

Merle Woo...

never a
VICTORY
so sweet!

BY KAREN BRODINE

Merle Woo is back teaching at the University of California (UC) Berkeley this fall, like thousands of other lecturers and teachers. Unlike them, however, she first had to settle a landmark free speech and discrimination case against UC. Settle she did on February 17; she won reinstatement as a lecturer, and a settlement sum of \$48,584 plus \$25,000 in attorney's fees.

An outspoken socialist, feminist, lesbian, trade unionist and advocate of students' rights, Woo was fired in June 1982 from the Asian American Studies (AAS) Department at UC Berkeley. With the Merle Woo Defense Committee (MWDC) and her attorney, Mary C. Dunlap, she waged a nonstop battle for reinstatement. She filed complaints in federal and state courts charging that UC fired her because of her politics, race, sex, and sexuality, and because she criticized the increasing conservatism of tenure track faculty in AAS.

UC tossed in the towel rather than fight it out to the end. The lesson: persistent radical politics, a tightly-knit defense committee, and widespread community support pay off in the struggle for justice.

"I'm overjoyed to return to teaching," said Woo. "We have shown that management must be governed by constitutional principles and that free speech for teachers, staff, and students does not stop at the schoolhouse gate."

Terms

UC rarely rehires those it fires. But in the face of a strong legal case and the massive public support of unionists, people of color, feminists, and students, UC finally conceded to Woo's demand to return to work.

This fall Woo began a two-year contract as Visiting Lecturer, beginning in UC Berkeley's Department of Education, training students to tutor English as a Second Language. The contract doesn't eliminate the possibility of Woo's continuing to teach after two years and includes an agreement that UC will not retaliate against her for filing the lawsuits.

While she views the settlement as a victory, Woo has reservations: "I'm sorry not to be returning to Asian American Studies, and a two-year contract is no substitute for UC's original promises of permanent employment. I'm sure we would have won in court, but litigation is prohibitively expensive and time consuming."

Promises, promises

Woo was hired at UC in 1978 because of her excellent nine-year teaching record, commitment to education from a radical perspective, knowledge of Third World and women's issues, and support for an autonomous Third World College at UC. But even then, UC was shifting rightward from '60s liberalism, when departments like AAS developed out of militant student strikes for student and community involvement in educational decision-making.

UC, no longer the "bastion of free speech," accelerated its repressive activities as the '70s ended by attacking Ethnic Studies, Women's Studies, affirmative action, student democracy, union-organizing and academic freedom.

Under pressure from the UC administration, AAS tenure track faculty became increasingly conservative. Their veneer of liberalism peeled away and revealed their primary interest—to maintain status and job security by suppressing militancy in the department.

As an outspoken radical, Woo threatened this process. Thus, despite rave reviews from students, the administration's initial promises of permanent employment for Woo gave way to rumors about Woo's socialist politics and sexuality, and to attacks on her competency as a teacher. Then came termination.

Legal shenanigans/delay tactics

Woo's compelling legal case led her successfully through UC's grievance procedure maze and the federal and state courts. Woo, attorney Dunlap, Woo's union—the American Federation of Teachers (AFT)—and the Defense Committee legal team won several rulings:

November 1982: AFT convinced the California Public Employment Relations Board (PERB) that UC's implementation of a rule that cut lecturers' maximum teaching time from eight to four years was an unfair labor practice. This rule had been used as a pretext to fire Woo. PERB ordered UC to reinstate all lecturers fired under the rule with back pay and interest, including Woo. UC appealed the ruling, which was later upheld by the full PERB membership.

June 5, 1983: UC lost its bid to dismiss Woo's case from federal court and exclude the political content of her firing from the courtroom.

December 1, 1983: Alameda County Superior Court Judge McKibben ruled that UC could not delay Woo's state court proceedings, where monetary

compensation could be awarded, until her federal case was completed.

Unearthing the evidence

As legal victories snowballed, so did evidence supporting Woo's claims. Poring over UC's files during pre-trial discovery, Woo's legal team discovered alternating explanations for Woo's firing. One month, UC wrote that the four-year rule was the *sole* reason for Woo's termination. In later interrogatories, however, UC suggested other mysterious and unstated "reasons." This schizophrenic pattern alone provided strong legal evidence of a discriminatory motive.

During depositions, Woo proved a formidable witness. Unlike UC, she had *one* story, backed by documents and witnesses. Students, staff, and faculty stood ready to testify that they heard promises of permanent employment made to Woo, and that they witnessed anti-gay, anti-radical, and anti-feminist remarks made by the faculty in charge of Woo's hiring and firing.

The public as jury

As the federal trial date neared and Woo's support grew, UC offered to settle out of court. Its files were stuffed with newspaper articles about the case, as well as with hundreds of letters and 3,000 petition signatures calling for Woo's reinstatement. One administrator noted testily, "There seems to be an organized campaign." An AAS faculty member complained



Jubilant Woo after victory.

that even "respectable" organizations were supporting Woo!

The Merle Woo Defense Committee collected hundreds of endorsements. Backers included the National Lawyers Guild, California Federation of Teachers, Cannery Workers Local 37 of Seattle, Australia's Gay Solidarity

Group, Angela Davis, Gloria Steinem, Ed Asner, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, and Chol Soo Lee.

Defense Committee member Edgar Poma commented, "We constantly worked to show how Merle's fight was for other people also. We learned firsthand how to organize against injustice."

The struggle continues

Woo's victory arrives when many workers are organizing against UC's union-busting tactics. AFT and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) won representation systemwide at UC this winter and gained campus bargaining units. AFSCME member Steve Diamond said, "Woo's successful campaign will encourage all campus employees in their ongoing efforts to establish decent wages and working conditions."

Nor is Woo the only teacher fighting for free speech and job security. Feminist professor Nancy Shaw was denied tenure at UC Santa Cruz in 1982; Mitsue Takahashi was fired for "incompetency" at Merced after 20 years teaching eighth grade; and Kathryn von Wormer was fired from Kent State for her pro-civil rights views. Woo's victory can help provide the impetus that these and other fired teachers need to win redress.

The ideological challenge

Woo's free speech fight lives beyond her victory and challenges the rightwing ideology prevailing at UC.

The rightwing *Berkeley Review* editorialized March 1 on Woo's return: "A radical is an unstable element that exists outside of the normal bounds of diversity. . . . As for getting rid of the radicals, well, maybe it's an idea we can kick around a little."

Woo remains an open revolutionary Marxist. She has spoken publicly about her membership in Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party—who staunchly supported her case—and confronted UC's redbaiting charges against her "ideological challenge to UC's academic policies." She has exposed the importance of the battle for free speech to all workers, militants, and radicals.

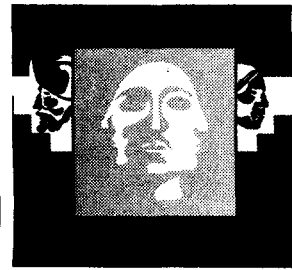
As *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* columnist John Marshall wrote February 27, "UC may have been trying to turn Woo into an example of a radical employee who would get hers. Instead it turned Woo into a hero for the cause of academic freedom."

The Woo case proves that the new McCarthyism evident in attacks on workers can—and must—be stopped with a public, organized multi-issue fight. Winner Woo states, "The freedom to speak your mind is not a luxury, but a constitutional right, and if we don't use it, we'll lose it." □

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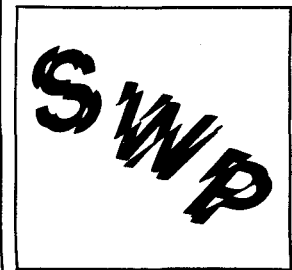
Authors Yolanda Alaniz and Megan Cornish illuminate the factors that have shaped the Chicano struggle and placed it on the cutting edge of U.S. revolution. Installment II.

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The Australian right wing wants to crucify radical teacher Alison Thorne for her public defense of gay activists arrested on trumped-up "morals" charges. David Fagan has the story.



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On the cover: Cover design by Helen Gilbert.

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LETTERS

Glad to meet you!

I saw the Winter 1983 issue of the *Freedom Socialist* which mentioned your important paper, "The National Question in the United States." Is it possible for you to send me a xerox copy of this paper? Let me know how much it is and I will send you a check for it.

I enclose some of our literature on the Philippine struggle for you and members of the *Freedom Socialist*. We would like to exchange publications. We are very much interested in the *Freedom Socialist* as the "voice of revolutionary feminism," something unique here and in the whole world, it seems. Would you be interested in publishing writings by Filipina women in the revolutionary resistance against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship?

Thank you very much for your reply.

Sonny San Juan
Chair of Editorial Collective
Philippines Research Center
Mansfield Depot, CT

We would be most happy to exchange publications with you and consider it an honor that you recognize the uniqueness of revolutionary socialist feminism. Such high praise!

We are very interested in publishing writings by Filipina women in the anti-Marcos and revolutionary movements.

Thank you again for your letter and comments. We're looking forward to continued correspondence and further exchanges of ideas and information.

Ivory tower speaks

Thank you for the *Freedom Socialist* and the letter inviting response. But I am puzzled. A Marxist analysis of the events surrounding us can be helpful, even penetrating; I have taught both Marx and Marxist interpretation for 30 years. Marxism as reflexive ideology, however, is quite another matter; the cover you chose for your winter issue (ostensibly, two U.S. servicemen) is not an effort to challenge or debate but to incite, and hence makes it easy for all but the

previously converted to dismiss your publication as mean-spirited propaganda.

That seems unfortunate to me, for it suggests (although you may not so intend) a self-righteousness that closes off discussion and as such, has no place on a college campus.

Elden E. Jacobson, Ph.D.
Academic Vice President
World College West
San Rafael, California

We are delighted that our cover photo conveys the U.S. invasion of Grenada so powerfully. Hopefully, it will incite people to outrage and action against Reagan's war policies. For us, Marxism is not an academic issue (nor was it for Marx). We present facts as they are and refuse to repackage history even if this leads to liberal censure or censorship. So much for our ideas?

Very interesting

I read with interest your Winter 1983 column on the CIA assassination of JFK. I have been investigating it since November 1963.

Oswald did not kill JFK. Sturgis and Hunt [of the CIA] did. We in the Left should understand history.

Also, Sirhan Sirhan did not kill RFK. He is a political victim and a political prisoner. To free him we must first understand the mechanism of political frame-ups.

It's interesting how almost every Arab person in the world knows the facts of the Sirhan frame-up, but almost no whites do.

Paul Kangas
San Francisco, CA

Comradely debate

I was interested to read the analysis of the Chicano struggle and your invitation to comment. Socialists and others need to discuss this. Common work for a socialist electoral alternative, as you propose in endorsing SCULPT, would be one good framework for the discussion.

Your conclusion that Chicanos are not a nationality seems to con-

tradict your thorough survey of Chicano history, which is an entirely separate one from the histories of Anglo whites and of Afro-Americans. Far from being assimilated today, Chicanos appear to retain their distinct language and culture and are singled out for discrimination. They have the right to control their communities, up to and including the right to form a separate state.

Likewise Black people are an oppressed nationality, it seems to me, and have the right to self-determination, as Trotsky argued. Black and Chicano nationalism, whether they mushroom, as in the 1960s, or retreat, as today, are expressions of consciousness, mostly among working people, of the true nature of their oppression.

Enclosed is a check for a subscription and for a copy of the CRSP platform. I'd like to take part in joint activities with your party and help bring it in closer contact with other tendencies.

David Kell
Needham Heights, Massachusetts

Thanks for your comments—we're glad our readers are considering the FSP position on the Chicano struggle seriously and critically. But read on—the second installment, published in this issue, shows precisely why Chicanos and Blacks are not nations, why a distinct language and culture are not sufficient criteria for nationhood, and how "nationalist" consciousness comes to arise among non-national groups. Part 2 also addresses the points raised by Trotsky in his appraisal of the Black movement.

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

Note to Subscribers

We apologize for the unavoidable delay in getting this issue to you. We are now back on schedule and you can henceforth expect to receive your *Freedom Socialist* on a regular, quarterly basis.

Lori Lakshas

Firefighter vindicated

Pioneer woman firefighter Lori Lakshas won vindication in her eight-year sex discrimination battle against the Seattle Fire Department on June 7. Victory brought Lakshas \$40,117 in back wages and attorney's fees.

Lakshas and five other women were the first in Seattle to battle their way into recruit training in 1976. But their treatment by the Fire Department was so outrageous that all but Lakshas quit, under threat of firing.

Men received more pre-recruit training; women were weakened by having to conform to "female" weight standards; tests included non-work-related skills. "Men who fainted and vomited during drills, recurrently sprained their ankles, developed back problems, or failed to meet daily objectives were en-



couraged and expected to improve," said Lakshas. "But any of the women's problems were cited as proof that we weren't going to make it." Lakshas received a wrist

injury, then was prematurely forced off disability and terminated for not being "physically capable."

A champion athlete, former University of Washington swim-team captain and discus thrower, Lakshas didn't buy it. Seattle's Office of Women's Rights found in Lori's favor in 1979, but her case became "lost in the shuffle" between city agencies. Val Carlson, Lakshas' attorney, criticized the eight-year delay which makes such cases "endurance contests which further violate the rights of discrimination victims."

"I won because I had support from my family, Radical Women, and many feminist, labor, and civil rights organizations," said Lakshas. She will continue her trail-blazing work as one of the nation's 40 female railroad engineers. □

Revolution under siege

Reagan's dirty war on Nicaragua

BY SANDRA WELSTED

As both Americans and Nicaraguans prepare for presidential elections, 15,000 U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries are poised along the borders of Honduras and Costa Rica, awaiting the green light for a full-scale invasion of Nicaragua.

When it will come is up to the Pentagon and the president. And it will come, regardless of who wins the U.S. election.

Mondale—busy trying to prove that he, no less than Reagan, will be “tough” on “subversives” around the world—is now talking about imposing a “quarantine” on Nicaragua if he is elected.

Reagan has made his intentions clear with the invasion and occupation of revolutionary Grenada; the mining of Nicaragua's harbors; “training” exercises by U.S. and Honduran troops along El Salvador's border during the recent Salvadoran elections; and the massive U.S. military buildup in Honduras, which includes a \$28 million training facility for Central American *contras*.

The specter of anti-imperialist revolutions in Central and Latin America—such as Nicaragua's five years ago—is haunting both candidates.

They recognize that permanent, ongoing revolution in the region will end domination by American banks and business there. They are also aware that the ideas of genuine freedom and democracy—worker-controlled, *socialist* democracy—are spreading like wildfire throughout the region, threatening to ignite the hemisphere.

Successful socialist revolution in Latin America would spell the end of world capitalism. The Sandinista victory sent hopes for socialism soaring throughout the hemisphere. For the U.S., it is not a choice but a *necessity* to crush Nicaragua's revolution.

Exporting counterrevolution

Reagan claims it's necessary to intervene in Central America on behalf of “democracy” and “human rights,” and to prevent the Sandinistas from “exporting terror.”

However, too many U.S. citizens are aware that the U.S. is trying to overthrow a *democratic* revolution in Nicaragua and that U.S. support for

the Salvadoran government means support for its rightwing death squads that have kidnapped and murdered over 40,000 Salvadorans since 1979. They know that U.S.-backed puppet regimes have ravished Central American economies, squelched democracy, and maintained rule through murder, torture, and genocide.

Too many U.S. citizens understand the bottom line: it is we who die on the battlefields. It is our tax money being siphoned from vital social services to feed the Pentagon. Meanwhile, the exploiters of Central America's workers and peasants are busting unions, driving down wages, and assaulting democratic rights in *this* country. U.S. capitalists gain from the war drive—at U.S. *workers'* expense.

The big red bogeyman

When all else fails to whip up support for his war, Reagan screams that the Russians and Cubans are coming to Central America.

He has failed utterly to prove his allegations of Russian or Cuban military aid to Central American revolutions, or to explain what gives him the *right* to denounce such aid.

On what logical basis does Reagan deny Nicaragua and Salvadoran and Guatemalan rebels the right to ally with whomever they choose against U.S. aggression? For their part, the Soviet Union and Cuba, as anti-imperialist workers' states, have the right and the *responsibility* to arm and supply the rebels.

Cry, the beleaguered country

Almost since Somoza's overthrow, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has been waging a bitter fight for survival against U.S.-backed counterrevolution.

