

The Freeway Hall Case

Freedom Socialist Party and supporters battle McCarthyite grab for internal documents

FSP Minutes

FSP Membership

FSP Contributors

Washington State courtrooms are currently the scene of a far-reaching assault on First Amendment rights launched by ex-FSP member Richard Snedigar against the Freedom Socialist Party and ten of its leaders and supporters.

In January 1984, the disgruntled and vengeful Snedigar sued the FSP for return of a \$22,500 donation he claims he made to the eviction fund set up by the party in 1979 after it was ordered to vacate Freeway Hall in Seattle, its headquarters for more than 15 years. Actually, Snedigar was not the sole donor of this money.

Snedigar charged that the FSP "unduly influenced" him to make the donation, then breached a "contract" and "defrauded" him by failing to purchase a new hall according to his unstated timeline. In fact, Snedigar concocted his spurious and baseless charges only after political disagreement led him, in 1980, to resign from the party. Political hostility, sour grapes, and greed engendered his suit, which he and his red-baiting lawyers have fashioned into an anti-constitutional witchhunt.

This lawsuit is a grab for money that is no longer his and for money that never was his. And it is far more: Snedigar is out to smash the FSP. In the time-dishonored tradition of malicious renegades, Snedigar demanded from the outset *that the party hand over its membership and contributors lists and internal minutes for public disclosure.*

But the FSP cannot and will not "name names." The FSP defendants will go to jail first, and have made this clear in their legal briefs. The FSP will resist until its First Amendment rights are vindicated.

A case about freedom to think

Snedigar, who had originally hoped to intimidate the party into settling without a fight, took direct aim at the FSP's right to conduct its internal affairs privately. Should he succeed in forcing release of internal documents for public scrutiny, he would chill the free speech and associational privacy rights of party members and sympathizers. Disclosure would deter other groups and individuals from associating with the FSP and threaten party members and friends with harassment, firings, and physical attacks from reactionaries.

Free speech and political association are empty abstractions without the freedom to organize in defense of one's beliefs. And the ability to organize does not exist without the right to meet, discuss, and plan public action away from the prying eyes of hostile political forces or alleged neutrals.

And, if a socialist party's privacy rights can be wiped out by court dictate, how secure are the rights of unions or any advocacy group whose beliefs may bring it into conflict with the ruling powers?

The scores of groups and individuals who have endorsed the FSP's fight agree that the time to battle encroachments on privacy rights is *now*. They realize that Snedigar's suit is not just a personal grievance or vendetta, but part of a broad *political* struggle which pits rightwing and establishment enemies of constitutional rights against all those

able to locate and purchase a facility it could afford and that suited its needs.)

Snedigar has no case. Unfortunately, he doesn't need one if redbaiting will accomplish his aims.

In October 1985, a King County Superior Court judge ordered the FSP to hand over its minutes to the court

Key to any successful fight is absolute non-compliance with the inquisition and public defiance of the witchhunters.

who wish to preserve and extend democratic liberties.

Snedigar's puppeteers

Litigation is expensive, and Snedigar could not sustain this suit without aid, if only in the form of a law firm's eagerness to prosecute a long case that won't produce any money.

Snedigar's attorneys, Michelle Pailthorp and Thomas Wampold, are reincarnations of those self-seekers who sought political and career payoffs during the McCarthy era. Allan Munro, Wampold's partner in the Bovy, Wampold, and Munro firm, was campaign manager for former Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman, notable for his attacks on city workers in the '70s. The FSP was highly visible in campaigns opposed by Uhlman, including a recall.

FSP has fought city bigwigs consistently on rights issues over the last 20 years, scoring some notable victories. City Hall seizes on every opportunity to destroy the radical opposition and recently decimated Seattle's Fair Employment Practices Ordinance, which the FSP was instrumental in getting passed 15 years ago.

This ordinance helped FSP co-founder Clara Fraser win her nationally celebrated eight-year political ideology fight against Seattle City Light, and collect back pay, damages, and attorneys' fees, in 1983. Fraser's case was politically costly and embarrassing to the city fathers, who could not have been unhappy when, a few months later, Snedigar filed suit to cash in on that victory. The political climate had turned rightward by the time Fraser won, the other big factor contributing to the decision to sue by Snedigar and his virulently red-baiting barristers.

"In camera" hijinks

Snedigar has admitted in oral testimony that the eviction crisis was real and ongoing, that he was free to contribute or not to the eviction fund, and that no written or oral contract to return the money was made or implied.

Conversely, the FSP long ago produced all pertinent public information that proved the protracted nature of the eviction crisis and frantic efforts to end it. (Only in 1985, after six and one-half gruelling years, was the party final-

ly able to locate and purchase a facility it could afford and that suited its needs.)

for an "in camera" review, in which the party's minutes must be given to a judge to decide if further disclosure would violate the party's constitutional rights! The FSP asserts that in camera

review, no less than disclosure to Snedigar, would violate its privacy rights, and refuses unconditionally to comply. The party has twice taken this matter to the Washington Supreme Court.

NAACP precedent

In its second motion to the state Supreme Court, filed July 30, 1986, the FSP outlined how the Bill of Rights came into being as a bulwark against political repression and showed how Snedigar's demands assault the political principles established in that document:

The right of the people to meet and deliberate privately is one of the inalienable rights . . . which are reserved to the people in the Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution . . . Congress adopted the Bill of Rights immediately after ratification of the new constitution because of the political pressure and protests of radicals, small farmers, and working people . . . the vast majority of the population. These vociferous opponents of the divine right of kings opposed centraliz-

ing the new government's power in the hands of the propertied classes and wanted a written guarantee that all citizens have the inalienable rights to freedom

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National endorsers speak out

. . . a very serious and dangerous matter . . . working people have the right to express their ideas without fear of harassment by management or any other hostile public or private body.

—JAMES K. BENDER, Secretary-Treasurer, King County Labor Council of Washington

Having once in Alabama had to protect itself against a fine of over \$100,000 for refusal to turn over its membership list, the NAACP is intensely interested in the protections given by the constitution against compelled disclosure of political associations and beliefs.

—PHILIP BURTON, NAACP attorney, Seattle

I know that once you begin cooperating with attempts to compel disclosure of sensitive information, you have waived the right to maintain confidentiality and the disclosure of information will be unending.

—RAMONA BENNETT, Puyallup Tribe leader, Tacoma, Washington

Based on numerous years of experience in community service, we know how important it is to protect the names of those who support and participate in our efforts, and to maintain the utmost privacy in our policy discussions within our organization.

—ROBERTO MAESTAS, El Centro de la Raza, Seattle

If the court allows . . . the FSP to be harassed with improper demands for disclosure . . . then what protection can unions and other organizations expect to receive from the courts?

—MICHAEL T. WASKE, International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers, Local No. 17, AFL-CIO, Seattle

Any government demands for information on [socialist] groups should be considered suspicious . . . this includes the court demand for FSP documents.

—DONALD J. DOUMAKES, Socialist Party USA, Chicago

. . . familial, cultural and legal difficulties which lesbian and gay Asians are required to deal with cause us to be concerned with issues of . . . privacy and confidentiality [and] impel us to support the use of strict constitutional standards in this case . . .

—ROBERT VINCENT WALKER, Association of Lesbian and Gay Asians, San Francisco

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An ex-member and his lawyers have dragged the Freedom Socialist Party into court. They seek fame, fortune and constitutionally protected documents. The FSP refuses to "name names."



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Anyone who thinks reactionaries have a monopoly on anti-woman moralism should read the Socialist Workers Party's book on cosmetics and women's oppression. A real eye-opener.



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the freedom socialist

On the cover: Design by Gigi Peterson.

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LETTERS

From the frontlines

Thank you for the Big Mountain story in last issue. Many thanks to Debra O'Gara and Guerry Hoddersen. Getting the word out and educating ourselves is how we will win this struggle.

We are a group working directly under non-English-speaking leadership. We are the lines that are important in this battle with the U.S. government.

I read the FS sent to our office, and am sharing the Chicano section with a man from the International Indian Treaty Council.

Keep up the fantastic work. **Janette Bendickson, Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee Flagstaff, AZ**

Thanks to the Big Mountain defenders for your fantastic work which has temporarily halted the government's relocation scheme (see update, p. 4). We are interested in your thoughts on the Chicano document, too!

Marching partner

Please send me a year's subscription to your great newspaper. I met your NYC branch and marched with them in Gay Pride—Good luck in Seattle! And make sure I find out what happens on the Freeway Hall Case.

Stuart, Brookline, MA

Allies across the sea

Let me extend revolutionary greetings to your party, currently defending your political rights in the capitalist courts. We support your stand and admire your determination never to turn over to the courts your list of members and contributors or financial records or minutes of business.

By proclaiming and holding fast to this guiding principle, you have collectively won our respect. Let it be known that we are among your allies in this prolonged fight to defend your rights under the First Amendment. Your very existence is plainly at stake, but let me remind you of our wall slogans that proclaim, "To struggle is to live, to fight is to win" and "The great only seem great, because they would have us on our knees."

We welcome the news that your party and Seattle Radical Women have found a home and headquarters, and we hope that you may find space on your walls for at least a few pieces of art from our jailed patriots, paintings which we are arranging to have mailed to you. Also I will forward copies of a recent publication of mine, **Words at Work**, which tells of the struggles of Irish women and men in former days. Let me hope

that this will give the Freeway Hall case defendants that added strength and inspiration which they require at this juncture.

