the German Nazi and Italian fascist defeat in 1945 (and the deaths of Hitler and Mussolini), the European nations under fascist occupation or ruled by domestic fascist regimes faced great revolutionary opportunities. This enormous sector in-

Giancarlo Botti/Sygnma



Paris, 1968. A revolutionary alliance of students and workers launched a nationwide general strike in France. Opportunist, middle-caste misleaders defused the militance and French capitalism survived the crisis.

the opening of the war in 1939 was marked by revolutionary defeats in Europe.

Strategic errors by the revolutionary leadership were compounded by the strength of the European bourgeoisie as compared to the Russian capitalists of 1917. And the outright treachery and betrayal of the international working class by the Stalinist Third International sealed the European defeats.

Intransigent internationalism had been the guiding perspective of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist (Third) International from their beginnings until 1924. Then Stalin counterposed his sinister and absurd theory of "socialism in one country" to Trotsky's Permanent Revolution theory of uninterrupted and interconnected world upsurge.

Great opportunities throughout Europe in the '20s and '30s were sacrificed on the altar of "socialism in one country": the tragic defeat of the German insurrection in 1923, the decapitation of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 by handing it over to its executioner, Chiang Kai-shek; the cowardly approach to the promising British General Strike in 1926; and the crass counterrevolutionary replacement of the workers' united front with the class-collaborationist "Popular Front" in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and the French crisis of 1935-37.

Stalin's generals, GPU hatchetmen, and Kremlin commissars betrayed the heroic Spanish people to Franco and the fighting French proletariat to Leon Blum and his "liberal" bourgeois government. (See Trotsky's *Third International After Lenin* and *Whither France?*, Felix Morrow's *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain*, Harold Isaac's *Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, and George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*.)

Had European revolution been victorious during the '20s and '30s, the world would have been spared the horrors of German and Italian fascism. But Stalin's counterrevolutionary policies allowed the bourgeoisie to triumph and the stage was set

cluded—besides Germany and Italy—Finland, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Austria, and Greece!

Unfortunately, the political fate of these countries after liberation was being cynically decided by the heads of state of the U.S., England, and the USSR.

At Teheran, Iran in 1943, and at Yalta, USSR and Potsdam, Germany in 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin (and later Truman and Attlee) coldly carved up the world into political/economic spheres of influence.

Western capitalism, dominated by the U.S., was to hold sway in Western Europe. The Soviets were to control Eastern Europe. Germany was to be jointly administered by England, France, the U.S., and the Soviet Union.

In return for domination of Eastern Europe, Stalin agreed to two major concessions: first, to quell the revolutionary drive in Western Europe, and second, to maintain capitalist property relations in his dominion of Eastern Europe.

In much of the Western European territory earmarked for the British/U.S./French sphere of influence, local Communist Parties had achieved vast influence through their leadership of the anti-fascist resistance. The ascent of the CPs to full power was logical and expected. But Stalin instructed these parties to throw their full support to post-war bourgeois governments, and, in Italy and France, to enter these governments and assist in the reconstruction of capitalism and bourgeois policies.

In Greece, the anti-Nazi partisan army led by the Stalinists had the power in their hands when the Nazi occupiers retreated in 1945. But they were ordered to hold back until the British army could enter the country and set up a puppet government! A bitter civil war ensued that lasted four years, until 1949, when Tito's withdrawal of Yugoslavian aid caused the collapse of the resistance forces.

In the Eastern European countries liberated by the Red Army and assigned to the Soviet sphere, the

Stalinist betrayals were even more blatant. In Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria, popular uprisings, factory seizures, and workers' councils greeted the liberators and anticipated a socialist transformation. But Stalin's troops put down the uprisings and installed bourgeois governments!

Stalin's horrendous treachery could not go unresisted forever.

Yugoslavia, unlike most of Eastern Europe, had liberated itself from Nazi occupation through a prolonged guerrilla war led by Communist partisans and headed by Marshal Tito. Tito and Stalin could not communicate during the war, so Tito's open socialism could not be squelched by Stalin. Tito was the unchallenged leader of the country, and in 1945 the Communist Party took power and nationalized the economy, against Stalin's wishes.

Like Yugoslavia, Albania achieved liberation, through the efforts of Communist partisan forces led by Enver Hoxha, who set up a provisional government in 1945 and established a nationalized economy.

In 1947, Stalin was incensed by the U.S. creation of the Marshall Plan, which provided vast sums to recapitalize Western Europe, and by the launching of the Cold War. U.S. domination of the Western European economy threatened his territory. Stalin was forced to take measures to create a buffer zone, forced to nationalize the economies of all Eastern Europe and place every country there under the political domination of the USSR. This was accomplished by military-bureaucratic maneuvers or invasions in 1947 and 1948.

And in 1949 Germany was split up into the Federal Republic of Germany in the west and the German Democratic Republic in the east. Berlin itself was divided in half!

The transformation was now complete. Capitalism was destroyed in Yugoslavia, Albania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland, and East Germany. But this transformation was a mixed blessing.

The destruction of private property relations, the institution of a nationalized and planned economy, and a state monopoly of foreign trade in such an immense area represented a monumental historic advance. But the new workers' states were deformed at birth because of the Soviet Union's installation of the new socialized property relations by means of military and bureaucratic measures.

The Eastern European workers' states are therefore deformed workers' states, as distinct from the Soviet Union, which was not bureaucratically deformed at birth but degenerated after the great and classic Bolshevik revolution.

The encirclement of the young Soviet Union, the first workers' state, by 21 imperialist armies, a devastating civil war, the inherited low level of agricultural and industrial technology, and the failure of revolution in Europe to come to its material and moral aid gave rise to an inevitable bureaucratic caste of political policemen who organized the scarcity and usurped all vestiges of workers' power. This conservative, opportunist, and primarily petty bourgeois elite tailored its politics to ensure its own survival, and Stalin was its expression and prime representative, its "Thermidorean reaction."

After the Stalinization of Eastern Europe, the direction of world revolution was to take a decidedly different turn. The motion would now be generated outside, around, and behind the Soviet bureaucracy. World revolution would no longer be controlled by the Kremlin.

### Three fronts, one class war

The post-war revolutionary struggle takes place on three battlefronts: (1) the colonial revolution against imperialism, (2) the political revolution against Stalinist bureaucracy in the workers' states, and (3) the proletarian struggle against capitalism in the imperialist countries.

These three forces develop within a dialectical unity. Each sector influences and is dependent on the others.

The delayed revolution in the West has enabled world imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, to mount military offensives against Third World revolution. The delay has also held back the political revolution in the workers' states.

The capitalist world economy has forced the workers' states to adapt to the commodity production system in order to engage in commodity exchange on the world capitalist market. The inherently conservative political impulses and inclinations of the Stalinist bureaucracy are given an objective assist by its economic relationship with world capital, which further strengthens the bureaucracy.

Politically, the ruling caste develops theories such as "peaceful coexistence" and "peaceful transition" which clearly reflect its romance with capitalism and



justify its attempts to stabilize economic relations with world capital, at the expense of the world working class.

At home, the bureaucratic caste engenders a huge bureaucratic apparatus which fatally inhibits workers' self-organization, political expression, and revolt.

On these three international revolutionary battle fronts, the most successful class advances have been made by the Third World rebellions against colonial domination.

In the post-war era, after the relative stabilization of Europe, the center of world revolution shifted to the colonial and semicolonial worlds of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Indian subcontinent.

While a relative economic stabilization occurred after the war among the industrial capitalist nations, the economic situation in the colonial and semicolonial world worsened. This sector of the world economy was the weakest link in the international capitalist chain, and was thereby the most likely to rupture its bonds with world capital.

In these countries, the importance and strength of the national bourgeoisies varied greatly according to the degree of economic development in each country. In India, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, for example, the capitalist class was sufficiently powerful and conscious to assume direct political power. But in the most severely exploited countries—those maintained as sources of raw material and as agricultural preserves rather than centers for industrial manufacture—the national bourgeoisie was too small and weak to take control. Furthermore, the demands of the masses for agrarian reform, nationalization, planning of the economy, and the emancipation of women pushed insurgency beyond the limits of bourgeois democracy.

Adding enormous impetus to the relative strength of the colonial proletariat over its bourgeoisie are the anti-racist and nationalist aspects of the struggle. The virulent racism of the white imperialist exploitation of colonial peoples engenders a passionate revolutionary edge to the nationalist cry for independence and freedom from imperialist control.

### Far East

In the Far East, the first country to destroy capitalism was *China*.

World War II had removed the yoke of Japanese imperialism from China, and this most populous country in the world was ripped from capitalist control when Mao Tse-Tung and his Communist Party armies, which had simultaneously fought Japan and Chiang Kai-shek, routed Chiang's troops in 1949 and formed the People's Republic of China.

The 1949 victory was the result of battles spanning 20 years.

When Chiang slaughtered thousands of his Communist "allies" in 1927 (see Andre Malraux's *Man's Fate*), the survivors fled into the mountains. Mao proceeded to build a mass army of peasants, proletarian escapees, and Communists. Their fabled exploits and impact were so overwhelming that not even Stalinism could paralyze them.

Chiang's regime was so corrupt and so hated that when Mao marched on Shanghai in 1949, Chiang and his minions fled to Formosa (Taiwan) with virtually no popular support. The internal dynamic of the revolution once again expressed workingclass interests more strongly and successfully than did its leadership!

At first a capitalist state with a mixed economy, the People's Republic of China was forced to nationalize industry when virtually the entire bourgeoisie fled to Taiwan. And revolutionary China struck the capitalist world like a massive hammer blow.

While the Soviet Union had one-sixth of the world's population, China had one-fourth. An enormous expanse of territory and immense natural resources was now barred to imperialist exploitation.

And the revolution stood as a beacon to the entire colonialist world, radiating the principles of liberation to those under tyrant landlords, the comprador (native) bourgeoisie, sadistic warlords and governments, and world imperialism. If China—technologically backward, afflicted with chronic famines, and imprisoned in a stifling sexist culture—could rise to such stunning revolutionary heights, so could the entire colonial world.

The red star over China inspired the world's masses and opened a wave of colonial revolution which has never stopped. All of Asia was affected.

In 1945, after the defeat of the Japanese occupation forces within its borders, *Korea* (a peninsula bordering northeast China and the USSR) was partitioned. A Russian commander accepted the Japanese surrender in the north and an American commander accepted Japanese surrender in the south. In the north, the popular liberation forces headed by the Communists took the reins of government, supported by the Soviet Union. In the south, the U.S.

supported the far-right butcher Syngman Rhee.

When Soviets and Americans could not agree on a unification plan, partition became permanent.

In 1950, revolt against the rightist administration was brewing in South Korea, and North Korean forces moved into the south, backed by vast popular support in both north and south for the unification of Korea, the withdrawal of the U.S. and the ouster of Syngman Rhee. The Korean War was on.

After three years of bitter fighting, and the commitment of U.S. troops to South Korea, a ceasefire was established, and the country still simmers as the U.S. presence denies a united Korea.

*Vietnam* (originally French Indochina) had also been occupied by the Japanese. When they surrendered in 1945, they handed southern Vietnam over to the British, and northern Vietnam to the Chinese under Chiang Kai-shek. The Viet Minh (a popular front of Communists, Social Democrats, and bourgeois parties) took power in the north and agreed to the British occupation of the south.

Vietnamese Trotskyists disagreed with the Viet Minh policy and led uprisings against the British. But the Viet Minh crushed the uprisings, killed the leaders, and allowed the British to assume control of the south.

The British held control in the south until sufficient French troops could arrive, whereupon the British handed control back to the French.

When the French attacked the Viet Minh in the north in 1946, a liberation war against the French armies was launched.

In 1951, Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Minh leader in North Vietnam, broke with the bourgeoisie and undertook agrarian reform and nationalization of the economy. In 1954, after the stunning Viet Minh annihilation of the French at Dien Bien Phu, a treaty was signed. The Geneva Accords between the French and the Viet Minh established the principle of a united Vietnam. Elections were set for 1956,

and the post office. The country was thrown into chaos.

In 1978, the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation (KNUFNS)—an army of 100,000 Vietnamese troops and 20,000 Kampuchean rebels—invaded Kampuchea, and since then holds most of the territory.

The Khmer Rouge, backed by China and with some increasing U.S. support, continues guerrilla war against KNUFNS. But KNUFNS is holding on, and conditions for the masses have markedly improved from the days of Khmer Rouge control.

### India

On the Indian subcontinent of Asia, independence struggles intensified after World War II.

Mahatma Gandhi, who led nearly 30 years of "non-violent, peaceful resistance" to British rule, lived to see independence achieved in 1947 but was assassinated by a Hindu in 1948 during the bitter Hindu/Moslem fighting which accompanied the independence struggle.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhi's successor and the first Prime Minister, preached social democracy. He initiated the policy of "non-alignment" with either of the two major super powers, a policy based on the premise of an independent "Third (colonial) World." His government was more democratic than that of his daughter, Indira Gandhi.

Unlike much of the Third World, the Indian native bourgeoisie was strong enough to take power in its own name upon gaining independence, and strong enough to repress the inevitable movement for socialism that erupted after Gandhi's death and after the gigantic Chinese Revolution just across the border.

India continues to be a land of misery, starvation, and entrenched backwardness. It is riddled with religious hysteria and conflicts that redound conveniently to the benefit of capitalism.

UPI



**A U.S. official punches a Vietnamese refugee trying to board an overloaded plane during the 1975 American evacuation of Vietnam. 20 bloody years of struggle ended in a complete Vietnamese victory over the most powerful military machine in the world—the U.S. juggernaut.**

and the French began to withdraw.

Meanwhile the U.S., which had been giving aid to the French, installed a puppet government in the south and refused to schedule the elections. Resistance to the U.S. presence swiftly emerged, and the National Liberation Front (NLF) formed in 1960 to wage revolutionary war against the U.S. and its puppet regime.

After 15 years of unremitting fighting against the most sophisticated military apparatus in the world, the NLF drove the U.S. out of Saigon in 1975 and unified Vietnam. The economy of the south was nationalized and the entire country became a workers' state (with Stalinist bureaucratic deformations).

In neighboring *Cambodia*, following the Vietnam victory, the Khmer Rouge which had fought the U.S.-backed Lon Nol regime during the Vietnam/U.S. war, seized power and renamed the country Kampuchea. Within hours of seizing control, the Khmer Rouge, in an unprecedented and inexplicable move, evacuated almost the entire population from the cities into the countryside and dismantled the economy, the educational system, the health care

But we have hardly heard the last of the Indian revolution.

### Middle East

The oil-rich Middle East, which had been largely under French and English control before World War II, became a cauldron of revolt in the years that followed.

The establishment of *Israel* as a Zionist state in 1948 was based not only on the terrorist war against the British but on the suppression and expulsion of native Palestinian Arabs. The resulting war in the Middle East has continued uninterrupted ever since.

Israel's entire existence depends on the largesse of U.S. imperialism, which was the first to give diplomatic recognition to the new state and has armed it from its inception.

Israel denies the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs and their demand for their own autonomy. The Israelis have pressed further and further into Arab territory with belligerent military might. Israel

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acts on its own—but serves as a toehold for imperialism in the Middle East and as a pampered counterweight to the Arab revolution.

Since the formation of Israel, the Arab states with the exception of Egypt have united in a political alliance against Zionism. This alliance combines disparate and often incompatible governments into a common bond against Zionist expansionism.

However, within the Arab world itself, revolt simmers and challenges the fabulously wealthy monarchies and republics alike.

But the Arab states, due to oil deals and fear of revolutionary sentiment within their own borders, have never formed an adequate *military* alliance against Zionism and in support of the Palestinian Arabs' right to a homeland.

The battle against Israel, waged most militantly by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), led by Yasser Arafat, is the focal point of the Arab revolution today. Israel represents and is the symbol and outpost of imperialism and capitalism to the millions of Palestinian refugees and Arab radicals who have no need of oil-rich sheikhs, U.S. advisors, or Israeli hawks.

The fury of Arab refugees over the Jewish state is at once the reflection, and displacement, of their class resentment against imperialism, native capitalism, and generations of misery. Truly, the Zionists are not their *total* problem, but Zionism has made itself into what appears to be the main problem.

And until *Arab socialism* connects with *Jewish socialism*, no resolution is in sight except the creation of a Palestinian state on the Left Bank of Jordan, which is not much of a solution.

The turmoil of the Arab masses, whether Palestinian refugee or not, bubbles and troubles, keeping imperialism, oil sheikhs, and native compradors on a razor's edge of anxiety. The spirit of the Arab masses (so brilliantly internalized and publicized by Lawrence of Arabia in World War I) provides steady leadership in the Third World challenge to Western hegemony.

In *Iran*, east of Israel and the Arab nations, the CIA installed the Shah in 1953, opening an era of terror and repression which was to last for a quarter of a century. But in 1979, the wrathful Iranian masses overthrew the hated Shah, the major ally of the U.S. in the Middle East.

Workers, women, national minorities, and radicals raised a common voice of rage heard around the world as the Iranian revolution set the stage for proletarian overturn throughout the area.

Under the leadership of the Shah's arch-enemy, Ayatollah Khomeini, the Islamic Republicans established a capitalist government in Iran. But the same people who demanded and won freedom from the Shah's despotism now demand, and will win, freedom from the medievalism and political repression of Islamic capitalism.

Just across Iran's eastern border, in *Afghanistan*, civil war erupted in 1979.

The pro-Kremlin People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) had seized power in 1978 and outlined a series of reforms—land reform, legalization of trade unions, an end to child marriages, and a reduction (!) of bride prices. A literacy campaign emphasized education for women.

A rightwing movement of dispossessed landlords, former usurers, Moslem clergy, and Afghani monarchists launched a guerrilla war against the new regime. They were especially incensed over the measures to free women from unspeakable bondage.

The rightwing offensive intensified as the guerrillas received arms, training, and supplies from U.S.-supported Pakistan. At the end of 1979, 85,000 Soviet troops poured across the border and beat back the guerrillas. The Soviets killed PDPA leader and President Halizullah Amin and installed the staunchly pro-Soviet Babrak Karmal.

World imperialism frothed and roared.

This military-bureaucratic re-installation of a pro-Soviet regime was motivated by Moscow's fear of a U.S. presence on the 1,000-mile Soviet/Afghani border. But it had the objective effect of supporting and promoting the revolution.

The rightwing guerrillas continue to receive aid from Pakistan, and their attacks against the Kremlin-controlled government continue.

Meanwhile, the Afghani populace is subject to iron Kremlin control. When a proletarian movement independent of the Kremlin arises in Afghanistan, workers' democracy will become a realistic hope.

## Africa

In 1945, at the end of World War II, only four African countries were independent—Ethiopia, Liberia, Egypt, and the Union of South Africa.

