

Articles in Spanish  
Seattle Busing Analysis

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Vol. 1 No. 1

# Freedom Socialist

## Radical America

### anatomy of Crisis on the Left



by Sam Deaderick

It was one of those occasions that no one present will ever forget.

It was one of those incredible experiences in radical politics when the past graphically illuminates the present, new political ground is broken, and the course of the future becomes visible.

The air was vibrant with excitement at the historic nature of the meeting, for everyone knew it was a giant step forward that might well lead to revolutionary regroupment. The entire evening was a dramatic overture to the coming process of discussion and debate on the strategy for the American revolution, the prime causes of the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party, and the kind of program needed to construct a mass, revolutionary, vanguard party.

The occasion of this thrill-of-a-lifetime event was the recent re-encounter, after 15 years, between the founders of the Freedom Socialist Party and two distinguished guests from New York City—Myra Tanner Weiss and Murry Weiss, veteran figures in the history of American Trotskyism.

The Weisses were nationally prominent leaders of the SWP for over 30 years. They left the SWP in the early '60's, along with hundreds of its most talented organizers, because of irreconcilable differences with the rigid,

marxist  
scholars  
electrify  
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audience

conservatized and sexist leadership whose bureaucratic *modus operandi* had brought the internal expression of ideas to a crashing halt.

The Weisses are now associated with the Marxist Education Collective in New York City, where they conduct intensive courses in Marxist economics and history.

Since the Portuguese Revolution in 1975, they have engaged in a deep study of the epochal event and have written extensively on their views, which cogently challenge the SWP's reformist stance.

They charge the SWP with abandoning Trotskyist principle and capitulating to social democracy. The SWP is "neutral" in the struggle between the CIA-funded Socialist Party of Portugal and the Communist Party, which, despite its Stalinist heritage, has hundreds of thousands of workers in its ranks and has furnished revolutionary leadership to the Portuguese masses.

The Weisses evaluate the SWP position as Stalinophobic, and consider themselves adherents of the Mandel-Maitan Fourth International majority position on Portugal. (The SWP is a minority in the International on this issue.)

#### Enthusiastic Reception

The zenith of the Weiss visit was their appearance at a public forum on "Radical America: Crisis on the Left Today."

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# In this Issue



## You Can Fight City Hall!

Electrical trades trainees win sex-discrimination case against the City of Seattle. After blatantly political layoffs, these pioneering women are granted \$120,000 in back pay and damages and reinstatement on the job. **pg. 11**

## Murry Weiss on Portugal

Published for the first time, a no-holds-barred polemic against the SWP's revisionist stance on the Portuguese revolution. (Quotations from Weiss' lecture to the FSP on the subject can be found in the cover story.) **back pg.**

## A Tribute to Women Warriors

Janet McCloud, Native American spokeswoman, pens a moving testimonial to Indian women warriors, commending their courage, wisdom and leadership "in the rebirth resistance movement of the Native Nations." **pg. 14**

## Radical Laborism vs. Bolshevik Leadership

Part I of a serialization of the historic (1965) document meticulously analyzes the erosion and terminal symptoms of the SWP. **Insert**



## Fascist Excesence in Oregon

The city of Portland is the scene of a vile new fascist growth. "Alpha Circle" incites whites to preserve "racial purity" and "eliminate" Blacks, Jews, gays, feminists and Marxists from the continent. **pg. 6**

## China!

What is the meaning of the ferment in China? Who constitutes the new bureaucracy? Can the CCP be reformed? For an up-to-the-minute analysis of Mao's legacy, the "Gang of Four," and the deepening crisis of the Chinese economy, turn to Henry Noble's appraisal of the vast country that still shakes the world. **pg. 7**



## Undocumented Workers

The Coalition Against Repressive Immigration Legislation accelerates its fight for justice for undocumented Mexican workers and calls for working class support. The reactionary Eilberg Bill subjects "illegal" immigrants to severe measures. **pg. 8**



## Radical Women Conference Deals With Over-Excited Leftists

Radical Women's Annual Conference attracts 150 serious participants, one undercover SWP'er disguised as a Pandora reporter, and a delegation of ultra-righteous Spartacists who are appoplectic about RW's socialist analysis of women workers, minority women and lesbians. **pg. 20**



## Gays, Miss America & Jesus

The former Miss America turned orange-juice peddler and then turned anti-gay demagogue escalates her attacks on gay rights, but gays are fighting back. **pg. 9**

## Comrade Editors of The Freedom Socialist:

Congratulations on a great issue! I received a copy airmail and I hope there's a package of them on their way to New York. I want to get a copy to lots of people and am not at all eager to give mine up.

Enclosed is a check to contribute to mailing costs. I'm always looking forward to the next issue.

Your Comrade,  
Susan Williams  
New York City

## FSP:

I came across your paper through a fellow selling it outside the Safeway store on Broadway. Your special Native American issue really interested me. Here is a \$2.00 money order, which is a small contribution, but I feel for the Party and all its aims.

L.S. Teneese  
Seattle, WA.

## Dear Clara:

Received *The Freedom Socialist* today in my morning mail. Nothing I have read in the capitalist and other media about the struggle for freedom among different Indian tribes has hit me like what I have before me.

Not that I haven't been aware of the fact that a struggle for freedom has gone on for a long time, and one that I am very much in sympathy with. However, what you have sent me brings things home much more, for our fight for freedom is not over until all our shackles are broken and gone.

It is high time that the flag-waving, one hundred percent American started to pay the mortgage on the land he stole from the Indians.

As I am not now able to be with you in your struggle up north, I will do what I can in another way. I will send you this token; please accept this check and put it to use where it is most needed.

Yours for Solidarity,  
Maurice Anderson  
Los Angeles, CA.

## Dear Comrades:

I knew *The Freedom Socialist* would be good but I didn't know how good: I have read the whole

thing from back to front and front to back and I think it is very special.

You realize, surely, that it is difficult for me to be objective, being the subject of part of a full-page spread! (See Vol. 2, No. 1.) But even that is good. I read it and think, "By golly, this must be a special bunch, these Durhams. I'd like to know them!" And the photograph, though looking older than I like to think I am, and not too flattering, is just right because the old chap looks like he might have some sage wisdom to hand out.

The whole paper portrays what is true, i.e., that the FSP is, **has it together**, is going places, is interesting. "I'd like to know more about it," has got to be the response of everyone who reads it. Even old Freeway Hall sounds like the most romantic place in the Western Hemisphere (which it is!).

Right on! and on! and on! I was so turned on by the whole thing that I have increased my pledge to the 10th Anniversary Fund.

Yours,  
Eldon Durham,  
Ventura, CA.

## Greetings:

I came across *The Freedom Socialist* in the Administration Building of Gonzaga University. I am interested in your organization and should like someone to contact me...

Enclosed is a check to cover the cost of "Introducing the FSP" — the balance is to be considered a donation.

Sincerely,  
Byron Merton  
Gonzaga University  
Spokane, WA.

## Congratulations:

Your cause might be right, if it is like Debs' was. Go to it. Socialism is **manerism and feminism**; both go together. Keep punching.

Aaron Noble  
Miami Beach, Florida

## Dear Editors:

We have seen a copy of your Fall, 1976 issue and are interested in learning more about the case of Yvonne Wanrow's conviction for killing an alleged child molester. Perhaps that is why someone sent

the issue to us, since most people assume child molesters are homosexual. We have been, as a staff, working for sexual freedom and understanding for 25 years, and are the archives of the homosexual movement, with the most comprehensive collection on the subject in the world. Of course, some child molesters have been homosexual, but the vast majority have been heterosexual and some were so sick that they were in theory asexual...

We note that you have written material on homosexuality. We would appreciate having copies for our library, which will help further a balance for future historians on just what has been written and said on the subject.

Sincerely,  
William Edward Glover  
for the Homosexual  
Information  
Center, Inc.  
Los Angeles, CA.

## To the Staff of The Freedom Socialist:

I have enjoyed and been instructed by all the issues so far but the recent special was so fine that I wanted to convey extraordinary thanks and offer a cartload of congratulations. The reporting and layout, both, were first rate.

I'd also like to send everyone best wishes.

In Sisterhood,  
Moir Ferguson  
University of Nebraska

## Hello Comrades:

One piece of news—our very fine newspaper (No. 2) has made its way to Moscow with a Native American woman I sold it to. Hmmm...

I look forward to years of good work and many more issues of *The Freedom Socialist!*

Comradely,  
Sukey Durham  
San Francisco, CA.

## Mailgram: To the Editor of The Freedom Socialist and to all my friends in the Freedom Socialist Party:

Congratulations on your newspaper. Yes, somebody is listening.

Arthur Felberbaum  
Marxist Education Collective  
New York City

# FBI Spies on Feminists

1,377 pages of files released by the FBI in February, 1977 reveal massive spying against the feminist movement since the late 1960's.

FBI agents infiltrated meetings, disrupted organizations, and methodically amassed information on hundreds of women's organizations.

One local FBI office complained that its efforts were not paying off, but then-director J. Edgar Hoover insisted on maintaining the harassment. "It is absolutely essential," he wrote, "that we conduct sufficient investigation to clearly establish the subversive ramifications of the Women's Liberation Movement."

In the Pacific Northwest, G-men concentrated their spying on Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party.

The case of Su Bondurant, a member of FSP and RW, has been headlined in the Seattle press. Bondurant obtained a heavily censored copy of her FBI file, which revealed that agents stalked her for several

years. The file included a physical description of her complete with the location of surgical scars, as well as detailed reports of conferences and meetings she had attended (attesting to FBI use of female informants and bugging). The report zeroed in on Bondurant's work for quality childcare.

At one point, a Seattle FBI agent recommended to Washington, D.C. that information-gathering on Bondurant be stopped, but Hoover vetoed the idea. He wrote that affiliations with RW and FSP meant she was still a person to be watched.

Bondurant's denunciation of illegal FBI snooping and disruption was widely quoted in the media. "I wasn't surprised by this," she said. "We've always assumed the FBI spies on feminists, just as they do on socialists, minority activists, gay liberationists and labor militants. But we demand that their conspiratorial plotting against us stop immediately. Release of the files doesn't mean that it's over; as socialist feminism grows, spying will undoubtedly increase." ■

**the freedom socialist**

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On the Cover: Murry Weiss and Myra Tanner Weiss address Seattle socialists at Freeway Hall forum. Background montage: Mastheads from American radical press.

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Kudos and credits to the additional small army of all-around, multi-faceted and talented workingclass heroines and heroes whose invaluable assistance made this giant-sized issue possible.

## Desegregation in Seattle

# Uproar Over Magnet Schools

by Madlyne Scott and Su Bondurant

The school desegregation crisis in Seattle, brought to a head by threats of legal action by the local American Civil Liberties Union and the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has cynically been declared "resolved" by Superintendent David Moberly.

Nevertheless, Seattle still faces an urgent three-fold task.

First, the city must replace the unfair and outmoded annual levy on homeowners with a more secure funding system; levies not only fail frequently but perpetuate poor schools in poor neighborhoods, since property values in a neighborhood determine the amount of funding for the schools **in that community**.

Second, Seattle must provide equitable quality education for all students.

Third, the schools must be integrated to reflect the ethnic and cultural diversity of the area.

After years of acrimonious public debate, Supt. Moberly has discovered the magic cure-all for these deeply rooted problems. He will institute a "magnet" school system wherein a few selected schools, mostly within minority and integrated communities, will house special programs designed to attract whites. He hopes that this scheme will suffice to achieve voluntary integration.

But what about basic funding and equal education? Moberly and the School Board refuse even to

address these questions. And their magnet proposal is encountering considerable resistance from minorities.

In the past, magnet schools have failed miserably locally and nationally because they funnel Blacks into vocational programs and track whites into college prep studies, actually increasing racial tensions by segregating students **within** a school. But Seattle is blindly trying it again.

### **Integration: Means or End?**

School integration was originally decreed for the South as a means of correcting the grossly underfunded and inferior condition of segregated Black schools.

The NAACP, ACLU and federal courts, however, now proclaim that minority children must attend white schools in the North as well, in order to learn "properly." So, school integration **in and of itself** has become the ostensible solution to an educational system that is fundamentally discriminatory and unequal regardless of the racial patterns in any particular school.

The federal government doesn't even attempt to equalize education for all, but intensifies the problem by imposing mandatory racial quotas and instituting forced busing programs that disregard the needs and desires of the affected neighborhoods. More problems have been created than solved by forcing desegrega-

tion almost exclusively on white working-class neighborhoods already under severe economic strain—and with educational resources almost as limited as those in ghetto schools.

### **Magnets Repel, Not Attract**

In the early 70's, a voluntary busing program was initiated in Seattle.

Garfield High, Seattle's major Black school, was made into a magnet by pumping in funds and special programs to attract whites. Many Black students were bussed outside the district.

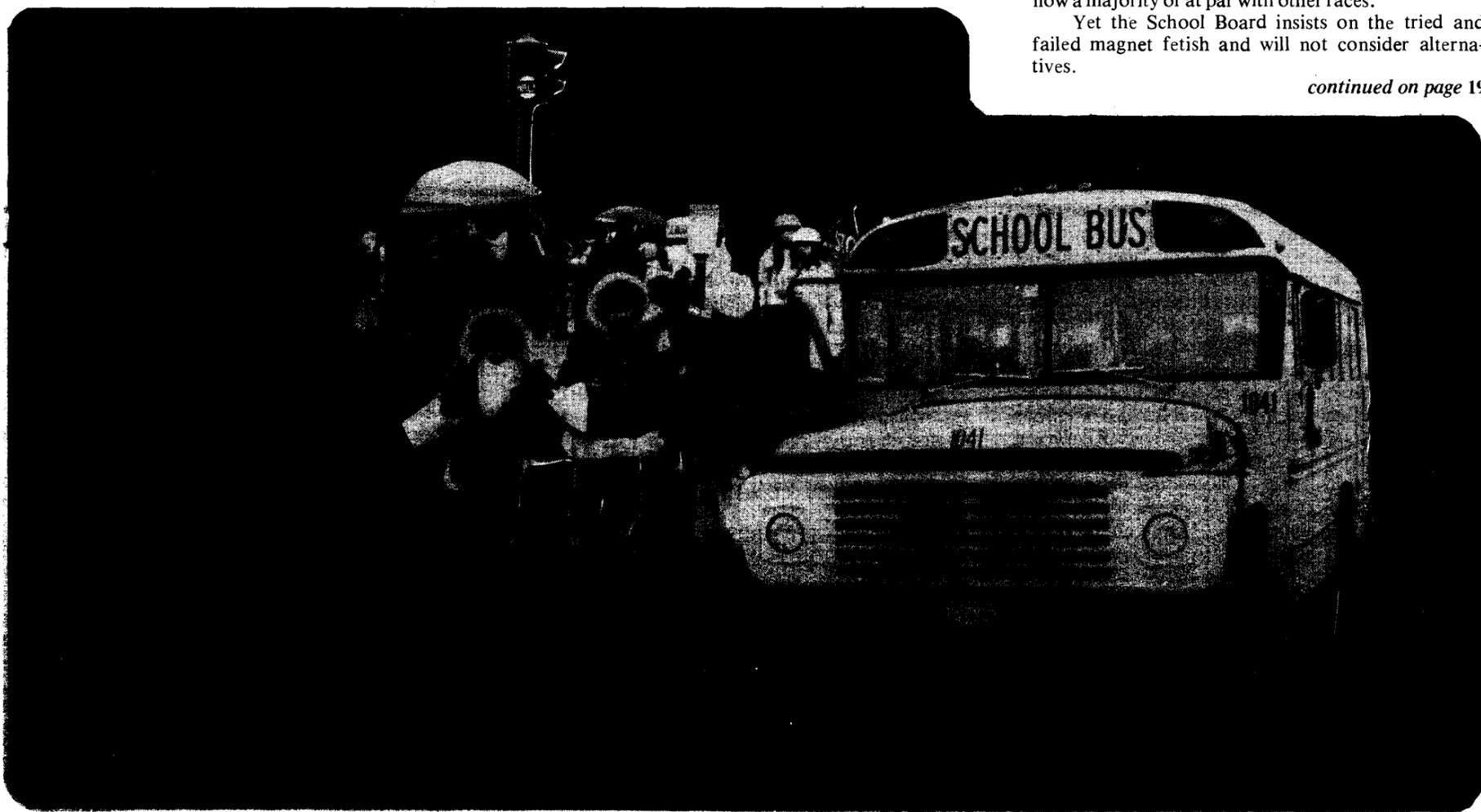
This attempt at voluntary integration was frustrated by the hostility and violence against Black children in the white schools and, during that period, by the rising mood of Black nationalism and separatism which in turn isolated and victimized white students in Black schools.

Since then, Seattle's inner-city schools, aided by federal funds, have raised their standards to the level of the white schools, have registered impressive gains in integrating the various ethnic groups, and have become more responsive to minority needs and culture. The Black, Chicano and Asian communities have good reason to fear the loss of these gains.

And the students, minority and white alike, firmly oppose altering the racial composition of schools that are truly integrated; they oppose making Blacks a numerical minority in schools where they are now a majority or at par with other races.

Yet the School Board insists on the tried and failed magnet fetish and will not consider alternatives.

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## La Supresión de la Segregación Racial en Seattle

# Alboroto Acerca de las 'Escuelas Atractivas'

La crisis de la supresión de la segregación racial en Seattle, llevada a un punto decisivo por amenazas de acción legal por la ACLU (La Unión de Derechos Civiles Americanos) y el HEW (El Departamento Federal de la Salud, la Educación y el Bienestar Público), ha sido declarado "resuelto" con cinismo por el Director, David Moberly.

Se enfrenta a Seattle una tarea con tres aspectos esenciales.

En primer lugar, la ciudad tiene que reemplazar la exacción anual injusta y anticuada exigida de los propietarios de casas con un sistema de acumular fondos más seguro; las **exacciones** no solamente fracasan en la cabina electoral sino perpetúan escuelas

pobres en los barrios pobres, visto que el valor de los bienes de un barrio determina la cantidad de fondos para las escuelas **en esa comunidad**.

En segundo, Seattle tiene que suministrar una educación uniforme de calidad a todos los estudiantes.

En tercero, tienen que integrar racialmente las escuelas para que reflejen la diversidad étnica y cultural de la area.

Y ahora, después de años de debate caústico público, el Director Moberly ha descubierto la panacea mágica para estos problemas profundamente arraigados. Anunció con orgullo la creación de un sistema de "escuelas atractivas" en el cual unas cuantas escuelas, la mayor parte en las comunidades minoritarias y

integradas racialmente, alojarán programas especiales diseñados a atraer los blancos. Es la esperanza de él que esta idea será suficiente para realizar una integración voluntaria.

Pero, ¿qué de la cuestión de acumular dinero y la educación de calidad para todos? Moberly y la Junta Directiva Escolar se niegan a ponerse a estas cuestiones. Y su proposición de "escuelas atractivas" está encontrando una resistencia considerable de las minorías.

En el pasado, escuelas atractivas han fallado desgraciadamente local and nacionalmente porque ponen los Negros en programas profesionales al mismo

*segue en la pagina 18*

# Radical Women Conference



Radical Women Conference poster.

"A New Era for Women Workers, Minority Women and Lesbians"

by Joanne Ward

What began ten years ago as a small and diverse group of women radicals has flourished into an important and sophisticated organization of socialist feminist workers whose ideas and actions have a resounding impact on every social movement they touch.

The organization is Radical Women, and its Annual Conference held last October at the University of Washington demonstrated anew its capacity for solid accomplishments and dynamic political development.

Excitement ran high as 130 participants of all ages, sexes, colors, backgrounds, and union affiliations convened in Seattle for a serious examination of the growth of socialist feminism in the past period. RW members from California, Oregon and Washington were present.

The Conference theme, "A New Era for Women Workers, Minority Women and Lesbians," was richly developed for two busy, thought-provoking days as the delegates enthusiastically described the increasing understanding among working women, minority women and lesbians that they must overcome their isolation one from the other and direct their common experiences as second-class citizens toward achieving cooperation in a vast movement for basic social change.

Chairperson Laurie Morton opened the Conference, informing the audience that RW was founded in 1967 as an outgrowth of a Free University class on "Women and Society," making it the oldest socialist feminist group in the United States. She recounted the organization's development from a loose coalition of socialist feminists, independents, anarchists and New Leftists into a transitional stage of militant, well-organized activists who were primarily students and socialist feminists, and finally to the present time which finds RW composed almost entirely of women workers deeply involved in the class struggle and the labor movement, and dedicated to building leadership skills among women revolutionaries.

The proletarian character of RW emerged in the middle 1970's, Morton explained, after the dispersal of the anti-war movement and the disintegration of the New Left. RW students left the campuses and went to work, bringing socialist feminist ideas to their jobs.

"At first," said Morton, "we weren't even aware that we were playing leading roles where we worked. But we discovered that our socialist feminist sensitivity to on-the-job issues was making us energetic spokeswomen for workers' rights, and we have not only become respected activists in our unions, we also understand why this was inevitable."

Morton called on the Conference to focus on this fundamental class change among Radical Women and the organization's mission of enhancing the class consciousness of the broader feminist movement.

In her President's Report, Laura Teague, past RW President, keynoted the major Conference themes:

Working women are overcoming years of isolation from and rejection by the chauvinist labor bureaucracy and are entering the labor movement with a vengeance.

Minority women are countering the sexism of the male civil rights leadership and confronting the racism of the middle-class

women's movement, asserting that feminism is an integral part of their liberation.

Lesbians are moving beyond the reactionary confines of separatism and cultural mysticism into the hardrock reality of class struggle politics.

All these doubly and triply subjugated women are taking significant steps to break down the barriers of hostility, mistrust and competition among the different oppressed groups. They are seeking out an ideology that relates the many forms of discrimination and exploitation they suffer into a coherent, unified program for change.

Applause and lively discussion followed the President's Report, and the Conference voted unanimously to adopt it.

## Look to the Woman Worker

**Why are socialist feminists emerging as leaders of workers' struggles?**

**What is the programmatic basis of working class unity?**

**How do we build unity around our needs?**

Answers to these interconnected problems were dealt with next by the speakers on the "Women In The Labor Movement" panel. Guerry Hoddersen made the major presentation. She traced RW's eventful and varied



Tamara Turner (left) and Laurie Morton role-played the polarization between gay radicals and conservatives in RW Conference session on "Gays and the Class Struggle."

experiences in the labor movement over the past few years. Active in independent, craft and industrial unions, and in associations of public and professional employees, RW members have learned to conduct contract negotiations, strikes, and walk-outs, and have been elected as shop stewards, union officers and delegates to regional labor councils.

Hoddersen said that RW, as a socialist feminist organization, views the class struggle as inextricably connected to movements for ethnic/racial justice, and for economic, political and social equality for women of all races, lifestyles and sexual orientations. RW, she said,

believes that the road to American socialism must be sought in the needs of the most oppressed workers and their allies among the poor and downtrodden, rather than in the narrow interests of most white male unionists.

Women are the most oppressed of every oppressed sector of society, she continued; women workers, therefore, are emerging as the most militant new force in the country. The increased number of women in the workforce and unions has brought that militancy to bear on the labor movement; which must now confront social and political issues previously ignored by the white male-dominated trade unions.

"Now that we're part of the labor movement," Hoddersen concluded, "we have a much wider arena to work in, an expanded opportunity for achieving social change. But we haven't stopped being feminists! We've carried the demands of feminists, civil rights fighters and the gay movement into working class territory. And only our socialist feminist program of social revolution will insure a working class victory over capitalism."

A panel of ten RW unionists then detailed their organizing efforts in various unions.

Radical Women members have fought hard to get in and stay in the non-traditional trades. Several are now apprentice lineworkers, and others are teamsters, welders, dockworkers, house-painters, printers, etc. RW members helped to found the historic Coalition for Protective (Labor) Legislation in Washington State (see page 17) and also aided in the birth of United Workers Union-Independent—the militant union of University of Washington staffworkers which grew out of the first campus strike in history and uncompromisingly represents the interests of women, minorities, and low-paid workers.

Following the panel presentations, a wide-ranging discussion was held. Several people commented on the increasing importance of independent unions as an essential vehicle for keeping workers in the labor movement, organizing the unorganized, and credibly advocating the needs of mounting numbers of women and minority workers.

Clara Fraser, an RW founder, predicted that all socialists would have to get used to the idea of a forthcoming mass, independent labor movement opposed to the AFL-CIO. She reminded the Conference that the existing trade union movement is hardly synonymous with labor as a whole or with class struggle in its many forms.

"Who is the labor force?" she asked. "Over 40% of it today is women, mostly unorganized and ignored by the labor aristocracy."

## Minority Women and Feminists Join Forces

Madlyne Scott, longtime radical activist, moderated the panel on "Feminism and the Minority Woman," which featured four minority women analyzing their experiences in the Black, Chicano and Native American communities.

Scott recounted her history as a Black woman in the civil rights, Black nationalist, and anti-war movements of the 1960's. Her struggle for leadership in the Black movement was rebuffed by male spokesmen who decided

*continued on page 20*



Minority women panelists evaluated their problems as activists in the minority and feminist milieus. From left: Diane Didrickson, Madlyne Scott, Kathy Saadat, Yolanda Alaniz and Sally Fixico.

## La Conferencia de las Mujeres Radicales

Lo que empezó hace diez años como un grupo pequeño y diverso de mujeres radicales ha llegado a ser una organización de trabajadoras socialistas feministas cuyas ideas y acciones tienen un impacto resonante dentro de todos los movimientos sociales que tocan.

La organización es RW (Mujeres Radicales), y su conferencia anual de octubre pasado en la Universidad de Washington demostró una vez más su capacidad para logros firmes y un desarrollo polifónico dinámico.