Thanks for your interest in our struggle here, and need we say that our homes and hospitality are at your disposal if any of you should venture out of the USA to British Occupied Ireland.

**Fionnbarra O'Dochartaigh
Hon. Secretary, League for Social Justice
Derry City, Ireland**

The defendants were immeasurably heartened to read your letter, and are looking forward to the paintings and publication you mentioned. Along with the kind of solidarity you have extended, art and literature are the best ways we know of getting through trying times.

Some of our members have been able to visit Ireland in the past, and we will again—once we have won the lawsuit we are embroiled in. We will be more than happy to take you up on your offer of hospitality! Until then, best wishes for your struggles.

Thank you!

Enclosed are a few bucks for the cause. Your Big Mountain article was really great. It got me going! Thank you for putting yourself out there.

I noted a number of references in the FS to gay rights issues and their linkage to the Right and to political association. However, there seems to be no mention of Referendum 7 and Initiative 490. Why? Referendum 7 especially is a political and religious as well as sexual issue.

As the Freeway Hall fiasco continues, I am glad to remain truly yours.

L.R., Seattle, WA

See article on page 24 for our analysis of rightwing ballot-box strategy against lesbian/gay rights and abortion.

Glad to oblige

I believe in your struggle and request any literature you can send. I have no funds, for I am in prison. **Jose Becerra, Attica, NY**

A+ for analysis

I have read the last two installments of "The Chicano Struggle." Your analysis is bold, brilliant, compelling. Given wide circulation in the Left, it is bound to help shape positively the strategy and tactics of struggle for the generation to come. I have several friends in California to whom I want to send the articles.

I am hesitant to comment in detail without seeing the other installments.

Nevertheless, I offer these possible ideas.

So far I have seen no analysis of the acute problem of voter registration as part of Chicano political mobilization. It relates directly with the special oppressions visited upon Brown Peoples by the INS and federal authorities and the plenary powers allotted to Congress.

Sometimes I feel there is a "missing link" in the Left's agitation-education of Brown Peoples. This may be the need of a new tactical objective such as protective law, perhaps a constitutional amendment similar to the post-Civil War Amendments, addressing the specific needs/rights of Latinos (immigrant or non-immigrant).

Among Latinos is the horror of "lists" through which INS et al. can sweep neighborhoods, kidnap men, women, even children "indiscriminately," harass them, ship them out of the country. (The U.S. prosecutor in San Francisco used names from registration books to do exactly this about three years ago.) Moreover, this hesitancy to register is deepened by the entire history of Spanish, French and U.S. imperial promise-breaking.

Secondly, I hope your articles will comment on the special values which Latinos bring to the U.S. working class and to organizing activities. These include a special attitude toward the Land, the Home, and children; also a perspective which ranks individualism-competitiveness and material acquisition lower than prevails among the mass of organized white workers, esp. craft unionized workers. Your articles point out the increased prestige which Latinos have won in performance under fire. When socialism comes, our Brown brothers and sisters will set us the best example of socialist citizenship.

The appeal of the Land, "reverence" of its manifold possibilities, in my view, is a key nerve-point of gigantic revolutionary potential.

Lastly, bravo! for identifying English as the primary language—but, please, the reasons Spanish remains important deserve more treatment (to educate non-Brown workers). And I hope you explore nomenclature more. I have not found a more widely accepted word than "Mexicano," at least in California, though I cannot pretend to give a scientific rationale for this.

Such a *hugue* topic. Your articles are breathtaking in scope. And nowhere do I see you descending to sectarian quibbling or simplism.

Don Nicholson, Seattle, WA

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

M.A.L.I.C.E. □ A.F.O.R.E.T.H.O.U.G.H.T

by Ms. Tami

Years ago, when I was hired for my first fulltime job, the personnel director showed me the library's "benefits package." With a straight face, he explained that while my salary might seem low (\$1.05 per hour), my wages included sick leave pay, vacation pay, and a new benefit: an insurance policy. He hinted that my total "package" was perhaps excessive and advised me not to hurt the feelings of my coworkers by blabbing about it.

Minutes later, back on the job,

everyone helped me read the insurance policy.

Death was worth \$1,000, but the rest of the policy was a lottery of dismemberments that guaranteed management would never pay a dime. For \$10,000 you had to lose the left foot *and* the right eye *and* the right hand *and* the same accident. The hearing in one ear PLUS both eyes, *or* both legs *or* both hands—that was worth \$15,000.

From then on, our favorite joke was to show each other how someone

could lose both ears while checking out books, or both legs while typing an overdue notice.

Today's managers, however, don't just hand over benefits without involving workers in the decision-making. With the new "flexible benefits," we have choices.

In addition to low wages, you can now give back your sick leave days and get credit of days toward retirement—if you live that long. You can give back dental and get 10% of your daycare paid. Or, you can a lower medical insurance coverage to a \$10,000 deductible in exchange for paid parking.

Personally, I choose the socialist plan: all we have to lose is capitalism—and the benefits are terrific. □

Congress re-arms contras

Next act: U.S. troops to Nicaragua

In the war against communism, all good pro-capitalists must sooner or later stand up and be counted, as they have for U.S. incursions in Korea, Vietnam, Grenada, and now Nicaragua.

It shouldn't have surprised a soul that the Democrat-controlled U.S. House of Representatives gave Ronald Reagan the go-ahead on June 25 to load the guns for all-out war on Nicaragua. Democratic capitulation was all the more inevitable given the lack of counterpressure on Congress by an organized, radical U.S. antiwar movement.

This vote, the first in which the House voted open military aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries (contras), effectively committed the U.S. to armed overthrow of the Sandinista government. After clearing the House, the aid package was approved by the Senate in mid-August, as expected. It will now sail through a House-Senate conference committee in plenty of time before November mid-term elections call representatives to account for their votes.

The bottom line

Reagan from the beginning has couched this war in terms of a holy crusade against communism, a defense of the American Way of Life against the Evil Soviet Empire. Leaving aside his looney tunes anti-Soviet rhetoric, he's right. The American Way of Life, capitalism, depends for survival on the plunder of labor and resources in Latin America, and on rightwing dictatorships, to ensure the orderly transmission of profits northward. Consequently, the only road to democratic equality in Central America is the overthrow of capitalism through socialist revolution. The conflict is irreconcilable and will be fought with guns to a conclusion.

Congressional liberals stand foursquare with Reagan on the basics: to a man, they are staunchly anti-communist and uphold the "legitimacy" of U.S. interests in Central America. Their opposition to administration policy has been *tactical*, rooted in fear of the inevitable domestic political explosions that U.S. involvement in full-scale war will precipitate. Their position that the conflict should be resolved through negotiations—as if U.S. avarice and Central American aspirations could be mutually accommodated—was foredoomed to erode as the real nature of the war continued to assert itself.

Reagan continues to pursue imperialist necessity in Central America, and has forced the Sandinistas to impose, albeit reluctantly, increasing restrictions on Nicaragua's capitalists. Congressional liberals faced a choice on June 25—stand with Reagan or with Nicaragua. They chose to arm the counterrevolution.

The vote was close—221-209 as compared with the 222-221 vote against contra aid in March—and even now House Democrats are noisily threatening to stop the aid package. They have an enormous constituency to try to placate now that the horse has been let out of the barn.

But the Democrats' cave-in was too well-timed to have been anything but an orchestrated surrender. June 25 was make-or-break time for the contra aid proposal. A vote against would have stiffened the already enormous public opposition to all aid—overt and

covert—to the contras. It would have conceivably spelled the end for those butchers, and certainly given respite and new impetus to the Central American revolution.

House liberals were loathe to let that happen, or to allow Reagan's red baiters to accuse them yet again of aiding and comforting communists. Hence the strategic break in oppositional ranks, and victory for the contras.

Edging toward sellout

The June '86 reversal of earlier House votes against contra aid was pre-signalled by Congressional approval of Reagan's embargo on all U.S. trade

million in overt military assistance; \$30 million in "humanitarian" aid; and access to \$400 million more in CIA monies. Funds left over from contra drug deals and sub rosa bank accounts will be used to continue their slaughter, rape, and pillage in the Nicaraguan countryside—and to lay the groundwork for catapulting U.S. troops into conflict and invasion of Nicaragua. Of chilling significance is the fact that the Senate killed all amendments to the aid proposal that would have kept U.S. "advisors" out of combat.

Hitherto, Reagan has used the contras in an attempt to bleed Nicaragua to death via low-cost proxy war. But this strategy has drawbacks: contra

of this year alone. Economic losses stand at \$1.3 billion, and projects necessary to internal economic development have been drastically curtailed or abandoned. Defense expenditures—60% of the national budget—have further depleted the country's productive capacity. Meanwhile, food shortages and inflation are rampant, social services have been decimated, and urban workers' real wages have dropped 50% since 1982.

That Nicaragua has survived—that it still fights determinedly after six hellish years—is amazing testament to the revolution's power.

But the country cannot long hold out alone against imperialist pressure. And the question is what can—and must—the Sandinistas do to ensure the revolution's survival?

Dilemma and choice

Previously, the Sandinistas have sought "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S. They maintained that the revolution is purely a struggle for national liberation, not socialism; that it has room enough for both socialists and capitalists within a framework of mixed economy and "pluralist" multi-class democracy.

Nicaraguan and U.S. imperatives, they have stated, need not necessarily conflict. Congressional liberals also took this line in the contra aid debate. Not surprisingly, the Sandinistas have looked to the liberals, instead of radicals, as the primary U.S. buffers against imperialist aggression.