FSLN troops have beat back CIA-engineered *contra* attacks on Nicaragua's borders. The *contras* aim to sabotage Nicaragua's economy and its capacity for self-defense by cutting roads, destroying power stations, and interfering with its international trade. To this end, the CIA recently published a sabotage manual for the counterrevolutionary Nicaraguan Democratic Force.

In this war, there can be no com-

promise; the FSLN must defeat the *contras*.

Making friends of enemies

Somoza's overthrow brought hope for a decent life to the majority of Nicaraguan people. The Sandinistas must now move swiftly to fulfill that hope. Only in this way can they maintain the loyalty and enthusiasm of the people against *contra* attacks.

But in the vain attempt to “stabilize” the revolution and forestall U.S. invasion, the FSLN has tried to establish friendly relations with Nicaragua's capitalists and the Catholic Church. The Sandinistas have pledged themselves to building a “mixed” economy, in which capitalism and socialism can “co-exist,” and a “pluralistic democracy” in which workers and peasants and the bosses who exploit them can live together in harmony.

The Sandinistas have broken strikes, promised compensation to expropriated landlords, and now offer amnesty and full participation in the coming fall elections to *contras* who lay down their arms. Ironically, the rightwing opposition parties, who had been clamoring for the elections, have met such hostility from the pro-government population that they've now called for a boycott.

Meanwhile, the capitalists are sabotaging Nicaragua's economy by stalling production and exporting their capital. They are waging a political offensive inside the country against the “Sovietization” of the revolution. And with straight faces, they blame the FSLN for the economic privation caused by capitalist sabotage and CIA/*contra* attacks.

Who could expect otherwise from the capitalists? The revolution has whetted the people's appetite for an end to *all* exploitation. To maintain profits, moreover, the capitalists depend on an *imperialist* world market and finance system. They are aware that profits and democracy cannot long co-exist in Nicaragua.

Further dangers await the Sandinistas in their relations with the Catholic Church. Because most Nicaraguans are Catholic, the FSLN must carefully prepare and wage an ideological offensive against the Church.

The Church is inherently *reactionary*, despite the radical nuns and priests who support the revolution.

If it must, the Church will support reforms that don't upset basic property and social relations. But Catholicism is inextricably tied to the landed and financial oligarchies of Latin America. Its own vast holdings, its worldwide banking interests, and its social, political, and financial connections to rightwing regimes in both hemispheres bind it irrevocably to the repressive status quo. The very ideology of the Church places it in opposition to democracy and workers' struggle. It offers only freedom *after* death to the downtrodden. Revolution offers freedom *this* life. If revolution triumphs, how long will people need religion?

While the Sandinistas attack the most reactionary statements by the Church, they teach that “between Christianity and the revolution there is no contradiction.” If this is so, Nicaragua's people must wonder why Christianity's representatives are calling for the revolution's destruction.

A Sandinista/capitalist/Catholic coalition is an attempt by the FSLN to reconcile the irreconcilable, and can only grease the tracks for counter-revolution.

Making enemies of friends

Though taking a soft line against political enemies, the Sandinistas have unnecessarily alienated those who could be their friends—the Miskitu, Sumo, and Rama Indians of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

Seeking economic development of the Atlantic Coast and fearing *contra* incursions into the area, the Sandinistas have denied the Indians their right as a distinct people to self-determination. As a result, the Indians are in open rebellion.

The Sandinistas have destroyed half the Indians' villages. One-fourth of the region's 165,000 people have been moved to government-sponsored “relocation” camps or have fled to Honduras or Costa Rica.

Some Indians have joined the *contras*. But the alliance is an uneasy one because the *contras* also oppose the Indian goal of control over their own land and resources. The *contras* use the Indians as cannon-fodder and for

to page 27



Sandinista soldiers (left) hunting U.S.-funded *contras* (right) in a life-or-death struggle for Nicaragua and the Central American revolution.

Permanent Revolution Betrayed

BY DR. SUSAN WILLIAMS

The recent history of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is replete with the unmistakable signs and symptoms of terminal political degeneration.

The SWP's death throes are marked by complete submersion into reformism in the U.S. labor and mass social movements, desperate opportunism in the international arena, and spasmodic convulsions of theory and strategy.

For the first 25 years after its birth in 1938, the SWP was a true and thriving heir of the revolutionary tradition of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky. But the last two decades have been marked by the SWP's increasing betrayals of revolutionary principles.

Over the last two years, the SWP, in the words of the *Guardian* newspaper, "has been quietly dropping overboard some of its Trotskyist baggage." The excess luggage in question, jettisoned by decree of the national leadership, is nothing less than the theory of Permanent Revolution, the cornerstone of Trotskyist thought.

The theory of Permanent Revolution delineates the process of worldwide, uninterrupted, and uninterrupted struggle of all oppressed people, led by the proletariat, for economic, social, and political liberation. The gist of the theory is that all democratic struggles today can ultimately succeed only through the victory of socialist revolution. The theory states that revolution does not stop once capitalism is overthrown, but continues as political clashes in every sphere of life until the advent of classless society. In addition, the theory maintains that revolution is international in scope, and that democratic and national liberation struggles in every country are inseparably bound up with the victory of workers' revolution in the advanced industrial countries.

The theory of Permanent Revolution provides the essential guide to understanding the vicissitudes of world upheaval, and the role and tasks of revolutionaries in the struggle for socialism. In practical terms, the theory leads to the inescapable conclusion that the radicalization of the U.S. working class in preparation for the coming American revolution is an indispensable prerequisite for the victory of world socialism.

The SWP's refusal to come to terms with the demands of revolution in its own country is the cause of its abandonment of Trotskyism.

With its write-off of Permanent Revolution, the SWP now *openly* takes its place beside the Stalinists, social democrats, and liberal reformists as a roadblock to revolution in the U.S. and around the world.

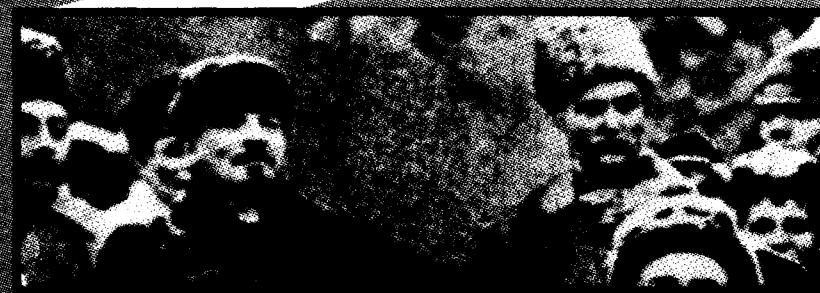
To force the membership to swallow the total repudiation of the party's founding principles, the SWP bureaucracy has purged almost the entire older generation of leadership. They have forced many others into "retirement." And they have summarily expelled—by mail in many cases—all suspected dissidents. Ironically, many of those being expelled from the SWP for refusing to "recant" Trotskyism were responsible many years ago for setting the course that has led the SWP to its present debacle.

Early symptoms

The McCarthyite blitz of the late 1940s and early '50s drove radicals, people of color, women, and lesbians and gay men out of the U.S. labor movement. Unions became the exclusive province of straight white males, the most privileged and conservative



**The SWP
Abandons
Trotskyism**



of American workers.

The SWP survived this period of reaction—under the leadership of James P. Cannon, one of the greatest Trotskyist theoreticians and organizers—because, unlike the American Communist Party, it refused to repudiate its revolutionary principles or be driven underground by the rightwing inquisitors. It strove always and openly to keep the traditions of American radicalism alive and to link it with every fresh social upsurge. Only later did the reaction's decimation of the labor movement and the resulting conservatism of its privileged layers manage to impact the SWP.

As the Cold War began to thaw, the most far-sighted SWP leaders, led by the Los Angeles branch organizers Myra Tanner Weiss and Murry Weiss, correctly analyzed the stagnated nature of the traditional labor movement. The Trade Union Resolution adopted by the 1954 SWP National Convention reflected the analysis of this tendency. It anticipated the danger of not changing the party's strategies to reflect the changed conditions within the labor movement:

It would be disorienting to count upon vanguard action by the old militants who stormed the open-shop bastions to found the modern labor movement.

They are wearing out along with the limited union program of their militant days. The party must look to new layers of potential militants and to the women workers, the Negroes and other minority groups. They are the ones who will spearhead labor's political radicalization.

This was a brilliant and prophetic analysis. But the rising SWP leadership headed by Farrell Dobbs and Tom Kerry, *derived from and tied to the conservatized trade unions*, junked the 1954 Trade Union Resolution. Through control of the party apparatus, they were able to manipulate voting blocs and force organizational rule changes to silence political dissidents in the party. In the name of Leninist democratic centralism, they instituted a wholly *monolithic* centralism, burying democracy in the process.

The Dobbs-Kerry regime steered the SWP away from Bolshevism and onto a course characterized by the founders of the Freedom Socialist Party as *Radical Laborism*—radical because the SWP was still influenced by a powerful residue of revolutionary socialist traditions; laborite because the regime believed that socialist politics would develop *exclusively* through a labor party based on the unions.

In the groundbreaking document

"Radical Laborism vs. Bolshevik Leadership," first written as a discussion bulletin for the 1965 SWP National Convention, the then-Seattle branch of the SWP clearly diagnosed the warning symptoms of the illness taking root in the party:

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 are fourfold: they are non-interventionist, contemptuous of theory, unbound in strategic orientation, and politically unstable in their reactions to any given juncture.

The myopic view of the Dobbs-Kerry leadership blinded it to the necessity of fighting racism, sexism, and homophobia within the working class as a prerequisite to radicalizing and uniting it against the U.S. capitalist rulers. The SWP, tied to the most backward workers, refused to recognize that the class struggle was most alive in the race and sex liberation movements. It consequently lost faith in the revolutionary potential of the working class as a whole.

Radical Laborism in practice

Loss of revolutionary faith bred in the SWP an unholy opportunism—the vulgar desire to gain popularity and influence with "the masses" no matter what the cost to revolutionary principle. And this opportunism, combined with the party's union-bound sectarianism, caused it to oscillate between slavishness and disdain toward the mass social upsurges of the 1950s and '60s. Here is its record:

- The SWP has consistently refused to approach the people of color movements with serious political analysis or direction, because the party defines them as "secondary" and "peripheral" to class struggle.

This has engendered widespread bitterness in those movements. To this day, for example, Chicano activists denounce the SWP for its desertion of the Chicano movement in the late '70s, when opportunities widened for SWP re-entry into the trade unions.

In the Black movement, instead of urging the movement to break with capitalist politicians and express its integrationist spirit in a revolutionary manner, the SWP conveniently adapted to the liberal-racist viewpoint that only Blacks could speak about Black oppression. They tail-ended whoever was in vogue at the moment, veering from the reformism of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to the reactionary nationalism of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad. Their support for Malcolm X, a true Black revolutionary leader, was likewise based on Malcolm's tremendous popularity among the Black masses and proved a passing fancy for the SWP. When viciously anti-Marxist and sexist Black cultural nationalism arose to dominate the Black movement in the late 1960s, the SWP officially adopted the position that Blacks, because they were oppressed, were a "nation."

● Steeped in the sexism of the white male labor aristocracy, the SWP leadership drove out the party's best and brightest female leaders during the 1950s and '60s. Then, with the emergence of a mass women's movement, the SWP opportunistically embraced feminism's *reformist* wing, the National Organization for Women, where the "masses" supposedly would gravitate. The party snubbed the less "respectable" radical elements: working women, lesbians, and women of color.

● After neglecting the 1960s anti-war movement in its early stages, the SWP intervened with an organizational raid in 1965. Using its administrative expertise, the party provoked unprecedented power fights and clique warfare in order to gain organizational hegemony. It refused to provide the revolutionary leadership that could have linked the movement to the struggles for civil rights, women's liberation, and socialism. Instead, the party attempted to silence the movement's radicals, confined the movement to single-issue, bring-the-boys-home sloganeering, and courted the support of reformists and church leaders—again, for "respectability" and popularity's sake.

When the war ended, the movement dispersed, having failed to learn the lesson that capitalism *breeds* war. Now, as Reagan plunges into war in Central America, the SWP again has nothing more to offer than a "bring the boys home" approach; it is even less able and willing to fight for a revolutionary antiwar movement.

● During the late 1960s and until 1970, the SWP had an exclusionary policy toward gays, which was only reversed when the cry for lesbian/gay liberation gave birth to a mass-recruitable—movement. The party dallied awhile with lesbian/gay liberation, but in 1978, as anti-gay reaction grew fierce, it rejected further intervention, claiming gays had "insufficient social weight" to be important to revolution. The party feared that too close an association with this "exotic" movement would alienate it from its beloved "masses"—exemplified by the straight, white, male, homophobic and backward labor aristocrats.

A dizzying turn

The SWP has admitted that it never felt at home in the movements for social change. As Mary Alice Waters stated in her 1978 Organizational Report to the SWP National Commit-

tee, the party was merely killing time by "going where the action was" until the *real* scene of revolution—the industrial unions—once again became accessible to radicals.

In the late 1970s, the door to the unions finally re-opened—through the combined impact, let it be noted, of the militance of people of color, women, and antiwar activists in the labor movement. With great relief, the SWP in 1978 plunged headlong into heavy industry. This so-called "proletarian turn" created incredible disorientation and organizational chaos inside the party. Members were pried out of their jobs and unions and hurled into the coal and steel mines. There they adapted forthwith to the prevailing racism and sexism and cozied up to the union bureaucrats. When hard times hit heavy industry, SWPers were laid off in droves.

The SWP's housebroken unionism won few recruits and had little impact on the labor movement. The party earned contempt from real militants by its courtship of the bureaucrats and its jockeying for position in union officialdom in the futile search for the elusive "white male vanguard." About all SWPers do to promote "revolution" in the labor movement is to stand outside the factory gates and sell the *Militant*!

In his 1978 report to the SWP National Committee, National Secretary Jack Barnes, author of the "proletarian turn" and would-be executioner of Permanent Revolution, disclosed the rationale behind the SWP's pitiful and embarrassing gyrations:

We had to go through the experience of seeing what it means to have more Blacks, more Chicanos, more Puerto Ricans, more females, and more young workers in industry and the unions. . .

We were able to confirm that we are not going to see the development of some sort of nonwhite or nonmale vanguard. We saw literally hundreds of thousands of young workers come forward and get involved in this or that struggle. Probably the majority of them were young white male workers.

Barnes must have been asleep and dreaming for the last 20 years. Wherever one looks—from the victorious phoneworkers' strike last year to the

ongoing fight for free speech on the job at Seattle City Light; from affirmative action and comparable worth battles to the struggle for union democracy—it is precisely the "nonwhite, nonmale" vanguard which is providing the spark that will maintain and extend labor's victories.

Irrational international policy

We've seen that the SWP's theoretical charlatanry, sectarianism, and opportunism are inseparably bound up with its lack of confidence in the ability of the U.S. working class to make a revolution. *That lack of faith translates into disbelief that workers can overthrow capitalism anywhere.* The party's submersion into reformism at home is equalled only by its support for Stalinist class-collaborationism in the international arena.

In the late 1950s and '60s, the SWP's international course was characterized by a sectarian and irrational



SWP founder James P. Cannon embodied the American revolution and Trotskyism. Today's SWP desecrates everything he stood for.

Stalinophobia, the refusal to admit that Stalinist parties could at any time move leftward under the pressure of events. Only a full-blown Trotskyist-led revolution would do. This attitude was rooted in the SWP's ignorance of the actual dynamics of class struggle and disregard for the ability of the masses to push the Stalinists leftward.

Colossal errors resulted, such as the

SWP's refusal to recognize the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, and its support in the early 1970s for the U.S.-backed Socialist Party over the Communist Party in revolutionary Portugal. These errors increased the party's isolation from the revolutionary workers of the world.

The SWP, in despair, reversed course. Stalinophobic sectarianism gave way to the crassest opportunism—which nevertheless was still based on a fundamentally conservative and bureaucratic distrust of revolutionary workers. The SWP now gave unrestrained hurrahs to any and all leaders of anti-imperialist revolutions. This came to include uncritical support for the Ayatollah Khomeini, the anti-communist, misogynist, anti-gay butcher of the Iranian revolution.