La excitación corrió por todos los 130 participantes de todas las edades, los sexos, las razas, los orígenes y las afiliaciones sindicales los cuales se reunieron en Seattle para una revisión seria del crecimiento del socialismo feminista durante los dos últimos años. RW miembros de California, Oregon y Washington asistieron.

Se desarrolló durante dos días ocupados y pensativos el tema de la conferencia, "Una era nueva para trabajadoras, mujeres minoritarias y lesbianas," en cuanto que los delegados describieron con entusiasmo el entendimiento creciente entre trabajadoras, mujeres minoritarias y lesbianas que tienen que superar el aislamiento entre ellas y dirigir sus experiencias comunes como ciudadanas de segunda clase hacia la realización de la cooperación en un movimiento vasto para un cambio social básico.

La presidenta, Laurie Morton, abrió la conferencia informando el auditorio que se fundó RW en 1967 como el resultado de una clase de la Universidad Libre sobre, "Las mujeres y la sociedad," haciéndola el grupo socialista feminista más viejo en los EE.UU. Relató la evolución de la organización que empezó como una coalición de socialistas feministas, anarquistas, independientes y nuevas izquierdistas la cual pasó por una época de transición cuando se componía de activistas militantes bien organizadas que eran principalmente estudiantes y socialistas feministas. Concluyó presentando la RW actual compuesta casi en su totalidad por trabajadoras firmemente envueltas en la lucha de clases y en el movimiento de los obreros, y dedicadas a crear

habilidades de jefatura entre las revolucionarias femeninas.

El carácter proletario apareció a mediados de los 70, explicó Morton, con la dispersión del movimiento contra la guerra. Las estudiantes de RW salieron del recinto universitario y fueron a trabajar, trayendo ideas socialistas feministas a sus trabajos. "Al principio," dijo Morton, "no nos dábamos cuenta que éramos líderes donde estábamos trabajando. Pero descubrimos que nuestra sensibilidad socialista feminista en las cuestiones del trabajo estaba haciéndonos voceras enérgicas para los derechos de los trabajadores y no solamente hemos llegado a ser activistas estimadas en nuestras uniones, también entendemos porque esto fue inevitable." Morton llamó a la conferencia que se enfocó en este cambio fundamental de clase dentro de RW y en la misión de la organización de acrecentar la conciencia de clase en el movimiento más ancho de las mujeres.

Laura Teague, la antigua presidenta de RW, citó los temas principales de la conferencia en El Informe de la Presidenta:

Trabajadoras están superando años de aislamiento y de rechazamiento por la burocracia chauvinista de los obreros y están entrando en el movimiento obrero con una venganza.

Mujeres minoritarias están oponiéndose al sexismo de la jefatura del movimiento para los derechos civiles y enfrentando el racismo del movimiento de las mujeres de la clase media, afirmando que feminismo es una parte integral a su liberación.

Lesbianas están ultrapasando los límites reaccionarios del separatismo y del misticismo cultural y llegando a la realidad concreta de la política de la lucha de clases.

Todas estas mujeres doble y triplemente sojuzgadas están empezando a derribar las barreras de hostilidad, desconfianza, y competición entre los diferentes grupos oprimidos. Ellas están tratando de hallar una ideología que relacione las formas diferentes de

discriminación y explotación que sufren en un programa coherente y unido para un cambio social.

Aplausos y una discusión viva siguió El Informe de la Presidenta y la conferencia votó unánimemente a adoptarlo.

### Diríjense a la Mujer Trabajadora

¿Por qué están emergiendo las socialistas feministas como las líderes de las luchas obreras?

¿Qué es la base programática de la unidad de la clase obrera?

¿Cómo construimos la unidad alrededor de nuestras necesidades?

Las soluciones a estos problemas íntimamente relacionados fueron tratados por las oradoras en la siguiente sesión, "La mujer en el movimiento obrero." Guerry Hodderson hizo la presentación principal. Dibujó las experiencias variadas y llenas de acontecimientos en el movimiento obrero durante los últimos años. Activas en uniones independientes, gremios, sindicatos industriales y en asociaciones de empleados profesionales y públicos; los miembros de RW han aprendido a conducir negociaciones para contratos y huelgas, y también se les ha elegido a ser "shop stewards," oficiales y delegados a concilios regionales de trabajadores.

Hodderson dijo que RW, como una organización socialista feminista, considera la lucha de clases inextricablemente relacionada con los movimientos para la justicia étnica/racial y para la igualdad económica, política y social para las mujeres de todas las razas, modos de vivir, y orientaciones sexuales. RW, ella dijo, tiene la convicción que es necesario buscar el camino al socialismo americano en las necesidades de los trabajadores más oprimidos y sus aliados entre los pobres y pisoteados, en lugar de buscarlo en los intereses estrechos de la mayoría de los hombres sindicalistas de raza blanca.

Continuó que las mujeres son las más oprimidas de cada sector oprimido de la sociedad y, por consiguiente, están emergiendo como la fuerza más

*segue en la pagina 21*



Guerry Hodderson, chair of the "Women in the Labor Movement" panel, attested to the expanding influence of female worker-militants. Seated, left to right, Joanne Ward, Yolanda Alaniz, Tamara Turner, Laura Teague, Ann Brown, Megan Cornish and Maxine Reigel.

Guerry Hodderson, presidenta de la sesión "Mujeres en el Movimiento Laborista" habla acerca de la creciente influencia de las mujeres trabajadoras militantes.



# Great Leap Into Turmoil CHINA!

by Henry Noble

Eight months after the death of Mao Tse-tung, the decade-long power struggle between his collaborators and the current ruling bureaucracy appears to have ended. The new Communist Party chairman, Hua Kuo-feng, has apparently consolidated control.

The sudden arrest last October of "The Gang of Four"—Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Chang Chun-chiao and Wang Hung-wen, Mao's key associates and prominent Politburo operatives—expressed the real attitude of the present leadership toward Mao and represented its political obituary for him.

The melodramatic purge evidently served its purpose of solidifying the new regime, which has embarked on a course of heightened economic growth through increased trade with the West and economic incentives to spur domestic production.

## Issues in the Factional Struggle

During the 1966-67 Cultural Revolution, the ill-fated "Gang of Four" rose so swiftly to prominence that they were dubbed "the helicopters." They were Mao's personal agents who proved their loyalty by fanatically vilifying his opponents and brutally restraining the Cultural Revolution from outstripping his bureaucratically-imposed boundaries. They branded Mao's opposition as "rightists," "capitalist roaders" and "bourgeois agents," only to find themselves 10 years later branded with identical epithets hurled by their former victims now in power, enthusiastically exacting revenge.

"Radicals" have hardly been supplanted by "moderates," as the bourgeois press would have it. Instead, the central issues in the power struggle stem from chronic economic problems and the growing unrest among Chinese workers and students.

China is still an extremely backward country, lacking the industrial and cultural base for a socialist society. Predictably, recent articles in *Peking Review* and *People's Daily*, official Communist Party organs, have broadened the attack on the "Gang of Four" to include its role in determining economic and cultural policy in the last ten years.

## The Road to Industrialization

Since the Cultural Revolution, the Mao regime has alternated between two equally ineffective schemes to increase large-scale industrialization.

Detail from an American poster by John Woo.



The leadership traditionally switched from one policy to the other under pressure from the masses or from adverse economic conditions.

One approach, "Production First," stresses material incentives for workers, rapid industrialization and reliance on imports. Previously associated with Chou En-lai, Liu Shao-chi, and Teng Hsiao-ping, this line was in effect from the end of the first Five Year Plan in 1954 until 1966, except for two periods: during the "Great Leap Forward," and the early years of the Cultural Revolution when economic "self-reliance" and reduction of imports prevailed.

"Production First" is the policy currently advanced by the new rulers.

the only perspective capable of leading China to higher economic and cultural levels—the perspective of revolutionary internationalism.

The technical and financial assistance needed by China could be provided by successful revolutions in advanced western countries. But Mao's self-contained, go-it-alone economic policy, a policy contained to long-range isolation from countries on a higher technological level, can lead only to political abstentionism from the class struggle in these developed countries. Maoism long ago abandoned the principle of world revolution and Chinese responsibility to aid and defend it.

Peking's foreign policy echoes the Kremlin in



Socialist Realism, Chinese style. The heinous "Gang of Four" skewered by the "people's wrath."

The alternate line, associated with Mao and his adherents, called for moral-ideological incentives instead of increased pay, and for "biting the bullet" austerity, measures aimed at freezing the standard of living of workers and peasants in order to free capital for technological construction.

Mao's policy of parlaying for detente with the U.S. and for "trade without indebtedness" now seems to be superseded by the open door policy for imperialist investment advanced by Chairman Hua.

This invitation to Wall Street, if accepted, will permit Hua to grant reforms for a limited period. Wages will be raised, the peasants will retain a greater share of their crop, and the universities will be enabled to enroll more students and subdue protest over dwindling college quotas.

But this reliance on foreign imperialism for survival will politically inhibit any aid to other workers states and to anti-colonial movements, and will eventually shackle the Chinese Revolution itself.

The dilemma cannot be resolved because both economic courses rely on the same conservative, Stalinist orthodoxy. Neither of the two leadership groupings has grappled ideologically with the country's most profound problem—the sustained political hegemony of Stalinism.

## Socialism in One Country vs. Revolutionary Internationalism

Maoist orthodoxy is Stalinist in its perpetuation and justification of the Communist Party's anti-democratic and bureaucratic rule. Moreover, by continuing to clutch at the reactionary mythology of "socialism in one country," both the Maoists and anti-Maoists were and are prevented from adopting

consistent rejection of its mission to support world revolution. Instead, China seeks safety first for itself. Revolutionary upsurges abroad—China's only guarantee for achieving socialism—have been cynically sold out, as witness China's pro-imperialist role in Indonesia, Bangladesh, Angola and Vietnam.

## The Maoist Legacy Engenders Mass Protest

Chinese workers were extremely hard hit by the severe wage freezes decreed by Mao, who offered them fanatic orthodoxy in place of higher living standards. The workers resent the enormous disparity of income between themselves and the caste of managers and bureaucrats. Urban toilers earn more than rural ones and party leaders get astronomical salaries, cushy benefits and great privileges.

Massive strikes exploded last summer in the city of Hangchow. In late winter last year, the regime had to dispatch army units to Fukien province to defuse worker and student protests in towns, villages, factories and schools. Large strikes against the wage freeze erupted in Szechwan province. The fervor of the 100,000 demonstrators in Peking's Tien An Men Square in 1976 and early 1977 clearly attests to the vehemence of the masses.

China observers have learned caution in characterizing such demonstrations because party officials usually write the scenario, fomenting and manipulating demonstrations from above. But it is obvious that little agitation is needed to encourage the Chinese people to manifest their fury over low and unequal wages, and Mao's hatchet job on student enrollment.

continued on page 22

# News Roundup

## Our Roving Foreign Correspondent



Sandy Nelson, **Freedom Socialist** European correspondent.

**London, April 11**—3,000 women were drawn from all parts of the United Kingdom for the tenth National Women's Liberation Conference held in London's City University on the weekend of April 1-3.

The conference voted overwhelmingly to "condemn the continuing violation of human rights in Chile and Argentina" and to demand "the release of all political prisoners and official recognition of all those political prisoners held in secret."

Women's right to safe legal abortion (in opposition to the Benyon anti-abortion bill now in Parliament) and "material support and solidarity to our sisters in Nambia" also met with enthusiastic support.

Two delegates from the "Women and Socialism" group called upon the conference to "recognize that the struggle of women against the oppres-

sion they experience within capitalism cannot take place outside of a socialist and feminist perspective." Whereupon a woman "Marxist"(!) strenuously objected because the resolution "imposes socialist lines on the women's movement." She called on all socialist feminists to vote against the motion "on principle" and fight for the right of the autonomous women's movement to define its own direction.

Speakers who addressed this issue were called upon from the floor to identify their allegiances to radical groups, but this red-baiting measure was voted down. The conference decided not to vote on the main motion at that time, but to continue discussion of it within the movement.

The "Working Class Women's Liberation Group" called on middle-class feminists to recognize the existence of working class women in the movement and stop "perpetuating the male structure that oppresses us all." This group displays a type of "classist separatism" peculiar to the London women's movement. Its politics bypass a Marxist class-analysis, defining middle-class women as the main oppressor. The group expresses, however, the uneasiness of working class women who confront the intellectual aloofness of many movement women.

The delegates resolved unanimously to "confront our own racism" after two Black women introduced a resolution on racism—for the first time

at any women's conference in England.

The conference seriously dealt with the reasons for the movement's failure to attract minority and working class women. Socialist feminist influence was evident in the turn away from the usual absorption with single issues and the evident desire to build a broader, multi-issue movement to fight for women on all fronts—including class, race and sexuality.

The planning group for the conference included socialist feminists, radical feminists, women aligned with various left parties, and independents all working harmoniously with no "overkill" exerted by any tendency. ●

—Sandy Nelson

## "Gays and Work"

A ground-breaking symposium, "Gays and Work," attracted 100 people to the University of Washington for an intensive examination of on-the-job discrimination faced by workers. The first of its kind in the U.S., the conference placed special emphasis on the status of lesbians and ethnic minority gays.



Minority Panel at "Gays and Work Symposium." From left to right: Joseph Veléz, Melody Jones, Joe Griggs, Tom Boot, Gwen Hall.

## Immigration Coalition Demands Justice for Undocumented Workers

Mexican immigrant workers, blamed by the U.S. government and by labor bureaucrats as the cause of unemployment and low wages in the agribusiness industry, are stepping up their resistance to government attempts to deny them legal status.

The U.S. allows Mexican workers to be used as a cheap, migrant farm labor pool, subject to complete control by the big growers. At the same time, these workers are persecuted for their "illegal" alien status.

The Eilberg Bill, effective last January, severely curtails the number of legal immigrant entries from the Western hemisphere. It would decrease by half the number of Mexican workers applying for entry, and increase the illegals, subjecting migrant labor to direct police control and massive deportation campaigns, already on the rise.

U.S. immigration policy is blatantly political, favoring capitalist-minded escapees from Vietnam and other workers states while discriminating against victims of Chilean terror or Mexico's depressed economy.

A Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices has emerged, nationwide, to fight the Eilberg Bill and win unconditional amnesty for undocumented Mexican-Latino workers.

The Coalition denounces the Eilberg Bill as a ruse to split the working class along race lines. Mexican workers are used as a scapegoat for the economic ills of capitalism.

The Bill also represents a deliberate, racist attempt to break apart the immigrant Mexican family, says the Coalition. Mexican parents of American-born children are forced to apply for labor certification, virtually impossible to obtain.

In Seattle, Rescate Press and the Coalition place top priority on educating the public about U.S. immigration practices and the need for unity of Mexicans and their U.S. sympathizers around this issue. The Coalition and Rescate Press are radical organizations, opposed to racism, sexism, cultural aggression and national chauvinism. They consider workers to be "the spinal column of any movement" and believe that strengthening the unity of the Mexican people can help transcend the barrier of racism in the U.S. proletariat.

Rescate Press publishes a bi-lingual newspaper, *La*

*Expresion* and assists Mexicans struggling against job and union discrimination.

Funds for this work are urgently needed. Contributions may be sent to the Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices, P.O. Box 24885, Seattle, WA 98124, or to Rescate Press, 5500 16th Ave. So., Seattle, WA 98108. ●

(Left column background: Symbol of CASA (Center for Autonomous Social Action), organized by the General Brotherhood of Workers in Los Angeles, CA. Right column background: Poster by Seattle's Rescate Press depicts plight of undocumented workers.)

## La Coalición para la Inmigración Reclama Derechos para los Trabajadores Sin Documentos

Los trabajadores mexicanos sin documentos, juzgados culpables por el gobierno y por la burocracia obrera por el desempleo y los sueldos bajos en la industria agrícola, están aumentando su resistencia a las tentativas del gobierno a negarles estado legal en los EE.UU.

Los EE.UU. permiten que se mantengan estos trabajadores mexicanos como mano de obra barata que se traslada de un sitio a otro en la industria agrícola completamente sojuzgados al control de los grandes cultivadores. Al mismo tiempo, estos trabajadores son perseguidos por su estado "ilegal" de ser extranjeros.

La Ley Eilberg, implementada en enero de este año, severamente reduce el número de personas que puede inmigrar legalmente del hemisferio occidental. Disminuye por mitad el número de trabajadores que puede aplicarse para entrar en los EE.UU. y aumenta el número de ilegales, sometiendo todos los trabajadores agrícolas al control policiaco y a las campañas para la expulsión en escala grande, creciendo cada día.

La política de la inmigración de los EE.UU. es descaradamente capitalista, favoreciendo los fugitivos de Vietnam y otros estados obreros al mismo

tiempo que practica discriminación contra las víctimas del terror chileno o de la economía deprimida de México. Ha emergido nacionalmente la Coalición para Leyes y Prácticas Justas de Inmigración para pelear contra la Ley Eilberg y ganar la amnistía incondicional para los trabajadores mexicanos-latinos sin documentos.

La coalición denuncia la Ley Eilberg, llamándola de una treta para dividir la clase obrera por líneas raciales. Los trabajadores son las víctimas propiciatorias para los males del capitalismo.

La Ley representa una tentativa deliberada para romper la familia del inmigrado mexicano, dice la coalición. Se obliga que los padres de niños nacidos en los EE.UU. se apliquen para la certificación obrera, una cosa casi imposible de conseguir.

En Seattle, la Prensa Rescate y la coalición dan la primera prioridad a la educación del público sobre las prácticas del departamento de inmigración en los EE.UU. y sobre la necesidad de la unidad de los Mexicanos y sus simpatizantes en los EE.UU. alrededor de la cuestión del inmigrado.

La coalición y la Prensa Rescate son organizaciones peleando contra el racismo, el sexismo, la agresión cultural y el chauvinismo cultural. Se consideran los trabajadores como "la espina dorsal de cualquier movimiento" y creen que se puede superar la barrera de racismo en el proletariado en los EE.UU. por fortalecer la unidad de la gente mexicana.

La Prensa Rescate publica un periódico bilingüe, *La Expresión*, y ayuda a los Mexicanos en su lucha contra la discriminación en el trabajo y dentro de las uniones.

Se necesita urgentemente fondos. Se puede mandar contribuciones a la Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices, P.O. Box 24885, Seattle, WA 98124 o a la Rescate Press, 5500 16th Ave. So., Seattle, WA 98108. ●

(Izquierdo: Símbolo de CASA (Centro de Acción Social Autónoma) organizado por la Hermandad General de Trabajadores de Los Angeles, CA. Arriba: La Prensa Rescate de Seattle representa la angustia de los obreros no documentados.)

# News Roundup



Susan Dovekal/ Freedom Socialist

## Anita Praises the Lord and Denounces Gays

"Save Our Children, Inc."—an anti-gay group fronted by singer and orange-juice-pusher Anita Bryant—has stepped up its vicious campaign to rescind a Dade County, Florida ordinance that prohibits job and housing discrimination against gays.

Bryant and her accomplices launched a religious crusade and obtained 10,000 signatures for a June, 1977 referendum on the ordinance.

"God will help me in my fight," Bryant declaims. To spur him on, she has garnered support from the Catholic bureaucracy, which has blocked passage of gay rights legislation in New York City for five years.

Anti-discrimination legislation introduced into the Washington and Oregon legislatures have fomented similar anti-gay hysteria. Gay organizations across the country are launching a counter-campaign to defeat the reactionaries and preserve hard-won civil rights. ●

## Philosophy of Marxism Course is Box Office Success

The liveliest intellectual exchange in Seattle erupts every Friday night as eager students jammed into Freeway Hall grapple with "The Marxist Method: An Introduction to Dialectical Materialism."

The stimulating ten-week course is taught by Cindy Gipple and Monica Hill, FSP leaders and mass movement organizers who are singularly adept at illuminating theory with the lessons of practical experience.

The educational series opened on Feb. 25th with an introductory overview of "Class Struggle in Philosophy." Subsequent classes trace the history of materialist thought and dialectic logic from their origins in 6th Century B.C., "The Heroic Age of Greek Science and Philosophy," through their climax in the work of Marx and Engels.

The class has covered "The Revival of Science and the Rise of French Materialism," "Hegelian Dialectics: A Revolution in Logic," "Feuerbach and Marx: The Defeat of German Idealism" and "Marx and Engels: The Materialist Conception of History."

Interest in the class, which is open to the public, has been remarkably high from the outset, and post-class discussions continue long after adjournment every week—lubricated by appropriate refreshments. The unprecedented enrollment testifies to the mounting interest in revolutionary socialism among workers, community activists and collegestudents. ●

## Save Leonard Peltier!

The national chairman of the American Indian Movement, John Trudell, toured Western Washington in March to rally support and raise funds for the legal defense of Leonard Peltier, imprisoned AIM leader.

Trudell and Janet McCloud, Native American spokeswoman, were the featured speakers at an impressive International Women's Day forum that raised \$1200 on the spot to help Peltier.

The capacity crowd at the Freeway Hall event (sponsored by Radical Women and the FSP) dined on a superb Indian-style salmon dinner and then listened raptly to the two eloquent orators.

McCloud, speaking first on the Native American struggle for survival, said that "our people are dying—of sickness, alcoholism and drug addiction. Many more are being bought off by the federal government and its capitalistic value system. But the young men and women of AIM are saying



John Trudell

No! We will not be bought off; we will not die of alcoholism on Skid Road. If we must die, it will be with dignity—fighting in defense of our people!"

McCloud said that International Women's Day was a proper time for expressing thanks to the feminist radicals in the Hall for their consistent activism on behalf of the Indian movement. Then, in a rare autobiographical vein, she paid public respect to her seriously ill and hospitalized husband—the person who had made her political involvement possible:

"He earned the money for the family so that I could have a free and independent mind and go out and speak and organize for our people. He wanted me, a woman, to use my skills for the benefit of all the tribes. I want the women here to know that my husband is that kind of a man—that we are really a team, a family supporting each other."

Trudell, speaking on "The FBI vs. Native Americans: The Case of Leonard Peltier," said that a "state of war exists in this country. It has been going on for four centuries. It is a war of resistance to genocide, a war of national liberation." Trudell then described the political, legal, economic and cultural problems of Indians in bourgeois America.

When Madlyne Scott, event chairwoman and fundraiser-extraordinaire, presented the \$1200 collection to him, Trudell said he now understood McCloud's praise for Radical Women and FSP.

The background of the Peltier



Leonard Peltier

case reveals the ferocity of the government's persecution of Native peoples. Since the 1973 Indian occupation of Wounded Knee, S.D., the FBI has engineered a reign of terror to destroy AIM. Scores of Indian leaders are jailed, and more than 100 Native Americans have been killed in South Dakota alone.

On June 26, 1975 two FBI agents and one Indian were killed when the FBI raided the Pine Ridge, S.D. reservation. Four AIM leaders, including Peltier, were indicted for murder. Two were acquitted and the charges against one were dropped. But the FBI persisted in prosecuting Peltier, who lost his battle for political asylum in Canada and was extradited to Fargo, N.D. for trial.

On April 18, Peltier was convicted on two counts of "first degree murder." He now faces life in prison.

The Leonard Peltier Defense Group desperately needs funds for a legal appeal. Contributions should be sent to the Defense Group at P.O. Box 190, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, or to the FSP for forwarding. ●

## Yvonne Wanrow Update

The Washington State Supreme Court has held firm to its decision to overturn Yvonne Wanrow's conviction and return the case to lower courts for retrial. Spokane County Prosecutor Brockett had asked the Court to reconsider its ruling, and he must now decide whether to try Wanrow again or drop the proceedings.

Wanrow, Colville Indian mother of three, was convicted of second degree murder for the 1972 shooting death of William Wesler, a disturbed man previously convicted of child molesta-

tion. Wanrow was forced to defend her family and herself after repeated pleas to Spokane police for help were ignored.

Wanrow requests supporters to demand that the prosecutor drop all further legal proceedings against her. Write or telegraph Donald C. Brockett, State Prosecutor's Office, County-City Public Safety Building, Spokane, WA 99201. Contributions for Wanrow's defense should be sent to:

Yvonne Wanrow Defense Committee  
P.O. Box 49  
Inchelium, WA 99138



Yvonne Wanrow

## Court Decision Provokes Gay Counterattack

Washington State law has plunged back into the Dark Ages as a result of a recent State Supreme Court decision that could severely damage gay rights for years to come.

Citing the saintly authority of the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, the Court upheld a 1972 Tacoma, Washington, School Board decision to fire James Gaylord from his job as a high school teacher because a student signed a statement saying he believed Gaylord was homosexual.

In their medieval ruling, the judges found Gaylord guilty of "immorality." A "known homosexual" teacher, opined the Court, would be threatening to students and teachers (who strongly supported Gaylord's battle for his rights!).

The ruling provides employers with a blank check for firing workers **solely on account of sexual preference**. The court judgment on "morality" affects every worker, not just gays, and conveys sinister national implications. Dissenting Judge James Dolliver, fearful of morality-witch-hunts against teachers, warned that "the opportunities for industrious school districts seem unlimited."

Welcome labor support is being provided by Gaylord's union, the Tacoma Federation of Teachers, and its state and

national affiliates, Washington Federation of Teachers and American Federation of Teachers. The union is paying his legal fees.

In a swift response to the Court's ruling, gay and feminist groups have banded together to form the Washington Coalition for Sexual Minority Rights, which is pressuring the legislature to pass two bills which would protect the right of gays to work, rent homes, operate businesses, and purchase insurance, among other guarantees.

Support for these bills is critically needed. Anti-gay hysteria is on the rise and messages opposing the bills are running ten to one. The Coalition urges Washingtonians to phone their legislators (on the toll-free line 1-800-562-6000) to support House Bill 689 and Senate Bill 2734.