But the end of the war brought increased capital investments from the developed countries into the vast continent, sparking a growth of urbanization, increased detribalization, the birth of a concentrated



Strike committee members confer at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk in 1980. The Independent Polish trade union Solidarity resurrected political revolution against Stalinism in Eastern Europe.

proletariat, and the development of a layer of sophisticated intellectuals.

This new demographic reality prepared the African masses for a swift and enormous response to such world events as the Chinese revolution and Arab nationalism. A wave of anti-colonialism and Pan-Africanism swept the continent, and it grew readily apparent that the colonizers would be unable to hold their possessions.

British, French, Belgian, and U.S. imperialism were forced to develop a *neo-colonialist* strategy. They had to speed up the formation of native elites, turn power over to them, and join them in co-exploitation of resources and labor power.

In 1958, popular *domestic* opposition in France to continued colonialism was spurred by the African uproar. De Gaulle issued an ultimatum to all French territories south of the Sahara—accept nominal self-rule, combined with French control of defense, foreign policy, and economic affairs, in a "French Community," or assume complete independence with an immediate cutoff of French aid. *Oui ou Non*. Every country but Guinea voted "oui," and retained their ties with France.

But as other African states moved toward independence, the opposition to French control intensified, and the remaining eight nations in the French Community gained independence in 1960.

De Gaulle, however, considered *Algeria* part of France itself, and refused independence. The heroic freedom fighters of the National Liberation Front of Algeria stepped up the war against France, and Algerian independence was finally achieved in 1962.

The former British colonies were proceeding apace with independence. In 1957 the Gold Coast became independent *Ghana*. In 1961 Tanganyika gained independence and then joined with Zanzibar in 1964 to form *Tanzania*.

The British resisted independence for *Kenya*, sparking the bloody 11-year Mau Mau wars which finally gained Kenya's independence in 1963.

In the '60s, two other British possessions joined the growing number of independent African states: *Nigeria* in 1964, and *Lesotho* (formerly Basutoland, within South Africa) in 1966.

In 1965, the white settler government of Rhodesia (*Zimbabwe*) issued a unilateral declaration of independence which the British did not resist. In 1980, 83 years of white minority rule finally came to an end when a landslide victory for the Zimbabwe African National Union handed over 80 of the 100 parliament seats to Blacks.

Prime Minister Mugabe, however, has been overly conciliatory to the white minority, who still exert enormous influence far exceeding their numbers.

Freedom for the Belgian Congo came only after enormous riots in Leopoldville in 1959. Independence was won in 1960 and the country was renamed *Zaire* in 1971.

*Eritrea*, north of Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa, was ceded to Ethiopia by the United Nations in 1952. Since then, the Eritreans have valiantly fought Ethiopia for national self-determination. The struggle has continued since 1952, and the country remains an African hot spot today.

By 1974, all of Africa was free of European rule except the Portuguese territories of *Angola* and *Mozambique*.

In 1975, the liberation forces of Angola beat back the Portuguese Army and won independence. Mozambiquan independence quickly followed. (In 1974, of course, the Angolan liberation struggle had

sparked a revolution in imperialist Portugal itself, as Portuguese army officers became radicalized by their experience in Angola and returned home to lead a revolt against the prime cause of the war.)

Political independence for African nations has been a first step. Continued neo-colonialism throughout much of the continent has blocked *economic* independence. Rightwing despots rule many new African nations.

Like the Arab revolution, the African revolution has never quit. Country after country—Kenya, Nigeria, Gold Coast/Ghana, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, Congo/Zaire, Tanganyika-Zanzibar/Tanzania, and others—experienced decades of convulsion in their efforts to break loose from their colonialist jailers.

And no struggle has been more stereotypical and extreme than South Africa's; no struggle has more shamed and embarrassed Wall Street and the banks of the U.S.A. than the idiotic—and enormously profitable—racial fascism of South Africa.

The white settler regime in South Africa, of course, maintains the police terror and subjugation of the Black majority under the apartheid system.

The agony of Africa, and the fighting spirit of African Blacks, inflamed U.S. Blacks and sparked the U.S. upsurges of the late 1950s and '60s—which in turn inflamed the African revolution. The permanent (connected, contagious, epidemic) revolutionary syndrome of Black liberation raced across oceans and continents and shook the imperialist world on all its fronts.

Black freedom—an *international* question—is still doing that, and imperialists are truly terrified.

## Latin America

In Latin America, the U.S. gained total dominance after World War II, replacing much of the British influence.

To maintain control and make the incredibly fertile Central and South American farmlands safe for U.S. companies, brutal military regimes were installed and supported by the U.S. in most of the territory south of Mexico.

An infamous example of Yankee gunboat diplomacy occurred in *Guatemala* in 1953.

The Guatemalan Communist Party had gained 28 of 32 contested legislative seats, winning enough influence to force the reformist Arbenz government to expropriate the United Fruit Company's plantations and distribute the land to the peasants. The CIA quickly organized an army in Honduras and Nicaragua, which invaded Guatemala in 1954, deposed Arbenz, and dutifully returned the plantations to the United Fruit Company.

This is the style and substance of U.S. foreign policy in Latin America. Fruit and coffee and sugar and minerals are what it is all about.

But in 1959 the unthinkable happened. Latin America was irrevocably and ineluctably changed when Fidel Castro's incredible guerrilla army of *Cuba* brought fullscale social revolution to the western hemisphere.

Fidel, accompanied by 82 guerrilla fighters, set sail from Mexico in 1956 and landed in a remote area of Cuba. He began recruiting a peasant army to fight against the despotic U.S. puppet, Batista. Within three years, after fascinating military and political experiences, his army was victorious.

Batista fled to the U.S., Fidel, Che Guevara, Raul Castro, and the women and men leaders of the guerrillas marched triumphantly into Havana in 1959, where they were greeted by the deliriously joyful



workers. Fidel, a lawyer and the scion of rich plantation owners, had taken on Wall Street and won.

Nobody could believe it, especially the Stalinists. Revolution simply couldn't *happen* against the overpowering Yankee giant. Wrong. It could, and it did. Trotsky would have loved it. The thrill went round the world; even the *New York Times* was entranced. It was damned dramatic and totally unexpected and Fidel was the glamor rebel of the century.

"Cuba Si! Yanqui No!" was the slogan of the epoch.

At first, Castro maintained private industry in Cuba and even offered friendship to the U.S. But it soon became apparent that only a nationalized economy could solve Cuba's problems of technological backwardness, widespread poverty, and the sugar-crop-dependent economy. U.S. denunciations of Castro's turn to socialism became increasingly shrill, trade was cut off, the U.S. refused to give up its Guantanamo military base, and Kennedy launched the infamous and stupid Bay of Pigs invasion of the island in 1961.

But the Cubans, expecting it, had ample advance warning, and the small army of counterrevolutionary expatriots and mercenaries (some of whom later became key figures in the Watergate break-in of Democratic Party headquarters) suffered ignominious defeat at the hands of the incensed Cuban people. U.S. prestige plummeted.

The exhilarating victory of the Cuban Revolution touched off guerrilla movements throughout Latin America—and at the same time toughened U.S. resolve to keep the territory safe for U.S. exploitation. The White House, like the Kremlin, was taken aback and stunned by the exuberant Cuban rebels. But this was a fluke; it would not happen again! Che Guevara tried to export the Cuban exploit, but by now the CIA was ready.

The next 20 years saw popular uprisings all over the continent, and the response was well-prepared and bloody.

In *Peru* in 1964, a U.S.-supported army brutally crushed the peasant guerrilla movement.

Also in 1964, riots erupted in *Panama* over U.S. control of the canal and ownership of the Canal Zone. Gunfire from U.S. Marines killed 22 and wounded 500, and the U.S. was forced by world opinion to begin renegotiating the treaties.

The negotiations dragged on until a new treaty was signed in 1977; it hardly lessened U.S. control

over the canal and didn't come close to diminishing the U.S. presence. The U.S. can still intervene militarily in Panama, and full control of the canal won't be bequeathed to Panama until the year 2000—when the canal will be technologically obsolete. (It's already too small for modern ships.)

Panamanians are still seething; this is not a stable tropical zone!

In 1967, U.S.-led forces in *Bolivia* finally succeeded in killing Che Guevara, the Latin American symbol and practitioner of revolutionary internationalism. This intrepid Argentinian medical doctor who had become a leader of the Cuban Revolution had devoted his life to revolution throughout the continent. But the murder of Che backfired. He is a martyr and a legend—an organizer from beyond!

In 1973, Salvador Allende, popularly-elected president of *Chile* and social democratic reformer, was overthrown and assassinated in a CIA-backed military coup that installed a police state regime that still rules Chile. The murder of Allende and the terror that followed leave their legacy in a system of pervasive political repression and military rule.

The tide turned in 1979. After years of battle, the *Nicaraguan* Sandinistas overthrew the U.S. puppet Somoza, despite an endless supply of arms and training for the dictator's vicious National Guard. This victory was an enormous inspiration to resistance forces throughout Latin America.

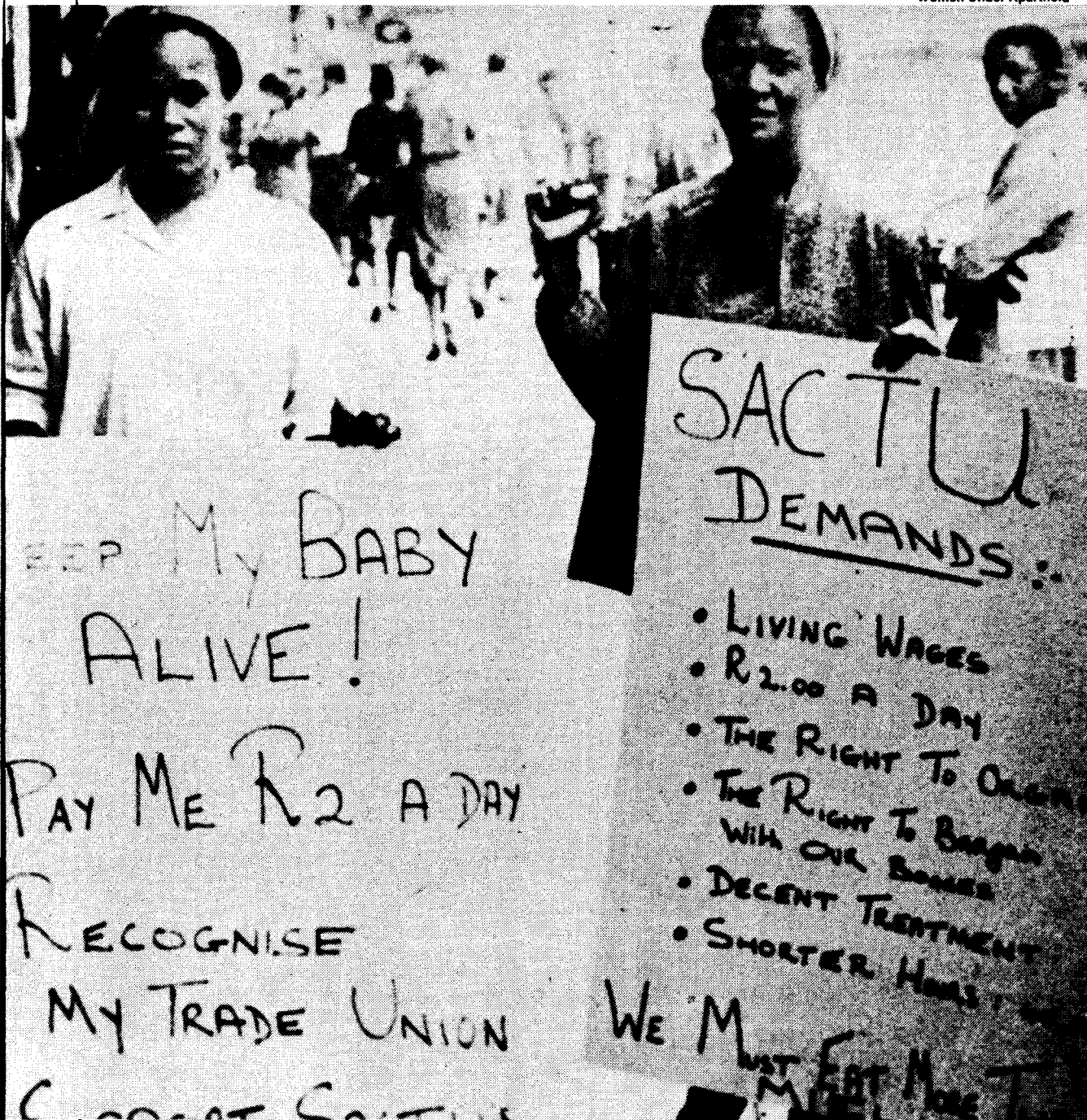
Next, in *El Salvador*, the rebels won the sympathy of the world through their heroic battle against a succession of reactionary, U.S.-supported governments. The civil war in El Salvador has sparked the largest antiwar demonstrations in the U.S. since the Vietnam War. Victory could be realized soon and a Salvadoran workers' state established if a workers' party, independent of the bourgeoisie, made a bid for mass support and state power.

And in *Guatemala*, the fruit basket of Central America, the class struggle is reaching unparalleled heights. Militant Quiche Indians lead the guerrilla resistance in a civil war. A unified offensive by four armed revolutionary groups is underway against the barbarous dictator Romeo Lucas Garcia, and the rebels are in full solidarity with their counterparts in El Salvador.

Together, Guatemala and El Salvador could spark a revolutionary chain reaction in all of Central America.

Critical to the success of revolution in Latin

Women Under Apartheid



Two women militants demonstrate for the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Heroic resistance against the racial fascism of apartheid inspires freedom fighters the world over.

America are the indigenous nations. Already, in Guatemala and Brazil, indigenous peoples have demonstrated their indomitable fighting spirit.

Unlike the Nicaraguan Sandinistas who suppress the Miskitus' right to self-determination, the FSP promotes the basic Leninist/Trotskyist tenet that self-determination for oppressed nations, including the right of secession, is an unqualified right.

To deny the sovereign Indian nations their rights is to invite them to join the counterrevolution, which will promise them anything in return for their support to anti-communism.

And what of *Mexico*, the great country that has always been the buffer between the U.S. and the rest of Latin America?

Mexico's rich oil fields were suddenly and boldly nationalized during the Cardenas presidency in 1934-40, and since then Mexico has cautiously played both sides of the fence. It remains a U.S. ally while giving nominal support to Latin American liberation struggles.

Revolt in Mexico is always brewing, the class struggle is always simmering, the radical movement always large and noisy. If Mexico were to destroy capitalism, U.S. imperialism's power in Latin America would be gravely weakened, and the U.S., therefore, courts Mexico assiduously. But the poverty, unemployment, and misery are so appalling, especially for a country next door to the affluent U.S., that stability in Mexico is impossible.

The ghosts of Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata haunt the campesinos, and the Mexican workers are due to be heard from. Long-smoldering Mexico could well be the key to total Latin American/Central American revolution.

It is important that *we* know this as well as Wall Street knows it.

### Western Europe

Europe is the continent where modern capitalism was born, where the rise of industry created the first urbanized proletariat, where the theories of scientific socialism were formulated, and where the Paris Communards of 1871 first put the question of a proletarian government on history's agenda.

The European proletariat has displayed from the first its understanding of the need to reconstruct society along collective, socialist lines and its willingness to carry out that task. The workingclass leadership, however, has a long record of sellout and compromise. The betrayal of the German workers to Hitler, the Spanish workers to Franco, and the Italian workers to Il Duce are only the most grisly examples.

In underdeveloped countries, the capitalists can sometimes be defeated even while the working class is saddled with inadequate, Stalinized leadership. This is possible because the bourgeoisie and its institutions are relatively weak. But in industrial Europe, Stalinism and social democracy spell death for the revolutionary movement because the strength of the bourgeoisie requires an uncompromising revolutionary leadership that aims for workers' power and no conciliation to capitalism.

After the defeat of European revolutions following World War II, the capitalist stabilization was maintained through the mechanism of the workers' parties, which subsumed the workers' interests to the needs of capitalism. Two high points of revolutionary activity in post-World War II Western Europe illustrate this sad state of affairs—the 1968 *French general strike* and the 1974 *Portuguese revolution*.

In 1967-68, the streets of Paris, Berlin, London, Copenhagen, Rome, Amsterdam, and Brussels were filled with tens of thousands of young antiwar protesters demanding an end to the Vietnam war. A new generation was confronting imperialism. In early May 1968, Parisian students struck to demand release of arrested antiwar protestors. The government's refusal swelled the strike until virtually every student in the city was out in the streets.

Clashes with the police left many students dead. This outraged the workers, and on May 13 the largest union confederations launched a general strike to support the students. A revolutionary student-worker alliance was born.

But the trade unions were dominated by the social democrats and Stalinists who continually derailed and defused the movement, channelling much of it into reformism. The parties further to the left were unable to launch a sufficient challenge to the misleaders. The movement receded.

In 1974, the fall of the brutal Portuguese military dictator Marcello Caetano spread the flames of revolution from Africa to Europe. Radicalized petty officers and soldiers, who had been battling freedom fighters in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, revolted.

On April 25, 1974, with massive popular support

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the Armed Forces Movement engineered a coup against Caetano. The next day the new government announced an end to censorship and the hated security police, freedom of assembly and political association, and the release of political prisoners. Revolution had come to Europe and 1,000 red carnations bloomed. Workers, peasants, women, gays, and radicals seized the new day and organized.

But the same old story was replayed. The Communist Party, although pushed to the left by the masses, refused to call for the destruction of capitalism. The Socialist Party militant in its defense of capitalism, ended up in power, until the recent victory of more conservative Christian Democrats.

One country in Europe has the character of a Third World country in battle against colonialism, and that is *Ireland*. Subjugated by England for over 800 years, Ireland stands as a perennial beacon of resistance.

The 1921 partition of Ireland gave the south independence under the bourgeoisie, while the north remained under British control. Since then the fight for reunification and total independence has reached full-scale, bloody civil war.

In the north, pro-British Protestants launch terrorist vigilante attacks, backed by British troops, to keep the anti-British, Catholic workers in a state of siege, poverty, and oppression. But the war is not fundamentally a religious war; it is a class war.

When the Irish working class—north and south, Catholic and Protestant—unite against British imperialism and domestic capitalism, peace will come and a unified socialist Ireland will prevail.

Revolution in Ireland could well spark revolution in economically unstable England itself. That is what Permanent Revolution is all about.

### The monolith crumbles

From 1945 onward, revolutions have steadily swept away capitalist and colonialist possessions. And this has been done without the benefit of a unified, coordinated, international revolutionary body. Stalinism, much as it wanted to halt the revolution, has been unable to do so.