But Sandinistas and congressmen notwithstanding, capitalism and the revolution are incompatible. Nicaragua's capitalists know this and refuse to coexist with the Sandinistas. The bourgeoisie and Catholic hierarchy have labeled the privations of the war as inevitable fruits of "Marxist repression" and tried in every way to fan social discontent and channel it against the Sandinistas. The capitalists have gone on strike against the economy, refusing to invest in production, and hoarding their profits or funneling them into market speculation.

"Peaceful coexistence" is a chimera. Indeed, the logic of imperialist aggression has forced the Sandinistas to take measures that implicitly conflict with this principle, prime among them the arming of Nicaragua's workers and peasants and the effective exclusion of Nicaragua's capitalists from political power.

This June, the government finally shut down *La Prensa*, the reactionary

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When Reagan sends U.S. troops to Nicaragua, Tip O'Neill's Democrats will do nothing more to stop it than they did on the contra aid vote.

with Nicaragua in May 1985. Then came the House vote for \$27 million in "humanitarian" aid to the contras a month later, and approval in November of funds enabling the CIA to train the contras in the use of "communications technology."

Congress had officially cut off CIA funds for the contras in 1984. But that was an election year, one in which large antiwar protest had showed early signs of radicalizing. A year later, protest having subsided, Congress felt safe enough to restore the money. (The CIA and the National Security Council (NSC), meanwhile, had been blithely funneling assistance to the contras by more devious and illegal routes, as the CIA has done since the beginning of the war. Congress squelched its own investigation into the NSC's contra assistance program in mid-September.)

These moves, and the hairsbreadth vote against contra aid this March, reflected clear erosion of House opposition since the '84 elections to Reagan's drumbeating.

Then came the House and Senate votes this summer, and we now face all-out war—another Vietnam—in the Americas.

Into the quagmire

The contras now have \$500 million in U.S. tax dollars to play with: \$70

assaults, though devastating to the revolution, have stiffened the Nicaraguan people's resolve to hold out against U.S. pressure. The contras moreover revolt the American people; public opposition to contra butchery registers at 70% and is climbing.

Washington must move fast—before opposition can congeal and radicalize—if it is to restore a Somocista dictatorship in Managua. Thus the House and Senate votes, the bipartisan commitment to a military solution, the unleashing of U.S. "advisors." Reagan speaks openly of establishing a contra "provisional government" on a corner of Nicaraguan soil. What handier pretext for U.S. invasion, should that "government" be attacked by Sandinista troops!

Pick your scenario. The contras' check is in the mail. U.S. troops are being edged closer to Nicaragua's border. Washington wants the Sandinistas out before Reagan leaves office—and is willing to reap the whirlwind to get the job done.

Onslaught

Nicaragua faces increasing hardship in the coming months. The damage it has already sustained from contra raids and U.S. economic pressure is frightful: 14,000 Nicaraguans have died thus far in the war, 1811 in the first four months

URGENT APPEAL!

**WRECK
RAMBO'S
DAY!**

Contribute to the FSP's
Socialist Feminist Fund Drive

Send donations to: New Freeway Hall
5018 Rainier Avenue South
Seattle, WA 98118

**GOAL: \$25,000
DEADLINE: SEPT 15**



On July 6 of this year, U.S. authorities intended to move 11,000 Diné (Navajo) people from the land around Big Mountain, Arizona, thereby carrying out the largest forced relocation of civilians in the U.S. since the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. But the courageous Diné and their friends, inspired by the traditional Diné women elders, have so far successfully resisted eviction orders. They know that removal from their lands would mean the end of their culture, their way of life. They know that relocation means genocide.

Three hundred militant Diné underscored their determination to stay at Big Mountain by marching on the proposed eviction day to a barbed-wire fence marking the "boundary" between the Navajo and Hopi tribes and cutting it.

The government blames the relocation delay on failure to complete housing for the evictees. But credit goes

to the Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee and their sponsors, the Big Mountain Independent Diné Nation, who threw the light of national public exposure on the impending eviction and forced the government to back off, for the moment.

Now, encamped Diné and supporters in the Big Mesa in Arizona await the next government attempt to relocate them—while the world watches. Government and business proponents of relocation, meanwhile, are stepping up harassment of the resisters, to soften them up for next time.

Through the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act of 1974, the "legal" basis for relocation, the U.S. government sought free access for big mining companies—Peabody Coal, Exxon, and the like—to strip mine more of the rich mineral deposits of the Big Mountain area. To rationalize the land grab, sponsors of the act invented a "dispute" between Navajo shepherders and Hopi farmers who have shared the land for over 100 years. The corporate predators

have been abetted by the Hopi and Navajo tribal councils, who are funded and controlled by the government's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

The companies proceeded to build a barbed-wire fence to exclude the Diné from this longtime Joint Use Area (JUA), which the government now labeled "Hopi Partitioned Lands."

Unwilling to forfeit their way of life, and having no reason to trust the tribal or federal governments or big companies, the Navajo traditional government—the women elders—resisted the move. They assaulted fence builders, cut the wire, and shot at intruders.

They reached out for, and received, national support—from the American Indian Movement, other Native American and community activists, and leftists.

Faced with this opposition, the government decided against an open confrontation on July 6.

Nevertheless, the BIA is still trying to pressure the Diné to move to jerrybuilt housing outside the JUA—much of which, moreover, is not completed. The Hopi tribal council on

July 7 demanded that the Navajos come up with a "plan" for relocation within 30 days, and is agitating for mass Hopi "resettlement" of the area. Hopi police have clashed with, and arrested, Diné and supporters on several occasions.

The federal government meanwhile has been buzzing the area daily with low-altitude helicopter and F-111 overflights, trying to terrorize the resisters.

Diné leaders are protesting these violations. And they are now urging people to contact their representatives and help pressure Congress to repeal the relocation legislation. Anything less is unthinkable, for the Land Settlement Act is just one more document in the long history of attempts to crush the life and spirit of Native Americans.

The Diné are making their stand against genocide. All victims of and fighters against the corporate and government despoilment of the earth have a vast stake in standing with them—no matter what it takes to stop the relocation. □

—JANET SUTHERLAND

After three appeals, embattled Australian teacher Alison Thorne has won a grant of financial aid to pursue her case against political discrimination. The June decision by Victoria's Legal Aid Commission reversed the commission's earlier stance that Thorne's case did not relate "either to political discrimination or matters of public interest."

The funds enable Thorne to hire a barrister for her September 9 hearing before the Equal Opportunity Board, at which Thorne will contest her removal from teaching nearly three years ago.

In November 1983, Thorne publicly defended the free speech rights of

Alison Thorne Case

Australian teacher wins legal aid for re-hire bid

members of a pedophile support group, arrested after a police spy alleged that their private discussions could "corrupt public morals." The Ministry of Education capitulated to rightwing pressure and punitively transferred Thorne from teaching to administrative duties. While charges against the group

were dismissed, even massive international support has not yet won Thorne's reinstatement.

In her requests for legal aid, Thorne argued that the Ministry cannot provide any convincing reason, other than her lawful expression of political beliefs, for its action. At issue, she said, is her

right to express these views, regardless of their popularity, without fear of retribution by the State as her employer.

In explaining the importance of her case for the public interest, Thorne stressed that a supposedly democratic state must not be allowed to subvert the career of an employee who "defends the rights of others to freedom of speech and assembly."

Donations to Thorne's defense campaign can be sent to: Committee to Reinstatement Alison Thorne (CRAT), P.O. Box 108, North Carlton, Victoria 3054, Australia. □

—TAMARA TURNER

... Blitz fizzles

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tive 10, which sought only to repeal the sexual orientation protection clause of the ordinance. Voters declined to sign; the initiative flopped resoundingly.

At the state level, Initiative 490 would have made it a crime to knowingly hire homosexuals for work in schools, daycare centers, or state institutions for the disabled, elderly, or prisoners.

This initiative would have enshrined **mandatory** discrimination, prepared the ground for sexual identity witchhunts, refusals to hire, and firings of anyone bosses didn't like, and set a chilling precedent for discrimination against other oppressed groups.

Gay activists sued to have this initiative disqualified as well. The suit failed, but did manage to slow the signature drive. Meanwhile, lesbian and gay activists followed signature gatherers to shopping malls and other locales and educated people to the dangers of the initiative.

This organizing, a wide publicity campaign, and the fact that Initiative 490 was so blatantly a weapon against

all workers' rights aroused voters against the initiative, and it too failed to make the ballot.

Weakness and strength

Defeat of the anti-gay initiatives can be attributed to grassroots activism. To be credited are the work undertaken against the measures by the Lesbian/Gay Freedom Day Committee, annual sponsors of Seattle's gay pride march; years of prior organizing and educating by a strong and at times radical lesbian/gay movement; and general voter awareness that the initiatives were a strike against the rights of all.

These advantages were almost offset, however, by the conservatism of much of the recognized gay leadership, their orientation to pro-capitalist Democrats, and their single-issue reluctance to link up with the people of color and women's movements against the reaction.

Organizing efforts against the initiatives in fact were rocky business, marked by conflicts over program and strategy, the right to democratically discuss these essentials, and polarization between the conservatives and radicals on these issues.

The conservatives advocated working within the system, a "respectable" approach consisting essentially in supporting Democratic Party officeholders and candidates—all supposed champions of lesbian/gay rights.