New-found friends

In 1981, SWP leaders declared it was time to "get closer" to the leaderships of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian revolutions. Finding that political principle in general and Permanent Revolution in particular encumbered potential relations with these Stalinist, class-collaborationist, and anti-Trotskyist leaders, the SWP promptly tossed the remainder of its political heritage out the window.

The SWP currently waxes poetic in fulsome praise of Nicaragua's "workers and farmers" government. It reprints Sandinista speeches in the *Militant* and sends comrades to pick Nicaragua's coffee beans. But the Sandinistas continue to coddle Nicaragua's capitalists: they have suppressed strikes and denied the Miskitu Indians their right to self-determination. They have also stepped back from support to other Central American revolutions in hopes that U.S. imperialism will leave them alone. Yet the SWP won't push or help the Sandinistas to move beyond their illusory goal of a "pluralistic" multi-class democracy in which capitalism and socialism can supposedly co-exist.

But the Sandinistas don't need cheerleaders; they need sound political advice. Now, when Nicaragua is under U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary attack, the only effective support U.S. radicals can give the Sandinistas is unconditional support against imperialism, combined with direct criticism of their dangerous errors and shortcomings which strengthen the counterrevolutionaries and jeopardize the entire Central American revolution.

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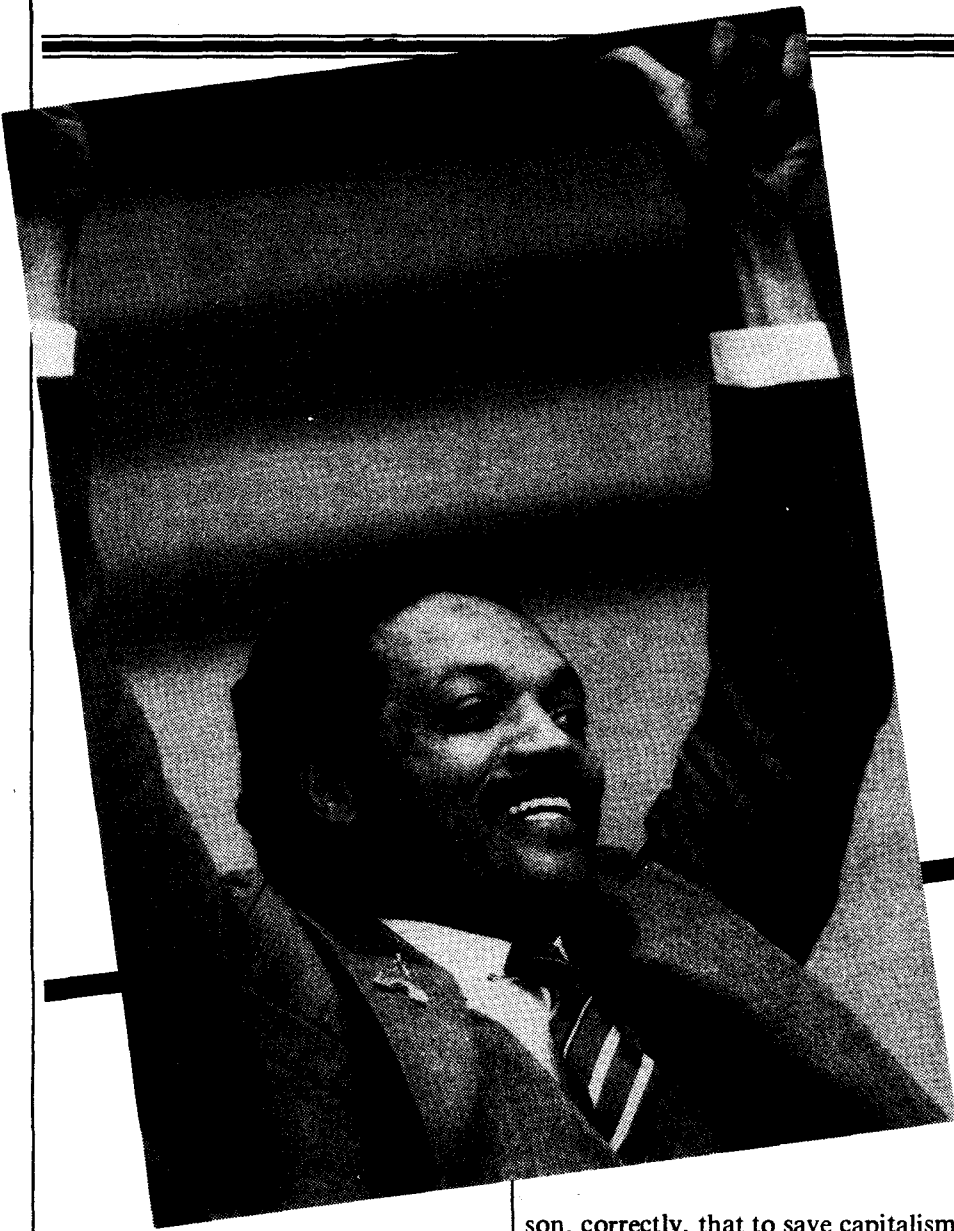
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Trotskyism Lives!

The Ill-Fated

What



BY TOM BOOT

Jesse Jackson threw his hat into the presidential ring last fall as the self-proclaimed champion of this nation's dispossessed. He called for the formation of a Rainbow Coalition of people of color, women, lesbians and gays, and other "outsiders" to help him sweep Reaganism from the White House in November.

Jackson promised to actualize the dream of Dr. Martin Luther King—as a Democrat. The Democratic Party, he said, is still "the best hope for redirecting our nation on a more humane, just, and peaceful course."

Most people realized that Jackson had no real shot at the nomination, that the Democrats weren't about to let a Black man be their standard-bearer. Jackson himself stressed that just the chance to "make our voice heard" at the convention would represent victory. He promised to "renegotiate relations" with the Democratic powers-that-be and make them "receptive" to Black and Rainbow Coalition concerns.

His oftentimes radical-sounding rhetoric exerted strong appeal among the myriad victims of Reagan's social and economic policies. With invaluable assistance from the U.S. Left and erstwhile "progressives," he coaxed significant portions of a potentially radical constituency onto his Freedom Train for the ride to San Francisco.

Pundits predicted that the Democrats would have to bargain with Jackson for the Black and progressive votes if they wanted to win in November. Jackson emphasized he wanted "respect" and an "equal voice" in making party policy. He promised a platform fight on voting rights, affirmative action, and for reduction of U.S. military spending. He said that the degree of his support for the eventual nominee would depend on the party's treatment of the Rainbow Coalition demands.

The party bosses, meanwhile, selected the Humphrey/Carter retread Walter Mondale as their candidate. They showed no inclination to bargain with Jackson on anything substantive. And at the convention, they gave the Rainbow Coalition nothing. They rea-

son, correctly, that to save capitalism from its deepening social and economic crisis, an "austerity" program must be imposed on U.S. workers and poor. The Democrats, bought and paid for by the banks, are committed to the survival of capitalism, regardless of the costs to the welfare of the majority.

Jackson *did* get to make a speech on

cessions.

Jackson wants to be kingmaker, broker, dispenser of patronage, the man to whom all seekers come for favors. If he can bring Blacks into key party positions, if he can leverage the extension of voting rights, he will have attained the status of power-broker.

His problem: the Dixiecrats will *never* allow full voting rights for Blacks in the South. They know that if Blacks (together with poor whites) could utilize their voting power, the Dixiecrats would be toppled: extension of voting rights in the South would almost immediately catalyze the demand for complete social and economic equality, and bring the South to the brink of revolution.

Dixiecrats are keenly aware of

The Rainbow Coalition is a radical concept but Jackson's appeals were charades of radicalism, designed to co-opt and stifle the real thing.

the second night of the convention. He used it to get his troops in line—if not yet ready to march—for Mondale.

It shouldn't have surprised a soul that Jackson toed the line. Early on, he had disavowed all intentions of waging an independent third-party effort and insisted it was his duty to bring the Rainbow Coalition into the political "mainstream." As an openly pro-capitalist politician, Jackson recognized clearly the necessity to channel and defuse any potential radical challenge to the electoral status quo, not to mention the advantages to himself in doing so. Thus, he committed himself to the Democrats. And tailored his candidacy to serve the political ends of the Dixiecrats, bankers, and businessmen who run the "Party of Fairness."

The kingmaker

Jackson, however, wants more from the Democrats than just the chance to make a speech at their convention. He does want enforcement of voting rights in the South. He does want an equal (and visible) role in shaping party policy. And he wants more Blacks in power inside the party organization.

He got none of these things at the convention. But Jackson is still bargaining with the party higher-ups. He knows that the Democrats need all the Black and Rainbow votes he can muster, and he hopes that sooner or later the party will have to grant him con-

American political reality. Jackson, on the other hand, seems to think that voting rights will merely provide for the rise of Black politicians and capitalists—as if even that were possible to any significant degree under the racist status quo.

The Dixiecrats' final trump is this: Jackson, too, fears any real move away from the two-party system, toward independent, anti-capitalist politics. He wants only to make a deal and take his cut.

And so he must haggle with the Democrats, on their terms, for crumbs.

Twin Party politics

Jackson's candidacy generated wide excitement among the groups that compose the Rainbow Coalition. As a Black man, civil rights leader, and "heir" to the dream of Dr. King, he reflected the hope for social justice and Black political empowerment.

He helped unleash a wave of political energy not seen in the Black community since the '60s civil rights movement. And his campaign not only brought to the fore the issues of Black power and unity among all the oppressed, it raised the question of *how* these could be achieved; through support for the Democrats or through independent, radical mass action, inside and outside the electoral arena?

Black power and the Rainbow Coalition are radical concepts which chal-

lenge the social, economic, and political framework of capitalist America. But Jackson campaigned like a ward heeler, soliciting votes with promises of brokering for justice in back-room deals with the powers-that-be. His alliance with Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan and his appeals to various Rainbow constituencies were charades of radicalism, designed to co-opt and stifle the real thing.

Already some Jackson activists—who only yesterday were hailing his campaign as a new dawn of radicalism in American politics—are saying that the only thing that counts now is to get Reagan out of the White House and Mondale in.

Jackson himself has pledged his "broad based" support to Mondale while reserving only the right to express his own views. He plans to strengthen his "coalition of the rejected" in order to "expand and redirect the Democratic Party." Campaign aide Lamont Godwin sees the coalition as "a force within the party." And it is—much like the labor bureaucracy that feathers its nest at the expense of the movement it purportedly represents.

While it remains to be seen if the Jacksonites will be able to herd the multitudes onto Mondale's bandwagon, they have in any case weakened the movements against "Reaganism," whether of the Republican or Democratic variety. They have mis-educated and misled people by preaching that change can only come about from within the Democratic Party and by attempting to restore the Democrats as a "viable alternative" to the Republicans. They have prepared the ground for mass demoralization no matter who wins. By dint of their capitulation to boss party politics, they have dimmed belief that a real alternative to capitalism's twin parties can be mounted.

The Democrats needed Jackson as much as he needed them. Only a Jackson—a man with the civil rights credentials—could have captured Leftists and progressives for the Democrats. While vice-presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro will boost the women's vote, the Left would never have supported her as they did Jackson. Too much of the Left is liberal enough to play skin color politics, but too sexist to be similarly liberal regarding a woman's candidacy. Ferraro is an *obvious* Mondale hack as well. And her current pulling power would be considerably less than it is, had not most of the Left already destroyed the possibility of a strong third-party alternative by helping siphon their constituency into Democratic channels through the Jackson campaign.

The road to San Francisco

Many Rainbow Coalition supporters were sincere in their belief that

Journey of Jesse Jackson

next for the Rainbow Coalition?

Jackson represented a real force for change. But the history of his campaign shows that Jackson was carrying out a sleight-of-hand which substituted charisma and trickery for a program that spoke to the needs of the dispossessed. The key factor is Jackson's bottom line defense of the profit system which, because that system cannot and will not accommodate Rainbow demands, left his rhetoric hollow and Jackson floundering inevitably.

Jackson flouted conventional political wisdom by surviving the primaries and consolidating the third-place position behind Mondale and Hart. Then, in March, came Jackson's now-famous "Hymie" remarks, followed by Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan's alleged death threat against Milton Coleman, the Black reporter who revealed the comments.

The press went wild, demanding that Jackson answer charges of anti-Semitism and that he repudiate Farrakhan's support.

Jackson denied he was anti-Semitic and refused to dump Farrakhan. His supporters denounced the publicity as racist and asked why the press hadn't similarly zeroed in on the unsavory connections of other candidates, for example, Mondale's connections with South African firms.

The points were valid. Still, Jackson's remarks were anti-Semitic. His apology was belated and forced. And his long-standing refusal to condemn Farrakhan's open anti-Semitism, anti-gay bigotry, and misogyny not only raised doubts about his commitment to all the oppressed, but showed his



Farrakhan: a usurper, not an heir, of Malcolm X.

willingness to split Blacks from their natural political allies for the sake of Black nationalist support.

The media furor temporarily boosted Jackson's support as the Black community closed ranks and the nationalists blasted as traitors any who hesitated or dared to raise embarrass-

ing questions. In primaries from March to June, Jackson turned out an increasing percentage of Black voters and appeared to many as a candidate who would take formidable bargaining leverage to the convention.

Thus Jackson enjoyed almost total uncritical support in the Black and Left presses. Few cared to reflect that his "moral imperative" to provide justice to the dispossessed is *negated* by his commitment to the system that dispossesses.



The Rainbow Coalition can be a powerful force for basic change—but only in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

No one seemed to notice, for example, that his ardent support of Israel and his commitment to U.S. troop deployment in Europe underscored an essentially pro-imperialist world outlook. Or that his solution to joblessness and poverty—tax breaks for business, rather than increased social spending—was rehashed Reaganism.

Few seemed to realize that his ties to the homophobic and male-supremacist Farrakhan belied his "progressivism" on women's and gay rights issues.

Jackson on "big labor" during the campaign, specifically his refusal to distinguish the bureaucrats from the whole union movement, fed common anti-labor prejudice, in accord with the right wing's current anti-worker assaults. Yet hardly anyone said so. Or pointed to the fact that, while Jackson expressed concern for workers of color, he has twice tried to break strikes by the Chicago Teachers Union, which is 55% Black.

On the whole, Jackson spoke and acted as a *conservative* on foreign and domestic issues. But by skillful use of radical-sounding rhetoric and emotional appeal, and by carefully tailoring his pitch to specific audiences, he managed to come off as the progressive who could, by virtue of his presence within the Democratic Party, "reform" the two-party system.

Yet widespread uneasiness about Jackson persisted, and even deepened, because the candidate refused to criticize his "surrogate" Farrakhan or to address the issue of anti-Semitism squarely. Farrakhan's continued outspokenness did nothing to fill this

uneasiness, and as the convention approached, the Muslim minister's defects began to jeopardize Jackson's image as spokesman for all the oppressed. Jackson was finally forced to repudiate Farrakhan after the latter's scurrilous June 24 designation of Judaism as a "gutter" religion.

In July, Jackson entered into "delicate negotiations" with Mondale over platform proposals and for changes in the party's delegate selection process which, Jackson claimed rightly, had cheated him of his share of delegates.

Jackson had stated that he would

Democrats don't mind—if only relations can be kept somewhat discreet. Farrakhan's broadsides against Mondale for his treatment of Jackson at the convention should be seen as a negotiating ploy, in line with Jackson's gambit to "redirect" the party.

The alliance, however, is significant beyond its impact on the elections. Each man looms large in Black political life, and their prominence as anti-radicals reflects deep political crisis, in the Black community and the nation as a whole. Even more: their emergence *deepens* the crisis. Both are champions of skin color politics, and so help exacerbate race polarization.

Usurpers

During the primaries, Jackson and Farrakhan's alliance was looked on as the historic coming together of the "integrationist" and "nationalist" wings of the Black movement. It represented, according to Jackson supporters, the unity necessary for Black political empowerment.

The two men were hailed as the respective "heirs" of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X—as the '80s representatives of the moral authority and militance that powered the '60s Black movement.

This was the sheerest of myth-making for voter appeal. Jackson and Farrakhan praise the two slain leaders—in order to bury them. They are not the heirs, but the *usurpers* of Black leadership traditions.

King, like Jackson, was a reformist. But he headed a movement that was hurtling past reformism and was pushing *him* leftwards. King came out against the Vietnam War and was forging links between civil rights and labor struggles. This had revolutionary implications in 1968, and the U.S. government killed him for it.