Before World War II, the world communist movement was held in the iron grip of the Kremlin. But soon after the installation of the workers' states in Eastern Europe, the Kremlin's grip began to loosen and it has never again exercised the control it once enjoyed.

The first major Communist Party to make a decisive break with Moscow was the *Yugoslavian* party of war hero Marshal Tito.

Tito was always more independent than most Eastern European communists because he had won liberation from the Nazis without Red Army troops and over Stalin's head. After three years of mounting dissatisfaction with Kremlin imperiousness, Tito broke with Stalin in 1948 over Tito's efforts to build a federation of the Baltic states.

Tito's break with Stalin sparked a tremendous flowering of art, culture, and political questioning and criticism. Anti-Stalinist radicals all over the

world were thrilled with the prospect of non-Stalinist socialism, and Tito welcomed them to Yugoslavia with open arms. This was the first "let 100 flowers bloom" eruption of intellectual freedom since the Russian Revolution, and great ideological contributions to Marxism/Leninism (since suppressed) were made.

Yugoslavia was isolated from the Soviet bloc as a result of the break, but steadfastly maintained its independence.

Tito learned well from Stalin's mistakes and excesses. Collectivization of farming was smoothly and patiently achieved, national minorities were respected and helped, and little evidence of worker restiveness was to be seen.

In 1955, Khrushchev tried to woo Tito back into the fold in a much-publicized trip to Belgrade. But the rift deepened the next year when Tito supported the Hungarian rebels. In 1962, the gap was narrowed when Tito sided with the Soviets in the Sino-Soviet split. Since then relations have been cordial. Yugoslavia appears to be the most stable, affluent, and democratic workers' state in Eastern Europe.

The *East German* workers were not so fortunate. In 1953, 30,000 workers revolted in East Berlin, protesting increased production quotas and lowered wages. The Soviets quickly quelled the uprising with tanks and troops.

In 1956, Khrushchev dropped a bombshell at the *20th Congress* of the Soviet Communist Party. Stalin had died in 1953, and Khrushchev charged Pope Stalin with mass murder, betrayal, cowardice, and Byzantine plots.

He described the terror, blood, mass arrests, and executions of the Stalin period, and denounced the "personality cult" that had grown up around him. But as a neo-Stalinist, he blamed the horrors on Stalin as an individual, not on the bureaucratic system or conservative caste which he intended to preserve, nor on counterrevolutionary politics which he perpetuated.

World Stalinism came apart at the seams. Parties debated, exploded, factionalized, split, disintegrated, dwindled. And revolutionary flames broke out in Hungary and Poland.

In *Hungary*, a popular uprising in 1956 overthrew party head Matyas Rakosi and installed Imre Nagy in power. Nagy was a moderate who promised political plurality and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Workers' councils were formed and a political revolution was underway. The country was in turmoil, moving swiftly to a soviet democracy.

Then Soviet tanks slashed through Budapest, and in spite of heroic resistance by the workers, the political revolution was crushed. Nagy was arrested, taken to the Soviet Union, and later executed.

In *Poland*, riots erupted in Poznan after the 1956 Khrushchev revelations. Wladyslaw Gomulka, a Communist Party reformer, gained power. Censorship was lifted and it appeared that a new freedom was being born. But Gomulka, facing the Soviet threat, made greater and greater concessions to Khrushchev, who promised to withdraw Soviet troops in return.

Brian Aris/Camera Press



A British Army patrol terrorizes women demonstrators in Northern Ireland in 1979. Eight centuries of British subjugation connects Ireland to Third World nations battling colonialism.

By 1957 all the reforms were gutted and Soviet control and censorship were reimposed.

During the late 1950s and early '60s another, even more startling, breach began, enormously weakening Kremlin prestige and dominance—the *Sino-Soviet split*.

It began with disputes over the possibility of peaceful coexistence with imperialism. Khrushchev was glowingly optimistic while Mao denied its possibility. Khrushchev advocated support to bourgeois liberal regimes around the world, inducing the Communist parties of India, Iraq, and Indonesia to renounce any independent bid for power. Mao saw this as rampant revisionism.

At root, the split was the result of material differences between the two countries. The USSR's relatively advanced technology made peaceful coexistence with imperialism a desirable possibility for the bureaucracy in terms of international trade. But for China, a technologically underdeveloped country that faced sharp imperialist hostility and the imminent threat of actual imperialist invasion, peaceful coexistence was nonsense.

The split was completed and formalized in 1963, in a blazing shower of insult and vilification. The struggle sharpened to the point where actual war between the two workers' states loomed as a disastrous possibility. Eventually, the raging anti-Soviet, as well as anti-Stalinist, rhetoric of China drove the Chinese leadership straight into the arms of U.S. imperialism.

Today, China sees the U.S. threat to world peace as far smaller than the Soviet threat. In the minds of China's leaders, the USSR is the greatest world danger. They are willing to embrace the U.S., and even allow U.S. industry to invest in China, so overheated and irrational is their cold war with the Soviets.

Not that China *shouldn't* split with Kremlin autocracy. But China cannot distinguish between Stalinism and Bolshevism, and grievously confuses the issues and the problems. True, the USSR is revisionist and uncomradely to China. But *why*? China refuses to address the Trotskyist answer, and its only recourse is the White House.

China has sadly relinquished its prestige and leadership of world revolution to become an accomplice and tool of imperialism. This is the outcome of a neo-Stalinist bureaucracy contending with the home office.

The Soviet Union, for its part, also tries to line up with the U.S. against China, heaping the same vilification on China that it receives in the Chinese press. The conflict between the two workers' states is a disaster for revolutionary internationalism, serving only to strengthen imperialism and hopelessly confuse the world proletariat.

In 1968, the threat of political revolution raised its head again in Eastern Europe. A series of student demonstrations won workers' support in *Czechoslovakia*, and reformers led by Alexander Dubcek took control of the party.

But Soviet troops, backed by East German troops, again invaded, and despite widespread resistance smashed the revolution. Dubcek was arrested and taken to Moscow where he agreed to limit the reforms. He and his colleagues were purged in 1969.

*Polish* workers rose again in 1970, led by the shipyard workers, to protest food price hikes. The workers fought the armed militia and many were killed. The revolt was crushed, only to rise again in a spectacular resurgence in 1980.

In 1980, a stunned world saw Polish workers form Solidarity, an independent trade union which acted like a party and accomplished unprecedented victories over the Kremlin's puppet regime—the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP). By late 1981, Solidarity claimed 10 million members and was so strong that dual power prevailed between Solidarity and the government, and threatened the rule of the PUWP.

The imposition of martial law and the jailing of Solidarity leaders in December 1981 was a severe setback to the movement. Still, the proletariat in a deformed workers' state had not come so close to political revolution since Hungary in 1956.

On May Day 1982, demonstrations began again in Poland. For three days, demonstrations of up to 25,000 erupted in all the major cities with chants of "freedom, freedom." The regime swiftly moved to reintroduce the nighttime curfew lifted just days before the demonstrations began.

Solidarity is a brilliant vindication of Permanent Revolution, of the expansion of the revolution against its own bureaucracy. It sparked labor support all over the world and inspired workers throughout Eastern Europe. And Solidarity, like all the other Eastern European revolts, demonstrated that there is *no peaceful, reformist, negotiated road to workers' democracy* under the police-state rule of the Kremlin Stalinists and their Eastern European



puppet regimes.

Political revolution against the Kremlin means civil war and can only be finally decided by force of arms. And in the final analysis, political revolution in Eastern Europe cannot be successful until the Russian proletariat overthrows its own bureaucracy, which is the police force of Eastern Europe.

The more shattered the monolith becomes, the greater the chances for worldwide revolution against the Soviet bureaucratic caste and against moribund world capitalism.

### Revolutionary scoreboard

In the worldwide conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the workers are clearly on the ascendant.

Colonial/anti-imperialist revolution, irrepressible radical movements in the capitalist countries, and political revolution in Eastern Europe all form an objectively united revolutionary force which points to an historic shift in the balance of forces against capitalism.

The entire period of history following World War II has been one of shrinking capitalist control. Huge amounts of territory, natural resources, markets, labor pools, fields of investment, and vast populations no longer exist within a capitalist economy, and the numbers of countries departing the capitalist framework continue to increase.

Moreover, the bourgeoisie has been unable to reinstall the profit system in any country where capitalist relations of production and distribution have been overturned. (The overthrow of Salvador Allende's social democratic government in Chile did not overturn socialized property relations, since the economy hadn't been nationalized.)

But, as we know, revolutionary success is not preordained. The imperialists are increasingly desperate (witness Britain's hysterical and bloody response to Argentina's reclaiming of the Malvinas). And the U.S. is not a paper tiger or a feeble giant or a helpless Gulliver. It is quite capable of drowning any revolution in blood and dissolving the world into radioactive dust.

Internationalism, and revolution in the U.S. itself, is what will defeat the U.S. colossus. The alternative is a swift descent into barbarism unmatched in world history.

Our mission is to make the latter impossible.

### III.

#### THE GLOBAL MIDDLE CASTE

Revolutionary forces are inexorably overtaking world capitalism. Yet no anti-capitalist revolution has been fully completed. None has achieved full workers' democracy. And none, not even Cuba, displays true revolutionary internationalism.

Further, in no advanced capitalist nation has the proletariat seized state power in its own name, although the economic, technological, and social prerequisites for socialism have long existed. As Trotsky said in 1938, "The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten."

What has held revolution back even as it advances? What has kept state power out of the grasp of the proletariat of the advanced nations?

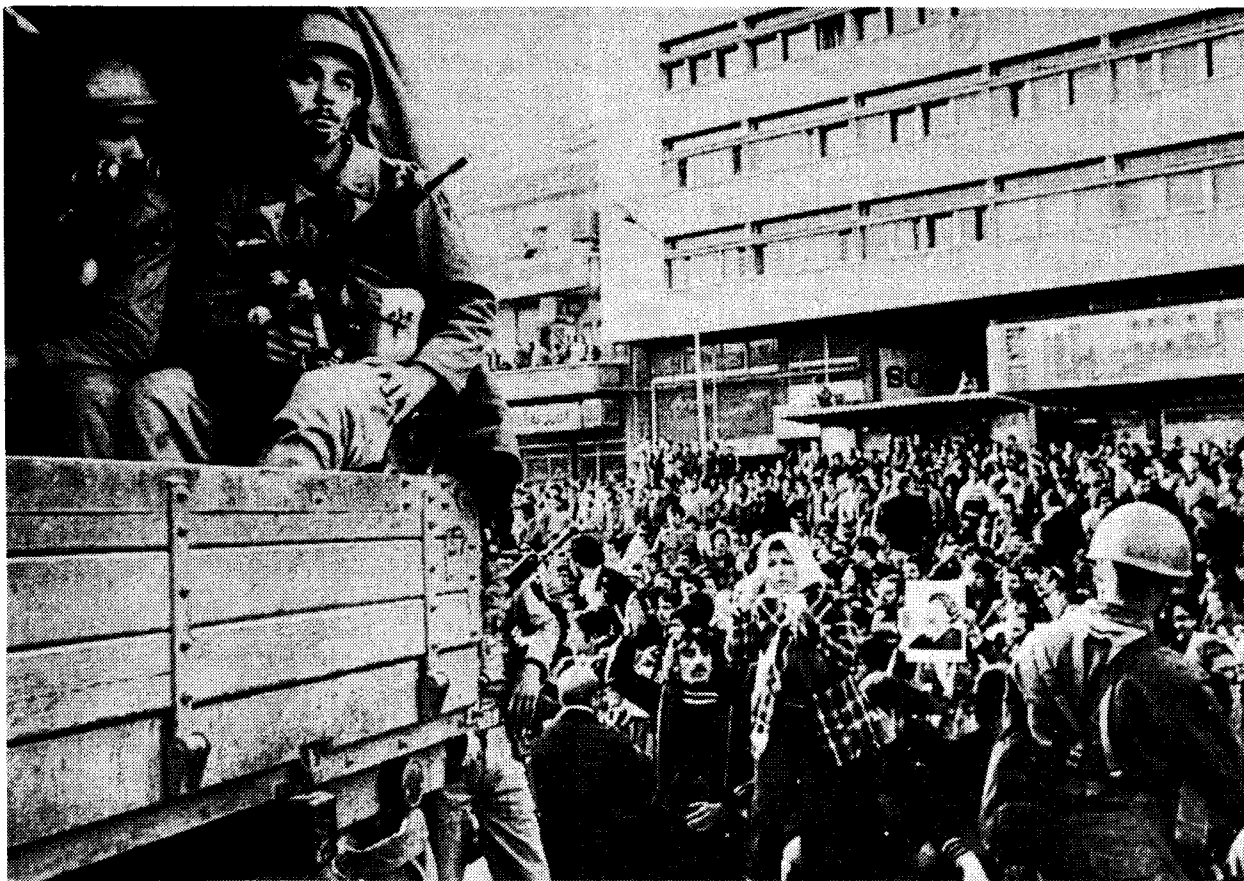
The answer may surprise some people. What retards the working class is the continual *compromise and congenial treachery of its own opportunist leadership—the middle caste.*

#### A petty bourgeois political barrier

Trotsky used the phrase "middle caste" in *The History of the Russian Revolution* to describe the social stratum which seized and held power between the February 1917 revolution and the October 1917 Bolshevik victory. This caste, he wrote, was a "petty bourgeois partition-wall between the revolutionary masses and the capitalist bourgeoisie."

Today this caste encompasses various social gradations standing between the workers and the ruling class, or between the mass social movements and the state. Labor bureaucrats, conservatized aristocrats of labor, and reformist political leaders make up the middle caste. They play a distinct political role, from the shop steward who, to prevent trouble, talks a worker out of filing a grievance, to the Soviet official who withholds arms from revolutionists in an underdeveloped country to avoid jeopardizing a grain deal with the U.S.

The middle caste diffuses, derails, and when pressured, violently combats any substantive confrontation between capital and labor. This caste claims to represent labor or women or gays or people of color or war resisters or consumers, but actually acts as a transmission belt that carries the interests and ideology of the ruling class back into the very mass



Insurrection in Iran brought down the hated Shah in 1979 and placed in power the Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic Republicans. Khomeini has since unleashed bloody counterrevolutionary terror against women, socialists, communists, national minorities, gays, and other dissidents.

movements it pretends to lead.

The maintenance of peaceful coexistence is the middle caste's business, all the way from international politics to the shop floor.

The middle caste is not a class; it does not have a precise relationship to the means of production. The term describes a social layer whose members may span class lines but who play an identical political role—pacification of the class struggle. Its interests and program are petty bourgeois, middleclass, not proletarian.

In fact, *the equilibrium between the ruling class and the middle caste is the critical social glue which has maintained capitalist rule long after capitalism as a system has become outdated and retrogressive. But for middle-caste treachery and betrayal, world revolution would have long since triumphed.*

#### Dual character

The middle caste has a dual character. Its very existence depends on the maintenance of the status quo, but it is often pushed into revolutionary policies by the inexorable pressure of the masses it rests upon and claims to represent. In such instances it strives to block the revolution as soon as possible, so its own position as intermediary between capitalism and the workers can be maintained.

During the 1978-79 Iranian revolution, for example, the anti-Shah tidal wave swept the monarchy from power and unleashed the potential for a genuine proletarian revolution to triumph. State power was quickly conferred upon an Islamic theocracy whose leading figure, Khomeini, was an intransigent and popular anti-Shah critic. But as soon as the organized masses' political strikes and armed forces brought down the Shah, Khomeini and his mullah-lieutenants tried to brake the revolution.

The population was ordered to give up all arms (for the most part, they refused). Women were ordered to don the chador (but they rebelled at this move back to official status as the property of men).

Women poured into the streets by the hundreds of thousands to pressure the revolution beyond Islamic republicanism and against mullah sexism. But most of the left ignored them, and gave full support to Khomeini's clerical, regressive regime. The Khomeini-led middle caste, no enemy of capitalism, consolidated its power and unleashed a wave of executions and repression against "immoral" women, gays, Marxists, national minorities, critical workers and intellectuals, and assorted dissidents.

The Mojahedin, Islamic-Marxists who played a brilliant role against the Shah, is now the primary target of Khomeini's police terror and leads a guerilla war against the Ayatollah. But in its attempt to build popular support for itself and all the opposition forces, the Mojahedin has forged an alliance with the bourgeois liberal Bani Sadr, former president of Iran who incurred Khomeini's wrath by his opposition to a clerical state. Bani Sadr, however, had also resorted to repression of the left when he held power, and he represents the Iranian petty bourgeoisie that wants conciliation with the U.S.

A conscious and committed social democrat, Bani Sadr is middle-caste himself, and should he regain power, the Mojahedin and all radicals will inevitably find themselves on the barricades or in prison again.

The double character of the middle caste is confusing, and the source of chronic deceit. These leaders often gain enormous prestige and an immense following in the initial stages of a revolution, as Khomeini did in Iran. And their attempts to halt and reverse revolution are cloaked in the name of the revolution. All their repressive measures are rationalized in the name of revolutionary necessity as severe measures against counterrevolution.

Hence, *the petty bourgeois* nature of the middle caste may be obscured, but it asserts itself in blood and terror against the proletariat.

#### The popular front results from this caste

In many underdeveloped countries, revolutionists correctly see the U.S. as the military arm of world capital and the greatest counterrevolutionary force in history. The colonial bourgeoisie, too, is opposed to U.S. imperialism bleeding off profits that the native bourgeoisie thinks should be rightfully theirs! The revolutionary forces and the bourgeois forces often have a common enemy in U.S. imperialism. But their objective class goals lie at opposite poles.

The class interest of the bourgeoisie lies in its need to subdue, defeat, and exploit the working class for profit. The proletariat's historic interest is in the destruction of the bourgeoisie, the ending of class exploitation, and the construction of a workers' democracy.

Hence, the greatest danger accompanies an alliance of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. When the workingclass organizations decide that a bourgeois democratic regime is a necessary first replacement for imperialist control or military despotism, the proletarians subordinate themselves to the bourgeois leadership. This is the popular front.

At best, as in Nicaragua, popular frontism leads to *artificially prolonged war against domestic capitalism and imperialism*, because the bourgeoisie will inevitably seek to regain complete political power and will remain allied to world imperialism.

At worst, the popular front leads to the triumph of fascism, as in Germany, or to hellish repression, as in Iran, where Islamic capitalism asserts iron control through a brutal military apparatus and a regime almost indistinguishable from the one the masses overthrew.

To win freedom from both imperialism and domestic capitalism—two sides of the same coin of exploitation—workers and peasants of the underdeveloped world must shed all class-collaborationist illusions. Only through the united front—the popular masses led by the workers—can these revolutions be completed and usher in truly revolutionary societies.