# The Labor Scene:

## Union Election—

# “Interested Teamsters” Caucus Raises Class Issues

by Laura Teague

Amidst the confetti of national and state election year propaganda, a group of Washington State Teamsters has just concluded a union election campaign unprecedented in Teamsters Local 174, the largest Teamsters local on the west coast. Fundamental working class issues were actually raised and debated!

“Put a driver in the driver’s seat!” shrieked the bureaucrats. “Put the membership in the driver’s seat!” countered the militants in the “Interested Teamsters” (I.T.) caucus.

“Our slate was not about just changing the faces at the top,” said Anne Hoddersen, U.P.S. driver and Interested Teamsters candidate for Recording Secretary. “We advocated a new basic strategy for defending and extending workers rights.”

“We’ll be keeping our eye on the union the next three years,” said Vic Jablonski, I.T. candidate for Secretary-Treasurer. “Our platform was basically sound. Our proposals were for issues of benefit to the members—NOT, as it is now, for what benefits the Executive Board.”

Calling for democratic decision-making and majority rule, the I.T. slate asserted the membership’s right to determine union policies. “The bureaucrats rely on backroom deals and keeping the rank and file in the dark,” said Hoddersen. “We uphold the principle that bosses and workers have nothing in common and that only free

speech and democracy within the labor movement will guarantee the interests of the members.”

The I.T. slate protested “sweetheart” contracts and proposed that elected rank and file representatives sit on the union’s negotiating committees.

The slate of four men and one woman campaigned on a platform which included special recognition of the problems of older, women and minority workers.

Said Hoddersen, “As long as women and minority workers are harassed and intimidated by the bosses, and hired and fired at will, the rights of all workers are open to attack. The bosses try to use the young workers against the older ones to get rid of them, just as they cultivate racism and sexism to keep us all at each other’s throats. White male workers must learn to defend women’s and minorities’ rights.”

The I.T. candidates affirmed labor solidarity. “We believe Local 174 should back every member’s right to refuse to cross picket lines,” stated their campaign brochure. “It is the responsibility of the leadership to work with other unions to build a spirit of cooperation and mutual aid among trade unionists in Seattle.”

Teamster bureaucrat Bob Cooper, longtime Business Agent, Executive Board member and successful candidate for Secretary-Treasurer, opposed Hoddersen, who received almost one-third of the votes. Cooper said it

was too early for women to take leadership in an overwhelmingly male local. Nevertheless, he and other campaigners were forced to adopt some of the Interested Teamsters’ progressive planks, including support to protective labor legislation.

Teamsters strenuously object to the increasing forced overtime in the trucking industry, and the union officially supports the fight for protective labor laws. ■

### “DEFENDING OUR MEMBERS RIGHTS—

... We recognize that older workers, women and minority workers face special harassment from the bosses and that it is the Local’s responsibility to defend their rights on the principle that an injury to one is an injury to all.”

### “ENDING FORCED OVERTIME—

We believe our Local should take an active role in supporting legislation to end forced overtime and to guarantee all workers humane and safe working conditions.”

Facsimile of excerpts from election brochure program. 7,000 copies were distributed to Local 174 members in the course of the campaign.

**Library  
Workers  
Win  
Model  
Contract**

by Tamara Turner

A landmark contract in the public employee sector has been negotiated by the independent Staff Association Union representing Pierce County Library workers. The union is headquartered in Tacoma, Washington.

The new contract represents an impressive leap in collective bargaining, especially at a time of escalating nationwide attacks on public workers.

In addition to an aggregate 13% wage and benefits increase, the workers won a guarantee of constitutional rights on the job, a model grievance procedure, protection of past practices, an extension of seniority rights, and an extremely liberal non-discrimination clause which prohibits job discrimination on the grounds of “sex, sexual orientation, lifestyle, political ideology, past or present union activities, age, marital or family status...”

The integration of the seniority principle with the need for affirmative action was successfully accomplished and codified in the procedures for layoff and recall:

“Layoff of minority personnel will be accomplished at the same percentage rate as the layoff for all other personnel... except that no minority employee shall be laid off until an acceptable affirmative action ratio is reached and maintained.”

The only other union in the Pacific Northwest to win separate minority-seniority ladders is the Washington Education Association, representing teachers in Seattle.

The Staff Association Union has union shop jurisdiction over 100 workers, 85% of them clericals. The remainder are librarians, drivers and maintenance personnel, and nearly the entire union is composed of women. So salaries have been traditionally low for all the workers in this “woman’s” field.

The bargaining unit has also been plagued with a backward and autocratic management that possesses absolute power by virtue of the political peculiarities of the county-government system.

The Union was formed in 1974 by employees who wanted to change the demoralizing conditions. They knew that decent library service to the public was not possible while workers were being intimidated, speeded up and underpaid. With little more than their anger and a textbook on contracts to guide them, the Union won its first con-

tract a year later, in 1975.

A new negotiating team was elected and began to clarify and extend this contract as the basis for new proposals to management. The team studied contracts from dozens of unions of all kinds and polled the membership for ideas. Workers recounted every dirty trick used or potentially usable against them by management, and the negotiating team incorporated protections against these violations into the new proposal.

The negotiating team then submitted its proposal to labor relations consultant Clara Fraser for advice, and things were never the same again.

A founding member of the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women, and a longtime union, civil rights and feminist activist, Fraser has valuable experience and perspective. She critiqued and expanded the proposal and sent it back with an interesting attachment: the Seattle City Light Employee Bill of Rights. She suggested this as a guide to devising relevant grievance procedures.

The Bill of Rights and Responsibilities was completed a year after the 1974 mass walkout of City Light workers. Fraser was the chairperson of the committee elected by 1200 workers to negotiate the Bill with management. (City Hall has since tabled implementation of the historic Bill, trying to kill the democratic protections and emphatic affirmation of the rights and dignity of workers that the Bill embodies. The Bill of Rights, however, is very much alive in city workers’ minds and strongly impresses everyone who reads it.)

In the Union grievance procedure developed from the Bill of Rights and incorporated into the contract, workers are innocent until proven guilty. Ordinarily, a worker is suspended, loses pay, and then files a grievance. But now at Pierce County Library, management must propose a disciplinary action first. Only if and when the worker is proven

guilty—and the procedure can go as far as binding arbitration—would the worker be penalized.

Negotiations lasted for 14 months—a protracted period of militant struggle by the Union. The negotiating team consisted of five women, including Fraser as chief negotiator.

Fraser accepted the job only on the condition that the union membership be told exactly who she was and what she stood for. The membership voted unanimously to hire her.

Fraser’s example of sticking to basic issues at the bargaining table and refusing to be derailed by demagoguery, trivia, or an avalanche of paperwork, provided an education to both sides. She was especially concerned with expanding seniority rights, affirmative action, and non-discrimination provisions so that each would reinforce the other. All three protections are needed for the economic survival of minorities, feminists, gays and political activists, those most often denied the right to earn a living because of their ideas, associations or appearance.

Class-conscious and feminist principles and tactics were quickly learned and applied by the union team, and its tenacity and solidarity never faltered during the long months of battle.

The Union won the right to tape record each collective bargaining session and to have open negotiations. This victory allowed the membership to observe and to participate directly in caucuses during negotiations, and it permitted the team to gain constant feedback from the rank and file. The level of consciousness and struggle was raised significantly.

The unique contract has attracted praise and interest from unions all over the country which are adapting it for their purposes. The contract offers proof to working people that gains can be achieved through determined efforts against management. ■

# Yes, Virginia, You Can Fight City Hall!

## Women Electricians

### Win Stunning Victory

by Ed Rader

A pivotal sex discrimination case against Seattle City Light has been won by eight pioneering women electrical workers with a never-say-die fighting spirit.

Their intransigent three-year-long battle for their jobs wracked City of Seattle officialdom and finally forced it into a rare concession to female public employees—a \$120,000 admission of guilt!

The women electrical trainees were represented by the Seattle Office of Women's Rights. This agency, charged with enforcing Seattle's Fair Employment Practices Ordinance, is itself the result of a successful campaign by local feminists to win a civil rights enforcement agency for women.

A three-member Hearing Panel selected by the City Women's Commission ordered the Department of Lighting (City Light) to pay the female Electrical Trades Trainees more than \$120,000 in back pay and damages.

City Light was instructed to rehire the ETTs and place them in apprenticeship programs within six months of their return to work. The Hearing Panel also decreed that the Office of Women's Rights undertake a two year monitoring of (1) City Light's record in hiring women for the skilled trades, and (2) any future disciplinary action against the ETTs. City Light also had to pay \$23,000 in fees to the ETTs' excellent attorney, Eugene Moen, who orchestrated the women's defense throughout an unparalleled three year hearing.

#### Case Makes Waves

The "ETT case" is famous in the Pacific Northwest. The precedent-setting conflict originated three years ago when ten women were selected from a field of several hundred applicants to engage in a unique program designed to train women as utility electricians in a trade exclusively reserved for men.

The two year training program was slated to include classroom education and on-the-job training. It included a key three week Orientation and Pre-Placement segment that focused on physical training, basic electrical theory, and driver education for the large rigs. The women would advance to become Helpers, then Apprentices, and finally Journey "men."

It was a model program. Except for one small detail: City Light management could care less about Affirmative Action. At that time, it was frantically busy trying to crush a full-scale employee revolt, and had no use whatsoever for ten uppity women determined to break into the electrical trades.

#### Big Trouble at City Light

In April, 1974, two months before the trainees were hired, a long-simmering feud between City Light electrical workers and management exploded into a sudden walkout of seven hundred workers. The immediate cause of the wildcat strike was the suspension of two crew chiefs for an allegedly unauthorized coffee break, but the underlying issue was the ignorant, heavy-handed and dictatorial management style of Superintendent Gordon Vickery, a political appointee of Mayor Wes Uhlman.

Vickery, the former Fire Chief, utilized paramilitary personnel policies, and the proud, freewheeling electricians were outraged. Still, they might have gone back to work after a few days were it not for the remarkable infusion of support from equally angry white collar workers and professionals who began to join them on the second day.

The collective strength of this amazing combination of 1200 vociferous electricians, engineers, clerical workers, technicians, professionals, and some middle-management administrators forced the mayor and Vickery to concede, and after eleven "electric" days of strike, an Agreement was signed.

The Agreement provided for (1) a citizen review board to conduct a public investigation of City Light management practices; (2) a joint labor-management committee which would draw up an "Employee Bill of Rights;" (3) a "No Reprisals" pledge; and (4) an arbitration panel to rule on the coffee break charge.

The struggle then shifted to another plane. The

workers skillfully challenged management at the Public Review Committee hearings and in Bill of Rights Committee negotiations. The bosses frenziedly defended themselves by harassing employee leaders and making everyone's life miserable.

#### "No Reprisal" Pledge?

One of the employee leaders was Clara Fraser, Education Coordinator for City Light, and Chair of the three-person employee team elected to negotiate the Employee Bill of Rights. She was also the person who coordinated the planning and implementation of the ETT program, with primary responsibility for it.

In order to retaliate against Fraser, Vickery decided to sabotage the ETT program. He abruptly cancelled the women's Pre-Placement training and summarily eliminated Fraser's responsibilities as ETT coordinator, replacing her with a male administrator who ignored the program.

Nine of the ten trainees, indignant over this violation of contract, filed sex discrimination charges, citing the removal of Fraser and the cancellation of promised Pre-Placement training. (One of the nine women who filed charges left the program soon afterwards; the tenth trainee was a management stooge from the outset.)

Six of the women who filed charges reported their protest action to an employee mass meeting and pointedly joined forces with the employee movement. Vickery responded characteristically by adding the trainees to his enemies list as he pursued his merciless vendetta against worker dissidents.

For the entire next year, until they were laid off in September, 1975, the ETTs waged a daily struggle to keep their jobs, secure the training they were guaranteed, win employee, union and community support, and beat back management's onslaught of harassment, intimidation, threats, deception, deceit, red-baiting and character assassination.

The women performed Helper work, but received only trainee-level wages. They were targets for anonymous letters from supposed "irate citizens" who accused them of everything from drinking on the job to "fondling" with a black co-worker (at a crowded intersection in the University district!). They were ordered to sign a loyalty oath to the effect that they would not question Vickery's policies upon pain of termination.

Finally, in September, 1975, fifteen months after they were hired with much ado and considerable fanfare, they received a polite letter from Vickery congratulating them on "successful completion of the program." This bureaucratese meant they were to be laid off. And so they were, except for two trainees kept on as token Helpers.

The year long fight to regain their jobs began.

#### Troops to the Rescue

Some of the women had been active in their union, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 77, a fact which helped them win considerable support from the rank-and-file and union officials.

The ETTs appealed to feminists, trade unionists and minority-employment advocates in the Seattle area, receiving excellent backing from these sources—especially from the Feminist Coordinating Council which gave unstinting aid.

*continued on page 23*

**Filmstrip** (top to bottom) 1) Daisy Jones, ETT leader, with fellow City Light workers (photo courtesy Maria Taylor/Seattle Sun). 2) Jody Olvera, Jennifer Gordon, Megan Comish, Teri Bach, Angel Arrasmith and Heidi Durham at press conference called to announce the women's fight against discriminatory layoff. (Not shown: Letha Neal and Daisy Jones.) 3) Office of Women's Rights, where sex discrimination charges were filed against City Light. 4) Comish, Bach and Durham receive their checks for back wages and damages from City Comptroller's office. 5) A photo of one of the checks. 6) Marya Scharer, Program Coordinator for Office of Women's Rights (left), then OWR Director Audrey Olsen (third from left), and Investigator Barbara Carter (front center) pose with jubilant trainees. 7) Trainees leaving OWR, heading for the bank.



The End  
(First Reel)



of thought. Clara Fraser, Murry Weiss, Myra Tanner Weiss and Melba Windoff reminisce over old times while dining at Freeway Hall. The reunion of these veteran Trotskyists marks a significant stage in the current impetus toward socialist regroupment.

*continued from front page*

A huge audience of 150 oldtimers, newly-radicalized youth and independents packed Freeway Hall. Representatives of the Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Workers Party, Trotskyist League of Canada (Spartacists) and International Socialists were audibly present and accounted for.

Good old Freeway Hall was resplendent. The walls were covered with displays of photographs of the Weisses during their many years of organizing, campaign posters from Myra's three electoral races as the SWP's Vice-Presidential candidate, and old copies of *The Militant* featuring articles with their by-lines. Two large red-lettered banners proclaimed "Welcome Myra and Murry!" and "Towards Revolutionary Regroupment!" Bouquets of flowers and hanging plants were everywhere, and a special literature display featured more of their writings and photographs of them from FSP archives.

**"Feminists in the Forties!"**

Clara Fraser, who joined the SWP in 1945, left that party with the rest of the Seattle branch in 1966, and helped to found the FSP, introduced the guest speakers.

The Weisses were the organizers of the Los Angeles branch of the SWP which Fraser originally joined. She vividly recalled her early admiration of the high quality of their leadership. "They were first and foremost **theoreticians** of the struggle," she said, pointing out that Myra has been teaching Marx' *Capital* for thirty years and Murry has taught the history of the Russian Revolution for the same length of time. Clara emphasized the fact that they have never stopped teaching and are energetically involved with the Marxist Education Collective.

But the Weisses are political activists as well as ideologists, Fraser said. She described their innovative mobilization of a united front against the fascists in the mid-forties, their effective strategizing in union work, their activity in the Black struggle, and their astute organizing of students. "Murry and Murry always sought arenas for our intervention," said Fraser.

"Moreover," she went on, "they were **feminists**. So what? Isn't everybody? Oh, no, not in those days! Myra was constantly bringing to the attention of the party (and usually unsuccessfully) the status, the condition, the thoughts and needs of women in and out of the party. Murry, too, was a feminist, and that's a fine thing to say about a man in the 1940's. But it was Myra, the leading feminist of the SWP, whose example was so contagious. We respected her so much as a speaker and organizer that scores of young women like me eventually began to look at the woman question seriously."

*Stalinism became the pivotal argument of world capitalism against communism, distorting the issue and demoralizing workers.*

Fraser described the Weisses' style as branch organizers. "We had fun—good food, dancing, picnics and ballgames, skits, real plays, summer camps. There was music at events, a chorus, and group singing." This atmosphere, Fraser said, contributed immeasurably to ideological discussion and the political development of the ranks. "It was so free, so democratic. Myra and Murry loved debate. They stimulated it; they enjoyed testing out ideas, spurring minds to **think!**"

"A lot of us were trained in this tradition," Clara continued. "Is it any wonder we didn't get along as well with the New York leadership? They were schooled in a far different tradition—the hierarchical practices of the Teamster and Sailors Union bureaucracies."

The Weisses' example as Trotskyist organizers and theoreticians has proved to be extremely influential on the development and aspirations of the FSP, said Fraser. "We're trying to build a party that has respect for and proficiency in theory and a capability for accurate political analysis of developments. We want a party that is disciplined and efficient in implementing our work but can relax and enjoy recreation when needed—and we need it! This is the kind of party that I think is capable of leading us toward the American revolution."

She concluded her introduction: "All of us should feel deeply fortunate to hear an analysis of current developments from two of the titans of world revolution. Comrades and visitors: please welcome Myra and Murry Weiss!"

*The problem is not the backwardness of the American working class, but the reactionary leadership of the union bureaucracy.*

**Murry Weiss—A Strategist of Revolution**

Amidst a fervent burst of applause, Murry noted that the meeting might well turn out to be more than a local discussion, that it could be "something of a national type." He proposed a further discussion on the crisis of consciousness among workers and union leaders, an issue which relates to the crisis of world revolution, he said, because upheavals around the globe are "beginning to impinge on and invade the country we live in."

The American working class is the most powerful in the world, he stressed, capable of any feat, yet it has no political organization of its own. "But **that**," he said, "can happen in two weeks!"

He described Portugal as "**the first place where a socialist revolution is being experienced in an industrial country.**"

"Twice in a row something unheard of happened—the population of Portugal voted communist or socialist, giving them a clear majority," Murry said. "And this occurred after 48 years of fascism had made those parties invisible."

"The U.S.," he added, "will also be capable of that kind of leap when the contradictions of the whole world process emerge in our own country."

He described the U.S. as a "grand-landlord" which has "reduced Europe, not to speak of the underdeveloped countries, into departments and agencies of U.S. capital."

**The Russian Revolution and Stalinist Betrayal**

The Russian Revolution was the "first great product of this over-rulership," Murry said, causing a "regroupment of all thinking." He enumerated the ideological convulsions, splits and unifications engendered within American radicalism by the Russian Revolution, and the resulting emergence of American Bolshevism.

But the encirclement of backward Russia by world imperialism, he said, resulted in the Stalinist bureaucracy, and progress was stopped as hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries were driven into the underground or slaughtered. The disease of Stalinism, he said, "became the tremendous, pivotal argument of world capitalism against communism, distorting the issue and demoralizing workers."

Stalinism caused enormous damage to the world revolutionary process by its deals with imperialism and its betrayal of revolutions, he explained, but it was unable to stop the development of world revolution. Instead, "American capitalism and imperialism are taking one clobbering after another." Revolutionary upsurges have occurred in Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, Vietnam, and elsewhere, and the old Stalinist monolith has been smashed.

"Communist parties can be transformed and can follow through with their own momentum," he said. But the **big danger** "is to underestimate the revolutionary capacity of the working class and overestimate the power the rulership has through its agency, the labor bureaucracy."

*The SWP leaders believed that women will be liberated by the revolution and the revolution will be made by men.*

**The New Left and Permanent Revolution**

The issue of Stalinism affected the radicalism of the 1960's, Murry told the crowd. The New Left indirectly rejected Stalinism, but also threw out the **entire** Old Left; as a result, "they submitted themselves to Stalinism in the most unaware way."

But the welcome rise of radical action and thought in the 60's as expressed in the Black, feminist, and gay movements was a manifestation of the **permanent revolution** in the United States, Murry said. He showed how "**the extension of the revolution into new areas of cultural and social life, which in a schematic sense was not scheduled until after the revolution, occurred here before the revolution and is erupting in our world right now. It is not waiting!**" And this demonstrates that "**we will now be able to create a revolutionary movement in this country only if it is able to address itself to these contemporary issues.**"

But where, he asked, is the **leadership** of these mass movements? Much of it, together with the labor bureaucracy, is unfortunately in the Democratic Party of imperialism, and no revolutionary momentum can be stimulated in that cesspool.

**Program is the Key to Victory**

According to Weiss, an understanding of the continuity of Marxist theory is central to the current tasks facing the popular mass movements as well as radical sector. Theory is not a collection of recipes, he stressed, and a careful study of philosophy, methodology, doctrine and theoretical structure must be made before our revolution can succeed.

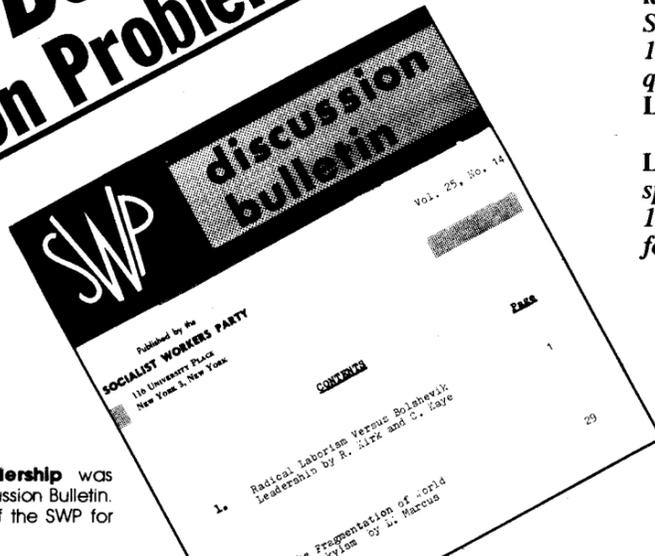
"The revolution itself is inevitable," he said, "but the question is, will it be carried through to the end? The problem is not the backwardness of the American working class, but the reactionary character of the **leadership** of the working class, the trade union bureaucracy, and its complicity with the political police, the FBI."

Special  
Supplement

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# Radical Laborism Versus Bolshevik Leadership: The Organization Problem of the Socialist Workers Party (Part 1)

**Radical Laborism vs. Bolshevik Leadership** was originally published in this SWP Internal Discussion Bulletin. It was written by the then Seattle branch of the SWP for discussion at the 1965 National Convention.



This analysis was originally published in the *Socialist Workers Party pre-convention Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 25, No. 14 in 1965.

It is a companion work to the Political Resolution submitted by the then Seattle Branch of the SWP to the 21st National SWP Convention in 1965. Most of the Political Resolution has subsequently been published under the title *Crisis and Leadership*.

Crisis and Leadership together with Radical Laborism constitute the ideological basis of the split between the SWP and its Seattle Branch in 1966, a division which culminated in the formation of the Freedom Socialist Party.

## THE CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP

Thirteen years have elapsed since the fight with the Cochranites.<sup>1</sup>

Until 1961, the stewardship of the SWP was nominally held jointly by the current regime and the Weiss group<sup>2</sup> leaders. With the elimination of the Weiss group, the Dobbs-Kerry group<sup>3</sup> entrenched itself and established a political monopoly of the leadership.

What are the principal achievements of the existing leadership since consolidating themselves?

1. The withdrawal from Cuba defense work and from trips to Cuba designed to break the travel ban.<sup>4</sup>

2. The reduction of the once-independent youth to a chattel of the SWP national office, and the prolonged insulation of these youth from the ferment around them in the general student movement.

3. The removal of all political-minority representation on the Political Committee; the avowed intention of destroying all minority initiatives, pockets and opinions in the Party at large; and the tidal wave of expulsions on ephemeral grounds and in an unprecedentedly compulsive manner.

4. Recurrent disasters in our relations with the Black struggle and an absolute self-segregation from the southern struggle that is indefensible, especially on the incredible organizational grounds of "no forces available."

5. Rejection of obvious and principled opportunities to enlarge the Party through serious fusion, regroupment or united front tactics.

6. Chronic organizational and political intimidation of all Party advocates of the emancipation of women.

7. Ignominious default in regaining ideological hegemony over the radical movement, rationalized away by the canard of an absence of qualified personnel to accomplish this.

8. Refusal to assume organizational initiative of any kind in any mass movement, and the corollary of elevating basic organizational tasks of the Party (fund raising, sub drives, paper sales) to the plane of political crusades, thereby reducing Party life to internal maintenance plus election campaigns.

It is time to inquire into the nature of a leadership which has basically undermined the interventionist and democratic traditions of the Party, and yet appears before the Party with complacency and with an Organizational Resolution that validates everything it has done and then proceeds to shake the big stick at the remaining Party dissidents.

What is wrong with the regime?

An analysis of its history and modus operandi leads inescapably to the conclusion that the present leadership is *Radical Laborite* in character and not Bolshevik.

It is Laborite because it believes that socialist politics on an extended scale will develop exclusively through the medium of a Labor Party based on the unions. It is Radical because of the powerful residue of the traditions of revolutionary socialism in the Party.

In its social origin, the regime derives from the militant AFL unionism of the thirties, and its vision does not basically project beyond the trade union upsurge of the distant future that will lead to the Labor Party. This myopia lends an anti-political cast to its view of reality.

Not typical syndicalists, nor anti-party in the Cochranite sense, the regime nevertheless does not intervene decisively in the *real political life of the time* so long as the arenas of struggle and motion remain outside the labor movement and sometimes opposed to it. The regime permits participation in other movements (in a grudging response to pressure from Party branches in the field) but the "participation" proposed by the Center is a follow-the-leader adaptation to the prevailing winds of whichever movement strikes its fancy at a given time. When controversy develops, as it must, within these movements, the word is usually, "Get out!"

The rigidly unionistic framework of the regime's long-range strategy results not only in non-intervention but in a deep-rooted, anti-theoretical habit.