Jackson, in contrast, is in retreat from the demands of the times. Early civil rights leaders always recognized the need for mass confrontation of the institutionalized social, economic, and political barriers to Black equality. Jackson, as head of PUSH in Chicago, has eschewed confrontation, preferring instead to broker with the powers-that-be for a bigger share of the pie. While he has, for example, hammered out deals with Coca Cola and Burger King to provide distributorships and franchises to Black entrepreneurs, never has he mounted a concerted assault on segregated housing or discriminatory hiring in Chicago, or anywhere else.

The struggle for equality led Martin Luther King to the threshold of revolution. The search for a bigger slice of pie led Jackson to cut deals with the capitalists and now, he hopes, the Democrats—with no improvement whatever for working Black people.

Farrakhan stands at an even greater distance from Malcolm X than Jackson does from King. Malcolm explicitly *repudiated* everything Farrakhan stands for in the last year of his life, moving swiftly from Muslim separatism to the realization that united, multi-racial struggle against capitalist oppression was a necessity.

fight to the end for changes at *this* convention. Yet on July 3, he said he was satisfied with the Democrats' offer to "examine" the rules for possible changes—in 1986.

This action pre-signaled Jackson's sellout on the issues at the convention. His subsequent refusal to endorse Mondale "with enthusiasm" meant only that he intended to bargain further—in his quest to be kingmaker.

The Farrakhan connection

Jackson could have gone nowhere at all in the primaries without the solid support of the Black community. And he owed this support in large measure to his alliance with Louis Farrakhan, who speaks to nationalist moods among Blacks.

Only when Farrakhan's anti-Semitic pronouncements threatened Jackson's game plan did Jackson repudiate the Muslim minister's support. Even then, the repudiation was only for public consumption.

One week after Jackson made his announcement, Farrakhan's chief lieutenant, Minister Akbar Muhammad, was feted by Jackson's organization, PUSH, in Chicago. Farrakhan himself said that the "rebuke by my brother" was worth it if it allowed Jackson to represent the Black vote. He then stayed uncharacteristically quiet through the convention.

Jackson and Farrakhan still seek to benefit by association. For Jackson, there is the leverage that Farrakhan commands in the Black community. For Farrakhan, there is the prestige and patronage that Jackson, as Democratic kingmaker, can bring him. The

Union leader scores against cancer center

BY HELEN GILBERT

On May 14 at Seattle's Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center, the independent Hutchinson Center Staff Association (HCSA) narrowly lost an election to affiliate with the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 900 of the AFL-CIO.

Two weeks later the unions rejoiced at learning that their December 1983 charge of employer harassment against HCSA leader Henry Noble was upheld by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) Office of Appeals.

On June 28 the Center settled with Noble, giving him a retroactive 4.5% raise in place of an insulting 2% raise he received last October, and rescinding a retaliatory evaluation and complaints against him by management because of his union activities. The settlement—prompted by manage-

HCSA and UFCW activists do not view the close margin (with 103 abstaining from voting) as an anti-union mandate. Instead, it reflects the ill-advised faith of some employees in Center management's promises to reform. Nevertheless, the union will continue to operate as an employee advocate and organizing committee and will aim toward another certification election after one year, the waiting period required by NLRB rules.

Tricks at the top

Many factors were involved in this unfortunate buy-in to an old management trick.

Due to an incredibly high turnover rate, two-thirds of the present workforce did not work at the Center during the 1981 election which certified HCSA by a firm majority. And, for the last two years, management has attempted to screen out pro-unionists before hiring. One interviewee was

three years they absolutely refused to agree to these measures in contract negotiations. Nor will management explain why, if its intentions are so good, it is unalterably opposed to a written contractual agreement which could be overseen by the employees' elected representatives.

The militant they love to hate

Not the least of the deterrents to voting for affiliation was widespread employee intimidation caused by management's unceasing, vicious harassment of Henry Noble, a founder of HCSA and a member of its negotiating team.

Noble has been under fire since the first organizing attempts began at the Center. He was singled out among union activists because his tireless labor militance is fueled by his openly radical and feminist politics. As the highly skilled and well-paid Coordinator of Computer Services, Noble's sol-

Board turned down Noble's appeal of the ruling. Nevertheless, community pressure had its effect, and in July 1983, management announced it had "discovered" funds to reinstate Noble fulltime for a year.

This was a real victory, but the lack of legal backing left Noble vulnerable to further capricious retaliation.

Defying authority

In September 1983, in his first job performance evaluation after reinstatement, Noble was charged with having "extreme difficulty accepting authority and supervision." He had never refused an assignment, but he had refused to buckle under to harassment and he never agreed to any deals with management that would have gotten him returned to fulltime status by the back door. The Center's personnel manager actually *stated* in a meeting with HCSA's president and grievance coordinator that the bad evaluation was a result of Noble's fight against the cutback.

Hutchinson signalled its next attack on Noble by dropping the minimum annual wage raise to 2%, despite its eight-year policy of a 5-15% range for wage increases. When the raises went into effect in October, Noble was the *only* one of the Center's 800 workers to receive the minimum—with the retaliatory job evaluation cited as the reason.

In response, Noble filed a grievance with HCSA and new charges with the National Labor Relations Board.

Biased board bows to pressure

In February 1984, the Seattle regional NLRB dismissed these charges and accepted at face value management's contention that Noble's performance evaluation was legitimate. But public pressure on the Board produced some results: it also ruled that Hutchinson's personnel manager had committed an unfair labor practice when he told HCSA representatives that the evaluation was retaliatory! By the NLRB's strange logic, management retaliation via performance evaluation is *not* an unfair labor practice, but *admitting* the retaliation is!

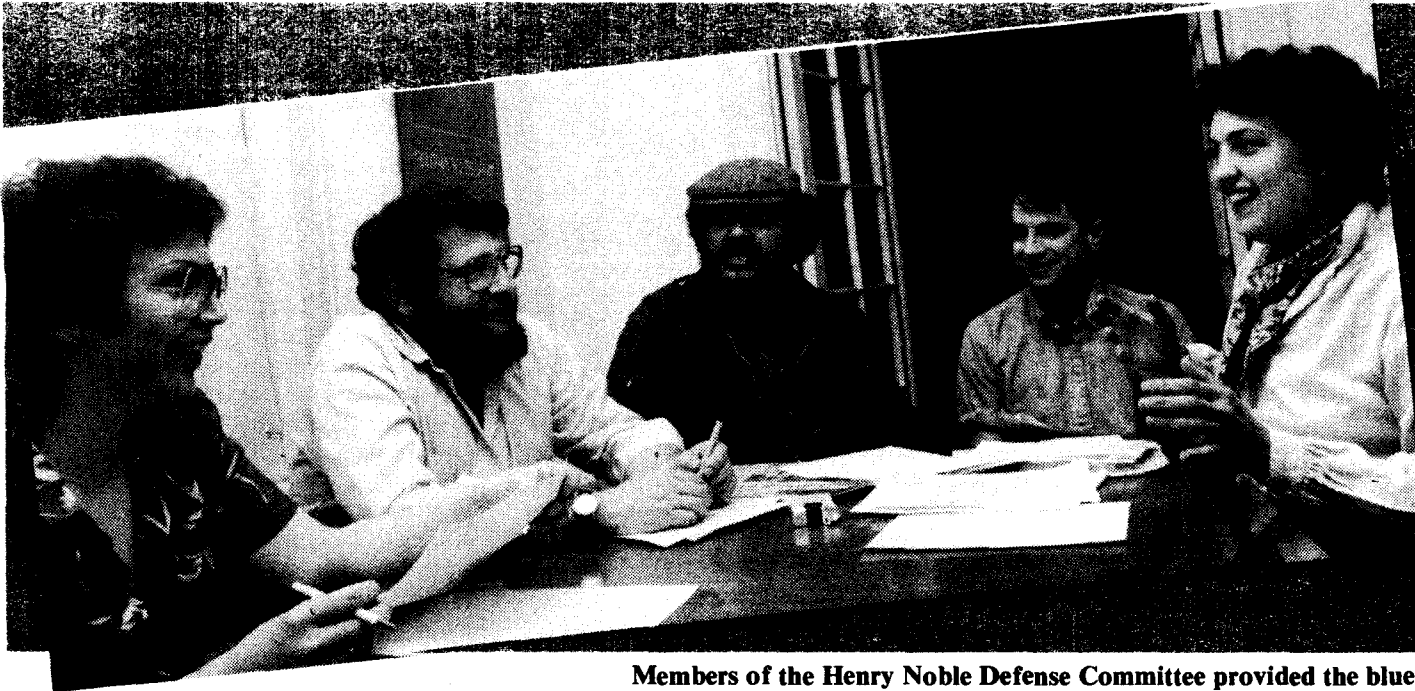
HCSA appealed the dismissal of the charge and the defense committee mounted a massive pressure campaign on the Board to convince it to rule fairly on the appeal.

The campaign worked. The June 2 ruling in which the Board overturned the Seattle Regional decision, and the Center's June 28 settlement with Noble, completely vindicate Noble, the unions, and the power of public pressure against the union-busters.

Sticking by their guns

The determination of HCSA, Noble, and his defense committee are doing much to inspire and invigorate the labor movement.

"We're a long way from being beat," says Noble. "If every union were willing to put up such a strong fight for so long and defend its membership so assiduously, you wouldn't see as many of the give-backs, the no-strike contracts, and the anti-labor laws that are being shoved down workers' throats today. Labor militancy is here to stay—we'll show the NLRB and the Hutchinson Center that they have only begun to contend with the powerful force of labor!" □



Members of the Henry Noble Defense Committee provided the blueprint that led to Noble's victory. From left: Grace Williams, Hotel Employees Restaurant Employees Local 8; Henry Noble; Salah Mohammed, Service Employees International Union Local 6; Steve Levery, Hutchinson Center Staff Association; Madelyn Elder, Defense Committee Chair and member of Communications Workers of America. Not pictured: Donald Boothby, labor organizer.

ment's desire to avoid public testimony about its treatment of Noble in a room packed with union supporters and the press—was the first ever between the Center and an employee.

This victory heartened the Center's union activists for the ongoing struggle to organize and to expose Hutchinson's anti-worker management.

Electoral jeopardy

HCSA sought affiliation as a way to increase its resources and clout against the Hutchinson Center, which has sabotaged attempts to negotiate a first contract for nearly three years. However, because union affiliations now must be approved not only by union membership but by the entire bargaining unit—and because a hostile management such as the Center's could tie up an election in court challenges for years—the unions asked the National Labor Relations Board to conduct the election. But NLRB rules required that for HCSA to avoid splitting pro-union votes, it must *relinquish* its representation rights and allow the only ballot choices to be for UFCW or no union at all. Thus the 108-105 vote both prevents affiliation and leaves staff with no bargaining representative at this time.

Although this is a stunning setback,

angry and brave enough to file a charge over the anti-union probing in her hiring interview. But the NLRB dismissed it as an isolated case!

After five years of struggle, some long-term employees were tired, and many of the new employees accepted HCSA's hard-won gains as benefits *gratuitously provided by management*. They apparently found it hard to believe that before HCSA won its certification there was no dental insurance and that management illegally refused to pay overtime. Affirmative action was non-existent until HCSA pressed the Department of Labor's Office of Contract Compliance to enforce the hiring of more people of color.

A month before the affiliation election was held, the Center replaced its personnel director and hired a new public relations director, promising that employee relations would now be marked by "fresh ideas" and "up-to-date personnel procedures."

Management vowed to provide new and accurate job descriptions, raise the base pay rate, implement cost-of-living raises, replace the "merit" system with an objective appraisal system, institute a formal grievance procedure, and apply seniority toward transfers and promotions. They blithely sidestepped the fact that for nearly

ity with the lowest-paid workers is an obvious reproach to the elitist white male hierarchy that runs the Hutchinson Center.

In September 1982, after two previous attempts to fire Noble, management announced they were cutting his fulltime job hours to 25% for "funding" reasons. A multi-union and community picketline prompted management to change the cut to keep him at 75%, effective as of February 1983.

Recognizing that the harassment against Noble was only the first step in a campaign against the union's existence, HCSA formed the Henry Noble Defense Committee (HNDC) and reached out to the labor movement and the public for support. Thousands of people signed petitions demanding management reinstate Noble to full time, stop harassing HCSA activists, and begin to bargain in good faith.

HCSA also filed an unfair labor practice charge with the NLRB, charging that the Center had cut Noble's hours because of his union activities.

The NLRB, dominated by anti-labor Reagan appointees like Chairman Donald Dotson and Solicitor Hugh Reilly, dismissed the union's charges, ruling that Hutchinson had indeed lacked the funds to keep Noble fulltime. On the same pretext, the

SHOWDOWN

OVER SEATTLE'S HUMAN RIGHTS ROLLBACKS

BY SANDRA WELSTED

The city of Seattle, and its allegedly liberal mayor, are backtracking on their vaunted commitment to affirmative action and non-discrimination in employment, just when the national right wing is stepping up its attacks on civil rights in order to bolster those who profit from discrimination.

The latest fiasco at Seattle's strife-torn City Light began last spring when Mayor Charles Royer fired Superintendent Joe Recchi, ostensibly because Recchi wasn't moving fast enough to implement affirmative action.

But affirmative action and the creation of a safe, sane, and discrimination-free work environment at City Light were the furthest things from Royer's mind when he axed Recchi.

The mayor was really out to save his political face.

Recchi had been wholly unable to crush a burgeoning alliance of women and minority employees who are fighting discrimination of every variety at City Light. The uproar at the utility, the very costly race, sex, and political discrimination suits against management, and the fierce media scrutiny focused on City Light are severe embarrassments for the mayor because the buck stops at his desk. He is also up for re-election next year.

Affirmative inaction

The final political straw snapped after Superintendent Recchi offered the directorship of City Light's Customer Services to the white woman who was Acting Director instead of to a Black male favored by the mayor. Already under strong pressure from the Black community because of City Light's dismal minority hiring practices, Mayor Royer claimed that Recchi had "misled" him about the hire and that he was "increasingly concerned" about the utility's lack of commitment to affirmative action.

Recchi's removal, said the mayor, constituted "strong measures... to end the crisis... at City Light."

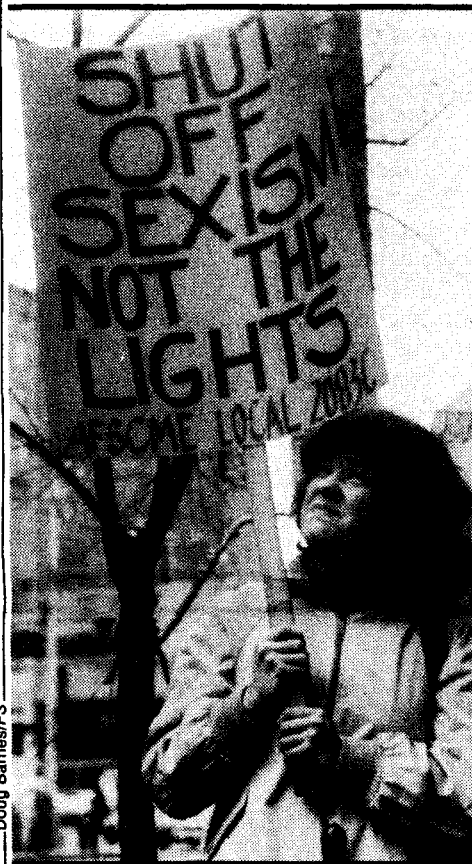
The mayor has since changed a few faces at City Light but he has done nothing to change City Light's or the city's discriminatory policies and practices. His apparent strategy in backing a Black man against a white woman for the Customer Services directorship was to try and score with Black voters and, at the same time, drive a wedge between women and minority City Light employees, who together threaten to upset his political applecart.

Royer, a Democrat, could hardly disclose his real reasons for firing Recchi, and he had to stop the front page stories and investigative reporting prompted by the Customer Services can of worms. Royer needed a cronie in City Light's top spot who would be able to weaken the employee alliance and silence the whistle blowers without making waves and drawing media attention. He needed someone to hire a few minorities but also preserve the old-boy network that keeps City Light and City Hall as such incredible bastions of inequality.