#### Made in America

In the USA, the middle caste is that vast and obnoxious layer of opportunist professionals, technocrats, labor bureaucrats, mass movement reformist leaders, and slightly left-of-center politicians.

They are and will be prime red-baiters for the bourgeoisie as the crisis deepens and reformist pipe-dreams dissipate.

They channel the radical impulses of others into reformist directions. They foster the illusion that humane capitalism is a possibility, that we can

to next page

reform our way to equality and utopia. Their function is to conciliate and compromise, make deals, and keep the peace.

Eleanor Smeal, head of NOW, actually tried to convince the right wing to drop opposition to the ERA in return for NOW dropping support for abortion! The right-to-lifers, unwilling to compromise their principles, flatly refused her.

Another example of middle-caste treachery was AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland's miserable performance during the PATCO strike. When Reagan abruptly fired 13,000 striking air traffic controllers, Kirkland refused to call a general strike or a sympathy strike of other air transport workers, or the AFL-CIO, to honor PATCO's picket lines! He claimed his hands were tied by the "illegal" nature of the strike.

By taking no action, Kirkland guaranteed that Reagan's attack would succeed.

Time and again, in every social movement and in thousands of labor struggles, victory has been snatched from the hands of the exploited and oppressed because of middle-caste sellouts.

*The middle caste is the bosses' most valuable agent of control. The middle caste is the thought-police of capital; it is inherently anti-revolutionary. Without it, U.S. capitalism could not survive.*

### Tipping the old balances

The equilibrium between capital and the middle-caste labor bureaucracy within the U.S. has been based on a cozy, symbiotic relationship. Ditto the equilibrium between U.S. imperialism and the Stalinist middle caste.

Internationally, the conservative role of the Kremlin has forced revolutionists to lead independent revolutions, thereby diminishing the Stalinist ability to contain the workers. At the same time, independent workers' movements within the Kremlin's sphere of influence raise the specter of political revolution within the USSR and threaten the very existence of the Soviet bureaucracy. Added to these threats within the workers' states is the increasing break from Kremlin policy by the large Communist parties of Western Europe.

The breakdown of Stalinist monolithism threatens the very foundation of the Stalinist/imperialist equilibrium. If the Stalinist bureaucracy can't contain revolution, then it has no political deal to offer imperialism, and the basic class antagonism between the two systems comes to the forefront. As the equilibrium begins to collapse, the cold war heats up, and the global power struggle between imperialism and Stalinism intensifies.

As the power balance between the White House and the Kremlin totters, U.S. politicians broadcast a shrill cats' chorus of red-baiting, denouncing "communist expansion and aggression." The anti-red campaign serves a dual purpose: it undercuts socialist sentiment within the U.S. working class, and provides justification for a massive military build-up.

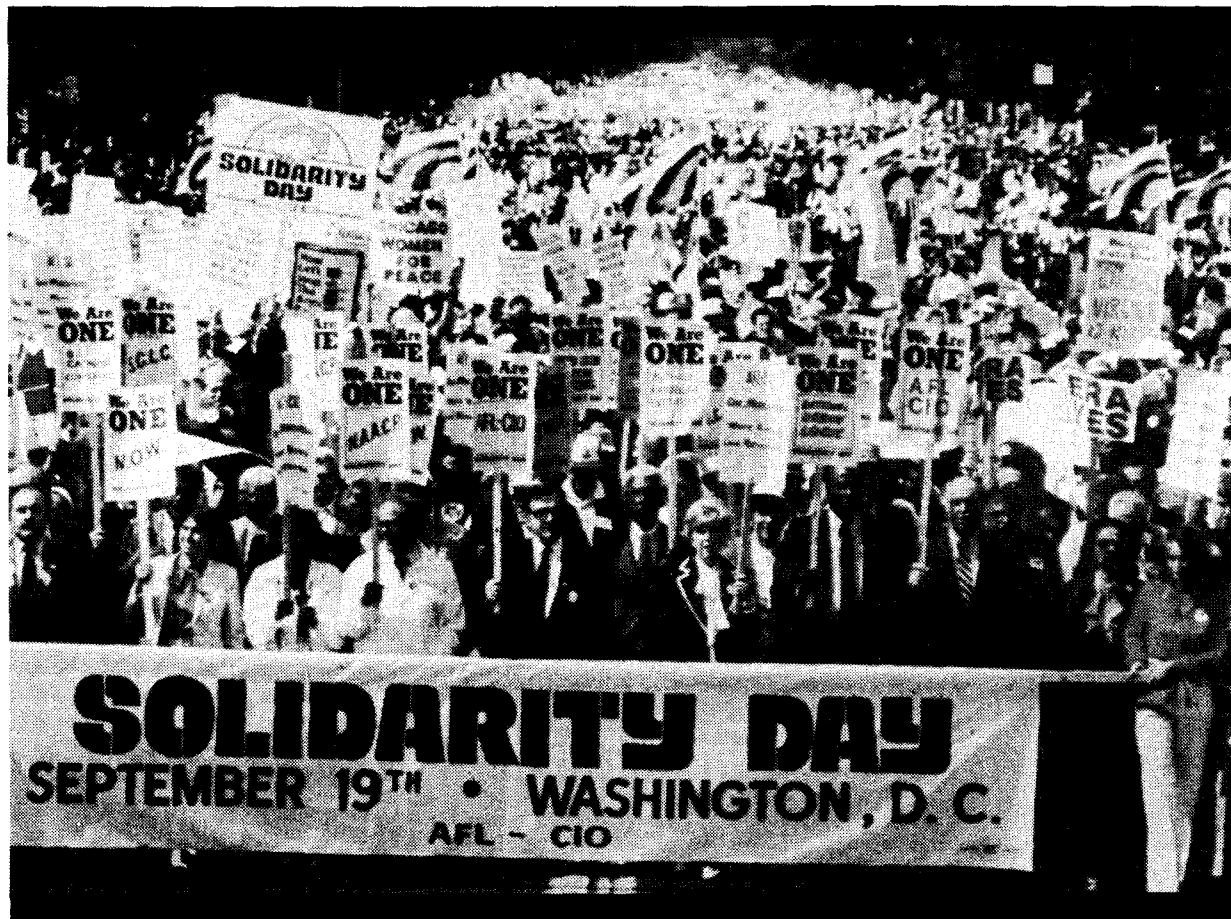
The same factors that skew the equilibrium between the U.S. and the Kremlin upset the balance between the government and the middle caste at home. As the middle-caste bureaucracy in the U.S. attempts to hold militance at bay, the specially oppressed, because they are under the most severe attack, begin to break with their traditional leaders. The ability of these lieutenants of capital to contain

the masses is slowly being eroded.

U.S. capitalism faces a working class growing, by necessity, more militant. Inflation, unemployment, speed-up, and loss of benefits proceed apace, and racism, sexism, homophobia, and ageism are on the rise. The traditionally high-paid aristocrats of labor are themselves facing the specter of layoffs and contract concessions. And as the working class turns to militant struggle tactics for sheer survival, the labor bureaucracy is forced into left-sounding phrases to

culture of racism, sexism, and homophobia; it has bought off the upper layer of white male skilled workers, and it has carefully groomed a labor bureaucracy to perpetuate the murderous, but profitable, class and caste divisions in society.

But the lower layers of the working class—the scorned and super-exploited—are increasingly forcing organized labor to represent them, and they are becoming the strongest and most militant sector of labor. As they mature in consciousness and organi-



**This massive 1981 demonstration in Washington, D.C. was a dramatic rebirth of political action by labor. The demands of women and workers of color doubled the political impact of the march.**

prevent real labor radicals from gaining adherents and leadership.

Mass movement leaders, facing a concerted government drive to reverse all civil rights gains won over the past three decades, are also forced into an unaccustomed militance. If they refuse to move leftward, the masses will simply roll over them in the drive to defend themselves from full-scale assault.

The old equilibriums are crumbling. Direct, naked, and unmediated class confrontations are on the new agenda.

### Seeing through the Democrats

*The traditional mechanism of equilibrium between the rulers and the middle caste is the Democratic Party.* There the bourgeoisie, reformists, bureaucrats, and social-patriot social democrats run an ugly game on the U.S. working class.

But the game is being recognized in wider and wider circles as a con game, and confidence men lead dangerous, often short, lives. As the Democratic Party loses the support it once enjoyed, the equilibrium it represents is starting to fall apart.

This erosion of the old equilibrium carries the greatest portent of danger for capitalism. Without the buffer of the middle caste to absorb the blows struck at the ruling class by the workers and all the oppressed, the bourgeoisie itself will have to face its enemy.

And while the U.S. ruling class is still powerful, the U.S. proletariat is potentially even stronger. Labor's face is changing color and changing gender, and as it does, labor sees more clearly into the sham and shuck of the ruling class and the middle caste.

As the breakdown in equilibrium between the bourgeoisie and middle caste reveals the bankruptcy of capitalism, and as middle-caste deceit is exposed, social upheaval follows. Delaying an inevitable conflict can increase the sharpness and intensity of the confrontation when it finally occurs—and the American revolution will be intense and dramatic because it is so long overdue.

## IV. IN THE BELLY OF THE BEAST— PROSPECTS FOR U.S. LABOR

**A**merican labor—slave labor, indentured-servant labor, wage-labor, immigrant labor, labor of all colors and both sexes—has created the richest nation in the history of human society.

And to keep this wealth out of the hands of its creators, the ruling class has instituted the pervasive

national skills, they alter the relationship of class forces from an equilibrium between the labor bureaucracy and capital to a confrontative and antagonistic struggle of clearly inimical class forces.

### Remodeling the house of labor

During the '60s and '70s, U.S. labor was relatively quiescent, its upper layers enjoying modest gains as a result of Vietnam War spending. The relatively affluent and secure aristocrats of labor held the labor movement aloof from the other mass social movements.

The chief social struggles of the past few decades emerged independently of the labor movement—the Black, Chicano, Asian American, and Puerto Rican struggles for civil rights, the Native American battle against genocide and for national sovereignty, lesbian/gay demands for dignity and justice, campus radicalism and antiwar agitation, and the powerful upsurge of feminism.

These movements fought bitterly and tempestuously for equal opportunity and relief from oppression, and great gains were made. But the connections between the movements were tenuous and difficult; labor as a whole didn't take up the demands of the other movements, which for the most part didn't take up each other's demands either.

There were, of course, exceptions. Labor-related issues were central demands within each separate movement: affirmative action, rights of undocumented workers, equal rights and equal pay, access to non-traditional trades, health/safety/environmental concerns, and so on. After long struggle, affirmative action and anti-discrimination legislation found its way into contractual clauses and opened broad new opportunities for women and people of color in jobs previously closed to them. Medieval sexual conduct laws were struck down in many states and millions of lesbian/gay workers brought their demands into the unions.

The most radical unionists had been thrown out of the unions in the witchhunts of the '50s. But a new and different period brought fresh opportunities, especially for youth. The FSP urged young radicals to become proletarianized, enter the labor movement, encourage it to move to the left, and teach workers a class perspective.

The hope of the American revolution, we said, lies in a reconstructed labor movement freed from the stranglehold of the white male labor aristocracy and its bread-and-butter unionism. The labor movement, we said, must aspire to its historic role as the greatest progressive force in society. And an infusion of "new left" blood would reinvigorate labor.

Moreover, as we confidently—and exclusively—

## CRSP MAILBOX

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predicted, the other movements had a deep political effect on an entire generation of workers. Women, people of color, gays, students, intellectuals, and radicals entered the workforce and inside the labor movement raised many of the banner demands of the period. Young radicals insisted that their unions represent the range of their needs as workers and human beings.

Public employee unions were particularly responsive, leading the way with strong stands on broad social and community issues.

The focus of the '60s and early '70s was on the movements outside labor. As the New Left graduated and/or went to work, and the war in Vietnam ended, the focus shifted to the union movement. Today it is the most electric arena on the scene, and it is already far more involved in the new antiwar movement than labor of the '60s ever was.

The labor movement is drawing closer to the climate of the '30s, when the ebullient CIO adopted planks on virtually every issue affecting workers and their families, and the poor and needy.

The conscious intervention of radicals and militants is the solid foundation for developing a coherent and effective radicalization of labor. And this is where the role of the vanguard party is crucial; without the worker-Bolshevik ingredient, labor protests are condemned to be limited, sporadic, and short-lived.

### Drawing the line

It is vital to recognize the new shift of emphasis from the mass, independent movements to the labor movement. The new combination of political circumstances, i.e., the new *conjuncture*, finds labor on a new level of significance in the country. But this shift to labor does not signify a disintegration of the autonomous movements, despite the rightward turn of the Friedans, Jesse Jacksons, et al.

A deep polarization has been taking place within the autonomous movements. They are amorphous, ambivalent, relatively passive, and totally misled. But the people and the issues are alive, especially in the antiwar, antinuke movement.

The upper layers of the broad movements—the new equal opportunity opportunists—have been bought off and have fused with the government bureaucracy and management. The race, sex, sexuality, and ethnic movements, deserted by their leaders and left to flounder, have dwindled. One-time activists have given themselves over to escapism, conformity, narcissism, conservatism, and/or exotic and fringe issues. Most of the leaders seek a comfortable niche within the Democratic Party and sell out the historic demands of their constituency, becoming the moribund spokespeople of a loyal and ineffective "opposition."

But the rank-and-file activists, instinctively resisting the neo-right, are moving toward militancy, protest actions, and radical politics. The political lines are becoming clearer, the middle ground is shrinking. And a broad left wing of mass movement activists and labor militants (often the same individuals) is welding together a new and broader range of demands. This is a left wing whose size, influence, and experience are increasing.

The massive 1981 Labor Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., where 400,000 marched, was explicitly political and multi-issue, an enormous leap for a movement largely steeped for three decades in back-room deals. Although the bureaucrats stifled and watered down the political character of the march, they were forced by the anger and fighting sentiment of the rank and file to feign militance.

The rise in workingclass political consciousness and the broadened demands of labor come at a time of sharply increasing attacks by the government and management. And the old guard labor leadership, while forced into an appearance of quasi-militance, colludes with management and delivers giant concessions to the class enemy.

Labor's left wing is not yet strong enough to successfully challenge the compromisers, but the enraged resistance to UAW President Fraser's giveaways, for example, is the sign of the times and harbinger of the future.

### Capital's strategy

In the face of a deepening recession, labor's growing strength and political sophistication project ominous dangers for the bourgeoisie. Capital, aiming to reverse some of the damage caused by recession, and to simultaneously defuse labor, is stepping up its usual attack on labor.

By its very nature, capital must discourage workers from struggles for wage increases and improved working conditions and benefits. At the same time, capital installs new technology and automated processes to cut down labor costs. Lay-offs and downgrades follow. But capital's main tactic for increasing the rate of profit is a fierce union-

busting and terrorizing offensive against labor.

To this end, Reagan fired 13,000 striking air traffic controllers in 1981. Their demands were not too severe for the government to meet, but the *political threat* had to be met with vicious measures. Had the controllers won, the rest of organized labor would have been inspired to follow their example.

The administration took a gamble by busting PATCO. Had the rest of organized labor, or even a significant sector, or even other air transport workers, supported the strike, it would have been hugely successful, and labor negotiations under the Reagan administration might have taken a different turn. Instead, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy completely sold out PATCO—PATCO became paralyzed, and the labor fakers grew even more paranoid.

Government union-busting was hugely successful and the Reagan triumph cast a chilling pall over the entire labor movement.

With the disgusting complicity of the bureaucrats, UAW contracts at Ford and GM were re-opened early and renegotiated, and autoworkers, already suffering massive layoffs and unemployment (100,000 laid off from Ford alone since 1978), won the dubious distinction of being bound to a new contract representing the biggest give-back to an American company in history.

Ford won nearly \$1 billion in reduced labor costs over the 31-month life of the contract. In return, the UAW was granted vague and conditional "security" which can be abandoned altogether by Ford should the company suffer financial reverses.

its strong challenge to boss-party politics—is directly tied to its ability to unify the labor movement and the mass movements around a program that speaks to and for all of them.

The key to labor unity is an uncompromising fight against the diseases of racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia, and elitism which infect the labor movement, *combined with* implacable opposition to the bosses and government. The formation of a Labor Party capable of gaining mass support depends on the demands of female, minority, gay, disabled, and anti-imperialist workers being placed high on its political agenda.

We tend to underestimate the fact that the Labor Party would be a *powerful alternative to cultural nationalism*. The American Labor Party is the place for *revolutionary integration* to express itself in life. Workers of color, especially women, are becoming the most intransigent and militant of the ranks, particularly among service, hospital, government, and agricultural workers. The leadership of workers of color is impelled by the necessity to fight bureaucrats, racists, and sexists in labor as well as in management. A Labor Party without the leadership of people of color would be a disaster.

And a Labor Party without women leaders and feminist demands would soon be adrift.

As Trotskyists, we are fully cognizant of the dangers and limitations of a Labor Party formation. A Labor Party is very different from a revolutionary vanguard party! The Labor Party will contain all workingclass political tendencies, including the



**The North Carolina KKK is jeered at by Blacks and leftists. As the economic/political crisis deepens, the ruling class funnels overt and covert support to fascist gangs, but Labor will have its chance to squelch this scum and their bourgeois sponsors.**

The Ford contract was quickly followed by a give-back contract with GM and several auto parts suppliers. Similar sellout agreements were signed by the Teamsters, Meatpackers, and smaller unions.

Simultaneously with the attacks on labor, the Reagan regime launched a campaign to further slash social service spending, eliminate affirmative action goals, and wipe out all the major gains of the mass civil rights, environmental, and civil liberties movements. These separate assaults, of course, flow from the unified strategy of the bourgeoisie.

Outrage and opposition to the regime's crude measures are intensifying. Conditions are ripe for the formation of a mechanism which can fight the unified attack with a unified counterattack.

### The Labor Party

The call for a Labor Party could hardly be more timely.

A call to break from the political domination of the Republican and Democratic parties is more warmly received now than at any time since the '30s and '40s.

In quick succession, presidents Ford, Carter, and Reagan have exposed the bankruptcy of boss politics. Anderson's independent candidacy for president in 1980 advertised the fact that even bourgeois politicians recognized the irreparable loss of credibility by Republicans and Democrats.

The success of a Labor Party—its attractiveness to all layers of the working class and its allies, and

reformists and opportunists who will try to squelch militance and lock the party into a framework of "enlightened" capitalism, into a cooperative alliance of capital and labor.

On the other hand, like the CIO of the '30s, the Labor Party will most likely be the product of a labor upsurge. It should include workers who are presently unorganized. And it will most probably result from anger against the labor bureaucrats and their tired alliance with the Democrats. Like the early CIO, the new party will probably tend to take on the character of a frankly anti-capitalist, anti-bureaucratic, rank-and-file movement.