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As a consequence of the single-minded unionistic-laboristic blueprint for revolution, the Party has become increasingly constricted, rigid, conservative and turned-inward. This produces, in turn, deepening errors of theory, program, strategy and tactics in those areas demanding the greatest familiarity and precision of evaluation: the colonial revolution, youth, the peace movement, the Black struggle, the labor movement, women's emancipation and revolutionary regroupment.

The chief characteristics of the Radical Laborites,

then, are fourfold: they are non-interventionist, contemptuous of theory, union-bound in strategical orientation, and politically unstable in their reactions to any given juncture.

## Non-Interventionist

Exclusively focusing on the strategic variant of the Labor Party, the leadership is generally impervious and insensitive toward non-unionistic facets of the class struggle, and where it must evaluate the radical developments of any stage, it is inconsistent and ambivalent, apparently disinterested in fundamental (rather than reportorial) conjunctural analyses and the tactical shifts (other than inspection tours) indicated by conjunctural changes.

The regime recognizes struggles other than large union upheavals for general propaganda purposes only. Somewhat like the Socialist Labor Party clinging to its fetish of Socialist Industrial Unionism and riding out a half-century with election campaigns and journalistic commentary, the SWP seems resigned to a pattern of reporting and general socialist education.

The vital problems and needs of the newly developing vanguard groups in the country are treated superficially; except for correctly urging them to independent political action, *The Militant* has no more advice for them than the *National Guardian*, which approves them all, or the *Weekly People*,<sup>5</sup> which is contemptuous of them all.

What should Malcolm X have done? What should the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party do? Students for a Democratic Society? Progressive Labor? What next for the campus teach-ins? What program for women? Doesn't anybody have to do anything before the unions move? Evidently not. Evidently no current development involves urgent *political* problems, demanding direct intervention, initiative and agitation by the SWP.

Today's real and potential mass movements are considered interesting but secondary and subordinate phenomena, and their groping leaders are viewed by the SWP with an uncritical blindness which sometimes borders on adulation, or with excessive political suspicion and competitive organizational mistrust.

Compounding the error, the regime also neglects probes into the unions, preferring to wait until the time is more patently promising. Comrades working in unionized shops are instructed NOT to appear as "union politicians" but to concentrate on recruiting to the Party. Not only is this a false polarization of interdependent activities, but the logic involved would force the Party not

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to conduct election campaigns on pain of being labelled “Establishment Politicians”—an accusation frequently made against us which we constantly have to explain.

And today we must explain it again to the Party leadership: wherever we are, we are revolutionary politicians working within extant structures in order to either change their policies or overthrow the structures themselves. If it is tactical to work within the framework of the *bourgeois state* via election campaigns, how downright sectarian it is to fear the guilt-by-association charge engendered by working within the framework of the degenerated class organs of the proletariat—the union movement!

We are not spectators of the internal union processes from within the unions; wherever our organizational participation in the union provides us a rostrum for principled propaganda and agitation, we would be foolish to abjure it.

It is significant that the Political Resolution stresses our “propagandistic” nature and tasks, while the Organizational Resolution mentions the multitudinous areas of participation and intervention supposedly characteristic of our Party and evidently supposed to be maintained. But this is a liturgical chant only. Business will proceed as usual, and intervention will be cooled off and discouraged wherever possible. The present projected “intervention” in the youth anti-war movement, for instance, will produce as lasting results and political continuity as did our participation in Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, Freedom Now Party, etc., because the orientation to mass work is either politically wrong or tactically superficial.

#### Anti-Theoretical

Coming forward in the struggle against the petty-bourgeois intellectual opposition<sup>6</sup> in 1941, and helping to defeat it, the present Dobbs-Kerry leadership gradually converted our suspicion of middle-class intellectuals into a rejection of all theoreticians in politics.

The Dobbs-Kerry regime tolerates “theory” on foreign affairs which do not deeply concern it—China, Cuba, the International—and on questions of abstract philosophy, which are not troublesome as long as they remain abstract. But any encroachment upon its domestic territory by a minority viewpoint is promptly labelled—intellectual! The word has become synonymous with “oppositional” and with “petty-bourgeois” and is used as an insult.

The dialectical interconnections of the Leninist concept of worker-Bolshevik, Marxist-intellectual, organizer-theoretician, etc., have been summarily split in two by the regime with the separate parts reassembled into new units. Theory/ideology is now the exclusive function of the regime, while the ranks and the organizers are expected to work at sub drives, fund drives, forums and campus activities, period. Naturally, this “leave the thinking to us” law results in very little thought by anyone at all.

Minorities are answered not with logical political disputation, but with muddying, distortion and fabrication of the issues, invective and personal-organizational attacks. Political arguments used to be serious and educational experiences for the entire Party membership; today, any consistent or persistent theoretical, strategic or tactical difference provokes a reflex characteristic of the labor officialdom, echoing its intolerance, prejudices and sewer terminology.

Contempt for theory breeds an inability to tolerate criticism, and both traits are expressed in the anti-intellectualism of the radical laborites.

#### Neo-Economist<sup>7</sup>

The Dobbs-Kerry leadership is the second major negative tendency closely associated with labor unionism to appear in the SWP in the post-war period.

Between the present leadership and the Cochranites an obvious affinity existed, marked by the reluctance and tardiness of the Dobbs-Kerry break with Cochran. However, an important difference exists between these two factions.

The Minneapolis Teamsters Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific (and Marine Firemen) were the first two mass labor bases won by the SWP and they produced the present leadership of the Party.

These unions, not as socially and politically advanced in terms of overall program and ideology as the newer CIO unions, were nevertheless extremely militant

in their pursuit of job benefits and resistance against government intervention into the unions.

They were therefore among the first objectives of the employer-government drive to housebreak the labor movement. The Teamsters came under fire immediately before World War II and the SUP shortly after the war. The hierarchies of these unions joined forces with the bosses and the state to drive out the radicals, and the struggles which ensued forced a sharp and decisive break between the SWP and these unions, cutting off the present SWP leadership from its base of mass support.

The Cochranites, on the other hand, were still more or less firmly entrenched, mainly in the United Auto Workers, in 1951. They were propelled away from the Party because they had a mass milieu and mass base to lean on and escape into as the witchhunt became general.

#### Centrist?

Of recent years, several opponents of the Dobbs-Kerry leadership both within and outside the Party have characterized the majority as Centrist. The prevalence of this term requires an evaluation of the regime with respect to a definition of the word.

The Dobbs-Kerry regime does reveal definite political deviations from revolutionary criteria.

#### 1. The regime certainly flirts with reformism in three areas.

Their approach to the Black question is reformist, as most glaringly revealed in the curious proposition that All-Black political action is the solution to the race question in the North while “Troops to the South” will raise the political level of Blacks there.

Secondly, the Party regime has substituted the 30-40 slogan for Trotsky’s sliding scale of wages and hours,<sup>8</sup> instead of connecting them. While 30-40 is an important demand to press, and may obviously have positive consequences, it still does not, by itself, necessarily constitute a bridge from reformist to revolutionary consciousness. On the contrary, it may become a means of strengthening reformism at a given stage. And in sectors of the economy undergoing automation, the 30-40 slogan doesn’t scratch the surface of the vast unemployment problem.

Thirdly, the very barrenness of the Political Committee’s current Political Resolution, void of either conjunctural analysis or revolutionary perspective, holds the door open to further flirtations with reformism.

#### 2. The political reflex of the leadership to critical events and shifts is demonstrably non-revolutionary.

—Forceful intervention by Comrades Cannon and Graham was needed to rectify the hands-off, Third Camp policy<sup>9</sup> adopted at the outbreak of the Korean War.

—The political line during the Cuban missile crisis<sup>10</sup> was at best ambivalent and at worst bordered on joining the anti-Soviet hysteria, only from the “left.”

—The regime betrays an obsession with “security” (as in the Cuba trips) which more often than not attempts to mask an unsure policy. Their unseemly concern with respectability occasionally veers toward panic, as evinced after the Kennedy assassination,<sup>11</sup> revealing marked instability, impressionism and legalistic defensiveness. The reductio ad absurdum of this approach was performed by the YSA leadership when it issued national mimeographed instructions to its convention delegates, including married couples, forbidding them to “shack up” with each other because of “security.”

#### 3. The disinterest in and hostility towards any movement for women’s emancipation reveals another facet of the basically non-Bolshevik outlook of the present leadership.

All right. Do all these enumerated weaknesses add up to Centrist?

Trotsky defined centrism as an **unstable political formation in motion between reformism and Bolshevism.**

The source of motion in centrism is to be found largely in external social forces which exert both reformist and revolutionary pressures. But the one thing which clearly characterizes the SWP leadership is its ability to insulate itself from all external pressures by means of a rigid sectarianism.

Isolated from **both** the reformist and revolutionary pressures exerted by the mass movements, it is subject to the direct pressure of the capitalist class, with no counter-pressure from the mass movements.

The effects of this pressure have been thus far insufficient to cause **motion** in the SWP; rather, a certain stagnation grips the Party and its leadership.

**If and when the SWP majority relates itself to the existing mass movements, and permits itself to feel and react to the contradictory and alternating pressures generated there, its true and definitive political character will emerge. Life will show whether the present indefinite state of the core of the majority**

**signifies centrism. Everyone, in fact, will be tested under these conditions.**

Meanwhile, we do not yet see that the political designation of Centrism has an important bearing on the problem of Party leadership in the SWP today. More important at this moment and decisive for the future are sectarianism, self-insulation, irrational suspicion of new vanguard formations—particularly anything emanating from the CP milieu or the South—and insensitivity to the problems and struggles of the most oppressed.

These traits derive not so much from centrist faults from a Laborite-Economist reflex operating in the period of a **degenerating** labor movement.

Actually, the regime has not changed very much in the past two decades. Vast changes in the objective situation have simply exposed another side of its character.

#### THE STRATEGY OF THE HOLDING OPERATION

This is a state of suspended animation which freezes program and cements the cadre in a decades-long cliffhanging position until the resurgence of organized labor—the main question—is at hand. Then, the Party supposed to drop down to terra firma and move in. The present “tightened-up” propagandistic activism is only a new form of the basic holding operation, designed to make it palatable to energetic youth.

This self-paralysis and self-segregation, thus marking time and treading water, is constantly being disturbed by the pressure of changes, turns and crises provided by everyday events. The economy gyrates in abrupt swings and cycles, social relations shift and political repercussions accumulate; the rhythm of revolutionary politics, like that of life, is the rhythm of the see-saw. But the regime will not be provoked into altering its freeze-in; it equates programmatic firmness with the posture of the spectator and tries to modulate and modulate the significance of every development to fit its own long-range time-table.

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Its perspective and schedule, however, based on a concept of relatively uneventful evolution, leave no room for relating to the leaps and twists of the real political world. The regime hopes to see a growth in the Party from small to big to bigger, and then, someday, on to Power. Unfortunately, such a smooth and predictable progression is not in the nature of things, as the German social democracy came to learn. Behind the welfare state facade of U.S. capitalism lie a voracious imperialism, the Mississippi police state, the Vietnamese war, etc., producing cataclysmic reactions. It is possible to keep one’s head and balance only if the chronic imbalance and inbred surprises of the system are appreciated and anticipated as the norm. But the Party is rocked and disoriented at virtually every new and unexpected juncture because it is not geared to dialectics, materialism or political flexibility.

The very nature of monopoly capital dictates the swift sequence of widely varying conjunctures. A fixed program that does not grow, and a petrified long-range strategy that persists no matter what, are results of contempt for the changing winds of reality. The SWP today has asserted its superiority over the basic laws of political motion: it promises that hanging on, hanging tough, waiting it out and letting the struggle **come to us**, is sufficient for eventual victory.

In a revolutionary period, we expect the masses to intervene in their own destiny. We expect a revolutionary party, however, to be doing this **all the time.**

#### NON-DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

A non-interventionist, anti-theoretical, laborist and legalistic regime conducting an unnecessary Holding Operation can maintain itself only by tightening centralism and diminishing democracy. So Dobbs and Kerry proceed to maintain themselves precisely through bureaucratic means, flagrantly violating Leninist organizational principles and practices.

A long history of internal conflicts paved the way for the present distortion of SWP organizational traditions.

The expulsion of Field,<sup>12</sup> who thought the Party would permit him to adapt opportunistically to the pressure of the mass movement, established the authority of the Party over its mass workers. The expulsion of Zack<sup>13</sup> reinforced this principle and affirmed the right of the Political Committee to intervene directly in the branches.

The debate with Oehler over the "French turn" (entry of Trotskyists into the leftward-moving Socialist Party in France and elsewhere in the mid-30's) established the polar unity of organizational flexibility and programmatic firmness as the required foundation for relations with centrists groupings.

The struggle against Abern<sup>14</sup> isolated and exposed the disease of clique politics and organizational combinationism.

The consuming and paralyzing daily battles with the Schactmanite petty-bourgeois opposition necessitated formalizing internal discussion by placing constitutional limitations on it.

The fight with Morrow<sup>15</sup> in 1945-46 established the Control Commission.

The main thrust of our advances toward democratic centralism was to acquire a much needed degree of centralism. However, this centralism is now in the hands of an anti-political tendency which uses it to reinforce its monopoly of leadership. Our heritage and tradition of democracy, that *other* part of democratic centralism, are being steadily eroded.

#### The Nominating Commission

One example of the ongoing erosion of democracy is to be seen in the recent practices of the Nominating Commission.

Conceived by Comrade Cannon as a bulwark of the rank and file to protect itself against a self-perpetuating leadership, it has turned into its opposite. It has become a means through which the central leadership entrenches itself and its friends without having to take responsibility for proposing this. The Commission perpetrates vendettas against opponents, who may suddenly be dropped from the National Committee without any discussion or explanation; a previous understanding with large voting blocs accounts for this phenomenon, which contemptuously ignores the form, procedure and spirit of the proposal which created the Commission.

#### The Control Commission

This Commission has similarly changed character.

Shortly after the last Convention, a lengthy Control Commission report was submitted of an investigation of considerable duration, undertaken quite awhile before the Convention. This "investigation," of the Milwaukee Branch, was conducted largely by Political Committee appointees. The actual members of the Control Commission,<sup>16</sup> however, dutifully signed the report—an unprecedented, slanderous report that rebuked the organizer and the branch unfairly and illogically. The Control Commission members did not personally investigate, interrogate witnesses or determine the direction of interrogation. No report was made to the Convention of this investigation.

The Control Commission behaves as a non-responsible body, i.e., not responsible to the Party. It is incumbent upon an outgoing Control Commission **above all other bodies in the Party** to make a full report of its activities to the Convention. But had this been done, even majority supporters might have objected to the unusual procedure of the Political Committee relegating to itself the function of the Commission.

#### The War Against Political Minorities

In his speech to the New York Branch on the expulsion of Robertson,<sup>17</sup> Comrade Dobbs claimed that the expulsions (which had provoked widespread criticism from all sectors of the Party) illustrated Comrade Cannon's dictum that principle has primacy over organizational questions. These are empty words. What Cannon meant was one thing, but all these words mean in the new context is that the leadership pretends to be justified by tradition in expelling anyone it can first outvote on political questions.

An even more disturbing proposition was placed before the Party in this speech. Comrade Dobbs justified the expulsion on the grounds that it was a mistake in the first place for Robertson to be allowed into the SWP. We do not invite enemies into the Party, he said. This sinister statement was Dobbs' way of making two other points:

1. He established the "principle" that any kangaroo court proceedings constitute a fair trial because the real purpose of the "trial" is to rectify the mistake that allowed an enemy to exist within the organization. And

how is enemy status determined? By whomever the majority can outvote. And since any minority can be outvoted, any minority is the "enemy"—solely by virtue of being a minority.

The logical outcome of this new principle is obvious: no more minorities in the SWP.

2. The Robertson expulsion was calculated to be an epitaph on the political gravestones of those "politically irresponsible" elements who "invited" the enemy into the Party in the first place. So, Robertson was only a relatively innocent bystander, representing a handy vehicle for the repudiation of Regroupment, the old Cannonism, and Murry Weiss, who recruited Robertson from the Socialist Party with the full approval of the rest of the SWP leadership.

“  
**If and when the SWP majority relates itself to the existing mass movements, and permits itself to feel and react to the contradictory and alternating pressures generated there, its true and definitive political character will emerge.**  
”

An unprecedented number of threats and disciplinary actions against members of various minorities, on clearly secondary grounds, and often for unclear and even spurious reasons, have occurred from coast to coast:

1. Comrade Arne Swaback,<sup>18</sup> a leading Party theoretician, was prevented from giving a public talk.

2. High pressure "suggestions" have emanated from various Branch leaderships that worker comrades resign.

3. Threats of expulsion or being dropped for "lack of activity" are prevalent in many Branches.

4. An entire Branch (Milwaukee) was censured for expelling a common thief.

5. Expulsion has resulted for comrades **privately** expressing disloyal thoughts. (Robertson group.)

6. Expulsion has resulted because comrades made an unavoidable press statement, or were guilty of "unauthorized" participation in a mass demonstration. (Robertson group.)

7. The Detroit Branch placed Comrade Art Phillips on charges for failure to participate in a sub drive at a time when he was conducting a long and bitterly fought union struggle in his U.A.W. local—and at the very outset of the pre-convention internal discussion in the Party. His fate reveals what is projected for the future:

(a) No minority opinion will be tolerated.

(b) The class struggle has been decreed outside the area of acceptable Party "activity." **Proletarians will become increasingly unpopular in the SWP.**

#### The New School of Socialist Discipline

As discrimination and prejudice against political minorities and unionists harden and a strange new organizational climate prevails in the Party, young activists are being trained to become Branch organizers of a different and special type. Organizational "hard-liners" and super-activists, they are encouraged to transform their Branches into tightly controlled "combat" units, ruthlessly stripped of all "fat," "deadwood" and dissidence.

The present campaign for "tightening up" the Party is being undertaken at the Branch level by this new stratum which never had a chance to learn the real meaning of democratic centralism. The new leaders have been taught to equate centralism with monolithism, and democracy with unprincipled, social-democratic all-inclusiveness.

The new young activist-leadership energetically procures revenue, organizes literature distributions and keeps Branch wheels turning. All of this is highly commendable, necessary and basic. However, they have been endowed by the majority leadership with virtually unlimited authority over all areas of Party activity in quite a few Branches, and their high-handed methods are being unfortunately endorsed by some "old-timers"—another new term of contempt—who are intimidated by the image of omnipotence projected by the new leader-technicians.

These new super-disciplinarians operate in the ideological image of the central leadership and

attempt to emulate it in every way. They are largely, nevertheless, petty-bourgeois, stemming from an essentially middle-class student origin. Consequently, the scare tactics they deploy against "non-activists" (usually political dissidents) tend to introduce a **class** friction into Party relations similar to that fomented by Gould, Glotzer, et al.—the hard core of the petty-bourgeois intellectual opposition in 1940. But one key difference prevails: the present student youth leadership, mimicking the majority leadership, tends to be an **anti-intellectual** petty-bourgeoisie.

This is not to say that the miseducated young socialists in the SWP are responsible for the regime. No—they are its captives. The central leadership, and its close supporters, have ordained the course of the Party, and it is they who control the Party. An ingenuous youth may counter the charge that the SWP is making a satellite out of a youth movement with the rejoinder, "But the youth runs the SWP!" Nevertheless, the youth in its present form has been molded by the SWP regime and the excesses of the youth—sterility, rigidity, conservatism and harshness—are clear harbingers of things to come in an SWP finally rid of the last vestige of "disloyalty."

Except for the lies, deceit and manipulation of organizational minutiae involving political minorities, the organizational practices of the leadership do not often appear to be illegal. But a higher criterion than formal legality exists: the dialectics of democracy and centralism in the service of a revolutionary policy, i.e., principled politics. There are no Constitutional provisions which defend the Party against unprincipled politics, yet this is the fundamental organizational basis upon which a regime must be judged.

#### UNPRINCIPLED POLITICS

The present organizational document before the Party, purportedly drawing the lessons of the last period, studiously ignores the most tortuous organizational convulsion of the decade: the destruction of the Weiss group, and how and why it was driven from the Party.

The fundamental political-organizational axis of internal Party life since the Cochranite split in 1953 (aside from the Marcyites,<sup>19</sup> who were a party unto themselves) was the reciprocal relation between the central leadership and the Weiss group, and their counter-relations with the Wohlforth-Robertson group.

Any resolution on Organization which avoids discussion of this conflict is an abstraction. The present **Resolution** does not scratch the surface of the organizational question in life, except to re-exhibit the leadership's flair for evading concrete reality.

The "Weiss group" comprised virtually an entire generation, at that time a younger generation, in the secondary leadership. They were loyal activists with a deep theoretical interest, particularly in the relation between theory and practice. They stood for principled politics and for interventionist tactics.

The relentless annihilation of this group and its reduction to the status of non-persons in Party history are the crowning achievement of the present regime and the basis of its consolidation and impetus. The effective purge of the Weiss group is supposed to be a demonstration of superior politics—how to achieve the destruction of an opponent in a "soft" split. Yet not one word about how this marvel was accomplished appears in the **Resolution**.

“  
**In a revolutionary period, we expect the masses to intervene in their own destiny. We expect a revolutionary party, however, to be doing it all the time.**  
”

What are the words? They exist and they aptly describe the process: **unprincipled organizational combinationism**. An old malady of American Trotskyism, this practice has hardened into a habit of the central leadership and has become typical of its relations with Party minorities ranging from Cochran to Wohlforth.

Basically unconcerned with theory and program, the regime cynically consummates organizational deals with its political opponents at the expense of its political allies.

*continued on next page*

### **The Regime Helps Organize the Cochran Faction**

The Weiss group was in the forefront of the struggle against Cochran after he declared war on the fundamentals of Trotskyism in 1952. Comrades Dobbs and Kerry at this time were in close organizational alliance with Cochran. Even though they were in basic political agreement with Weiss and rejected Cochran's revisionism, they refused to defend the Weiss group "intellectuals" and "professional revolutionaries" whom Cochran was fiercely attacking.

Instead, Comrades Dobbs & Kerry helped organize the Cochran faction in at least the Seattle Branch, where Dobbs, in person and on the scene, conferred official approval upon the factional organization of an absolutely unprincipled combination of Cochranites, Bartellites, and Marcyites. Dobbs then proceeded to encourage the new faction to undertake a power struggle against the Branch leadership on purely organizational issues. He even reported back promptly to the appalled majority faction this bestowal of his blessing on an anti-Party group, justifying it on the grounds that his national post demanded that he be "fair, impartial and democratic."

Only after nationwide resistance to Cochran-Clarke was generated by the secondary leadership and membership did the central leadership reluctantly break its unprincipled bloc and help repel Cochran's struggle for power.

### **The Regime Protects Wohlforth Against Himself**

Eight years later, when Wohlforth and his anti-Cuba faction were leading the youth, Comrades Dobbs & Kerry consummated an organizational agreement with him which prohibited any opposition to him from youth comrades loyal to the Cuban revolution and in firm support of SWP policy on Cuba. In

spite of this unwarranted deal between the leadership and Wohlforth, many youth comrades felt they had to defend the Cuban revolution among the youth and they entered into a struggle against Wohlforth.

Comrades Dobbs & Kerry threatened disciplinary action against the loyal youth for breaking the calm of their unprincipled bloc with Wohlforth. Challenged by Comrades Murry Weiss and Dan Roberts, and prevented from pursuing their unprecedented course by the Plenum of the National Committee (1961), they withdrew their charges against the majority youth. But in a shocking revenge maneuver, several of the loyal SWP youth were eliminated from the National Committee by means of the silent blackballing technique used by Dobbs-Kerry adherents on the Nominations Commission.

“  
With the elimination of  
the Weiss group,  
the Dobbs-Kerry group  
entrenched itself and  
established a political  
monopoly of the leadership.”

When open discussion of the Cuba question finally isolated Wohlforth among the youth, the majority leaders who had initiated the fight against him and who were therefore the logical candidates for youth leadership were bypassed. A new leadership was manufactured, the chief criterion being loyalty to the SWP regime.

This signified the end of the organizational independence of the youth, the end of the attempt to develop a self-reliant youth leadership, and the end of the Weiss group—as a result of its demoralization

over the outrageous tactics wielded against it.

### **The Regime Punishes the Wrong Man**

After this disgraceful "victory," possibilities for the continued exercise of unprincipled politics were by no means exhausted. The final relations of the regime with Wohlforth-Robertson add a fitting postscript to the history of the Weiss group.

The main grievance of the Political Committee against the Wohlforth-Robertson minority was that they were agents of Healy.<sup>20</sup> Robertson then split from Wohlforth because he refused to take orders from Healy. Did this not create a new and more favorable relation between Robertson and the Political Committee (the New York leadership)? By all the criteria of principled politics, it should have. But Wohlforth was willing to maneuver with the P.C. He had previously informed on Robertson about petty matters to camouflage his own continuing ties with Healy, and he expected a payoff. He got it—Robertson was expelled and Healy's agent remained, until in his own good time he chose to be expelled.

• • •

The fundamental modus operandi of the regime—unprincipled politics—has prevailed for 13 years and is now deeply ingrained. The unparalleled conduct of Comrades Dobbs-Kerry is connected to, and a product of, their grim antagonism to the Weiss group.