Radicals argued the necessity for building a bold, multi-issue counter-offensive of all those whose rights are threatened by the bigots, on the obvious grounds that this unity is the only basis for confronting the enemy from strength.

They pointed out that the Democrats, like the Republicans, uphold the capitalist status quo, despite the occasional mavericks who talk a progressive line and in rarer instances mean it. They asked how the Democrats, who approved Reagan's austerity program and voted \$100 million to contra death merchants in Nicaragua, yet refused to endorse a national gay rights plank, could possibly be considered friends of the lesbian/gay movement.

Pro-Democrat "respectability" could conceivably have spelled disaster for the anti-initiatives fight. For example, gay Democrats called an open conference to launch a statewide defense against Initiative 490. Then, claiming time constraints, **they cancelled the only discussion period which could have included strategy and tactics**, leaving the fledgling "No on 490" campaign without an agreed-on program to carry out the fight!

Fortunately, the dangers this initiative posed were clear enough. Fortunately, too, lesbian/gay militants were willing to carry the fight to unions, community groups, and the general

public in search of support.

Had "respectability" prevailed, I-490 might now be law in Washington State.

United we stand

Women, lesbians and gays, and Washington voters emphatically rejected the latest efforts to bring back the closet, back-alley abortions, and across-the-board job discrimination.

But the reactionaries have demonstrated that they are perfectly willing and able to launch these attacks year after year, in Washington State and across the country. They will assuredly be back, with more sweeping attacks on us all.

The lessons of the anti-initiatives campaigns in Washington State—with their weaknesses and strengths—are clear: the social movements must get radical and thoroughly democratic, breaking with the Democratic Party and reaching out for mutual support to all on the rightwing hit list. **We are the majority: feminists, lesbians and gays, people of color, Jews, unionists, radicals, the disabled, and all who believe in democracy and equality. We are incomparably mightier than the right, provided we unite on an anti-capitalist basis against them.**

We can push the bigots back to the Dark Ages. The time to do it is now! □

—HELEN GILBERT

... Freeway Hall Case

from page 1

of thought and action for which thousands had fought and died in the revolution. By explicitly protecting the rights of assembly and petition, freedom of speech, and due process, Congress also protected... the broader freedom of association.

"Associational privacy rights," the motion continued, "were simply taken for granted for well over a century. Then, in response to Alabama's civil discovery demand for NAACP membership lists, the U.S. Supreme Court explicitly recognized freedom of association as an independent First Amendment right, derived from the guarantees of assembly, petition and free speech."

The motion also noted that *state* constitutions contain even stronger language in defense of civil liberties than the federal constitution, and that the trend in state courts has been to use the language in these constitutions to extend civil rights beyond the minimum required by the federal document. The Washington Supreme Court has been a leader in establishing this trend, it stated, and has an excellent opportunity in the Freeway Hall case to clearly establish explicit state protection for associational privacy.

Courts are contradictory

While FSP privacy rights are irrefutably protected by the U.S. and state constitutions, it is still up to the party and its allies to protect these documents from the likes of Snedigar and his snooping lawyers.

FSP attorneys Valerie Carlson and Frederick Hyde—who are also defendants in the case—and Daniel Hoyt Smith of the National Lawyers Guild have valiantly fought, motion by motion, this attack on the party and its members.

In June 1984, they forestalled an attempt to freeze the eviction fund. In March 1985, they managed to get two of Snedigar's charges—abuse of trust and violation of the Consumer Protection Act—thrown out. In May, however, Snedigar won an outrageous discovery order mandating the FSP to produce "all information"—membership and contributor lists, minutes, etc.—"previously requested and requested in the future."

The Washington Court of Appeals subsequently ruled this discovery order "overbroad." But in October came the King County Superior Court ruling that mandated disclosure of minutes, either to Snedigar or to the court for in camera review. And on June 30 of this year, the Court of Appeals refused to reverse the Superior Court ruling.

In camera review has traditionally been used to safeguard privacy where the government, and by extension the courts, considered *government* information too sensitive to be made public. But a *socialist party's* privacy rights are hardly served by submitting records of its discussions on controversial topics to a potentially hostile judge—who then may circulate the information as widely as he or she wishes!

As the FSP made clear in its July 30 appeal brief, the courts, though sworn to uphold the constitution and the Bill of Rights, are nevertheless an arm of an increasingly repressive government to which the party is politically opposed. As such, the courts "have played a dual role, sometimes protecting citizens from repression, at other times participating

in it, or rubberstamping and legitimizing it." The motion cited the convictions of Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act in the '40s and '50s, and the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II.

Uncourtly intrusions

A socialist party's—or any dissident's—chances of obtaining justice in the capitalist courts are all the more open to question given the federal judiciary's current backtracking on privacy issues.

force: it is no accident that the judiciary's retreat on privacy comes in the context of the increasing rightwing assault on all rights. Conversely, the courts can be pushed, within limits, to broaden the concept of liberty, as they were pushed by the labor, civil rights, environmental and civil liberties movements from the '30s through the '80s.

The FSP has accordingly reached out nationally to all the communities under assault by the witchhunters to link this suit with the myriad other attacks and to unite the progressive majority in

ments now number over 250. A recent endorser is U.S. Representative George Crockett, Jr., D-Michigan, member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Early in August, the international American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) decided to cosign the NLG brief—and to donate \$1,000 to the FSP's defense.

This land is our land

The FSP's second appeal to the state Supreme Court was heard by the court commissioner on September 4. Whatever the ruling, the party will not turn over its records to Snedigar.

"To do so," says Guerry Hoddersen, FSP National Secretary and a defendant, "would mean to cooperate in a witchhunt and set a precedent for the destruction of other political groups and unions." All of the defendants, she continues, "are prepared in the short run to face fines, jail, or other penalties so that political nonconformists don't lose their rights in the long run."

Hoddersen strikes the main theme of any successful rights struggle: non-compliance with the inquisition and public defiance of the witchhunters, regardless of personal cost. This stance inspires people to defend their deepest interests.

Intransigence points the way to victory over Snedigar, his ranting solicitors, and all other plunderers of the right to speak and associate freely and to believe, act, and exist authentically. □

— JANET SUTHERLAND
ROBERT CRISMAN
VAL CARLSON
CLARA FRASER

Here's how you can help the FSP win this important case: Send an endorsement and/or donation to Freeway Hall Defense Fund, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98118, or call 206-722-2453. You can also write a letter of support for free speech rights to the Washington Supreme Court, c/o Commissioner Geoffrey Crooks, Temple of Justice, Mail Stop AV-11, Olympia, WA, 98504.

If a socialist party's privacy rights can be wiped out, how secure are the rights of unions or any advocacy group?

The FSP's July 30 motion characterized the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding Georgia's sodomy law, for example, as an appalling "intrusion into people's bedrooms [which] portends police state surveillance" into every aspect of private life and "an ominous future for political freedoms."

The court retreat on privacy bolsters the government effort to punish all political opposition by unendingly portraying dissidents as terrorists. In the Hartford Wells Fargo robbery case against Puerto Rican *independentistas*, eight defendants have been jailed for nearly a year without bail on grounds that, *by virtue of their association* with Los Macheteros, a Puerto Rican independence group, they are a criminal "danger" to the community!

While the government pursues political feuds in the friendly courts, pro-business forces and neo-McCarthyites such as Snedigar, Pailthorp and Wampold have fashioned the intimidation lawsuit into a major device for political harassment and further erosion of rights.

In New York, Long Island Lighting recently sued Sound/Hudson Against Atomic Development (SHAD) and demanded names of members, affiliates, and attendees at anti-nuke rallies. The National Organization for Women, pursuing a civil rights case against the Sperry Rand company, was hit with demands for disclosure of membership lists. In *Coors v. Wallace*, the rightwing beer baron sued a union organizer and the Solidarity gay rights group for publicly opposing a Coors media promotion event and made the same kind of threatening disclosure demands.

A host of other intimidation lawsuits are wending their way through the courts. Some have happy endings: the Coors discovery demand was struck down when a federal district court ruled in favor of protecting First Amendment rights.

But this ruling is hardly a guarantee that other targets of courtroom witchhunters will receive justice.

Reinforcements now appearing

The FSP still hopes that the Washington Supreme Court, sworn to defend the state and federal constitutions, will fulfill its obligation to do so. But the party knows that this struggle—like all political struggles—will ultimately be decided by the relative strength of the pro- and anti-democratic forces represented respectively by the FSP and Snedigar's mouthpieces.

Judicial decisions reflect, to a point, the ascendancy of one or the other

defense of their imperiled heritage.

Labor, leftist, civil rights, civil liberties, feminist, lesbian/gay, Native American, and other community organizations, plus activists, artists, professionals, and concerned citizens have rallied overwhelmingly to the FSP's defense. They realize that associational privacy rights are bound up with all free speech rights, and that their loss speeds the imposition of fascism.

Groups as diverse as the Washington State Labor Council, the NAACP, the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, the Irish Republican Socialist Committee of North America, the Socialist Workers Party, and the New York 8/Grand Jury 8 Defense Committee Against Fascism have endorsed the case. These are among the 57 cosigners of a National Lawyers Guild amicus curiae brief submitted on the party's behalf. Local and national endorse-

New Releases

From Freedom Socialist Publications

- A. **The Indian-Sandinista War in Nicaragua**
by Yolanda Alaniz \$1.00
- B. **The War on the Disabled: Adding Insult to Injury**
by Heidi Durham \$1.00
- C. **AIDS Hysteria: A Marxist Analysis**
by Stephen Durham \$1.00

From Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press

- D. **Our Common Enemy, Our Common Cause: Organizing in the Eighties**
by Merle Woo \$3.50
Pamphlet also includes Apartheid USA by Audre Lorde

From West End Press

- E. **The Death of Long Steam Lady**
Poetry by Nellie Wong \$5.95

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Please return form with payment to: New Freeway Hall,
5018 Rainier Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118.