The leaders and the ranks will clash. The militants and the moderates will clash. And the radicals, if allowed entry and voice, will have a golden opportunity for revolutionary propaganda and agitation, and for demonstrating political leadership.

One variant could find the Labor Party erupting behind and apart from the union bureaucracy, and starting out on a high level of program, leadership, and aggressiveness. This type of leap, of uneven and combined development, is characteristic of the stormy traditions of the U.S. working class.

A patently revolutionary Labor Party is not at all excluded.

The break of labor from the Democratic Party, and political campaigning on a new, class foundation, would be a great historic leap for "backward" American workers, a new peak scaled in the ascent

to next page

to revolutionary politics.

And as labor enters the arena of politics in its own name and with its own program, the arena of politics itself will become irreversibly changed.

U.S. radicals will be in the center of a new wave and a new political day.

### The fascist danger

The increase in labor strength that will ensue through combining labor's classic demands with the new social demands will be seen for what it is—a direct challenge to capitalist rule.

At a certain point in a declining economy, the ruling class, facing rising protest, must abandon all pretense to democracy in order to stabilize its authority and continue its desperate economic policies. Bourgeois democracy leaves too many openings for protest, reform, delay, negotiations, compromise, talk, and more delay. Bourgeois democracy is inefficient and expensive, and when opposition to the government reaches threatening levels, the regime is in crisis. The revolution advances and capital is terrified. At that point, the ruling class turns toward fascism as its last hope.

The bourgeoisie begins to give both overt and covert support to the gangs of petty bourgeois, declassed, disoriented, and frantic patriots. These troops unleash raids and assaults on labor and progressives. Finally, the fascists contend boldly for power in their own name.

Meanwhile, the future police state has long been in the steady process of formation. The CIA and FBI have already gained increased domestic surveillance powers and even greater repressive legislation is proposed. The ultraright, the Klan, and many armed groups are already perfecting their military-police skills.

In the final analysis, fascism is the only resort for capitalism in prolonged crisis. But to impose full-fledged fascism, the capacity of the working class to resist and to struggle must be utterly destroyed. Organized labor must be smashed.

Such a drastic solution and such violent civil war are not resorted to lightly or prematurely.

In the U.S., the working class is inculcated with the tenets and aura of bourgeois democracy. The Bill of Rights and social benefits are genuinely cherished as shining products of the American way of life. American workers would fight bitterly against overt attempts to rescind their guaranteed rights, and they would win vast popular support.

Hence, fascism cannot be imposed without immense difficulty and bloody civil war.

Labor will have its historic chance to resist and conquer. The ranks are not irrevocably tied to Stalinism or social democrat reformism, as elsewhere. An impulse of battle-readiness would immediately arise against the mobs of fascists assaulting the union halls and picket lines. Labor would fight to the death.

The U.S. is the richest, most technologically developed nation in world history, and its proletariat can change the face of the globe. Vast, untapped resources of ingenuity, fighting spirit, and heroism reside in the hearts, minds, and hands of U.S. workers. They will never forget the fight against fascism in World War II, and they will never knowingly become slaves to an American fascism without a fight.

### Toward power

Today, as the pluralistic composition and the social awareness of American labor expands, its strength is immeasurably increased. The working class is potentially battle-ready, blessed with layer upon layer of uncorruptible future leaders. Revolutionary American labor will show the world that the crimes of U.S. imperialism are not the sins of U.S. labor, for the laboring class will become the judge, jury, and executioner of U.S. capitalism.

The proletariat will finally call a halt to the rape of the planet.

Preparation of the class for the coming titanic battles is our strategy. Unification of progressive forces through a socialist, feminist, revolutionary integrationist program is our tactic. And the resounding defeat of world imperialism and capitalism by a revolutionary world proletariat that prominently includes the U.S. working class is our goal.

## V. TOWARD THE FINAL CONFLICT

**T**he 1980s hold vast promise for the world's working masses.

The U.S. remains the military/political/economic bastion of world imperialism, but world capitalism as a whole is suffering a grave and irreversible crisis.

The future of international capitalism is grim—no new markets in sight (except the moon), no new

territories to conquer. Each national bourgeoisie tries desperately to raise the rate of profit inside its own shrinking system.

In order to remain competitive on the world market, U.S. capital increases the exploitation of the working class, drives up unemployment, eliminates most social services, and prepares to destroy organized labor.

These are times of great crisis and equally great opportunity. Crisis has a radicalizing effect: it forces people to seek solutions to basic problems. And the only solutions that address the deep contradictions of capitalism are radical ones.

Because of its devastating effect, even on the upper layers of the working class, the crisis is undermining the historic equilibrium between the classes. This *modus vivendi* has been presided over by the ignoble labor bureaucracy and is essential to the survival of the system. But as an increasingly class-conscious U.S. proletariat starts on the road to revolutionary politics, it will fling aside these middlemen of treason.

Tamara Bower/Freedom Socialist



American workers carry the hope of the international working class on their shoulders. U.S. imperialism, ultimately the most dangerous counter-revolutionary force in history, must be defeated at home by its own working class before socialist revolution anywhere in the world can be secured and completed.

### Socialism or fascism

The great question of the epoch remains unresolved—socialism or fascism?

The American working class—highly skilled, well educated, ingeniously inventive in its militancy and organizing abilities—will have its great opportunity to test itself against the fascists and neo-fascists. It will confront the reaction as a class that has never been decisively defeated, unlike the smashed German proletariat of the '30s.

U.S. workers are enormously strengthened, moreover, by the influx of women, people of color, lesbians/gays, and radicals into the ranks. And the class is relatively free of the social democratic illusions and associations fostered by the reformist labor and radical parties in most of the capitalist world.

When the American working class moves, it will adopt, as always, the most radical and innovative course, and its vaunted resourcefulness will help it gain the power to choke off the main arteries of capitalism.

Critical to its success is *political leadership*, the kind that only a combat party of the working class can provide. The power of the class must be channelled into uncompromising conflict with the rulers; the seizure of state power must be its stated goal and constant direction.

The guidance and authority needed for such a bold course cannot come from the union movement itself; it is syndicalist to believe it can. A Bolshevik political vanguard that is independent of the unions—a revolutionary, internationalist party of the

most politically advanced of the working class and all the wretched of the earth—must exist to guide the labor movement as a whole.

Such is the mandate of history. And history may not be mocked without disastrous consequences.

### Socialist feminist class struggle

Although numerically small, the Freedom Socialist Party has sufficient roots, experience, maturity, and audacity to hold forth its shining program of revolutionary socialist feminism as the correct course toward the conquest of power.

As a program and strategy for revolution, socialist feminism is unparalleled in modern history. By fusing the feminist demand for women's total emancipation with the proletarian drive for an end to exploitation, revolutionary feminism raises both struggles to a higher level, connects every mass movement to the class struggle, and creates a whole which is far greater than the sum of its parts.

When the millennia-long struggle of women against male supremacy is absorbed into and made central to the class struggle, the class is forced to settle for nothing less than total revolution within every social institution.

This is because no reforms or half-way measures or back-burner postponements can satisfy the demand for women's equality.

Similarly, the feminist movement, aware of its roots in communism and armed with a class perspective, transcends reformism and becomes a revolutionary vanguard of the entire working class.

Standing on the entire tradition of Marxist, Leninist, and Trotskyist teaching, the FSP has developed the outlines of the theory and assembled the basis of the cadres that will become the foundation of the mass revolutionary party of the U.S. working class—and ultimately of the new Trotskyist-feminist Fourth International.

This is an ambitious goal. To some it is frightening, to others utopian. But there is no other goal worth contending and living for. No other human aspiration can reach the heights of this singular intent to defeat the rotting capitalist system and sweep away the cruelty and misery it fosters in the interest of extracting private profit for a handful of vipers.

The world belongs to the class that draws from it the means of survival for the race. And only when the vast assemblage of the world's workers control the earth they live on will the earth finally be fit for human habitation. At that point a new history of the human race will begin. This will be a race living in harmony and health and vivacity, advancing itself to intellectual, artistic, and interpersonal heights that cannot be dreamed of amidst the monstrous exploitation that presently warps all realms of social relations.

It is for that new world that we fight and will continue to fight until we attain it. We must reach high and far so that we can greet the new social dawn. By giving meaning to the fate of other people, we confer meaningfulness upon ourselves.

**Build the Labor Party!**

**Victory to worldwide resistance against U.S. imperialism!**

**For political revolution against Stalinism in the USSR and Eastern Europe!**

**For a workers' government in the U.S. with full civil rights for all the oppressed!**

**For socialist feminist revolution in our time! □**

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## ...Mideast

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with money, to make him agree to declare himself the savior of the Maronite [Christian] population. Then the Israeli army will enter Lebanon . . . and will create a Christian regime which will ally itself with Israel. The territory from the Litani southward will be totally annexed. . . everything will be all right."

The Study makes it clear the Zionist policy from the beginning was to create a "siege mentality in Israeli society. . . to complement the prefabricated myth of the Arab threat."

In 1956, Israel joined the British and the French in attacking Egypt to keep open the Suez Canal—and Mid-east oilfields—for imperialism.

Israel supported the fascist French Secret Army Organization (OAS) against the Algerian liberation struggle in the '50s and '60s, cheer-led the 1958 U.S. intervention in Lebanon, and backed the U.S. in Vietnam.

Israel occupied the Golan Heights, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Sinai during the 1967 war. Permanent settlements were started and the Palestinians told to seek solutions outside their rightful homeland.

Israel was the first state to recognize the CIA-backed Chilean coup that overthrew Allende in 1973. It supplied 98% of the arms to Somoza in Nicaragua. And today, Begin arms the most brutal dictatorships—El Salvador, Guatemala, and South Africa.

Is it any wonder that more governments have diplomatic relationships with the stateless PLO than with the reactionary government of Israel?

### Enter the godfather

Israel, for all its depredations, could not survive one day without U.S. military and economic aid.

In the first quarter of 1982 alone, the Israelis received \$218 million in U.S. arms—nearly ten times that delivered to Israel in the first quarter of 1980, and 40% more than in the first quarter of 1981. Most of that \$218 million ravaged Lebanon this summer.

Throughout the bombardment, the U.S. was Israel's godfather in the UN, vetoing every anti-Zionist resolution—including one to allow water, food, and medicine into Beirut.

Reagan's show of disapproval of the massacre was merely a Hollywood performance. Aid to Israel remains intact, to the last cent.

Israel continues to be the strongest outpost of imperialism in the Mideast. And the U.S. will remain the life support to Zionism until it finds a replacement among Arab bourgeois governments.

### The tightrope walkers

It is not inconceivable that the U.S. will now strike a deal with the Arab bourgeoisie that leaves out Israel.

Anti-Begin anger in this country is mushrooming and is potentially explosive. And Big Business is loath to jeopardize its relations with the oil-rich Arab sheikdoms.

Arab rulers, for their part, are anxious to reach a back-scratching agreement with the imperialists, one that includes co-existence with Israel, if necessary. It was no accident that none of them came to the aid of the PLO during the siege of Beirut. They fear revolution at home, sparked by the Palestinians, far more than they fear Israel, which, after all, is capitalist like themselves.

But Israeli/bourgeois-Arab co-existence is unthinkable without addressing the question of Palestinian statehood which cannot be resolved without eroding the Zionist state. That is why Begin insists on Palestinians settling in other Arab lands.

Israel's savagery in Lebanon was a

message to the Arab capitalists: there will be no Zionist coexistence in Israel with other Semitic peoples.

U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz, who is chummy with Arab potentates and sensitive to impending upheavals in Arab countries, now calls



Su Doekall/Freedom Socialist

for Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza. The Palestinians, he says "deserve a place." He rejects a Palestinian state, but his desire for a halt to Israeli settlement of the occupied territories will likely edge the U.S. closer to confrontation with Begin the Conqueror.

### Oil and anti-Semitism

If the U.S. does try to jettison the Israelis, it will undoubtedly grease the wheels with anti-Semitism—the traditional linchpin of reaction and a basis for rightwing growth.

What other recourse for capitalism than anti-Semitism? Capitalism can no longer survive without imposing fascism around the world. The fascist

bombings in France, as well as the growth of Nazis and Klansmen in the U.S., are a taste of what capitalism has in store for the Jews.

How ironic that Zionism is a bulwark of Wall Street, which threatens nothing but holocaust revisited for world Jewry and for all people.

### Empty promises

Nothing can be more spurious than for Zionist hacks to equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism.

The two are opposites. Zionism is a death trap for the Jews and is objectively anti-Semitic itself.

The day of the colonial settler state is over. Ultimately, Israel cannot prevail against the Arab revolution. Israel hasn't the human or material resources to stand by itself, and its military and economic pipeline to the U.S. is increasingly tenuous. Further, the cost of maintaining a capitalist garrison state is stepped-up privation and misery for both Jewish and Arab workers within Israel.

Inflation there has leaped to 130%. Unemployment is growing. And social services are falling victim to the money-eating military juggernaut.

Strikes continued or were started during the Lebanon invasion; something that had never happened in Israel's previous wars.

Anti-Arab racism, which is fundamental to Zionism as a justification for aggression, also blights the lives of Israeli Jews. Dark-skinned Sephardic and Oriental Jews from North Africa and the Mideast—the majority of Israeli Jews—are relegated to second-class citizenship in Israel.

Israeli women, long held up by Zionist mythmakers as the epitome of female emancipation, suffer acute discrimination under the religious courts, which have total control over archaic marriage and divorce laws. Women's primary responsibility is to bear sons for Israel's armed forces.

The state imposes upon women and Arabs the poorest-paid jobs.

Army and kibbutz women wash the

dishes and do the laundry but do not fight or till the fields with the men.

Homosexuality is prohibited in patriarchal Israel. Abortions are illegal.

Zionism, the ideology of an exclusively Jewish religious and capitalist state, holds only false promises for Jewish workers. It has made them cannon fodder in doomed wars of aggression even as it exploits and divides them at home.

Capitalism has always treated its victims thus.

### At the crossroads

Israeli citizens, even before the invasion and massacre, were increasingly aware of the cruel hoax of Zionist demagoguery. Many have emigrated or waged sporadic protests against government policies. But the horror in Lebanon has dramatically heightened and clarified the Israeli class struggle.

The 400,000 in Tel Aviv on September 25 were 10% of the population. Imagine a numerically comparable 23 million marching in this country against foreign wars.

Israeli Jews now have a great opportunity to initiate an alliance with the Palestinians and other oppressed Arab masses. This means standing together against their rulers, against the imperialists who back them, and against any "accommodation" between Israeli and Arab capitalists.

Israeli Jews must demand a secular, cooperative, socialist Arab and Jewish state in Palestine. This is the correct program on which Jewish and Arab unity can be forged, Zionism put behind them, and the Mideast delivered from destruction.

### Whither the PLO?

The PLO has been forced once again to abandon a temporary land base. But this is just one battle lost in a prolonged class war that knows no national boundaries.

The PLO may have learned the cruellest lesson of liberation warfare: revolutionaries cannot count on class

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## EDITORIAL

Women's wrath erupted during the springtime fight in Illinois to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. It was about time.

In desperation over the June 30 national ratification deadline, the Grassroots Group of Second-Class Citizens sat in, disrupted, and spilled blood on the marble floors of the state senate in Springfield. Seven women, including Mormons-for-ERA founder Sonia Johnson, fasted from mid-May through June to dramatize women's "hunger for justice."

The anger of these women militants provided a stirring counterpoint to the mournful dirges sung for the ERA by the respectable heads of the National Organization for Women (NOW). Predictably, NOW offered no real help to the hunger strikers, although popular pressure forced it to give lip service. And in the final days, NOW stuck like glue to the Democratic Party-politicking, backroom bargaining, and polite lobbying that made the ERA campaign such a 10-year exercise in futility.

### Turmoil in the heartland

In Illinois, however, farm women, city workers, and students saw the writing on the wall and ignored the Chicago NOW leadership. Crowds of women rushed to Springfield to aid the Grassroots Group in one of the most sustained militant actions in the history of contemporary feminism.

The June 3rd Day of Rebellion was exactly that. Vivid banners, exhortative speeches, and guerrilla theater rocked the state capital. An outnumbered Stop-ERA contingent, bedecked in pink and baby blue, shrank into the background as 17 women chained themselves to the doors of the senate—whose stalwarts tried to adjourn early and sneak out.

As the women were arrested, Grassroots issued press releases calling for "women's struggle to determine their own future as well as that of society" and for solidarity with "all who work for social, economic, and legal equality." Said spokesperson Mary Lee Sargent, "The difference between radicals and the moderates is that [the moderates] don't realize that *the whole range of activity is what gets it.*"

The ERA fell three states short of the 38 needed for ratification. But Grassroots put the world on notice that women's struggles have reached new heights of outrage and determination.

### ERA debacle

# Nice girls finish last

Feminists are not about to give up on the ERA, or anything else, and go home.

### Precedent of disobedience

Springfield extended the tradition of bold feminism in America.

In 1916, women chained themselves to the White House fence, defied arrest and police abuse, and fasted publicly after nice-girl tactics failed to win the vote. It was only when working women schooled in labor movement militancy joined the fray that a powerful army of suffragists rose up and forced the passage of the 19th Amendment.

The Grassroots women absorbed the lessons of their activist predecessors. They understand that

women's equality is *revolutionary*, and that untapped reservoirs of fury, strength, and skill can be elicited to achieve it.

### Radical options

NOW leaders learned nothing from the ERA debacle or from the fact that disavowal of such issues as reproductive rights, lesbian/gay rights, and childcare only strengthened the reaction and paved the way for the ERA's demise. The NOW leadership's current "strategy" is to "vote the bums out" and replace them—with other bums, of course.

The death of the ERA signals the end of white, middleclass, single-issue domination of the women's movement.

Thoughtful feminists are no longer willing to subordinate their interests as workers, or their race, age, or sexuality, to the narrow pursuit of abstract legal parity with men under capitalism.

They also realize that continued adherence to the corrupt Democratic Party means more of the tired old sellouts and defeats.

Like countless activists in labor and other progressive social movements, they are looking for radical alternatives.

*Women can and will win equal rights*—but only by closing ranks with *all* the dispossessed.

This means working with unions, coalitions, community organizations, radicals, and the people of color and lesbian/gay movements to hammer out effective multi-issue strategies for overcoming the rightwing enemy.

Feminists must fight for protective legislation, affirmative action, social benefits, civil rights, workers' free speech rights, and an end to imperialist war and capitalism—for all issues that unite the widest spectrum of second- and third-class citizens against the system that torments them.

Finally, a Labor Party—a fighting party based on the demands of women, labor, people of color, and lesbians/gays—would offer a sparkling alternative to Democrats, despair, and defeat.

Feminists must begin now to construct dynamic alliances. And the next time women storm the statehouses of the land, they won't be alone.