**Part II deals with the Weiss tendency and its fate in the SWP; the "organization" question; factional showdowns; and the self-critical spirit of revolutionaries. This final installment will appear in the next issue of *The Freedom Socialist*. The entire document is being published in booklet form and may be ordered from the FSP Bookstore.**

## **Notes**

1. *Cochranites*—An unprincipled combination of revisionists within the SWP. The grouping led by Bert Cochran was mainly affected by regressive moods among trade unionists. They became party liquidationists, skeptical of any need for an active revolutionary vanguard. This group aligned itself with Mike Bartell and George Clarke, who were advocates of the thinking of Michel Pablo, a European leader of the Fourth International, who predicted that centuries of degenerated workers states with Stalinist regimes were the likely prospect for the future, rendering Trotskyism irrelevant for an entire historic period. Clarke and Bartell were also liquidationists who demanded the entry of U.S. Trotskyists into Stalinist-led movements and organizations. After a bitter faction fight, the Cochranite minority was expelled in 1953 for refusing to respect Party discipline. The Cochran tendency dissolved shortly thereafter.

2. *Weiss group*—A tendency within the SWP characterized by an emphasis on political theory, on activist and interventionist approach to strategy and tactics, and commitment to "the woman question" as a needed component of Party principles and practice. They had an enviable record of building leadership cadres of professional revolutionaries. Myra Tanner Weiss joined the SWP in 1935 and became a dynamic and highly respected organizer-leader. She was the SWP's foremost woman spokesperson. She organized the YSA together with Murry Weiss, a founding member and longtime leader, political analyst and creative organizer of the SWP.

3. *Dobbs-Kerry group*—Farrell Dobbs had been a leader of the famous Minneapolis Teamster strikes and the Teamsters union in the thirties. He subsequently became National Secretary of the SWP. Tom Kerry joined the SWP in the thirties, gained experience with agricultural and maritime workers, and became a fixture of the SWP's national office staff.

4. *Cuba defense work, travel ban*—The SWP was instrumental in launching and leading Fair Play for Cuba, the only U.S. organization publically defending, supporting and explaining the Cuban Revolution. Travel to Cuba was stringently prohibited by the U.S. State Department at that time and for many years after the 1959 Cuban Revolution.

5. *The Militant* is the weekly newspaper of the SWP. The *National Guardian* is now called the *Guardian Weekly People* is the newspaper published by the Socialist Labor Party.

6. In reaction to the patriotic sentiments proliferating on the eve of WWII, the *Schactmanites* opposed Trotsky's policy of unconditional defense of the Soviet workers state against imperialism. The Schactman-Abern faction called the USSR "state capitalist" or "bureaucratic collectivist." This unprincipled bloc, spanning diverse political positions, also repudiated materialist dialectics, challenged James P. Cannon's leadership and methods, and demanded a separate public journal to promote their minority viewpoint. After a bitter and protracted battle, they were expelled in 1940 for violating Party discipline. For a complete account of the faction struggle, see two classics: *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* by James P. Cannon and *In*

*Defense of Marxism* by Leon Trotsky.

7. *Economism* was a tendency among early Russian "Marxists" who advocated pure and simple trade unionism—exclusive attention by the unions to bread-and-butter economic questions. In *What Is To Be Done*, Lenin denounced this separation of revolutionary political work from economic issues within the unions, insisting that the struggle against employers be connected with the anti-government struggle. The Dobbs-Kerry policy is similarly non-political in the labor movement, as well as non-proletarian in the other mass movements.

8. "30 hours work for 40 hours pay" is a transitional slogan advanced by Leon Trotsky in *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*, designed to unify workers in struggle against rising prices and increasing unemployment.

9. The "Third Camp" is composed of those who reject both capitalism and the workers states, thereby abstaining from the class struggle.

10. The *Cuban missile crisis* was provoked by President Kennedy's reckless challenge to the Soviet Union over supposed Soviet missiles in Cuba. Khrushchev withdrew from the confrontation in a last-minute concession, preventing nuclear holocaust.

11. Dobbs went so far as to send an official letter of condolence to Jacqueline Kennedy, and *The Militant*, voice of the SWP, printed it on the front page.

12. *B.J. Field* was an SWP member and intellectual who achieved great prominence in the New York hotel strike of 1934 as a result of following Party advice. He thereupon lost his head, believed his press notices, and proceeded to operate individualistically and unilaterally, committing serious errors all the way. He was tried and expelled from the Party in the middle of the strike.

13. *Joseph Zack*, a brief convert from the Stalinist bureaucracy to the SWP, started to attack the Party the moment he joined. After considerable disruption of Party discipline, he was expelled and became a social democrat.

14. *Martin Abern*, together with Max Schactman and James Burnham, led the petty-bourgeois opposition in '39-'40. Abern was an inveterate unprincipled politician, absorbed with organizational and personal gossip and always ready to combine with anyone on secondary administrative questions. His speciality was disseminating scandal about the Cannon regime.

15. In 1945, *Felix Morrow* joined with Albert Goldman in fomenting a faction fight over similar issues to those previously raised by the Schactmanites. The small and cynical Goldman-Morrow minority, demoralized by the failure of the Western European proletariat to seize power after the war, was concentrated almost exclusively in the Chicago and New York branches. The faction was expelled at the 1946 Chicago Convention for violating Party discipline.

16. The *Control Commission* was supposed to be a small body of highly respected and responsible comrades who were not members of the National Committee. Their function was to personally investigate and evaluate complex disputes and questions of discipline within the Party, and report their findings and decisions to the leadership. Commission members were ordinarily elected at Party conventions. In the Milwaukee Branch case, the Commission was composed mainly of non-elected members who shared the regime's hostility to the branch, caused by Milwaukee's minority position on a number of political issues. The regime exploited a minor incident and used the C.C. to interfere with and reverse a valid disciplinary measure adopted by the Branch against a member who stole Party equipment.

17. *Jim Robertson* and *Tim Wohlforth* were leaders of the leftwing youth in the Socialist Party when they were recruited to the SWP by Murry Weiss in the mid-'50s. They were experienced journalists and organizers, but were also inveterate factionalists, even though their position on key issues such as the nature of the Soviet state and the Cuban Revolution shifted frequently. Dobbs-Kerry, in their hunger to "get" the Weisses, frequently concluded unprincipled organizational blocs with Wohlforth. Robertson eventually split from Wohlforth in 1963 and organized his own faction; they were both expelled in the 1965-66 period.

Wohlforth is now back in the SWP and Robertson is the leader of Spartacist League, an ultra-left group that specializes in organizational raids and irrational vituperation against other radicals. In 1967, he attempted to maneuver with the young FSP; under the guise of a unity proposal, he sent in SL members to raid the Party. His plotting thoroughly deceived Dick Fraser and Frank Krasnowsky, but was repudiated and condemned by the Party majority. Dick Fraser and Krasnowsky later split from the FSP (see *A Victory for Socialist Feminism: Organizer's Report to the 1969 FSP Conference*).

18. *Arne Swaback*, a participant in the 1919 Seattle General Strike, was one of the SWP's Old Guard. A founder of the CP and SWP, he was a leading writer and theoretician. He broke with the SWP in 1967 over the Chinese question; he supports the major policies of Mao and considers Maoism to be close to Trotskyism. He is still an active writer and commentator on world politics and lives in Los Angeles.

19. *Sam Marcy* was the organizer of the Buffalo Branch of the SWP and the leader of a cult-faction with very mechanical concepts which frequently bordered on Stalinism. The Marcyites split from the SWP in 1959 and organized the Workers World Party and Youth Against War and Fascism.

20. *Gerry Healy*, longtime leader of British Trotskyism, collaborated with Cannon in the 1953-54 fight against Pabloism in the International. In later years, Healy became increasingly sectarian and erratic. He was aligned with Wohlforth-Robertson in opposition to reunification of the International in 1964. Robertson later broke with him. Healy recently launched a slander campaign against Joseph Hanson, SWP leader, calling him a double-agent for the CIA and the Kremlin.

# Marxist scholars

This can only be overcome, he emphasized, through the organization of revolutionary political action within the union ranks, from below, to shatter the parasitic bureaucracy.

Murry concluded by saying that he viewed the evening as "the beginning of a discussion, an ongoing, open-ended type of discussion, culminating in a huge national force connected with international forces and geared to its task of making the American revolution."

Murry received a warm and prolonged standing ovation for his thought-provoking and sensitive analysis of radicalism yesterday and today, at home and abroad.

## Myra Tanner Weiss—An Electrifying Orator

Myra Tanner Weiss began by recalling the 1946 decision made by her and Murry, as organizers of the Los Angeles SWP, to send Clara Kaye (Fraser's name at that time) to Seattle. "I always regarded it as one of the best decisions we ever made. We sent you one of our most qualified and talented and able young leaders. But we paid the price for doing that! One of the bases for the charge of "cliquism" against Myra and Murry Weiss was that we were trying to take over the organization by sending comrades all over the country!"

The audience laughed and she continued. "The truth was that whenever we got some talented young people, we thought of all the cities where few or no Trotskyists existed and we sent them there so our movement would grow. In the case of Seattle, our decision bore fruit."

She expressed gratitude to the FSP for organizing the forum. "This is the largest and most beautiful meeting I've ever had in Seattle. And the tribute for organizing it, I'm delighted to say, goes to one of our young women comrades." (Maxine Reigel was the proud recipient of these kind words.)

## Women—A Revolutionary Vanguard

This generous praise for another woman's work introduced an inspiring portion of Myra's speech—the role of women in the movement. "I have always been certain," she said, "that women would play a leading role in the revolution."

This will occur in spite of the fact that society teaches women not to be self-confident, Myra explained. From the time she first joined the movement, she has seen as her task the work of teaching women what she had to learn in order to gain self-confidence.

"I had to have an historical grasp of the conditions under which women lived throughout civilization. I had to understand that it is not our fault, nor is it the fault of the man, that we are oppressed. Our oppression stems from the origins of private property; it is the institution of class society that required the subjugation of women. That subjugation came about through a rough and mad struggle

between women demanding their freedom and class society operating to keep us down. We lost."

## Chauvinism On the Left

Myra described—with considerable restraint!—the incredible response of the SWP leadership to her work and role. When she first moved to New York to work as a member of the Political Committee, the highest ranking body in the party, one of the leaders told her that she should stop talking about the woman question so much. She puzzled over this and reviewed the few times she had referred to the matter. She had very rarely raised it in the Political Committee and couldn't pin down what he had meant.

Eventually, she came to realize that "the complaint was lodged in the fact that I was a woman, which impinged on the consciousness of the party leadership at all times—so they got the impression that I was always raising the woman question!" This familiar situation evoked sympathetic laughter and applause from the audience.

*The crying need of the working class is to organize a revolutionary party that will bring it to power.*

Myra described the theory underlying the SWP's attitude toward feminism "which was never articulated, or we certainly would have answered it sooner." The SWP leaders really believed that "women will be liberated by the revolution, and the revolution will be made by men."

This theory was upheld not only by the SWP, she noted, but by the Communist Party and all radical organizations, and it survived the upsurge of the New Left. "SDS women," she said, "found themselves in the same position which we older women had found ourselves in decades earlier."

Women had to break loose and conduct a struggle against the sexism of the left, Myra explained, and in doing so they had an enormous impact on the entire American culture—and on the shape of the future. "The fact that women today," she said, "are struggling for their own political expression as leaders and organizers on a par with their male brothers, establishes the extent to which the revolution in its making will embody the characteristics of the society we are going to build."

## Trotskyism—The Long Haul

Myra joined the Trotskyist movement in 1935 and worked day and night, she said, with the hope of preventing World War II. The war came "despite all our efforts, our struggles, our street meetings—despite the arrests and despite going to jail." The

Trotskyists hoped that after the war a proletarian revolution would erupt in America.

"Instead," she said, "we entered a prolonged period of reaction—the monstrous period of McCarthyism. Our few forces were hounded out of the labor movement and we were further isolated."

But on the international level, the Trotskyists proved correct, she said. World War II resulted in gigantic revolutionary upsurges around the world, which had the effect of shattering the Stalinist monolith that previously had held the workers' movement in an iron grip.

## The American Vanguard

The continuation of this world revolutionary process and its extension to America, said Myra, is the task of a revolutionary vanguard party in this country. "Some small group characterizes Murry and me as liquidationists—but we are not. We believe more than anything else that the crying need of the working class is to organize a revolutionary party that will bring it to power—not after 10 years of dying, after decades of living under Nazism, after years of misery, but at the least cost. We need a Bolshevik party based on the working class—being the working class—that can bring us to victory without tragic errors."

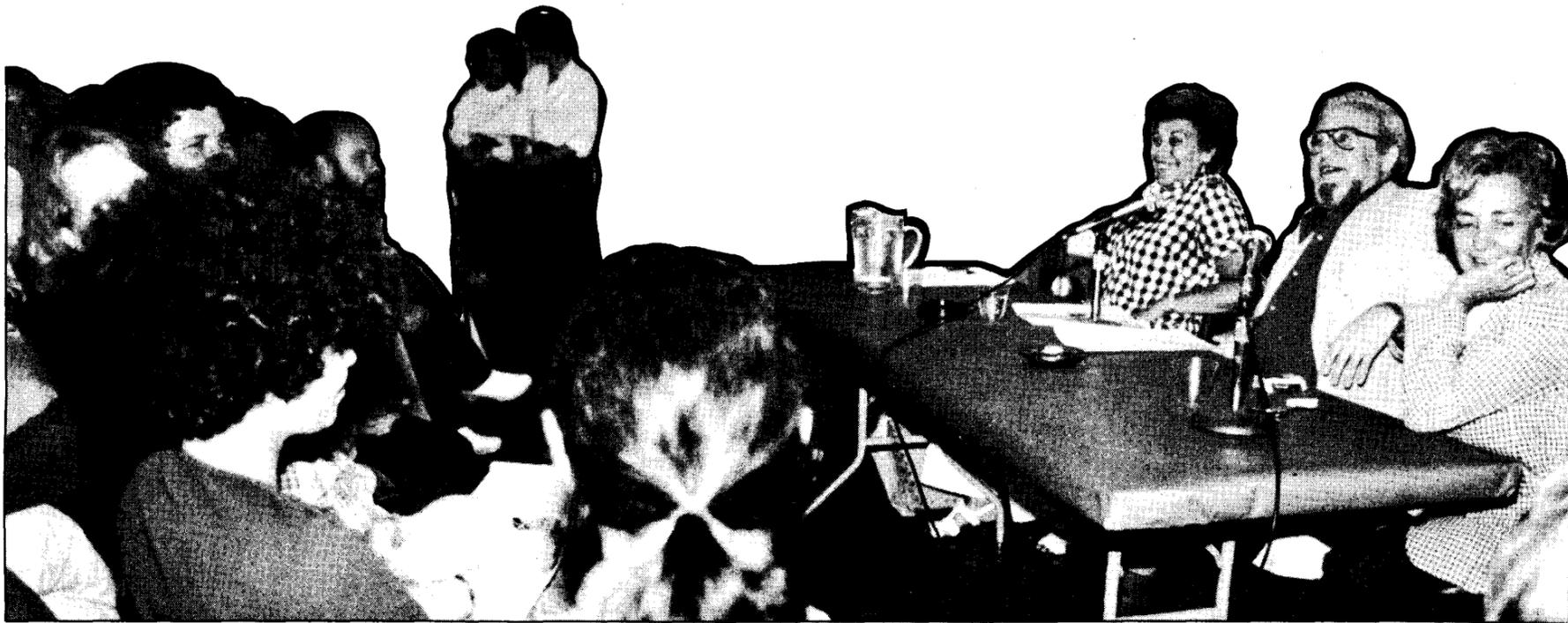
What party will serve as the revolutionary instrument of the American workers? "For many years I believed it was the SWP," she said, "but the SWP suffered irreversible retreats. It lost its proletarian base, and that is apparent in its political policy and program, especially as it was manifested in the SWP reflex to the Portuguese revolution and Angola. **The SWP is not a proletarian party.**"

It is clear, she said, that the SWP's neutrality between the Communists and Socialists in Portugal indicates a move to social democracy.

*You have started what must be started—a movement that will base itself on the defense of the interest of the most oppressed.*

"I don't know what the political party of the American revolution will look like," she went on. "But I am sure it will look a lot like you here tonight. You have started what must be started—a movement that will base itself on the defense of the interests of the most oppressed, the Blacks, the sexual minorities, the women, the children, all those on whom the burden of living under capitalism weighs most heavily. When you unite with them and become a part of their struggle and engage the enemy as you have done here in Seattle, you are

*continued on page 16*



## Editorial

# Homage to Public Workers

The public sector of Labor is the political sector.

Millions of public workers, new to unionism, are directly challenging corrupt politicians and officious officials from coast to coast. It's called "labor-management relations" rather than rebellion, but the fact remains that when public employees fight their bosses, they are taking on the **government**. And this is a highly political act—with breathtaking potential!

Which explains why public worker insurgency sends shock waves of terror through the ruling class.

### *Underpaid, Overworked and Outraged*

The dramatic increase of public sector unions since 1962 (when they were legitimized) is paralleled by their growing militance. More than half of 9.2 million state, county and municipal workers are organized, and half of these workers are female. Traditionally underpaid in public service just as in private industry, these workers—many living **below** the poverty level—are learning the ropes of class struggle with admirable swiftness.

Teachers, librarians, nurses, social workers, aides and clericals are energetically violating the tradition that "Professionalism" means never having to say you need a raise, a grievance procedure, a reasonable workload or the right to express opinion on policy matters affecting public welfare. Their strikes focus media and voter attention on misfeasance and malfeasance in high offices, leaving public officials sorely embarrassed and infuriated by employee exposés of dirty tricks at the top.

The typical and predictable response of government bigwigs is to launch highpowered scare-and-slander campaigns aimed at destroying rapport between the "tax-payers" and public workers. But the latter **also** pay taxes, which is precisely why they are so indignant at the daily spectacle of graft, chicanery and neglect for which they have ringside seats.

The coldblooded attacks on public workers are designed to mask the high crimes of the politicians. Decades of collusion between officials and capitalists have allowed malignant taxation systems to fester for the benefit of big business. And when taxpayer revolts threaten, mayors

and governors and county commissioners usually rush to sell bonds to cover their debts. But later, when they begin defaulting on interest payments on those debts, they loudly proclaim that the culprits are—public workers!

The employees are to blame for the crisis in our cities, it turns out, because of their "exorbitant" wages and welfare provisions. Layoffs ensue, services are cut back, and wages, benefits and pensions are driven downward—and the impetus to unionism is accelerated.

### *Fertile Soil for Independent Unions*

Government workers belong either to large traditional unions or to independent unions, which are relatively common to this sector. For many women and minorities in government service, the problems of taking on two sexist and racist bureaucracies at once—management and large unions—is so formidable that independent unions offer a meaningful alternative—unions under democratic and local control that seriously challenge the grossly discriminatory wages and conditions that characterize most jobs for women and minorities.

But regardless of which kind of union is chosen, the potential for organizing is vast, since only 11,000 of the nation's 78,000 local government jurisdictions are organized. And the awesome implication of these statistics is not lost on government-management.

Strikebreaking and union-busting in the public sector are accelerating as "liberal" officials lash out at their employee-critics with demoniac force. They can see the revolutionary handwriting on the wall, probably even better than their newly awakening employees.

### *An Injury to One Is an Injury to All*

It is vital for the private sector of labor to join hands with government and public workers—to reinforce them with moral and material support in the face of the avalanche of abuse and terror roaring down to consume them. Public workers need help, and at that moment in time when private employees merge their power with the momentum of the government servants, together they will become public masters of their own social fate.



## The Crazy Operator at the Switchboard

This must be a bee hive.  
And we are all busy as bees  
Filling the little black holes in the comb,  
Buzzing, buzzing.

These cords extend from our backbones.  
Current runs through our mouths.  
Our fingers, open to the tips for information,  
Operate, operate,

Touching a humming in the lines  
After the words have been cut off,  
Have vibrated out of the ears,  
Bye-bye, bye-bye. . .

Fluorescence shines down like grey,  
Like the coming of a storm.  
We plug the Centrex day after day  
With numbers, numbers.

Headsets are burning out my ears  
In this rarified air.  
I'm eccentric at twenty-eight,  
Buzz, buzz,

I want to sing a pure note over our heads,  
To pull out all the cords  
And whip them into a fine wind,  
Into a flashing chorus of brass.  
I want to answer the phone like a door  
And say, "Come in, come in!"

*Joanne Ward*

## Janet McCloud

**Definition:** A warrior is one who defends family, home and homelands against any real threat to safety or possessions.

Warriors are not like modern armies whose leaders fabricate dangers as an excuse for seizing lands and enslaving people into political bondage.

A warrior's strategy may differ. One may feel desperate enough to take up arms, while others arm themselves with truth and an eagle feather. One might become a doctor fighting disease among our people, or a lawyer battling legal injustice, or a teacher combatting ignorance. A warrior could be chained in prison trying to pry open the iron doors, or a medicine man fighting the death pattern that plagues our people.

A warrior wears many different garments and has a variety of faces—and many of those faces are **Native Women!**



Native American women historically fought side by side with their men. The Creek and Seminole Women Warriors were forced by atrocities to engage in euthanasia, mercifully putting their children to rest in the arms of Mother Earth to prevent their capture, rape and torture by the U.S. Cavalry, crazy with greed to steal our homelands.

Loyen, a highly respected Apache woman warrior, fought long and courageously with Geronimo's forces.

The grandmothers from Nisqually sadly tell their

children how, as young maidens hearing hoofbeats from Olympia approaching the longhouses, they, together with all the other women between the ages of 3 and 90, ran to the river, where they stuffed sand between their legs. The favorite sport of drunken and sadistic white settlers was torture and rape of Native women and children, perpetrated while shackled Native men were forced to watch.

The powerful forces arrayed against the Native Nations finally succeeded and death was the only relief. But today, the strong life instinct which inspired our grandmothers can be seen again in the bravery of warriors like Ellen Moves Camp, Suzette Mills, Ramona Binky, Gladys Bissonette, Mary Crow Dog and Ramona Bennett—just a few of the true leaders in the rebirth resistance movement of the Native Nations.

Many unsung heroines struggle for justice daily. The Clan Mothers of the Iroquois Nations, and the Hopi and Sioux Spiritual Women Leaders, have opened their homes and hearts to depressed Native Sisters, travelling long distances to share their wisdom and uplift the fallen, gently guiding them with kindness and inspiring them with the renewed will to live.

Our grandmothers protect and guide the young, instructing and molding the character of the new generations by clinging steadfastly to the values and way of life of our ancestors—so that we might never forget what **freedom** really is, so that we will not mistake freedom for **thralldom**, as so many of us have been indoctrinated to do.

Native Mothers strive to keep the extended family unit together in defiance of all who would destroy the unity of the Native Nations, a unity rooted in the family and the tribe. Native Mothers today demand that the education of their children be meaningful and relevant to

Native values and customs.

And then there are the many beautiful spiritual sisters walking the path of life in dignified silence, striving to win the PEACE. Their actions are motivated by love for their people, the land and all of life. There is no room in their hearts for hatred; they simply seek to secure a decent life for those who are coming towards us from the future.

In our spiritual rebirth movement no rivalry between the sisters or between the sexes exists, as in so many other political movements. A true Native Warrior respects and loves the women leaders and women warriors, and he in turn is respected and loved by them.

Oppressed people of the world, including the indigenous people of the Americas, are rising as one Nation today to throw off the yoke of tyranny. In our Native Nations, Women Warriors by the thousands are keeping our movement alive and strong. I am proud to pay tribute to all of them—my sisters and my comrades in the cruel struggle for survival.

Janet McCloud of the Tulalip Tribe is a veteran organizer of Indian struggles.

# A Tribute to Native Women Warriors

# 1976: Retorno del Índio

Antes de publicar el entredicho ordenando que los Puyallups salieran de Cascadia, el juez Morrell Sharp habló a la tribu con una indignación clásica de la pequeña burguesía acerca de la agresión de los indios contra el estado de Washington.

"Es igual a llevarse la casa de su vecino y después decirle al vecino que tendrá que poner pleito para recobrarla de nuevo," entonó este dignatario.

Espera un minuto, juez. ¿Quién se lo robó a quien? ¿Quiénes son los verdaderos agresores? ¿De quién es la casa en realidad?

Se nos hace recordar de la declaración del S.I. Hayakawa, el senador-electo de California: "Yo pienso que deberíamos quedarnos con el canal de Panamá. Lo robamos imparcial y justo."

Con su codicia insaciable para la riqueza y el privilegio, la clase capitalista le robó a los indios tres millones de millas cuadradas de territorio. Hizo su imperio de este territorio que era la tierra natal de los habitantes originales de este continente. El racismo y "El destino manifiesto" fueron las principales armas ideológicas de la conquista y las raíces del imperialismo brotan de los cadáveres y de las civilizaciones arruinadas de las tribus indígenas.

No se descubrió América sino se lo invadió, y un genocidio "imparcial y justo" luego resultó en las sombras del más grande robo de tierra en la historia humana.

Cuando los europeos blancos llegaron aproximadamente seis millones de indígenas prosperaron aquí. Tal vez hoy existan un millón de indios que han sobrevivido la matanza.

Esta matanza descarada es rivalizado en la historia solamente por el holocausto de los nazis contra los judíos y por la última guerra de exterminio de los EE.UU. contra los vietnamitas.

Comparaciones muy nítidas existen entre la pelea para la liberación de los vietnamitas y la lucha del indígena. Janet McCloud, una líder indígena del Pacífico Noroeste, observó una vez que los vietnamitas no necesitan más que se vuelven a los indios americanos para ver lo que sería su porvenir si perdieran la guerra.

La fuerza empujante para la liberación del indio es básicamente una auto-determinación nacional—el derecho de vivir como una nación independiente y autónoma. Las diferentes naciones indígenas y las tribus poseen en común todos los atributos de una nación clásica: una geografía, un idioma, una cultura, una tradición y un modo de producción bien definida. Toda lucha verdaderamente nacional envuelve una pelea básica para la tierra—una pelea para recuperar territorio perdido y establecer de nuevo la hegemonía política por

su totalidad. Esto es el punto capital de la lucha del indio.