EDITORIAL

In March, three U.S. groups—International Socialists, Workers Power, and Socialist Unity—formed a new organization, Solidarity. It was an incongruous regroupment.

Socialist Unity claims to be a Trotskyist, i.e., a Leninist, formation. International Socialists and Workers Power uphold a tradition that is hostile to Leninism. Fire and water don't mix; something had to give to forge this all-inclusive, inherently unstable ménage, and something did. Solidarity is unblushingly anti-Leninist.

The new group's stated aim "is to build a revolutionary movement of the working class that ends the political rule of the capitalist class and private ownership of the means of production." Solidarity wants workingclass independence from capitalist politics, and it wants to achieve women's, race, national, and lesbian/gay liberation. Admirable goals. But Solidarity repudiates the only proven ways and means of getting to the goal-line.

The new alliance rejects the idea that a party line—a *program*—is the premise for effective revolutionary action. It naturally follows that Solidarity also rejects the necessity of a vanguard party to organize and lead the revolutionary movement.

What's the plan?

Says Solidarity: "We believe it is a mistake for American revolutionaries to construct organizations today on the basis of total agreement . . . on every

An Uneasy Solidarity

current question." Solidarity fears "presenting a monolithic face to the world . . ." And it abhors "engaging in the pretense of being 'the vanguard.'"

Solidarity is not the first group to demagogically equate principled agreement on fundamental aims and tasks with total agreement on every question, or monolithism. All social democrats and all red baiters seeking to prevent cohesive thought and action by socialists claim—wrongly—that a vanguard party requires submission of the membership to the dictates of bureaucratic leaders, as in Stalinist organizations. They are wrong.

Would Solidarity have us believe it is unfamiliar with Leninist democratic centralism, whereby policy is discussed, debated, voted on, and adopted or rejected on the basis of consensus or majority rule? It

is shameful for Solidarity to equate democratic unity in action with bureaucratism. They should know better.

Stalinists, capitalists, labor fakers, and liberals, the better to control and/or destroy the socialist movement, have maintained for decades that Leninism is Stalinism. Now Solidarity cowers under this shabby bandwagon.

Solidarity doesn't want to hammer out a program. Even a trip to the laundromat takes planning, but Solidarity wants to leave the revolution entirely to chance. Have these gamblers ever considered what it's going to take to unite the workers to topple the armed and organized state power? Osmosis maybe?

Revolution needs a plan of attack. Somebody must create this. And workers have to organize to support it. That means somebody must organize the workers. That is what leaders do. But Solidarity proposes happy anarchy and the marvels of spontaneity.

Armed with this brilliant strategy, Solidarity proposes to "unite" the U.S. Left with the broad social movements. Of course, when the inevitable disputes come up over unsettled questions (Black/gay unity against rightwing bigots, tensions between women and people of color, hostility to unionism from other movements, independence from the Democratic Party, defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism, the national question, class collaboration in transitional revolutionary regimes, etc.), Solidarity will do what? Pray for rain? Adopt three positions on each question,

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VOICES OF COLOR

Legislating Language

Behind the attack on bilingualism

I first heard about the U.S. English movement in Bay Area Latino and Asian community newspapers. Activists and politicians quoted in these papers denounced it. I didn't take it seriously, thinking that any movement to legislate English as the official language of California was merely an absurdity. Are the languages and cultures of the non-English-speaking peoples—Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, East Indian, Mexican—who built California's agriculture and industry undesirable, negligible, something to be swept away by law?

As I said, I couldn't believe that the U.S. English movement was really serious. Then an "English as the Official Language" initiative—Proposition 63—made it onto the ballot for the upcoming November state elections.

I called the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF) for more information about this initiative and learned some brutal facts.

Proposition 63 proposes an amendment to the California State Constitution which would require state officials to "take all steps necessary to ensure that the role of English as the common language of California is enhanced." The legislature "shall make no law which diminishes or ignores the role of English as the common language." Anyone who resides or does business in California could sue to enforce this measure.

In other words, all languages other than English spoken by California residents will be relegated to official non-existence if the initiative passes.

Many essential life-support services for non-English-speaking people will be eliminated in short order. These include: 911 telephone assistance, hospital and social service assistance, court interpreters, bilingual ballots, and bilingual education. The initiative would also clear the way for elimination of aid to language assistance programs for Latinos and Asians.

Any taxpayer could sue California's public libraries for using funds to subscribe to foreign language newspapers. Already, proponents of the initiative have asked the Federal Communications Commission to stop issuing licenses to foreign language radio stations in certain areas of the state.

Behind the rhetoric

The U.S. English movement sponsoring this initiative, and similar ones across the country, is racist and xenophobic to the core.

The watchword of the movement is the need to preserve the national "identity"—the white Anglo-Saxon identity historically so beloved of the patriots. But this great "melting pot" ideal, which has historically justified racism under the guise of patriotism and been used to denigrate national cultures, is nothing but a justification for special exploitation and mistreatment of dark-skinned peoples, immigrants and U.S. nationals alike.

In effacing the cultural identity of the non-English-speaking and in blocking them from access to social services and full participation in society, the U.S. English honchos hope to maintain a vulnerable, docile, easily manipulated and politically impotent pool of super-exploitable labor for U.S. agriculture and industry.

Nothing illustrates the political intent of the U.S. English movement with more force and clarity than the campaign against bilingual education spearheaded by movement leader S.I. Hayakawa, the ultra-conservative teacher and politician.

Bilingual education allows non-English-speaking students to maintain their own culture and language while making the transition into the mainstream language. Students are given instruction and information in their own tongue while learning English. This ensures a firmer grasp of the information needed to learn the second language properly.

Instruction in English only cuts off non-English-speaking students from their mother tongue and, in doing so, retards their ability to assimilate the second language.

The effect of lack of access to bilingual education on the non-English-speaking—on their ability to process needed information, to compete for jobs, to maintain their social organization, to defend themselves against oppression and exploitation—is devastating.

A spreading disease

Hayakawa and his ilk have garnered wide national support for their movement. Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, Kentucky, Virginia, and Georgia have already adopted amendments similar to the one proposed in California.

MALDEF's attorneys are currently working at the



Carolyn Brooks

federal level to prevent attachment of such an amendment to the Simpson-Rodino anti-immigration bill.

Florida, like California, will vote on the issue come November. Dade County adopted an English-only initiative several years ago. But, because of the large Cuban population, implementation of English-only services created so much chaos that some agencies reinstated bilingual services. The Cuban community there is mobilizing to repeal the initiative.

Protect our precious diversity

It is wholly unnecessary to legislate English as the official, exclusive U.S. language. English is overwhelmingly predominant in practice, and immigrants will learn it *of their own accord* in order to function in the U.S.

But the English-only movement is a cruel attempt to *forcibly* assimilate non-English-speaking immigrants into, and imprison them within, the lowest social and economic rungs of U.S. society. And, as an attack on "foreign-ness"—specifically the cultures of immigrants of color—the campaign helps feed the general resurgence of racist rightwing jingoism being used as a club against all human rights in the "land of the free."

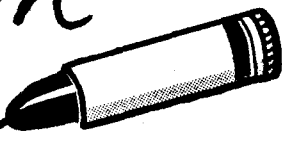
English-speaking and non-English-speaking people of color, workers, women, lesbians and gay men, and everyone else who feels the breath of rightwing reaction on their backs can and must organize now to protect the cultural and linguistic diversity that enriches this nation.

—PAT HIROSE

Pat Hirose is a legal secretary and Asian American activist in San Francisco, working presently in the Central American solidarity movement.

BOOK REVIEW

Makeup, Moralism and Misogyny



Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women, by Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1986. Paperback, \$4.95.

The U.S. Socialist Workers Party has just published a purported exposé of the makeup industry. Authored by the late SWP leader Joseph Hansen and the late SWP anthropologist Evelyn Reed, with an introduction by SWP editor and spokesperson Mary-Alice Waters, the book is a reprint of articles and letters written in the course of an explosive internal party debate in 1954 on makeup and its relation to women's oppression.

Just as misleading as any perfume ad is the book's title. **Cosmetics** is not really an analysis of the capitalist beauty industry but an insidious denigration of women and the feminist movement.

And Waters never lets on that the original debate in the SWP unleashed such unparalleled acrimony that party founder Jim Cannon grew alarmed and mercifully ordered Hansen and Reed to shut up and stop their ultraleft, myopic attack on party and working women.

The great cosmetics uproar was a scandal in 1954. It is an even greater scandal, though no surprise, that Hansen and Reed's discredited attack has since become official SWP doctrine.

Beauty is bourgeois?

According to the SWP, using makeup signals that women have bought into standards imposed by the ruling class. Hansen-Reed scold women for their indulgence in the sinful unguents and accuse them of slavish capitulation to "capitalist ideology," and therefore—are you ready for this?—to "the capitalist system as a whole." What shameless slander.