—MADELYN ELDER

## MOVIE REVIEW

# Up from Invisibility

**Mitsuye and Nellie, Asian American Poets,** Light/Saraf Films, 131 Concord Street, San Francisco, CA 94112. 415-469-0319.

Allie Light, a teacher at San Francisco State University, was gathering materials for a film festival on women writers. She ran into a problem: she couldn't find information on Asian Americans.

Asians are invisible, isolated, their oppression negated through lack of mention, and their history blanketed under the myth of the "model minority," which stereotypes them as successes who can be safely ignored because they have "made it."

Light decided to lift the veil of ignorance.

With filmmaker Irving Saraf, she created a rare cinematic document, "Mitsuye and Nellie, Asian American Poets." This sensitive, moving and witty film explores the thoughts and writings of two strong-minded, highly-visible feminists.

The film interweaves the poetry of Nellie Wong and Mitsuye Yamada with frank discussions between the two artists on racism and sexism, with rare historical footage and still photographs, and with recent Asian American history as retold by the women's families.

It is a fascinating movie.

### Note smiling faces

"Mitsuye and Nellie" opens at Minidoka, Idaho, the concentration camp where Mitsuye was interned during World War II. Photos of the internment reveal how the Japanese and Japanese Americans were branded special "enemies" because of their race.

Internment was devastating. Mitsuye writes:

*As we boarded the bus  
bags packed on both sides  
(I had never packed*

*two bags before  
on a vacation  
lasting forever)  
the Seattle Times  
photographer said  
Smile!  
so obediently I smiled  
and the caption the next day  
read:*

*Note smiling faces  
a lesson to Tokyo.<sup>1</sup>*

### We are Chinese!

Nellie and Mitsuye explore Angel Island on San Francisco Bay, where immigrant Chinese first glimpsed America—through barred windows. Some were held as long as two years, victims of several Chinese exclusion acts, the major one effected in 1882. Poems carved into the walls memorialize the injustice.

Wives of Chinese immigrant men were barred from entering this country. Nellie's mother posed as her husband's sister in order to reach these shores. It was only in the 1960s—after her husband's death—that she dared to reclaim her married name under the U.S. government's Confessional program.

Nellie's family lived in Oakland Chinatown. The wartime internment of the Japanese had a drastic impact on Chinese Americans.

*Shortly our Japanese neighbors vanished  
and my parents continued to whisper:  
We are Chinese, we are Chinese.  
We wore black armbands  
put up a sign  
in bold letters.<sup>2</sup>*



### Another girl!

Sexism in Asian culture is discussed at dinner by Nellie, her five sisters, and one brother. They laugh at the frustration of their parents who had six daughters before a son was born. "Another girl!" cries Nellie, "That was my mother's wail." The son was groomed for college and career. The daughters were expected to marry and bear children, although two fought to attend and complete college. Sexism, the keystone of capitalist culture, was the model for the "model minority."

The conversation moves to the accomplishments, and conflicts, of the mother and daughter. Mother was a waitress who, with Nellie's father, ran the family restaurant; Nellie has been a secretary for 31 years. Nellie Wong, the worker, shapes and gives life to Nellie Wong, the socialist feminist writer.

Because they are feminists and acute historians, Mitsuye and Nellie have kept their identities intact. They refuse to split off Asian American women from men, Asians from Americans, or foreign born from citizens. They will not play this game.

### Yesterday and today

In graphically portraying the liaison between art and political activism, "Mitsuye and Nellie" dispels the myth of the passive Asian and imparts a sense of urgency to the fight against past and present oppression. "My camp poems are not something that happened 30 years ago," writes Mitsuye. "It's happening today."

This film is deeply political and profoundly human. Out of the experience of two women, the camera draws unique perceptions and new images which further our understanding of the strength that such experience can build, and the depths from which stirring poetry and convictions spring.

—NANCY REIKO KATO

1. Yamada, Mitsuye. *Camp Notes and Other Poems*. San Francisco: Shameless Hussy Press, 1976.

2. Wong, Nellie. *Dreams in Harrison Railroad Park*. Berkeley, CA: Kelsey St. Press, 1977.

Nancy Reiko Kato is a recent graduate in Ethnic Studies from U.C. Berkeley. She is a sparkplug of the Merle Woo Defense Committee and Bay Area Radical Women.





Clara Fraser

*Adventures among the bureaucrats*

**Y'ALL BETTER BE NICE** to me. I have been awarded \$135,265.14 by a judge who is obviously brilliant, fair, ethical, objective, and most practical.

Of course, the money exists only on paper, I still have no job at City Light, and we have to go to court again to settle the fees for my superb and indefatigable attorneys.

The Internal Revenue Service—that eternal reviled disservice—will clutch about \$30,000 of my money to its panting bosom and soon three more rivets can be drilled into a nuclear warhead. Oh, joy.

Also, about \$15,000 comes off the top for Social Security and retirement benefits. I should live so long. And if I do, will these programs be solvent? Or bankrupt, as threatened?

If all this sounds like sour grapes, ingratitude, or post-partum blues, it's because I, like earlier American revolutionaries, don't like taxation without a little representation.

Anyway, I'll have about \$90,000 or so after being stuck up by the feds. And do you know what? I now understand the plight—and guilt—of some white liberals. It's truly shocking, and humbling, to find yourself with a hunk of the capitalist medium of exchange when hardly anyone you know has any, and when unemployment rages.

Of course, visions of wealth dissolve when I divide those thousands by eight long years of low-paid alternative employment, perpetual job search, and legal battles. \$11,000 per year isn't exactly putting on the Ritz!

**STILL, IT DOESN'T SEEM** right. And there is so little I can do at the moment to redress the worldwide economic imbalance. But the little I *can* do will mean a great deal to the low-income friends who sustained my body and spirit over the grueling years of jousting with the Emerald City bureaucrats.

I would like to start a modest fund for workers who suffer job discrimination and reprisals. At the top of my list is the redoubtable Merle Woo of San Francisco, with a case so achingly reminiscent of mine—and waged against my very own alma mater, the University of California!

Everyone wants referrals to lawyers "who do free job discrimination cases." But the few worker-oriented lawyers who donate services are overwhelmed, and I know of no groups that supply attorneys for employment cases. The ACLU won't. And while women, people of color, gays, handicapped, and the aged can appeal to government human rights agencies, where can a white male employee without union representation turn?

**WHICH BRINGS ME** back to public officials. One of the more annoying strands in my case is the myth—the hoax—that some top-drawer politicians tried to help me. Many people believe that Mayor Charles Royer and City Attorney Doug Jewett have "long tried to settle the case," as reported by the *Weekly*, a Seattle newsmagazine.

I tried to rectify this illusion in a September 14 letter to the *Weekly*. But they weren't nice to me and didn't print it. Well, that's all right, because I just happen to have a column of my own—*nyahhh*—and this is what I wrote them:

In 1979 [Royer and Jewett] insisted on terms for the conciliation agreement that I knew would be unacceptable to the City Council, i.e., a job at the Seattle Human Rights Department instead of City Light. When the Council called upon Assistant City Attorney Dona Cloud to give them the real opinion of her office, she insisted that City Light. . . could win.

And when the case went to hearing in 1980, Royer and Jewett collaborated on legal policy and launched a 5-month attack on my political, professional, and personal methods that was so exaggerated it became ludicrous, and made Joe McCarthy look like Tom Paine.

Then after I filed my court appeal, they used delaying tactics for two years before the main case came before a judge. And when Judge Goodloe ruled for me, the city promptly announced it would appeal.

Had Royer/Jewett. . . wanted to settle, they could have done it at any time. . . Instead, they put the taxpayers, and me, through the old wringer. And they're still doing it—threatening to appeal the. . . just fees for my attorneys.

So I'm bemused when I read paeans of praise to this odd couple for their supposed herculean efforts at diplomacy. I'm laughing with tears in my eyes.

**THERE ARE MANY** other scores to settle with the bureaucrats, but who's counting. As of now, I'm ready to take the cash and let the discredits go. Do tune in next time, however, for another chapter of Clara's endless roller coaster adventures in Imperial Ozland.

**From where you sit**

You spit "were they niggers or what?"  
simply as taking a piss.  
You search the flame in my cheeks.  
Instead my eyes are toms.  
I breed epithets of my own.

I told you the neighborhood children  
gnaw peaches right off the trees.  
Plums, avocados.  
Dogs howl after sirens  
and next door a man runs from a woman  
who chases him with a cleaver.

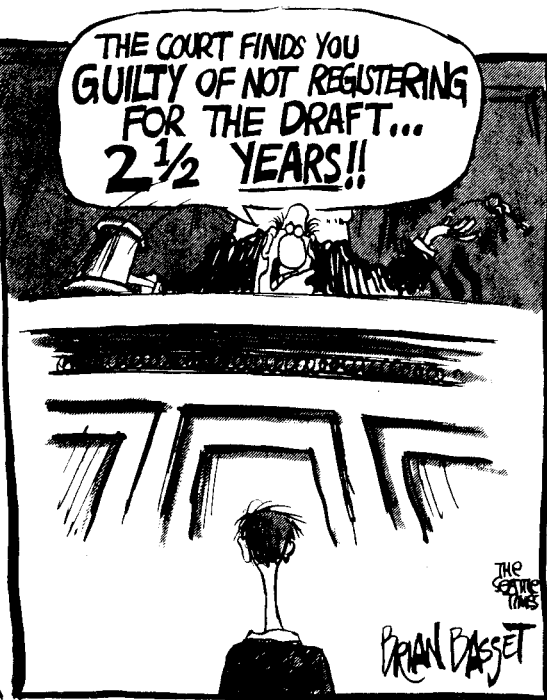
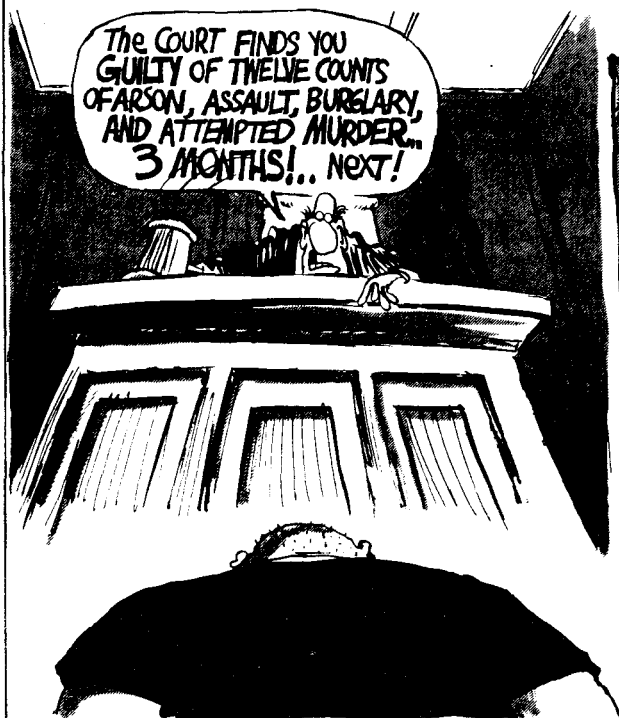
Sunflowers are headless,  
weeds absent from one or two lawns.

And you sit there, your foot  
in your wife's lap, surveying  
for yourself, you say,  
those who steal fruit  
from my neighbor's yard.

You finger the berry pie,  
you toe your wife's thigh  
and you test me  
saying "nigger"  
and I hear you  
mouthing "chink."



Nellie Wong



THE SEATTLE TIMES  
BRIAN BASSET

## ...Woo

from page 5

phobia by students. He sputtered that he had gay friends and had stood for gay rights "long before all these recent converts came out of the closet. Just ask the gay community." So the *Boston Gay Community News* did.

Graham Perry knew of "no lesbians or gay men who are supporting [Wang]." Andy Wong, from the Asian Students Union, said, "If Ling-chi is supportive of lesbian and gay rights, he certainly has not been very vocal about it, which isn't much help. Woo has really been out there."

### 8 to 4 and out the door

Wang decided not to try to fire Woo on the basis of her academic performance. And he wasn't about to disclose the political basis of his enmity toward her. So he trotted out a 1980 personnel policy change which reduced the maximum term of a lecturer from eight to four years.

Although Woo had served four years as of June '82, she had only worked 12 quarters.

However, the Non-Academic Senate Faculty Organizing Committee, formed recently to clarify the rights of lecturers threatened by the "eight to four" policy, charges that the rule has not been uniformly enforced.

And Woo points to the rule's effect on the free speech and equal opportunity rights of staff: "Lecturers teach more classes than tenured faculty (as many as 75% of undergraduate classes) and get less pay. They have no job security. And it is the women and people of color in these positions, the majority, being victimized."

The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) immediately leapt to Woo's defense. AFT sees the rule and its arbitrary enforcement as a green light

for the university to "silence unionists with whom it disagrees."

Representing more than 2,000 lecturers in the UC system, the AFT charged that unilateral adoption of the "eight to four" policy is an unfair labor practice and violates the standards of the state Public Employment Relations Board (PERB).

In April, the campus newspaper, the *Daily Californian*, discovered that the administration was circulating a memo to top officials advocating hardline union-busting tactics. The "eight to four" rule was one of their tactics for undercutting the AFT and creating a "revolving door" situation to inhibit union organizing by the lecturers.

For students, it also inhibits educational continuity as well as racial and sexual diversity among faculty.

### Truth will out

At the May/June PERB hearings on the rule, UC administrators danced from one lie to another, maintaining that the unfair labor charge was false because they hadn't begun to implement it. They were embarrassed when surprise witness Merle Woo testified that Wang had explicitly stated in her letter of termination that she was fired under the 4-year rule!

PERB will issue its ruling on the "eight to four" policy soon. But even if it upholds the policy, Woo should legally be exempt from its provisions. She was hired two years before the policy was written, was repeatedly promised a permanent position, and is entitled to be "grandfathered" into her job by the department.

### A long, bumpy ride

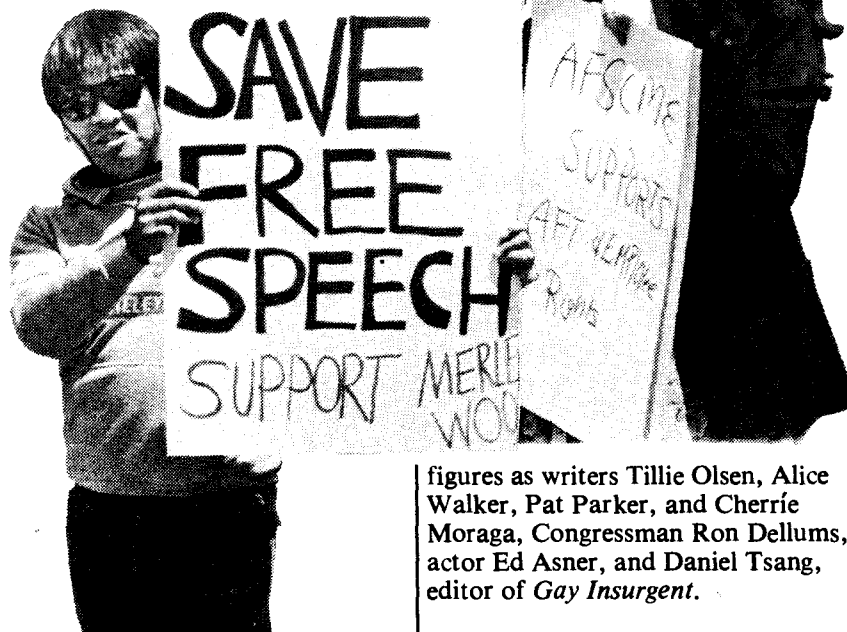
Woo faces a long hard struggle to win back her job.

She is currently appealing her firing through a university grievance procedure, as well as through the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Fair Employment

Practices Commission, with an AFT lawyer representing her.

In the grievance process, she is allowed to hire an outside arbitrator, but the chancellor of the university can overrule the arbitrator's decision.

In that event, Woo might possibly



sue UCB on the grounds of political and sex discrimination—but she would need the ongoing support of sympathetic lawyers who would forego the usual high fees.

And meanwhile, Woo has to locate alternative employment as well as stay closely in touch with her defense committee and extend public awareness of the case.

### She is not alone

Fortunately, Woo is not fighting by herself. A coalition of feminist, trade unionist, lesbian/gay, campus, Third World, and progressive groups quickly formed to defend her and defeat the 4-year rule.

The Merle Woo Defense Committee has organized a national publicity campaign and is doing extensive fundraising. And local and national support has mushroomed.

In June, the Bay Area Coalition for a Labor Party linked her firing to rightwing attacks "by Democrats and Republicans" on teachers who "offer an alternative to traditional perspectives of teaching."

Janet Kodish of AFSCME Local 1695, which represents UCB staff employees, says that Woo's termination "is an attack on women, minorities, gays, and political and union activists." The university's idea of academic freedom, she says, applies only to tenured white male professors.

At a Defense Committee forum in May, representatives of AFT Local 1474, the California State Employees Association, and AFSCME read support statements. Students from the Asian Students Union, Berkeley Feminist Alliance, Puerto Rican Students Association, AAS tutors, Berkeley Radical Activists for Change in Education, and the Gay and Lesbian Union all testified to Woo's excellence as a teacher and her courage as a community activist.

Other groups who spoke included El Tecolote, Revolutionary Workers League, Feminist Writers Guild, and Freedom Socialist Party.

Nationwide support for Woo has poured in from unions, and from feminist, gay, and people of color organizations. The National Women's Studies Association, the Associated Students of UCB, and the Gay and Lesbian Union of Claremont College have passed support resolutions.

3,000 signatures have been gathered demanding Woo's reinstatement and an end to the 4-year rule, and 100 pro-Woo letters have been sent to Wang.

The graduating class of UCB Women's Studies endorsed Woo's case and invited her to speak at commencement, which she did.

Woo is also endorsed by such

figures as writers Tillie Olsen, Alice Walker, Pat Parker, and Cherríe Moraga, Congressman Ron Dellums, actor Ed Asner, and Daniel Tsang, editor of *Gay Insurgent*.

### Tip of the iceberg

Woo's firing, the 4-year rule, and swelling AAS turmoil are merely the sharpest expressions of the rightwing reaction on campus. Like big business, the university bosses are trying to transfer the economic cutbacks onto the backs of the workers, via speed-ups, wage freezes, firings, and benefit reductions.

Feminist and activist faculty at UC Santa Cruz and Stanford are similarly finding their programs cut and their jobs gone.

And an anti-lesbian witchhunt is in full swing, with firings at Long Beach.

At a conference of the National Women's Studies Association in June, a workshop on fired feminists drew large numbers of people anxious to plan for militant, multi-issue, and public defense of those unfairly fired.