Pero hombres igual a Hayakawa y el juez Morrell Sharp están gravemente preocupados por algo hasta más peligroso que la auto-determinación y la soberanía indígena. Las demandas hechas por los indios amenazan explícitamente una de las obsesiones más sagradas del capitalismo—los bienes particulares.

La propiedad particular—un concepto totalmente ajeno a la sociedad colectiva de los indios—es una de las piedras angulares en las relaciones capitalistas de propiedad. Por ocupar tierra que legítimamente le pertenece, los indios dan un golpe a la mismísima fundación del sistema capitalista en su totalidad. Así que es improbable que el gobierno blanco, el cual originalmente robó la tierra, la devolverá sin una contención sangrienta. Pues, en el último análisis, no garantizará a los indígenas el derecho a su nación y a la libertad sino una transformación completa del sistema económica por medio de una revolución social. La clase gobernante entiende eso y, justamente, teme la relación lógica y implícita que existe entre el nacionalismo indígena y el internacionalismo revolucionario.

Los indios quieren su tierra y en seguida quieren algo más. Quieren lo que equivale una transformación socialista de sus tierras, la cual es propenso a tener un efecto contagioso sobre los trabajadores dentro del sector blanco de bienes particulares.

La clase gobernante no tiene ganas de incitar y ayudar a tal subversión.

Los Puyallups ocuparon Cascadia y proclamaron al mundo que, "¡Esta tierra es de los indios y no salimos de ella!" Esto fue un acto revolucionario. En un acto simple pero profundo de auto-defensa elemental social, ellos expropiaron a los expropiadores. Si esto constituye "agresión," que todos los revolucionarios lanzen una "pottatch" \* de gala para honorarlo.

Los Estados Unidos ES tierra indígena. No podemos deshacer el pasado o mitigar sus horrores pero todos los que profesan una creencia en la justicia y en el juego limpio pueden levantarse a la defensa del derecho histórico de los indígenas a un porvenir libre y seguro en su propio suelo.

Es el derecho humano inextirpable de las naciones indígenas que determinen su propio sino y que manifiesten su propio destino, imparcial y justo.

\*una fiesta indígena tradicional

Nota: Se publicó el editorial arriba pero no se tradujo en la edición del Otoño de 1976 (Vol. 2, No. 2) del **Freedom Socialist**.



## Clara's Column

**SIGMUND FREUD** once groaned that he would never understand women. Well, Siggy, likewise, I'm sure. There are some men—and I speak particularly about radical men—whom I cannot for the life of me fathom.

I cannot understand men who live in the very midst of—but ignore—a giant-sized, worldwide and historic new movement that bid fair to attain revolutionary dimensions from its earliest beginnings.

**I CANNOT UNDERSTAND** men whose only advice to an army of militants enraged by irrational and brutal treatment is to save its hot breath and wait around for the final stage of communism before it presumes to raise any grievances.

I cannot understand men who react with derision to the curses and cries of sorely pressed and scorned workers who are exploited beyond belief on the job and oppressed almost past caring when away from it.

**I CANNOT UNDERSTAND** men who rigidly limit the definition of "worker" to those who look like men.

I cannot understand men who view leaders in the class struggle—worker vanguards in the fight against bosses, conservative labor fakers, phony government arbitrators, and hypocrites of every stripe—as provocateurs disrupting working class unity.

I cannot understand men who loftily announce that they are for Freedom Now, Equal Rights Now, and Non-Discrimination Now—except for one strata of untouchables.

I cannot understand men who continue to uphold the discredited fetish of last-hired, first-fired.

I cannot understand men who advise active unionists not to raise vital political matters which might "turn off" workers.

**I CANNOT UNDERSTAND** men who coldly gaze upon the process of subjugated people emerging out of the depths into political awareness and organization, and brand this process as divisive.

I cannot understand men who are literate and knowledgeable but never bother to read anything from a vast new source of political literature created by extremely talented analysts of the socio-economic and cultural scenes.

I cannot understand men who inflict upon suffering and despised toilers a peevish scolding to the effect that the just demands of these ancient lowly are secondary or tertiary or quadrucary in comparison with the demands of some other segment of toilers.

I cannot understand men who garrulously address every minor and obscure question engendered by life under capitalism but have zilch to say about a major and explosive issue that has absorbed the country for ten long years.

I cannot understand men who are accustomed to making their own decisions on every aspect of their physical and medical welfare standing idly by as the bourgeois state continues to nationalize the bodies of an entire segment of the population, designating these bodies as state property under government control.

I cannot understand men who respond with alacrity and huzzahs to the demands of an oppressed minority, but remain blind to the bitter fate of a majority of the human race.

**I CANNOT**—but why go on? The list is endless, which is unfortunate for the prospects of socialist democracy in our time. The list, after all, is only one more infuriating reflection of the chronic subjection of women by men through the long, dark centuries since the tragic eclipse of the matriarchal gens.

Radical men hail every tiny hint and hope among anybody, anywhere, of upsurge, ferment, rebellion, protest, outbreak, eruption, dissension, mutiny and insurgency. But they urge only farewell and dissolution as the proper tactics for the women's emancipation struggle.

Millions of radical men around the world stand convicted of a century of politically criminal underestimation of woman and her plight and her work and her worth. The sex-centric lack of any respect from these men for the human, ideological and strategic values of the dynamic women's movement adds up to nothing less than political rape and doctrinal counter-revolution.

Radical men too often expect radical women to be not leaders but brides of the revolution, not comrades-in-arms but comrades in strait jackets.

"**BUT—BUT—BUT—**," you sputter, "What about women radicals who also downplay socialist feminism?"

Women? Women revolutionaries who reject and insult their own beleaguered sex?

**I cannot understand them, either.**

## The Trial of Tears



# FSP FUND DRIVE

It takes funds to defeat capitalists, the money barons who are "Bullish" on America. That's a stockmarket term, and we have little faith in corporate stocks. But there does exist one field of investment that we recommend with complete confidence and pride—the FSP, the revolutionary organization that can eliminate the "Bull" in America.

America, the birthplace of freedom for some, is the land of genocide and misery for most. The FSP is determined to transform the U.S. into the birthplace of a real freedom, a socialist justice for all.

The dividends will be enormous when you invest in socialism. Send your donation to our Fund Drive now; you will be richly repaid!

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I Pledge \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to the FSP Publication Fund.

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To: Freedom Socialist Party, 3815 5th Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105

## A Nuestros Lectores de Español

Al publicar artículos en el *Freedom Socialist*, esperamos prestar ayuda a la gente de habla hispana en su lucha para la igualdad y la libertad. Además nos dirigimos a proponer los conceptos del internacionalismo revolucionario dentro de la comunidad de habla hispana. Por último, tratamos de mostrar el tema de interés mutuo que relaciona las luchas de los Chicanos/Mexicanos/Puertorriqueños con las metas del socialismo feminista.

Considerando que el espacio no permite que traduzcamos todos los artículos, tratamos de escoger artículos de un interés específico a los Chicanos y Mexicanos, tales como informes sobre trabajadores que se traslada de un sitio a otro, la pelea contra el hostigamiento por la MIGRA, y las luchas de todos los Latinos para el empleo, la educación, y el alojamiento.

También trataremos de traducir artículos de un interés específico a las Chicanas, a las Mexicanas, y a las Puertorriqueñas, quienes están descubriendo de nuevo su historia y haciéndose voceras tanto del movimiento de todos los Latinos como del feminista.

Mánden sus observaciones sobre la calidad de las traducciones, lo que le gustaría que traduciéramos y su opinión del *Freedom Socialist*. ■

### Where to Find the FSP

#### CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles: P.O. Box 29471, Los Angeles, CA 90027.  
San Francisco/Berkeley: 2326 Castro St., San Francisco, CA 94131. (415) 826-2730.

#### NEW YORK

New York City: 158 W. 94th St., #B, New York, NY 10025. (212) 850-4867.

#### OREGON

Portland: P.O. Box 1643, Portland, OR 97207. (503) 287-6471.

#### WASHINGTON

Olympia: 3813 Biscay N.W., #7, Olympia, WA 98502.

Seattle: National Office, Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105. (206) 632-7449. North Branch, 1931 E. Calhoun, Seattle, WA 98112. (206) 325-7305. South Branch, 1136 31st Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98144. (206) 325-0881. Radical Women, (206) 632-1815.

# ...marxist scholars

continued from page 13

showing the way to making a revolution in America. And that revolution will be composed of all those who are the most oppressed, all those who understand most clearly why capitalism must be combated and destroyed."

Regroupment, Myra continued, can only consist of drawing together "the most militant, most radical workers into a united struggle against the enemy." But this does not contradict the necessity for women, minorities and all oppressed groupings to organize independently, for "we move apart conjuncturally in order that we may move together on the basis of equality."

#### "To Live Well is to Struggle"

Myra closed by paraphrasing Olive Schreiner, a famous writer and founder of the Communist International and the Communist Party of South Africa. Schreiner dedicated her work to the future generations who will live under socialism:

**You will never know how good it was to think of you, work for you, and to imagine the beauty and warmth of your life in the future. The creativity that will erupt in your world is like the warming sun spreading across the land. That is the joy I have known and the knowledge of you has been well worth the living.**

And Myra added, "There is no way to live well in society today except through struggle against all that is rotten in the world around us. As we struggle against this we liberate ourselves from the warped personalities and miserable lives that the capitalists would mete out to us. And we, like Olive Schreiner, become part of the beauty that we are fighting to win for the whole world."

The prolonged and tumultuous standing ovation which greeted Myra's presentation was a testament to the commitment, wisdom and integrity of this experienced Marxist from an audience composed largely of young revolutionaries.

#### SWP's Feathers are Ruffled

A fascinating discussion period followed the two addresses, marked by hysterical outbursts from

SWPers and dire forebodings from Spartacist Leaguers.

Bob Francis, a former "Healyite" (British sectarian socialist) who identified himself as an SWP "sympathizer," came charging out of his corner and indignantly called Fraser's description of the SWP bureaucracy a "disservice." Fraser calls it a bureaucracy, he shouted, because "FSP refused to fight and win the leadership of the party." He then proceeded to brand FSP union work as "going outside and around the existing trade unions—forming dual unions."

Fraser said he was fearfully distorting FSP policies. His raising of questions that spanned 30 years of Trotskyism demanded an SWP-FSP debate on the issues—a frequent FSP request that has never been accepted. She then described how SWP members came to understand the bureaucratic nature of the party leadership "through their experiences with the labor bureaucracy. Any trade unionist knows what a bureaucracy is; you don't have to be told."

Even the expulsion of SWP leaders like Farrell Dobbs from the Teamsters Union failed to curb their bureaucratic habits, she said. "Dobbs, Kerry and their SWP cohorts learned their organizational method from the labor bureaucracy and used it as their model for relationships within the party."

She then refuted Francis' charge that the Seattle branch had "refused to fight for party leadership." She described and castigated the SWP leadership's position in 1965 that "nobody had the right to be a minority in the party on an ideological question unless they contended for leadership and provoked a power fight! Every single minority was

***There is no way to live well in society today except through struggle against all that is rotten in the world around us.***

forced out of the party. The SWP pushed itself in the time-honored tradition and methodology of Daniel Tobin and Dave Beck," she concluded.

Myra intervened to point out that Trotsky had warned against the dangers of the SWP adapting itself to pressures from the Teamster union bureaucracy. SWP adaptation was a long process, she said, and the struggle against that adaptation was lost, most likely because of the long years of isolation and pressure of the McCarthy period.

Myra affirmed that she had read all the FSP material on its trade union work, and in her opinion the FSP had "tangled at all key points with the prejudice and backwardness and oppression within the union bureaucracy, and, where indicated, created their own working class vehicles." And she had even more to say on this subject:

**You can be sure of one thing—in any case, the union bureaucracy will accuse them of 'dual unionism' just as they did John L. Lewis and the entire CIO! There is always dual unionism when a new segment of the working class finds its capacity to organize and successfully does so . . .**

**It is in the nature of organizations that revolutionary forces press against old formations and often have to push through old ones before they can make their demands count in history. That I call using the dialectic in the class struggle, and I think the Seattle comrades have done beautifully in that respect . . .**

**We in the mass movement, when we must struggle, when the possibility of gaining even a small victory is there, must create the vehicle for doing it, at all times, raising the level of the whole mass with us, when that is possible. But don't hesitate to create the instrument.**

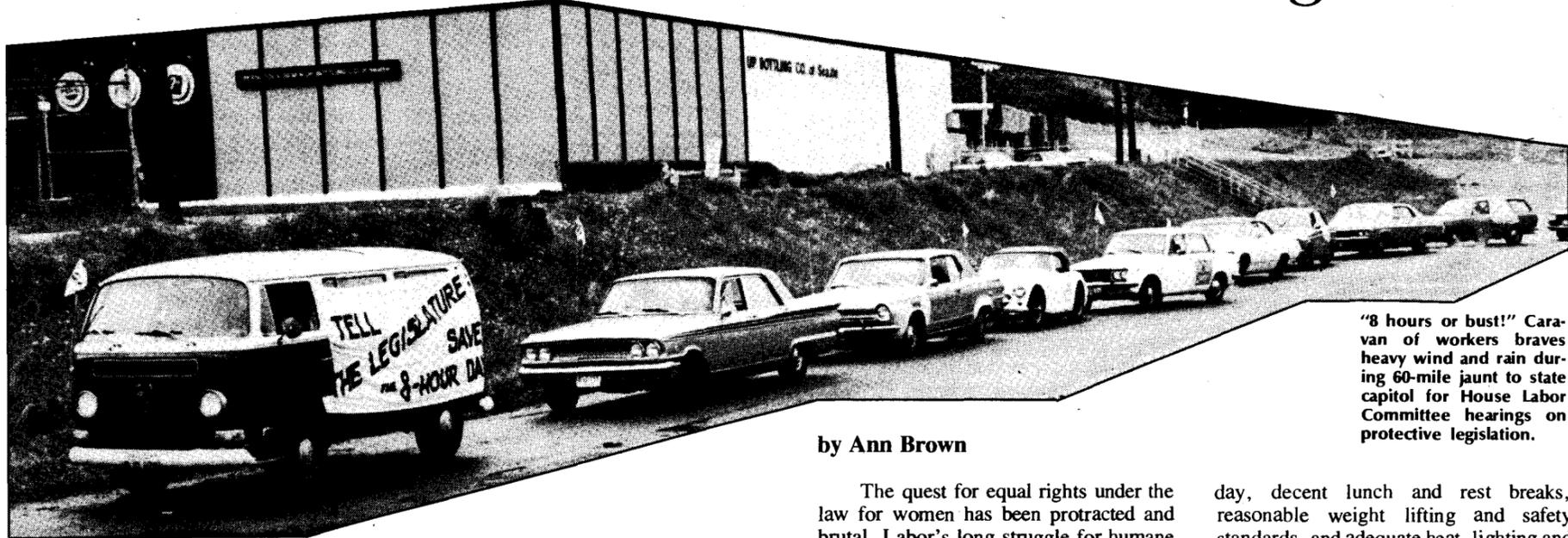
The SWP man, Francis, was unimpressed. "That's not the truth, that's subjectivity, you're telling it the way you see it!" he sputtered.

"Well, you know how women are!" replied Clara.

General laughter.

continued on page 19

# The Fierce Battle for Protective Labor Legislation



"8 hours or bust!" Caravan of workers braves heavy wind and rain during 60-mile jaunt to state capitol for House Labor Committee hearings on protective legislation.

## *Obreros y Feministas se Unen*

### La Batalla Intensa para la Legislación de Protección

CPL (La Coalición para La Legislación de Protección) ha prosperado en combatir amenazas serias a las leyes de protección para los trabajadores. Compuesta de unionistas, feministas, radicales políticos, y organizaciones homosexuales, CPL ha conseguido durante dos años acumular apoyo para la legislación de protección entre trabajadores, oficiales de uniones, grupos minoritarios y organizaciones de la comunidad.

La coalición ha forzado a la gerencia que se enfrentara con una barrera representando los intereses obreros y se ha hecho de una carga de dinamita abajo de la burocracia de las uniones. También ha movido el inmóvil—La Legislatura del Estado de Washington.

Se ganaron en Washington las regulaciones asegurando condiciones adecuadas en el trabajo para las mujeres y los menores de edad en 1913. La legislación propuesta al principio iba a aplicar a todos los trabajadores, pero la legislatura limitó la ley a las mujeres y los menores de edad y excluyó mujeres de los trabajos que requirieron el levantamiento de más de treinta y cinco libras.

Se quedaron las mujeres en gran parte a la periferia de la mano de obra, condenadas a los trabajos de sueldo bajo y poco ascenso. Los hombres minoritarios sufrieron una suerte semejante, pero sin la protección mínima prevista por las leyes para mujeres y menores de edad.

Los oficiales mas importantes de los sindicatos del estado de Washington públicamente se pusieron en contra de la aprobación de la enmienda por la razón de que el igualamiento significaría la pérdida de las leyes de protección para las mujeres.

Las feministas rechazaron el cambio de sus derechos como trabajadores para sus derechos como mujeres y reclamaron las dos: la aprobación de la ERA y la extensión de las regulaciones de protección en el trabajo a todos los trabajadores.

En 1972 el gobernador Evans prometió que si se aprobaría la ERA, no se perderían las regulaciones actuales sino se les mejoraría y se les aplicaría a los hombres. Dio poder al IWC (El Comité del Bienestar Industrial) dentro del Departamento de La Mano de Obra e Industria que redactara legislación que protegiera a ambos las mujeres y los hombres. Se aprobó la ERA.

#### Traición por el Estado

Encuanto IWC redactó las regulaciones nuevas, los industrialistas contraatacaron. Declararon que no podía costearse el día de ocho horas garantizadas, descansos regulares en el trabajo, reglas razonables de medidas de seguridad y de levantamiento del peso, y calefacción, alumbrado, y ventilación adecuada para una mano de obra más grande.

El IWC rápidamente acordó. Propuso que prácticamente se eliminara la legislación de protección en lugar de mejorarla o extenderla. La clase capitalista, por medio de sus agentes legislativos, aumentó su ataque contra los obreros y echó la culpa a la ERA. El gobernador no dijo nada.

Esto fue el origen de la CPL. La coalición reclamo y recibió una serie de audiencias por todo el estado. Las publicó por todas partes y organizó declaraciones de una escala comprensiva en defensa de legislación fuerte. Machacando el movimiento obrero que reconociera sus responsabilidades, la CPL consiguió clamorosamente la acumulación de apoyo oficial del movimiento obrero.

Pero el IWC no hizo caso a las protestas populares y adoptó con cinismo regulaciones que eliminaron el día de ocho horas, que paralizaron las reglas de seguridad en el trabajo, y que permitieron que los menores de edad trabajaran por menos que el sueldo mínimo y que sirvieran de esquirolas en los conflictos laborales.

#### Proyectos de Ley en Favor del Trabajador

La CPL una vez más tomó la ofensiva en acumular apoyo para tres proyectos de ley a los cuales contribuyeron a su composición e introducción, por presiones intensivas, en la legislatura. El proyecto 493 en la Cámara y el 2997 del Senado restablecerían reglas adecuadas en el trabajo y extenderían estas protecciones a los trabajadores domésticos y agrícolas, y también reconstituirían el IWC para que representara mejor la gente que trabaja. El proyecto 494 y el 2998 extenderían el sueldo mínimo a los menores de edad y prohibirían que se los usara de esquirolas. El 498 y el 2999 prohibirían la prorroga después de ocho horas en un día o cuarenta horas en una semana. ■

by Ann Brown

The quest for equal rights under the law for women has been protracted and brutal. Labor's long struggle for humane working conditions has been equally convulsive. An alliance of these two massive movements is historic and potentially powerful, and such an extraordinary alliance has been forged in Washington State.

In response to serious threats against protective labor laws, the Coalition for Protective Legislation has flourished. Comprised of unionists, feminists, political radicals and gay organizations, the Coalition has managed in its two-year existence to garner support for protective legislation among rank and file workers, union officials, minority groups and community action organizations.

CPL has put management up against the wall and has acted like a charge of dynamite on the labor bureaucracy. CPL has also moved the immovable—the State Legislature.

#### Background

In Washington State, labor regulations insuring adequate working conditions for women and minors were won in 1913 by an alliance of women and labor. The originally proposed legislation was to apply to all workers, but the Legislature limited the law to women and minors, and barred women from jobs requiring lifting more than thirty-five pounds.

Women remained largely on the periphery of the workforce, tracked into unorganized, low-paid, low-advancement, sweatshop jobs. Minority men suffered a similar fate, without the minimal protection provided for women and minors.

With the advent of the minority and women's rights movements, a wider range of workers demanded rights in all spheres. Women resurrected the campaign for an Equal Rights Amendment.

#### The Fight for ERA

Top labor officials in Washington State publicly opposed passage of ERA on the grounds that equalization would mean loss of protective labor laws for women. But feminists, refusing to trade their rights as workers for their rights as women, demanded both: passage of ERA and extension of protective labor regulations to all workers.

In 1972, Governor Evans of Washington promised that if ERA passed, current protective regulations would not be lost but improved and extended to men. He empowered the Industrial Welfare Committee (IWC) of the Washington State Department of Labor and Industries to draft legislation covering women and men. The ERA was passed.

#### Betrayal by the State

As the IWC drafted new regulations, big business counter-attacked. It claimed it couldn't afford a guaranteed eight-hour

day, decent lunch and rest breaks, reasonable weight lifting and safety standards, and adequate heat, lighting and ventilation for an enlarged workforce.

The IWC promptly agreed. Instead of protective legislation being improved and extended, the IWC proposed to virtually eliminate it! The capitalist class, through its legislative agents, heightened its attack on labor and blamed it on the ERA. Governor Evans said nothing.

The Feminist Coordinating Council, a Seattle coalition of feminist groups, quickly organized a mass rally at the State Capitol in Olympia, calling on labor, feminist, minority and community groups to resist the reactionary attack on workers' rights.

This was the origin of the Coalition for Protective Legislation. The CPL demanded and won a statewide series of evening public hearings. CPL publicized them widely and organized broad-based testimony in support of strong protective legislation. Hammering on the labor movement to recognize its responsibilities, the CPL succeeded brilliantly in amassing official labor support.

But the IWC ignored the mass protests and cynically adopted regulations that eliminated the eight-hour day, crippled safety standards, and allowed minors to be employed below minimum wage and as scabs during labor disputes.

#### Pro-Labor Bills Introduced at Legislature

So CPL again took the offensive to win support for three bills which they were instrumental in writing and introducing, through intensive lobbying, into the legislative hopper. House Bill 493 and Senate Bill 2997 would restore adequate working standards, extend job protections to domestic and agricultural workers, and reconstitute the IWC to better represent working people. House Bill 494 and Senate Bill 2998 would extend the adult minimum wage to minors and prohibit their use as scabs. House Bill 498 and Senate Bill 2999 would prohibit forced overtime after eight hours a day or forty hours a week.

The CPL has received widespread publicity locally and nationally; Cindy Gipple, the coordinator, was interviewed by Georgie Ann Geyer for her nationally syndicated column.

CPL is asking Washington residents to contact their legislators for support. The working conditions, health and safety of more than a million Washington State workers are at stake. ■

**Note:** A significant spin-off organization—Washington Labor for Protective Legislation—has just been formed to coordinate the efforts of trade unionists. The fate of this vital group will be determined by the outcome of the chronic struggle between labor's top officialdom and labor's ranks.



FSP Organizer Gloria Martin

by Constance Scott

Never in the annals of Show Biz has such a dazzling array of stellar talent been assembled as graced the musical-comedy spectacular "Come to the Cabaret," a raucous, irreverent and jazzy funfest presented in celebration of Gloria Martin's birthday.

Produced by the FSP and Radical Women in honor of the FSP's indomitable organizer, the Cabaret brilliantly succeeded in merging the satirical and the serious, the hushed and the hilarious, the paltry and the political. This was Entertainment!

Freeway Hall was transformed for the occasion into a teeming night club strikingly bedecked with period posters, abundant glitter and candlelight.

Gourmet dinners and a la carte delicacies, accompanied by such exoti-

**"Come to the Cabaret!" is Smash Hit!**

## Off-Broadway (About 3000 Miles)

ca as champagne cocktails, the "Glory-ah! Special," and "The Red Scare" (Cuban rum and strawberries) were served with a flourish by dedicated waiters sensitive to every gustatory yen of their customers. An elaborately designed scarlet menu tantalized the palate with such savories as Spanakopita, sizzling Guacamole, succulent Crab Bake, Baklava, piquant Matzoh Dip and tender barbecued salmon.

But even the incredible bill of fare was overshadowed by the continuous, stupendous and improbable Floor Show, directed and orchestrated by impresario Randy Patterson, a singer-accompanist-arranger phenomenon unrivalled in the radical theatre (and the theatre of the absurd).

The M.C. chores were masterfully (mistressfully?) juggled by Tamara Turner with aplomb, élan and caustic savoir faire.

The revue opened with luminaries from the superb Bread & Roses Chorus warbling a medley from "Pins and Needles," the Broadway musical produced by the ILGWU in the 1930's. Monica Hill, discreetly garbed in basic black, captured her audience with the doleful melody, "Nobody Makes a Pass at Me," and Beth Brunton sang an enchanting version of "Chain Store Daisy or Vassar Girl Finds a Job." Cindy Gipple was the proverbial riot in the satirical aria, "Sing Me a Song of Social Significance."

A lightning-like change of pace ensued as three "Roller Derby Queens"—Su Docekal, Sam Deaderick, and M.C. Turner—skated onto the

stage and somehow became the Brontë sisters. The delighted audience was treated next to a take-off on singer Sophie Tucker, the last of the red hot mommas, by Clara Fraser, dressed to kill and belting out the blues in similar style.