Royer appointed a management/business-oriented Search Committee to find a new superintendent. And on May 23, City Light employee groups, community organizations and individuals testified before the committee and

demanding that it recommend a superintendent who would respect the rights of employees and the principle of public power, and bring City Light into the 20th century.

Instead, the Mayor named Randall Hardy, an ex-military strongman and private utility executive, to head the embattled utility. The appointment of Hardy, whose minority hiring record is exactly zero, shows that Royer, as usual, has paid scant attention to community and employee needs.



Outflanking the whistle-blowers

Royer's "pro-affirmative action" purge was also designed to help cover up the fact that he is currently axing the city agencies and ordinances established to enforce affirmative action and to protect discrimination victims.

If Royer gets what he wants, the Seattle Human Rights Department (HRD), the Human Rights rules (which enable the HRD to enforce anti-discrimination laws), and the Fair Employment Practices and Open Housing ordinances will be gutted.

After socialist Clara Fraser won her eight-year-long political ideology and sex discrimination suit against City Light in 1982, Royer and his cohorts, chief among them City Attorney Doug Jewett, feared more costly, embarrassing suits and a city-wide employee uprising against the old-boy network.

The time had come to silence the critics and dissidents—especially at City Light—once and for all.

Roots of the problem

City Light is the flashpoint of Seattle's race, sex, and political discrimination troubles for a good reason: it is the biggest city department and the biggest revenue-producing department, hence a plum for city bureaucrats. Management has long since usurped all control of the utility from its workers and the public—and instituted a reign of executive featherbedding, waste of funds, callousness toward the poor, and huge, arbitrary rate hikes—despite the fact that City Light has been publicly-owned from its inception.

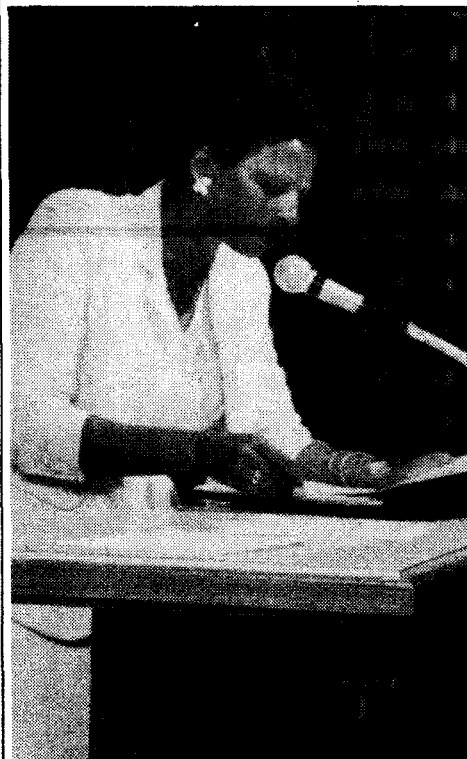
City Light's hatred of equal opportunity stems from this usurpation of

control: management must keep the workers down if it is to remain in control, and the best, most time-honored way to do so is to keep them divided over issues of race, sex, political ideology, sexuality, and disability.

CERCL takes up the fight

In January 1983, then-acting Director of HRD John Franklin filed a complaint that charged City Light management with seven years of relentless and sometimes life-threatening harassment and discrimination against women electrical workers.

In the wake of the complaint, City Light workers, primarily women, formed the Employee Committee for Equal Rights at City Light (CERCL). They offered City Light management ten proposals for eliminating sex and race bias, including the hiring of an ombudsman (employee advocate), thorough human relations training for every employee and all of management, and the establishment of a hu-



Picketing City Light (left); Ad Hoc Committee testimony on Human Rights Rules changes (right).

man relations council to facilitate a discrimination-free work environment.

CERCL's proposals were studied but almost totally ignored. Management instead proceeded to harass CERCL members and supporters. In December 1983, Royer—who had gained the power to hire and fire the HRD director in 1980—and his newly-appointed head of HRD, Marlina Kiner, settled the complaint in exchange for empty promises from management that the utility would reform itself.

On December 29, 1983, CERCL announced at a press conference that they were filing their own complaint with HRD, charging City Light with retaliation against nine women who had openly supported the Director's Complaint and CERCL. CERCL linked the turmoil at City Light to the crisis at HRD and focused attention on the mayor's efforts to gut the agency.

CERCL charged that the HRD/City Light "settlement" gave the utility a blank check to continue its war against critics of management.

Management's real intentions have since been made clear in dozens of instances. In June, for example, the util-

ity announced layoffs in the Underground Network Division because of a purported reduction in the workload. They proposed to bump CERCL activist Teri Bach—City Light's first and only journeywoman lineworker, and now its first and only journeywoman cablesplicer—out of her position.

CERCL supporters rallied to her defense and temporarily stopped her lay-off. Management had manipulated workload forecast figures in order to say no work existed. But an analysis of these statistics by CERCL and HRD revealed that work was available and that the layoffs were unnecessary.

The manipulation was contrived to remove Bach from the network underground, where she served as an energetic chair of the Safety Committee. After weeks of promises that she would not be laid off, she was. Today, she performs heavy and dangerous labor in another location; she is still paid as a cable splicer but is removed from her proper division and duties.

Bach and CERCL are charging management with violating the HRD settlement, which guaranteed protection from retaliation for supporters of the original Director's Complaint, and upward mobility for women in the electrical trades!

House of detention

And what of Clara Fraser, whose August 1982 free speech victory should have opened the doors to fair play at City Light?

City Light management remains as arbitrary and intolerant of criticism as it was in July 1975 when she was fired (in another alleged "cutback").

As part of her \$158,000 settlement, Fraser went back to her former job as Training and Education Coordinator in the Human Resources division. She started on November 17, 1982. Today, she sits at her desk, restricted in her contacts, a victim of virtual house arrest, who until recently was watched every minute and accused of petty and absurd infractions and crimes.

She was rarely assigned tasks consistent with her job title, and was swamped with a mountainous workload that barely utilized her professional capabilities. She and her co-workers were locked in a bitter daily struggle against tyrannical and capricious supervision. Management was out for revenge, trying to drive Fraser to quit—despite her exemplary job performance, which management itself attested to in quarterly reports to HRD. But the staff held fast against each threat, slander, condemnation, and reprimand. The situation was an open scandal, and management finally had to retreat. In July, after 18 months of strife, a change of supervision ameliorated the previous atmosphere of chronic repression.

Nevertheless, the new Director of the Human Resources division, Howard E. White, Jr., who was brought in by Acting Superintendent John Saven after Recchi's dismissal, is widely remembered for his notorious red-baiting attempt to fire Sally Pangborn, an anti-war, anti-racist teacher at Seattle's Garfield High School where he was the principal. Pangborn won her free speech case against him and the Seattle School District in King County Superior Court in 1973.

Fraser won only half the battle

to page 31

Puerto Rican activists defy grand jury witchhunt

Grand jury repression against the Puerto Rican independence movement has put eight U.S. political supporters of the movement in prison and threatens two others with jail. In all cases, the activists have refused to collaborate with the federal grand jury in Brooklyn, New York, which is investigating the independence movement and, in particular, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN), an armed, clandestine Puerto Rican organization inside the U.S.

The charge used against the activists is *criminal contempt*, a new and more powerful government weapon against progressive political movements. For years, grand jury resisters were held in

civil contempt, which carried a maximum prison sentence of 18 months. Criminal contempt, however, carries the possibility of unlimited time; each judge has complete discretion.

In February, a federal appeals court ruled that the defendants have no right to put forward any defense or witnesses once they admit to refusing to testify before the grand jury. The ruling held that facts exposing the grand jury as a tool for *political internment* are "irrelevant." Thus criminal contempt in political cases is now a "crime" in which no defense is allowed.

Support grows

The campaign to halt grand jury repression against the *independenistas*

has won the support of broad sectors of the Puerto Rican people. Numerous political and social organizations have passed resolutions and spoken out to halt the government's actions.

The United Nations Decolonization Committee stated in 1983 that it "reaffirms the right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence... and demands the cessation of all repressive measures against Puerto Rican independence forces including the intimidatory activities of the federal grand jury..."

Principled noncooperation

In the case of Shelley Miller of the New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and So-

cialism, and Silvia Baraldini of the May 19th Communist Organization, nearly 100 organizations and individuals nationwide signed an open letter to the judge demanding an end to political internment.

The trial of Miller and Baraldini (who is currently serving a 40-year sentence in a conspiracy case related to her political support for the Black Liberation Army) is the first since the '50s in which North American activists faced long prison terms for supporting Puerto Rican independence. Both activists waged political trials, defending their principled refusal to cooperate with *any* repressive U.S. agencies and the legality of their resistance under international law. Both are appealing their April 1984 convictions.

To support the campaign to stop the grand jury, or for more information, contact: New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism, P.O. Box 2512, Cadman Plaza, Brooklyn, NY 11202. □

...Jackson

from page 7

The Muslims killed him for this, as he had predicted. Farrakhan today admits grudgingly that, as a Muslim higher-up, he helped "create the climate" for Malcolm's murder.

Where Malcolm X expressed a growing affinity for socialist ideas (a fact downplayed in both the Black and "mainstream" presses), Farrakhan has stayed glued to the infinitely regressive philosophy of Muslim founder Elijah Muhammad, a philosophy based on race separatism and Black capitalism. Farrakhan believes openly in women's subordination, promotes anti-gay bigotry, and, as the world knows, is virulently anti-Semitic. He calls for a separate Black nation in North America. But he hasn't disclosed where or how it is to be established, a sure sign the demand is a demagogic charade, designed to appeal to the resurgent "nationalist" mood among Blacks—primarily intellectuals, professionals, and small businessmen.

Farrakhan blasts the "betrayal" of Blacks who refuse to support the Democrat Jackson. He forgets that Malcolm X roundly condemned Black leaders who hustle votes for Democrats as traitors to Black people.

Jackson and Farrakhan dare to pose as latter-day saviors of Black people only because a vacuum of leadership has existed in the Black community since the '60s civil rights movement was smashed by government murder and cooptation. Also, because the U.S. Left and labor have failed to build with Blacks an anti-capitalist

program for the liberation of all.

These defeats ushered in an eclipse of militance and radicalism. Reaganism and reaction are now upon us, and many Blacks are again convinced that the color line is invincible. Separatist and anti-Marxist sentiments in the new middle class Black community have grown accordingly, despite the continuing respect given the memories of King and Malcolm X.

What could be better for Jackson and Farrakhan? Nothing less than the current Black/white race polarization could have enabled the unification of their different constituencies around a political figure whose only real selling point is his skin color.

Leftovers

It is the responsibility of U.S. leftists in any election to challenge the two-party system. We must demonstrate that Democrats as well as Republicans have started imperialist wars, broken strikes, promoted discrimination, and cut social welfare in the interest of profits; that as electoral bulwarks of the capitalist state they cannot do otherwise; and that only a *socialist* alternative can speak to the needs of workers and the oppressed.

Yet most of the Left this year supported Jackson. The need to "defeat Reagan" was their most frequently offered rationale for doing so.

There is more to that choice than simply myopic "anti-Reaganism." Why have these leftists supported the anti-communist Jackson so blindly, so uncritically? Why have they so eagerly and thoroughly repudiated themselves?

There is an explanation: *racism*, the liberal variety, which views Black people as undifferentiated, politically

homogenous, and right-on, *regardless of actual political program*. Jesse Jackson is Black; he is oppressed; he is therefore supposedly different and better than the rest of the Democrats.

Behind these leftists' romantically racist illusions lies a deeper inability or unwillingness to deal with *class differences* in the Black community, to intervene on behalf of Black workers against capitalists of *all* colors.

What does this signify but that these



The dream cannot be deferred by the Democrats.

leftists believe that race, not class, is the primary unifier and divider of people? What does it reflect but their lack of belief in their own ideas, and in the ability of workers to overcome, with proper leadership, the race polarization that afflicts them? Where can it lead but to support of anti-radicals like Jackson and Farrakhan—and through them, the Democrats?

For a real Rainbow Coalition

The Rainbow Coalition is not a new concept. Marxists—especially socialist feminists—have long advocated united action by all the oppressed against their oppressors. But Jackson's plan to hitch his coalition permanently to the Democrats would mean sure death to the emancipation movements.

The oppressed need a *real* Rainbow Coalition—one that is totally divested of reformist illusions; that centers on the demands of the specially oppressed; that deals with the *causes* of our afflictions. They need a permanent coalition—more than that, a *party*—that proceeds from the realization that the exploited have a common interest in fighting their common capitalist enemy; that battles inside and outside the electoral arena; that will not stop until its demands are fully realized; that will fight, in short, for *socialism*.

It is up to *radicals* to build this Rainbow Coalition. Radicals must begin to build an alternative to the capitalists' electoral shell game and agree to take some united steps to attract their natural, radical constituency.

The socialist alternative is *real*. We must pose it to all those Jackson has pretended to represent. If we dare, the pot at the end of the Rainbow can be ours. □

...SWP

from page 5

The SWP's pathetic lust for popularity over principle has progressed to the point that Jack Barnes now proposes scuttling the Trotskyist Fourth International in favor of a "mass Leninist International" composed of Castroites, the Sandinistas, the now-defeated New Jewel Movement of Grenada, and the SWP—tagging along behind.

Where to now?

As a vehicle for revolutionary politics, the SWP is dead.

It's past time for expelled SWPers to quit knocking on the party's door seeking readmission—there are no rev-

olutionaries at home and no hope of their return. What's urgently needed now is for U.S. Trotskyists to join in a vigorous regroupment and form a new and vital organization to replace the SWP as the genuine torchbearer of the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky.

We have to begin with an analysis of the SWP's degeneration, and recognize that it began when the Dobbs-Kerry regime reoriented the party toward the upper echelons of the trade union bureaucracy and away from the most oppressed workers, toward whom Trotsky directed the party. We have to reject the monolithic lack of democracy imposed by the regime that allowed mistakes to become standard political procedure, until the revolutionary character of the SWP was completely obliterated.

Trotskyists must build a revolu-

tionary tendency in this country based on the demands and initiative of the workers at the heart of U.S. class struggle—the "nonwhite, nonmale" vanguard that Jack Barnes refuses to recognize—above all, women of color. These are the workers whose experiences synthesize race, sex, and class oppression, whose leadership capacities and ability to overcome divisions within the class are second to none.

Only on this basis can Trotskyists provide responsible revolutionary leadership to the U.S. labor and mass movements and to the international liberation struggles that are inextricably bound up with them.

Critics of the SWP must learn the lessons of that party's protracted decay and demise if they are not to recreate it.

For 20 years, the Freedom Socialist

Party has charted and analyzed the SWP's fall. We have debated our conclusions with the U.S. Left and international Trotskyist parties. We have sought regroupment with other tendencies on a democratic and programmatic basis through our work in the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP), founded in 1977 to consolidate the forces of Trotskyist socialist feminism.

Today, as thousands of Trotskyists the world over are seeking a way past the SWP's errors, we look toward principled debate and collaboration on the tasks facing international revolution. We call on other Trotskyists to join us in the urgent task of forging an American Bolshevik party with the boldness, tenacity, and theoretical foundation to carry our banner forward to socialism. □

BY DAVID FAGAN

A teacher's right to speak publicly on controversial issues is at the heart of a battle being waged by Australian school teacher and lesbian socialist feminist Alison Thorne.

On one side are Thorne, her union, civil liberties advocates, and feminist and lesbian/gay activists; on the other are vacillating public officials and a rightwing radio station bent on driving Thorne out of her profession.

Trial by media

The furor erupted when Thorne, a secondary-school teacher at Glenroy Technical School in Melbourne, Victoria, was interviewed by broadcaster Mike Eddmonds from 3AW radio station regarding the November 5, 1983 arrests of nine gay activists in the Pedophile Support Group, a discussion and consciousness-raising organization.

Speaking for the Victorian Gay Legal Rights Coalition, Thorne deplored the arrests as part of an anti-gay witchhunt. She labeled the vague and archaic "conspiracy to corrupt public morals" charge leveled against the nine men as a dangerous threat to civil liberties. And she stated that while she was vehemently opposed to the sexual exploitation of children, she questioned the necessity for age of consent laws.

The following day, 3AW talkshow host Derryn Hinch repeatedly broadcast an edited version of the interview. He identified Thorne as a teacher, declaring, "I would not let this woman teach my child."