### No muzzle on education!

In the '50s, university teachers were harassed, dismissed, and even jailed for their refusal to knuckle under to McCarthyism.

Censorship, then as now, typified the rulingclass strategy of silencing and confounding resistance. And the bigots, bookburners, and teacher-baiters are working double-time now.

Who better to single out than an Asian American-socialist feminist-lesbian teacher who believes in democratic education, freedom of thought, and radical social change?

Clara Fraser, who on August 9 won a major courtroom triumph in her political and sex discrimination suit against Seattle City Light, deplored Woo's firing in a letter to Ling-chi Wang. Wrote Fraser, "Woo... has become a role-model of bravery and talented expression for countless other women; are you trying to tell us that you would see all of us back in the closet, the kitchen, the church, the welfare rolls, and the mental hospitals? Or only that we should carefully restrict our public utterances to the conventional 'wisdom' of Reaganesque and McCarthyesque platitudes and cant?"

Woo and her supporters are fighting for a time when no one will be silenced for their beliefs, when no one's wages will be frozen, when no student will be penalized for thinking, when university policy will be controlled by staff workers, students, and faculty and not by businessmen and non-producing management, when education will be provided for all, and when free association will become a reality. □

Please send donations, endorsements, and support letters to: The Merle Woo Defense Committee, c/o Brodine, 2661-21st Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.

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# ...Fraser

from page 4

Allison and Stanton, however, blithely altered 67 of Pasette's 94 findings for no other reason than bias. The findings they came up with could not be substantiated, and were contradictory.

For example, said Carlson, Allison-Stanton threw out Pasette's findings that Fraser was never informed by management that her job performance was poor. Yet they agreed with Pasette that Fraser indeed "was never told that. . . her work performance was inadequate or that she would be terminated unless she corrected. . . these faults."

Allison-Stanton also declared there was "no evidence to indicate that Vickery made a personnel decision based on Fraser's ideology or sex." Then they turned around and admitted that Vickery said that he'd rehire Fraser "if she were as loyal to him as to Karl Marx."

Carlson noted ironically that Allison-Stanton were so ignorant of discrimination law that they agreed with Pasette on many findings that proved discrimination. They acknowledged that Fraser was a walkout leader and the only one fired; that she uniformly received the highest performance evaluations, but was still subjected to special scrutiny; that Vickery told an Office of Women's Rights investigator that Fraser's "politics" were responsible for the ETTs' discrimination complaints; that Employee Relations Manager Donald Winkley told Fraser that her "outside activities" were in part responsible for management's adverse actions.

## Friend of the court

Attorney Daniel Smith argued the importance of the Fraser case in ensuring workers' right to free speech on the job.

The Bill of Rights means nothing, he stated, unless it applies to the entire fabric of society and its institutions.

"Public employment," said Smith, "is not conditioned on giving up constitutional rights." Without these rights, employers would be free to "militate for enforced unanimity" of opinion favorable to management.

Legal precedent in First Amendment cases, he said, holds that decision-making in a public institution like City Light is a political act about which employees have every right to comment.

Frederick W. Hyde, Jr. elaborated on Smith's arguments.

It's no wonder, he said, that the city has never wanted a clear review of Fraser's case, because under a proper interpretation of constitutional law, even the hearing panel's findings are

an indictment of City Light.

Hyde showed that the two panelists grossly exaggerated and misrepresented Fraser's criticisms of management. Fraser was following her legal and job-ordained mandate to promote city affirmative action policies, Hyde noted, and it was not she who disrupted City Light.

"Clara Fraser didn't cause the lights to go out or the rates to go up," Hyde quipped, "management did." So the bosses did not have "legitimate business reasons" for firing her.

Hyde said Fraser was denied the right to a fair hearing in 1980 as a result of violations of the city's panel selection process and the panel majority's own ignorance and bias. The city has contended that Fraser did not question their selection at the time, and therefore has no grounds for procedural complaints now.

But Hyde showed that Fraser at that time had no control over case policy set by attorney John Chen Beckwith, hired by the Human Rights Department to take the case to hearing. Fraser, therefore, never waived her right to object to panelist bias.

Hyde addressed the unfairness of

those [political] beliefs. . ." and revised it to mean "what kind of conduct a reasonable person would expect." He then insisted that management held the exclusive right to decide what was reasonable!

If a worker's actions are deemed "inharmonious" by management, reasoned Kaseguma, then they are. (But the FEP Ordinance was enacted precisely to protect employees from capricious and unreasonable management.)

Kaseguma also tried to subvert Pasette's determination that it was management, not Fraser, that had disrupted City Light's training programs.

According to Kaseguma, the Ordinance protects workers' political status but not their political acts, i.e., Fraser could "be" a socialist feminist but she couldn't stand up for workers' rights or do anything else to express her convictions on the job.

Kaseguma then painted a fright-mongering scenario of the devastating civil disintegration that would result if the court accepted Fraser's contention that the Ordinance covers both status and actions, and that abstract status, divorced from action, is meaningless.

Kaseguma reiterated the belated



Triumphant attorneys Valerie Carlson and Frederick W. Hyde, Jr. On the right is Mary Ann Curtis, National Coordinator of the Fraser Defense Committee. Carlson and Hyde want everyone to know that the Bill of Rights was won by the workers in post-colonial America and it is only fitting that workers like Fraser rely on it today. Curtis wants it known that the FSP and Radical Women formed the core of Fraser's support staff which engendered impressive endorsements, publicity, and funding.

legal resources given to Fraser.

The city allocated a multitude of personnel to defend the utility, but gave the HRD only one lawyer to represent it and Fraser.

Beckwith, moreover, suddenly quit the case in the middle of the hearing because he was dissatisfied over the fees paid him; he only returned to the case, without explanation, after the HRD ordered him to respect his contract with them, and this cast a shadow over Fraser's entire case.

Finally, said Hyde, the city proceeded to defend City Light when Fraser appealed, and refused to give the HRD an attorney to represent Fraser! Such a refusal was unprecedented.

## The city strikes out

Now it was the city's turn at bat. Assistant City Attorney Rod Kaseguma happily embraced the task of defending the city's prevarications and the hearing panel's doubletalk and red-baiting.

His main line was that the judge should look only at the hearing panel's findings and then determine that they were supported by the evidence. Kaseguma avoided discussing any specifics of those findings.

Like his predecessors, Kaseguma pictured City Light management as beleaguered victims of a communist plot, blameless in trying to assert management prerogative over a crazy and dangerous radical.

Kaseguma hammered at the FEP Ordinance definition of protected political conduct. He seized upon the phrase in the Ordinance that reads ". . . conduct reasonably related to

charges of "Fraser's incompetence" but in no way substantiated them.

At one point, he claimed that the First Amendment didn't apply in Fraser's case because she hadn't filed in federal court and had thereby waived her constitutional rights!

Kaseguma ended his tirade with a demagogic appeal to prejudice against radicals. He read a statement by Patricia Wong, the renegade ETT who kept her job when the women trainees were dismissed in 1975. Wong wrote that she would "not be used by Clara Fraser in her mad drive toward power." These words had a particularly hollow ring in the courtroom it had taken Fraser eight years to reach.

The city's viciousness was the best refutation of its case.

The court took a break after Kaseguma's arguments, and when the judge came back, he dispensed with rebuttal and ruled strongly in Fraser's favor. Like everyone else, he had undoubtedly heard enough from the city.

## A little respect

Judge Goodloe had some fascinating things to say.

He commended the city's 1979 attempt to settle out of court with Fraser, who, at the time, had agreed to accept what the judge called a "paltry" \$30,000 and a job with the HRD. The City Council's refusal to accept this settlement was, said the judge, "an outrage." (The Council's recalcitrance cost the taxpayers an estimated \$250,000 and took another three years out of Fraser's life.)

"It's time to get rid of this thing," the judge declared.

He then exhorted City Light not to be "bigoted and prejudicial," but to treat Fraser "respectfully and honestly." He said he was guided by Harvard psychologist Gordon Allport's **The Nature of Prejudice** in believing that victims of discrimination and oppression reciprocate kindness if that is what they receive.

## Unanswered questions

Prior to the Superior Court appeal, Fraser had filed a motion to introduce evidence on the improper hearing panel selection process. Judge Goodloe's decision left the motion moot.

Still, some highly explosive questions remain unanswered:

Who are Mrs. Darlene Allison and Mrs. Beverly Stanton?

What is their political ideology?

Why were they, of all unlikely people, sought out and seated on this panel by the Office of Women's Rights and the Seattle Women's Commission when dozens of extremely well-qualified, experienced volunteers were passed over?

Why didn't the city follow its own rules and select panelists who were knowledgeable about discrimination?

What bearing did then-OWR Director Susan Lane's 1979 trip to Washington, DC—with all expenses paid by the federal office then directed by Gordon Vickery—have on the panel selection?

Today, the answers to these queries are left to rattle around with other skeletons in the murkiest recesses of City Hall.

## Blowing in the wind

The City Attorney was furious at Goodloe's decision, and made loud noises about appealing it. He immediately filed a motion for reconsideration, and everyone had to troop back to court on August 27. But Judge Goodloe denied the motion.

None of the city fathers, from Mayor Charles Royer and City Attorney Jewett on down, liked the idea of Fraser's sensational victory, her future reinstatement at City Light, and the prospect of paying her over \$100,000 in back pay and damages. But these men are politicians first and last. Jewett is aiming for Henry Jackson's U.S. Senate seat. They had to see which way the wind was blowing before they could make decisions on how to proceed.

Judge Goodloe had already told City Light and the City Council to drop their anti-Fraser vendetta. And in the following weeks, the Mayor and Jewett learned that most voters shared the judge's sentiments.

Local newspapers and city offices were inundated with letters and mailgrams from Seattle and around the country, urging the city to abide by the ruling and to use public money to uphold its Fair Employment Practices Ordinance, not destroy it.

The Washington State and King County Labor Councils passed resolutions supporting the decision and opposing appeal, and urged members to add their individual voices in support of the resolution. The ACLU also wrote Jewett opposing appeal.

to next page

# RADICAL WOMEN DIRECTORY

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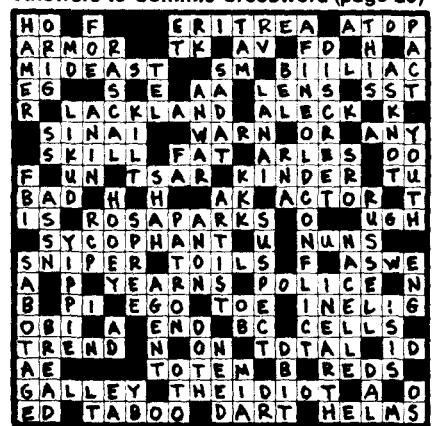
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## Answers to Commie Crossword (page 26)



# ...Fraser

from page 25

## Ring around the rosie

A September 3 *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* article by reporter Jack Hopkins announced that the city "probably" wouldn't appeal. Jewett, he wrote, had met privately with the City Council, which opposed an appeal—"barring unforeseen circumstances." The article said that Fraser was "apprehensive" that the city might pull another fast one.

The electorate—phone callers, letter writers, and petitioners by the hundreds—expressed their own apprehension and displeasure to Royer, Jewett, and the Council.

On September 9, Hopkins reported that Kaseguma was holding out the possibility that the city would appeal "some conditions" tied to Fraser's reinstatement at City Light. Hopkins also reported that nobody at City Hall seemed to know when—or even where—Fraser would return to work.

**The Human Rights Department referred [Hopkins'] question to the City Attorney. His office referred it to City Light. City Light referred it back to the City Attorney. Mayor Charles Royer, meanwhile, couldn't be reached for comment.**

"That's par for the course," Hopkins quoted Fraser. "They're always stalling, always looking for loopholes, always maneuvering."

But someone in these offices awoke to the fact that this vicious little comedy being splashed all over the newspaper was making some ambitious politicians look mighty bad.

The very next day, Hopkins re-

ported that a chastened Jewett said he'd "write a letter" telling the utility to rehire Fraser, quickly! And a City Light official announced that Fraser would be rehired, as per Goodloe's order, within four to eight weeks.

## The last gasp

Hearing Examiner Sally Pasette, in June 1980, had ruled that Fraser was entitled to \$58,000 in back pay, plus damages. Pasette did not award the customary interest on this amount. Fraser is now owed \$53,000 in additional back pay and damages plus 12% on the total amount, plus a large amount in attorneys' fees.

On September 8, Kaseguma issued a press release stating that the City Attorney's office "reserves the right" to contest the added back pay and attorneys' fees.

On October 8, Fraser submitted a proposed agreement to the city covering updated back pay, expenses, interest, and restoration of benefits. After negotiations, the city and Fraser signed a stipulation (agreement) on October 21. Judge Goodloe accepted the stipulation on October 22, awarding Fraser a total of \$135,265.14. About \$45,000 of this will be deducted for taxes, retirement, and social security.

The figures on attorneys' fees will be submitted to Goodloe sometime in November.

## What it takes to win

Judge Goodloe's decision is commendable in the face of the rightwing forces aligned against due process, judicial fairness, and the constitutional right to free speech. Still, it took persistence, the building of mass support and a small army of volunteers, and gritty socialist feminist leadership to bring Fraser's case to court so that the judge could render a fair decision.

Grimly enough, discrimination goes largely unchallenged by its victims in

public or private corporations because the legal system is incredibly expensive and time-consuming, and takes too heavy a toll on any one person's stamina and nerves.

Clara Fraser gave her whole self, and the politics she lives and breathes, to this case. A woman, a Jew, a socialist, a feminist, a teacher and organizer, a worker who defends workers, a straight woman unmercifully lesbian-baited, and a grandmo-

ther, Fraser is someone with whom a wide spectrum of people identify.

She and this case embody the hopes and aspirations of all who are stepped on, reviled, shunted aside, and silenced, whether in court or on the job or anywhere, by the powers-that-be.

She keeps saying that all of us are going to get together and achieve a revolutionary change in this tormented country. And more and more of us are nodding our heads in response. □

# ...Mideast

from page 21

enemies for aid, no matter if their race or nationality is the same. The Palestinians waited in vain for support from their royalist/capitalist "brothers" during the siege in Beirut.

Arafat vowed vengeance against these turncoats when he left Beirut. But how can revenge be exacted and liberation achieved?

Not through Arafat's gestures of support for the Reagan-Schultz "peace initiative" that leaves Zionism intact and the Palestinians stateless. Not through backroom dickering with the turncoat Arab capitalists. And not through Arafat's visitations with reactionary Pope John Paul II.

Arafat said he would wait for "world opinion" to deal with the Israeli and fascist killers. But what will the PLO do now to avenge the dead? Most of them were women, the most intransigent opponents of the aggressors who savaged their lives and their families. Arafat sounds like he aspires to become a bourgeois "statesman."

But Arafat is in conflict with other, more radical PLO leaders, many of whom realize that the PLO must wage

an avowedly socialist, internationalist struggle if it is to survive.

## The nexus of struggle

The PLO left Lebanon politically intact. And in the countries where it now resides, its respect and popularity among the masses, its social, political, and military contacts, and its political leverage are enormous.

The PLO has the support of the vast majority of the Arab world's dispossessed. Beyond that, Palestinian liberation is a recognized nexus of world class struggle. The PLO has the power to impel the oppressed everywhere against imperialism.

Palestinian fighters must expose their enemy—the bourgeois network of the U.S., Israel, the Lebanese fascists, and the Arab ruling class that strangles the Middle East. Palestinians can rally the Arab masses and join with Jewish workers in common cause against this multi-faceted enemy.

The PLO must demand arms from the world's workers' states. And it must stand with the struggles of all the oppressed in every country, and demand reciprocal solidarity. Jews and Arabs lived peacefully together for centuries before Zionism split them apart. They can do so again in a multi-religious, shared Palestine, in a socialist homeland for both.

Not until then will Arab and Jew find their roots and security. □

# COMIC CROSSWORD

by Andrea Bauer

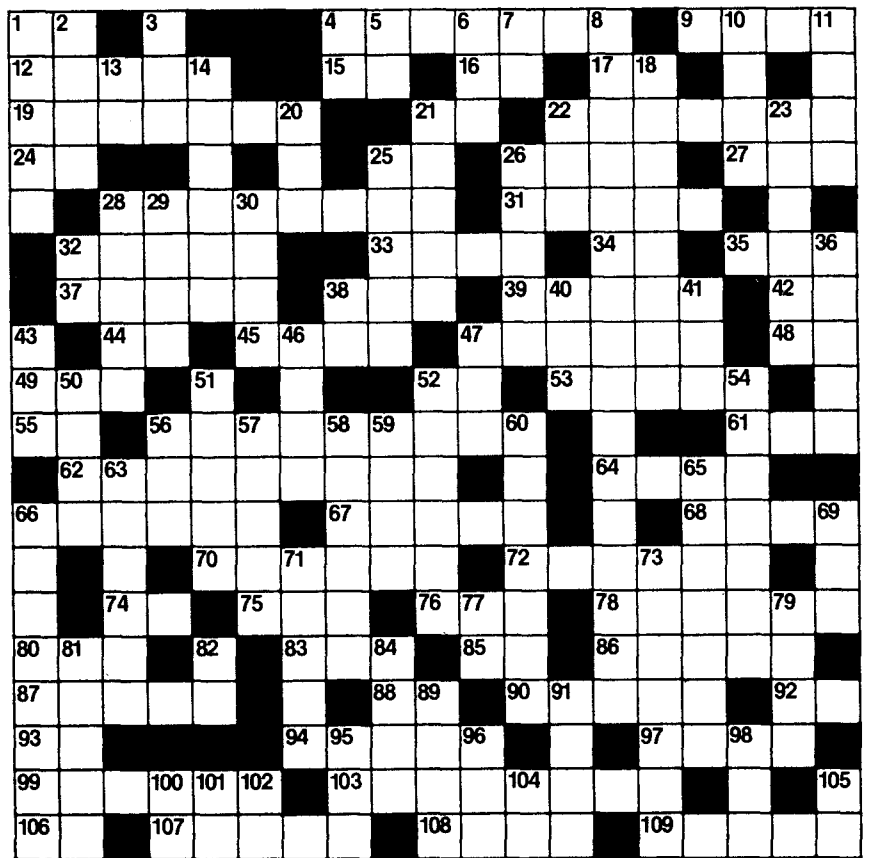
## ACROSS

1. Vietnamese hero
4. Dislikes Ethiopian domination
9. Perched on
12. Military gear
15. The next president? (initials)
16. So-so (abbr.)
17. Early Black leader (initials)
19. Bechtel's playground
21. Controversial practice (initials)
22. Anatomical term
24. For example (abbr.)
25. Self-help group
26. Camera part
27. Boeing's big baby
28. Richard the Lion-hearted's kid brother
31. Smart \_\_\_\_\_
32. A disputed territory
33. Native American women's organization
34. Borders WA
35. Some \_\_\_\_\_
37. What a good worker has
38. A feminist issue
39. Van Gogh's home in France
42. Bright yellow Hawaiian bird
44. Successor to League of Nations
45. Russian Revolution rendered him obsolete
47. German children
48. Et \_\_\_\_\_, Brutel!
49. Naughty
52. Little Rock's state
53. What Ronnie should have remained