Hansen intones that the beauty of proletarian women "lies in their character . . . not in the cosmetics they indulge in." This latter-day Victorian moralist chastises painted ladies and calls it Marxism. Poor Karl.

True, many women do follow the prevailing Dress for Success mania, and jeopardize their health and comfort with high heels, tight clothing, and unsafe chemical nostrums. On the other hand, comfortable and businesslike apparel, and discreet makeup, is practical as well as de rigueur for female office workers, and the popularity of suits, jackets, and skirts is warranted.

Furthermore, in the capitalist job and matrimonial markets, where women, like men, must sell themselves, women's marketability, to an infinitely greater degree than men's, is based on their appearance. Any woman who ignores this socio-economic reality does so at grave risk to her

income and effectiveness on the job. (Evelyn Reed herself, an artist, writer, and social scientist, used makeup, was carefully coifed, and dressed with style. It was absurd for her to accuse herself, in effect, of lack of "character.")

Capitalism compels most women to use cosmetics. If cosmetics make a woman look better, she tends to feel better and act more confidently. So where's the crime?

To express personality through choice of hairstyle, clothing, jewelry, makeup, and other decorative devices is an intrinsically human, not a class trait. Capitalism exploits and debases self-adornment and the hunger for beauty in its drive for profits, but it is vulgar and ignorant to equate this hunger with blind acceptance of capitalist standards of attractiveness.

A toast to fashion

Furthermore, just which "capitalist" standards are the SWP talking about? The anorexic femme fatale image that fashion moguls are always trying to shoehorn women into is one thing. But a **multiplicity** of looks and styles—many of them functional, colorful, and appropriate, many of them created by workers themselves and by ethnic groups and the young—inevitably finds its way into designers' sketches every season. Every liberation movement—racial, women's, student, lesbian/gay—enormously influences style and culture in our society. Fashion has become very democratic and self-determined; workers respect style and take great pains with their appearance. Does this strip them of character and brand them as scabs?

Socialist society will adopt the best of styles and designs produced today—just as it will appropriate all the highest capitalist standards and techniques in science, the arts, and creature comforts—while discarding the sexist, racist, ageist, uncomfortable, unhealthy, and useless. But this won't happen overnight; lifestyle changes happen through experience, persuasion, and example, and any arbitrary and abrupt attempt to impose an abstract "socialist" stylistic norm, of the sort the SWP favors, amounts to cultural fascism.

Revolutionaries should be able to distinguish good from bad in fashion and cosmetics, as in every field, but stuffy, blanket condemnation of "capitalist standards" is futile, insensitive, off-putting, silly, sectarian—and unhistorical.

Scarlet letterers

The SWP is all these things—and obstinate, too. It has a point to make come hell or high

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Clara
Fraser

Showdown time at City Light

WAY, WAY BACK IN OLDEN TIMES, when I was young and twenty, I scoffed at the notion that women were maltreated.

After all, *I* had never experienced prejudice.

This sublime narcissism and arrogance of an achiever deprived me of grasping the social reality.

I wonder if I was ever so far gone that I finked on a woman who needed help. I hope not, but I probably did. God knows—and she will undoubtedly punish me for transgressions against my sisters, myself.

But ignorance is one thing. Life takes care of that. Cold-blooded sellouts are something else.

And the new generation of yuppies and upwardly bound women in the trades is so replete with scabs and rank opportunists that one almost marvels at newly arrived equality advocates who actually rally 'round afflicted women.

WHY SO MANY RENEGADES? Because of economics.

Of course, "Economics" is an abstraction. But the people who exemplify and serve the economic system—managers, union officials, and assorted employees who join to squelch those workers who demand sexual or racial justice or their right to speak their political mind—are very concrete.

Management "teams" and labor-corporate networks coalesce these days with a common objective: to isolate the outspoken and entrench the powers-that-be. They use workers to condemn workers, women to trash women, minorities to denounce minorities. The goody-goodies who play the game are handsomely rewarded; the rebels are hounded, crucified, fired. The economic death-penalty is the deterrent to trouble-making.

SEATTLE CITY LIGHT, as always, hunts for witches. Sherrie Holmes, a female lineworker apprentice, was murderously attacked recently by journeyman Art Meyer on a utility pole 30 feet in the air. She survived by grabbing a crossarm, and because a second journeyman yelled Meyer off. The bruised and battered Holmes complained to management and a weeks-long investigation ensued. Meyer meanwhile stayed on the job.

Sherrie, distraught by lack of support from the union and management, turned for advice to Teri Bach, the only journey level lineworker ever produced out of 21 hires in nine years. Bach received union permission to personally represent Holmes at the hearing on her charges.

Later, a leaflet was issued by the two main civil rights groups at City Light, the Employee Committee for Equal Rights at City Light (CERCL) and the City Light Black Employees Association (CLBEA), demanding quicker action and placing responsibility for the assault on a 12-year management record of social irresponsibility.

NOW, TERI BACH IS AN UPFRONT REBEL, feminist, veteran of City Light's civil rights wars, and a leader in the struggle for job safety. She is affiliated with CERCL, Radical Women, and the Freedom Socialist Party. Right on cue, therefore, the management-labor collusion team roared into action.

SHERRIE HOLMES WAS WARNED by male and female coworkers to break relations with gadfly Bach.

She was told by crew chiefs, supervisors, and female apprenticeship program officials not to associate with CERCL and RW members if she wanted a City Light career.

The union placed on the agenda of a meeting with management the issue of Bach's "unauthorized" presence at the hearing on Holmes's charges.

On September 1, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* featured a large photo and story on the only other female lineworker—who currently is hospitalized from a 20-foot fall. "Woman worker backs City Light . . . sees no . . . discrimination," announces the headline. Said Vicki Peterson, "Most of the women who have sued City Light have not been able to get along with the men . . . I never had any trouble working with men. I can't understand how some of these women do . . . management is not hiring the right people."

Peterson called some of the former apprentices who filed lawsuits "radical women" who only took the job in the first place because City Light "would not dare fire them."

Peterson, who faces almost four years of apprenticeship, nevertheless has "already been told she can become a crew chief after she becomes a journeyman." Remarkable!

On September 2, a female line crew helper and vociferous

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South Africa



NO MORE
MISTER
NICE GUY!

'YOU'RE ALL UNDER ARREST!'

... Makeup

from page 21

water—that women in makeup “promote the conditions that create their own oppression.”

This is what's known as blaming the victim, and is precisely what this book does. There are surely more pressing women's issues than cosmetics, such as the international penetration of misogynist venom into the working class and the Left. Or the feminization of poverty and appalling dearth of social and medical services for women and children. Or the hysteria over abortion, “sodomy,” AIDS, etc. But scarlet women always come in handy as scapegoats for sexists with an axe to grind, and in *Cosmetics* they are grist for a nasty anti-feminist hatchet job. The makeup issue is a *pretext* for the SWP, still trying after all these years to dismiss feminism as a class question and a socialist issue.

Second class in the working class

Mary-Alice Waters unblushingly lays bare the SWP's animosity toward females.

She compares the 1954 political climate to the rightwing atmosphere today. Women fell under its spell then, she says, just as they're doing now. In the '50s, McCarthyism sought to convince both sexes that women, who had entered the job market in force during World War II, should be booted back into traditional domestic subordination, and Waters maintains that this offensive “impacted women differently” than it did men. “To a large extent women . . . internalize the pressures (and) accept the socially prescribed roles.”

So the SWP's position in a nutshell is that women—but never men—succumb to reactionary pressures. The problem with women, Waters believes, is that so few possess “working-class consciousness.” They're too hung up on narcissistic, petty bourgeois diversions such as feminism to realize that capitalists are their oppressors.

Indeed, while “broad and growing sectors of working people” are mobilizing this minute to defend women's rights, says Waters, feminists are in abject “social and political retreat” from the rightwing onslaught.

Nonsense. The truth is that strenuous abortion clinic defense, the comparable worth fight, the mounting resistance to job discrimination, and heroic struggles by women for free speech and union democracy against business, government, and labor bureaucracies don't count with Waters as actions by women for women—or for the working class.

Waters forgets, among other things, that most feminists are precisely “working people.” Who does she think they are, Martians? Perhaps she wishes they were. In any case, we have now come to the heart of the matter; i.e., who really constitutes the working class and, by extension, what does class struggle entail?

White knights to the rescue . . .

When Waters speaks of “workers” as women's salvation, she means only the stereotypical, stalwart proletarians of heavy industry—the primarily straight, white male labor aristocrats in the steel, auto, maritime, etc., industries. The SWP has long thought that “working-class consciousness” only develops upon entry into heavy industry; the blue collar alone qualifies one as a proper worker.

A few women have made it into these unions and acquired “at least the beginning” of class awareness, she writes. This is because—unlike clerical workers, service workers, technicians, professional employees,

and similar “middle-class” feminist riffraff—these women have gained “a degree of self-confidence that comes from knowing they can sell their labor power and survive.” Also, “they have a chance at improving wages and working conditions by joining together with fellow workers to defend themselves against the employer.” Moreover, “despite the bosses' attempts to foster animosities toward them by male workers, women in industry frequently work alongside men in job situations where each depends on the other and relations of mutual respect and confidence can develop.”

Waters totally ignores the generally successful ploys of bosses and union bureaucrats to foster male animosities toward women on the job. It is disgraceful how many men and unions follow management's lead in trying to frighten, harass, injure, kill, or otherwise drive women out of the traditionally male trades. And when the female workers are political radicals, the redbaiting rises to feverish levels and the males pamper the more conservative women in order to isolate them from their more outspoken sisters. This is why the number of women in industry and the trades is dropping.