An expert rendition of selections from "The Mikado" was offered by vocalists Joanne Ward, Helen Gilbert, Russ Lyons and Randy Patterson, and the crowd warmly applauded the contemporary jazz numbers of prize-winning high school musicians Jonny Fraser on flugelhorn and trumpet, and Robert Dampier on piano.

One side-splitting skit depicted Organizer Martin's troubles in guiding the campus work of Comrades Lenore and Marcel, who had a strange propensity for reporting emergencies to her promptly and regularly at 4:00 a.m. Another weird and wonderful melodrama featured U. of W. swim-star Lori Lakshas strutting around as a muscular and macho lifeguard extravagantly admired by Kathy King and her sister groupies.

Space limitations prevent the description of many other superstar performances, but the hilarity was leavened by Guerry Hoddersen's stirring interpretation of Langston Hughes' poem, "Good Morning, Revolution," and a charming children's chorus which sang "We Shall Overcome" and recited a poem for Gloria.

A professional chanteuse, Marlene Fonteney, wowed her listeners with a bravura rendition of French cabaret ballads, and Lois Harris closed

the show with a rollicking version plus encores of "Accordion Boogie."

The entire Cabaret production, skillfully organized by Max Reigel, was a heartfelt tribute to the affection and respect accorded Gloria Martin—an expression of appreciation for her unstinting labors for socialism for more than 40 years. Over 100 well-wishers—her family, comrades and old friends from the community—joined happily in registering their common admiration and congratulations.

The Cabaret entertainment, moreover, truly reflected and expressed Comrade Gloria's personality. One of her many significant contributions as FSP Organizer is her talent for instilling in others appreciation for art, music, literature, drama, dance and popular culture. "Cabaret!" could not have swung as successfully as it did were it not for the experience gained by Gloria's comrades in organizing radical-theatre cultural and social events under her tutelage and inspiration.

Comrade Gloria loved the show, laughing so hard at times that she cried. She particularly enjoyed the fact that everybody was having fun. Life in radical politics involves high purpose and serious work, but it also offers unparalleled opportunity for recreation, humor, sisterhood and fellowship, and "Cabaret!" represented this aspect of socialist humanism. It served as a fitting symbol of the kind of life that Gloria leads and exemplifies.

"That was the greatest show on earth," she enthused. And it was. They loved it in Seattle. ■

## ...escuelas atractivas

continuación de la página 3

tiempo que dirigen los blancos a los estudios preparatorios para la universidad, en realidad aumentando las tensiones raciales por segregar estudiantes dentro de una escuela.

**La Integración: ¿Medio o Objetivo?**

Se declara, al principio, la supresión de la segregación en las escuelas del Sur como un medio de corregir la condición de gran inferioridad y pocos fondos de las escuelas en los barrios Negros.

La NAACP (La Asociación para el Mejoramiento de Gente de Color), la ACLU y los tribunales federales, no obstante, ahora proclaman que los niños minoritarios tienen que frecuentar las escuelas de los blancos en el Norte también, para que aprendan "bien." Así, la integración de las escuelas **en sí misma y por sí misma** se ha vuelto la solución aparente para un sistema docente que es discriminatorio y desigual a pesar de la composición racial en cualquier escuela individual.

El gobierno federal ni trata de igualar la educación para todos sino intensifica el problema por imponer cupos raciales obligatorios y por instituir programas obligatorios de transporte de niños de un barrio a otro, los cuales no hacen caso de las necesidades y los deseos de los barrios afectados. Se han creado más problemas en vez de resolverse por obligar casi exclusivamente a los barrios blancos de la clase obrera, ya sob una tensión económica severa, que supriman la segregación racial en sus escuelas—y todo esto con fondos educacionales casi tan limitados.

**Escuelas Atractivas No Atraen**

Se inició un programa voluntario de transporte de niños en Seattle en el principio de los 70.

Se hizo Garfield, la escuela Negra principal de Seattle, a una escuela atractiva por darle fondos y programas especiales para atraer los blancos. Se llevaron muchos estudiantes Negros a escuelas afuera del distrito.

Esta tentativa a la integración voluntaria fue frustrada por la hostilidad y la violencia contra los niños

Negros en las escuelas de blancos y, durante esta época, por el sentimiento creciente entre los Negros del nacionalismo y del separatismo, los cuales, en su vez, aislaron y tomaron como víctimas los niños blancos en las escuelas Negras.

Desde entonces, las escuelas del centro de Seattle, ayudadas con fondo federal, han levantado la calidad de sus escuelas al nivel de las escuelas de blancos. También, han registrado beneficios impresionantes en la integración de varios grupos étnicos y en llegar a ser más sensibles a las necesidades y a la cultura de las minorías. La comunidad Negra, la Chicana, y la Asiática tienen bastante razón de temer la pérdida de estos beneficios.

Y los estudiantes, tanto los minoritarios como los blancos, firmemente se ponen en contra del cambio de la composición racial de escuelas que son verdaderamente integradas; ellos no quieren que se haga una minoría numérica de los Negros en las escuelas donde ya son una mayoría o a la par con las otras razas.

Sin embargo la Junta Directiva Escolar inflexiblemente insiste en implementar el concepto probado y fallado de crear escuelas atractivas y se niega a considerar otras alternativas.

**¡ Existen Maneras Mejores!**

La ciudad podría eliminar las líneas de los distritos escolares y instituir un sistema libre de matriculación.

Se podría extender el transporte obligatorio de niños a incluir los suburbios.

Se puede intentar un sistema de transporte de "acción afirmativa," es decir un sistema voluntario para los Negros, quienes siempre han participado de buena gana, y obligatorio para los blancos.

Las escuelas integradas podrían recibir fondos suplementarios como un incentivo para integrar.

Otra opción es un programa por toda la ciudad de escuelas atractivas que ofrecerían no solamente la educación básica sino también especialidades en las artes, en la instrucción profesional, cursos preparatorios a la universidad etc. El ingreso sería abierto a todos los estudiantes.

**Lo Que Es Bueno para los Negocios No Es Bueno para las Escuelas**

La miopía de la Junta Directiva Escolar viene de su desgano de desafiar a la Asociación de los Negociantes de Seattle y a la legislatura que cambien la estructura regresiva de impuestos por el estado. La cuestión de la supresión de la segregación distrae la atención, de una manera muy cómoda, de la necesidad que clama al cielo para un impuesto sobre las corporaciones que fácilmente proveería bastante ingreso para una educación de calidad para todos.

No les importa de manera ninguna a los negocios la educación de calidad. Las corporaciones hacen ganancias de una mano de obra dócil, temerosa y de poca educación. La clase media y la alta pueden producir más que bastante de profesionales y técnicos; todos los otros, gritan los patronos, pueden "Volver a los Básicos"—las minorías, las mujeres y los pobres pueden sencillamente ajustarse a una vida como trabajadores no calificados de sueldo bajo.

Ya paso la hora de ejercer presión popular en una gran escala sobre la legislatura para forzarla a gravar con un impuesto a los negocios para el beneficio del pueblo en lugar de perpetuar el contrario. Y ya es la hora de que los trabajadores reclaman la responsabilidad federal para la educación por todo el país.

**La Educación Debía Ser Una Prioridad Federal**

Los trillones de dolares gastados para armas podrían proveer una educación magnífica para todos los niños y los adultos de toda la nación. El fracaso federal de educar niños pobres y los de la clase obrera es un escándalo y un ultraje.

Encanto que el capitalismo posee el gobierno y manda nuestras vidas, la pobreza y su sombra—la discriminación racial—proliferarán. Solamente el socialismo puede ofrecer un sistema docente que provea selecciones y opciones para todos, que permita que estudiantes frecuenten cualquier tipo de escuela—coeducacional o no, integrada racialmente o no, con un plan de estudio general o un especializado—y que se les asegure un estudio de alto nivel. ■

# Coalition Fights for Minor Party Electoral Rights

When electioneering started in 1976, Washington State Republicans and Democrats geared up and started to spend their millions on advertising and corraling media attention. But media concentration on the twin parties of Big Business was sidetracked by unexpected pressure from the Coalition of Socialist Parties.

Composed of the Freedom Socialist Party, Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party and Bicentennial Reality Party (affiliate of the People's Party), the Coalition waged a high-pressure campaign to attain media exposure for minor party candidates and its efforts paid off handsomely.

Minor party candidates received more press and television coverage than ever before, and five radical parties ultimately gained ballot status in Washington State.

## An Effective United Front

The Coalition, formed in August, 1976, is a cooperative effort to pool resources and talents for the attainment

of electoral rights.

In September, the Coalition held a news conference to demand more media attention to minor parties. The ensuing publicity sparked wide public interest, resulting in media visibility for minor parties throughout the campaign period.

"Seattle Tonight, Tonight" featured two Coalition representatives on T.V. The Seattle dailies both printed interviews with the major candidates of the socialist parties, and the Nominating Convention sites for all the minor parties were publicized in the press.

A "Meet the Socialist Parties Night" was organized by the Coalition and candidates presented their programs to a large audience.

As a result of the Coalition's work, all the socialist parties with candidates obtained the necessary 100 Nominating Petition signatures on Primary Day and won the right to appear on the general election ballot.

The FSP decided not to run its own candidates in this election but to endorse the People's Party, which offered a clear socialist platform and was the first party in history to run a Black woman, a socialist feminist, for President—Margaret Wright.

## Sectarians By Any Other Name

In addition to unprecedented publicity and ballot access, the Coalition is significant for achieving a high level of cooperation among radicals. Working together on issues of common concern is crucial to building popular support for socialism and provides invaluable opportunity for theory and strategy to be debated and clarified.

But several parties didn't see it that way. Though it benefited considerably from the Coalition's work, the SWP refused to join and vainly hoped to dissociate itself from other radicals so as to appear to be the **only** socialist alternative. The Communist Party also refused to cooperate—although they ran a presidential ticket, the bulk of

their efforts went into campaigning for liberal Democrats. And the "U.S. Labor Party"—NCLC's fictitious electoral front—ignored the Coalition (to everyone's vast relief).

## The Reaction Strikes Back

The Coalition is now in the thick of yet another battle to guarantee minor party access to the ballot. A law is pending before the Washington State legislature which would make it virtually impossible for any minor party to win ballot status. The Coalition has thus far succeeded in processing amendments that would require minor parties to gather approximately 160 signatures at a Primary Day Nominating Convention. This amount nearly doubles the number previously required but is far less than the unrealistic number originally proposed.

The Coalition asks Washington residents to call their legislators on the free Hot Line (1-800-562-6000) and urge them to support Senate Bill 2032 as amended by the House. ■

## ...magnet schools

*continued from page 3*

### There Are Better Ways!

The city could eliminate neighborhood school-district boundaries and institute open enrollment.

Busing could be extended to include the suburbs. Affirmative Action busing might be attempted, i.e., voluntary for Blacks, who have always participated willingly, and mandatory for whites.

Integrated schools could receive extra funding as an incentive.

Another option is a city-wide magnet program in which each school would offer basic education as well as specialties in the arts, vocational training, college prep, etc. Enrollment would be open to any student. This system would equalize busing participation while addressing the diverse needs of students.

Still, the main issue of **quality education for all** is obscured by the hoopla over racial quotas.

### What's Good for Business Isn't Good for Schools

The School Board's myopia results from its reluctance to challenge the Chamber of Commerce and the legislature on the issue of the regressive state tax structure. The desegregation issue conveniently diverts at-

tention from the crying need for a corporate income tax that would easily provide enough revenue for equal, quality schooling.

Business, however, could care less about quality education. Corporations profit from an undereducated, docile and fearful workforce. The upper and middle classes can produce more than enough professionals and technicians; everybody else, the bosses cry, can turn "Back to the Basics!"—minorities and women and the poor can just settle back into a lifetime

as unskilled, low-paid workers.

It is past time for massive pressure to be applied to the legislature to force it to tax business for the benefit of the people instead of the other way around. And it is high time that workers demand **federal responsibility** for nationwide schooling.

### Education Should Be a Federal Priority

The trillions of dollars spent on military hardware could provide a magnificent education for all the children and adults of the entire country. Federal failure to educate working class and poor children is a scandal and an outrage.

As long as capitalism owns the government and rules our lives, poverty and its shadow—race discrimination—will proliferate. Only socialism can offer an educational system that will provide choices and options for all, that will allow students to attend any kind of school—coeducational or not, racially integrated or not, with a general or specialized curriculum—and be assured of top-level learning.

The segregation issue is an explosive one, but it must not be permitted to hide the basic underlying issue of the terrible poverty and neglect blighting public schools in the U.S. ■



Madlyne Scott



Su Bondurant

## ...marxist scholars

*continued from page 16*

Francis: "That's no way to answer! That was a very cheap shot."

Uproar.

Clara: "I see you're leaving. First let me give you some statistics. The FSP is a proletarian party with most members extremely active in their unions—traditional and independent. We work in both. I challenge the SWP to even come close to our worker composition!"

Exit comrade Francis.

Murry pointed out that the majority of world Trotskyists hold the view that the SWP has crossed the class line in Portugal, yet even the weight of world Trotskyist opinion pressuring the SWP hasn't affected it. "In the last 15 years there hasn't been a **single** division in the leadership! How lucky! How unified! How homogenous!"

Rita Shaw, a longtime SWPer whose political life revolves solely around NOW and the abortion issue, furiously interrupted the discussion to shout at Murry, "What do you think of what's been said here?"

Murry: "I don't now and never have replied to Prosecution questions, Rita."

Shaw complained that she was "disappointed" in what the three Trotskyist leaders had to say. She accused them of "rewriting history," but neglected to offer any alternative data. "I'm not here as a formal representative," she said, "and cannot accept any offer of debates. And I'm not here to try to debate, or take issue or continue into a more deepening discussion . . . However—" and she went on for about 5 minutes, to the effect that the meeting was a "deep personal hurt" for her.

### Spartacists Reject Everybody

Members of the Spartacist League present voiced disagreement with both the SWP and the Weiss evaluations of the Portuguese Revolution. They called the Weisses "Pabloites" (pro-Stalinists), taking issue with their contention that under special conditions of mass worker pressure, revolutions have been and can be led by a Stalinist party, pushed beyond its will and timetable to the seizure of power.

Murry replied, "Did or did not a revolution occur in China? What happened in Yugoslavia? **The facts are there.**"

SL expressed eagerness to debate with any of

the groups in the room. But this anxiety was shortly thereafter exposed as more of a demagogic ploy than a serious threat. (See page 20.)

Gloria Martin, FSP organizer, said that "we have invited all the left groups to innumerable meetings and events, and it took the Weisses to get you here! I hope we see you again, **soon**; we always welcome debate!"

The spirited discussion lasted until midnight, when the meeting adjourned and informal conversations thrived until late hours.

### Toward Regroupment

FSPers had additional opportunities for consultation with the Weisses the next evening, which was devoted to an elaboration of many of the issues introduced at the public forum. Smaller meetings between the visitors and FSP members concluded the significant tour.

The positive reverberations of the Weisses' trip to Seattle are still being felt. The rich process of defining and clarifying program and tactics within the Left—the process of regroupment—has been accelerated by the impact upon it of two commanding figures in radical America. ■

# Spartacists: Visitors From Another Planet

by Tamara Turner

The Spartacist League was the only left tendency to openly attend the Radical Women Conference and clearly pose political differences. The problem is that SLers do not debate, they harangue, and in the process they expose their ultra-leftist bankruptcy with blunt efficiency.

In typical sectarian manner, they bombarded a wide-open and completely democratic gathering with a crass rhetorical blitzkrieg, a completely unnecessary tactic for which they are internationally scorned.

SL sounds an exclusively one-note theme: feminism is bourgeois, affirmative action destroys the house of labor, and socialist feminism is capitulation to capitalism. The stupefying dead weight of their endless repetition of this tired slander proved a fatal obstacle to substantive debate, since the Conference participants—minority workers, women and lesbians—were repelled by the overt male chauvinism and implicit racism of the Spartacist hallelujah chorus.

SL mechanically equates "labor" with white males and airily dismisses the special job problems befalling minorities and women as insoluble and unfrontable, short of the barricades. Thanks a lot, comrades, but no thanks!

So SL was its usual insufferable self. Its programmatic fallacies were vividly denounced and exposed by Conference participants, who recounted their union experiences as proof in life of the necessity and opportunity to challenge and overcome the divide-and-conquer tactics of racism and sexism utilized alike

by management and its union bureaucrat partners—crime against the workers.

"Class unity," said Radical Women speakers, "will not be achieved through the subordination of women's and minority rights. Solidarity at the expense of our continued self-sacrifice is no solidarity at all—it is treachery and therefore counter-revolutionary."

The necessity to struggle for such transitional demands as the needs of the most exploited workers, is, however, beyond the grasp of SL, which could only offer squawks and insults, NCLC/U.S. Labor Party-style, to rebut the indignation of working women who are respected as union leaders and feminists by their sisters and fellow-workers.

The charge of "dual unionism" was another pet canard hurled at RW. SL is predictably blind to the burning need for independent unions as a means of organizing the unorganized worker who refuses to truck with the entrenched, insensitive labor bureaucracy. Transitional tactics for mobilizing the lowest-paid layers of the class—minorities, women and older workers—are incomprehensible to the vaunted exponents of "Bolshevism" in SL.

SL further alienated the Conference by its hit-and-run, here-today-gone-tomorrow tactics. After exhausting their arsenal of one defective bullet during the first session, SLers simply fled, ignoring the remaining two-thirds of the Conference—precisely those sessions dealing with minority women and lesbians.

SL's grasp of the sweep and substance of contemporary radicalism could truly be inscribed on the head of a pin.

Having boycotted nearly the entire Conference, SL naturally was fully prepared to write an "analysis" of the Conference in their publication, *Women and Revolution*. Instead of reporting the actual debate they engendered, which was characterized by speaker after

speaker eloquently and rationally repudiating SL obscurantism, the article actually invented a program for RW through falsified quotes and fabricated position summaries and then happily proceeded to demolish this straw lady.

As deplorable as SL's "debate" habits are, their school of journalistic slander is even worse. Out of nothing can come nothing.

At the time the absurd and scurrilous article on the RW Conference appeared, the FSP and SL were jointly planning a debate on key international and national issues confronting world Trotskyism. FSP protested the article and requested SL to correct its blatant factual errors, so that real differences rather than imaginary ones could be tackled. Typically, SL refused. They couldn't understand what was wrong with a little dishonesty here and there.

The status of the debate is murky at present, consistent with most SL doctrine. It will most likely be held, but what the debate will be about is anybody's guess. SL tends to argue its peculiar vision of reality which rarely mirrors the living class struggle. So the debate will undoubtedly polarize around FSP's analysis of the real world and SL's reflections of politics in another solar system. ■



Thunder from the ultra-left as the gospel a la Spartacist League is inflicted on RW Conference by this grim speaker.

## ...Radical Women Conference

continued from page 4

that the main job of Black women was to bear "revolutionary" babies for the movement. She attested to the common chord of sexism faced by all the panelists: their relegation to second-class status in the movement, accompanied by denunciations against them as their expectation of sex equality was slandered. They were labelled as divisive and destructive to the freedom fight.

Panelist Kathy Saadat, RW member from Portland and a Black movement activist, said the American abolition and suffragist movements of the 19th Century never fulfilled their potential because they remained unconnected, forcing women to fight for the black vote without fighting at the same time for women's rights. She rejected radical organizations which refuse to meet her needs as a woman, as well as feminist groups which cannot relate to her as a minority woman.

"The civil rights and feminist movements demanded that I fragment my life," she said. "I joined RW because it did not require that fragmentation, but expected me to carry on the total struggle as a whole person."

Diane Didrickson and Sally Fixico, Native

Americans, and Yolanda Alaniz, Chicana president of United Workers Union-Independent, detailed the brutal historical exploitation of their peoples, marked by the U.S. government's theft of their land, language, culture, self-respect and their very lives.

The Conference then adjourned for a cocktail hour, buffet dinner, and party at nearby Freeway Hall, where delegates, children and guests relaxed. Animated conversations on Conference issues were combined with entertainment by the Bread and Roses Chorus, which sang favorite labor songs.

### Gay Liberation and the Working Class

The Sunday morning session addressed the topic of "Gays and the Class Struggle."

Laurie Morton presented a brief overview of the gay civil rights movement.

Morton criticized the single-issue sexism of many gay male leaders, and the anti-political, red-baiting stance of the lesbian separatists.

She hailed Radical Women's active participation in the fight for gay rights and the organization's

development into a major force in the gay struggle. She cited the President's Report:

Lesbians who have broken out of the ideological trap of separatism are now bringing class struggle politics into the gay movement.

Calling for gay men and lesbians to unite around a strong *feminist* program, these women are leading the gay movement, rebuilding it from the shattered remnants of the late 60's and early 70's.

Radical Women has taken an active, leadership role in this process. Socialism and gay liberation, class struggle politics and feminist humanism are not contradictory but rather the mutually supportive strands of all of humanity's struggles for freedom.

The next presentation, a mock debate between Laurie Morton and Tamara Turner, satirized the current polarization in the gay movement between radicals and conservatives.

Rightwing gays, led by spokesman-publisher David Goodstein, and represented locally by Charlie Brydon of

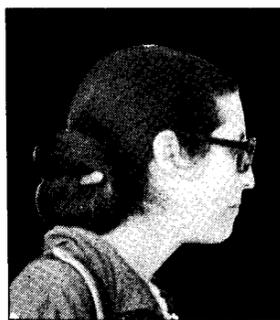
continued on page 22

### The SWP and Pandora

## The Odd Couple

Who would have guessed that Lindy Laub, reporter for the feminist paper *Pandora* at the Radical Women Conference, was a secret member of the Socialist Workers Party?

Laub posed as an "impartial" observer at the Conference, and both she and the *Pandora* editors carefully neglected to mention that her subsequent article was actually an SWP critique of RW.



SWP undercover agent Lindy Laub pretending to be an impartial reporter at the Radical Women conference. The newspaper *Pandora* and Laub acted in collusion so that Laub could use *Pandora* credentials to infiltrate the (open) RW Conference and report on it as an "unbiased" observer.

So the SWP, which pretends to deplore FBI infiltration and deception, utilizes identical tactics in its war against RW. Some revolutionary morality!

Laub's self-serving report of the Conference was replete with red-baiting and gratuitous plugging of the SWP and its reformist policies and candidates.

Her volley of distortions began with the charge that RW and unnamed "other groups" are "fronts" for the FSP. The term "front" describes organizations that conceal the political motives and affiliations of members. But, in contrast to Laub's deception, the RW-FSP affiliation, formalized in 1974, has been open and public. Laub's accusation is analogous to calling YSA, the SWP's youth section, a "front."

Laub then red-baited United Workers Union-Independent as "Radical Women's own union," accusing UWU-I of "dual unionism"—i.e., subverting the interests of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). United Workers, however, is composed of members with varied or no politics who work both inside and outside AFSCME in order to pressure that bureaucratic monolith into protecting workers' rights.

UWU-I grew out of a staff strike at the University of Washington which AFSCME scabbed on, and

militant campus workers scorn AFSCME. Without UWU-I, an innovative and responsive union, low-paid minority, white and women workers would belong to *no* union.

Discussing the floor debate at the Conference between RW and Spartacist League over feminism, affirmative action and the fight for reforms, Laub confusedly endorsed the SL stand, directly contradicting SWP policy!

A major Conference focus on the developing leadership of minority women was completely omitted in Laub's article—a deplorable mark of racism-by-omission.

At first sight, *Pandora* and the SWP are strange bedpartners, particularly since *Pandora* recently featured an "exposé" of SWP's super-cautious, single-issueism in the women's movement. However, they both deal in red-baiting, slander, provocation, and attempts to discredit RW/FSP by any unprincipled means available, blithely using each other.

Spartacists hit RW from the radical ultra-left, SWP from the radical ultra-right, and *Pandora* from the camp of bourgeois feminism. Given the nature of its opponents, Radical Women must be doing something right! ■

# Mujeres Radicales

continuación de la página 5

combativa del país. El número más grande de mujeres dentro de la mano de obra y en las uniones ha traído esa combatividad a las organizaciones obreras que ahora tienen que enfrentar cuestiones sociales y políticas de las cuales no hicieron caso antes las uniones dominadas por los hombres blancos.

"Ahora que somos una parte del movimiento obrero," concluyó Hoddersen, "tenemos un campo mucho más amplio y una oportunidad más ensanchada para la realización del cambio social. ¡Pero no hemos dejado de ser feministas! Hemos llevado las demandas de feministas, de luchadores para los derechos civiles, y del movimiento homosexual al territorio de la clase obrera. Y nada sino nuestro programa para la revolución social asegurará una victoria para la clase obrera sobre el capitalismo."

Un grupo de diez unionistas de RW continuó la presentación detallando sus esfuerzos dentro de varias uniones.

Los miembros de RW han luchado mucho para entrar y mantenerse en los gremios donde antes no había mujeres. Varias de ellas son electricistas de aprendiz y otras son camioneras, soldadoras, trabajadoras del embarcadero, pintoras de brocha gorda, impresoras, etc. Los miembros de RW ayudaron a fundar la histórica CPL (La Coalición para La Legislación de Protección) en Washington (vea página 17) y también ayudó en la organización de la Unión de Trabajadores Unidos—Independiente—la unión combativa de la Universidad de Washington que se derivó de la primera huelga en la historia del recinto y representa con intransigencia los intereses de las mujeres, las minorías, y los trabajadores de sueldo bajo.