55. "A spectre \_\_\_\_\_ haunting Europe"
56. She wouldn't move to the back of the bus
61. Our attitude toward capitalism
62. Flatterer
64. Killed in El Salvador
66. Hidden sharpshooter
67. Labors \_\_\_\_\_
68. "\_\_\_\_\_ come marching, marching"
70. Desires \_\_\_\_\_
72. Popularly associated with a certain farm animal
74. Mathematical term
75. What narcissists have lots of
76. Appendage
78. Don't qualify (abbr.)
80. Broad silk sash
83. Finish \_\_\_\_\_
85. Canadian province
86. Prison units
87. Line of March's amorphous recruiting pool
88. Switch position
90. "The \_\_\_\_\_ Woman"
92. The instinctive mind
93. One (Scottish)
94. Clan symbol
97. "Annie Hall meets Dr. Zhivago" movie
99. Category of slaves
103. Dostoyevsky novel
106. NYC mayor
107. Social regulation of behavior
108. Small pointed weapon
109. Republican senator from N. Carolina

## DOWN

1. Fannie Lou \_\_\_\_\_
2. Unique (abbr.)
3. Not a friend
4. Current creature feature
5. Brother of 15 Across
6. Hat \_\_\_\_\_
7. Playmobile \_\_\_\_\_
8. Mitford's account of life in the CP
10. "\_\_\_\_\_ Land is Your Land"
11. Easier made than kept by politicians
13. Physician \_\_\_\_\_
14. Rogue \_\_\_\_\_
18. "The \_\_\_\_\_ Charm of the Bourgeoisie"
20. \_\_\_\_\_ Aviv
21. Mideast "man of peace"
22. Tree of India
23. "\_\_\_\_\_ what your country can do for you"
25. First name of 21 Across
26. Hawaiian patio
28. Israeli party
29. Famous woman diarist



30. Short pleated skirt
32. If they come knocking, don't talk! (abbr.)
36. "Turn to the \_\_\_\_\_ and the woman worker"
38. Fourth tone
40. Agent of heredity
41. No seats left (initials)
43. Kin to 72 Across and 32 Down
46. Also deposited
47. Sheet-wearing bigots
50. Organization (abbr.)
51. Baloney \_\_\_\_\_
52. Diego Rivera was one
54. AIM spokesman
56. Ultraleftists who distribute red flags
57. What you go on with your income tax return
58. Spanish landlord
59. "\_\_\_\_\_ was a woman."
60. One detained by 72 Across
63. Advocate of Nobody for president

65. Basket for a balloonist
66. Gum up the works
69. Thatcher land (abbr.)
71. \_\_\_\_\_ provocateur
73. Buried (2 words)
77. \_\_\_\_\_Gyn.
79. Goddess of fertility
81. "\_\_\_\_\_ and Roses"
82. Madison Ave. product
84. "How \_\_\_\_\_ the little crocodile"
89. "To each according to his \_\_\_\_\_"
91. Death notice
95. Of the ear
96. Costar of Woody's new movie
98. East Indian food
100. A deputy (abbr.)
101. Every one (abbr.)
102. Rare metallic chemical element (abbr.)
104. See 13 Down (abbr.)
105. Cervical opening

Answers on page 25



## VOICES OF COLOR

U.F.W. graphic

Yolanda Alaniz, co-author of *The Chicano Struggle: Oppression of a Race or a Nation?* discusses some of her life experiences in this article. She highlights the struggles which led her to become a nationally recognized socialist feminist in the Chicano movement, and a theoretician of La Raza.

BY YOLANDA ALANIZ

I was raised in Eastern Washington's Yakima Valley, a fertile, rich, and beautiful farming region known to Chicanos as the Little Mississippi of the Northwest because of the local racism against Chicanos.

My family were *campesinos*—migrant farmworkers—who settled in Sunnyside, the heart of the region. Most people there are Chicano.

My mother worked in the fields to support her five kids. I had to work in the fields before and after school every day, plus weekends from sunup to sundown, to help the family.

I remember the poverty: the farm labor camps where we lived had no electricity or running water, and our community outhouse was in the center of the camp.

At school, our culture and language were denied us. We were not allowed to learn Chicano history. Our teachers favored the white students and fanned their racism against us. I'll never forget white kids laughing at me for bringing *tortillas con papas* for lunch and for wearing secondhand clothes and shoes.

Our teachers weren't there to educate, but to funnel all Chicanos into relatively unskilled jobs. They told me to forget about college and to seek jobs where I could use my hands, which I was "used to."

By the time I graduated from high school, only a handful of Chicanos were left. The rest had been forced to drop out and go to work, were expelled, or had been so discouraged by racism that they quit.

As I walked down the aisle to get my diploma, I felt so proud of myself and *mi mamá*, who had pushed me to finish school. Only two out of the seven children in my family graduated from high school. And I was the only one to finish college.

**La raza unida**

In September 1969, I moved to Seattle to attend the University of Washington under the Equal Opportunity Program which allowed minority and poor students to make up college-prep deficiencies, and provided federal loans and scholarships.

It was a very good year in which to begin my higher education. The Chicano movement had erupted with a vengeance in the wake of the Black civil rights struggles and amid the protests against the Vietnam war.

Campus was *hot* with political activity. I was very quickly transformed from a "Mexican American" into a *Chicana* political activist, like so many others.

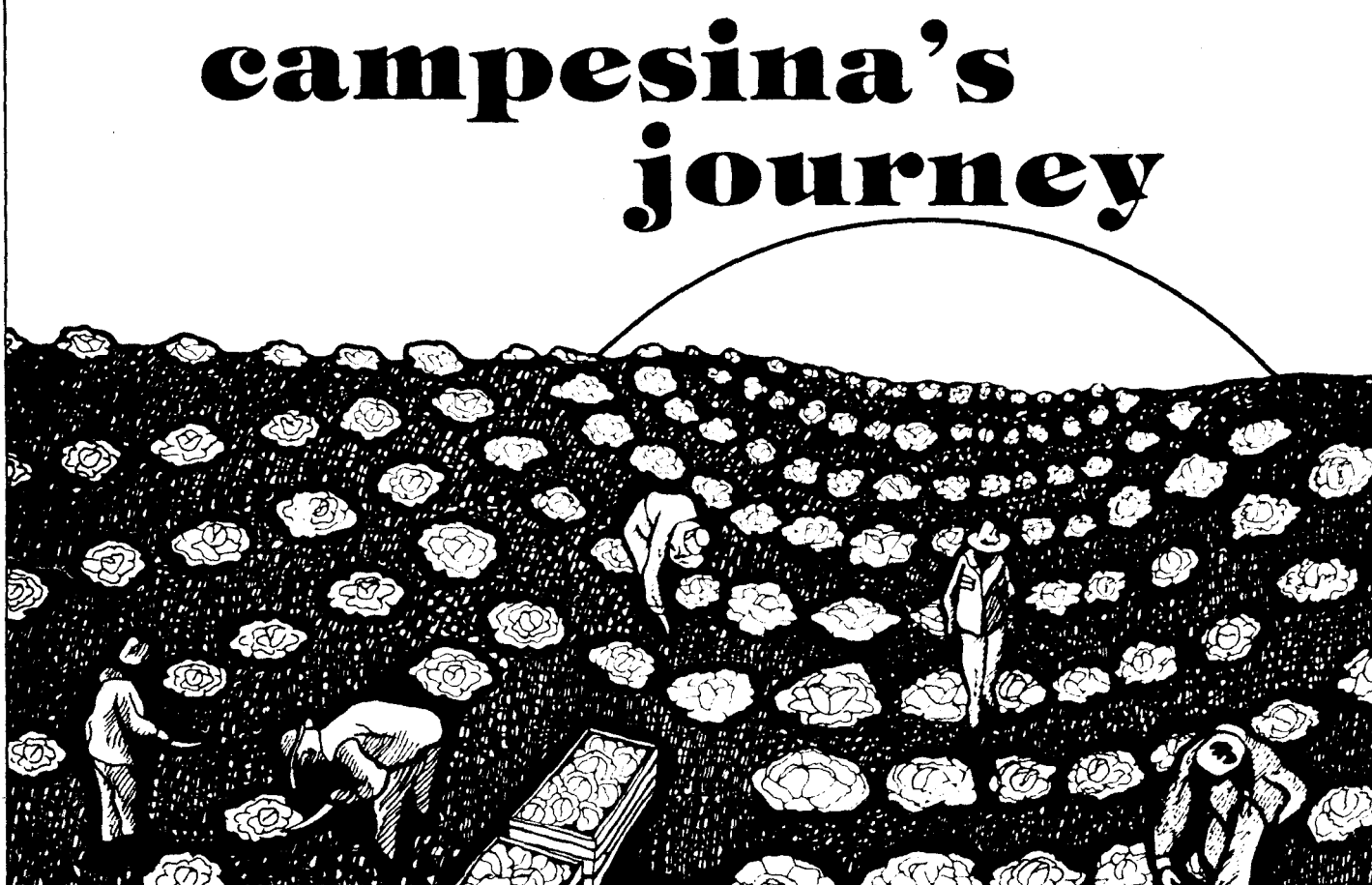
It was Chicanos against the world! We needed everything! We demanded everything! And we had a *right* to everything!

Our number one enemy was the *gringo*, just like back home. Our allies were ourselves. Our tactics were militant: demonstrate, rally, take the building! We demanded Chicano studies, Chicano classes, radical professors, more financial aid, no sell-outs. We went off campus, took to the streets, organized contingents in the antiwar demos.

We wanted it all. And I loved every minute of it!

**Race is primary?**

The time was right for winning some demands. But fights soon broke out among the different peoples of color over who was going to get a big-



ger share of the pie.

It took us awhile to realize we weren't each other's enemies. The *gringo* was. So we formed alliances with one another.

Still, we Chicanos always held that the Chicano struggle was foremost. Race was the primary issue. And Chicano culture, regardless of class or political differences, was the basis of our unity and strength. Our slogan was *Chicano Power!*

For many, this was a self-affirming expression of pride, long overdue after centuries of degradation.

For others, however, Chicano Power led to cultural separatism and the belief that one's own people were superior to all others. These were the cultural nationalists, and they became dominant in the Chicano movement.

I was no separatist, but I believed that only Chicanos could fight Chicano oppression and that being Chicano was all that mattered in the struggle. I also felt that unity among all people of color would be forthcoming in any showdown with the *gringos*.

Three significant developments changed my perspective.

I saw that the sexism of the macho leaders of MEChA, the leading Chicano student organization, was rapidly pushing women out of the movement. And it soon became clear that the "race is primary" viewpoint made it impossible to address sexism.

Secondly, I saw that elevating one's own culture above all others led to friction between people of color and lessened our joint effectiveness against the powers-that-be.

Finally, I learned how quickly class and political divisions take precedence over race or ethnic unity. A Black UW administrator fired the director of the Chicano division of Minority Affairs because of the latter's involvement in the movement!

Race and culture politics were getting us nowhere fast. But I had no alternative.

**¡Hola, revolución!**

Looking back, I was lucky that I had to work my way through college. Otherwise, I might never have become involved in a campus labor struggle that changed my life.

This fight was in opposition to a sexist and racist job reclassification system that would have lowered pay scales for entry-level jobs, and clerical, service, and other lowpaid positions, the bulk of which were filled by women and people of color.

I wound up helping to organize United Workers Union-Independent,

which fought for the most oppressed workers at the university.

Seattle Radical Women members were in the leadership of this union. And in working with them, I learned for the first time to trust white workers on the basis of *political agreement*.

Something else happened: I found new strength and commitment to struggle through the support and political leadership of these socialist women. And my own deeply suppressed feminism emerged.

This was something *really* new! I was learning how to fight simultaneously against my oppression as a Chicana, a woman, a worker, and a mother. I felt for the first time that I was fighting for *all* of what I am and who I am.

This was socialist feminism. And it was for *me!*

It wasn't long, however, before I was told to stay away from Radical Women by the Chicana culturalists and the sexist Chicano men. Then my husband gave me a further ultimatum: "Be my fulltime wife. I don't want a political wife."

My decision was clear. *Adiós mi esposo*, good morning independence!

I joined Radical Women. And soon I joined the FSP, the only revolutionary feminist party on earth.

It had to be.

**Adiós to Aztlan**

My subsequent work in the Chicano community often brought me in conflict with those same cultural nationalists who had tried to drive me out of the movement. They were still in the leadership and still shouting out anti-*gringo* separatism as the solution to our oppression.

Our own nation—Aztlan—was their war cry. But how this nation would be achieved, where it would be located, and how its current inhabitants would be removed, they never said.

I couldn't buy it. The U.S. government had forced segregation on us for hundreds of years. Why voluntarily go along with that program? Why remove ourselves as a challenge to the segregation, exploitation, discrimination, and genocide of U.S. rule? What could this self-imposed segregation into a new capitalist country possibly gain us?

This is not to say that my culture is not important to me—it is. But my culture is far *more* than just a slogan for macho self-aggrandizement. I will not use it to hide myself from struggle and to yearn for an unreachable—and undesirable!—Aztlan.

We Chicanas and Chicanos are the

victims of racism, treated like foreigners and relegated to second and third-class citizenship. Yet the USA is *our* land. We are Americans.

My people have been here for 400 years. We were once Mexicanos, part of Mexico, but almost 150 years have passed since our land was ripped away from Mexico by the *gringos*. And our culture has grown away from Mexico, taking much from the Indian, the Black, and the Anglo. Indeed, we call ourselves Chicano in acknowledgement of our Indian blood. We are who we are today in relation to all the other cultures we lived beside and mingled with through the years.

Our culture is uniquely our own. But culture is not enough to form a nation. We do not have our own economy, and ownership of the economy is basic to nationhood. Also, our territory is shared with many other peoples. These factors make a separate nation impossible.

We are workers, part of the U.S. proletariat. Our labor *built* the American Southwest. Driven off our land and herded into *barrios*, we worked in the mines, on railroads and on ranches, and in factories. Our blood and sweat have been incorporated into the muscle and bone of the U.S. economy.

We are workers who keep this country running. This country is ours. We earned it. And we are not about to leave it. Our job is to *transform* it.

**¡Viva la revolución Americana!**

It is as workers, fighting together with our sisters and brothers of all colors against the bosses, that we Chicanos proudly take our place as leaders in the American revolution.

Who knows better than we, the super-oppressed, how to fight and defeat our real enemy, the U.S. capitalist class—those sexists, racists, exploiters, dividers, and oppressors of people of color, women, children, gays, and every worker?

We are warriors in a class conflagration. We have fought with other American workers for survival and dignity as workers against bosses and cops and the government. We Chicanos organized and led countless unions; we imparted to U.S. unionism the fiery idealism and socialist theory of the Mexican Revolution.

I take my stand in the American revolution as a socialist and a feminist fighting for a place in the sun and a better life for Chicanos and for all of us.

*¡Adelante mujer!*

*¡Viva el socialismo y la libertad! □*

# Poland: Solidarity lives!

BY SAM DEADERICK

**P**olitical revolution continues to batter the iron ring of government repression in Poland.

Fighting ripped the country following the Jaruzelski government's official dissolution of the independent trade union, Solidarity, on October 8.

On August 31, the second anniversary of Solidarity's founding, an estimated 65,000 workers in 54 cities had battled militia and police in protest against martial law, imposed last December.

The warnings from the authorities and cautious pleas for pacifism by the Catholic Church had little effect on the workers' will to resist the repression. And on October 9, the underground Provisional Coordinating Committee of Solidarity (TKK) issued a call for a November 10 nationwide general strike.

Once again, the question of power, of who will rule—the workers or the Stalinist ruling caste—is the burning frontline issue in Poland.

## Fighting in the streets

Demonstrators in August and October faced a wide array of government weaponry—flares, concussion grenades, tear gas, and water cannons—used freely by the riot squads.

The August 31 fighting left five protesters dead and 60 wounded. 4,050 were arrested. 148 police were injured.

The latest clashes started on October 11 in Gdansk, birthplace of Solidarity, when 10,000 shipyard workers battled

police to protest the October 8 ban.

On October 12, authorities put the shipyards under military control, drafted workers on the spot, and threatened strikers with five years imprisonment.

The next day, 3,000 steelworkers in Nowa Huta rioted. One protester died. 67 policemen were wounded. New clashes erupted on the 14th when police tear-gassed mourners of the slain man.

A work stoppage in Poznan and skirmishes in Wroclaw rounded out the week.

The world media has been quick to claim a worker-government stalemate. Actually, a decisive victory has been won—Polish authorities and the world know that, despite martial law and the ban, Solidarity lives, and political revolution against the police state is real.

## Building toward confrontation

As early as May, underground Solidarity leaders were calling on workers to prepare for a general strike.

Spontaneous anti-police streetfighting in May plainly showed that the workers desired to move decisively.

The entire month prior to August 31 was given over to preparatory battles.

On August 1, 15,000 in Warsaw gathered at the city's main cemetery chanting "Solidarity," and demanding the release of the union's imprisoned chairperson, Lech Walesa.

Nine days later, thousands of pro-Solidarity supporters marched nightly through Warsaw's Victory Square, braving police water cannons, until the au-

thorities finally fenced off the Square.

Marches and street clashes also flared in Gdansk and Lodz.

## The government retaliates

Polish authorities moved swiftly to retaliate after August 31.

Government spokesperson Jerzy Urban revealed the arrest of four leaders of KOR (Committee for Social Self-Defense), the organization which provided much of the ideological leadership in Solidarity since the union's inception.

The four leaders—Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Jan Litynski, and Henryk Wujec—had been held by authorities since the imposition of martial law, and Urban now stated they were charged with "making preparations for a violent overthrow of the Polish socio-political system."

The charges are punishable by death.

On October 5, the government arrested Wladislaw Frasnuk, one of the four Solidarity leaders still at large.

Three days later, parliament outlawed Solidarity and the right to strike, officially wiping out all gains won by the workers since the union was formed.

## Resistance ahead

Solidarity leaders enjoin "all structures of the union. . .to organize an underground society that will serve as the nation's self-defense against the apparatus of violence."

The planned November 10 general strike will constitute a decisive test against that "apparatus of violence." □



Peter Kennard

# the freedom socialist

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

Volume 8, No. 1, Fall 1982

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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT  
The Precarious '80s:  
Crisis and Opportunity

## the politics of persistence



Fraser wins!



Woo fights on!

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