The interview was pounced upon by the news media in Victoria. Sensationalist newspapers ran lurid frontpage headlines about the "Sex at Ten" schoolteacher. Television reporters hounded her at home and in the classroom.

A statement issued by Thorne's lawyers on her behalf defended her right to speak out and stated that the interview presented a "distorted and inaccurate picture" of her views. This was universally ignored by the rightwing media, which was far more interested in whipping up anti-gay hysteria. Some voices of reason emerged,



however. Justice Kirby, chairman of the Australian Law Reform Commission, stated that while an arbitrary age of legal consent is convenient, "it is not always relevant or just." Responding to the media blitz against Thorne, he added, "a person should [not] be punished for making the suggestion [to lower the age of consent] by denunciation in the media."

Initially, Victorian Minister of Education Robert Fordham, for the Australian Labor Party (ALP), agreed. He defended Thorne's right to free speech when, in state parliament, the reactionary Liberal Party called for her firing.

But Fordham soon capitulated. On November 11, despite support for Thorne from students and parents, he "temporarily" transferred her to administrative duties in the Victorian Department of Education.

A vigorous defense

The battle to win Thorne's rein-

The Alison Thorne case

Australian teacher fights for free speech

statement has won widespread support.

The Technical Teachers Union of Victoria (TTUV) backs Thorne's fight as a civil liberties issue crucial to all public employees. The union Executive adopted a policy statement shortly after Thorne's transfer which asserts that "the TTUV believes that teachers should have the right to make public comments on any issue they see fit." The union agrees with Justice Kirby on the need for rational and sensible discussion of age of consent laws.

A TTUV-sponsored defense committee, comprised of union members, civil libertarians, and lesbian/gay activists, has organized to keep up the pressure on Fordham.

One important avenue of pressure is through the Minister's party itself. The ALP includes support for gay rights in its platform, and Thorne supporters have won the endorsements of six ALP locals for the call to reinstate her.

Other support for Thorne includes: the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties; Victorian AIDS Action Group; the Freedom Socialist Party; Radical Women; Stonewall Collective; Gay Solidarity Group; and the Victorian Secondary Teachers Association.

Hundreds of petitions and letters have been sent to Fordham on behalf of Thorne, and her case has been widely covered in the movement press.

Fighting on two fronts

Almost a year after her transfer, Thorne has still not been reinstated, despite the fact that all conspiracy charges against the Pedophile Support

Group were dropped in May.

In January, Fordham told Thorne that she could return to teaching if she found a school that would take her. Three schools offered immediate employment, but the Minister reneged on his promise, saying her case was still too controversial.

Then, on April 10, while negotiations continued between TTUV and Fordham, Thorne was hit with a suit by Derryn Hinch and 3AW radio, charging her with libel because of her statement that they had maliciously edited her radio interview. TTUV lawyers are defending Thorne in this suit, which has not yet gone to court.

3AW's outrageous suit underscores the free speech issues in Thorne's fight. By maintaining pressure on the Minister of Education to keep Thorne out of the classroom, and by dragging Thorne and TTUV through a lengthy, expensive, and possibly ruinous court fight, the notoriously anti-union station hopes to intimidate all public employees from speaking out on controversial subjects.

Thorne and her supporters are determined to fight this latest assault. They urge civil liberties advocates to contact Derryn Hinch, c/o 3AW, 382 Latrove St., Melbourne, VIC 3000, Australia, and demand that the suit be dropped immediately.

Letters calling for Thorne's reinstatement are also needed to Minister Fordham, c/o Parliament House, Sprint St., Melbourne, Victoria 3000, Australia. Copies of these letters should be sent to the Alison Thorne Defense Committee, Box 334, Fitzroy, Victoria 3065, Australia. □

...Nicaragua

from page 3

jeopardy to Nicaragua's revolution. The Sandinistas *must* recognize the Indians' right to self-determination, and attempt to build an alliance with them based on this recognition and respect.

Pep yells vs. real support

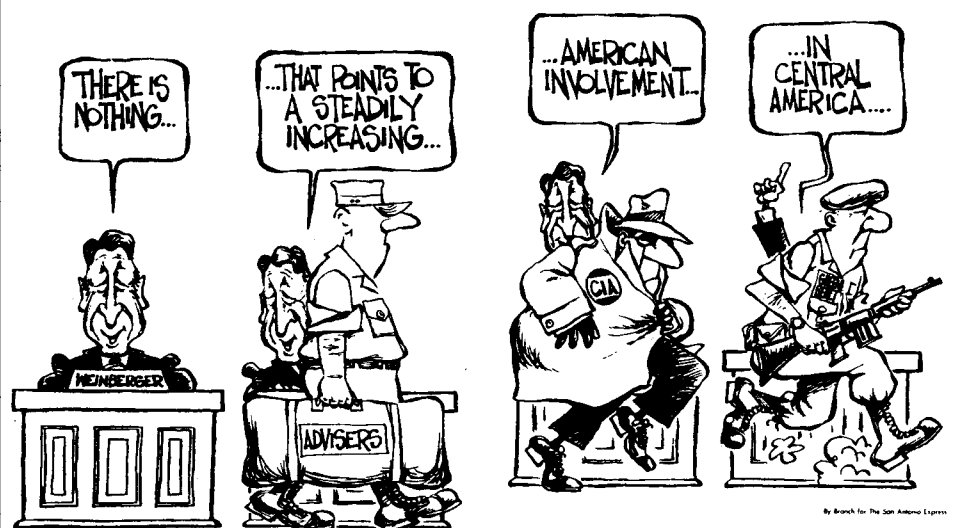
Sandinista errors, not merely imperialist aggression, threaten the revolution. It is the duty of all friends of the revolution not to palliate this harsh truth.

U.S. antiwar protests have been strong and are important in demonstrating the lack of support for U.S.

policies; but too much of the U.S. Left does little more than cheerlead for the FSLN, when critical support and sound political advice are needed.

Many antiwar activists still support Democrats who profess to be against U.S. intervention but actually vote continued military aid to the rightwing regimes. Even the occasional maverick Democrat in Congress who sincerely wants an end to the war is hamstrung by ties to a party that *exists to represent the capitalist class* whose interests Reagan is pursuing in Central America. At best, these mavericks are impotent gadflies. Always, they encourage the delusion that the system is capable of policing and correcting itself.

Democratic presidential hopefuls Mondale, Jackson, and Hart all vied for antiwar support. They all voiced



opposition to U.S. military involvement. But *none* called for immediate, unilateral U.S. withdrawal, and *all* have expressed the need to "contain communism."

The antiwar movement must *break* with the Democrats. It must link the Central American war to Reagan's decimation of domestic social programs and industry. It must spotlight the U.S. rightwing political terrorism that has issued from militarist jingoism. And it must build *mutual solidarity* with Central American rebels against the system that makes war on us all.

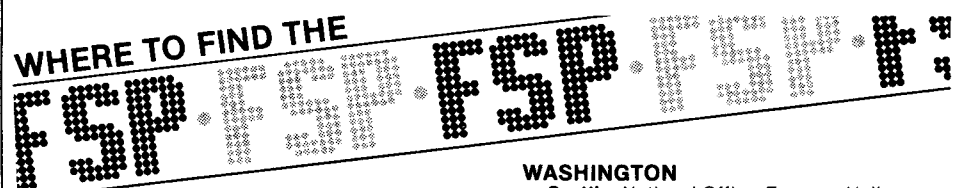
Whither Nicaragua?

On the Sandinistas' shoulders rests an historic mandate to *finish* the work

they started in 1979.

In a world polarized between two conflicting economic systems, there is no middle ground for Central American countries that desire to throw off Yankee domination. To survive, revolution in Central America must be permanent, reaching into every sphere of economic, social, and political relations. It must not arrest its development in the no-man's land between bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship. It must expand boldly or it will be contained and crushed by hostile capitalist imperialism.

If the Sandinistas push *forward*, and the American antiwar movement builds a principled radical alliance with them, *the revolution will win.* □



WASHINGTON

Seattle: National Office, Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105. 206-632-7449.
North Branch, 1931 E. Calhoun, Seattle, WA 98112. 206-722-3812.
South Branch, 6021 S. Redwing, Seattle, WA 98118. 206-725-5009.
Tacoma: P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98405. 206-759-5382.

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Sydney: P.O. Box A 105, Sydney South, NSW 2000. 02-344-9721.
Melbourne: P.O. Box 334, Fitzroy, VIC 3065. 03-386-3452.

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Los Angeles: 1918 W. 7th St., #204, Los Angeles, CA 90057. 213-413-1350.
San Francisco Bay Area: 2661 - 21st St., San Francisco, CA 94110. 415-550-1020.

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New York City: 32 Union Square East, Rm. 307, New York, NY 10003. 212-677-7002.

OREGON

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

EDITORIAL

VOTE SOCIALIST IN '84!

Are you looking for a reason to vote socialist in the 1984 elections? We have two real good ones: the Democratic and Republican parties.

Following are some of the evils both parties have promised to inflict on us in the next four years, regardless of who is elected:

An *increase* in the current five-year \$1.6 trillion war budget—a big increase or a smaller one, depending on which of the Republicrat talking heads you listen to—but an *increase*; a blockade and/or invasion of Nicaragua; stepped-up anti-Soviet sabre-rattling; more tax breaks for business—yet no concrete proposals for jobs or social welfare programs (“no laundry lists that raid our Treasury,” as Mondale puts it); no commitment whatever to civil rights, lesbian/gay rights, Native American treaty rights, or abortion rights; increased police repression in the guise of “anti-terrorist” measures favored by both candidates; repressive anti-immigration policies (the *Democrats*, remember, voted the Simpson/Mazzoli bill through Congress).

Another thing: continued skyrocketing *deficits*, courtesy of the Pentagon and its subsidiaries.

Who would vote for this if they had a choice?

Well, we *do* have a choice. Four parties that call

themselves socialist are fielding candidates this year: the Communist Party, Workers World Party, and the Peace and Freedom Party in California.

We would rather have had the opportunity to vote for a *united* socialist ticket in this election, but Jesse Jackson effectively scotched that possibility by funneling Reaganophobic Left and progressive support to the Democrats. And it's a sad fact that, with the exception of the Peace and Freedom Party, none of these socialists offer much that makes us want to sprint to the polls. Nevertheless, each of their platforms is *infinitely* better than the capitalist disaster recipes. Each, within their limits, offers sensible reforms. And, though imperfect, they provide an *alternative* to the insulting two-party charade. They allow us to signal our outrage and our *protest*. And in this election, what could be more energizing and self-affirming than protest?

• • •

Some of the socialist platforms are better than others, and we want to give you a closer look at each, so you'll know which to vote for if you're given a choice between them.

Let's start with the Communist Party, which we won't support if we don't have to. At the Kremlin's behest, the CP is supporting Mondale against Rea-

gan and running its *own* candidates more as a matter of form than anything else.

Still, the CP platform does propose needed reforms. And it calls for the nationalization of industry, though under “democratic” control. (Why not workers' control?) On social issues, the CP is selective. For example, you will look in vain for mention of lesbian/gay or abortion rights.

If there are other socialists on the ballot in your state, don't vote for the CP. If there are not, a CP vote *is* worthwhile as protest.

Workers World Party is a better bet than the CP, though their world outlook veers mighty close to Stalinism and led them to commit some CP-like mistakes in the campaign.

WWP went gung-ho for the pro-capitalist Jackson during the primaries, and even promised to retire their own candidates if Jackson won the Democratic nomination.

As a result, it's hard to take WWP seriously.

Their tailing after Jackson was an opportunist attempt to horn in on mass movement action. It also reflected their mistaken notion that Blackness is in itself progressive, and that race takes precedence over class solidarity in politics. How many people will vote for a Marxist party that shows so little *socialist* commitment and understanding?

In addition, WWP's platform is a string of slogans—many of which we agree with. But we doubt they are sufficient to convince many people of the need for socialism.

A better choice yet is the Socialist Workers Party, though their platform, too, is far from perfect.

The SWP stresses labor issues, though they've dropped the transitional demand for nationalization of industry under workers' control. They call for equality for people of color and women, but, like

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VOICES OF COLOR

In this era of rampant cutbacks in education, the fight by students, faculty, and staff to save Medgar Evers College (MEC) in Brooklyn, New York gives heart to the nationwide struggle to make education serve the needs of the community.

Located in the largest Black community in the Western Hemisphere, MEC was established in 1971 as a result of demands by New York City's Black community for an “experimental and innovative institution which meets the needs of the city it must serve.” The college is one of 17 in the City University of New York (CUNY) system. Ninety-five percent of its 3,000 students are Black, 73% are women, two-thirds of them mothers.

From MEC's beginnings, there were battles with administration over its direction. 1972 saw the first attempt by students to oust MEC President Richard Trent, who, though Black, willingly served the interests of the racist and sexist CUNY administration. During his tenure, Trent attempted to suppress academic freedom through intimidation and harassment, and opposed Black Studies and campus childcare. In 1974, attempts by CUNY to close the college provoked clashes between police and a student/faculty coalition.

When New York City hit the fiscal skids in the mid-1970s, MEC became a prime target for budget cuts. In 1976, it was reduced from a four-year college to a two-year community college. Funding and curriculum were cut, library resources were reduced, and faculty workloads were doubled.

The campus shrank from nine buildings to two: a former warehouse and a decaying 100-year-old high school building. Heating and plumbing were unreliable. The buildings were infested with rats. CUNY figured that if it couldn't tame the students and faculty, it would let the college fall down around them.

Sitting in for equal education

As the unwanted step-child of the CUNY system, MEC would certainly have been closed had not students and faculty fought like hell for over ten years to keep it open. Black feminists formed the backbone of this effort.

In April 1982, following a two-week student strike, the Student-Faculty-Community-Alumni Coalition to Save Medgar Evers College initiated an historic 110-day sit-in in President Trent's office, which finally forced his resignation.

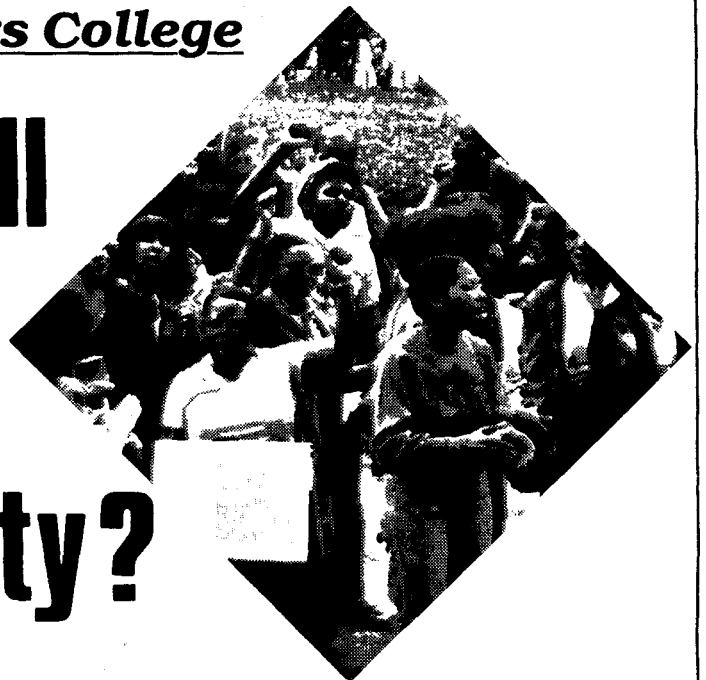
The sit-in also won a drop-in childcare center and a Center for Women's Development. But funding was not forthcoming.

Presidential politics

Retaliation followed close on the heels of these victories. Trent's CUNY-appointed successor, Act-

Medgar Evers College

Shall
education
serve the
community?



ing President Dennis Paul, denied reappointment to four professors who were active members of the Coalition. Only rapid mobilization by an angry community won back all four jobs.

Not learning from that lesson, Paul axed five more progressive faculty members in December 1983, his last month in office. Four of the teachers were women and all had excellent academic standing. These firings were clearly designed to eliminate opposition to Paul's permanent appointment as MEC president, and also to thwart development of a Black Studies program. One target, Dr. Sheila Mayers-Johnson, was the country's first chairperson of a Black Studies program.