. . . well, maybe not

The virulent, well-documented sexism and racism of white male workers in heavy industry are two big reasons why the steel, auto, maritime, mining, etc., unions are still crushed under the dead weight of their pro-capitalist leaderships.

Meanwhile, those “non-proletarian” women in service, clerical, communications, and government jobs are the most militant, and the most rapidly growing, sectors of organized labor. These women are *leading* in “joining with fellow workers to defend themselves against the employers.”

The struggle against sexism is a matter of enormous importance in developing “working-class consciousness.” Women in industry aren't learning anything from the men. The exact reverse is true.

Bigoted and bourgeois

The SWP can't afford to look the truth in the eye. If it did, it would have to give up its love affair with the backward aristocrats of labor. And this the party is not about to do; for decades it has *shared* this backwardness and this belief in straight-white-male supremacy—which leads inexorably to a deep-rooted, pro-capitalist conservatism.

The retrograde sexism of *Cosmetics* is ample evidence of the SWP's essentially anti-revolutionary character. Bigotry kills the revolutionary. After years of reformist and bureaucratic degeneration in the SWP, brought on in part by the political isolation and disorientation suffered under McCarthyism, the SWP officially “turned to heavy industry” in 1978. The party soon publicly abandoned Trotskyism—the idea

that socialist revolution, led by workers, is the objective necessity and goal of all liberation struggles. The repudiation was logical: labor aristocrats, the SWP's sweethearts, are hardly the forces to fight for socialism.

Since then, the party has openly tail-ended Third World Stalinists and bourgeois class collaborators in the international arena, and deepened its reformist practices in the U.S. movements. For example, following the Kremlin, they agitate for impossible “peaceful coexistence” between U.S. imperialism and embattled Nicaragua and, as a corollary, join with liberals to silence radicals who wish to build an anti-capitalist antiwar movement in the belly of the beast.

The SWP hopes to win favor with the liberals, reformists, Stalinists, bureaucrats, i.e., all those whose political function it is to see that the labor and other social movements remain straitjacketed within safe, pro-capitalist limits.

Given the SWP's ensemble of bigotries against women, lesbians and gay men, and racial minorities, how could it be otherwise?

Rouged and revolutionary

The SWP's romantic, nostalgic fixation on The Worker of the '30s—whose number, incidentally, is dwindling rapidly in the computer age—is ridiculous.

Traditional, old-style male proletarians are not the salvation of women and women workers. The new female worker is saving the labor movement from the Neanderthals and paving the way for revolutionary new unions that will break the mold of class collaboration and sexist/racist atrophy.

Sexism—on the job, at home, everywhere in society—has pushed women to challenge the patriarchal and bureaucratic bases of the profit system, while sex privilege and its material benefits have too often led male workers to uphold bureaucracy and regression.

Rouged hussies women may be, but revolutionary combatants they certainly are, or will become. And if turncoat radicals fear them, hate them, and attack their appearance, it's because those radicals aren't honest enough to openly challenge their militancy and integrity.

The truth is plain for those with eyes to see. But Lane Kirkland will wear eyeliner to work before the SWP discovers or acknowledges women's *leading role* in the new labor movement.

Reactionaries unmasked

Come on, folks. Who really cares about mascara? Makeup has nothing to do with “character” or “class,” and the worker label encompasses millions of people who never saw an assembly line or a blast furnace but who sell their labor power and fight the bosses intransigently for all that. Women and feminism are not retrograde, capitulatory, or counterrevolutionary, but revolutionary when linked proudly to a socialist tradition.

The SWP, being neither revolutionary nor scientifically socialist, can hardly be expected to be feminist or even good journalistic probers into facts. Is it any wonder that they have resurrected, clumsily, an off-the-wall position, vintage 1954, to justify their discreditable affair with the fat cats of labor?

It isn't *women* who flail before reaction; it is the SWP, scapegoating the lipstick ladies.

Cosmetics is a dangerous but revealing book. It spotlights the SWP in its headlong flight toward the right, toward Reaganism.

Don't say we didn't warn you. □

—SU BONDURANT

Su Bondurant has studied and worked in Seattle coalitions with the SWP for 15 years. She has just entered the New York Law School.



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...Contras

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daily that had operated as a U.S. propaganda organ. Shortly afterward, Nicaragua barred the return from abroad of Rev. Bismarck Carballo, top aide to contra Cardinal Obando y Bravo. Sandinistas are also cracking down on the capitalist speculators and saboteurs.

These moves are a significant strike against counterrevolutionary leadership inside Nicaragua, doubly necessary now as Reagan, with Congress in tow, readies the big guns.

Meanwhile, revolutionary necessity has forced the Sandinistas to pay greater heed to the democratic demands of Nicaragua's specially oppressed—the bulwark elements in the struggle against capitalist dictatorship. The government has more than once bowed to worker and peasant demands for greater worker management of industry and for land reform. Pressure from women last year opened up nationwide debate on abortion rights, still outlawed six years after Somoza's overthrow.

A dark note: the Sandinistas still refuse to acknowledge the right to self-determination of the Atlantic Coast peoples. Current government autonomy proposals do not address the issue of forcible retention of Indian lands—an issue that may yet prove fatal to the revolution.

The war will force the Sandinistas to strike harder at its capitalist enemies within. Yet this will not be sufficient to save the revolution. The source of the danger—the lifeblood of contra capitalism and all other evils—is U.S. imperialism. And it is precisely in the U.S. where the fate of the revolution will finally be decided.

Quiet respectability

What is the U.S. antiwar movement doing about the war on Nicaragua?

It is a fact that, since early '84, when the April Action for Jobs, Peace, and Justice brought hundreds of thousands of people into the streets in cities across the country to protest the war, movement leaders, like the Sandinistas, have generally confined themselves to hoping that Congressional liberals would somehow stay Reagan's hand in Central America. Nationally coordinated antiwar action dwindled to nothing in 1985. Local coalitions mounted ad hoc responses to crises as they came up, then dispersed without attempting to formulate effective long-range strategies to stop the war.

Nationally coordinated regional protests have been called for October 25 by the Action for Jobs, Peace, and Justice Coalition to protest contra aid. This is an advance over the lassitude of the last two years—but if these protests are confined to appeals to Congress and liberal "public opinion," they are doomed beforehand to fail.

Antiwar leaders have so far refused to build a movement that matches the nature and scope of the U.S. war effort. That is, they have refused to build an *anti-capitalist* antiwar movement—for fear of offending the pro-capitalist sensibilities of their liberal champions in Congress.

Accordingly, they have downplayed the war's connection to austerity and repression at home—above all how militarism feeds and is fed by the bigoted, red-baiting "Americanism" being preached these days by liberals and reactionaries alike. The leaders have refused to prioritize organizing the super-oppressed, frontline targets of patriotic bigotry—people of color, working women, lesbians and gay men,

...Editorial

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Communist Party-style? Join the Democrats and go into real estate?

Place your bets—quickly. This Solidarity is hardly forever.

Tough times

What's behind Solidarity's opportunism and ineptitude? The times.

Capitalist Ramboism is on a rampage—and Solidarity is in abject retreat. It's not alone: political regression is a way of life for Stalinists, Maoists, social democrats, and, increasingly, for many Trotskyists—Socialist Unity leaps to mind. And a few years back, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party renounced Trotskyism to cuddle up with labor bureaucrats and Third World Stalinists.

Both the SWP and the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the official world Trotskyist body, have all but declared the impossibility of making revolution in the capitalist strongholds.

Real Trotskyists—*Leninists*—and serious radicals must denounce this headlong flight from revolutionary responsibility.

Let's hear it for the vanguard!

Leninism will survive the desertion of its former champions, and will thrive.

Leninism-Trotskyism—which, in our day, is socialist feminism—points the way to victory for socialism. It has traced the main lines of capitalist reaction. And it has found irresistible revolutionary strength in the primary targets of reaction: women, gays, people of color, oppressed nationalities—the super-exploited and specially oppressed working majority.

United, the majority and its white male allies will conquer. The Leninist program outlines the path to unity, beginning with an open attack on all rightwing bigotries. This program—and the vanguard that carries it into the movements—will organize and lead those movements to topple the profit system.

Solidarity sees only reaction today and waters down its program and principles. Leninists fight the reaction and move forward with the burgeoning ranks of rebels.

We invite those who choose the latter alternative to join the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP), founded in 1977 to consolidate the forces of orthodox Trotskyism and militant feminism as an alternative to the degenerated SWP.

CRSP is the present pole of attraction for those who want to build a living organism that can meet the demands of the American and the world revolution.

immigrants—that majority of U.S. workers who have the most to gain by ending the war. And they have excluded from antiwar leadership all open socialists, i.e., those who point out that austerity, repression, and war are alike the products of capitalism and must be fought on that basis.

Thus shorn of radical perspective and leadership, the antiwar movement has fallen into a dangerous "respectability" and quietism worthy only of the Congressional heroes who sold out the movement in June. And unless the antiwar leaders reverse course now, this silence will become the epitaph of the movement, and of Central American democracy as well.

Break with the liberals

Sandinistas are being forced by events to break with their commitment to "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism. The U.S. antiwar movement must do likewise—and first of all shed its dependence on liberalism and Democrats. A radicalized Nicaraguan policy may yet help inspire the movement in this direction.