Tomó lugar una discusión extensa después de las presentaciones individuales. Varias personas comentaron sobre la importancia creciente de las uniones independientes en mantener trabajadores en el movimiento obrero, en organizar los trabajadores no organizados, y en abogar por las necesidades de los números crecientes de trabajadores minoritarios y femeninos. Clara Fraser, una fundadora de RW, predijo que todos los socialistas tendrían que acostumbrarse a la idea del movimiento obrero venidero independiente del AFL-CIO y muchas veces puesta en contra del mismo. Recordó la conferencia que el movimiento obrero actual es ni siquiera sinónimo de la mano de obra en su totalidad o de la lucha de clases en sus formas diversas. "¿Qué es la mano de obra?" preguntó ella. "Más que el 40% hoy en día son mujeres, en su mayoría no organizadas y abandonadas por la aristocracia obrera."

## Mujeres Minoritarias y Feministas Unen Sus Fuerzas

Madlyne Scott, activista de muchos años, presidió la presentación titulada "Feminismo y las mujeres minoritarias" en la cual cuatro mujeres minoritarias analizaron sus experiencias en las comunidades negras, chicanas, e indígenas.

Scott relató su historia de una mujer negra en los movimientos para los derechos civiles, del nacionalismo negro, y contra la guerra durante los años 60. Fue rechazada su lucha por la jefatura en el movimiento negro por voceros machos que decidieron que el trabajo principal para la mujer negra era dar a luz a niños "revolucionarios" para el movimiento. Atestiguó a la fibra común del sexismo enfrentado por todas las mujeres en la presentación: se les relegó a una posición de segunda clase en los movimientos y al mismo tiempo se les calumnió y clasificaron las esperanzas de igualdad para su sexo de perjudicial a la unidad del movimiento.

Kathy Saadat, un miembro de RW de Portland y una activista negra, dijo que los movimientos para la abolición de la esclavitud y para el sufragio del siglo 19 nunca realizaron su potencial porque no se relacionaron, así que las mujeres lucharon para el sufragio negro sin reclamar al mismo tiempo los derechos para mujeres. Rechazó tanto las organiza-

ciones radicales que no quisieron reconocer sus necesidades por ser mujer como los grupos feministas que no pueden tener que ver como una mujer minoritaria. "El movimiento feminista y el de los derechos civiles reclamaron que fragmentara mi vida," dijo. "Yo entre en RW porque no requirió esa fragmentación sino que contara conmigo para hacer la lucha total de una persona completa."

Diane Didrickson y Sally Fixico, voceras indígenas, y Yolanda Alaniz, la presidenta chicana de la Unión de Trabajadores Unidos—Independiente, detallaron la historia de la explotación brutal de sus pueblos, señalada por el robo de su tierra, idioma, cultura, dignidad y sus propias vidas por el gobierno de los EE.UU.

La conferencia se suspendió después para un cóctel, una cena y una fiesta al Freeway Hall donde delegados, niños e invitados se relajaron. Conversaciones animadas sobre los asuntos de la conferencia se fusionaron con diversiones por El Coro de Pan y Rosas que cantó canciones favoritas del movimiento obrero.

## La Liberación del Homosexual y la Clase Obrera

La sesión del domingo se dirigió al tema de "Los homosexuales y la lucha de clases."

Laurie Morton presentó un panorama del movimiento para los derechos civiles de homosexuales. Criticó al sexismo simple-punto de muchos de los líderes machos de homosexuales y a la postura anti-política de las separatistas lesbianas.

Saludó la participación activa de RW en la lucha para los derechos homosexuales y la evolución que ha llevado la organización al punto que es una fuerza importante en la lucha homosexual. Citó El Informe de la Presidenta:

Lesbianas se han librado de la trampa ideológica del separatismo y ahora están trayendo la política de la lucha de clases al movimiento homosexual.

Llamando a los homosexuales machos y a las lesbianas que se unan alrededor de un programa firme de feminismo, estas mujeres están encabezando el movimiento homosexual, reconstruyéndolo de los vestigios rotos de los últimos años de los 60 y los primeros de los 70.

RW ha llenado un papel de jefatura activa en este proceso... el socialismo y la liberación homosexual, la política de la lucha de clases y el humanismo feminista, no son contradictorios sino son componentes íntimamente relacionados en todas las luchas de la humanidad para la libertad...

## ¿Adónde Vamos de Aquí?

Encuanto que concluyó la conferencia, la presidenta de RW, Constance Scott, recapituló los años de éxito y preguntó, "¿Adónde vamos de aquí? Hemos empezado algo verdaderamente importante en el movimiento obrero y tenemos que seguir el camino exacto, trazando hacia una alianza firme entre activistas feministas, obreros minoritarios y homosexuales. La lucha de clases es donde se unen todos."

Scott exhortó a RW que continuara a dar una alternativa socialista a los homosexuales, a educar las mujeres jóvenes de los colegios y del recinto universitario sobre el origen de su opresión, a prestar apoyo firme a los esfuerzos organizadores de los miembros por el país, y, como una prioridad de primera consideración, a fomentar el desarrollo de la jefatura de mujeres minoritarias. "Solamente trabajadoras minoritarias pueden firmemente unificar los movimientos raciales y los del sexo femenino en la lucha de clases," dijo. "Vamos a esperar que el tema de nuestra próxima conferencia sea la realización de la jefatura de las mujeres minoritarias en el movimiento revolucionario a una escala mas grande."

La conferencia respondió a esto con un entusiasmo notable, y todos aplaudieron calurosamente los oficiales salientes y los nuevos de RW. Se admitió tres miembros nuevos y se prometió más de \$3,000 a la organización. ■



Arriba: La nueva organizadora Constance Scott (izquierda) y la organizadora Laura Teague. Abajo: Varias escenas de la muy animada conferencia. La última foto: participantes minoritarias evaluaron sus problemas.

Above: Incoming RW Organizer Constance Scott (left) and outgoing Organizer Laura Teague. Below: Random scenes from the lively Conference.



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## The Regime's Response to Protest

The Peking anti-government outbursts are instructive in the light of what they tell us about the nature and power of the regime. Available evidence indicates that mass dissent is being dealt with very cautiously, without resort to brutal Soviet-style suppression. Far from being forced into terror and quiescence by the government, the Chinese masses are managing superbly to make their needs and opinions known and felt. And even though the ruling caste demagogically exploits popular anger for its own advantage, it apparently has little choice in the matter—the ruling bureaucracy simply does not yet have the strength and political base of support to warrant more stringent repressive measures.

Freed from the ponderous moral authority and cult of Mao, the dissatisfied workers and students are revealing their potential power to pressure the bureaucracy and perhaps even transform the Chinese Communist Party. Millions of veterans of the Chinese Revolution, aided by cadres radicalized during the Cultural Revolution, may well be on the highroad to achieving an internationalist and internally democratic workers regime in China—the only kind of leadership that could realistically extend and complete the revolution.

The bitter factional struggle, the subsequent purge, and the outbreaks of widespread protest pose anew the decisive questions for revolutionary internationalists: is the CCP capable of being pressured

by the proletariat or by the impact of world events into throwing off its Stalinist strait jacket and assuming leadership of world revolution? Is the bureaucratic deformation of the state still subject to revitalization—or is the bureaucracy entrenched and the state hopelessly degenerated? Can the incredible Chinese Revolution make a great leap forward to socialist internationalism without the convulsions of political revolution?

It may be possible. The rampant unrest in post-Mao China is more likely the sign of progressive development in a gradually ascending evolutionary spiral than the harbinger of civil war. The Chinese Revolution appears to be still evolving, still strong and healthy enough—despite the bureaucratic deformation and appalling foreign policy—to advance the struggle for proletarian internationalism.

The Freedom Socialist Party has long proclaimed solidarity with the Chinese Revolution. We hold that while the Chinese experience differed sharply from the Soviet Union model—no immense secret police force, concentration camps, blood purges, etc.—the Stalinist heritage and outlook of the Chinese government directly contradicted its progressive tendencies and practices. These contradictions persist, but it is still premature to paste the ineradicable label of “degenerated” on the regime, which will hover on the verge of qualitative retrogression or rejuvenation until major events decisively determine and reveal its basic character—and fate.

## Perspective

The usual difficulty of achieving a scientifically precise sociological characterization of a workers state is compounded in this case by the particular difficulty of obtaining objective and accurate data on China. The product of the world press—right, left and center—on the subject of the People's Republic of China is generally so murky, distorted, opinionated or pedantic that research and analysis are necessarily complicated. But the options for China are nevertheless clear: backward to capitalism, petrification into degeneracy like the USSR, or forward to regeneration.

China, once the principal target of world imperialism and the promising key to the colonial revolution and international socialist regroupment, seethes with antagonisms and conflicts today that can be reconciled only by a strong dose of classic Trotskyist program, strategy and tactics.

Hopefully, there is still time and scope for revolutionary reorientation. The great Chinese proletariat has only begun to speak, and when it finds its full voice, the revolutionary roar should once again shake the world. ■

April, 1977

## Key References:

Maitan, Livio: **Party, Army and Masses in China**, Humanities Press, 1976; *Peking Review*, *Imprecor*, *Far East Reports*, *Intercontinental Press*, *New York Times*.

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the Dorian Group, charge radicals with “spoiling” the gay movement. These “respectable” conservatives urge and engage in behind-the-scenes negotiations with the powers that be, invariably leaving lesbians and poor and working gays, out of their deals. Morton and Turner portrayed the good guys and the bad guys in this protracted ideological debate.

Conference participants quickly characterized the conservatives as ungrateful hypocrites for attacking the very militants who made gay “respectability” happen, for it was the radicals who basically legitimized the gay movement. RW members showed how their organization's uncompromising demand for full sexual freedom and civil rights for all humanity—a demand that echoes the proud tradition of the original Soviet Constitution—has sparked gay rights struggles in all other movements.

The delegates agreed that the conservative attempt to dilute the gay community's demands must be opposed, and the Conference called upon the gay left to coalesce around a feminist program for gay liberation within the framework of the class struggle.

## Career Development

At the conclusion of the three major discussions, a series of well-attended workshops was held: one dealt

with feminist activities at the University of Washington; another analyzed prevailing tendencies within socialist feminism; and three workshops offered practice in basic organizational skills—Leaflet Design and Production, Public Speaking, and Political Writing. A sixth workshop dispensed good advice on “How to Enter the Skilled Trades.”

## Where Do We Go from Here?

As the Conference drew to a close, Radical Women President Constance Scott summed up the years of achievement and asked, “Where do we go from here? We've started something really big in the labor movement and we must stay on course, building towards a strong alliance between feminist, labor, minority and gay activists. The class struggle is where it all comes together.”

Scott urged RW to continue to provide a socialist alternative to gays; to educate young high school and campus women to the source of their oppression; to provide strong support to the organizing efforts of members around the country; and, **as a top priority, to nourish the development of minority women's leadership.**

“Only minority women workers can firmly unify the race and sex movements in the class struggle,” she said. “Let's hope that the theme for our next conference

will be the actuality of minority women's leadership in the revolutionary movement on a vastly expanded scale.”

## The Rout of the Spartacists

From beginning to end, the RW Conference was alive and inspiring, and all the participants departed with new invigoration and commitment. All participants, that is, with the raucous exception of the sour and vitriolic Spartacist contingent, which came to conquer but soon dribbled away (not with a bang but a whimper) when it became crystal clear that their sick, ultra-left infantilism was being roundly repudiated by the adult audience. But that is another story, so please see the article on pg 20 for a ringside report of the historic and hysteric encounter.

The Conference appreciated the verbal forays of the chronically uptight and grandiose SL folks, who provided the delegates with an unexpected bonus in the form of political comic relief. No finer contrast could have been drawn than the contrast between the high principles and revolutionary integrity of RW and the demented ravings of the SL chauvinist bigots whom history and class struggle have long since passed by.

The next RW Conference will celebrate ten years of revolutionary work for women's emancipation. From 1967 to 1977, RW has served as a milestone on the road to international socialism. ■

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and it places the SWP squarely in the enemy camp of its own country as well as the enemy camp of the Portuguese revolutionaries.

**Point Three** is the injunction to American radicals to **stop speculating and start intervening into the Portuguese Revolution.**

It is not our task to predict whether the outcome of a struggle will be categorically **this** or categorically **that!** We Marxists are not involved in the instant prediction business. Newspapers can inform you about the odds on prizefights or racehorses and provide you with a guide for gambling. But revolutionaries, like good boxers, do not depend on gambling odds. I can just visualize a friend asking Muhammad Ali, in the middle of a fight, "Are you going to win or lose?" The candid answer would be, "Please don't bother me. I'm busy. The fight itself will decide."

Yes, the struggle itself determines the outcome, and **authentic revolutionaries are not sideline spectators placing bets, but political interventionists.** We ourselves are not a revolutionary party on the Portuguese scene. We are people with a group and a doctrine who try to influence the situation through others, by entry into it, by writing or speaking, etc. But you cannot intervene by announcing at the outset that the whole situation is impossible because the PCP has the hegemony! That kind of abstentionism and despair was never the response of Marxists, nor the rationale behind Trotsky's **Transitional Program.**

Stalinism does not become revolutionary overnight, but under certain conditions even Stalinist parties can project a revolutionary orientation and move in a revolutionary direction. This is not impossible at all. And if these parties break out of the Stalinist orbit, we certainly have to work for and with their leftward motion. We have to become a part of it—a critical, Trotskyist part of it.

Our participation in the struggle, after all, may well be a salient component in deciding the outcome.

#### **The Armed Forces Movement**

Students of the Portuguese revolution need to become familiar with the mechanism of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). The Portuguese army was the military establishment of Portuguese imperialism, the overlord which dominated much of Africa. And this army was engaged in a vicious war to exterminate the Angolan revolution. The officer corps was composed largely of former university students, like officers in the U.S., and these officers, hurled into jungle warfare, became extremely discomfited with their mission of destroying revolution in Africa. A massive crack-up transpired.

Try to visualize it from the vantage point of the United States and compare it to the attitude of the frustrated GI's who were so furious about the position into which they had been forced in Viet Nam. GI's left the army in droves—nearly a million deserters and draft resisters. Had other conditions been equal, they would have done the same thing as the young Portuguese officer caste which finally said the hell with it, let's get out of this mess en masse!

What the MFA did next was to actually **turn the imperialist war into a civil war.** They obeyed Lenin's injunction to the letter! The MFA militants turned their backs on the war, withdrew their forces, destroyed their own army, returned to their own country, and interacting with the working class, overthrew the old fascist regime!

You may not want to shower them with red carnations the way they distributed red carnations to the people. Nevertheless, I maintain that the MFA contingent that went AWOL from the war in Angola—and even though they elevated themselves from lowly captains and majors to Generals—created an authentic revolutionary tribunal.

What an incredible transformation! A pack of military overlords, strutting around at their pompous, comical best, virtual Caudillos in gleaming boots and dazzling epaulets suddenly metamorphoses into a huge rebel camp stirring the cauldron of revolt and shattering the entire military establishment. The MFA divides into political components—a left wing, a right wing, and a center—and then it shatters its hierarchical structure by means of a potent uprising from the lower officer and enlisted ranks. Even the working class now wants to arm the leftwing officers, and uprisings of all kinds ensue. The soldiers, who include key leaders of the MFA left-

wing, begin to arm the workers and teach them the use of arms.

Now **that**, comrades, is revolutionary! And we have much to learn from it.

#### **In Defense of Carvalho**

Much has been said in *The Militant* about Otel Carvalho, the leader of the MFA leftwing. He is called a phoney, a demagogue, a Bonapartist, even a "ladies man"! They judge him by everything but his deeds. When rightwing officers were breaking strikes and jailing workers, Carvalho's troops **armed** the workers. Now this should have given the SWP some idea of which side he is on. But it didn't.

In November, 1975, paratroopers seized several air bases to prevent what they believed was an imminent rightwing coup. The rightwing used this action as a pretext for launching a counter-thrust against the MFA and the workers. Carvalho and many other officers were arrested. A curfew was imposed and strikes were banned. Newspapers and TV stations run by the workers were seized.

These events were closely analogous to the July Days of the Russian Revolution.

But the workers were not defeated. Since the counter-coup, two elections have taken place.

Now, I am not in love with bourgeois parliamentary elections, but the fact remains that the workers had enough power to force these elections. All the parties campaigned openly; complete democracy prevailed. Nobody granted that democracy—the workers just took it.

In the first election, the CP and SP won a majority of the seats, a clear vote for socialism.

The second (Presidential) election was held in June, 1976, and was rigged in advance. It was supposed to be non-partisan and non-political. But while parliaments may ignore class forces, class forces do not ignore parliaments.

Eanes, the candidate of the SP and the rightwing, received 60% of the vote. Carvalho ran as an independent on a revolutionary program, and he, together with the CP, received 40%. What is significant here is that the working class districts voted 90% for Carvalho or the CP, and in other districts Carvalho came in second with 25%.

Carvalho advocated carrying through the revolutionary struggle to the end, to socialist revolution. Stop the fascists, he said. And above all build the power from below—from the workers commissions, the tenant committees, and the soldiers committees. Considering his radical program and the terrific pressure from the right, the combined Carvalho/CP vote was a stunning victory, illuminating the tenacity and power of the working class.

Carvalho did what should have been done, what we wanted done. But we weren't there and he was, and I don't give a damn who does the right thing as long as it is done.

The SWP's treatment of Carvalho was not only prejudiced, it was ignorant.

#### **4th International at the Crossroads**

In the world movement of Trotskyism, a sharp division exists between the SWP and the overwhelming majority of the International, who take a very similar position to our own. The factional polarization in the International relates all the way back to the Third World Conference in 1953, and to the question of the rearming of world Trotskyism.

A flourishing and continuous world Trotskyist movement is imperative if humanity is to survive the menace of fascist holocaust. But the dangerous rightward drift of the SWP seriously perils the capacity of the International to objectively test and develop its program in the light of new events and developments.

How shameful that the sharp political split within the ranks of the International should have been provoked by **American** Trotskyism, by that very party in the land of the home office of imperialism that should have been the **first** party to oppose its own ruling class.

Yes, it is within the confines of the SWP where the defection, the buckling under, and the desertion of Bolshevism are transpiring. We have all seen it. Quietly but swiftly, uneventfully and even humorously, the Socialist Workers Party has gone over to the other side of the barricades, to the enemy camp in its own country. And the SWP is the **official** American Trotskyist party, the party with the international franchise.

En bloc, the SWP moved over to the other side. They didn't mean to any more than the PCP meant to move in the opposite, revolutionary direction. But that is beside the point; nobody ever means to do harm in this world, except psychotic individuals. People think they act for good reason, and the problem is not the SWP's intentions but its politics. Objectively, they got off the line, left the train, departed from the systematic, unified, integrated and heroic conception that is the classic Trotskyist heritage and guideline to practice.

Its appalling political shift demands that we rigorously analyze and evaluate the **total** organism of the SWP in the context of the origins and roots of its degeneration. And that is the line of approach to be adopted in developing the discussion in the world movement and in the American Trotskyist movement.

Lenin, in **Leftwing Communism—An Infantile Disorder**, maintained that the Russian Revolution was of international significance not just because it happened but because in a scientific sense it was reproducible, destined to recur under other conditions and in other forms. The overriding need to maintain and strengthen the historical continuity of international Trotskyism should spur us on to penetrate the inner dynamics of both the Portuguese Revolution and the American SWP, with the firm purpose of learning to reproduce the one and avoid the desperate errors of the other. ■

## ...women electricians

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Media coverage was uniformly good and helped to garner widespread endorsement of their fight.

#### **Vick(t)ery!**

The ETTs were able to construct an impressive legal case because they had assiduously obtained hundreds of relevant memos and documents. The evidence in their favor was so overwhelming that the Hearing Panel unanimously overturned the negative findings of the Hearing Examiner, a mayoral appointee, and found for the ETTs on all counts.

The panelists (a female lawyer, a male lawyer, and a female state-agency administrator) ruled that the ETTs were the victims of a reprisal; had been unjustly laid off; were not given equal pay for equal work; and were arbitrarily denied training opportunities previously furnished to male trainees. (The panelists were later subjected to public vilification by Vickery and his cohorts, but to no avail.)

Heidi Durham, an ETT who is now an

Apprentice lineworker, attributes the stunning victory to the solidarity of the trainees, the support from IBEW Local 77 and hundreds of other City Light workers, the assistance of feminists and Office of Women's Rights staffworkers and attorney, intense public interest, and general disgust with the Uhlman-Vickery stripe of venal politician.

Six women are now back on the job, once again confronting persecution and neglect by City Light management. But an indubitable fact has emerged from the complex three year bout: women have decisively entered the electrical trades and they will not be easily dislodged.

(Note: Clara Fraser was abruptly "laid off" in July, 1975, just a few weeks after the completion of the Employee Bill of Rights. She charged City Light with discrimination on the basis of sex and political ideology, and her case is currently being investigated by the City's Department of Human Rights.) ■



Murry Weiss on

# PORTUGAL

(Excerpts from a speech delivered in August, 1976, summarizing the views of Murry Weiss and Myra Tanner Weiss on the continuing Portuguese revolution and the serious divisions within the Fourth International between the majority of world Trotskyism and the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.)

The first task of revolutionaries in the United States is to be internationalists. This means that our prime responsibility as regards world events is to open an attack on the class enemies of the Portuguese and Angolan workers—on the enemies of our friends. We must expose and resist our own country's machinery for repressing these revolutions.

The social democracy in the U.S. is one of the foremost enemies of the Portuguese workers. By "social democracy" I mean the entire trade union bureaucracy and all their intellectual servants and sub-groups like the Socialist Party. But these worthies are only doing what they're supposed to do. What about the SWP?

The position of the Socialist Workers Party on the unfolding revolution in Portugal is cause for extreme alarm. Their dictums smack of a Stalinophobic type of reflex and convey a totally wrong estimation of the entire situation.

We have addressed the SWP. You do not understand, we said to them, what is going on in Portugal—in a political, not informational sense. You identify the wrong enemy and you are on the wrong side, for you single out the Communist Party of Portugal, the only party representing the revolutionary movement, as the big menace. You sound just like the editorials you read in the *New York Times* (more like paid ads)—all about the Communist Party going to take over and crush "democracy."

Actually, the Portuguese Communist Party faces the threat of being driven underground, and the Portuguese Socialist Party (PSP) just happens to be the agency of the counter-revolution, the mechanism of organizing the entire rightwing. The PSP is warmly endorsed by such "progressive" institutions as the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, the CIA, the *New York Times*, and the State Department. It is in league with fascists, street hoodlums and the CIA.

If you equate the Portuguese Socialist Party with the Portuguese Communist Party, we said to the SWP, you are committing a serious error. Your stance constitutes actual betrayal of the revolution.

We said more to the SWP. This U.S.A., we said, is the center of world capitalism, and its chief agent against the workers—the labor bureaucracy—is bearing down on the revolutions in Angola and Portugal. Why don't you turn your literary guns on them sometimes? But the SWP never did, not once. All they can see is the "Stalinist" menace to "democracy"—democracy as defined by the elitist Socialist Party.

But let's direct ourselves to the main question, which is this: a **revolution** is taking place in Portugal. 60% of the country has been nationalized, workers' control has been installed, and the proletariat is arming itself. In order for us to become prepared for our own revolution, we must become deeply acquainted with the one in Portugal. (That's how we became communists—out of the Russian Revolution.)

#### The Portuguese Communist Party

To summarize our position on the PCP, we have propounded a three-point thesis.

#### Point One: The Communist Party is the spine of the industrial working class in Portugal.

The Communist Party is the traditional party of the European working class, and the PCP has been freely chosen by the Portuguese industrial workers to represent them. The PCP managed to survive under the very shadow of fascism for forty-eight years, and then emerged dramatically in the course of two years of revolution.

The PCP's social composition is indisputably proletarian. It has grown from 15,000 to over 100,000 members since the revolution began, and hundreds of thousands of workers are interacting with this party.

70% of the Portuguese people are working class, including agricultural workers, and 50% of the people are in the industrial sector of the class—and this overwhelming segment of the total population is trying to express itself politically through the medium of the PCP. **This is a fact.**

#### Point Two: The Stalinist monolith has been shattered.

We can observe manifestations of this phenomenon in the inner momentum of the Portuguese Communist Party, which assumes various forms that

demonstrate the loosening of its connection with the Kremlin, the breakaway from the privileged ruling caste in the U.S.S.R. that would direct it into class-collaboration with Portuguese capitalism and world imperialism, if it could.

The world monolith of Stalinism contains many irreconcilable contradictions, and the PCP is one of them. This is evident not just in PCP verbiage, but in its split with the powerful Communist Parties surrounding and pressuring it from all over Europe. The PCP is saying "no, no, a thousand times no" to the Italian Communist Party, the most numerically powerful in Europe, to the French Communist Party and to the Spanish Communist Party.

The PCP has clearly and publically explained its position. "So sorry," it has said, "but we just can't do it your way. We would have loved to do it in your reformist and revisionist and Stalinist way—that is actually the policy that we believed in. We truly intended to have some kind of a People's Front. But unfortunately it didn't happen that way and now we don't even have a choice anymore. The only options open to us now are fascism and socialist revolution! Please do try to understand, comrades."

When the Stalinist monolith begins to shatter, space is created for workers' parties previously dominated by the Kremlin, space in which to move on their own and develop their own point of view. This is the reality of what happened in Portugal.

And how does the SWP relate to this latest rent in the Stalinist monolith? "Well," the SWP sneers, in a jargon invented by them, an awkward blend of *Time*-style and *Newsweek* journalese, "they obviously say that in an effort to serve their own interests." As if anybody in politics is there for somebody else's interests! As if PCP interests differ from the interests of the working class when the PCP itself is working class and that class is revolutionary!

"Superficial," continues the SWP, "because they are only moving leftward under pressure." So what? Don't knock it, don't discount PCP yielding to workers' pressure; this should be grounds for approval, not disdain.

"But they are only conceding to the workers in order to gain power," complains SWP. That deplorable point of view, which vaporizes everything into nothingness, is just one more shabby manifestation of support for the reformist social democracy,

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