Undaunted, the Coalition stepped up its campaign for community control of MEC. At a series of CUNY Board of Trustees meetings in the fall of '83, students, faculty, and supporters from community and feminist organizations demanded that the permanent president be a Black woman who understood the students' needs. They called for restoration of MEC to four-year senior college status; adequate funding for the Child Development Center and the Center for Women's Development; a Black Studies program; and repair of college facilities.

Despite student and faculty advocacy of a Black woman progressive, Dr. Gloria Joseph, the CUNY Chancellor and Trustees picked a Black man, Jay Carrington Chunn, for the post of president.

At first, Chunn appeared to support the activists. He rehired three of the five fired professors. He appointed several women to the position of dean. And he lobbied to have MEC restored to four-year status.

But these moves were designed to lull the community to sleep, and Chunn has now reneged on his earlier promises of funding and support. Especially sharp battle is shaping up over Chunn's refusal to fund needed counseling and secretarial positions for the Women's Center. The Center's staff and supporters have demanded a meeting with Chunn, and MEC's faculty voted to boycott his official November 8 inauguration.

Back to battle

It's a new school year and back to the fight for the heirs of Medgar Evers in Brooklyn's Black community, especially the intransigent Black women who lead the MEC fight and rally to it all those concerned with equal education and equal rights.

The MEC struggle shows once again that we can't expect equal educational opportunity from CUNY-like bureaucracies, but only through shared, persistent, and militant community commitment to the aspirations of the oppressed. The determined Black women and their supporters will prevail at MEC.

—EMILY WOO YAMASAKI

El Norte— a dream deferred

El Norte is a beautiful, stunning film that transcends national boundaries, cultural differences, and racial background as it follows two young Guatemalans, Rosa and Enrique, in their search for a life of freedom. The film movingly shows the hardships common to those most desperate to sell their labor to survive.

That's why, even though it doesn't show solidarity among the poor, explain their plight, or offer hope for the future, *El Norte* is both a work of art and an intensely political movie.

Producer Anna Thomas and Director Gregory Nava deny the politics. Undoubtedly, Thomas and Nava feared roadblocks to financing and distributing the film if it explicitly revealed U.S. agribusiness and military complicity in Guatemalan death squad atrocities.

Yet it is clearly the politics of Rosa and Enrique's father that brings about his murder and their mother's abduction by the death squads and sets in motion Enrique's act of reprisal,

by Immigration officers. She is befriended by an older Mexicana immigrant, and together they clean homes for rich whites.

Enrique too must eventually flee an Immigration raid, which is instigated by a worker who resents this newcomer's promotion. The worker is a Chicano, and here the film creates a problem. Tensions do exist between Chicanos and Central American refugees caught up in competition for low-paying jobs—a competition set up by U.S. racism and Latin American colonialism. But because it eschews "politics," *El Norte* fails to show the greater reality, that Chicanos are the chief defenders of refugee rights in this country and the chief organizers against the dirty wars the U.S. is waging in Central America.

Courageous strangers in paradise

El Norte, nevertheless, is an unblinking portrayal of the desperate strength and courage of



Rosa comforts her mother as Enrique carries the casket of their father, murdered by Guatemalan government butchers.

which forces the young brother and sister to flee their country.

Surreal journey

Rosa and Enrique are young peasants whose labor enriches only others. They yearn to live their lives fully and freely—not as *braceros*, or "arms," for the rich. They journey north, mesmerized by the Great American Dream, but as illegal aliens and people of color they find only a nightmare of constant fear and semi-slavery.

Thomas and Nava immerse us first in the Guatemalan landscape and culture with its bright colors and sudden horror. Then, with Rosa and Enrique we journey through Mexico and crawl through rat-infested sewers under the U.S./Mexico border to emerge in the Promised Land.

The U.S. hits us so totally through the eyes of this brown woman and man that the sights and sounds of Los Angeles are strangely surreal.

9 to 5 in the City of Angels

Enrique finds a steady restaurant job. Trouble ensues, however, when his boss promotes him over the other workers, pitting him against them.

Rosa is driven from her garment factory job

immigrants overwhelmed by an alien culture.

We see some of the insidious and divisive effects of this culture when Enrique meets a rich white factory owner who wants to take him to Chicago to manage her army of underpaid undocumented workers. There is a ring of inevitability in the fact that the man is given the opportunity to advance and is tempted to abandon his sister. In contrast, she clings to her humane, communal values and culture, but falls sick with typhus contracted from sewer rats while crossing the border.

A dream for the future

The film ends on a somber note. Enrique decides to forgo his trip to Chicago to be with the dying Rosa. He buries his sister, then takes a job digging ditches, still a *bracero*, haunted by the image of his father's decapitation.

Is this the end of the dream? *El Norte*, despite its beauty and compelling story, is flawed by its hopelessness. *El Norte*—the land of promise—does not exist, and the movie shows that with a vengeance. But it does not show that dreams can be made real, that *El Norte* can exist, and will, when working people of both sexes and all races in all lands decide to build it.

—SU BONDURANT



Clara
Fraser

Gerry & Golda & Eleanor . . .

WHAT DO YOU THINK of Geraldine Ferraro, they want to know. Are you pleased by her nomination? Do you think she's competent? Do you like her? Will you vote for her?

Yes; yes; probably not; and no, in that order.

I was just as surprised as everybody else by her selection as Democratic running mate. I never thought Mondale would take such a "radical" step. But in retrospect, after the enormous splash made by Jesse Jackson, it is obvious that only a female vice presidential choice could have disconcerted and subdued the highly energized battalions who demanded that a Black be chosen.

Fritz Mondale and his wary advisers would hardly do the logical thing and designate a *Black woman* for the job, so they settled for a more muted ethnicity—a blond Italian.

Nevertheless, a truly historic step forward was accomplished. The Republicans were caught unawares and shown up. And never again will gender be an issue for the twin major parties of the ruling stratum in this country.

• • •

THE EPIC OF GERALDINE FERRARO is a direct and unmistakable result of the past 20 years of feminist upsurge. The women's movement achieved this breakthrough into the perennial male bastion of establishment high politics. The wonder is that it took so long. The tragedy is that this is no winged, soaring victory but a hollow, and fruitless one for women.

What good is it for a woman to gain the whole world and use her power and influence to crush the souls and bodies of millions of afflicted women throughout the world? What lofty gains has the second sex attained in the wake of the real authority wielded by the likes of Indra Gandhi, Margaret Thatcher, Golda Meir, Clare Booth Luce, Eleanor Roosevelt, and all the rest of that illustrious pantheon of female achievers? What good is status and clout if they are wielded primarily to entrench the powers that be, to glorify and white-wash the predator class, to preside over the chronic degradation of women in the name of women, to perpetuate the fiction that if one of us makes it, all of us do?!

One of my old bosses, a Black man, once said to me, "Black freedom? That's when I become president of General Motors." I take issue with this widespread confusion of personal careerism with social reform. The current swelling crop of female lieutenants of the male power structure cannot, *must not*, be identified with true leaders and serious toilers for human rights and for basic, all-encompassing, and irreversible change. What possible difference does it make to a harassed and underpaid single mother that the harassers and underpayers are themselves female?

• • •

WHEN WE RESURRECTED FEMINISM 20 years ago, the battle cry was that women's emancipation meant everyone's emancipation. The quest for liberation was fused with the building of a new world, a new economic system, a new sisterhood/brotherhood of global equality and fraternity. To most of us, feminism meant socialism, and success meant smashing the prevailing code of profits, imperialism, assault on the environment, repression of thought, labor exploitation, and the vicious bigotries attached to skin color and sex and sex orientation and age and physical handicap.

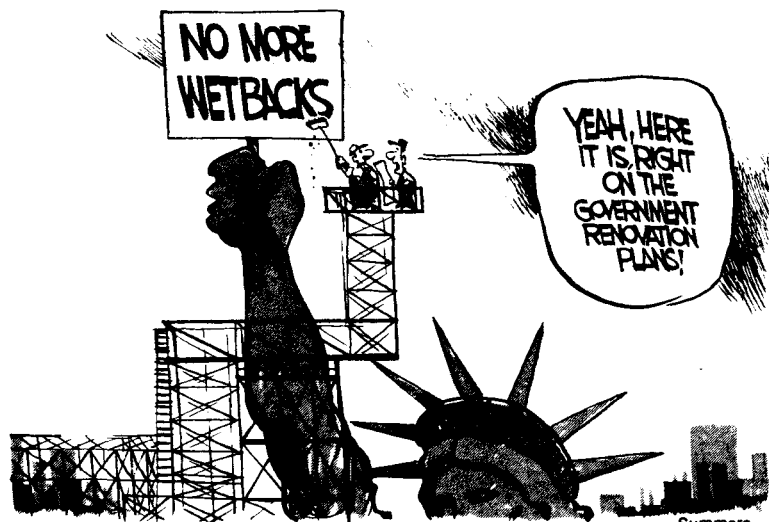
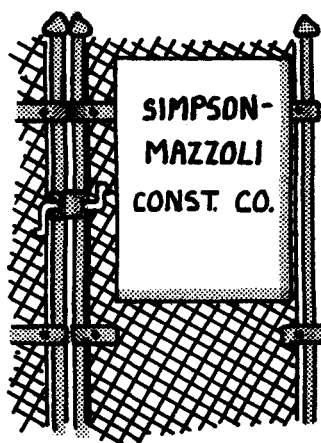
But the single-issue reformist women who yearned for immersion into the system came to dominate over those who abhorred capitalism. And the horrifying end-product of that capitulation to the lures of the merchants of death, deception, and despair was precisely the climate we live in today—the Reaganesque, narcissistic, anti-social, anti-intellectual, blood and guts chauvinism of American culture. When the women's revolt funneled into the ancient channels and adopted the timeworn tactics of playing political wifey to the male power brokers, the huge gains of the '60s and early '70s disappeared for everybody and Pharaoh ruled again.

• • •

WHETHER FERRARO IS A NICE LADY or a bitch concerns me not one whit. Her millions don't necessarily prejudice me, nor does her real-estate shark husband. What does repulse me is that she is all too patently capable of launching destroyers and activating missiles and invading Puerto Vallarta if need be and decimating what's left of our "safety net" welfare program and life-supporting social benefits.

Ferraro, to me, is one of a new legion of educated, articulate, shrewd, attractive, smartly attired, and totally unprincipled shills for the bad guys. I would no more vote for her, or any Democrat, than I would for Cleopatra if I were an Egyptian slave.

A working woman has got to draw the electoral line *somewhere!*



Summers

...Abortion

from page 32

abortionists had done it. The "pro-lifers" were clearly aware of the fire before the radio announced it and had changed their standard Saturday morning picketing routine.

On April 27, according to Everett police, Beseda told them, "I did it for the glory of God." But incredibly, even after damaging evidence was found in Beseda's home—including gas cans identical to one found at the clinic after the April fire—no immediate charges were filed. Beseda then fled to Canada and was only arrested when he tried to re-enter the U.S. in July.

His "pro-life" cohorts, who had feigned dismay at the violence and were lauded by the press after offering a \$1,500 reward for the capture of the arsonist, began talking of transferring the reward money to a defense fund for Beseda! When his bail was set at \$100,000, they helped post the \$10,000 cash bond for his release.

A limit on justice

The damage to the clinic caused by the three firebombings was enormous—over \$150,000. After the first bombing, SAFECO, owned by the anti-abortion Mormon Church, cancelled the clinic's insurance. After the third bombing, the building owners cancelled the lease.

Despite the bombings, however, and the insurance cancellation and the eviction threat, clinic staff refused to head for a milder climate. Instead, they took their opponents to court.

In January, the clinic had won a temporary restraining order against picketers. When that did not halt the harassment, they sought a permanent injunction in April, naming four "pro-life" defendants and asking for stiff penalties for continued harassment. "Pro-life" lawyers argued that their clients were just exercising their freedom of speech. They saw "outside radical agitators" as the real problem.

The center's attorney, William Cogdill, argued that no one's free speech rights extend to harassment, intimidation, or interference with the health of clinic clients. Cogdill asked the judge to limit the number of pickets, their proximity to the clinic, their use of bullhorns and cameras, and their contact with clients.

On May 18, Snohomish Superior Court Judge Gerald Knight ruled that picketers must stay 15 feet away from the clinic walkway, stop parking their cars in front of the clinic, shut down their video cameras, and cease making disruptive noise.

But he refused to restrict visual displays or numbers of picketers. His order will thus necessitate continued vigilance from clinic defenders when the center opens in a new location.

God and profits

Feminists could not relax on the abortion issue in any case. They still must defeat Initiative 471 this November. And they must prepare for new and intensified rightwing anti-abortion outrages. "Pro-lifers" have begun to picket the homes of doctors who perform abortions, and they have now targeted a Tacoma medical center where abortions are performed.

These kinds of activity are not just the spontaneous expression of local "Christians" outraged by abortion. They are perpetrated by a highly organized *national* movement with a far wider agenda than fetus-worship.

The "pro-life" movement today is a conglomerate of rightwing forces which merged in the early '70s with the theretofore predominantly Catholic right-to-life movement.

In 1975, right-to-lifers found a natural ally in racist anti-busing forces in Boston when they collaborated to railroad Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black physician wrongfully convicted of manslaughter for doing abortions.

Never one to miss an opportunity, politically astute direct-mail expert Richard Vigurie promoted alliances between the National Right-to-Life Committee and the New Right organi-



Doug Barnes/FS

resides in Lake Stephens, a town not far from Everett which—strange coincidence—is also home base for the Committee to Repeal State Funding of Abortions, which is sponsoring Initiative 471.

Dottie has enjoyed a notable career as a far-right politician.

As a conservative Republican Party member, Roberts has tried to kill teacher tenure and the Washington State ERA; worked to eliminate Native American treaty rights; fought for anti-social service "tax freeze" measures; and once formally requested censorship of Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse Five* from her local school curriculum. This summer she helped ramrod a fetus-rights plank into state and national GOP platforms.

Feminists also know Dottie as the leader of 2,000 anti-feminist Christians who invaded the 1977 Washington State Conference for Women from as far away as Idaho and Utah.

Curtis Beseda, a zealot in the right wing's holy war against women's rights, told Everett police he firebombed the Everett Feminist Women's Health Center "for the glory of God."



zations he serves. Thus was spawned the Moral Majority and its Holy Family: Christian fundamentalist demagogue Jerry Falwell, anti-ERA leader Phyllis Schlafley, and anti-gay crusader Anita Bryant. Ties were established with the Mormons, who had fought abortion since 1976.

These new alliances gave the "pro-lifers" access to bankrolls from rightwing millionaires, including Amway's Richard De Vos and Jay Van Andel, and the union-busting beer baron Joseph Coors—all of them working toward an anti-woman, anti-gay, anti-labor, and racist "Christian republic."

And these alliances lent the "morality" of the anti-abortionists to the New Right's capitalist *economic* imperatives: women as breeders, forced out of the labor market, and reduced to unpaid domestic slavery in the home means greater *profits* for the bosses—they get two workers for the price of one.

State control over abortion has historically had another, equally evil, consequence—genocidal forced sterilization of women of color—the "final solution" to the "race problem."

The fundamentalist Christian program prescribes chattel status for women and implies outright obliteration of people of color. Such is the vaunted "morality" of the right wing.

Spiritual politics

The right wing in Washington State is personified by anti-abortion spokesperson Dottie Roberts, featured in the press as a Christian of undimmed commitment; self-described as a bearer of "wounds" from an abortion undergone by her son's girlfriend; expounder on the "spiritual struggle between Christians and an incompatible humanism." Dottie, incidentally,

Her group killed resolutions supporting sex education, family planning, affirmative action, childcare, lesbian/gay rights, and the ERA. She was largely responsible for the anti-feminist platform Washington State sent to the National Women's Conference in Houston that year.

Roberts' participation in the Everett clinic action points out the far-reaching nature of that campaign, and the potentially lethal lengths the right is prepared to go against women's rights. When the clinic was first firebombed, Roberts shouted "Hallelujah!" and glibly told a reporter, "The violence is inside the clinic. *We know we're playing with fire.*" The right wing is hardly playing, as the gutted Women's Health Center will attest.

Feminists fire back

But Roberts and her ilk should know that they're in for a *fight* on the abortion rights issue. And they cannot possibly win it if feminists stand together as militantly as they did for months—through three firebombings, daily harassment, intimidation—in Everett.

From the start, the clinic defense committee, spearheaded by clinic staff, Seattle Radical Women, and Everett NOW, realized that an immense outpouring of public information, as well as massive pressure on public officials, would be necessary to defend the clinic.