The movement must *radicalize*: it must proclaim a multi-issue agenda, and acknowledge and prioritize as inseparable the struggles of Nicaragua and the super-oppressed in the U.S.

To radicalize, the movement must be

democratic. Free speech for everyone, including radicals, must be promoted and protected. Open discussion and debate is the prerequisite for clarification of ideas and, consequently, the intelligent action necessary to end the war.

On this basis, the antiwar movement can connect and catalyze all the pro-

gressive social movements, and develop an unstoppable anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist momentum.

Such a movement—immune to the inevitable sellout by Democrats—is the key to Nicaragua's, and our own, survival. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN

...Fraser

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defender of management distributed copies of a statement she wrote which attributed the current problem to "the Freedom Socialist Gay Radical Women's movement" who are "leeches . . . ladies in drag . . . female warriors on a testicle hunt." Art Meyer is a Vietnam veteran, she boasts, and an "All-American, Heterosexual . . . [who] cannot relate to Sherry Holmes breed . . . [She is] an incompetant, beligerant [sic], flipped nose, slug . . ."

The September 2 *Seattle Times* editorialized that if the charges against Meyer are valid, he should be turned over to the police. But the editorial quotes City Light Superintendent Randy Hardy as saying that "there are legitimate questions of physical strength as well as attitudes involved." There are, he said, "only three or four female journeymen lineworkers in the nation." So women are too flaccid and insubordinate to make the grade?

THE SHABBY SCENARIO never seems to end. The victim will be endlessly criticized, the aggressor hotly defended, Sherrie Holmes's supporters castigated, and the entire mess blamed on the bolsheviks. And turncoat women will have played a leading role in the stale melodrama.

This political trickery—so horribly evocative of Hitlerian scapegoating tactics—is an essentially fascist mechanism for self-preservation, no matter who employs it to secure their jobs and ingratiate themselves with the power structure.

When economics talks, Radical Bashing goes High Tech, and finkery obliterates worker unity against the bigots.

I WON A CASE AGAINST CITY LIGHT because of its sex and political ideology discrimination. These issues are, as ever, intertwined. Employees will learn, and management will re-learn, *that differential treatment on account of political philosophy is as much a crime as any other form of discrimination.*

Nobody is young and innocent anymore. Not even women. It's too late in history. It's too late to be in the middle, to be "moderate," to see conflicts as different "perceptions" and hence unreal, to whitewash the guilty by not taking sides. When showdown time comes, our peers—and posterity—will record indelibly what stand we took.

And the hell with vulgar economic determinism. Human beings are capable of rising above and beyond that. Principles can still overcome, even in the '80s, even in America.

POSTSCRIPT: On September 3, two City Light electricians were in the lobby of KING-TV, just prior to being interviewed, along with Holmes and Bach, by reporter Mike Oling. A bible-spouting maniac who had been driving by repeatedly to case the building, came crashing through the glass doors in his Porsche, seriously injuring Oling and two other station employees and narrowly missing the City Light supporters of Sherrie Holmes. Coincidence? 'Tis the season for neo-Nazi holy missions in the Pacific Northwest.



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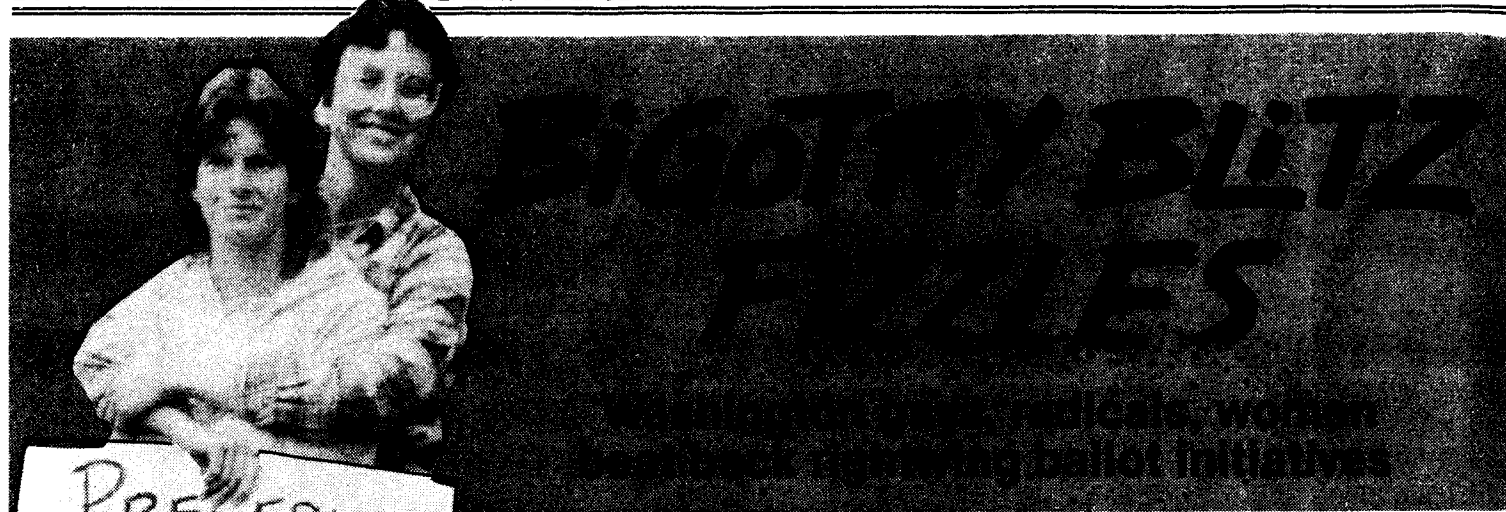
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PRESERVE
THE PRIVACY
OF OUR
BEDROOMS

Rightwingers are on the march nationwide in an attempt to win electoral endorsement of their bigoted program for the suppression of democratic rights. But in Washington State this summer, it rained on their parade. Four reactionary initiative campaigns were mounted to repeal lesbian/gay rights and state funding for abortions. All four were washed out before gaining ballot status.

This is an important victory for believers in democracy, and a telling sign that working people are refusing to be swept up by the rightwing backlash.

But in the midst of celebrating, the feminist and lesbian/gay movements must also take warning. The campaigns to defeat the rightwing measures were marked by dangerous conservatism and complacency among much of the recognized movement leadership. Weakness at the top slowed development of a cohesive, well-organized fighting force. Grassroots militance saved the day, but only by working around the immobilized, super-cautious elite.

Disarray in the social movements is not yet fatal in communities with a long tradition of progressive action, where opponents are local rightwingers with (as yet) limited resources and impact. But today's attacks—which include neo-fascist Lyndon LaRouche's "anti-AIDS" initiative in

California, and federal rulings upholding Georgia's sodomy law and job discrimination against people with AIDS—are merely initial steps in a campaign by reactionaries and government to institute total repression in the U.S.

Capitalism is in crisis: poverty, unemployment, the debt bomb, the war drive, revolutions abroad, and roiling political discontent at home signal the impending disintegration of a system no longer able to meet the basic social and economic needs of the working majority. If capitalists are to prosper and rule, they must shift the costs of an ailing economy onto the backs of the majority and suppress it politically. They must find *scapegoats* for the evils imposed by the system itself, and the rightwing expounders of homophobic, sexist, and racist bigotry provide them the ideological means.

The right wing aims to *divide* the majority—by sex, sexuality, race—and conquer. If they are not fought and stopped cold, they will do so.

We are fighting for our lives against powerful forces. Yet an examination of the anti-initiative campaigns in Washington—what was done and not done to combat the right—shows clearly what we must do now to win.

A near miss

The official campaign against Initiative 479—which would have cut off public funding for abortion and effectively denied poor women the right to safe, legal abortions—provided a textbook lesson on how *not* to fight the right.

Though Washington, whose voters rejected a similar anti-abortion proposal two years ago, has a strong record of support for abortion rights, the strength of "anti-choicers" is growing. Numerous violent attacks against abortion clinics have occurred in the state.

Yet Taxpayers for Choice, run primarily by Planned Parenthood and the Na-

tional Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), planned to do no organizing against 479 until *after* it made the ballot! To avoid challenges to this "strategy" of inaction, membership in the group was restricted to invited supporters. Open radicals were excluded.

Taxpayers' strategy was perfectly designed to allow the right wing time to build momentum and support for 479. Coalition leaders did file a court challenge to the initiative, but as *individuals*, not wanting the group's name associated with a possibly losing effort! The challenge moreover was based on an obscure legal technicality. So much for educating and building support around the *issue*.

Unaffiliated abortion rights activists meanwhile acted: they went out into the community to educate, won union resolutions and lesbian/gay movement support, and buttressed the already existing sentiment for abortion rights. Initiative 479 failed to acquire enough valid signatures to make the ballot.

Three strikes you're out

The brunt of the rightwing attack, three different measures at the county and state levels, was aimed at lesbians and gay men.

In populous King County, the bigots mounted Referendum 7 to toss out a new ordinance that protects workers from many forms of discrimination, including that based on sexual orientation. King County, however, has a strong tradition of radical and social movement activism, particularly in Seattle; pro-gay rights awareness is high, as is anti-discrimination sentiment in general. Sponsors of the measure were forced to resort to a campaign of fraud—covering the actual text of their referendum with a statement urging voters to abolish "special protections for child molesters." Gay activists got the initiative disqualified on grounds of misrepresentation.

Homophobes bounced back with Initia-

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the freedom socialist

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