Supporters held press conferences, sent out press releases, organized letter-writing campaigns, and in this way cracked the press blackout that had in the beginning isolated the clinic from community support.

This straight-ahead, aggressive approach bred and sustained enthusiasm among the supporters despite the rightwing pressure. In January, de-

fenders turned out in force at a clinic benefit in Everett to celebrate the 11th anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. Then, at the April trial, many of the groups represented on the committee joined the National Lawyers Guild in presenting an amicus brief in support of the clinic. Supporters packed the courtroom throughout the trial and on May 2 rallied to demand a fair court decision.

The committee also refused to back down from face-to-face confrontations with the enemy. When in November '83 the Knights of Columbus called for a "prayer vigil" in front of the clinic, the committee mobilized a counter-rally that drew together a broad spectrum of groups and outnumbered the "pro-lifers." As a result, subsequent Saturdays saw an increasing number of Everett citizens defending the clinic.

Without this support, directly inspired by the Committee's visibility, enthusiasm, and willingness to confront their attackers, the right would surely have scored an early victory.

Another key factor worked to draw and hold broad support: the committee worked democratically and openly. Individuals and organizations cooperated in publicizing the issues and enlisting aid from a wide spectrum of other groups.

Supporters stood tough against the usual attempts to split off the clinic's more "unpopular" defenders. "Those radical people were out there from the beginning supporting the clinic," said Pat Hite of Everett NOW. She also defends the participation of lesbians and gay men against those who find their support "offensive."

The Everett Clinic Defense Committee provided clear lessons on how to build a united and effective movement. They fought the right wing in the only way possible—with militant, head-on mass action and protest. Their courageous example should galvanize the campaign against Initiative 471, and inspire the entire abortion rights movement—and every other movement under rightwing fire—to unity and victory. □

CRSP

COMMITTEE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY

Dedicated to the regroupment of world Trotskyists. The workingclass women, gays, people of color, and white male radicals who compose the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party engage in freewheeling discussion and social actions on a widespread front.

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...Vote Socialist

from page 28

the CP (and the Democrats), say nothing about lesbian/gay rights. They also ignore comparable worth, affirmative action for women, and the political rights of the disabled.

This is the weakest SWP platform in history, for this reason: the SWP wants to win "the masses"—on the cheap—and they've abandoned even the pretense of being a Trotskyist/Leninist organization. They've become mushy Stalinist/reformist "progressives" much like the Left liberals currently appealing to bourgeois "public opinion" against "Reaganism." It's not popular to be a Trotskyist these days and to stand up in a *revolutionary* way for workers and the specially oppressed. Thus, where once the needs of all the outcast were expressed in the SWP platform, there are now gaping holes.

Nevertheless, in most states except California, the SWP platform is still the best bet on the ballot, and we urge you to vote for their candidates.

In California, however, there is the Peace and Freedom Party which calls for the following:

Social ownership of all U.S. industry and natural resources; unilateral U.S. withdrawal from Central America; immediate conversion from military to peacetime production; jobs for all through massive public works and a 30-hour week (at 40 hours' pay); full rights for workers to organize and strike; union democracy; full equality for women, people of color, and lesbians and gays; full U.S. citizenship rights for undocumented workers; socialized medicine, free quality education, and safe low-cost housing for all; and more.

A word about P&FP's presidential candidate, Sonia Johnson, also the Citizen's Party candidate outside California. The Citizens Party represents liberal capitalism; Johnson thus finds herself heading two platforms

that represent diametrically opposed class interests! Johnson herself is not a socialist.

Johnson *has* pledged to support the P&FP platform in California. And in any case, the platform is the main thing; it is the best anti-capitalist alternative on the ballot, and the best electoral rallying point for those looking to repudiate the two-party swindle.

• • •

Admittedly, the socialist electoral picture in 1984 is not what it should be.

It could have been so much better. In 1983, the Peace and Freedom Party launched a commendable effort to build a united socialist ticket through formation of the Search Committee for a United Left Presidential Ticket (SCULPT). But SCULPT's initial promise was undercut by the Leftists who stampeded to Jackson.

Many of these same Leftists are now in the Democrats' hip pocket, saying Mondale is a "lesser evil" than Reagan, and that the Left "can't get it together" in time to influence the

voters.

Similar reasoning moved "progressives" in 1964 to vote for the "peace candidate" Lyndon Johnson!

We think these Leftists have opted for self-fulfilling treachery. We think that they are *scared*—scared to fight rightwing reaction; scared to fight the racist, sexist, and homophobic prejudices sweeping society; scared to fight the reformists and bureaucrats who exude these prejudices in every movement. They are afraid to fight for "unpopular" causes, for their right to exist as *socialists*.

Yet capitalism is preparing for war on us all, here and abroad. The time for liberal reforms is over.

And it's time to vote *socialist*. To "get it together" now. To establish ourselves as an independent pole of attraction, inside and outside the electoral arena, to the millions who are fed up with the twin capitalist evils.

Vote socialist! Declare your independence in November!

—ROBERT CRISMAN

...Human Rights

from page 25

when she won her job back. The second half has shaped up to be far more gruelling and pioneering, because she must demonstrate an employee's right to return to the scene of management's crime, and not suffer retaliation and harassment.

Says Fraser: "Management resents my return and the impetus my victory gave to other workers. But I intend to stay and slug it out. Otherwise I'd be untrue to myself, to my colleagues in the office who struggled so heroically for decent conditions, and to everyone at City Light and outside it who supports us and our common, uphill climb toward job dignity."

HRD's role in monitoring Fraser's status, ordained by court order for a two-year period, was negligible for 18 months. Then HRD reluctantly agreed to step in and resolve some of the supervisory and management problems besetting Fraser and her co-workers. And with that token task apparently accomplished, HRD now wishes to drop the monitoring function. Says Fraser, "HRD has been far more of a hindrance than a help to me. They refused for 18 months to use the power the court gave them to restrain management excesses against me. If they won't serve as a resource for afflicted city workers, who needs them?"

Coalescing against rollbacks

In November 1983, the Seattle chapter of the National Lawyers Guild warned that changes in the Human Rights Rules proposed by HRD and the City Attorney would gut the city's Fair Employment Practices ordinance by lifting restrictions on those accused of discrimination and forcing new re-

strictions on victims.

Dozens of organizations denounced these changes at a January 1984 public hearing called by HRD, and 1,200 individuals signed a petition in opposition. But in late February, HRD Director Kiner adopted the revisions nevertheless, and crippled her own agency. HRD surrendered its power to enforce anti-discrimination law.

The revised rules are injurious because they do the following:

- Narrow the definition of political ideology discrimination by excluding job actions *based* on ideology.

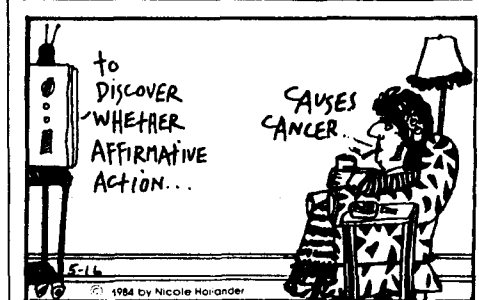
- Eliminate attorney's fees and punitive damages, and relegate the granting of monetary awards to the discretion of the HRD director. This ensures that most working and poor people won't be able to challenge discrimination and won't receive the back pay and mental suffering damages they deserve.

- Prevent the amending of complaints to include acts of further discrimination or retaliation due to filing the original complaint. A separate complaint must be filed for each and every act of reprisal!

- Allow the HRD director to dismiss a charge if the victim rejects a settlement offer, fails to attend a fact-finding meeting, or sues in civil court.

- Grant the HRD director or the City Attorney authority to amend or withdraw a finding or order after it's been issued.

In March 1984, several groups of community activists formed the Ad Hoc Committee for Fair Employment and Open Housing to try to reverse the new rules. The Committee wants to amend the city's protective ordinances so as to restore the original intent and strengthen the enforcement procedures of these non-discrimination laws. The Committee has proposed several amendments: to standardize and strengthen definitions of



political ideology and sexual orientation; to make settlements voluntary for discrimination victims and to assure that they aren't penalized for rejecting settlement offers; and to eliminate the City Attorney's power to veto HRD findings.

Committee supporters include Blacks in Government, NAACP, National Lawyer's Guild, CERCL, City Light Black Employees Association, National Conference of Black Lawyers, Stonewall Committee for Lesbian/Gay Rights, Elder Citizens Coalition, Freedom Socialist Party, Seattle Gay News, Radical Women, and various unions representing state employees, communications workers, hotel and restaurant workers, and cancer research employees.

The Ad Hoc Committee met with City Council members to present the amendments. Promises of sponsorship and prompt action were given, then withdrawn as Councilwoman Jeanette Williams brought them instead before her Operations Committee and the Human Rights Commission for "community input" on August 8.

There, before a crowd of supporters, over 20 speakers representing a wide range of groups and interests repeated the January testimony. Three thousand signatures were presented, favoring the amendments, and the Council was accused of footdragging.

But all this failed to stir the Council. The proposed amendments were sidetracked to yet another Council committee, where the Council hopes they will be diluted or destroyed. The Ad Hoc Committee, however, will not let the proposals die.

Broadening the ranks

HRD is already beginning to resemble the Reaganized U.S. Civil Rights Commission, which now sees its main task as protecting white males from "reverse discrimination."

While the appointed "defenders" of equal rights, such as HRD, are busy capitulating to reaction, the *real* champions of equality are working to retain and extend the hard-won gains of the last 20 years. Clara Fraser's victory and ongoing battle against management and the struggle of CERCL and the City Light Black Employees Association, and the citywide Ad Hoc Committee's campaign to save Seattle's anti-discrimination ordinances all have a tremendously heartening effect on city workers and human rights proponents who are sickened and angry at the bureaucracy's war on the people.

The most sincere defenders of human rights are those who have suffered most in the absence of those rights. This is bad news for all rights violators: a *majority* of people are suffering heavily now and they are beginning to stand up and resist the civil rights rollback. It is imperative that the resisters win against the discriminators. Without *on-the-job* protection for basic rights, all rights are in jeopardy and are only partial. □

The Famous Writers School once mailed me a free talent test. If I passed, a "Dear Future Hemingway" letter and a promising career would follow. The test seemed straightforward enough: one section, for instance, contained simple sentences which required only the insertion of a single word for completion.

Sincerely motivated, I finished "Mild as _____" with the word "mucous." "Thick as _____" was completed nicely with "phlegm." In the dialogue section, under a drawing of a man and woman standing on a pier looking into each other's eyes, I wrote: "Oh, Brad! The stench of rotting kelp is nauseating!"

The Famous Writers never acknow-

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

by Ms. Tami

ledged receipt of my completed test, perhaps due to envy. But among former Leftist types, the once-liberal magazines, and England's House of Commons, graduates of their school abound, all displaying high levels of creative power.

Yves Montand, the noted French actor/singer, fully recovered from his socialist infection, completed his test sentences this way: U.S. Pershing missiles are a "blessing"; communism is "abominable"; Ronald Reagan

"isn't firm enough" with the Russians; Europe needs "constructive capitalism"; the presence of Communist ministers in the Mitterrand government is "a danger to the world."

The *New Republic*, lost in an era when Nixon looks good by comparison, took the required split-second to search its soul and said that U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran oligarchy must go forward, "regardless of how many are murdered" by the death

squads.

The House of Commons, for political reasons, has moved to curb the descriptive genius of its members. After a recent debate over South African Prime Minister Botha's proposed visit, the word "fascist" was outlawed from the chambers. Fascist now joins murderer, hooligan, gutter-snipe, swine, and cad as taboo parliamentary expressions. House members are now finding it exceedingly difficult to complete *any* sentences in the course of normal debate.

If I took that writing test today, I'd make a couple changes. Now the dialogue would read: "Oh, Leon! The stench of rotting capitalism is nauseating!"

Everett, Washington

On the Barricades for Abortion Rights

BY JANET SUTHERLAND

With the arrest of Everett abortion clinic arson suspect Curtis Beseda in July, feminists in Washington State gained a victory in the fight for reproductive rights.

The Everett Feminist Women's Health Center, under attack by rightwing extremists since August 1983, was fire-bombed December 3, March 26, and April 9. Beseda was arrested July 20 for the April bombing and indicted August 15 for the earlier ones, as well as for the firebombing of an abortion clinic in Bellingham.

None of the clinic staff or defenders was surprised at the arrest; Beseda had been one of the most persistent of the self-styled Christians who hounded clinic clients and personnel.

Beseda's arrest was a victory, but the feminists whose persistence brought it about are hardly resting easy. They point to anti-abortion Initiative 471, on the ballot in Washington State this November, which would cut state funding of abortions for poor women.

The initiative, they note, was put forth by the same people who, with Beseda, harassed the Everett Clinic day and night for months. It represents a legal effort to accomplish what harassment and fire-bombings have so far been unable to do: eradicate legal abortion rights in Washington State.

It's noteworthy that one group opposing the initiative, Taxpayers for Choice, refused in August to make public its address—for fear of being firebombed.

Exposing the Right

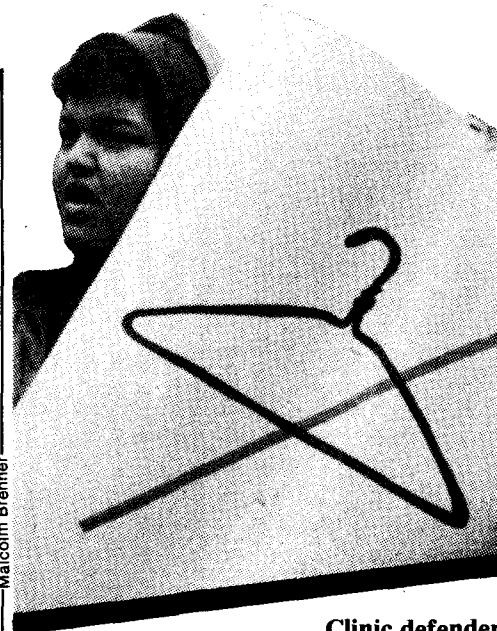
From the beginning the Everett clinic defense committee sought the widest possible support against their rightwing attackers and rallied an active community defense. Clinic defenders kept unrelenting pressure on local police, government, and press to drop their tacit complicity in the harassment. They roused community protest after the March 26 bombing and forced the mayor to order police to make regular 24-hour security checks. They fought press coverage that asserted the "sincerity" of the anti-abortionists while downplaying the impressive pro-abortion resistance. They countered suggestions that clinic staff had set the fire to gain publicity.

They denounced the highly-publicized theory of Everett's mayor that the arsonist was a deranged person with no connection to the "right-to-lifers"; they showed the public that the Everett violence was just part of a carefully planned campaign that, since 1981, has instigated over 272 incidents nationwide of harassment of abortion clinics. They called for a federal Congressional hearing to investigate "pro-life" violence.

Finally, in June, 90 Everett civic leaders signed a public statement condemning the violence. And within weeks, Beseda was apprehended.

Pro-life firebugs

Beseda was a mainstay of the Christian Coalition, which picketed and harassed the clinic continuously after it opened in August 1983. The Coalition, composed of members of Women Exploited by Abortion (WEBA), Concerned Citizens, Choose Life, Posse Comitatus, and the Knights of Columbus prayed and sang



Clinic defender holds the line against "pro-life" bigots in Everett.

hymns outside the clinic, taunted staff and clients, photographed visitors, recorded license plate numbers, obstructed traffic, and jammed clinic phone lines with hundreds of crank calls each day.

The rightwingers displayed billboard-sized photos of fetuses in front of the clinic. They broadcast fetal heartbeats. They even rummaged through—and prayed over—clinic garbage, falsely accusing the staff of causing a health hazard and of dumping fetal tissue as though it were common refuse!

Beseda sometimes remained outside the clinic until late at night, long after other picketers had left. After the first firebombing, Beseda berated a clinic worker, asking her, "Did you learn your lesson yet?" On the morning after the third fire, Beseda appeared again on a lone vigil.

The bombings followed a familiar pattern. The fire department found windows broken and gasoline scorches across the floor. After the first fire, clinic staff and defenders were convinced that the anti-

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What next for the Rainbow Coalition?

The Ill-Fated Journey of Jesse Jackson

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